

**REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE MINIATURE
PAINTINGS IN THE DECCAN SCHOOL**

A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the award of the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY
BY
B. LAVANYA**



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MAY - 2004

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this Thesis entitled "Representation of Women in the Miniature Paintings in the Deccan School" carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Rekha Pande, Department of History, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, is original. The Thesis or part thereof has not been submitted for any other degree at this university or any other university.

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This is to certify that the Thesis entitled "Representation of Women in the Miniature Paintings in the Deccan School" submitted by B. Lavanya in total fulfillment for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History is original and the work has been carried out under my supervision. The Thesis or part thereof has not been submitted for any other degree to this university or any other university.

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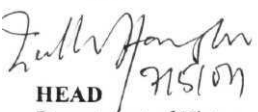
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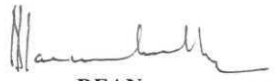
This is to certify that **I B.Lavanya** have carried out the research entitled "Representation of Women in the Miniature Paintings in the Deccan School" embodied in the present thesis for the full period prescribed under PhD ordinances of the University of Hyderabad.

I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis was earlier submitted for the award of any research degree to any other University

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historical studies involve multidimensional concepts in which while the subject of women provides completeness to historical time, the aspect of paintings add content and colour to its artistic heritage. They provide new dimensions to historical interpretation and perfection with reflection of the life and style of art, apart from dealing with facts and stories related to politico-socio-economic aspects. It is pertinent to note in this context that there has been considerable expansion and diversification in historical research in recent years. Apart from old preoccupation with political history being integrated into a broader framework that places equal emphasis on social, economic and cultural history, studies are being undertaken on regional problems and neglected periods and aspects of Indian history.

Among such emerging histories, the history of women is a prominent one. Women's history in recent decade faces the challenge to redress the historical neglect of their issues, where the contributions, activities, perceptions and perspectives of women are trivialised, stereotyped or simply ignored. In such an endeavour, history tries to examine women's spheres of power and influence, seeks to understand commonalities and diversity in women's lives, inter and intra culturally and finally their role or task-performance in various areas. In this regard it enriches the main stream historical tradition exploring societal situations, economic trends, political institutions, cultural aroma and source materials in which women were marginalised or completely forgotten.

This gigantic research enterprise enables women's history to appear revive and assert recognition as a legitimate new interesting sphere of history. As a result, the study occupies the centre of historical stage tackling in its own way the winds of change. The change seen in an unprecedented outturn of research

on it both from the point of view of quality and quantity and became a pre-eminently a modernising one, chronologically in the choice of historical subject matter and methodologically in the adoption of multidisciplinary perspectives.

The sources of women's history are virtually omniferous. A plethora of historical tools are available which serve as a ready reference for locating various sources of information on women. This compact compendium of the numerous sources on women across many cultures have to be interpreted from the new perspective of women's history. Only then, they reveal in depth and in detail the intimate areas of human experience and give an analysis of women's inner feelings in different ethnic groups and classes, their responses to the changes in historical development and their resistance to circumvent the restrictions placed upon them. In other words, diverse materials give an account of women's role and how they came to terms with their societal role in larger historical context.

But, at the most basic level of the historical perspective of studying women, certain problems arise about the discovery of sources and their proper interpretation. For instance, one must search among the numerous materials and genealogical tracts to bring women out of their hiding and to know those areas in which women were distinguished or separated from men on account of historical, social, spiritual, biological and intellectual instinctions.

Moreover, literature concerning the role of women is topically narrow, predominantly descriptive and generally devoid of interpretation with no underlying conceptual framework. Hence, a fresh approach to known material and available sources is essential to search for unknown meanings that could provide new insights on feminism. Above all, the source material for the study of women is likely to be scattered and there is little secondary work to provide signposts in order to improve the academically marginal position of women's history. Traditional history categorisation and periodisation have been masculine by definition for they have defined significance primarily by power, influence and visible activity in the world of political and economic affairs. Wars, politics and revolutions have always been a part of history while those

institutions which have affected individuals most immediately like family and social relationships have been kept outside the scope of historical enquiry on account that most women have lived without access to the means of social definition and have worked outside the spheres of reward and recognition.

As many historians pointed out, ^only few pages were devoted to women because few women were prominent in those male-dominated areas and handful who received patronising credit were those who behaved like 'men' or women who led an army or an able queen who ruled as if she was a man. It was only in the later part of 20th century that there has been growing recognition to give back women their history. In this regard, women's history needs a new methodology and frame work. Links with other disciplines and new sources may provide exciting results expanding historical horizons and presenting best historical works.

Accordingly, of late the need for writing a history of women with the aid of diverse source material is gaining currency in which art forms like paintings are being utilised as tools of historical scrutiny. Such trend occurred due to the realisation of the fact that women's history is not just social history, since there is a history of women as well as social dimensions, but the writing of history of women should lead to ask wider questions. It is not only necessary just to put women back into history but it is a question of re-evaluating a whole world of women's experience which they shared with men in the past. It means that once a female dimension is added, our perception of the past is sensibly altered and our understanding of historical problems is deepened. To write history without reference to women is to distort the vision of history in its complete sense.

Hence, the study should be presented with proper frame work, concepts and priorities reflecting female interests, concerns, experiences and achievements in historical time and space with usage of novel sources like art forms. Such fruitful fusion of empirical, analytical approaches with art history ushers in an era of dynamic change, a break-through of new concepts, that fundamentally affect the status and history of women giving to it a fresh dignity and importance.

Art history has now been increasingly accepted as a major branch of knowledge supplementing various other realms of histories. Art as a manifestation of human thought and spirit has valuable implications for a historian to conduct a through investigation into the intricacies of the past. Art, action and knowledge always had their identities, the discovery of which brings out particular historical and philosophical movements. Art involves aesthetic values and expressional feelings and integrates historical consciousness. History is a arena in which art maintains its independence and uniqueness. The historical importance of art lies in the fact that it makes philosophy of art as well as history positive.

It is the above fact of the changing perspective of women's history and the significance of art history that has encouraged us to attempt in the present thesis an investigation into the history and **Representation of women in the Miniature Paintings in the Deccan School**, especially in the Golconda School and Hyderabad and sub-Schools like Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Wanaparthy, Gadwal, mainly from 17th to 18th century AD.

A research into the miniature paintings furnishes interesting details of their style, variations and transformation with varied themes that were executed on the great platform of royal patronage. Most importantly, a historical and critical evaluation of women in miniature art opens up new vistas in interpretation, by providing interesting details of how they depicted the lives of women in socio-historical context of times.

Such pictorial evidence presents a kaleidoscopic picture of woman on various realms like their functioning, costumes, ornaments, roles and representations. They contain cultural trends, often of a highly individualistic nature as well as various divisions of classes and attitudes that would speak for a culture of the Deccani world. Keeping this as an important base, it is felt that it would be immense historical importance to carry over the investigation to the 17th and 18th centuries because this period offers a plethora of possibilities as far as women's studies are concerned., mainly due to the availability of vast

treasures of miniature paintings of women executed under the royal patronage of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda and Nizams of Hyderabad.

Though the present study intends to focus on the high time for miniatures in 17th and 18th centuries, an attempt has been made to broadly delineate the background. For, miniatures would be better understood if they are analysed without any bottlenecks. Hence, it would be academically beneficial to look into pre-17th century phase and post 18th century realities also in brief in order to have clarity of perception, without, however, deviating from the main focus of the study. This also helps in identifying various influences on the miniatures from time to time from their inception in the Qutb Shahi era to the end of Nizam's rule highlighting basic trends, moods, methodologies, changes and impact on their outlook and depiction to have complete historical account of miniatures of medieval Deccan in Golconda and Hyderabad School of paintings in the vast treasury of art history.

Regarding chapterisation, the present thesis is divided into nine chapters including introduction and conclusion.

An analytical introduction forms the **first** chapter, which highlights emerging trends in historical research, the thrust aspects of the current study. Here the main concern is to put forth the basic motive of the thesis which is to explore miniature paintings, an important source material for reconstructing the cultural and political aspects of medieval Deccan and to undertake the study of much neglected area of women's history to have a complete history in its real sense. Because the formation of ideas of different aspects of human life and the contribution of a historic society can be best understood in a new dimension from various forms of art available to us especially like miniatures. Moreover, a proper evaluation of these gives clue to understand the basic ingredients of a culture and artistic expressions of medieval times mainly related to royalty and common life of women. These depictions of great originality and creations of deep erudition provides novel directions in women's history, creating

most scintillating refreshing pyramids of historical aspects dealing with diverse activities and engagements of women.

The second chapter deals with review of source material highlights various primary and secondary sources maintaining a close vestige of the existing contours of scholarship and literature in various aspects pertaining to the subject. It indicates how the study is based primarily on the collection of miniature paintings pertaining to Golconda and Hyderabad, Persian, Telugu and Urdu sources, accounts of foreign travellers who referred to the political administration, economic wealth and cultural atmosphere of these kingdoms, Other secondary works are also consulted and wherever possible are appended, supported and illustrated with the help of available works on art history. The information provided by them gives glimpses into medieval history with remarkable consistency, cogency and comprehensiveness. They retain standards of reflexivity and openness in the strategic choices of data collection and empirical analysis.

It also signifies how an investigation of these sources represented a new spirit of historiography of medieval times and as academic endeavours of learning and research in historical field helps to co-ordinate with art and women's history. The importance of most of these works lies in their colourful estimation of aspects of medieval contemporary art and the life of people in which the social, economic, political and religious development have been juxtaposed to those specific chronological points in the study of medieval Deccan.

The **third** chapter places the study of miniature paintings against the geographical, political, economic and social background of the Deccan which contributed and promoted their development. Here art is a prestigious activity that transcends the boundaries of time and space and depends on various basic situations in which it is produced.

The main aim is to locate properly the history of miniatures in specific formations of an era to which they belong in order to interpret the total art activity in its wider perspective. Here, the study is mainly confined to Golconda

region in the 17th and Hyderabad state in the 18th centuries, highlighting their political scenario, economic prosperity and social solidarity seen in religious and cultural synthesis.

The **fourth** chapter analyses miniature paintings executed under the royal patronage of the Qutb Shahis and Nizams. It is divided into three broad sections.

- The first section comprises a chronological account of the development of miniature art in Golconda School.

- The second section highlights the transitional phase from 1687 to 1724 AD.

- The third section analyses the Hyderabad School of paintings and regional Schools of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Wanaparthi and Gadwal.

The **fifth** chapter brings an account of the representation of royal and ordinary women in Golconda and Hyderabad School of miniature paintings. It tries to highlight how miniatures of medieval Deccan owe their existence chiefly to the royal patronage and how they naturally echo the personal predilections and personality of the people of royalty in different realms, in particular of women.

The **sixth** chapter provides an insight of women depicted as courtesans. This depictions of courtly beauties as courtesans are discussed in detail highlighting their features, role and importance of such paintings in medieval Deccan. These were women, which artists created were strictly conventionalised to show that their appeal transcended human experience and that their aesthetic relationship of art to human requirement.

In the seventh chapter an exciting account of Ragamala paintings are analysed with historicity. It deals with miniature paintings illustrating women as Raginis executed under the royal patronage of the Qutb Shahis and Nizams. It highlights the common practice of the times of illustrating musical theme in painting where pictorial representation of the Ragas became essential for formulating the imaginative impulse that is responsible for transforming the abstract nodes of music into concrete forms or images.

The **eighth** chapter visualises themes on Yoginis which are new in perspective of medieval Deccan and are related to religious history of the times.

It tries to highlight how the concept of Yogini indicates a discipline of achieving their goal through philosophical knowledge. Here, the life of royal ladies as Yoginis became a theme for the Deccani miniaturist who tried to portray them in dignified meditative, saintly and traditional realms.

The conclusion forms the **ninth** and last chapter in which the overall appraisal of the study has been made which enables us to clarify the patterns, moods and styles of this art activity with those of political, economic and social development of medieval Deccan in order to present balanced picture of different facets of this art and women's representation of medieval times.

In the present study an analysis of miniatures along with their thematic details, features and techniques chiefly in relation to the depiction and representation of women has been made. Here, "representation" doesn't simply mean portrayal of women in art, but a complete resplendent reflection of their personality and personal accomplishments in the medieval Deccani framework: Representation also implies two apparently contradictory sets of expectations. One is to provide a sufficiently realistic portrayal of women of contemporary issues and other to offer clear imageries of women of different realms.

Within this perspective woman plays a central role as a beautiful object to be contemplated and enjoyed. She is set up as a part of inspiration and visual pleasure and one can always question as to how far realism in such representation of women in paintings could be attained. In this regard, the concept that 'desire' or 'pleasure' of male gaze to perceive female beauty and enjoy aesthetic pleasure were two main expectations, which were ultimately revealed in visual pictures of femininity. Here, female sensuality becomes cultural commodity. These representations also try to reveal that beauty of women overcame class identities and female visual imageries were mainly for gaze of patrons and viewers. Female themes and concerns were prime tasks for colour-contents like miniature paintings. In totality, representation of women in Deccani School tries to reveal different strata of women structured for ruling elite enjoyment and for merchants' market.

In this regard, apart from historical, chronological and thematic classification, a critical evaluation of women's paintings opens new vistas of interpretation and tries to prove how these women figures appear complementary to the events in the historical context rather than as mere portrayals of any probable likeness. Overall, they remain as a part of cultural trend and enable to rediscover a new sparkling feminine world of beauty with glowing Deccani styles retaining politico-social, cultural and psychological context. Though, they owe their origin mainly to masculine stimulus, they do expose certain popular themes and facets of medieval era with which women were associated and which were commonly understood and enjoyed.

Here, the study of miniature paintings from 17th to 18th century in particular also tries to highlight the transitional impact on its form mainly during 18th century.

In the historical destinies of universal shines and eclipses, the 18th century in India at large and Deccan in particular constitutes a transitional age remaining a fall of one epoch and boost of another. Falling aspects include the political decline of the great Mughals, which once established superb administrative structure with economic and cultural expansion and strenuous in various realms, suddenly in 18th century witnessed a multitude of scenes like wars for the throne, conflicts for power and bloodshed for wealth resulting in corresponding administrative, economic, military and cultural changes to a great extent. Its impact can also be witnessed at Deccan where once Mughal authority had captured the mighty Golconda, which was later left in the hands of subordinate subedars, indicating a decline of a great rule like Qutb Shahis till the rise of the Nizams.

On the other hand, the eclat side of picture presents the rise of strong local powers in the Deccan. Mainly the rise of Asaf Jahis or Nizams and also the intervention of the various European companies which applied a new coat of order in political aspects. The political system of the 18th century at large presents a picture of rivals and locals, both Europeans and Indians, laying the

foundations of a new political power on the ruins of old administrative structures at various levels and places of history including the Deccan.

This transformation in political destinies had its impact on the economic life also, which witnessed mixed legacies consisting different pernicious features. Aurangzeb's wars taxed the resources of the empire and concealed the splendid facade of the opulence and magnificence, which influenced the Deccan. Here it was marked by the rule of selfish jagirdars and oppressed peasantry with rise of new economic classes like revenue agents resulting in disgrace and disgust noble aspects. Industrial karkhanas saw a retreat. Commercially first half of the 18th century witnessed increasing pre-eminence of European powers mainly English who eliminating their rivals, craved for political supremacy. Hyderabad also came under their impact and became a subordinate ally of the British by the end of the 18th century.

But, one noteworthy point here is that in spite of political and economic fluctuations in 18th century, cultural and artistic trends progressed with minimal impacts. Culturally, Persianised dominant ruling class, namely Asaf Jahis settled in the Deccan with other groups of nobility like Kayasthas, Gujaratis, Maharastrians and Dravidians both at political capital at Aurangabad and camp capital at Hyderabad. Cultural imprints can be witnessed in these places where Hyderabad took over a culture inherited from Golconda. This mingling of Golconda culture with that of Hyderabad with newly inspired Mughal traditions resulted in the birth of a new culture namely Hyderabad culture.

In artistic field, new class of artists had settled down in Deccan during Mughal hegemony as well as Nizam's rule, the impact of which can be seen in a variety of themes illustrated and techniques used reflecting the Mughal and Rajput influences in them with Deccani flavour remaining unhindered.

Such a pragmatic position and praxis of various factors can be perceived in the 18th century Deccan history. Hence, it is very interesting to trace out the art history during this period, which reveals the fact that a tradition of painting that reached its peak under Qutb Shahis, during transitional phase indeed was

affected by Mughal shadowy impacts and finally allowed a new glow under Nizam rule in Deccan.

Hence, we find that in 18th century, a transition period had its impact not only on political, economic and cultural history but also on art history. This impact can be seen on art history mainly positively because inspite of political endangers and variety of rulers' rule (nobles and local Samsthanas in Deccan) and economic back-drains, the study tries to reveal the fact that art continued in the Deccan with variety of influences (Mughal and Rajasthani) and themes in Deccan painting,yet retaining the Deccani characteristics under Nizams thus enriching the art history of Deccan. Most importantly the depiction of women themes also existed in multitude during this period which helps in making and adding to women's history of the medieval Deccan.

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, Raginis, 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.¹ 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.³ 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 *JCulliyat 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.⁴ 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 compiled in 1612 AD.⁵ *Takira -e- Asifiyyah* 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.⁷ *Maasir-e- Asifi* gives a description of Hyderabad and about all Asif Jahi rulers.⁸ *Tuzuk-e-Asifi* depicts the lives of Nizams and describes all events of importance to which the author was an eye witness.⁹ *Hadiqatul - Alam* mentions about history of Qutb Shahi's and Asaf Jahis in two volumes.¹⁰ *Mah- Nama* also gives information about Asaf Jahi rulers. It was compiled 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.¹¹ *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.¹²

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 *Hadiqutu's salatinfi 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 Solomon and Queen of Sheba enthroned. Several miniatures have Telugu captions.¹⁴ *Yusuf Zulaikha* contains two miniatures dated to the period (C1582-1590 AD).¹⁵ 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 their hand, watching dance performances to the accompaniment of music.¹⁶ All the dancers and musicians depicted are female artists, *Kuliyat of Sadi* has 353 folios in Deccani style executed in early 17th century in the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, few scenes depict Queen Zulaikha in her court along with distinguished ladies of Egypt.¹⁷ *Bahar Danish* illustrated in 1712 AD has 58 paintings of good style and 251 paintings executed in 1789 AD of mediocre.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ Mirza Muhammad Amin Shahirstani wrote *Masnavi's* and *ghazalas*. Another Persian poet was Mulla mu'n Misak Subazwari who mentioned courtly matters.²²

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*.²³ 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, Wafrnuddin Ajiz, Mir Nawazish Ali Shaida, Hafiz Mohammod Miran, Rafiuddin Shamsul Umara and others.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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,²⁶ farmans like Yousuf Hussain Khan farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans,²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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 Kshatrappa, 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.²⁹ Another great name in this regard was Kancherla Gopanna 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 *Dasarathi Satakamu* or implorations which describe the religious conditions of the time.³⁰ 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, Pattamettu 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'.³¹ His court was crowded with Telugu poets.³² He appointed Adanki Gangadhara Kavi as a Telugu poet laureate of his court. He was the author of well-known poem *Tapathi Somavarnamu Upakhyanam* 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 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.³³ 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 *Nirankusopakhyanamu*, 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.³⁴ 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 brahmachary 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.³⁶ A poet named Ponniganti Telaganarya dedicated his "work *Yayathi charitam* to Amin Khan.³⁷ 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.³⁸ These farmans issued by the Sultans became a symbol of the composite culture of dominions and gave information about administrative matters, karkanās and rent free lands.³⁹ These karkanās 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ They also deal with cultural aspect of the time.⁴²

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.⁴³

(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.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.⁴⁵ He was the first major poet of old Urdu style. His *Kulliyat* covers all the significant forms of Urdu poetry like Ghazals, Qasida, Rubai, Marsiya and Mashnavi, etc.⁴⁶ All his compositions in Dakhni Urdu have been compiled into a book called *Quliyath Quli*.

Another poet and romancer of note who wrote in Dakhni during his reign was Mulla Washi, who in his romantic work Mashnavi *Qutb Mushtari* mentions the supposed love of the king to Mushtari, Princess of Bengal.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 (*basant*) with diamonds."⁴⁸ Such description can also be perceived in miniatures, which depicted angels and golden skies.

Mulla Washi's another allegorical romantic work *Sabras* deals with eternal conflict of love and reason. *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 *Ishq* (love), and other characters like spy, demon and so on, mentions the names of cities, forts, garden and groves.⁴⁹ Such description was illustrated frequently in the miniature paintings also. A manuscript *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, *Laila Majnu*, *Musebat-e-abi-e-bail* and *Yusuf Zaikha*.⁵⁰ Here it is apt to remark that many paintings of the time centered around themes like *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.⁵¹ 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.⁵² 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.⁵³ Urdu poetry mentioned episodes like separation from beloved, acute deprivation, love themes which have become 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.⁵⁴

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.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'.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.⁵⁷ For instance Tavernier who visited the mines of Golconda recorded about the famous Kohinoor diamond and other famous diamonds which resulted in economic prosperity.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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 Aurangzeb mentioned about transformational situations in quality and gave interesting details like why Golconda was allowed to preserve its independence.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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 Aurangazeb) issued a farman conferring on the Nizam-ul-Mulk the title of Asaf Jah and the Subedari of six provinces of the Deccan.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.

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Omar Khalidi in his *Hyderabad 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.⁶⁸

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.⁶⁹

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 spirit 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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ He gave an account of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's multifaceted personality 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 popularity 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 chords in the hearts of his people. Hence the name and memory of Muhammad endures and exists 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.⁷²

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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

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 in turn led to the participation of Europeans and many new trading centers came into existence.⁷⁵ 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, its pomp and pageantry spread over a period of about 200 years.⁷⁶ 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 remarks 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 regime 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 Hyderabad 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.⁸⁴ 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 than 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.⁸⁵

At the end of 18th century Mughal conventions seized to exert and released new trends, which had been at work. For instance westernisms 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.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸

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 master pieces of miniature paintings and their significance. Deccani painting reached its high water mark during 17th century and retained perfection during the 18th century.⁹⁰ 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 Deccan⁹¹

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.⁹²

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 these 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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹

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.¹⁰² Douglas Barret and Basil Gray in Treasures of Asia, Painting of India, also gave an account of Golconda School¹⁰³ 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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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).

²⁹ Venkata Rao, *Dakshina Desi Andhra Vangmayamu* (The southern School in Telugu literature) Madras University, Madras, 1960, pp. 162-164. (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).

³⁶ K.Chandraiah, *Hyderabad: 400 Glorious years*, Suraj printers and packagers Hyderabad March, 1996, p.50.

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

³⁸ Yusuf Hussain khan, *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans*, State Archives of A.P, Hyderabad, 1963, p.37.

³⁹ *Ibid* p.37.

⁴⁰ V.Raghavan, *Srigaramanjari of Saint Akbar Shah*, Hyderabad, 1951, pp 1-8.(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 kavalis, collected them and prepared several copies. (Telugu).

⁴² Sai Prasad Alahari, *The Story of a great city*, Nagaraju publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.26.

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

⁴⁴ Sai Prasad Alahari, *The Story of a great city*, Nagaraju publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.26.

⁴⁵ H.K.Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1974. p.525.

⁴⁶ R.Parthasarathy, *Andhra Culture (A petal in Indian Lotus)* A State Gazetteer Department publication, Hyderabad, 1984, p.26.

⁴⁷ Sai Prasad Alahari, *The Story of a great city*, Nagaraju publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.30.

⁴⁸ Narendra Luther, *Prince, Poet, Lover, Builder*(Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah- The founder of Hyderabad.) publications division, New Delhi, January, 1991, p. 10.

⁴⁹ H.K.Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1974, p.531.

⁵⁰ R.Parthasarathy, *Andhra Culture (A petal in Indian Lotus)*, A State Gazetteer Department publication, Hyderabad, 1984, p.27.

⁵¹ H.K.Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 531-533.

⁵² *Ibid* p.610.

⁵³ Narendra Luther, *Prince, Poet, Lover, Builder (Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah- The founder of Hyderabad.)* publications division, New Delhi, January, 1991. pp .26-29.

⁵⁴ R.Parthasarathy, *Andhra Culture (A petal in Indian Lotus)*, A State Gazetteer Department publication, Hyderabad, 1984, p.28.

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⁵⁶ Method Memoirs as mentioned in Moreland W.H, *The Relations ofGolconda in the early 17th Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1931.

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⁶⁰ Bernier Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (AD 1655-1668)*, Oriental Books,Reprint Corporation,New Delhi. 1983, pp. 190-199.

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⁶² Manucci Nicco\ao,S toria Do Mogor or Mogul India,(AD1653-1708 AD), translated by William Irvine, Atlantic Publishers and distributors, vol-III,Delhi,1989.

⁶³ H.K.Sherwani, *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 698.

⁶⁴ H.K.Sherwani,.*Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, The Founder ofHyderabad*, Asia Publishing House,Bombay, 1967, (Introduction).

⁶⁵ Raza Ali Khan, *Hyderabad: 400 years (1591-1991)*, Zenith sendees, Hyderabad, 1990, p. 15.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp 83-85.

⁶⁷ Sai Prasad Alahari, *The Story ofa great city*, Nagaraju publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.19.

- ⁶⁸ Omar Khalidi, *Haydarabad state under the Nizams (1924-1948)* - A bibliography of Monographic and periodical literature, Haydarabad historical society, U.S.A., 1985- in the section of historiography of modern Haydarabad- an overview.
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- ⁷⁰ Narendra Luther, *Hyderabad-Memories of a City*. (Preface).
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- ⁷² K .S.S. Seshan, *Hyderabad 400 Saga of city*, Book Links Corporation, 1993, Hyderabad (Introduction).
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CHAPTER III

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF DECCAN (C17TH-18TH AD)

In historical and physiographical setting of Deccan plateau and at the heart of peninsular of Deccan, the Golconda and Hyderabad regions are of enduring value and remained as golden episodes of Medieval Deccan's royalistic and artistic heritage. Historically, racially, religiously, culturally and ethnologically these provinces have registered a place for themselves in the general conceptual and spatial framework of medieval times.

An analytical, strategic framework and comprehensive reasoning is essential to visualize minefield of issues that remained as background of Deccani miniatures from 17th to 18th centuries. Because Miniature paintings have to be placed against geographical and historical situations and contexts in which they were produced and patronized, in order to have systematic and verifiable understanding. Moreover, miniature paintings serve as important medium of expression and representation of various cultural aspects and often illustrate contemporary politico-socio traditions of royal court and common society, indicating cultural and economic impulses behind them which gave them form and theme.

In this regard, an attempt has been made in the present chapter to discuss and analyze Golconda and Hyderabad history keeping intact political victories and turmoils, economic ups and downs, social contacts and strains, cultural progress and conflicts as background, in which positive aspects prove their contribution to the paintings, while negative aspects reveal the changes on the modes of paintings, while apart from the fact of continuation of miniatures inspite of these diverse fluctuations. A chronological framework has been adopted in this regard with contextual details.

Before the analysis of diverse historical processes that were at work in various spheres and examination of historical evolution of Qutb Shahi Dynasty of Golconda and Nizams' rule of Hyderabad, it is pertinent to

understand the term "Deccan" and to examine the evolution of the historic Deccan and the validity of its geo-political concept in order to place the history of medieval Deccan in its wider perspective and to locate Golconda and Hyderabad region innately.

In this regard a brief account of the historicity of the Deccan and Golconda and Hyderabad regions have been dealt tracing the origin of their name, royal lineage and their accomplishments.

Etymology of the term "Deccan" and its meaning:

The historicity of Deccan reveals that "Deccan" as a geographic, ethnic and political entity played a significant role in shaping history. A survey of its history during this era (C17th - 18th AD) is a seemingly unending sequence of political wars, economic progression, cultural contributions and artistic achievements.

The term "Deccan" "Dekkan" or "Dakhan" is apparently derived from the word Dakshina meaning, "right hand" or south.¹ The Deccan is referred to in the epics as the 'Dandakarayana'¹ and is associated with the life of Rama in the forest." The sacred literary works like puranas (*Maitreya, Vayu*) and other Sanskrit works refer to it as "*Dakshinapada*" or "*Dakshinavadha*" meaning "The Southern Region."³ That the name Deccan was in usage in ancient times is proved by the fact that the authors of the *Periplus* refers to a portion of peninsular India as '*Dachinabades*'.⁴ This was on account of the fact that "*Dachonos*" was the language of the then natives.⁵ In the beginning of the 5th C AD Fahien, the Chinese traveler, remarked that towards south, there is a country called '*Ta-Thsin*' which corresponds to the Sanskrit word '*Dakshina*'.⁶

Modern scholars remark that a physical outline of the Deccan presents varied geographical regions of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra with historical and cultural peculiarities. According to them Deccan as the plateau is situated to the south of river Krishna and Tungubhadra rivers.⁷

In totality, the word Deccan indicates a distant region in Indian sub-continent mainly in south India possessing certain peculiar characteristics of its own and represents a geographic, socio and cultural unity. It covers a wide area and has a distinct personality of its own. Many capitals of Deccan

played a large role in the administrative evolution, religious movements, literary growth and development of art and architecture. It left an imprint on cultural history not only because of its geographical position but also on account of its continuous history.

Geographically, the land of Deccan is traversed by several rivers like Narmada, Tapti, Godavari, Krishna, Bhima, Indravathi and Tungabhadra. This expansive rocky plain is separated from north by Vindhya and Satpura mountain ranges. These luxuriant mountains and green beauty gave Deccan a pleasant look.

Three main distinct geographical areas of Deccan namely- the march land Deccan or the area of political assimilation, the heartland Deccan or the area of political control and the peripheral Deccan or the area of political influence can be perceived.⁸

Mullah Washi a poet of the Qutb Shahi Court commented on the greatness of Deccan as:

*"Dakhan hai nageena, angoothi hai jag,
Anghoothi kon hurmat, nageena hi lag."*

The Deccan is the precious stone; the ring is the world,

the value of the ring lies only in the jewel]^A

An analysis of the historical significance of the Deccan and evolution of the Deccan as a region also reveals that, the Deccan wielded together the Aryan civilization of the north and the historic Dravidian civilization of the south. This land of Deccan with its abundant natural wealth offered vast potential to be tapped in the form of land resources and maritime trade. In geo-political terms its ability to control Konkan and Coromandal Coast placed Deccani kingdoms in a sound situation. This wealth, beauty and placement attracted numerous visitors, settlers and invaders of both indigenous and foreign origin.¹⁰ They penetrated into Deccan and colonized it at various times with new concepts and dimensions that ultimately resulted in the formation of different regional kingdoms.

These influences of north and south mingled on the Deccan and the collation of contrasting political and cultural forces gave medieval Deccan in particular a distinctive character on which evolved many royalistic kingdoms, the prominent being Golconda of Qutb Shahis and Hyderabad of Asaf Jahis.

Regarding the greatness of medieval Deccan, Allama Iqbal remarked:

"Noor ke Zarron se qudrat ne banayee ye zamin.

Ainah tapke Deccan ki khak agar paye fishar "

Which means nature has created this earth with the particles of divine light; the atmosphere of the Deccan radiates light and shines like a mirror.¹¹

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF GOLCONDA AND HYDERABAD :

The medieval Deccani dynasties of Golconda and Hyderabad are noted for their rich and pervasive art traditions. In order to understand the total art activity of these regions, a wider synthesizing perspective is essential taking into consideration both art and the cultural matrix which affected its development and promotion. Hence an attempt has been made in the present study to analyze political, economic and social structure, which gave rise to the splendid tradition of miniature paintings in medieval Deccan during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

In this regard, the broad contours of administrative setup with socio-economic trends of these dynasties have been discussed avoiding the overtones of factual details.

An appraisal of the political conditions of these dynasties give an account of central, provincial and judicial administration, military organization, inter-territorial relations in peace and war and their relations with non-Deccani powers. An inquiry into the economic picture provides insight about the revenue administration, taxation system, trading and industrial activities and the overall economic prosperity of the kingdoms. The study of the social structure reflects the conditions of the human society. Providing a record of caste structure, family, food and drinks, dress and ornaments, games and

sports, festivals, education, literature and the picture of religion and culture in medieval Deccan.

GOLCONDA [Qutb Shahis-C1518-1687 AD]:

The political scenario of Golconda rise is intervened with the disintegration of Bahamani kingdom and the subsequent beginning of new era of historical development. Founded by Sultan Quli, this dynasty spanned 171 years in the history of Medieval Deccan from (C1518-1687 AD) where eight kings of royal line namely Sultan Quli, Jamshed Quli, Subhan Quli, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, Muhammed Quli Qutb Shah, Muhammed Qutb Shah, Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abdul Hasan Tana Shah have left a firm impression of their enduring strong personalities upon the Deccani land and people. They developed Deccan idiom and patronized new Deccani culture apart from promoting economic prosperity.

The fall of the Bahamanis opened an altogether new phase in the making of medieval Deccan, where the rise of Qutb Shahi Sultans turned Golconda into a new dynastic centre. In the great tableland of Deccan, the dominions of these rulers formed a significant part, where beginning as an enclave around the great fort of Golconda, they gradually spread in all directions.

Sultan-Quli, the founder of Golconda dynasty, traced his descent from a Turkish tribe '*Qara Quyunlu*' - which had black sheep as its emblem.¹² Initially, when disturbances broke out in and around Telangana area of Bahamani rule, Sultan Quli, a Turk who was a high ranking military officer under Mohammed Shah Bahamani, were sent to quell the trouble.¹³ Being an efficient military leader and a strategist and with his unique position as a war commander he was successful both in suppressing the revolt and in rescuing his overlord. The title of Qutb-ul-Mulk was conferred on him by Mohammed Shah.¹⁴ He was also appointed as subedar of Telangana which included Warangal, Golconda and Kodangal.¹⁵ Because of his martial and literary talents he was addressed as "Master of the Sword and the Pen". The Golconda fort was also given as a Jagir to Sultan.¹⁶ He gave it the name of Muhammed nagar and made it as his capital.

The historicity of this Golconda fort which played important role in 17th Century lies in the fact that it existed from early medieval Deccani era.¹⁷ Sultan Quli Strengthened the ramparts of famous Golconda fort and built several parts of it like fabrication, living quarters, Turkish baths, etc. Thevenot who visited Golconda in 1666 AD remarked that it was named as Golconda by Sultan Quli Qutb Shah himself,¹⁸ The legend says a shephred (*golla*) guided Sultan Quli to the fort and hence forth, it came to be known as *Golla* or Golconda meaning in Telugu 'the plateau of the shepherd'.¹⁹

Within few years the feud among the *Afaqis* and the Deccanis ultimately led to the break - up of the Bahmani kingdom and with its disintegration, Sultan Quli assumed virtual independence and thus laid the foundation of the great Qutb Shah dynasty with Golconda region as his capital. This royal dynasty - founded in 1518 AD - lasted till its end in 1687, when Mughal suzerainty of Aurangzeb dominated.

Sultan Quli made all efforts to subjugate the perennial feuding smaller rulers and to extend the territories by a policy of annexation. With this expansion, the resources of Golconda also increased. It expanded along with its army, civilian population and habitations. Though he was virtually independent, it is remarkable to note that Sultan Quli never formally declared his kingship or assumed royal title. His full name Sultan Quli meant servant of the king and his dynasty took its name from the title Qutb-ul-Mulk given to Sultan by his Bahamani overlord."

Although he belonged to a noble family of Persia and was decedent of a line of kings, he was personally an entirely self-made man. It was by dint of great will power, perseverance, tact and determination he rose to the highest dignity in the Deccan and carved this independent principality, which gradually developed into a kingdom that united many parts of Deccan, under one scepter. *Tarikh -i- Muhammed Qutb Shahi*, which is virtually the official history of first six rulers of the dynasty, also remarks that Sultan - Quli never assumed kingship and ruled mainly as the senior most - nobleman of the Deccan.²¹

On the whole, during the rule of Sultan Quli, Golconda became a strongly fortified citadel and was adorned with numerous civic and military

structures. There upon Golconda Kingdom was at its height under his successors.²² Here it is apt to point out that these details of Golconda's historic origin with royal foundational lineage, gives insight of the beginning of a new era that promoted extensive artistic traditions of medieval Deccan resulting in a new brand of paintings in 17th Century.

Sultan Quli was succeeded by Jamshid Quli who took over the reign of rule with blood-strained hands as he murdered his father Sultan Quli at the ripe old age of ninety.²³ There was political instability due to frequent wars and antagonist relations between the Deccan kingdoms. His rule was marked mainly by people's resentment over his patricide. However, few cultural traits continued inspite of conflicting situations.

He was succeeded by his son Subhan Quli who was ultimately overthrown by his paternal uncle Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who came out of his political asylum of seven years at Vijaynagar, a stay that left an indelible impression on Ibrahim and his son's cultural policies. The political atmosphere during his reign was in turmoil. War, conflicts, vengeance were the common features of the polity. Squabbles as well as alliances were common.²⁴ Ibrahim had a tough time in averting dangers and keeping intact the so called glorious kingdom Golconda that was built assiduously and strategically. After ascending the golden throne, decorated with lion and elephant statues on either side signifying might and majesty of kingdom, Ibrahim adopted sky-blue as official colour of Golconda ,²⁵

As an administrator, he got engaged himself in numerous royal and public works like enforcing systematic law, consolidating kingdom, establishing intelligence agencies, constructing lakes.²⁶ He brought largest part of the Deccani region mainly Telugunadu under the control of Golconda mainly due to his foresight, political acumen and administrative ability and remained as just and benevolent ruler. The only irony of his rule was that he had to fight against the same Vijayanagar Empire which once gave him shelter of protection.²⁷ However after this battle, Deccan Sultans had a glowing flow of success.

It was during the long, peaceful and prosperous reign of his successor Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah that Golconda dynasty reached its zenith.

Belonging to both cultures he believed in harmony and peaceful atmosphere for running the rule and in cultural integration and hence had no inhibitions against the local populace.²⁸ Golconda was further strengthened due to his military powers and powerful army. He is the best remembered as a great planner and founder of the city of Hyderabad.²⁹ He spent his entire energy and devoted his time to make Hyderabad a picturesque and memorable city.

According to popular legend, the king was enamoured of a dancer called Bhagmati belonging to a small village of Chinchelam near present Charminar. He founded Bhagnagar to perpetuate his love for her. Later when the title of Hydermahal was bestowed upon her, the name of the city was accordingly changed to Hyderabad.³⁰ The new city was built with Charminar as its focal point.³¹ There are several versions of historians supporting as well as contradicting this naming of the region.³²

The new city was very dear to Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Hence, he prayed for the progress of the city as

"Mera Shahr Logan se mamar karya satni"

Meaning, "Oh God! Let my city be filled with people like fish in the sea".

³³ This magnificent city was prepared on the plans of his Peshwa Mir Mumin.

The noted historian Ferishta remarked that, "There is no other city in the whole of India like the city of Hyderabad either in the east, west, north or south." This city was adorned in 17th century with magnificent royal building of fine architecture and superb gardens of greenery. Maulana Hali, a famous poet, remarked: "If anybody enters the garden for work, he will certainly return with the aroma and fragrance of flowers. Hyderabad is indeed a garden city; its doors of prosperity are open to all."³⁴

It is apt to point out two important points, first of all such descriptions are worthy in the sense that such scenes were represented in paintings of the time and secondly, it was this great city which in 18th century became the capital of Asaf Jahis, who ruled over Deccan region after the fall of Golconda and Mughal suzerainty.

During Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign, Golconda kingdom reached highest pinnacle of glory and witnessed golden age of Qutb Shahi dynastic

rule, with his compassionate rule as a planner, patron and foster of medieval Deccani atmosphere.

Sultan Mohammad Qutb Shah succeeded his father-in-law.³⁵ His reign was most peaceful period in the history of Golconda marked by neither internal problems nor external attacks. He administered the kingdom with loyal, trustworthy, sincere and honest officials, strewed ministers and a gallant army.³⁶

The reign of his successor Abdullah Qutb Shah saw the decline of Golconda.³⁷ Abdullah lived his long reign under a constant threat and provocative circumstances and survived through political maneuvering taking advantage of the risk between the successors of Shah Jahan. But this very game cost him dearly when Aurangzeb came out to top in the war of succession and became the emperor himself. Finally, Golconda came under the Mughal pressure in 1636 AD and 1656 AD, when it was attacked and ultimately heavy indemnity had to be paid which reflects the decline of glowing independence of Golconda.

Abdullah Qutb Shah was succeeded by Abul Hasan Tana Shah, the last ruler of Qutb Shahis. He proved to be an able ruler and a staunch defender against the Mughal might for a long time. He is remembered as a benign and tolerant king, whose story is a tragic romance.³⁸ He was popularly known as Tanashah because of his delicacy of temperament and patronage and not due to his despotic behaviour.

His reign was marked by misunderstandings, palace intrigues, plots, dissensions, rampages and ultimately the fall of Golconda. It was due to the able talents of Madanna and Akkanna, Hindu prime minister and commander-in-chief of Abul Hasan, a total collapse of administrative machinery was guarded to a great extent.³⁹ They skillfully averted grave situations and maintained law and order in critical times. It was the elimination of these brothers who were beheaded by plotters that cleared the decks for Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, who invaded Golconda in 1687 AD, which resulted in its end.

The fall of Golconda during his reign was marked by a series of tragic events. The eight-month long siege witnessed strong self-defense,

courageous confrontation with the enemy and unshattered loyalty of the people of the soil. The dignified stand of Abul Hasan and unshakable loyalty of a soldier Abdul Razak Lori stand out unparalleled.

Finally it was when a traitor named Abdullah Khan who opened the gates of Fateh Darwaza of Golconda fort in middle of dead-night, which allowed Mughal armies to enter the fort and capture Golconda. Abdul Hasan faced the confrontation with great fortitude and finally was taken as a prisoner to Bidar and later to Daulatabad (Aurangabad), where he died after long years of captivity. Jan Saper khan, one of the nobles of Aurangzeb accompanied him upto Daulatabad and later was made the Governor of the Deccan.⁴⁰ Thus, with the capture of Abdul Hasan, the royal line of Qutb Shah era ended, signaling the advent of Mughals and fall of Golconda era. Golconda became a part of the Deccan province of the Mughals with capital at Aurangabad. With its decline, the happy times of Hyderabad too disappeared leaving agony and pain. With the conquest of Deccan Aurangzeb expanded Mughal Empire to cover the entire sub-continent. However, after his death the empire rapidly declined.

Regarding Deccan during 17th Century, mainly after the end of Qutb Shahi Dynasty, Golconda was annexed and re-titled '*Dar-al-Jihad* Hyderabad'.⁴¹ The lands of the south were detached to form a separate province. Aurangzeb transferred in 1688 AD, a cadre of experienced Mughal officers into new provinces. The Mughal governor Jan Saper Khan and his son Rustan Dil Khan, Irani amirs of long, familiar services were appointed. Nine mansabdars and their contingents were stationed as faujdars or military intendments at Hyderabad.

Twelve mansabdars assumed independent command of the greatest fortresses in the former kingdom. A similar line of officers took charge of the newly constituted Hyderabad province. Other mid-level Muslim functionaries, artists and craftsmen and military officers, were offered services in the similar parts of the imperial administration as low-ranking mansabdars. Abul Hasan's male relatives and Muslim nobles largely of Turko-Persian descent became Mughal nobles. Hindu officials' mainly Telugu Nayaks recruited by Qutb Shahis from the Kamma, Velama, Kapu

and Raju warrior peasant castes, who served as military commanders, found themselves redundant after 1687 AD and many disappeared into obscurity.⁴²

Among the prominent officials during this time were Rohilla Khan, Yousuf Khan, Mubarak Khan and Mir Quamuruddin. Nearly for 37 years Hyderabad came under the direct rule of these subedars appointed by Mughal emperor. Large scale migrations in and out of Golconda took place during this period. It was during this time many artists from north, got settled down in Deccan, contributing to a new phase of Deccani painting.

It was when Farukh Siyar appointed Mir Quamuruddin as his representative of Deccan with the title "Nizam-ul-Mulk", that changes started taking place with a positive note. It was he, who later with the title "Nizam-ul-Mulk" Feroz Jung Asafgarh, established his supremacy in 1724 AD, independent of Mughal Emperor and laid the foundation of famous Asaf Jahi Dynasty that continued till post 18th Century.⁴³

It was during the reign of Asaf Jahis in 1763 AD that Hyderabad came to limelight and became glorious once again when it was made the capital of Nizams. Thus, begins another interesting chapter of Hyderabad in medieval Deccan.

This analysis of political system of Qutb Shahis makes it clear that political administration of Sultans was largely based on Islamic Principles, where sovereignty rested with God. The Qutb Shahis believed in the Divine right theory of Monarchy and considered themselves as the representative of Allah on earth. The selection of the king was limited to the royal family. The law of primogeniture was generally followed while there were also instances of patricides and fratricides to get on to the throne. Sometimes nobles and chiefs of action elected the Sultan. King being supreme, the entire administrative machinery derived its momentum from him, whose status had religious sanction behind it. They remained the supreme governor of the realm, the final court of appeal, the chief lawgiver and prime commander of forces. They enjoyed absolute executive, judicial and military powers.⁴⁴

Basatinu's - Salatin gives an insight into the ideals of administration. In the hierarchy Sultan was followed by *Majlis-i-kingash* (advisory council) *Majlis-i-Diwandari* (Privy Council), peshwa, *Jumlat-ul Mulk* or Mir Jumla,

Wazir, Dabir, Kotwal, Sarkhel and other noted officials.⁴⁵ They lived in a dignified style fulfilling the loyal and royal responsibilities. Sultan always had a critical eye on their actions and deeds. A total outlook presents that the legal and administrative framework was provided by *Sharia-Quran* (the Holy Book of Muslims) and *Hadith* (Sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad), *Sharia* (Consensus) amongst the most learned of the Prophet's companions, and *Urf* (Local customs and practices.). The rulers issued decrees and orders in various residuary and secular matters known as *firman*s (Official Documents).

Regarding law, common, criminal and personal law of the community existed to which populace was subjected. However, Sultan's judgement in all matters remained absolute and ultimate. In modern sense, it was a politico-ecclesiastical tyranny where the degree of severity depended upon the personality of the Sultan.

In army in order to offset the strength of the enemy they had an almost excellent reserve of infantry and cavalry at their dispose to turn down the gaining scales and scores of enemies. Army consisted of feudal levies and mercenaries and included Hindus. In the battlefield opposing forces raged to certain extent and ended when both sides were equally fatigued and disseminated, sometimes when equally matched. The rulers used harsh methods, to subjugate anarchical conditions mainly towards perennially feuding smaller rulers and other allies. As a result, Golconda kingdom by the middle of 17th Century extended its boundaries and included places like Kondagal, Rajamahendravaram, Ahobilam, Vinukonda, Khammam, Penugonda, Gandikota, parts of Karnataka. Boundaries upto Srikakulam, Machlipatnam, Gopalalapalli, Viraghattam. Qasimkota, Chandra bazaar (Orissa), Gooty and Kurnool.

Under their control were famous forts of Warangal, Bhongir, Khammam, Bellamkonda, Kondapalli, Kodaveedu and Rajahmundry. Methwold in his relations written in (1613-22 AD) stated that there were 66 forts and castles in Golconda, each commanded by a Naik, whose enormity and impregnability were rare in character. The garrisons consisted numerous soldiers of talent. Tavernier, Bernier gave account of weapons used like

broad swords, muskets, bows and arrows, battle-axes, helmets, iron-jackets, fire arms, armlets, etc, which proves that army was well - equipped.

Within empire, criminals, traitors and errant people were often beheaded. Though hemmed in by a number of enemies, rulers tried to recover lost territories and regained the pristine glory of the kingdom. Being perceptive rulers, they realized that the support of Hindu subjects who were in majority was essential for a stable and peaceful atmosphere. They diagnosed properly that other Deccani rulers who did not trust local people had to face internal problems. With this insight they remained benevolent and to prove their secular credentials appointed non-local and non-Muslims to the post of prominence like Ramaraju, Jagadeva Rao, Murahari Rao, Akkanna, Madanna and others.

The Sultans were generally against the policy of aggrandizement and deceivment of one Sultanate at the cost of another. Sometimes they had to face diplomatic defeat and military setback. But generally as warriors of great caliber and the commanding power, they kept vigilant eye on every aspect of political endeavors and oppositions.

It was observed that two main centers acted as thrust-areas of administrative machinery. Golconda at early stage and later Hyderabad during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign. In state of affairs a number of accredited representatives, ambassadors of note and responsibility from various places were appointed and received. Among the categories of envoys, the permanent army posted in imperial Golconda was known as *Hajji - i - Mugami*. Iranian representatives as *Hajib-i-Azimush*, and envoys as *Shai-bhandar*.⁴⁶ Envoys with special mission were known as *Hajib-i-Maslihah* and representatives of Dutch and English Companies were known as Agents⁴⁷. These diplomatic corps hailed from Iran, Mughal Empire, Bijapur, Ahmednagar and even mighty Vijayanagar Empire.

These agents of diplomacy carried with them the commands and authorities of Qutb Shahis. They played prominent role in war and peace. Here it is apt to remark that among the tradition followed by Qutb Shahis, the most important rule was **that** before war action, an ultimatum had to be sent to possible opponent through these envoys and agents. Another war

tradition being fighting against a foreign enemy in Deccan united with other Deccani powers in case of emergency, notwithstanding the dimensions and quarrels they had earlier.

The rulers conducted durbars at intervals, which were marked by great pomp and show. The nobles and subordinate attended the ministerial councils which held regularly. Persons of honesty and loyalty were appointed in this council by Sultan, who discussed the problems of the public. Nobility also equally participated in state-matters and because of their support cool Sultans could hold-up and were successful in crushing enemies owing to near selection of advisors of worth and merit.⁴⁸

Another interesting feature of their polity was that Qutb Shah's had intimate contacts with great Shia state Iran especially with Safawids, ever since the establishment of the dynasty.⁴⁹ They recognized Persian emperor as their overlord. Ties of Shiaism existed between them. However, Persia could not provide any military support to Golconda against Mughals as a counterpoise, due to geographical location and distance, which limited its role in balance of power and the calculation of friendly assistance to Golconda.

It was only after the Deed of 1636 AD signed between Shahjahan and Abdullah Qutb Shah, the relations were strained in Qutb Shahi policy. Golconda became a vassal of the emperor, where Sultan gave up his royal title and called himself the hereditary disciple of the emperor. This resulted in a change of status to mere protectorate of the empire and accepted the position of subservience and humility to the throne. After this treaty Shah Jahan left Aurangzeb as viceroy of the Deccan. This status was even more deteriorated during Abul Hasan's reign with the Deed of Agreement in 1674 AD where Abul Hasan addressed the Mughal emperor with astounding titles like Khalifa of God, Shadow of Soloman, etc.⁵⁰ With the fall of Golconda with extra ordinary courage, daresness and capacity, the glorious reign of Qutb Shahis, political history of achievements, enterprises, passions, ambitions and pride also ended.

In culmination, the political history reflects royal lineage and a parallel line of nobility who, in their unique style, sought glory in fulfilling larger

destiny and struggled to impart a meaning to the mysteries of life by promoting a unique combination of medieval Deccani land of Golconda.

In economic terms, the Qutb Shahi kingdom was the wealthiest of the Deccani kingdoms by the end of sixteenth century, whose prosperity had become proverbial in the contemporary writings of the foreign travelers. The economic property of the kingdom can be gleaned from the fact that agriculture was in a flourishing condition. The Sultans took special interest in improving irrigation works, as a result of which the entire coastal area under their control was full of fertile lands and rice- crops in plenty. This agricultural surplus gave tremendous impetus for the development of industry, trade and commerce and contributed to the prosperity of Golconda.

Apart from this Qutb Shahis possessed with such a geographical area with lot of opportunities available for the growth of trade and handicraft Industry.⁵¹ They encouraged trade by offering lot of concessions like granting farmers and tax exemptions to traders of various communities.⁵² For instance the biggest industry of Golconda was that of diamond mines and the miners and merchants supplied diamonds to merchants at Surat, Goa, Golconda, Bijapur, Agra and Delhi.⁵³ Diamond fairs were held at Elichpur, where the Gujarati traders purchased the Diamonds brought From the Deccan and re-exported them to Goa and other parts of India.⁵⁴

The French traveler Tavernier also gave an account of diamond mines in the kingdom of Golconda. He remarked that the most important and biggest of the mines in the kingdom was in the capital Golconda mainly at Kolluru, where the famous Kohinoor diamond was found, which is said to have been presented by Mr. Jumla to Shahjahan.⁵⁵ Here Golconda diamonds in hard sense are not from the fort of Golconda, but from the famous mines stretched in the kingdom up to river Krishna and down below which carried so much name in the world.⁵⁶ Other travellers like Thevenot and Careri also referred to the flourishing Golconda diamond mines industry.⁵⁷ Mining was also at Gollapalli, Ravulakonda, Rajipenta, Pantala, Kolar, Kodavatikallu, where other famous diamonds like Jacob and Regent were found.

The textiles, steel, carpet, ship building industry also flourished in a good state. Golconda rulers maintained good commercial relations with the

neighboring rulers and foreign countries in west, Asia, Europe, South-East Asia. This in turn led to regular units of trading communities and mutual exchange in terms of various technologies ,⁵⁸

The fine quality of muslin cloth, Kalamkaris and diamonds attracted the European merchants. The painted cotton produced at Palcol was a great favorite in Persia and were exported from Masulipatanam. The metals like copper, Zinc, lead and quick silver ivory, coral and other products required for textile handicrafts were also imported. Precious stones and metals were largest item of imports at that time.⁵⁹ Metals, corals, pearls and lead were mainly imported from Holland ⁶⁰ Dutch were involved with articles like lead, tin, sulphur, acum and camphor.⁶¹ Among spices, imported were cloves, cardamom and limamonum from Sumatra, Malaca and Ceylon, perfumes like saffron and rose work and musk were also imported.

Thus, the Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French established their trading centers in Golconda kingdom. This resulted in hectic commercial activity, where textiles were exported in large quantities to Europe. It had inland trade also with Mughal dominion. There was import of various commodities from abroad like horses from Arabia and Persia, lead from England, broad cloth from France, dried fruits from Bukhara and Persia, Porcelain from China and cloves from Ceylon. Saltpeter used in the manufacture of gunpowder was another important item of import.

Among all these there were extensive commercial and trade relations especially with Persia. Textiles, tobacco, gunpowder, rubies, wooden furniture, constituted the main exports and carpets, ceramics, glass, silver, pearls, fruits and horses were main imports from Persia. Slaves also constituted important item of trade. Masulipatanam, Nizampatanam and Srikakulam were the principal ports of the kingdom.⁶² Narsapur on the banks of river Godavari was known for flourishing ship building activity. It is interesting here to note that the Persian word for port was Bandar, which is used for a town's name even now at Machilipatanam. Bullockcarts, horses were used for travel.

The royalty and nobility participated actively in the trade.⁶³ Due to this extensive trade and commercial contacts, kingdom got filled with rich

merchants, bankers, jewelers and artisans of skill. Among them included Persians, Mughals, Tartars, Armentans, Portuguese, Franks, English and Dutch. Abbecarrc in 1672 AD observed that: "This large town Bagnagar is full of strangers and merchants. That trade is carried on by foreigners and others without restriction as to their nationality or particular business. There is such a concourse of every kind of people merchandise and riches that the place seems to be the centre of all trade in the East".⁶⁴

During Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign, the glory of Golconda Empire was at its peak. Business and economic activity was flourishing with traders from far and near reaching Golconda. Many Persian families got settled in Golconda. This increasing economic activities and growing population was one of the reasons, which made the Sultan to construct the famous Hyderabad city with four Kamans, 14,000 shops and 12,000 mohallas in 1591 AD.⁶⁵

During Abdullah time several trunk roads were laid such as Hyderabad to Machilipatnam and Hyderabad to Madras. Golconda kingdom had their own mint, where gold, silver, copper, tin coins were minted, while hons (gold coins) remained of high value, cowries were of lowest value. Coinage exhibited a great variety consisting of the Persian, Mughal, Vijaynagar, Dutch, French, English, Portuguese, Venetian, Spanish and other coins. Yet, unit of gold coinage was the Vijaynagar and that of silver coinage the Mughal rupee.⁶⁶

Keeping in view the pressing economic exigencies, the Qutb Shahi Vx%<~m wacvW^ &e,iot^s, to raujtove fmarvcial revenues. The main source of revenue to \he state was \and revenue and its collection was done through the tax-farming system. This ultimately paved the way for the peasant exploitation and mass migration of peasants.⁶⁷ Land revenue was paid either in cash or kind. Agricultural land was farmed out to highest bidder. Efficient commercial linkages with outside world not only led to economic impulse **but** also brought additional revenue to the kingdom. Feudal tenure system was in vogue in medieval Deccan known as Mirasidar tenure, where land was mainly under the control of Reddis.⁶ The word mirasi is derived from hereditary rights. It differs from the qaul or uppan

tenure (cowl in early English documents), which was a lease at will for a short period. They being hereditary landlords looked after matters of village called as *gotsabha*, which was essentially a feudal assembly consisting of watandars, mirasidars qauldars or other feudal lords of the locality. They generally belonged to the locally reddy, karnam and Nayudu castes and were given rent free land to support them in order that they might be able to serve all classes of people.

European travelers Tavernier, Bernier and Thevenot who visited Golconda gave a clear picture of economic activities and the encouragement given by Qutb Shahis rulers, which in turn resulted in revenue progress. Particularly the system of peshkash or presents to the royal court for the work done, on behalf of the European companies started in the beginning of 17th century.⁶⁹ For instance the Dutch paid 40% customs duty. Other sources of revenue were octroi was levied on tobacco, salt, excise duty on toddy and export duties. There was also a tax on diamonds. Tavernier who visited mines of Kollur recorded that 30,000 men worked in them and diamonds up to 900 carats were mined.⁷⁰ There was also a system of jagirs, which were generally granted to poets, litterateurs to promote literary activity.⁷¹ They also used to reward those who were engaged in gardening and horticulture.

All these trends indicates the wealth of the kingdom and the affluence of the state treasury can be seen in the fact that inspite of incessant wars, wealth flowed into the kingdom, which was spent lavishly for the constructional works, architectural structures, furniture and decorators, procession scenes and promotion of arts.⁷² For instance during Ibrahim coronation ceremony, a procession of seven hundred Arab horses and two hundred war elephants all fully caparisoned in the cloth of gold were led. This indicates majestic outlook and proverbial wealth of the Qutb Shahs. It is interesting to note that such procession scenes reflecting wealth of kingdoms were also painted in miniatures of Golconda. This wealth was visible apparently in the gold jewelry worn by both women and men, especially by the dancers and courtesans for whom Golconda was renowned.

These economic conditions indicate that Sultans always tried and aimed at strengthening of the realm and replenishment of the treasury with enduring progress on all fronts. This economic finance acted as a pillar of support to the system of administration not necessarily denying the importance and existence of other spheres.

The social picture of Golconda presents a combination of various ethnic, religious, linguistic and caste identities, where Sultans tried to foster a sense of harmony and maintain social solidarity not only to have peaceful atmosphere but also to maintain themselves as rulers who are in real sense are aliens to local population. There was continuous flow of people from Turkistan, Khurasan, Arabia and the adjacent lands into Golconda which resulted in the formation of different cultures with different sects, castes, and tribes such as Shias, Sunnies, Brahmans, Komtis, Bundelas, Pindaries, etc.⁷⁴ Two main points are to be observed at societal level. Muslim conquerors were accommodated into a different culture and religion of Deccani Society at one level and at another level, the local population had to face the impact of foreign social customs and traditions. But both the divisions mainly Hindus and Muslims inspite of influences, maintained their identity and individuality. However dynastic changes had only a marginal impact on social life of people. Sultans took upon themselves the cultural synthesis rather than indulging in sectarian castes and creeds. They created amiable atmosphere in which all sections gave great importance to human values, feelings and sentiments.

Most importantly a remarkable contribution of Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah's reign was that 'Deccani Culture' came into being which is a judicious blend of Hindu- Muslim cultural traditions. He popularized this culture by participating in the local customs and traditions. This exchange of cultural aspects penetrated into the literature, where literary compositions of Telugu contained Urdu words at many instances.

Qutb Shahi Sultans extended their patronage to Telugu, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic and to the learned men and scholars settled in their dominion. This interaction of culture and intimate relationship let to the birth of a new tradition of language known as Dakhni Urdu.⁷⁵

Cultural penetration can also been seen in the celebration of festivals. For instance *kulliyat* of Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah describes various festivals and ceremonies and celebrations like Muharrum, Shab-i-barat, Naoruz, Julwa, Basant, etc. This involvement of both Muslims and non-Muslims resulted in the formation of a composite culture known as Dakhni culture. Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah composed many verses exposing the similarities that are noticed at the time of ceremonies performed by the Muslims and Hindus.

Rulers gave equal importance to Urdu and Telugu languages and patronized several Telugu poets. Ibrahim a connoisseur of Telugu literature composed Telugu poetry and patronized poets like Addanki Gangadhara kavi, Kandakuri Rudrakavi, Ponnikanti Teleganarya kavi, Sarigonda Dharmanna, Mannganti Singana and others.⁷⁶

Similarly Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah patronized Telugu poets like Damakonda Malla Reddy, Raja Malla Reddy, Sarangu Tammaiah and others. He used to organize weekly literary discussions in Telugu and Urdu languages. This patronage to local language proves the fact that rulers needed the support of native people and hence to have command over them, knowledge of their language and goodwill of their attitude is essential. Moreover it was the personal interest and personality of the rulers, which also led to this cultural harmony. Literature developed in a congenial atmosphere under Qutb shahis and the literature produced during this period gives a vivid picture of life of the people and the emerging cultural fusion of diverse people.

Another special characteristic of Qutb Shahi culture was that all architectural constructions generally reflected a blend of Indian and Persian styles. Hindu motifs like *Puma kumbha*, *Padma*, *Hamsa* and *Gajaraja* are found in decorative embellishments of Sultan's architectural structures. Even fabulous palaces, mosques and secular buildings were constructed in these styles.

Sultans also encouraged local dances of importance. For instance Abul Hasan helped the glorious kuchipudi tradition of dance to flourish. He even

donated a village kuchipudi for the sustenance of this dance tradition at Bandar (Machilipatnam) .⁷⁷

The population in general consisted three main classes, the natives of Deccan, converts from Hinduism and foreign immigrants. The caste-system was an integral part of Hindu social structure. People of different classes dressed in various styles according to their status. While poor lived in a thatched huts, the houses of rich were built with teak wood. Fares and melas provided entertainment. Games like chaugan or polo, kabaddi, pokhari phu (a game peculiar to the girls of Deccan) were popular in the kingdom.

Both Hindus and Muslims were taught in their own system of learning and according to the capacity of the classes. Regarding women, while Muslim women followed purdah system the conditions of widows among Hindus was deplorable due to the prevalence of Sati system.⁷⁸ Devadasi system existed, where females were dedicated to temples.⁷⁹ Courtesans enjoyed considerable amount of importance and significance in the society as they were a potential source of income and a perpetual source of enjoyment for kingdom and royalty. Licenses were issued to those who practiced this profession⁸

Tavernier stated that there were twenty thousand courtesans in the Golconda Kingdom, who were wealthy, talented and crafty. They paid tax to the state, maintained shops and danced in the court.⁸¹ It is apt to point out here that an analysis of miniature paintings of medieval Deccan furnishes more information regarding various accomplishments and endeavors of women, which will not restrict women to just social sphere, but to the analytic perspective of total history including political sphere.

The impact of Vijayanagar and Mughals led to the adoption of *Kulan* and *Qaba* dress patterns by both the communities, Hindus and Muslims in the Golconda Kingdom. Saris, *dupattas* and *kamiz* were worn by women. Both men and women wore ornaments. Here social structure was intertwined and influenced by prevailing cultural customary trends of Golconda consisting numerous traditional sects of indigenous and foreign.

Religious history reveals that the Qutb Shahis after entrenching themselves in power, pursued a policy of religious toleration which sprang

from their desire to strengthen the socio- economic structure that was feudal in nature and also to stabilize their alien rule in new land of Deccan.

Though Qutb Shahi rulers were Shias, they gave importance to religion of Hindus, their customs and traditions and beliefs and even participated in their religious ceremonies to the fullest extent. For instance there are as many as nine poems on vasant or basant in the collection of Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah's poems, which indicate Sultan's involvement in the festival ⁸² Muslims and Hindu celebrated festivals of both religions with equal fervour and enthusiasm. The rulers and their subordinates made a number of land grants to temples and Brahmans ⁸³ Abul Hasan gave munificent grants for the maintenance of Rama temple at Bhadrachalam.⁸⁴ He donated Palvancha and Sankaragiri to Bhadrachalam temple. Bhogapuram, Cherukuru, Veerannapatnam were donated to Malleswara Swamy Temple on the Banks of river Krishna. A number of Hindu temples were erected and old ones were renovated. A saivite temple was constructed near Maisaram, a suburb of Hyderabad and temples of Bala Hissar and Ananthagiri were renovated.

But the fact to be observed is that though Qutb Shahis were benevolent and tolerant to other religions, it was mainly restricted to their territorial subjects. During invasions of south India, there were instances of Hindu Temples being destroyed and looted.⁸⁶ However in general Sultans believed that stability of a administrative rule and peace can be ensured only with the support and integration of the two religions and peaceful co-existence of Hindus and Muslims in the Kingdom.

This religious toleration can be gleaned even in the appointment of non-Muslims to various ranks of administrative machinery. Hindus enjoyed complete religious freedom and attained highest offices in the kingdoms. For instance Sultans keeping in view the knowledge and skill of Brahmins, who were competent astronomers, writers and advisors, employed them in administration.⁸⁷ The Sultans even believed in Hindu concepts like astrology, eclipses of sun and moon, auspicious time and the impact of planets **on the life of human** beings.⁸⁸ The subjects reciprocated to this policy **by being** humble and dedicative to the rulers as they were no instances of

major revolts against authority, except few mainly from territorial boundaries like revolt of nayakwaris during Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Sufi saints of the time also strove hard for the abolition of all discriminations and inequalities from contemporary society. Altogether the religious toleration between the Muslims and Hindus was attained and this was reflected in paintings, architecture and contemporary costumes ⁽⁸⁹⁾

This social and religions atmosphere of Qutb Shahi Deccan symbolises and reveals co-existence, harmony and respect to each other sentiments and human values.

However the negative aspect of medieval Deccani Golconda reveals that political atmosphere was always crowded with expansionism, vengefulness and treachery. Economic aspect of communication was limited only to administrative spheres and trade, which served to give the authorities an advantage over the populace. Societal side people often looked at ideal past, where religions like Hinduism and Islam encouraged apathy, fatalism, complacency and submission to authority. It remained regressive and orthodox and served to strengthen political despotism. Though Sultans were interested in the welfare of all religions, Islam received additional attention and more patronage than local religions. Education got deeply rooted in religion leading to pedantry and not scholarship. At the same time art and literature depended on patronage for survival and hence fostered flattery and glorification of patrons, which means artistic instinct to large extent, had to be adjusted to expediency of reality.

However the positive prevailing conditions in polity, economy and society of Golconda mainly from 17th to 18th centuries reveals that on political front new dynastic centre at Golconda got stabilised with economic progression and cultural interaction. The rulers laid the nucleus and paved the way for the development and progress, where the poets, the artists and musicians perfected the process of cultural and linguistic rapprochement.

This synthesizing blend of patronage system was instrumental to a great extent in the development of miniature paintings in the Deccan because it is this royal patronage, of Qutb Shahis, their interest in artistic pursuits, abundant economic wealth and the theme of Deccani culture, which

remained the prime factors for the growth, progress and existence of miniature paintings.

HYDERABAD (ASAF JAHIS OR NIZAMS 1724-1950 AD):

The political history of kingdom and city of Hyderabad, a city glamour, beauty, eternity and history actually begins with 17th century and reaches its peak in 18th century of medieval Deccan. As mentioned earlier Hyderabad as a city was founded in 1591 AD by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah during Qutb Shahi rule at Golconda and was made glorious capital by Nizam AH Khan Asaf Jah - II in 1763 AD during Asaf Jahis rule at Deccan. In the transitional period from 17th to 18th century, Hyderabad witnessed up and downs of glory and obstacles of progression, but ultimately with stood the fluctuations of time and destiny and remained as major centre of medieval Deccani culture and history.

The poet king of Golconda Sultan Muhammad Quli while laying the foundation of historic city prayed to almighty to bestow the city with peace and prosperity and fill it with millions of men and women of all castes, creeds and religion like fishes in the ocean. This prayer was fulfilled as time passed and Hyderabad gradually added to its culture mainly in 17th and 18th centuries, with a distinct flavor of its own and attained prime importance during the reign of Nizams.

Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi praised Hyderabad as, the city is verily a paradise and there is nothing that is not to be found here. If an old man hurries to the city he would recover his youth everything that is good is found in Hyderabad in plenty, we find in the city all that is fortunate and nothing that causes pain or sorrow.⁹⁰ Another historian Mohammed Saqi, the court chancellor of Aurangzeb who accompanied the emperor during the siege of Golconda in 1687 AD wrote, "It is a resort of heavenly peace and worldly comfort, and it gives solace to human body, its population larger than the human mind can think of the building loftier than human——rubies".

William Methold, a European traveler exclaimed that the city of Hyderabad by virtue of its health-giving climate and abundant water supply is the best city in India. Such great city in Medieval Deccan played

prominent role as capital of Asaf Jahis in 18th Century and remained as a main seat of Political and artistic imprints.

The establishment of the Asaf Jahi rule at Hyderabad in the 18th century is a great landmark in the history of Medieval Deccan. After the fall of Golconda in 1687 AD, Hyderabad became the provincial head quarters of the subedars or subordinate officers to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan i.e.the Mughal Emperor at Aurangazeb. Later with the establishment of Asaf Jahi dynasty at Hyderabad, the region took over the erst while glory of Aurangabad (which remained as capital of Asaf Jahi for Certain time) as the capital city of the Deccan. From then the rule of Nizams saw the growth of Hyderabad culturally and economically. In totality seven Nizams ruled over medieval Deccan.

The founder of the Asaf Jahi dynasty was Mir Qamuruddin Khan, Chin Qilich Khan Nizam-ul-Mulk. His predecessors Khwaja Abid and Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung acquired great honors during the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Nizam-ul-Mulk was the scion of a respectable family of Turkistan. He was the son of Ghaziuddin Firoz Jung, who played an important role in capturing Golconda fort.

This indicates that the relationship existed between Nizams and Mughals from the middle of the medieval era and hence Nizam too inherited these honors and commanded great respect. Endowed with high perception and sagacity, he always stood aloof from the scramble for personal gain and power at historical Mughal court. However there were instances when he left his official post in order to grasp the substance of power in the Deccan rather than its shadow in the imperial kingdom.

At the age of 20, he received the title Chin Qilich Khan (Boy Swordsman) from the emperor. The successors of Aurangzeb gave him the governorship of Burhanpur and Oudh. Later emperor Farukh Siyar bestowed on him the title Nizam-ul-Mulk Fateh Jung in 1713 AD and appointed him as Subedar of six provinces of the Deccan including Golconda and parts of Maharastra, Karnataka and Tamil regions.

In that capacity well acquainted with the rules of governance he took the reigns of the Deccan. He performed the most eminent services in his new

and exalted post and fought against plundering Marathas and alarming Sayyid brothers in order to stabilize his position as well as to restore the empire of the old flourishing state. But unfortunately his undisputed power and rapid rise eventually incurred the wrath of the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, who gave order for his fall. The task of carrying out this plot was entrusted to Mubariz Khan, the local governor of Hyderabad.

At this juncture, Mubariz Khan invaded Aurangabad. As a result of which Nizam met the challenge at the battlefield of Shakar Kheda near Aurangabad on 11th October 1724 AD against Mubariz Khan.⁹¹ The battle instigated by Mubariz Khan was suppressed and he was slain. This decisive battle is of great significance in the history of medieval Deccan. For all practical purposes, the foundation of new independent Asaf Jahi dynasty was laid in 1724 AD. It marked the establishment of Nizam-ul-Mulk's hereditary rule in medieval Deccan soil. After this victory, Nizam left for Hyderabad and made it as his head quarters of administration guided by two factors, as it was far away from Marathas attack and near to other southern regions on which he wants to tighten his grip.

He reorganized administrative structure, systematized finances and alleviated Marathas. He appointed trustworthy jagirdars and punished recalcitrant people. He merged all the subas into one. When this news reached the emperor Muhammad Shah, who felt conciliation is the best *policy issued a farman conferring on the Nizam* the title of 'Asaf Jah' and the Subedar of Deccan.⁹² From then Nizams were known as Asaf Jahis and their flag bore the sign of kulchas.

Although Nizam obtained a hereditary vicerealty almost entirely by his own efforts, he never ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of the Mughal emperor. He never deviated from his loyalty and expressed himself as emperor's 'Fidwi' or servant. He neither displayed royal affluence nor assumed royal title nor enforced new currency. He continued with his administration in **his** capacity as a Subedar but like an independent ruler.

The seven **Asaf Jahi rulers** who succeeded him followed this tradition calling themselves as Subedars of Mughals till the end of Mughal Empire. **But the fact is that practically from 1724 AD Nizam carried his political rule**

without any permission or reference from Delhi. He conducted wars, concluded treaties and conferred titles according to his discretion.

At the same time his loyalty to the emperor remained unshaken, which in one sense prove that the great glory of Golconda political rule, which was independent in nature of Mughal control in 17th century, was somewhat absent during Asaf-Jahi rule.

With his military talents Nizam extended the Deccan territories from the river Tapti to Mysore and from Karnataka to Trichinopally. He fought 87 battles during his lifetime. He was a poet and fluent in Persian and Turkish. He gave patronage to scholars of Urdu as a result Urdu literature was sufficiently enriched. Muhammad Husaini alias Khwaja Bandel Nawaz was a prominent and first known Urdu prose writer during his reign.⁹³

Nizam believed in simple life and tolerance towards other religions. In rivalry for power between British and French, he followed a policy of non-involvement for he believed that aim of foreign powers was to take advantage of internal dissensions to gain power. His successors failed to realize this fact because of their diplomatic weakness and low military skills.

Nizam-ul-Mulk played a key role as a mediator during Nadar Shah's invasion of India in 1738 AD and was responsible for establishment of peace in Deccan. He controlled a number of subordinate rulers including those of Arcot, Kurnool, Rajamundry and Chicacole (Srikakulam).⁹⁴ He also exercised a kind of shadowy suzerainty over the kingdom of Mysore and Travancore. Here it is apt to point out that Deccani painting patronised by Asaf Jahis penetrated even into some of these provinces like Kurnool, Cuddapah, etc. Thus Nizam-ul-Mulk being a good warrior, administrator and a diplomat laid the foundation of Hyderabad state and were responsible for its consolidation and organization.

After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 AD, large territories were lost due to disputed succession and turmoil's. It saw the penetration of English and French into Deccani politics of Hyderabad during the rule of Nizam's successors mainly Nasir Jung, Muzaffar Jung and Salabat Jung, who held Subedari of Deccan for a short period of 14 years and who were weak diplomatically and militarily.⁹⁵ Hence they were forced to depend on

external assistance for the protection of their territory as well as for dealing with internal matters.

Hence after the death of Asaf Jah-I, Deccan became one of the centres of Anglo-French rivalry for power. Wars, treaties and treacheries marked their reign. These rulers though were confirmed as the Subedars by the Mughal Emperor were not given title of Asaf Jah or Nizam and hence were not historically recognized as reigning sovereigns. However they patronized arts and letters. For instance Nasir Jung was proficient in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. He was well versed in music, painting and calligraphy. He himself was a poet in Persian and Urdu.

It was during the reign of Salabat Jung, Mughal emperor Shah Alam-II issued a farman appointing Nizam AH Khan's (fourth son of Nizam-ul-Mulk) as a subedar of the Deccan and bestowed on him the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah-II. Salabat Jung was deposed by Nizam AH Khan and was imprisoned at Bidar in 1762 AD after which Nizam AH Khan shifted his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad.

From then onwards Hyderabad became the main seat of attraction, glory and dignity of Asaf Jahis. Being centrally located, it was away from attacks and helped in economic growth and expansion and in its rising importance and prosperity.

Nizam Ali Khan's reign was one of the important episodes of Deccan history of Asaf Jahis being longest as well as most eventful and challenging. He ruled Hyderabad at a more critical period by saving the dynasty from complete fall. His reign was marked by British dominance and treaties and alliances with them, signaling the decline of Nizam's power and sovereignty.

Nizam Ali Khan was succeeded by his son Sikander Jah Asaf Jah III. It was during his rule a new township of Secunderabad was constructed mainly as a military camp for British. Though independent ruler but due to lack of courage, talent and will power made to remain at a subordinate position to growing British power. An important military aspect during his reign was anti-British sentiments in Hyderabad which made Britishers to re-organize Nizam's army.⁹⁶ Britishers even interfered in the administrative matters **mainly in the appointment** of ministers **that** brought chaos in the kingdom.

Nasir-ud-daula succeeded his father as Asaf Jah-IV. During his period several reforms were carried out and a system of revenue administration was evolved. Middlemen were eliminated. Kingdom was divided into 16 districts, each in charge of a Talukdar, who was responsible for civil and judicial administration. One significant aspect during his reign was that in consultation with his nawab Siraj-ul-Mulk, Nizam introduced in the kingdom a law prohibiting sati.⁹⁷ It was indeed a great social reform of the medieval times.

It was during the rule of Asaf Jah-IV that the famous minister Salar-Jung was appointed who by way of reforms reorganized political machinery and increased the prestige of Hyderabad. He played an important role in shaping contours of history of Hyderabad in field of education, justice and finance. His successors were great connoisseurs of arts and left a priceless bequest for posterity. Apart from collecting antiquities, art objects and rare manuscripts, they also patronized poets, writers, and artists and encouraged literary and cultural activities.

Nasir-ud-daula was succeeded by his son Afzal-ud-daula, Asaf Jah-V, an pious and an excellent scholar. He honored learned and virtuous people of talent. He extended his patronage to literary men, scholars and artists. He with liberal outlook was very generous towards needy. His reign is significant on two aspects. Mutiny of 1857 convulsed the kingdom in which he remained aloof and many regions were returned to Hyderabad state. In recognition to his loyalty Queen Victoria of Britain conferred on him the title of G.C.S.I which he ultimately accepted in 1861 AD.⁹⁸ His Prime Minister Salar-Jung streamlined the functioning of the government. One important factor to be observed is that British earlier gave a picture to the rulers of their incapacity and dependency on them for survival. But after the revolt, they realized the fact that without Nizam's support British rule would have come to an end at other side of the Indian continent.

Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, Asaf Jah-VI succeeded his father Afzal-ud-daula." During his reign the royal durbars of Nizam and Hyderabad became the focal points in the country. He followed old customs and traditions of the Asaf Jah dynasty **and** maintained royal etiquette and dignity. Royal

processions became order of the day like sounding of kettledrums, musical pipes, loud trumpets, procession of elephants decorated and studded with gold and silver brocades. Such scenes of celebrity and music were also represented in miniature paintings. He was a remarkable man with extraordinary talent for administration combined with a capacity for hard work. His rule was an example of royal munificence, grandeur, hospitality and patronage.¹⁰⁰ He was tolerant, humble and a man of integrity. Shooting, hunting and riding were his favorite pass times. He gave importance to concepts like knowledge, intelligence, enlighten cultivation of sciences and arts. It was said that he had a mystic power of curing snakebite and power of physical endurance and ruled more with heart than head. He established Asafiya state library for preserving valuable manuscripts and works of literary value.

Mir Osman AH Khan, Asaf Jah VII, was the last of Nizams known as fabulous ruler, richest man in the world. However he disliked the gaudy, pageantry wise, regal, look and the desperate socializing between the British rulers and the Nizams. Another exciting sphere of his personality was Nizam's parsimony. Nizam smoked cheapest of cigarettes, wore same cap for thirty years and carried the same walking stick for forty years. However he was pious, able administrator and an autocrat. Beautiful gardens were raised all over the city during his rule. The city of Hyderabad retained its old world charm, keeping in pace with developments till its integration into the Indian union.

Thus, the seven Asaf Jahi Nizams continued to preserve traditions and culture of medieval Muslim Deccan started by the Qutb shahis rule and brought peace to Hyderabad region during times of turmoil's. Throughout 18th century power struggles among Nizams, English, French and Marathas continued, resulting in political unrest. Culturally they gave encouragement to outburst of literature and artistic activities. Under their rule Hyderabad emerged as a versatile paradise with powerful trends in architecture, language and art culture.

Thus an analyses of political conditions reveals that taking advantage of fluctuating political ethos in 18th century, Asaf Jahis carved out an

independent kingdom and gradually became a dominant force in the entire Deccan. After the liquidation of imperial rule, they emerged as powerful rulers. Nizams were endowed with lofty ideals, political sagacity, administrative capacity and statesmanship of high order. They brought peace and security to the region at the critical climax of decline. They adopted successful war strategies as commanders of army. Basic divisions of administration like *diwani*, *sarf-e-khas* and *Paigah* owed their origin mainly to Nizams.

Their rule often came under the influence of Mughals, British and French. Nizams never ruled as sovereigns in the real sense but maintained their stature and structure dignifiedly till the end. Being learned scholars most of them patronized poets and learners and other talented groups. They displayed great statesmanship and foresight in bringing the polity close to the people.

Nizams aspired to make their kingdom an independent polity and their passion remained to have a strong self-supporting and autonomous kingdom. Their sense of royalty and dignity made them unique and away from subordination and subservience to a large extent. Though they did not declare their independence from Mughal Empire, yet did not tolerate any interference of it in internal matters and political affairs. They administered Hyderabad Deccan in their style and sometimes even resented the autocratic attitude of the emperors.¹⁰¹ Nizam-ul-Mulk successors preserved their sovereign identity which can also be seen in their independent coinage, anthem and flag systems which are symbols of freedom and authority.

Among the sound principles of rule formulated by Nizam contained concepts like avoiding bloodshed, scheduled work, strive for peace, wars to be fought to exhibit rank and dignity, appointment of right persons to right posts and reviewing of treasury. They with courage, military prowess attained highest position and strode the 18th century Deccan due to their commanding personalities and outstanding talents. Many-a-times they averted downfall and revived past Deccan's glory and strength.

They maintained standing army not only to safeguard their integrity but also to check the growing power of Europeans and raids of Marathas,

Afghans, Sardars, Mysore Maharajas and local Zamindars. Army consisted of one-lakh soldiers, 1000 canons, 3000 elephants, several horses- mules and camels. It is interesting to note that Nizam Ali khan established two battalions of female soldiers of 1000 each with mounted guards.¹⁰² Army included Mughals, French corps, *sarf-e-khas* force, Paigah army and others. Making offensive and defensive alliances they safeguarded dynastic rule in Deccan from time to time. Sometimes they had to depend on British, due to internal problems, court intrigues and weak finances. However they retained individual outlook and judgement.

Nizams had high-sounding titles like H.E.H, Rustum-i-Dowral Asaf Jah, Muzzafar-ul-Mulk, Mir Osman Ali khan Bahadur, Fateh Jung Nizam-ud-daula, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Sipah Salar, Arasru-i-Zaman. In the hierarchy next to rulers were Paigah nobles, who were very influential and faithful to Nizams.¹⁰³ They promoted art, literature, sports and enjoyed great respect in society. The ministers namely Salar Jung and his successors and Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad also played a prominent role in the kingdom. They too gave encouragement to art, literature and patronized men of learning. They were symbols of nobility.

Many paintings of the period depict these personages and masters of nobility. The Rajas of Samsthanas also enjoyed a high position under Nizams. They were included in the nobility and were given titles like Maharaja, Rajas, etc. These samsthanas exercised various functions and had control over their subjects independent of Nizams rule. But at the same time they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Nizam. Some of the prominent samsthanas were Wanaparathi, Gadwal, Jetprol, Amarchinta, Gurugunta, Shorapur, Palunch, Sarvapalle and others.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to know that painting patronized by Nizams even penetrated into these samsthanas where we find few paintings depicting royal and related aspects.

In external matters, Nizams had political relations with the British East India Company¹⁰⁵ and Mughals.¹⁰⁶ In the 17th Century British and French traders began to involve themselves in Indian politics. As a result successive Nizams of Hyderabad seeking to consolidate their kingdom against rivals obtained first French and later British support¹⁰⁷ In exchange **for their help**

the British acquired from the ruling Nizam the coastal Andhra districts lying to the North of Madras and later the hinterland districts. Though the major part of Andhra country came under British rule, parts of the Telugu speaking areas, known as the Telangana region remained under Nizams dominion.

These are culmination of political scenario under Nizams royalty. Royal buildings constructed during their time remained as museums of art treasures and palaces possessing priceless collection of paintings, statues and furniture of multitude from different places.

On economic front of Nizams rule, the wealth can be seen in the piled up stacks of gold bricks, chests of diamonds and pearls and mountains of silver rupees. Wealth is spent in organizing social gatherings, in designing the architectural styles and in aesthetic and moral resurgence by way of patronizing poets and artists. Wealth kept on increasing with Nazaras or offerings from nobles clustered around Hyderabad royal courts and men of faith from different parts of world.

There were instances of financial crisis also, where rulers had to mortgage their jewels to meet the expenses. They had to give away northern circars to British and few towns to French not only to consolidate their kingdom against rivals but also to meet the expenses incurred on them.

The rulers had penchant for autonomy and economic progress. They took special care of economy and settlement of land revenue, which remained as main source of revenue income. Hyderabad during their rule remained as most lightly taxed kingdoms. Rigorous economy was maintained in every branch. Nizams appointed separate revenue collectors, tahsildars and Jagirdars for collection of revenue.¹⁰⁸ They were subject to the control and direction of the provincial Diwan, who in turn was guided in his transactions by the orders of the rulers.

This new economic arrangement was devised to ensure regular flow of revenues and to maintain the financial stability of the kingdom. Apart from rulers, nobility too played a good role to extricate kingdom from financial crisis and maladministration with remarkable assiduity, governance, and observation. Cement, paper and sugar factories gained momentum. Locally made articles were given importance and paper was manufactured at

Kaghaziguda.¹⁰⁹ Ellora, Gurud, Koralla, Warangal, Medak and Hyderabad were the places where paper industry flourished. The Nima and Jama cloth was manufactured at Nanded.

Nizam's minted coins of variety. They appointed news reporters and postal runners for the delivery of messages. They established *Dak Chaukis* (postal offices) for communication. Money lending became the most paying and attracting occupation. *Vetti* system (forced labour) resulted due to feudal aristocracy. Cobblers, engaged in tanning of leather, for drawing water, were forced to supply these to landlords free of cost, while the rest of peasantry paid a fixed quantum of grain. Boyalu, Bestalu, Chakali, were forced to carry palanquins of landlords. Similarly toddy-tappers, weavers, washer men, potters, shepherds, barbers were exploited to maximum extent possible.

Paigahs, samsthanas, jagirdars, banjardars, maktedars, inamdars or aghahams were the various kinds of feudal oppressors. Some of them used to have their own revenue officers to collect the taxes of which they paid small quarter to the kingdom. Here *paigas* were estates granted to Muslim feudals, especially to Nizams relatives for maintaining armed persons to help Nizam during emergencies. Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were other officers who as tax collectors grabbed thousands of acres of best fertile cultivated land oppressing peasantry. In particular Nizams appointed revenue collectors called Tahsildars for the realization of additional sum¹¹⁰

In totality 18th century Asaf Jahi economy is a culmination of positive and negative aspects. Firstly the royal court reflected numerous wealth, symbolized grandeur and sophisticated way of living and on other side financial crisis and an oppressed peasantry existed in the economic society. But in spite of these fluctuating tendencies, like incessant wars, economic regression, rulers contributed their part in economic uplift and promoted other aspects of history also like encouraging aesthetic and artistic tractions, which enabled to have literary and artistic progress in the kingdom

The social scenario of Hyderabad under Nizams as earlier presents a picture of composite culture consisting numerous castes, creeds and communities. Nizams left legacy of a pluralistic secular society based on great ideals of tolerance, justice, adjustment and equality.

As a result of coexistence of diverse cultures, languages, and traditions a delightful blend of culture with named aspects enriched Hyderabad society, which came to be known as Hyderabad culture. In this new culture different sections of population not only coexisted peacefully but interacted with each other for mutual enrichment. For instance Hindu subjects used to affix their names with name Mahbub (beloved), Badshah (king), etc."¹ Within Hindu society numerous castes existed. Nizams never tried to disturb the existing caste system from the point of view of their stability.

Purdah system continued among higher Muslim classes. However Nizam's unmarried daughters were exempted from this."² Widow remarriages were prohibited by higher sections among Hindus and gradually lower sections too followed in order to enhance their dignity and prestige. It is worth mentioning here that Nizam's rule prohibited sati-system. In the Zenana palace, female guards and servants looked after begum's wardrobe, dresses, jewels, food and drinking . "³

Regarding food styles and dress-patterns, jawar, bajra, rice, wheat, maize, pulses and vegetables formed the common food. Dhota and Sherwani were common dresses among Hindus and Muslims respectively. While Christians had short coats and trousers, Parsis had long caps and turbans. In later years of 18th century *nima*, *jama* and *anqurbha* replaced *sherwani*. The custom of wearing *pagdi*, *dastar*, Turkish caps and *saleem* Shahi shoes prevailed without any distinction of caste or creed. Sari was common among Hindu women. Hindu aristocracy followed Muslim nobility in dress patterns. Public of high profile used gold and silver ornaments.

In construction of houses, western culture mainly due to the impact of Europeans was introduced. As a result there was a blend of western motifs with Deccani culture and ethos. Lavish hospitality was another special feature of social culture of Hyderabad people under Nizams. Among performing arts, music, Qawwali, painting, calligraphy became popular. All these indicate that Hyderabad remained as a city in which many cultural strains were intermingled. Persian and Northern Islamic with the Hindu culture of the South itself, a blend of Maratha, Telugu and Tamil influences **and last of all a little of the Western world.** "⁴

Thus society with refinement of sensibility, dignity of individual, irrespective of diverse aspects and amalgamation of values that permeated every aspect of life and living marked the culture of Asaf Jahis Hyderabad society.

In religious sphere, Nizams from the beginning laid the foundation of a secular society. Lala Mansaram's *Risala-e-Darbare Asafia* (1761) and *Mash-e-Nizami* (1785) gives the tolerant attitude of Nizam-ul-Mulk. During their rule Turks, Karris, Kayasthas, Marwars, Gujaratis, Marathas settled in Deccan. Few testaments recorded in these Persian books reveal Nizams views like, affairs of all subjects has been entrusted to the ruler through the grace of God, human creation is from eternity, so one should not think that the world belongs to oneself and deprive people of their rights and the ruler should consider himself as a trustee of the people, individuals as well of the community.

Nizams tried to strike a balance between Sunnis and Shias on one hand and Hindus and Muslims and between the ruling nobles and administrators on the other.

Irrespective of religion all religious groups participated equally in the administrative setup and enriched the common culture of Hyderabad. They remained proud of cultural heritage. Secular ideas of the kingdom also gave equal opportunities to the members of all these religions and castes in order to have a stable and peaceful atmosphere for their existence.

The secular credentials of the Nizams were in line with the great traditions established by the Qutb Shahis rulers. The kingdom did not adopt any Islamic policy or theocracy, evident in the absence of official religion. Muslims and non-Muslims lived in perfect amicable atmosphere with great enthusiasm in each other festivals like ramzan, moharram, dushera, deepavali, holi, nauroz, etc.

Nizams used religion to forge the bonds of unity of different faiths. Hence communal amity, tolerance and harmony were reflected in Hyderabad culture during Asaf Jah rule. Within their religion, rulers participated in the funeral prayers of religious saints or eminent scholars. They strictly adhered to religious fasts and prayers and dedicated their life for the well being of all

sections. This religious synthesis of Hindu and Iranian Islamic cultures can also be seen in art and architectural aspects like depiction of cultural themes in paintings and construction of blend of Indo-Islamic architectural styles making Hyderabad tradition rich and unique.

Thus to conclude of political history of medieval Deccan mainly from 17th to 18th centuries reflects three phases:

-In the first phase of 17th century one can see the political advancement of Qutb Shahis despite political unrest and its ultimate fall to Mughal domination

-In the second phase of 18th century one can witness the changing political scenario of domination of subbedars or nobility over Deccan.

-In the third phase one can perceive the ultimate rise of Asaf Jahi's to glory and power.

The entire peninsula of medieval Deccan often lay disunited involved in frequent wars and conflicts. The relations between Golconda and other Deccani powers were harsh due to frequent enmity for acquisition of power and territories and for religious supremacy mainly when related to non-Muslim kingdoms. But there were instances when Golconda formed alliances of goodwill and support with other Deccani powers mainly with Islam-oriented kingdoms against invading enemies. Similarly Nizams made defensive alliances with European powers to protect themselves from extinction. Their fights aroused patriotic feelings of the subjects against their rivals. In the administrative structure a multi-centered system of power with royalty, nobility and other officiality existed, who shared the authority of kingdom, according to hierarchical order. Kingdoms sustained mainly due to its extensive military strength and tactics and of course the willing support of the populace. Autocratic rule coupled with benevolence and aristocracy remained the hallmarks of kingship. In the influential spheres of polity non-Muslims mainly Hindus also shared equal responsibilities and were given posts of priority. For instance popular brothers Madanna and Akkanna of Golconda did their jobs perfectly as high-ranking officials. This mingling of inter-religions was even extended to military and cultural aspects.

Such synthesis can be perceived in miniature paintings which indicates that culture as a concept leads to a situation in which artistic patterns and multi-faceted improvement of human entity can be achieved.

The Qutb Shahis and the Asaf Jahis maintained official and personal relations with their ministerial staff belonging to both the higher and lower cadre of political structure. For instance Nizam Ali khan, who was very fond of Paigah nobles, gave his own daughter in marriage to Fakhruddin khan. The rulers in warfare, in command, in judgement and in administration exhibited great talents and strategies in establishing their authority as well as in rejuvenating their kingdom during critical junctures.

Both Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis were talented administrators, liberal monarchs, learned scholars, superb statesmen and passionate lovers of art, architecture and literature. Deccani courts under their control invited people of talent from different fields of artistic endeavors. "This constructive interest of rulers in artistic pursuits and their encouragement to artists and painters provided incentive to the development of miniature paintings in the Deccan".¹¹⁵

An evaluation of economic history presents both positive and negative aspects. Positively Deccan courts were in flourishing state and kingdoms prospered with progressing trends in agriculture, trade, commerce, industry and revenue resulting in organized economic life of subjects and interacting productive activities. In economic prominences, agriculture predominated with various land transactions and existence of private property in hands of few dominant people. Variety of lands like crown, waste, uncultivated was under the supreme control and local Zamindar's supervision. The special interest of the rulers in revenue spheres added to the state treasury, additional income and produced ional boost. For instance Nizams appointed offices like Tahsildars for the collection of taxes as their specific work.

Another striking feature of medieval Deccani economy is its industrial progress. Qutb Shahis took special care of development of diamond and textile industries. For instance diamond-mining industry progressed, increasing the wealth of the country. Nizams encouragement to paper industry also resulted in its flourishing. The encouragement given by rulers

to both inland and sea-borne trade let to hectic commercial activities with extensive imports and exports with numerous countries and islands of Indian Ocean, Burma, China, and Portugal etc. Kingdoms exhibited a great variety of Persian, Mughal Vijayanagar, Dutch, French, and English and Spanish coins signifying the commercial contacts. Wealth of their kingdoms was reflected in their extensive gold jewellery, silver rupee coins and gifts and utensils of variety.

The resultant prosperity and the generation of a large amount of surplus through agriculture or trade enabled the Sultans to generously promote varieties of art forms and this ultimately led to the cultural extravaganza of the kingdoms. This provided the necessary incentive for the promotion and development of the art of miniature painting. It can be noted that the lucrative textile trade with the middle east and south-east Asia, the rich crops, the discovery of the diamond mines in the Golconda and the ancestral wealth of the Nizams increased its revenue and economic prosperity and compelled the rulers to turn due attention towards the development of the kingdom and promotion of varieties of arts.

For instance one can perceive abundance of wealth in the lavish use of gold jewellery, gold brocades worn by both men and women and also in the utensils and furniture illustrated in the paintings. Apart from this encouragement, the contact with foreign countries also brought significance influence on the emerging character of the Deccani miniatures. For example in the medieval Deccan, paper and cotton used for paintings was largely imported from China, Turkey, Iran, East Asia and Persia¹¹⁶

Qutb Shahis and Nizams preferred more of the foreign artifacts in account of their appeal to curiosity and interest. Nizams in particular were interested in collection of rare manuscripts and art objects from different parts of the world and established specially for their preservation, Museums and Treasure houses. This interest of rulers and their foreign appeal made an impact on art history and in turn Sultan's artist looked in the same direction for pictorial inspiration, which resulted in variety of themes and paintings.

Telugu works like *Sukasaptati* of Palavekari Kadiripati and *Hamsavimsati* of Naraya Matya reflects maritime trade of Andhradesa

during 17th and 18th centuries. They referred to the English and other European factories and their trading activities."⁷ They acted as middle men and gathered huge profits to the loss of natives.

Though certain negative trends like oppressed peasantry, during Qutb Shahis and financial crisis seen in loss of jewellery and circars to British during Nizams rule persisted, but in general wealth can be perceived at royal court, which was the main base for artistic trends and pursuits.

The social picture of Golconda and Hyderabad presents a combination of varieties of people with different ethnological and community backgrounds. Both Qutb Shahis and Nizams tried to foster sense of harmony and maintained social equality by protecting their populace irrespective of their origin. Each kingdom possessed particular social identity, though games, past-times, food and dress culture were mostly similar. However society was not averse to common societal problems like sati, rigid caste-system, and superstitious beliefs. There was diverse activity in the society due to constant inflow and outflow of humans like mendicants, philosophers, traders, soldiers, ambassadors, poets and artists. This led to intermingling and inter-synthesis of people at societal level. Their participation in each other cultural ceremonies and festivals of importance led to the emergence of a composite culture namely Deccani and Hyderabad cultures under Qutb Shahis and Nizams respectively. The atmosphere of equality, liberty and harmony provided by Sultans also led to cultural contribution to various aspects of art and literature and encouraged scholars and artists from distant lands to settle on Deccan soil .^{U8}

This composite Deccani and Hyderabad cultures representing customs, manners and traditions of Hindus-Muslims and its striking feature of synthesizing in nature became a theme for many artists of the time and was reflected in the splendid miniature paintings. But due to the royal patronage and rich gentry's contribution, the themes on art mainly centered on the royal court, pursuits of hunting, nobility and other pleasures with which royalty got **involved rather than** the ordinary toiling masses that formed the bulk of the **population. However though commoners** were not directly involved in

this aesthetic aspect of painting, yet they were interested in the employment opportunities that the royalty created for them. ¹⁹

For instance, the karkhan for the production of miniature with an elaborate work shop employed the energies of these commoners and artists who were proficient in the production of painting material and in preparing paper, brushes and colours.

In religious realm, it can be observed that Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis laid the foundation a secular kingdom. They tried to preserve their religion namely Islam and their institutions and at the same time respected the sentiments and feelings of other faiths mainly the local population and gave them full scope to follow their religious rules and beliefs. They gave importance to religio-cultural uniformity rather than indulging in communal clashes and conflicts. This peaceful religious atmosphere and social equanimity led to the development of human feelings and artistic patterns. The secular attitude of the rulers prevented the indigenous religions to determine the art forms exclusively and led to the incorporation of secular aspects and themes in the realm of art.

Thus the medieval Deccan or the political economic and social background of Golconda and Hyderabad School of paintings from 17th - 18th centuries with remarkable political patronage, economic splendor and socio-cultural religious atmosphere, made its valuable contribution to various aspects of historical entity and maintained an identity both in historical and artistic realms. It presents a variety of environment, fusion of races, new trends in literature and emergence of cultural and artistic traditions incredibly rich in historical heritage. They brought into existence the Deccani miniatures and endowed them with a multi-faceted character. Atmosphere during this period was such that it enabled Qutb Shahis and Nizams **to have** their influence on the cultural order of the times and to give impetus to the growth of art history particularly to the tradition of miniature paintings **that reached a high** degree of excellence representing an important epoch in **the** history of art of medieval Deccani era and served as a sophisticated medium through which the royal life and cultural trends of medieval times were profoundly illustrated.

On the whole the background of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools presents distinct talented royal personalities, their economic, social and religious endeavors that played a larger role in the enrichment of miniature painting of medieval Deccan from 17th- 18th centuries.

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V.K.Bawa, *The Medieval City of Hyderabad- A Crisis of Identity*, India National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, A.P, July 1996, P 15.

¹⁰ Deccan was ruled by several kingdoms and rulers such as Andhra Satavahanas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Bahamanis, Vijayanagar rulers and rulers of Bidar, Berar, Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar and later by Nizams, British right from ancient times upto modern period. It is to be noted that there was also a greater interaction between the north and south from 15th C onwards mainly due to the various contacts between the Mughal state and the Deccani kingdoms.

" Sheela Raj, *The Legacy of the Nizams, (Translated and compiled from source material)*, Vani Prakashan, New Delhi, 2002, p.8.

H.K.Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers put ltd., New Delhi, 1974, p.1.

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¹⁴ Narendra Luther, *Prince, Poet, Lover, Builder (Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah-The founder of Hyderabad)*, Publications division, New Delhi, January, 1991, p.5.

¹⁵ Sai prasad Alahari, *The Story of a great city*, Nagaraju Publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.3.

¹⁶ Narendra Luther, *Prince, Poet, Lover, Builder (Muhammad Quli QutbShah-The Founder of Hyderabad)*, Publications division, New Delhi, January, 1991, p.5. Golconda fort was given as jagir in 1495-96.

¹⁷ It existed from the times of Kakatiyas where Ganapathi Deva built a mudfort. Its old name was Mankal. It was built on a hill, which was once the territory of the Kakatiya kings of Warangal in 1143 AD. Raja Krishnadev of Warangal handed over the fort in 1365 AD to Muhammad Shah Bahmani of Gulbarga under a pact.

¹⁸ S.N.Sen (ed.), *The Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, p. 146

¹⁹ During the reign of Chalukyas the region was known as mangavaram. Sultan Quli after naming it as Golconda, choose it as his capital due to historical and pragmatic reasons like existence of fort earlier as old Kakatiya fort and his association with the place and regions around it for more than 20years.

²⁰ Sultan Quli was known as Bare-Malik or Bade-Malik (The great lord) that was even inscribed on his grave. He declared himself as Shia in 1501 AD and dropped the name of Bahmani king from the Khutba (read after the noon prayers in the mosque in the name of the reigning monarchs - in Islam it is one of the indications of sovereignty). He inserted the name of Shah Ismail Safawa of Persia on Khutba, which persisted till the reign of 6th Quli QutbShah when

in 1633 it was abolished under the deed of submission signed with the Mughals.

²¹ *Tarikh -e- Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah (anonymous authour)* MSS.no.367.

²² Sultan Quli, the great architect of Golconda, had to meet his end at the sacred site of a mosque after his evening prayers in 1543 where he was assassinated following the will of his son Jamshid. The foundations laid by him reveals his objective of reaching the natural limits of Deccan region had been partially achieved and the real task of unifying the whole of it under one entity left to his successors.

²³ Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Painting*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p.71.

²⁴ On political front, Deccani rulers of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda were rampant on one side and on other side stood Hindu Vijayanagar Empire that supported them at some instances to gain a political share and advantage.

²⁵ H.K.Sherwani, *History of the QutbShahi Dvnasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers pvt ltd., New Delhi, 1974, p. 120. Sky blue colour was incorporated into a tri colour consisting of red, white and sky blue for these were the colours of the ensigns carried by the Golconda army which accompanied Ibrahim in 1564 AD towards Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

²⁶ He constructed famous Hussain Sagar Lake, which lies between the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and also first bridge on the river Musi.

²⁷ Ibrahim during his exile stayed at vijayanagar as an honored guest of its raja. After assuming power in the famous Tallikota or Rakshasa Tangadi battle of 1565, he joined hands with other Deccani powers and defeated and rooted out Sadashivaraya, the over-confident ruler of vijayanagar. However Ibrahim played only a marginal role in battle as the representative for supremacy and always remained popular among both Hindu and Muslim subjects equally. This battle had tremendous impact on medieval Deccan history where famous

Hindu empire received a crushing blow. In the battle Hussain Nizam Shah, Sultan of Ahmadnagar and Ramaraya king of Vijayanagar fought with each other. Suddenly an elephant Ahmadnagar forces came charging on Ramarayas mount, due to which raya fell down, got captured and was finally beheaded resulting in Deccan powers victory and petrification of Vijayanagar forces.

²⁸ Muhammad Quli happened to be the son of Ibrahim and his Hindu wife Bagirathi.

²⁹ Being a visionary ruler he could foresee the growing Golconda's needs and provided a pragmatic solution of building a new self-contained satellite city in 1591 AD.

³⁰ Raza Ali Khan, *Hyderabad: 400 years (1591-1991)* Zenith services, Hyderabad, 1990, P. 16.

³¹ Sai Prasad Alahari, *The Story of a great city*, Nagaraju Publications, Hyderabad, 1991, p.33. It took more than a year for its completion during which about two lakhs of gold hons were spent. The structure of it was artistically designed and is said to be designed by Muhammad Quli himself resembling Hazarath Imam Roza in Mecca. Today it stands as a symbol of Hyderabad's charm and connotes QutbShahi grandeur.

³² Historian Firishta writing in 1619-20 AD says that Sultan was greatly fascinated by a prostitute named Bhagmati and called new city after her as Bhagnagar, later changed the named to haiderabad. But public at large continued to call it Bhagnagar. Thevenot visiting Hyderabad in 1665-66 testified that the capital city of the kingdom is called Bagnagar, the Persians call it as Aidarabad. The old name persists amongst the common people.

³³ Sheela Raj, *The Legacy of the Nizams, (Translated and complied from source material)*, Vani Prakashan, New Delhi, 2002, pp 7-8.

³⁴ Briggs John, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, vol-III, Oriental Books reprint corporation, New Delhi, 1981.

³⁵ Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah gave his daughter Hayath Bakshi Begum in marriage to his brother Muhammad Amin's son Sultan Muhammad.

³⁶ The remarkable event of his life is that he laid the foundation of principle mosque Mecca Masjid in 1617.

³⁷ Shahjahan, after conquering Bijapur, turned his attention towards Golconda. Abdullah in order to protect himself had to sign a humiliating ' Deed of Submission'¹ with the Mughal's in 1636, which reduced Golconda to the status of a vassal of Mughal Empire. The same year Aurangzeb was appointed as viceroy of the Deccan that included the kingdom of Golconda. In 1656, Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Sultan and later Aurangzeb marched to Golconda. Under such circumstances, the siege of Golconda was temporarily lifted when Abdullah gave his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Sultan and agreed him as his successor.

³⁸ Abul Hasan was a trader's son who, by destiny, became a Sultan and his life ended as captive of mighty Mughals. Related to this life, when Mughals finally arrived at Golconda, to capture him, 1687, he received them courteously and remarked philosophically: "Events take place as per the will of the god almighty. I spent 14 years as fakir, later I became a Sultan, once again I am becoming a fakir."

³⁹ They were first Telugu and non-Muslim ministers of high rank of QutbShahi dynasty.

⁴⁰ Raza AH Khan, *Hyderabad: 400 years (1591-1991)* Zenith services, Hyderabad, 1990, p. 17.

⁴¹ J.F.Richard, *The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge, 1993, The New Cambridge History of India, p.227.

⁴² *Ibid* p.227.

⁴³ **Asaf Jahis' capital** was Hyderabad, which was ultimately absorbed **into Indian union**, 1948.

⁴⁴ A.M.Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Himayatnagar, Hyderabad, June, 1956.

⁴⁵ H.K.Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers put ltd., New Delhi, 1974, Pp 502-510. Peshwa (head), Dabir (secretary), Kotwal (police) and Sarkhel (revenue officer).

⁴⁶ Chopra.P.N., Ravindra.T.K and Subramanyan.N, *History of south India*, Vol.11, S. Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1979. p. 183.

⁴⁷ H.K.Sherwani, *History of the QutbShahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers put ltd., New Delhi, 1974, Pp 514-515.

⁴⁸ Capable ministers like Rai Rao, Mir Munim Astrabadi, Mirza Muhammad Amin, Azra Rao, and others made kingdom to prosper internally and externally.

⁴⁹ The Safawi dynasty ruled Persia from 1501-1721 and one of the illustrious ruler was Shah Abbas the Great (1586-1628) who was Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's contemporary.

⁵⁰ H.K.Sherwani, *History of the QutbShahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers put ltd., New Delhi, 1974, p.627.

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⁵⁵ Tavernier.J.B. *Travels in India*, translated by V.Ball, Atlantic Publishers and distributors, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 331-346. The kohinoor diamond' weight is 500-756 carats. It was among the vast booty taken by Nadir Shah Persia after the sack of Delhi in 1739 and now adorns British crown in London museum.

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- ⁶⁷ Siddiqui.A.M, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad, June,1956.The author discussed the economic conditions of the period and of the conditions of peasants.
- ⁶⁸ K. Chandraiah, p.54
- ⁶⁹ **Narendra Luther**, *Prince, Poet, Lover, Builder (Muhammad Quli QutbShah-The founder of Hyderabad)*, Publications division, New Delhi, January, 1991, p.21.
- ⁷⁰ J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V Ball, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1989. pp. 400-452.

- ⁷¹ Sultan Quli granted a village Korkonda to Ellannu. Ibrahim gave a village Rentachintala to Kandukuri Rudrakavi. Lalkhan an official donated Uppnuthala village to Brahmins.
- ⁷² Muhammad Quli QutbShah used to distribute 12 Thousand hons to the needy during Muharram and it was estimated that 70 lakhs hons and 2 lakhs of Gold hons were spent for the construction of Hyderabad city and Charminar respectively. •
- ⁷³ Douglas Barrett and Basil gray, *Treasures of Asia*, painting of India, world publishing company 1963,p.212
- ⁷⁴ Sadiq Naqvi, *Cultural Synthesis in QutbShahi Kingdom*, APHC, 9th session, 1985, p.68.
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- ⁷⁶ The factors like Ibrahims stay of seven years at Telugu kingdom of Vijaynagar during his exile, his marriage with a Telugu woman Bhagirathi and his association with Telugu poets like Bhattumurthi at Vijaynagar from whom he learnt Telugu language had impact on Ibrahim's cultural patronage. Addanki Gangadhara kavi dedicated his work Tapati samvarano pakyanamu to Ibrahim Quli QutbShah.
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- ⁸⁵ K. Chandraiah, *Hyderabad: 400 Glorious Years*, Suraj Printers and Packagers, Hyderabad, 1996. p. 52
- ⁸⁶ Abraham plundered temples of Vijaynagar Empire; his courtier Murahari Rao looted the temple at Ahobilam. Similarly, Mir Zumla Mohammad Sayed, the commander of Sultan Abdulla QutbShah plundered the idols of Gandikota and made cannons out of them.
- ⁸⁷ Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London, 1931, pp 13-16.
- ⁸⁸ Gopal Reddy.Y, *The Qutb Shahis of Golconda- A comprehensive history of Andhra*, Hyderabad, 1990, P.103..
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- ⁹¹ Raza AH Khan, *Hyderabad: 400 years (1591-1991) Zenith services*, Hyderabad, 1990, P.84.
- ⁹² *Ibid*, P.84.
- ⁹³ P.V.Kate, *Marathwada under the Nizam (1724-1948)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1987, p. 137.
- ⁹⁴ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli books international, New Delhi, 1985, p.VII.
- ⁹⁵ These two great European powers started commencement of their career of contention for supremacy in the East.
- ⁹⁶ Britishers named the army as subsidiary force and took it under their control which later came to be known as Hyderabad army.
- ⁹⁷ Raza Ali Khan, *Hyderabad : 400 years(1591-1991) Zenith services*, Hyderabad, 1990, P.97.
- ⁹⁸ G.C.S.I means Grand Commander Star of India. From his times Britishers influence increased on Nizam political aspect as well as his reign witnessed the fall of mighty Mughal Empire.

⁹⁹ Mir Mahboob Ali khan, was two years and seven months old when his father died. He was installed on the throne by Salar Jung the Great and Nawab Rasheeruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umarall and the resident who functioned as his regents.

¹⁰⁰ During Musi floods, the doors of royal palaces were opened by Mir Mahboob Ali Khan for the flood stricken people.

¹⁰¹ For instance, Nizam-ul-Mulk disliked Emperor Mohammad Shah Rangeela (Mughal Emperor) for his frivolous ways.

¹⁰² Raza Ali Khan, *Hyderabad: 400 years (1591-1991)* Zenith services, Hyderabad, 1990, p. 193.

¹⁰³ Paigah is the term used for Nizam's household troops or guards. Some famous paigah nobles were Nawab-Moin-ud-Daula, Bahadur Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung and others.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli books international, New Delhi, 1985, p.IX.

¹⁰⁵ Sarojini Regani, *Nizam - British relations 1724 - 1857*, concept publishing. New Delhi, 1988 p - 340

¹⁰⁶ Vasant Kumar Bawa, *The Nizam between the Mughals and British, Hyderabad under Salar Jung - I*, S Chand and Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1986 p. 242

¹⁰⁷ Encyclopedia Britannica - Macropedia 15th edition, 1981, p.862.

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¹⁰⁹ Sheela Raj, *The Legacy of the Nizams,(Translated and compiled from source material)*, Vani Prakashan, New Delhi, 2002, p.37.

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- ¹¹⁵ Annamarie Schimmel, *Master pieces of the Deccan Sultanates*, Marg, Vol.37 No.3, p.5. The author remarked that the Golconda rulers were particularly fortunate in attracting painters from Iran.
- ¹¹⁶ D.N.Varma, 'Socio-economic factors in the shaping of Deccani miniatures' in Vijay Shankar Srivastav (ed), *Cultural Cantors of India*, 1981, Delhi, p.315.
- ¹¹⁷ N. Venkataramanaiah, *Vangmanyvyasa Manjari*, 1967, Kadiripati Sukasptati, p 209,
- ⁸George Michell, Marg, *Master pieces of the Deccan Sultanates* Vol.37, No.3, p.5. In the introductory essay Schimmel.A remarked that poets from Arabia, Yemen composed epics and allegorical stories in Dakhni Urdu and there was inflow of painters.
- ⁹.D.N.Varma, 'Socio-economic factors in the shaping of Deccani miniatures' in Vijay Shankar Srivastav (ed.), *Cultural Cantors of India*, 1981, Delhi, p.315.

CHAPTER-IV

MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF GOLCONDA AND HYDERABAD

SCHOOL

(C 17th-18th AD)

Miniature Paintings as part of visual and tactile inventions are representations of aesthetic feelings elite concerns and common art-cultural issues. They as part of artistic culture are expressions of historic experience and give form to an idea, feeling, desire, fantasy, joy, grief, excitement and marvel. They highlight the significant development of Indian art forms presenting a new situation of stylistic approach and variety of creative trends. Miniatures and their study provides illustrative picture of human endeavor in historical and artistic adventures.

The enchanting world of paintings as treasures of ageless beauty materialized on a few square centimeters, speak of regality, the joy of living, splendor of creation and of love in its cosmic manifestation. They are images preceding ideas and are depicted by analogy, Colours lines and forms giving us insights of not only artistic trends but also historical details intensifying emotions and extending consciousness.

Miniatures exist as an independence objects, with freshness of depiction and inspiring outlook. They deal with specific themes and have concrete ideas that have an existence of their own related to the circumstances realities. In the history of Art, they as a form of creativity live and breathe in an atmosphere devoid of all restraining elements and expresses intense feelings. They as part of an artistic heritage usher in the radiance of dawn. They mainly depict humanistic experiences and their intellectual and cultural pursuits.

An analysis of such miniature paintings in Golconda and Hyderabad School of paintings during 17th and 18th Centuries furnishes information on how they were historical evolved under the patronage of Qutb Shahis and Nizams, the

basic patterns of arts and their implications in this kingdom, signifying the relations between the historic and art.

In framework of research, art and history, illustrations and actions always had their own identities the discovery of which integrates historical awareness with essence of art occupying the main frame of philosophical energies and determines events with aestheticism. This naturalistic, illustrative and figurative traditions are always relative to the times highlighting various features and activities. The essence of both art and history and their affinity can be gleaned from the fact that all the history in one sense is artistic and art with history is concrete. Here both acts of creation and work of art are immersed in the flow of history, exhibiting continuity with, but transcendence of the past.

Here artistic forms like miniature paintings are hence life - expressions, re-living or re-representing the past, signifying the fact there is not only artistic element in history but also historic element in art. For instance miniature paintings following particular conditions of time and place and traditional styles always are related to the history of the time. More over historian's work of synthesis and interpretation involves an imagination and intuition more akin to the arts.

Keeping these facts in view in the present chapter, an evaluation of Golconda and Hyderabad School of miniature paintings is undertaken in three parts. While Part I deals with Golconda school of painting, part II highlights the transitional phase and part III analyzes the Hyderabad School of paintings and its impact on sub-Schools of Kurnool, Shorapur, Wanaparthy and Gadwal. In this endeavour a theme wise analysis is made highlighting various aspects like the subject - content of paintings, which were influenced by the prevailing ethos, as they are products mainly of regality in larger terms and general humanity in minutest sense. It tries to reveal how art arises merely in our perception and does not exist in the intrinsic qualities of the objects themselves. Here miniatures were accepted and patronized by its established elites and authoritatively their artistic quality depends and popular trends, of royalty, representing a claim to art and cultural symbolism.

Here artistic cultures are the various basic situations in which art like miniatures are produced. Each culture or theme illustrated involves a distinct type of organisation of artistic activities that is associated mainly with elite life-style in general and arouse also due to artists imaginative impulse, in relationship or their involvement, with the - then cultural systems, emotions and ideologies.

Hence an survey of these themes tries to reveal various factors like how miniatures illustrated depended upon a secular royal court or nobility and therefore not only produced for but also spiritually identified with the high aristocracy with which they all involved. Here art therefore permeated with noble attitudes heroic exaltation, fashionable medieval regal splendor and female sensuousness, glorifying the establishment reinforcing its privileges and at the same time revolved around the other cultural themes and emotions of medieval era.

Before this analysis a flash of artistic background of the origin and development of this miniature art is essential to fully appreciate the context from which they derive and also to understand the changing fluctuations in tradition of paintings, which India had promoted, especially the success attained in the invention of miniature art that remained pre - eminently a excellent one as a new source mainly in the construction of varied histories.

The term 'Miniature' is derived from the Latin word "Minium" which meant red lead.¹ As a principal pigment used by the medieval illuminators was red lead, it began to be applied to the art and those who practiced it come to be known as 'Miniatori'. Indian red and red ochre are both oxides of iron generally used as pigments of paintings. Eventually the word was applied to all works of art of miniature size. Miniature paintings thus meant very small size portrait painting finely wrought and executed on vellum (a fine kind of skin or parchment), precared cards, copper or ivory, jewellery, boxes, lockets, palm-leaves, paper etc. They **are** either in the form illustration of manuscript books or in the execution of picture of the portfolio types. The miniatures are generally of 2, 3/4 "and 2, 1/3" in size, but capture in full detail all aspects related to the

particular theme illustrated. They are characterized by brilliant colouring and minute execution of highest precision.

In the 2000 years of history of India painting, several patterns of paintings like wall, murals, frescoes, etc existed from time to time.² In most of these paintings like wall, fresco, which date from 1st Century B.C. to late 5th Century AD, serve as background scenes for sculptured deities, where human figures of varying scales are arranged without reference to ground planes or to spatial conventions, as if the personalities they represent are appearing and disappearing in the flux of reincarnation³

After 8th Century large-scale wall painting declined in popularity and there was preference for miniature paintings as seen in the Pala School of Bengal from (C9¹ - 12 AD.) in the east. These miniatures were mainly in the form of illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts and the chief inspiration behind them is religious in nature. For instance, the subject of Pala miniatures was the Buddhist pantheon and the products were of a formalized Buddhism. They are probably the works of monks and not of secular craftsman, hence it was religious inspiration that was the main focus and themes were largely detached from contact with everyday life.⁵ Jain saints called Tirthankaras donated such manuscripts as pious gifts to Jain monasteries. However in other medieval paintings, strong wiry outlines replaced the soft, colored modeling characteristic of Ajanta paintings⁶ This style of illustration comes to be associated particularly with Jain scriptures, produced in vast numbers from about the 12th Century, where its faith occasioned on art governed by strict conventions with lively, though formally regulated designs.

By the 12th Century the task of book painting had become quite divorced from that of the sculpture and new artistic concepts suited to a miniature format were well - developed. Concern with an enjoyment of line, colour and two-dimensional patterns had entirely replaced the earlier desire for plasticity. Gradually majority of miniature paintings were produced away from sculptural creativity and maintained curious dichotomy between miniature painting and sculpture. This divergence resulted due to human's altered attitude to new

trends and increased self-awareness signaling a change in invention of novel illustrations in art.

Though the surviving materials from various parts like Bihar, Bengal and Nepal from 11th to 12th Centuries provides evidence to prove that miniature paintings existed long before the coming of Islamic rulers, the actual and full - flowering of miniature art began only when India came into direct contact with Islam.⁷ It reached its highest peak of splendor during 16th and 18th Centuries acquiring certain aesthetic qualities and techniques. It was also observed that the surplus wealth from trade and commerce, etc, in turn was channeled into painting especially miniature paintings where the rulers and rich merchants patronized artists namely Kayasthas, who were familiar with the Jain technique of painting and commissioned them to illustrate the societal and religious aspects from 14th to the middle of 17th Century⁸

Above all the factors of impulse, the most significant aspect was the introduction of paper into India, early in the 15th C, that gave impetus to the book illustrations, which were in a reduced or miniature form.⁹ Gradually for the preparation of manuscripts containing fine calligraphy papers of suitable quality were manufactured in karkhanas. Syrian paper was also imported.¹⁰ There was a regular market of booksellers in Delhi for selling various manuscripts but good paper was precious and used with great care to economize on its available stocks. **India** had a reputation for several kinds of paper, which was much sought after by artists and calligraphers. In the South of India a paper called 'Mugnai' was preferred. These papers were from bamboo, jute or cotton."

For example a counter part of the Pala School, the Apabhramsa School of miniature painting in western India, with a continuous history of five centuries from 11th to 15th AD., has two phases , the earlier phase of illustrated manuscripts on palm-leaves and a later phase on paper with the best paintings where paper supplanted palm-leaf '*

Hence **miniatures existed in** India from early times, but did not survive due to the non-durable material on which they were made like palm-leaves, cloth,

wooden and other objects. For instance we have definite proofs of illustrated manuscripts only from the 11 C AD. During which period, Jain and Buddhist texts were written on palm leaves, covered with painted wooden boards. Evidences of perfect miniatures are found only from 15th Century onwards when paper substituted palm leaf.¹³

The spread of Islamic influence also enabled Indian painter to turn their attention to miniatures of varieties.¹⁴ Mainly Indians Sultanates and their nobility were not at all likely to be interested in having manuscripts illustrated by the illustrators of Jain and Hindu texts which almost exclusively hieratic in character hence preferred to stylization and mannerisms most suited to their Persian - Islamic oriented taste reflected mainly in 17th and 18th Centuries. Moreover the introduction of paper brought a great increase in the painting of small pictures to illustrate books for the courts of the princes with themes like conquests, festivals and court ceremonials. The miniatures remained as symbols of power and wealth of the elite.

Thus, due to these changing perspectives and innovative influences miniatures paintings had distinctive artistic compositions. It passed through various phases of development and maintained an identity of its own. As an expressive art it developed in its long history with different patterns and Colours with immanently representation and intrinsic forms of content.

In this regard an analytic approach to the miniature arts had also been undertaken by identifying various frameworks within which artistic activities have been conducted and the influences that these frameworks had on their style and content. Keeping in view the levels of creative attainment, the style of presentation of the artists and finally to the theme to which these miniatures have been put in general helps in new construction and analysis of historical study pertaining to Medieval Deccan.

An analysis of miniatures is essential to arrive at a specific description of them in general on two counts. Firstly the miniatures take for themselves a place of pride in the grand cultural extravaganza of the medieval Deccan during 17th and 18th centuries in particular. Secondly an evaluation of broad contours of

influences, artist role and general characteristic features of these kalams, with critical evaluation and importance helps in placing them in proper framework and perspective. It also gives a clear picture of how different life patterns of women and men were infused into the paintings in order to arrive at proper conclusions of historical enquiry.

Moreover such a trend helps in analyzing what truly constitutes their depiction, technique and processes through which they acquired new form and underwent transformation yet retaining originality. This is also essential to know how far miniatures were successful in shedding fresh light on the history of Golconda and Hyderabad from 17th - 18th centuries. Such an approach makes us aware of the manner in which this particular art form was motivated and reoriented due to internal and external impacts and traveled beyond its prescribed frontiers and on the whole acquired a new outlook proclaiming a fresh artistic and historical identity.

Though the element of royal patronage and nobility that remained as the fulcrum of the miniatures of Golconda and Hyderabad, however one cannot ignore the fact that the character of any painting is also subjected to the very perception of the artist and other styles of influences which arise out of the wide cultural contacts that the medieval Deccani rulers had strived to maintain.

In this regard an attempt has been made first of all to locate various influences on these Schools and the painter's role in execution of various themes representing women and men of the time.

A) FOREIGN AND INDIGENOUS INFLUENCES ON MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF DECCAN:

A glance at the historical miniature paintings in medieval Deccani kingdoms of Golconda and Hyderabad divulge that they had incorporated in varying degrees manifold foreign and indigenous influences like Turkish, Persian, Mughal, Vijayanagar, Rajput and European, mainly on account of political, diplomatic and economic relations. For example these rulers belonged to foreign ancestry and came into contact with other regions on account of wars and

conflicts. Both Qutb shahis and Nizams were alien to Deccan soil and many settled here initially as governors or subedars, noblemen and finally assumed independence taking advantage of the general political chaos. They ultimately carved-out kingdom of their own which was continued by their royal lineage

Moreover these kingdoms had direct trade relations with Middle East to whom they not only looked for material culture but also for artistic advantages. Apart from this, the population in these medieval kingdoms and courts was of mixed nature comprising Turks, Persians, and Europeans etc some of whom were artist and calligraphers, who came along with their royalty to new lands. In addition to these local artists and painters as a fashion sometimes followed their styles, which also resulted in separate trend of paintings. All these had impact on medieval Deccani art and these influences can be broadly classified in Islamic-Hindu and European influences.

I ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

Golconda Sultans and Hyderabad Nizams had strong leanings towards the Islamic culture of Persia, Turkey and other parts of central Asia. This relationship had its impact on the art of painting.

a) PERSIAN INFLUENCE

Deccani painting mainly Golconda was subjected to a strong initial Persian influence and decor. The painting at this Sultanate remained the offshoot of Persian School. Hyderabad painting too was affected indicating Persian trades through Mughal idioms. Several Persian painters appeared to have worked for the rulers. Many Deccani manuscripts of 17th century are almost Persian in look. The rulers of Golconda were followers of Shia sect of Islam and had intimate political and cultural relations with the safavids of Persia who were shias. This fusion made the Persian influence to be seen in many of the paintings especially in the depiction of gold sky, the high white rimmed horizon, flowering trees and shrubs, leafy arabesque, rippling contours, delicacy

of line, striped scarf of attendance, flamboyant halo, thinly convoluted clouds, winged angels, buildings in birds-eye view, the scenes of drinking etc.

The rectangular space in which miniature enclosed is also of Persian style. The two dimensional concept of space and decorative patterns of the architecture are of Persian origin, The animation of flowers, birds and some human figures was a great deal to the local Persian miniatures. The decorativeness of Persian nature is also seen in the designs of domes, on the gold work wherever possible whether it is in the foreground the sky, the canopies, utensils or buildings.

The paintings also derived their ornamental sense to some extent from Persian figures and the Sultans were inspired by Persian modes of book illustrations and manuscripts. Moreover many pictures contained poems in Persian. In coloring they imitated the palette of pale and dark blue and a calligraphic elegance of contemporary Persian drawings. This shows how intimately the Deccani rulers were linked with Persian manners of tastes, costumes, ornaments and architecture particularly in the field of painting.

b) TURKISH INFLUENCE

The Turkish painting also influenced the production of the ateliers. Several Turkish princesses with their painters and artists emigrated from western Iran to the Deccan setting the tone for Deccani art. These Turkmen painters transferred the earthy artistic traditions of Tabriz to the Deccan as seen in the striking similarities in the arts of the two regions.

The Deccani sovereigns always maintained close contacts and links with Ottoman Turkey. The superior craftsmanship of Turkish painting fulfilled their vanity and aesthetic aspiration. In miniatures the Turkish flavor was found in gold arabesque, sweeping calligraphic contours, paradisiacal settings, fantastic liJac rocks, and pictures of cool extravagance and starkly powerful shapes and to **certain degree in the dressing patterns of Sultan.**

For instance the fur wrap and pointed collar worn by the Qutb shahi Sultans are fashions of central Asia. The practice of using marbled decoration for pictures and calligraphy appears to have reached the Deccan from Turkey.¹⁶

c) IRANIAN INFLUENCE

The impact of Iranian painting on Deccani miniatures was mainly seen in the techniques of Iranian artists settled in medieval Deccan. During the second half of the 17th century, few Deccani painters came under the influence of a new Iranian mode associated with the safavid painter Shaykh Abbasi and his sons Ali Naqi and Muhammad Taqi.

All these painters work brought new elements in Deccani art mainly seen in the gorgeously tooled gold surfaces, heavy shading, fluid lines, wavy contours, puckered lips, cat-like eyes, pointed chins and use of words like Dakhni in the artist name. The Deccani lacquer painting in later phase was also affected by Iranian lacquer ware.

d) MUGHAL INFLUENCE

The stylistic influence of the Mughal painting on medieval Deccani miniatures was mainly connected with the political vicissitudes and to the diplomatic, economic and cultural relations. For instance the fore-going study reveled that several Mughal patrons and painters like Farrukh Beg lived in the medieval Deccan for shorter period. These effects produced a revolution in Deccan especially during 17th century Golconda phase and transitional period that is (C 1687-1724 AD). There was a high point in the artistic cross-fertilization between the Mughal and Deccani styles where the later got considerably effected by the Mughan technique and colouring.

Mughal distinctive features such as aiming at realism, precise portraits, depiction of historical events, the stark background restrained in line and color, width and monumental quality in spacing the picture, a general sweep in postures, enamel like surface and finish, thin coating of paints, bold workmanship, mass and movement of human figures, placing the subjects

against an empty space, minute treatment of hair, etc entered into the Deccani painting were the lyrical flavor of the Deccani got mingled with the prosaic manner of the Mughal. The paintings also got influenced by the gradation of Mughal Colours like soft blue, delicate purple and pink and of plastic rendering of the draperies. The traces of brickwork and the depiction of birds also stemmed from Mughal practice.

II HINDU INFLUENCE

The indigenous art traditions especially Hindu influence also played their part in the artistic activities of the kingdoms of Golconda and Hyderabad.

a) VIJAYANAGAR INFLUENCE

The spread of Vijayanagar influence on the Deccani style was a phenomenon, which was independent outcome of the Tallikota battle. After the fall of Vijayanagar empire. In this battle of 1565 AD, several artist and painters who flourished at the Hindu courts sought new masters at Deccani courts.¹⁷ The Deccani Sultanates welcomed them to settle as a result of which the indigenous art styles were harmonized with the Hindu art of Vijaynagar. The heritages of the crafts of Vijayanagar were absorbed keenly in Deccani kingdoms and gradually Vijayanagar pictorial form and technique got reflected in the Deccani kalam of miniatures.

Especially, the technique of fresco painting, murals or wall painting and the Jain miniature painting followed in Vijayanagar in later phase were imitated. While the frescos or murals of Lepakshi had excellent female features, the Jain miniatures represented stories and incidents. All these were followed in the Deccani miniatures, with their proportions, gestures, features of face and dress. This Vijayanagar influence was mainly seen in the swirling and forceful outlines, rhythmic curves and broad strokes of lines and in gold sweep of brushes and in the faces and dresses of females. Many Ragamala visualizations commissioned are inspired by Hindu musical texts and vijayanagar feminine figure model. The fans of pleats and the long acres of drapery worn by these

figures recall the Vijayanagar style. Some of the Deccani painters at Aurangabad might have worked also for the Rajput rulers stationed at the Deccan under the Mughal viceroys for campaigning. The long stay of these Rajasthani rulers probably accounts for the Deccani influence in the late 17th century, Rajasthani painting also of Bikaner and Bundi and vice versa, as it is more likely that the painters from Rajasthan accompanied their masters.

For instance the Deccani miniatures illustrated women with sharp noses, fish like eyes, just like the females in murals. It is also evident in the folds of the drapery, the triangular sharp edges of the female saris and in the twist of the costumes.

b) RAJPUT INFLUENCE

Several Rajput princes, nobles and painters resided at Deccan. The Rajput princes were frequently assigned to Deccani campaigns by their Mughal overlords'.¹ Towards the end of 17th century, Rajput influence gets far greater opportunities to activate the Deccani tradition. This is due to the long sojourn of Rajput forces, under the command of Rajput princes from Bikaner and elsewhere in the Deccan with the imperial army of Aurangzeb. These princes were usually accompanied by their relatives and artists and stayed in Deccan until their mission got over. At such junctures, the Rajput artists influenced the Deccani artists and affected the local Deccani artistic traditions. Rajputs style of cool monochrome background and pleasing plain arabesque with brilliant pattern and color was seen in some of the Deccani paintings. The tiny paintings of women standing alone are also derived from Rajput paintings of Ragamalas.

Moreover the presence of Deccani paintings, perhaps Deccani artists at Bikaner influenced the local style, but it is also possible that Rajasthani painters accompanied their patrons to the Deccan where they popularized Bikaner conventions. The Nawab's titanic proportions, encased in white muslin, ladies excessively long eyes, distinctive foliage composed of tiny dabs of bright color arranged in circles are identical to convention in 17th and 18th century Bikaner painting.

C) EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

The European influence in the field of painting, penetrated into Deccani kingdoms, mainly as a result of trade contacts. Western influence also reached Deccani painting through the indirect route of Mughal painting and directly from Goa and the Coromandal coast.⁹ Dutch arrived at Masulipatam, the principle port of Golconda in 1605 AD. Soon followed the English and the French. They had trading interest and for artist not employed at court these Europeans provided a ready market for pictures. Hence high proportions of pictures of European subjects reminiscent of some of the European subjects are found during 17th century. Few European artists like Bodleian, Leningrad and Dublin painters lived and worked at Deccani courts. Their styles were imitated by indigenous painters who all in turn produced different models.

The European impact was mainly seen in the naturalistic modeling of figures. The use of the different kinds of lines to create mass and volume, dark stripling on the gold background garments, modeled draperies, the star like flowers shimmering against a dark background. Besides this they drew elegant-plants, thin washes of color, animals moving through green meadows, landscape **features flavored with** a facile romanticism, romantic crag and castle, glimpses of gleaming white palaces and luminous backgrounds. The heavily shaded faces of human beings, delicate foam like hair, sensitive tropical textiles, long and elegant figures, tiny feet encased in golden slippers and above all the inner calm and gentleness of human figures are concessions to western taste.

Several European subjects were introduced into Deccani painting like representation of angels, fairies, with typical European look and dress. **Illustrations of Christian** subjects like of Mary, Madonna, etc. Use of European renaissance **cap and knee breeches** were copied from foreign sources. Features like pointed nose, small mouth, almond-shaped eyes, the eye corners extending to the ears, double chin of women in Deccani paintings are also impacts of western **Indian** tradition.²⁰

Most interestingly the use of oil for painting attracted Deccani artists who executed several miniatures on same basis. The Colours of earthy tones of green

and brown also dominated the style of enclosing the miniatures in oval format, too derived their inspiration from European painting on the whole. Deccani miniatures learned from Europe, a harmonious composition and a figurative liberty assured by the richness of a technique of pictorial illusion and above all, proper perspective light and shade in paintings. Thus, these manifold styles of paintings were blended into a harmonious whole, together with the indigenous Deccani tradition of art. The amalgam of these streams of influences with that of Deccan altogether produced a new tradition of Deccani miniature painting in the kingdoms of Golconda and Hyderabad. However the artist of various Schools were permitted to paint idioms, slightly modified from their earlier styles with that of Deccani models.

IMPORTANT FEATURES OF DECCANI MINIATURE PAINTINGS

In spite of varied influences, the miniature of Golconda and Hyderabad in general Deccan had a different and individual flavor. They possessed certain distinguishable features, which are as follows

In Deccani painting there was certain unique color combination, the charming and cool palette of pink, blue, and green, pale white, yellow and mauve were used. The style also combined a rich melancholy Deccani palette of brown, gold, ochre, red, violet, orange, deep maroon, bright blue, moss green which are the favorites of both Sultans and artists.

The paintings acquainted certain characteristics like profuse use of gold and silver, exquisite finish, imaginative composition, introduction of dramatic element and poetic content, pointillist technique with turns and twist, profusion of large plants, flowering shrubs and the magical breeze of textiles and plants which gave sway like effect, transparent draperies, tangled clouds, arched arabesque, virtual compendium of motifs, long-waist sashes, conical turbans, rich brilliant lapis-lazuli background, rounded rocky hillocks, lyrical bend of various branches of the trees, use of coarse and brown paper, heavily tooled garments, etc

The pictures also had spiritual mood and elegant sweep of line. The ornaments, costumes, carpets, cushions, gem like mango trees, todi trees, coconut trees and chenar trees and above all architecture are typical of the period and area of Deccan. There was also lavish display of pleasurable tastes, smell and sounds seen in fruits, flowers and gurgling water against richness and mellowed grandeur and mysteries atmosphere. The miniatures thus maintained distinctive qualities and differed from other Schools particularly in their subject matter, pictorial approach perspective and other aspects. For instance in Decanis paintings there were realistic studies of plants and animals.

The painters depicted their harsh and sensitive qualities with threatening attitude and pleasant expressions. The painters enjoyed certain degree of freedom in illustrating poems, scenes, and painting of themselves, their patrons and charming companions. The pictures were strained with romantic excess and poetic mood. Beauty and charm are main features that evoke immediate response in illustrations pertaining to women. The gestures, the poses of the figures and the design of the throne are Deccani conventions.

Hierarchical scaling of the principal figure being bigger than the subordinate figures, exclusive use of white and gold color, necklaces having a plaque (*urbasi*), a favourite ornament of Deccan. Male figures wearing pointed and gold-embroidered coat girdle (*patka*), the exaggerated swirl of the girdle are also typical of Deccani painting. In few paintings the simplicity of the snake like course of the stream and troubled array of trees on the skyline are distinctively Deccani features.

More over the gestures and glances exchanged among figures established a psychological coherence. The figures are charged with energy due to vigorous gesturing and pose. The Colours have a somber Deccani glow, with background of wild intensity. The decorative forms were usually styled with delicate drawing and the flat designs are richly textured and minutely detailed. The artists usually isolated their subjects against void space. The red meadows, orange, violet rocks and golden skies create an electrifying effect. The

miniatures in totality are unusually forceful and present a scene of real poser and vehemence, when compared to other styles.

Thus, the miniatures of Golconda and Hyderabad were successful in assimilating various impacts of style and in transforming them into a new form of art, yet retaining their distincti deccani style. With stylistic primitivism and excellent illustration of women and men, they represented a conglomeration of conventions, coupled with quantity of styles, material objects, wealth and fulfillment of artistic sensibility and glazing techniques.

ARTIST'S OR PAINTER'S ROLE:

The role-played and success attained by artists in pictorial art of Golconda and Hyderabad is unsurpassed. Several miniature paintings of the time are not just the results of the patronage of royal or noble approach, but also are the results of the joint work of a number of artists, who actually applied the color, painted the picture and gave it a form, life and a theme. It was generally believed that every year painters participated in a religious ceremony during which their paint brushes, instruments color and even the formulae used for the preparation of the pigments were consecrated”

It was in philosophic and religious thought and in music, poetry and its vast literature that painters discovered the chief sources of their inspiration. They also got inspired from long Indian tradition, sculpture, dance, architecture, which are interrelated like many facets of the festival of life.

Most importantly the patronage of the rulers, the landscape of the kingdoms, human beings and their feelings and things of love and beauty in nature had an immeasurable influence on painters. These inspirations and influences resulted in the illustration of fantastic portraits of Sultans, their courtly life, royal activities, feminine subjects, fantastic landscape, architectural settings, interior and exterior decoration of royal court, and stunning beauty of nature like trees, animals, birds, water, clouds, sky, hills, etc respectively and other unimaginable, mythological and spiritual realms that constituted the wealth of the miniatures.

Sometimes the painters were called upon to paint themes available from the history and popular tales with some role of imagination. Therefore the creative artists sought to recapture all the images that are part of the great family of world images. Once the creativeness was set in motion, the artists proceeded from picture to picture steadily gaining mastery over their implements and work. The miniatures were generally in accordance with the techniques of large mural paintings, the roles laid in texts and rule of proportions which were regulated by a precise system, measurement in order make the image in fragments and form a kind of physiological perspective.²³

Artists used the limited space available in miniatures, to compose as many as figures and details as possible in depicting scenes, which had narrative significance. Design, perspective and composition were all made subsequent to an ornamental sense to transform them into a particular style with a movement and features. Above all it was textiles, jewels, crowns and the constantly reduced elements of nature like mountains, clouds and most importantly the work of women and men which gave the painters to experiment in a complex stylization that paved the way for the forms, which were almost abstract and appeal to the eclectic tastes. The portraits in miniatures did not remain as chance pictures, but the artists appear to have studied their characters as well, since they depict themes various realms with different pursuits. Apart from the pictures of royalty, nobleman the portraits of ordinary people appear so individualized that they seem to be actual portraits. This shows that the artists formed **an** integral part of the royal court as well as that of the people's life and ideals, interpretation their aspiration and profound feelings.

But most of the Deccan artists were more accustomed to depict a private world of feeling than the public world of action, as they lived under the patronage of the Sultans and Nizams. They mostly illustrated the royal splendor, signifying the glory, strength of will and gentleness of the rulers. However they were also few artists who painted popular themes, commonly understood **and enjoyed by the** people due to their familiarity with the masters.

The master painters, migrated artists and beginners, all influenced each other, and ultimately produced several miniatures imitating their styles or adopted the outline of the plane sketch of each other models. Sometimes greatest artists used to draw the outlines of figures, while other artists coloured them. The best works were usually displayed in the palace or in the neighboring fortress and also for sale to foreign travelers and merchants.

Few outstanding painters of Golconda and Hyderabad were Muhammad Taqi, Rasul Khan, Mir Ghulam Khan, Rai Venkatachallam, Seshachalam, Haider Ali, Rahim Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Qasim Ali Al Mudhahhib, Mohammed Ali, Hasan Ali, Tajalli Ali Shah, Mir Mahmud, Mir Hashim.²⁴ Mir Sayyed Ali, Abdus Samad, Mir Mohammad Rahim Deccani, Ali Reza, Shaykh Abbasi, Ali Naqi, Muhammad Murad Samargandi, Jan Quli Farrukh Beg.²⁵

Foreign painters from Bukhara, Safavid, Bodlian, Dublin, Leningrad also worked at their courts. While some Mughal artists came to Deccan and painted few portraits, other Deccani artists painted at Mughal court. All of them produced excellent miniatures with a cool background, arched arabesque, floral designs, fine furnishings, fantastic features and themes peculiar of Deccani idiom and medieval culture.

These painters enjoyed social esteem and practiced their arts in hereditary occupational groups. They were often appreciated during their lives and were rewarded and awarded special honors, according to their capabilities. Inclusion of painters name in some of the Sultans favorite paintings as gleaned from the study proves that the status of painters was indeed very high in medieval Deccan society.

All together, the miniature paintings depicted, illustrated or produced by painters of these Schools were animated by clear artistic determination and great professional skills. In designing, portrait painting, coloring, painting illusionistically, mythologically and in trying to bring the true picture of society and political sphere in their endeavor, the painters became unrivaled in the world. Hence the influence of painters in the formation of the miniatures in the aesthetic vision and in the taste of connoisseur world is indeed considerable and

in particular Golconda and Hyderabad artists had occupied a place for themselves in the artistic world of painting, by exhibiting their talents and superior drafting skills.

Though these painters were given musters to copy, but they were seldom, imitated in full. The painters depicted complete design of their own and took only subordinate elements of decorative composition. On the whole foreign eclectic and hybrid elements were absorbed into a unique characteristic decorative style.

From the beginning of the 18th Century a group of artists known as 'moothys' had worked for the local rulers painting pictures of the courts and deities.²⁶ All who spoke Telugu were called Raju, Razu, Tinigara or Chitrakara and resided near the palace. About 1775 AD artist's families were stationed at Hyderabad, who painted themes of Deccan Hyderabad with sets of native rulers natural life and nature deities.

MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF GOLCONDA AND HYDERABAD SCHOOLS

The miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools reflect a rich glorious past with an equally colorful and dynamic expression of artistic traditions of Medieval Deccan. They testify to the brilliance of the aesthetic endeavors, doctrines of art or tastes of Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis. Generally paintings in India are classified by India connoisseurs partly geographically, but mainly terms of techniques where each School or local development is identified by its kalm, a word when translated literally means a 'pen' and a technically a brush.²⁷ Here the different styles of paintings are referred differently according to the character of the brushwork, technique used and the region which produced them. In this regard, miniature paintings in Decca are identified as "Deccani kalms" or "Dakhni kalms" or 'Deccan kalms', where art displayed certain distinctive features related to the area and was patronized by regional kingdom as feelings of expressions and symbols of representation. These beautifully illustrated miniatures presents the magnificence of the art and

a life of Deccan in a unique and refreshing light and made their influence felt in the far flung land scape of the Deccani kingdoms of Golconda and Hyderabad.

A research into the miniature paintings of these kingdoms provides an interesting account of prevalence of varied types of miniatures with different themes that were executed on the dynamic platform of regality elite perspective and cultural - trends of 17th and 18th Centuries. These paintings are usually recognized by their small character both in actual size and also in treatment generally of its unique and charming palette of soft Colours like pink, blue, green, pale brown, gold, white and ochre red. They were patronized by the Sultans and Nizams, who despite varied understandable impacts of Persian, Turkish, Mughal, Vijayanagar and European maintained a distinctive style of their own with local idioms, regional cultures, and their royal life styles, which ultimately emerged as Deccani Kalms.

In larger perspective the development of miniature paintings in these kingdoms reveals the fact that they lead to new outlook in regard to art history, which may precede the coming of a vital view of history as such. A synoptic view reflects a culture a culture of this planet, where humans dispersed on various directions, occupying different areas and who ventured out in search survival through aggressive wars, conflicts and tensions, in a complex situational realities did not end their life with this. But during the intervals of peace relaxation and entertainment the compulsions of natural human creativeness, drove humans into various confrontations and innovations like invention and discovery of art-forms like miniatures. By patronizing, promoting and developing such miniatures, their rhythmic vitality of life and taste - attitudes were brought out representing total pride and glory of heritage of human life of a whole, which also incorporate political socio-cultural aspects.

Such an analysis of miniature painting can be facilitated through the varied types of themes such as Themes on Royalty, Themes on Noblemen, Ministers, Scholars and Poets, Themes on Courtiers, Mahouts, Grooms and Commoners, Themes on Music and Dance, Themes on Poetry. Themes on Medicine, Themes

on Architecture, Themes on Nature, Themes on Religion and Religious Persons like Saints and European Themes.

An extension analysis of these themes of miniature paintings with historical account and their features has been undertaken in the present chapter;

PART-I

GOLCONDA SCHOOL

In the landscape of medieval Deccan, a comprehensive view of history of Golconda reveals that it is a place known not only for its fortification, Islamic reign, commercial diamonds, racial - linguistic religious synthesis, but also for its bright glazing art - faculty of painting especially miniature paintings. In spite of few bickerings, tactical sulks, hate campaigns, social skirmishes, wrangles and contentions, the reigning Sultans like Sultan Quli, Ibrahim Qutub Shah, Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah, Mohammed Qutb Shah, Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Qutb Shah always left some time for art. Their artistic temperament gave Golconda a unique place in the history of art.

These miniatures created with variety of themes remained as finest expressions of sensibility, creativeness where humanistic tastes and trends and elements of nature are revealed by figure - grouping, gesture, narrative scenes, earthy Colours and finally with local flavor of medieval Golconda heritage.

During the Qutb Shahi period, Golconda remained as the main centre or home of Dakhni Kalam of painting. This capital namely Golconda was established by the beginning of 16th century by Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk. Some earliest identifiable Deccani painting is from 16th century. They are heavily

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marked by overlapping influences of other styles of miniature paintings.

The actual flowering and grandeur of paintings started at the start of 17th Century where manuscript paintings and portraits with gracious scenes, group-illustrations, Zennana scenes were painted in an idiom and atmosphere of the contemporary Deccan, where themes picturised rulers with their charming companions and related aspects in which rulers preferred to see themselves as musicians poets and noble patrons. The paintings in this Islamic kingdom like

the atmosphere of their royal court was with purposeful energy, passion and civilized cultural of Islamic rulers who submerged this with the classic local traditions and this got reflected in Deccani art. Painting remained as an important aspect of their leisure hours, where matured fusion of themes were painted and illustrated by experts.

Among all Deccani Schools, Golconda contained many miniatures of varieties due to comparative peace and stability of the regional due also due to longer duration of one single rule witnessed. Moreover, Golconda rulers themselves being lovers of paintings executed such stylistic illustrations, which were painted with more initiative, and imagination by incorporating compatible forms within a frame works that was fast enlarging influenced by fashionable trends and art forms. But despite multiple influences, indigenous art traditions played their part in the formation of early Deccani painting of Golconda.²⁹

In totality, these art expressions which are secular as well religious in nature, materialistic in content, pleasure as their beginning as well their end, excelled in the observation of royalty, nobility, nature, treatment of animals and birds. These miniatures, which are an expression of feelings, emotions and delicacy of content of natural and artificial aspects can be studied under following themes of variety.

Since Royalty was the main force behind these miniatures and as they owe their existence chiefly to royal patronage, quite often than not, they naturally echo the personal accomplishments, tastes, predilections and personality of the Royal classes. Hence, paintings of royalty claim a major share in the total corpus of the miniatures of the Golconda. They revolved around themes like depiction of royal personalities individually and with their patrons, royal court scenes or palace life, royal entertainments like picnic, pleasure trips processions and royal past - times.

In Golconda kingdom the actual art of depicting royalty developed under the patronage of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (C 1552 - 1580 AD.). During whose reign Golconda kingdom spread to the south and east with increasing sea - trade mainly textile trade with Persia and Indonesia resulting in abundant economic

resources essential for progress of kingdom and culture. These paintings were mainly executed by Turkish - Iranian emigres, and artists who migrated from Tabriz to the Deccan with their black - sheep princess, who settled in the Deccan and carried with them the tools of art like pigments, brushes, sketches and pounces which resulted in earthy Turkish fantasies of the Deccan art.³⁰

One such painting is of Hatifis' *Shirin and Khusru* also known as *Shirin - Wa - Khiisrau*.³¹ It has seven miniatures in Bukhara style. This is a synthesis of Persian Turkish and local elements, where foreign painters who have come to the Deccan influenced by existing local styles and costumes produced magnificent paintings a palette of pale and dark blue, orange and light green are used with lavish gold color in the depiction of foreground and sky. The manuscript's tendency to divide the picture horizontally and its tall narrow format is however peculiar of Golconda. It must have been painted at Golconda during Ibrahim Qutb Shah's reign around 1569 AD. because at this time he was the only ruler of Golconda and of Eastern Islamic world. This miniature is related to the royalty and depicts the royal court and life of Sultan. Another illustrated manuscript of Hatifi bearing Qutb Shahi royal seals and other royal courtly details in its compositions is related to Ibrahim Qutb Shah's reign.³²

Another miniature of the time depicts Jamshid Quli and Ibrahim Qutb Shah seated facing each other as if engaged in some important royal discussion. Jamshid Quli, son of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah reigned for seven years and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim. In the picture Muhammed Amin, the brother of Mohammed Quli and father of Mohammed Qutb Shah are seated closed to Ibrahim as if engaged in the discussion. Two courtiers listen to them attentively. The dressing patterns of rulers like *Jama*, turban are peculiar of Golconda. The depiction of sword in the picture is another symbol of royalty. Color - scheme gives fantastic look to the picture. The drama of the conversion involved in the painting is also unique feature of royal paintings.

Few paintings executed during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign (C 1580-1612 AD) are extraordinarily beautiful and refined. He made Golconda kingdom prosperous and patronized culture with Hyderabad as capital and with

Charminar as Central Monument. During his long reign, Golconda was at the height of its prosperity. Muhammad Quli generally occupied his time with art and poetry and the embellishment of his new capital.

Several groups of manuscripts containing miniatures in an archaic mode are connected with Golconda during his rule, by numerous scenes and autographs. One superb manuscript '*Diwan*' or '*Dakhni Diwan*' of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah is of greater pictorial quality and is highly finished.³⁴ The name of the scribe, Zainuddin - AH Shirazi is given, who was the court calligrapher of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The painter who illustrated it was Qasim AH al - Mudhahhib.³⁵ Most of miniatures depict Sultan enthroned in royal style. Both Persian as well as Deccani characteristics are discernible in the paintings, which are stunningly original and are among the most sumptuous in the beginning of 17th Century Islamic art.

Similarly, the '*Kulliyat*' of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's poetry contains few miniatures which are lavishly illuminated and illustrated.³⁶ One miniature depicts Sultan enthroned, accompanied by royal mistress. It is a perfect representation of royalty involving various aspects like courtiers attending to him, visitors or officials waiting for his message and artists entertaining him.³⁷ The miniatures show varieties of influences in their treatment which indicates that Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's atelier was a cosmopolitan place where Persian, Central Asian, Mughal and Deccani artists worked together. For instance while few paintings were painted by local Hyderabad artists Muhammad Murad Samar Qan di, rest were probably by a Bukhara artist.³⁸

One fine solo portrait of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, with a plain border depicts king standing in profile.³⁹ it has the face of a sedate young ruler with small moustaches and a semblance of growth of his cheeks and chin. His head is covered with a '*dastar*' with a bejeweled '*sarpech*' and a black aigrette drooping at the back. The head is surrounded by halo. In the right hand is a flower while the left is gripping the hilt of the sword. A '*katar*' is touched in fine muslin '*patka*' wound round the waist. '*Angavastram*' of the finest texture is thrown over the shoulder in Andhra fashion. He wears rings of pearls and

precious stones around his neck and arms. This is a finest example of the fusion of the two cultures-Islamic and the local.

A painting of Muhammad Qutb Shah, next ruler depicts Sultan dressed in a white muslin gown, opulently edged with gold standing against a jet - black background.⁴⁰ Sultan holds two flowers in left hand as if enjoying the fragrance of them, while holds a long sword in his right hand with a firm grip toughing it to the ground. This picture imbibes the quality of aesthetic as well as royalty. One miniature, dated to 1620 AD, portrays Sultan passing through his garden.⁴¹ It is signed by Hashim. Similar royal portrait of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah depicts Sultan seeing out from a window of artistic design as if he was observing the conditions of Golconda kingdom.⁴² There are several other best known paintings of his time datable to 1612 to 1626 AD.⁴³

For instance, painting depicts Muhammad Qutb Shah seated on his throne in a pavilion.⁴⁴ He wears on his shoulder a loose white calico cloth, tight fitting turban a transparent jama with broad brocade cross bands and a scarf on his shoulders. This costume is typical of Golconda. Three Ambassadors present the credentials to the king. Below four richly caparisoned Arabian horses are depicted led by attendants. One of the attendants to the right of the king is an Abyssinian and all of them were peculiar Golconda '*girdle*' or '*patka*'. All the figures have long white straps on each side of the court in contrasting colors and often gold edged. A fashion favored at Golconda. This painting was dated to 1612 AD.

Abdullah Qutb Shahi's period though witnessed political upheaval, on other hand gave highest patronage to paintings, where splendid portraits were executed. Under his patronage Golconda and Hyderabad rise to be the most luxurious and fashionable kingdom with best phase of miniatures paintings of Golconda style. His reign (1626 - 1672 AD), faced rapidly changing political situations. Soon after he ascended the throne, Shah Jahan, the imperial ruler marched South in 1630 and to the Deccan in 1635 AD. forced Abdullah to agree to the harsh terms of the '*Inqiyad nama*' (Deed of Submission) which transformed Golconda into a Mughal protectorate.

Among the conditions imposed, Sunnism replaced Shiaism as the official creed and Mughal emperor's name was inserted in the Friday prayers (*Khutba*) recited in the Mosques in place of the Safavid's Shah's and the annual tribute paid to the Mughal was drastically increased. After the deed of submission was accepted Shah Jahan sent his jewel - studded portrait to Abdullah, who reciprocated with a portrait of him. Gradually, Mughal residents at Golconda started interfering in Deccan politics as spies, ambassadors and mediators.

With the transformation of the Golconda kingdom into a Mughal protectorate and the frequency of diplomatic contacts between Delhi and Golconda Mughal cultural influence rapidly increased. Especially in the arts, the realism of Mughal paintings came to be just as admired as the Iranian tradition. From about 1630 AD, Golconda artists started imitating Mughal paintings like placing their subjects against their empty background.

A new stylistic phase thus began in Golconda School of painting with Abdullah's acceptance of new influence, so while the earlier works on royalty had Persian traits; the later ones had mixed styles. However, despite Mughal influence, paintings of the time had individuality. This was evident from the color scheme, local Deccani atmosphere, movement of posture, proper spacing of picture and quality work of artists all together Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign may be considered as a land mark in the history of painting in Deccan, for it was then that the technique blossomed and developed.

A painting depicts Abdullah seated on a garden terrace dated 1640 AD.⁴⁶ He holds a sword with royal look. Aura behind his face indicates the majestic personality of the Sultan. The gorgeous dress with exquisite design of flowers represents one of the royal dressing patterns.

Another miniature of mid 17th Century illustrates Abdullah Qutb Shah standing elegantly holding sword in each hand.⁴⁷ Once again superb costume, turban and facial features bring out the royal look of the Sultan. Similar painting represents Sultan holding a sword and dagger, as if ready to face a battle field.⁴⁸ At the bottom of his feet brilliant golden - trees are painted. Golden rays pour forth from sky, as if he received divine blessings. A golden

inscription at top identifies him as Padishah Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah. Miniature painting of Abdullah in the British museum is another finest art piece.⁴⁹ Though the earliest during his reign had Persian impacts and Mughal influence, the later paintings had chief characteristic features of Golconda like proper placements of the figures, gorgeous costumes, use of gold colour extensively etc.

In most of these paintings and royalty, the Sultans with other royal group were painted in an idiom and atmosphere of a Deccan. The landscape in them had Deccan Scenery like mango trees laden with fruits, flowering champa trees with squirrels and parrots moving about, well irrigation etc. The pictures had particular Golconda costumes like long flowing robes, half sleeved for — collared coat known as '*farz*' which was the favorite of the king. Another distinguishing feature is a long sword called '*firang*' or '*dhop*' which was either imported from Europe or imitation of those.⁵⁰ All together they maintained the charm and elegance of the Deccan.

Among the manuscripts of Abdullah Qutb Shah's period, '*Khawar Nama*' of 1645 AD. illustrating Sultan with a mixture of Persian and indigenous influences.⁵¹ In its there is Vijayanagar influence. There are some other paintings of Abdullah as the central figure at Vienna and Leningrad museums that prove the height the Deccani paintings had attained during his reign with fine execution. One of the main characteristics of Abdullah's pictures is his headdress, which is a definite deviation from other contemporary personages as well as Sultans own predecessors. Instead of turban, he is seen with a cap worn with a slant to the left side an embroidered band primarily to hold an aigrette based on strings of pearls and secondary as an ornament to the cap itself.⁵²

The tradition of miniature paintings depicting royal Sultans continued even during the reign of last Golconda Sultanate Abul Hasan Tanashah (C1672 - 1687 AD.). He is also known as 'king of taste and a lover of arts. During his rule there was resurgence at Golconda with the appointment of a Telugu Brahmin Madanna as Mir Jumlah (prime minister) who in turn gave key post to other Hindus. Their permeation into the court can also be seen in contemporary

paintings of the period. Royal Farmans began to be issued in bilingual form in Persian, with a Telugu translation. Urdu, Telugu and Arabic literature was patronized by the new Sultan with great enthusiasm.⁵³

There are few paintings which can be attributed with certainty to Abul Hasan's patronage. One portrait of the Sultan executed between (1672-1680 AD.), reveals a gentle poetic Sultan enjoying the beauty of his garden.⁵⁴ Colours in it are sumptuous. The Sultan wears a jama and shawl made entirely of gold and stands before a golden sky streaked with pink and blue clouds. His fur cap and pointed collar are the fashions of the Qutb Shahi rulers. Such other portrait of the Abdullah Qutb Shah is in British museum.

Several divergent styles coexisted in Abul Hasan royal workshop. Painters from nearby Bijapur immigrated to Golconda after the mid 17th century, as we noticed a Bijapuri strand within the Golconda School. However the rich palette of green, yellow, orange, blue and the aggressively lush vegetation in the paintings are features of Golconda. One point were to note here is that during the reign of Tanashah Hindu elements permeated not only in the administrative court but also in the depiction of paintings, a symptom in other words, which encourage Aurangzeb's militarily follies in the South which inevitably led to the conquest of Golconda in the end.

Few miniatures paintings executed under royal patronage also depict courtly scenes and palace luxurious which throw light on the courtly life of Sultans exclusively in Golconda kingdom. For instance an existing and finest painting depicts Abdullah Qutb Shah seated on his throne in a pavilion, while three ambassadors stand in front of the ruler.⁵⁵ It is datable to 1632 AD and highlights the tradition of receiving ambassadors by the Deccani Sultanates to the royal court.

A manuscript '*Divan - I - Hafiz*' of Abdullah Qutb Shah, containing twelve miniatures, of which five mainly represent palace life at the court of Abdullah Qutb Shah. It is dated to 1643 AD.⁵⁶ In one miniature painting depicting palace life Sultan holds a typically long straight Deccani sword. He wears the white muslin coat with design most probably another court costume of Golconda.

These miniatures on the whole depict palace life, luxuries and entertainment aspect of royal court like watching dance performances listening to music, with ambassadors, courtiers, artists and their companions.

Picnics, pleasure trips and processions always formed an important part of the royal life and artists who accompanied Sultans often painted such names. During Abdullah Qutb Shah's period many procession scenes were painted both on paper and cotton cloth. He was found picnics and pleasure parties and his processions used to be full of pomp and grandeur.⁵⁸ The notable examples of such scenes are the three procession paintings of Abdullah, one in the Hermitage museum, Leningrad, one in Vienna museum and other in Prince of Wales museum of Bombay. Of these, procession painting of Leningrad is superior in execution.⁵⁹ In this painting there is a frenetic procession of Sultan riding an elephant attend by a bustling throng of courtiers, pages, singers and musicians. It is datable to 1650 AD.

In these procession paintings, the brush work is broad and clear they show that by the third quarter of the 17th Century Golconda artists had mastered the complexities of crowd scenes, with a dramatic intensity typical of the Deccan. The artists had excellently recorded the vigorous poses and strong forward movement or thrust of a moving crowd. Though depiction of procession scenes was influenced by Western style of painting yet they retained Golconda traits. For example the vivid colours like pavilion in the pictures decorated with gold and studded in Golconda fashion with white, green and red jewels, added to the excitement.

Moreover the realism of the architectural setting and suggestion of a vanishing point perspective in the scenes are new to Golconda miniature painting. The costumes like the long waving ropes of Qutb Shahis Sultan's are also of Golconda style. These brilliant works prove that by the mid 17th Century, Deccani miniature painting at Golconda was at its dazzling new peak with new trends and styles of presentation rather than decaying on account of political upheavals.

Apart from the paintings royalty of the scenes depicting the role of Sultans, at royal court, several other paintings were executed which highlight the leisure life and interests of the Sultans like hunting, riding, relaxing, reading, hawking, playing polo-match etc. Among which a miniature of '*Kulliyat*' of Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah depicts Sultan playing polo - match.⁶⁰ It is finest piece representing full-fervor of entertainment spirit, illustrating courtiers as if arousing the talents of the Sultans playing match by beating drums on terrace, while other commoners encouraged them in clapping. Colours like gold, bluish-purple, salmon-red typical of Golconda are used in the depiction.

Another tiny miniature depicts of a young prince on a horseback attributed particularly to Golconda workshop around 1600 AD.⁶¹ The green and white jewels decorating gold surfaces and the intersecting arcades over the garden gate are Golconda conventions. The painting depicts a young prince and his retinue approaching a pink and gold pavilion. A finely written Arabic inscription in a niche inside the door gives the painters name as Jan Quli. It is one of the only four signed Golconda miniature paintings in existence. The other three are Akbar Shah Hussaini reading a book of prayers, signed by Rahim Khan, Shah Raju on horse back signed by Rasul Khan and a prince seated in a garden with ladies by Rahim Deccani. "

Similarly, a painting during Mohammed Qutb Shah depicts a prince on a horseback hawking.⁶³ In it there is a young prince in a lush meadow with a castle on a cliff in the background, which indicates a Bukhara influence mainly in the idioms employed. The prince wearing a full - length jama rides a decorated horse. The forceful movement of the horse is effective and represents the vigor of the prince riding the horse. It gives a picture as a prince who went for a long riding and is returning back to the palace.

A miniature painting of a young prince riding a horse illustrated between (C1620 - 1630 AD) Is attributed to Golconda as a prince resembles Mohammad Qutb Shah of earlier paintings. In it a prince wears a full length green jama with a long '*patka*' and a richly decorated sash rides a chestnut stallion.⁶⁴ The prince looks back at a chenar tree in which several birds are

possible prey for the falcon which flutters on his right hand. He is preceded by a courtier carrying a straight sword, an axe and a bundle tied on his shoulders as if helping the prince in hunting. A black and white hound walks alongside. A formalized stream with rocky verges runs from the left side of the picture of the foreground through a flowery meadow banded at the top by a broken ridge of pink rocks. In the background a town and trees are set against a gold sky with Chinese clouds. The painting has golden arabesque and blue margin decorated with gold.

During the second half of the 17th century some Deccani paintings came under the influence of a new Iranian mode associated with the safavid painting Shaykh Abbasi and his sons, Ali Naqi and Mohammad Taqi.⁶⁵ Few works were strongly influenced by Mughal Deccani and European art, especially European prints. Shaykh Abbasi who an innovator was painted a picture of prince riding an elephant with attendants dated (C 1675 - 1676 AD).⁶⁶ While heavy shading and thin washed of color show the influence of Western prints the facial types, garments and the looming hill in the picture are derived from the Deccani drawings many local artists absorbed his conventions and developed a hybrid style. Regarding the indigenous influences on paintings in later phase of 17th Century, is a painting of a prince seated on rocks beneath a willow tree, signed by Rahim Deccani.⁶

Another painting depicts Abul Hasan riding on horse, which is depicted as running at top speed. The king is seen as wearing '*sarpech*' with an aigrette and has a bejeweled belt around his waist. He holds a falcon in his right hand and the reins of the horses in his left. A dagger is tucked in his belt, while a ling sword hangs by his side. On the top of the picture is a Persian inscription of Abu Hasan Tanasha.⁶⁸

The miniatures illustrating nobility and other royal personnel and professionals also constituted an important component of Golconda School of paintings. For instance, the paintings of a dark nobleman, probably an African eunuch, are attributed to Golconda to the third quarter of the 17th Century. He must be a member of Golconda's large African community. Dressed in the

diaphanous white robes, favored in the Deccan, the nobleman poses against a rich green background. He seems to be proud and resolute with noble look.

During 17th Century paintings of Golconda on themes of governors certain Bijapuri influences penetrated which is evident in the portrait of Mirza Ellich Khan, the Mughal Governor of Ellichpur in the North Deccani province.TM It is illustrated between (CS 1670 - 1680 AD.). The oval format of it resembles Western tastes, but retains Golconda features in dressing and taut shapes.

It was custom at Golconda for painters of modest talent to produce portrait albums of Deccani notables for sale in the bazaar to European and other foreign travelers. Occasionally paintings by court artists found their way into such albums. A rich green and orange palette of paintings depicts a bizarre nobleman namely Nazar Khan of Balkh.⁷¹ The painter was keen to convey the fierce character of the person serving in the Deccan gives him a fearsomely exotic headdress and a toothy grimace. There is a painting of minister Nikham Khan who facing right holds a staff in his left hand. He is dressed in white with a pale yellow shoulder-cloak. There is excellent floral decoration with white and other Colours most probably dated to 1680 AD.⁷²

Another painting of Muhammad Sadiq Khan depicts him facing right dressed in a white jama and lilac trousers standing on green turf, holding a pink flower in his left hand and a sword in his right. Nastaliq calligraphy, floral borders and blue background can be perceived. It is also datable to 1680 AD. Several portraits of Abul Hassan ministers and high officials like Syed Muzaffar, Nikham Khan, Shah Raju, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Musa Khan, Maddana, **Akkana and Abdur Razzaq** are in the collection of Amsterdam.⁷³ They were all **painted before the fall of Golconda** in 1687 AD. These paintings had features of dress **pattern of buttoned-up** long coat under a loose '*chadar*', a half sleeved jacket over *the jama*, a **muffler**, a **turban** with regular folds, black or grey beard, rose in right hand, striped trousers, a pair of slippers, etc.

For instance Musa Khan was seen in military uniform with a shield in his left hand, a long baston in his right hand. Nizamuddin Ahmad with expressive face of his **scholar is depicted holding** a small stick in his left hand. In particular

Maddana and Akkana portraits have caste marks on their foreheads with peculiar turbans. Perhaps enveloping the large tuft of hair at the back, which was a distinguishing mark of the Hindu caste. While Madanna has a muffler under his pale yellow-bordered 'chadar' worn over a full-sleeved coat, Akkanna's chadar is striped.

Another painting of Akkanna engraved by a Dutch artist is in the collection of archaeological survey of India depicts him in a head-dress something like an ancient Greek hat and moulded turban. It is quite possible that it was a head-dress of the Qutubshahi commander-in-chief. The dress he wears is like a uniform rather than a civilian dress with waist-band, tight *jama* and stylized '*angavastram*' (like a shawl) on his shoulders. In the same way Madanna's portrait has also some peculiar traits. He wears a sleeveless waist coat with an open collar very similar to a regulation European waist coat of those days. A sword is dangling to his waist in his left and he is depicted as holding some papers in both hands as if he was in a process of submitting them to the Sultan.

Similarly, few paintings of Mughal princess and ministers who stayed at Deccan were also painted at Golconda like those of Dara Shikoh, Prince Sulaiman Shikoh, Qulich Khan and Iraj Khan. Other portraits of noble men are in the collection of Johnson album dated to 1680 AD.⁷⁵ For instance a painting of a Mughal commander probably an idealized representation of Aurangzeb on one of his Deccani campaigns rides a white stallion and brandishes a spear. He has three foot attendants. An army passes a palace on a hill in the distance.

Another painting depicts Iraj Khan standing on a terrace by a pool holding a sword over his shoulder **and** smoking a hookah held for him by one of his two male attendants. The other holds a flower-shaped sunshade over him. There is a border of flowers beyond with three beeping shrubs. Similar miniature depicts Mughal noble men with a white beard and moustache and dressed in white with a mauve sash **and** illuminated patka stands facing half right leaning on a slender staff. **Flowers are depicted at his feet.**

Few other portraits of Emperor Babur, Aurangzeb on horse back, and Shahjahan with his sons and noble men like Asaf Khan, Hassan Ali Khan were also painted at Deccan during (C1680-1700 AD). A picture showing Azam Shah approaching Golconda is considered as belonging to the last known distinguishable face of Golconda style.⁷⁶

Regarding few paintings on poets a miniature illustrates 'A poet in a garden'.⁷⁷ It was depicted by a Mughal artist of Golconda who is specialised in a neo-Deccani style. It is dated to (C 1620-1630 AD). The poet has a special meditative calm, which all the master paintings contain. The poet extends the little finger of his left hand, while holding a book as if communicating something. Masses of plum blossom behind him suggesting the energy of hidden thought of scholarship.

Another miniature depicts a poet wearing a moderate dress and sits on the grass before a blossoming cherry. Before him are a pen-box, writing wallet, wine flask and a gold cup. He holds a gold tooled-book in his hands.⁸ There is another painting of a young poet seated on a gilt-stool reading a book and with a falcon beside him on the perch.

A good number of documented miniature paintings has been commissioned on the people engaged in aristocratic royal and military establishments during medieval period, especially in Golconda. The '*Kulliyat*' of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah consists several miniatures of which fol. 12a, illustrates Sultans feet being massaged by two attendants, while another maid offers wine to the Sultan. Such scenes were common in many miniatures which throw light on the role played by courtiers, pages or attendants of thier loyal service to the Sultans. It is datable to the beginning of 17th century. Another painting depicts a tiny prince on horse-back riding towards a pink and gold pavilion may be palace main entrance where a courtier or bearded door keeper awaits him. Few other courtiers are also depicted around the horse which indicates the careful observation and security given to the Sultan and courtiers loyal respect to him in discharging **their duties. It is datable** to 1600 AD.

In another painting of durbar scene of Sultan Abdullah Qutubshah dated to 1630 AD. Three attendants behind Sultan are engaged in their royal duty making consorts to the Sultan like fanning etc.⁸² The picture conveys a convincing image of royal magnificence. Placing of the figure of the Sultan above was a traditional practice of painting, which makes royal status clear. Golden vessels sparkle in the foreground like offerings to a god and even the red footstools beneath the throne suggest a sacred and royal presence.

In a picture of galloping horse and groom a horse runs through a magically swaying field of giant flowers painted in gorgeous tones of blue and salmon on uncolored ground. Dot and dashes enhance the sense of speed and excitement.⁸³ There is another portrait of a warrior riding at full gallop on chestnut brown horse accompanied two attendants in a private collection dated to (C 1670-1680 AD).⁸⁴

Some paintings of courtiers resembles the character of a powerful veteran of the turbulent world of Golconda politics wearing fine muslin robes, they seem to be humans of action, proud, resolute and also compassionate. Similarly several other miniature paintings on mahouts and other royal service personnel were executed in medieval Deccani courts. For instance a painting depicts a prince most probably Abul Hassan residing on elephant followed by courtiers. A mahout seated before him leads the elephant in right direction. It is datable to (C 1675-76 AD.). Costumes of courtiers and mahouts are of Golconda fashion.

A portrait of a shepherd carrying a sheep dated to (C 1640-1660 AD.) is in Johnson album collection depicted in red and gold Colours where shepherd facing half left stands in a flowering field carrying a stout-tailed sheep in his arms and a purse hangs over his belt.

Another interesting feature of miniature paintings is themes depicting exclusively pictures of music and dance. The miniatures during the rule of Abdullah Qutubshah of Golconda contain themes on music and dance bound up in the manuscript 'Diwan of Hafiz' dated to 1643 AD.⁸⁵ The miniatures mainly five in number represents scenes of Sultan watching dance performances enthroned at the royal court. He wears the white muslin coat with embroidered

vertical bands, the court costume of Golconda. The picture convinces an image of royal patronage given to arts like music and dance. Several musical instruments were also depicted in the paintings, which were played by experts.

Deccani characteristics like use of gold for depiction of sky, architecture, costumes, jewellery, vessels and stunning Colours of pink, pale green, blue, gold, scarlet faces with small angular features and piercing eyes can be perceived. In terms of color and style of presentation, one can find a close relationship between these paintings and safavi miniatures of early Abbasi period (C 1587-1627 AD).

These paintings on music and dance signify that the Sultans and princess evolved a routine of pleasure and work in the provincial capitals of their kingdoms. Amid the disturbances caused by the revolts of governors, the treachery of officials as well as the preparations for the defense of the kingdom against overlords, a love of classical music seems to have supplied the only abiding consolation. In periods of peace and leisure hours we find princess and Sultans cultivating the arts especially the music with a depth and mastery beyond the superficial connoisseur. Hence it was not surprising to find that among the themes which Sultans preferred, the artists used to take up musical modes or ragas and musical scenes for rendering them in miniature paintings.

Contemporary Deccani accounts also shed light upon medieval Deccani Sultanates important role as patrons of arts including poetry. Literary works of Golconda courts clearly show that Sultans were persons of extremely cultured and artistic tastes as musicians, poets and painters.⁶ The actual work of depicting poetry in painting took place during Muhammad Quli Qutubshah's reign (C 1580-1612 AD) which was extraordinarily beautiful, refined and poetic. Most are contained in a lavish copy of the Sultans owns Urdu poetry, the '*Kulliyat*' or collection, in the Salarjung museum. It is one of the most richly illustrated Indian books. A long poem in Deccani Urdu entitled Qutb Mushtari by Wajhi is composed in C 1609-1610 AD.⁸⁷ The hero of the tale is the Sultan himself who one night dreams of a maiden with whom he falls in love. He sets out impulsively to find her accompanied by his best friend Utarad, a painter.

She turns out to be Mushtari, the princess of Bengal. Utarad gets permission to paint in her apartments and produces Sultan's portrait as a result of which the princess falls in love with him and later Sultan carries her to Golconda. The translation of this poem became a theme of painting as Golconda painters illustrated many of its scenes.

This '*Kulliyat*' of Muhammad Quli's poetry was lavishly illuminated and illustrated exemplifying the richness of Golconda taste. It was transcribed by the court calligrapher Zainuddin-ali-shirazi and is in elegant naskh contains superb miniatures with mineral Colours and dresses of Golconda.⁸⁸ Especially the first six miniatures fol. 5a, 12a, 24b, 29b, 53b, 87b are glistened with prickled gold surfaces and sparkling Colours. The artist executed these paintings with liberal use of gold bluish purple and red colours that are typical of Golconda trend. The first miniature depicts a polo match while second and third depicts Sultan within royal court, fourth and fifth illustrates Sultan surrounded and jewels showered by angels respectively.

The artist's work provides ample evidence of its Indian origin which he partially conceals beneath an acquired persianade facade. The other miniatures of '*Kulliyat*' are indebted to a series of works done by numerous artists.⁸⁹ These miniatures of '*Kulliyat*' of poetry indicates that Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah was a talented ruler, whose atelier consisted artists of merit and that there was flowering of poetry and painting together at Deccani court of Golconda.

There is also a manuscript of the '*Diwari*' of the Persian poet Hafiz written in 1643 AD which has twelve miniatures interspersed at random of which five belong to Deccan. These are more ambitious and elaborated design and depict royal court scenes.⁹⁰ Similarly a romantic poem *Laila-Majnum* composed by the poet Ahmad at the time of Muhammad Quli Qutubshah has 14 miniatures.

A medical encyclopedia or manuscripts of medicine were also illustrated Golconda School of painting for instance during Ibrahim Qutubshah's reign a medical encyclopedia was painted. It is the work of fakir Baba Mirak of Herat in 1572 AD.⁹² It contains a fine illuminated double front piece with figures of animals and angels in metropolitan Persian phase. There are simurghs attacking

lions amidst dazzling arabesque, while angels with golden trays and tambourines or musical instruments fly in the sky. The painting is decorated densely with red, purple and pink colours.

A work of similar style includes a manuscript of the surahs of the Quran related to a medical encyclopedia 'a shama-wa-parwana' of c 1576-77 AD possibly illustrated by an emigre Ottoman painter. There is another manuscript by Yusuf and Zulaykha of Jami.⁹³ Few more medical themes are in the binney collection.

Architecture is an important part of art. The scenes illustrating architectural structures of Golconda kingdom like palaces, castles, windows, doors, arches are seen in miniature paintings of the time. The actual art in this endeavour was developed under Ibrahim Qutubshah much of it was executed by Turko-Iranian artists settled down in Deccan. The earliest manuscript in this mode is the '*Anwar-i-Suhaili*' dated (C 1550-1560 AD).⁹⁵ It bears Qutubshahi scenes and paintings with dark Colours of inky blue, pink and red peculiar of Golconda taste, frequently depicting palaces with intersecting arcades and numerous doors, windows and balconies with tiny figures looking out from them. Its ornament and density and vitality of its arabesque are determined by locally available pigments. It was painted by artists trained in Gujarat and Rajasthan style.

Another manuscript named the '*Sindbad Nama*' has rich coloring and numerous depictions of architecture in Deccani style.⁹⁶ In the same collection a group of 25 paintings in Bukhara mode were executed at Golconda with a Deccani style of Strident blue in designs. Two other illustrated manuscripts in a variant of the Bukhara style were also painted at Golconda during Ibrahim Qutubshah reign. One is the work of Hatifi bearing Qutubshahi seals and many Deccani architectural details in its composition.

The other manuscript is '*Shirin-wa-Khnisrau*', a work of Hatifi having excellent seven miniatures with dark blue, orange and light green color brought to light the architecture of the time consisting arcades, domes and pillars. Another group of miniatures in an archaic mode is connected with Golconda by

autographs of greater interest. One such manuscript was 'Dakhni Diwan' of Muhammad Quli Qutubshah.⁹⁹ It is highly finished and of greater pictorial quality particularly regarding the execution of architectural designs. Both Persian elements as well as Dakhni characteristics of architecture like domes, shrines and pillars are discernible in the paintings, which are stunningly original and are among the most sumptuous of Islamic art. A portrait of Muhammad Quli Qutubshah depicts Sultan looking out from a window of artistic design.

Such depictions indicate that the architecture of the time was not only excellent but such depiction in painting with perfection reflects the talent and skill of painters. Few others such architectural paintings were executed during Muhammad Quli Qutub shah's reign were two composite paintings on card made of smaller paintings cut out of a single manuscript dated 1600 AD.¹⁰¹ They were painted by Shiraz artist who has adopted a few Indian conventions and an Indian painter imitating foreign style. These painters painted faces, which are doll-like and their compositions often included buildings with windows, balconies, niches and tiny figures. These miniature on architecture indicates that a new style made its appearance where interest was shifted from ideal forms to real people with excellent architectural designs and settings. This gave rise to a different style of paintings with subjects against stark background and constructional works. In many such miniatures of Golconda architectural features like central pavilion in the pictures completely decorated with gold and studded with Deccani fashion of white, green and red jewels, fantastic arabesque and foliage designs prevailed.

Nature is part of cosmic creation and depiction of nature or natural beauty in miniatures formed an important feature of Golconda paintings. For instance paintings illustrating Deccani nature of animals, birds, mountains, trees, plants, flowers and fruits with distinct quality, rich landscape gem like coloring and mysterious atmosphere can be perceived. For example a page from the manuscript 'Anwar-i-Suhail' depicts a fierce lion and screaming fox in a dense forest that gives a horrific look.¹⁰² Depiction of shining foliage gives the real

picture of a forest. Here, the artist most probably trained in the western Indian style used red and blue Colours with curly clouds with trees. It is executed between (C 1550-1560 AD). And at present is in the Victoria and Albert museum London. Few miniatures executed under Golconda Sultanates depicting nature, exemplify the richness of Golconda taste like an impressive painting of the composite horse, animals in a fantastic landscape ¹⁰⁴ and a small painting of two birds, ¹⁰⁵ a young man with a falcon, ¹⁰⁶ etc.

These paintings on nature combine bold simplicity of form with intricate surface effects like a richly inlaid piece of Deccani metal work. Here tiny fitted figures studded with white starring eyes and multi-colored jewels have the surging intensity that can be associated with Golconda. The golden plants, animals and birds prove to be the work of the royal Turkmen atelier, which suggest that Turkish artist migrated to the Deccani courts along with their Turkish rulers who founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golconda. The birds usually have dark blue bodies, brick red heads and brown, yellow and red wings and tails. This suggests that one of the favorite motifs in Deccani painting are birds which appear often in unexpected locations. The artist has brilliantly captured the birds in a tense movement, just as they turned towards a threatening noise on the right. This dramatic situation is unique of Golconda provenance.

Another manuscript entitled '*Fawaid - i - Qutb Shahi* ' or '*Majmua - i - Mubark* ' is a royal copy executed at the instance of Abdullah Qutb Shah in 1630 AD.¹⁰⁷ The miniatures in it contain the depiction of birds, animals, and floral motifs in gold and colors of Golconda style of Deccani School. Amongst the birds represented eagles in fight, a perched owl, and an owl hunting another bird, partridges, **and** cocks in elegant attitudes, peacocks, cranes, falcons, nightingales, and pigeons. Amongst the animals are sheep, a lion hunting a fox or a goat, deer and **baby** fawns. Superb Floral foliage and extensive use of gold and light brown **colors can be perceived**. The life and growth of **butterfly from** its **birth** has **also been depicted**.

Several other miniatures were painted in an idiom and natural atmosphere of the Deccan during Abdullah Qutb shah's rule. The land scape in them has typical Deccani scenery like champa trees with flowers, mango trees with fruits and cute little squirrels and parrots running around.

Few other miniatures depicting animals are, a simurgh and a hunting scene, in which a simurgh is posed in a flying attitude with wings spread looking downwards as if about to alight. A hunting scene in which a hunts man accompanied by his dog runs towards a tiger which has seized an antelope while a second hunter crouches in the rocks above. A pair of elephants beneath a tree, an elephant hunt by a water hole is other paintings. All these paintings are in Johnson's album executed between C 1650-1680 AD.¹⁰⁸ Silver, gold and blue Colours are used for the floral design borders and arabesque.

A significant miniature painting indicating a blind belief in nature worship during medieval Deccan is a designed composite tree of early 17th century and is attributed to Golconda School of painting.¹⁰⁹ The atmosphere of the whole painting gives appropriately inauspicious look as tree consists of several fairies and spirits adorning the branches along with few animal heads and the trunk covered with horrifying snakes and scorpions. The entire picture has a black background with formally arranged group of grass-plants. The painting throws light on the relationship between nature and superstitious belief in unheavenly bodies in the **medieval** Deccani kingdoms like Golconda.

The miniature paintings of Golconda also depict religious scenes giving the picture of life and religious practices of Deccani Sultans and prominent **religious personalities** of the time. During Sultan Quli's reign, a superb illuminated **Quran in** two volumes was produced which contains many religious themes and sayings of Prophet illustrated. In it strong Colours of lilac-pink, dark-blue, blood-red **are** used with density. Designful arabesque can be perceived **determined** by locally available pigments.

To **the later part of 17th** century mainly to Golconda style is ascribed a Sufi poem **with 20 miniatures.**¹¹⁰ It illustrates religious life of Golconda Sultanates and other religious practices of the time. Gold and blue Colours are used

frequently. Besides depicting royal figures or Sultans life there are also certain paintings, which illustrate or reflects mystical exuberance. Several divergent styles on religious persons like saints, ascetics, mullahs, dervishes etc were painted and coexisted in Abul Hasan Qutbshah's reign are in Golconda workshop during C 1672-1687 AD.

Painters from nearby Deccani kingdoms migrated to Golconda, and we find their impact on indigenous styles. The most important surviving work in this trend is the paintings of various religious saints. A fine painting in different mode is the quiet effective portrait of Abul Hassan's friend saint Akbar shah kail Mullah Hussaini dated (C 1670-80 AD)."¹ The Arabic inscription at the top of the page includes saint's full name. Fine detail and a cool palette of lapisluzulli violet and gold created an atmosphere of pious meditation.

The painting of saint Shah Raju is in the private collection dated (C 1670-1680 AD) and is signed by Rahim Khan."² It depicts saint smoking a '*huqqa*'. His happy face, eloquent gestures, beautifully conveys the impression of a noble teacher. The portrait is a cool harmony of white, gold and bluish grey Colours. The angled sword and huqqa tube are striking in the picture. In the painting of same collection, Saint Akbar shah Hussain, the son of Saint Shah Raju is depicted as reading a book of prayers. He sways back against magnificently embroidered gold pillows, hands stretched-out as if receiving a precious lesson from his father. In the book of prayers which he holds the names of Allah. Muhammad and Ali are clearly visible. On the extreme right an inscription gives the name of the painter as Rahim Khan.

In another painting saint Shah Raju seems to be a young warrior with black beard. An inscription in it reveals that it was signed by Rasul Khan who is one of India's greatest painters. This must be inspired by earlier Bijapuri depictions of saint as a young man before he settled down at Golconda as Abul Hassan Qutubshah's spiritual guide. The horse depicted in the picture is richly tooled and decorated with green and red designs. In these paintings on religion, a rich color-scheme of green-yellow, orange and blue are used with aggressive lush with vegetation, one of the characteristic features of Golconda painting.

European styles and models of painting penetrated into Deccani miniature painting, mainly on account of trade relations of Deccani Sultanates with European countries and due to the migration of European artist into Deccani courts. The arrival of the Dutch and the English in Masulipatnam, the principle seaport of Golconda in 1605 also brought the influence of European art. From then onwards their activities extended to other parts of the Coromandel Coast and inland where relations were maintained with the courts of Golconda. The English and the French also had trading interests there and for artists not employed at court, these Europeans provided a ready market for pictures.¹¹³ This might explain the proportion of pictures of European subjects, reminiscent of some of the European subjects painted at the beginning of the 17th century at other School or centers of painting.

One important painting showing European theme or influence is the painting of 'Holy Family' about [c1630=1635 AD]. The picture has doll-like faces, a dark background and tight curls at the top of the page. A rich palette of mauve, orange and green Colours, liberally enhanced by gold are used, which is a common **feature** of European painting.¹¹⁴ This theme of '*Holy Family*' is based on European Christian theme consisting of angels and other heavenly bodies.

A painting dated between (C 1640-1660 AD) depicts an inebriated European man walking with his dog, carrying a bottle and cup. He wears white breeches, a plumed **hat and green jerkin with** lion-masks on the sleeves. His sword is at his sight, the background is brownish with a streaked blue sky. It is signed by Hasan Ali. Similar European impact of Deccani painting was a Christian scene based on '*The Last Supper*'. In it Christ sits at a table with disciples on either side of him, he **indicated to the right** where Judas stands holding a round object representing **the sop**. **Two dogs are** at the foot of the table in the foreground and a figure is in **a doorway behind**. Gold and blue Colours are used exclusively for depiction of **halo, border and margin**. Both these two paintings are in Johnson album **collection**.¹¹⁵ Another **miniature** dated to 1680 AD. depicts a foppish **European youth, his sleeves unbuttoned and** his stockings at **unequal** heights. He

stands holding a sword and a wine cup. A dog is jumping before him, a common theme of European theme.

Thus various themes were illustrated excellently at Golconda during 17th century. An appraisal of these themes leads us to the conclusion that they were executed within the royal courts under the caring patronage of royal personalities and mainly centered on royal activities and aspects of Golconda kingdom. Compared to other medieval Deccani Schools, the heritage of miniature painting at Golconda was more prolific and identifiable due to the effective patronage of Qutbshahi Sultans.

The representative examples of the earliest phase of Golconda paintings reveals Persian and Timurid influence, due to the fact that the ruling dynasty Qutbshahis belong to a foreign Turkish origin namely Qara Qoyunulu or Black-sheep."⁶ Its founder Sultan Quli migrated to Deccan, when his ancestors were defeated by white sheep tribe at Iran."⁷ Gradually by displaying talent, skill and war tactics, he rose to highest pinnacle of political power from a slave, nobleman to a ruler when he founded an independent kingdom at Golconda taking advantage of the precarious condition of Bahamani dynasty. By establishing Shia cultural patterns of religion and close cultural- political ties with safavids, they patronized and painters from Iran."⁸ Gradually, a stream of painters and artists moved to Deccan with their Sultan and got settled on Golconda soil, well equipped with their techniques and pigments, which they incorporated into Deccani traditions of painting.

In several paintings representing royalty, their companions, officials and courtiers with different themes like nature, poetry, music, dance, architecture, medicine, etc creativeness was set in motion in spite of foreign influences. Because though foreign artists incorporated few characteristics alien to Deccan like the crown in the Sultans head with Persian flavor and turban characteristic of the Mughals, still they painted themes and features of medieval Golconda t painting. Similarly indigenous artists followed the local patterns. Altogether **Golconda atelier** attracted artists from all over India and Islamic world like Iran,

Turkey, Tabriz, Baghdad, etc, not only during the formative stages of the School, but right upto the Mughal conquest of 1687 AD.

Several new trades emerged like large scale human figures with heavily shaded draperies, new rich and dark Colours like coral-red, purple, orange with fantastic decoration and depiction of palaces along with figure with architectural structures and equivalent arousing beauty of natural history of animals, birds, mountains and trees. Several trends existed as both foreign and local artists put their best in representation. Mainly emigrant artist continued working in Deccani variants of their original idioms, encouraged by the Qutbshahi Sultans thirst for exotic diversity. A local flavor emerged where both native and other artist tried to execute painting side by side influencing each others work. Ultimately Golconda retained a heterogeneous style seen in its use of locally available pigments, glowing Deccani colours and in the treatment of costumes and placement of pictures along with preserving sub currents of almost pure ottoman, Safavid, Mughal, Bijapur and Vijaynagar modes.

Mannucci remarked that these portraits of Golconda rulers are very life like and authentic. Their composition has a far greater Dakhni atmosphere, with a profusion of gold and a verse of old Dakhni language in beautiful Naskh

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forming part of the ornamental border.

In totality these paintings are almost real in look and depict Sultans with their dress-patterns and ornaments-worn in great detail. Golconda works of art are quiet different from the piercing romantism of Bijapur and refined dignity of Ahmadnagar portraiture, the Schools of painting which almost existed simultaneously with Golconda School. It had rich artistic traditions and yielding richness of technique. The patronage of the Qutbshahi Sultans for the glory of the miniature painting indeed is undebatable as they were tolerant, religiously unbiased and were themselves artists and masters of the pen. All these advantages made Golconda School to produce variety of themes and to **constitute a high point in the history of Deccani art of miniature painting.**

PART-II

**TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BETWEEN GOLCONDA AND
HYDERABAD
SCHOOL OF PAINTING (C1687-1724 AD)**

With the conquest of Golconda in 1687 and capture of Tanashah and his imprisonment in Daulatabad fort, the lavish artistic patronage of Qutbshahi Sultans in the field of painting throughout 17th century declined at Golconda. However though Aurangazeb put painters out of work in Golconda, ironically many of them were hired by their Mughal overlords in Deccan. These artists readily invented styles deserving praise from their new masters.²⁰ With them a later chapter in Deccani painting started at Hyderabad which developed into Hyderabad School of painting with its allied kalams of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Gadwal and Wanaparty principalities later on depicting mainly primitivist religious scenes with burning folk colour of the dramatic rich and highly emotional contents with deep green and orange and strange grey sky effects.

In particular a new range of paintings developed between the fall of Golconda and the emergence of the Hyderabad School in 1724 AD. under the patronage of Asaf Jahis, which tended to enhance the prestige of these newly independent princelings. That is with the extension of Golconda kingdom and gradual decline of Mughal Empire and its impact on Deccan in the following decades produced a shift in artistic patronage from great Sultans to minor chiefs, who acquired power and grew rich at their 'Jagirs'.

Many artists received patronage from their noble men who were earlier feudatories of Deccan Sultans. Many of these feudatories after breaking ties with the central power at Golconda transformed into small hereditary kingdoms after the fall of Golconda. Such artist illustrated new portraiture for these rulers, which in one way increased the prestige and the power of new independent authorities. Hence we find many marvelous miniature paintings attributed to Deccan **region during the** transitional phase or the four decades of Mughal **political domination mainly** from (C 1687-1724 AD).

During this time many royal painters found work with both Muslim and Hindu offices who served Aurangzeb in the Deccan. These officials of Golconda remained in the medieval Deccan itself even after its fall. They were deliberately retained in their administrative posts, because of their experience of local conditions, which could not be matched by new Mughal appointees. Their patronage of the arts was also partly responsible for the spread of superb Deccan paintings, within the several regions of the kingdom. Moreover Mughal governors who stayed at Deccan were also cultured persons who patronized art and had artistic pursuits.

All these factors led to the continuity of Deccani tradition, even after the fall of Golconda kingdom. However in later works of miniature painting quality suffered to some extent, but creativity continued which maintained some of the charms of earlier Deccani culture. A great shift or change that took place is that, Deccani artists, patrons, noblemen, governors and princes turned away from portraiture to rediscover the beauty of women, escaping into an idealized world of princesses and courtesans. Most male portraiture from then on, was dry and repetitive, but there was a tendency towards effects of mere prettiness in the rediscovered feminine world. This was reason why comparatively lesser number of themes exclusively on royal Sultans and other notables were painted in 18th century Deccani art when compared to Golconda paintings.

However, the tradition set by Golconda Sultanates was followed by noble men, vassals and other petty officials, who established flourishing workshops and Schools at the court of their rulers and soon miniature paintings spread from the capital cities into the minor centres and into the provinces where it always kept its predominantly, worldly and secular character intact, in the tradition of medieval Deccani art.

On the whole a new range of paintings developed between the period 1687 and 1724 AD. With the establishment of Asaf jahi kingdom from 1724 onwards once again a new School namely Hyderabad School of painting emerged with Deccani traits where majority of themes concentrated on royalty and royal life, still though a cross section of common society was also portrayed with precision

underlying variations in lifestyles like pomp and glory and indicated the patronage which made the resources available. This new trend of miniature painting with historical and political background in the transitional phase can be analyzed as follows.

Historically speaking when Aurangzeb in 1687 AD achieved the annexation of Golconda he obliterated the last of the five Deccan Sultanates which had arisen on the ashes of the Bahmani Empire, that is Golconda kingdom of Qutbshahis. Henceforth, Hyderabad from being the capital of Qutbshahi Sultans became the provincial headquarters of the Nizams of subedars subordinate to the viceroyalty of the Deccan. The virtual destruction of the fortress of Golconda led to the shifting of the capital to the eastern side of the river Musi, what is now called as the old city of Hyderabad. Then began the Nizam's rule that held the subedari of Hyderabad from its inception in 1687 till 1724 AD. when Nizam-ul-Mulk established at Hyderabad his independent rule of the Deccan. From then onwards Hyderabad centre took over the erstwhile glory as the capital city of the medieval Deccan.

Among prominent rulers, Syed Bahadur Dil Khan Sabzwari (C 1688-1700 AD) known as Jan-sipar Khan was appointed as subedar of Hyderabad after defeat of Abul Hassan. ' Imperial ruler commanded him to proceed to the Daulatabad fort in company with defeated Tanashah. He complied with the orders and returned back to Deccan. During this period of his absence Rohullah Khan Bakshi carried on the administration of the country.

After the death of the Jan-sipar Khan his son Rustum Dil Khan (C 1700-1713 AD) was deputized to the assignment of subedar of Hyderabad by the prince Kam Buksh under the orders of the emperor. After the death of Aurangzeb, Rustum took great care and caution in gathering troops and suppressing the rebels. For one whole year he governed the country at his will without any consultation or advice of anyone. When Prince Kam Buksh came to Deccan, he relinquished the control of Hyderabad in his favour. A week after this the prince became suspicious of Rustum and listening to the tales of evil-mongers caused him to be killed without any guilt being proved.

On the murder of Rustum Prince Kam Buksh who was the subedar of Deccan, appointed the deceased brother Yusuf Khan as his deputy on the orders of the emperor. After strenuous efforts, Yusuf Khan succeeded in capturing a notorious rebel by name Papada. He dismembered all the limbs of his body and sent his head to the emperor. The other parts of his limbs were scattered in all directions.

Yusuf Khan became the subedar of Hyderabad at the instance of Emperor Farruk Siyar due to which he entered Hyderabad only to find it in ruins. Its large population which flourished during Qutbshahi period was decimated.¹²² There existed only three shops. Seeing this condition, Yusuf Khan made strenuous efforts and spent large sums of money and repopulated it in a period of 12 years. He subdued the rebels on the surrounding areas.

Hussain Ali Khan became next subedar after Yusuf, during whose time Mubariz Khan (C 1713-1724 AD) acted as his deputy at Hyderabad. Later on when Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fateh Jung or Asaf Jah-I became subedar of the Deccan, Mubariz Khan continued as his deputy. Nizam even conferred on him the '*mansab*' of '*haft hazari*' and 7000 horses and a title Imad-abul-Mulk.

But gradually in spite of good relations with Asaf Jah-I his thirst for power and glory prompted him to collect an army and surreptitiously obtain the '*sanad*' of the subedari of the whole of the Deccan. This happened when the Syed brothers were in no power at imperial court and when Asaf Jah received the assignment of the office of the wazir. The armies of Asaf Jah and Mubariz Khan were arranged against each other near the village of Shaker Kheda, forty kilometers from Aurangabad in which Asaf Jah killed Mubariz Khan and later he founded an independent dynasty which came to be known as Asaf Jah dynasty in 1724 AD.

All these political changes throw light on the fact that many nobles and lesser ranking officials were taken into service during Mughal domination of Deccan. The imperial rulers sent orders or Farmans to local administrators and military officers of their rights and responsibilities. For a short time except a change in royalty, the rest of the administration remained same under

nobility.¹²³ For instance, Mahabat khan the former commander-in-chief of the Golconda army was appointed as the Governor of the kingdom.¹²⁴

All these new officials gave patronage to the arts which was partly responsible for the excellent Deccani miniature paintings mostly portraits of nobility and other group scenes, attributed to the late 17th and early 18th century. These rulers indeed though were under Mughal authority, ruled with considerable independence and under their rule Hyderabad remained as the main centre of paintings, even before the assumption of actual power by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the first Nizam of Hyderabad.

The three main rulers during whose rule, painting flourished exclusively were Jan Sipar Khan, Rustum Dil Khan and Mubariz Khan. Beneath the governors were the faujdars, district officers and fort commanders in charge of the thirteen great-fortified strong holds of the former Qutbshahi kingdom. All civil and military administrators of rank in the Mughal Deccan were entitled as Mansabdars, nobles and Amirs.¹²⁵ Most of them remained as potential patrons of miniature paintings, which resulted in numerous illustrations that can be analyzed under following themes.

PAINTINGS OF THE PERIOD (C 1687-1724 AD)

During this period several paintings were illustrated around various themes like royalty, war, nobility, music, religion and female portraiture.

Few paintings on royalty were depicted during this period. For instance a painting depicts the Qutbshahi Sultans of Golconda like Abdullah Qutbshah Abul Hasan and others.¹²⁶ It is painted by Ali Reza in the last quarter of the 17th century. It is in a private collection. Another version of this painting is in the Prince of Wales museum, Bombay bearing a Nastaliq inscription which identifies the figure wearing a fur collar as Abul Hasan, The last of Qutbshahis. It is a perfect representation of a private royal meeting engaged in serious conversation which is one peculiar characteristic feature of medieval Deccan.

Another painting depicts a prince smelling a rose, attributed to early 18th century. It depicts as if prince is enjoying the beauty of a perfumed garden.

Behind him there is yellow green background. He wears a cream and purple jama with a red and gold turban. Huge gold butterflies sip nectar from giant flowers. Though the costume of prince is a typical Mughal style, yet the lyrical intensity with which the picture was illustrated and colours used are of Deccan. It is in the collection of national museum, New Delhi.

Rulers patronized an official art, which glorified their activities at court and battlefield.¹²⁷ The valiant conquest or march with his army was frequently represented in Northern Schools. Such themes became popular even in Deccan when alien governors ruled it.

A miniature depicts a young prince galloping through the Deccani countryside marching with his huge army towards enemy. It is an excellent picture of a battlefield mainly of one side, depicting elephant's mahouts and general, horses with army men and other soldiers accompanying the prince with royal arms and necessities. Animals and birds like deer's, pigeons, cranes and few small birds are also depicted in the painting giving the real picture of the outdoors of the palace or the kingdom, as if they are passing through a phase of a small forest of animals or a sanctuary with animals. In other words it is pleasure-garden with prince army as distant mirage.

Another painting on battle, which had Hindu influence, was a Ramayana manuscript depicting Rama's battleggon. " The artist who received patronage illustrated this miniature by powerful Hindu chiefs who lived to the east of Hyderabad. These Hindu chiefs patronized an indigenous tradition of painting in the beginning of 18th century medieval Deccan, which illustrated pictures of Telugu literature and scriptures. It gives an excitement of fierce-battle depicting bows, arrows, horses or chariots with soldiers equipped with arms ammunition leading forcefully towards the enemy. Tin washes of color are used.

In a fantastic war-scene painting a hero kills a demon with many arms and heads by means of a '*chakra*', the weapon of Lord Vishnu. This painting is based on mythological rather than historical theme. Such paintings were executed in the Hyderabad region during the first quarter of the 18th century. * Few other similar paintings were painted during this period. ^J

It is pointworthy to note here that both themes from Islamic history and Hindu legends were illustrated which indicates that transition was witnessed not only on political scenario, i.e. the coming of the Mughals in the Deccan or their penetration into Deccan for a certain time but also in the incorporation of the Hindu themes in the Deccani paintings. Such trend which was mainly in vogue during Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan's reign now got revived due to the Hindu patronage of the Deccan painters which ultimately resulted in the illustration of variety of themes at Deccani workshops.

Most of the themes executed during this period revolved around the nobility due to absence of strong royalhood and moreover, it was these noble who gave patronage to the paintings. Hence, artists tried to win their support by potraying them not only for their survival, but also artistically interested in execution of such themes of the time. One of the earliest paintings was a portrait of Nawab Abdul Ghaffar Khan Bahadur. In it the Nawab is depicted in his leisure moment. A magnificent huqqa is placed beside him. A courtier is placed behind him is engaged in a royal duty. This painting was determined by the three impacts of Bijapur, Golconda and Mughal styles, which indicated that the new Mughal governors of the Deccan not only gave patronage to the artists of the Mughal taste but also employed many from Bijapur and Golconda Schools after the decline of these Kingdoms. The artists who sought new patronage and now got a chance to depict new themes continue older Deccani traditions. For instance, the delicate line of Golconda atelier, earthiness of Bijapur and intense use of violet, orange and prickled gold colors of Mughal court art can be perceived in this painting.

Another miniature depicts a middle-aged Muslim officer datable to 1695 AD. The officer listens attentively to a person who is depicted as if communicating something important. The costumes of the persons illustrated are very much related to Deccani taste. It is presently in the collection of National Museum, New Delhi. The officer depicted is most probably Shahbaz Khan Kamboh. Orange, yellow, pink and green colors give the picture an elegant look. An artist, Ali Riza, illustrates a portrait of a Muslim nobleman on

a veranda smoking a Persian type of huqqa in the last quarter of the 17th century. Though setting of the painting like seating of the noble, scenery behind him, **the** pavilions etc are derived from Mughal portraiture, the use of colors like red, pink and gold are related to the Deccan. More over, the attendants in the picture with their dark skin and long sidelooks resemble Deccan youths.

Another magnificent painting depicts a Muslim warrior hawking with six courtiers.^m It is also attributed to early 18th century. Excellent costume-designing, fashion-trends, beautiful-landscape with mountains, trees, water and cranes, obedient courtiers mark the main features of the painting related to medieval Deccani era. Colors of green, violet and yellow are used in depicting various features. A Persian on it identifies the horseman as Atachin Beg Bahadur Qualmaql, a Turkish name for Deccan officer.

Similarly a painting of nobleman depicts him hawking with armed followers and a hound running with them. The nobleman holds a pigeon in one of his hands which is a common feature of the most of the Deccani paintings. This painting may represent a peaceful or hunt-riding undertaken by the nobility, in contrast **to** fierce battle-expedition. Green, brown and white colours evoke cool atmosphere of **the** picture. The Persian inscription on the top identifies the hunter as **Ali** Asghar Khan Bahadur. He was a Golconda nobleman born in Iran a person who remained faithful to the Sultan Abul Hasan during Aurangzeb's siege of Golconda in 1687 AD. Later the victorious emperor rewarded him as the chief executive of south of Hyderabad owing to his braveness.^{lj} It is in the **collection of Rietberg** museum, Zurich.

A miniature depicts a nobleman namely Allah-wardi-khan receiving a petition.¹³³ He was a mansabdar who served Aurangzeb during his Deccan campaign. He was a good poet of Iranian origin with a '*Diwan*' to his credit.^j **The noble man with** majestic personality receives a petition from a dark courtier while **his other attendant's** look-on. A soldier next to the courtier is also seen as **if witnessing to the entire** episode. There is beautiful scenery behind them with **depiction of deer's, swans, small birds and** butterflies. At the bottom a small

fountain is depicted which is another common feature of royal court and garden decorations. Coconut trees depicted are peculiar of Deccan.

Some other paintings on nobility are in Johnson albums collection datable to 1690 AD.¹³⁵ Some of them are Asaf Khan Jaffar with grey beard stands looking to the right with his hands folded as if worshipping. He wears a pale yellow jama with illuminated patka and turban. There is a green background with band of sky above. In another painting Asaf Khan stands in a field with his hands resting on his staff. He has a grey beard and was seen dressed in a lilac jama and green trousers the background is pale blue with clouds above.

Another miniature of Husan Ali Khan depicts him standing in a field facing left, holding his hands out before him and dressed in green with yellow leggings. His sword is at his side. There is a pale blue background with cloud strides at top. similar paintings of nobles Nauraz Quli Khan, Sayyid Muzzfar Khan and others were illustrated during this period highlighting their role in changing politico situations of medieval Deccan. Musical scenes were also illustrated during transitional phase, which is one way indicates that inspite of social turbulence and political instability, art - forms were peaceful with elegant and peaceful themes on music.

A painting depicts a nobleman smoking a '*bidiT huqqa* listening to a singer.^{Ub} which indicated that music which was a favorite past-time of royalty, continued even under nobility and hence such themes were even reflected in painting in this miniature also a courtier is seen fanning the noble standing behind him - a popular feature of Deccani miniatures. With a color scheme of pink, yellow, red and blue, this painting almost depicts the smells of flowers, taste of fruits, sounds of gurgling water and music depicted in the miniature painting.

A similar painting depicts Nawab Salabat Khan listening to singers playing tambura and other musical instruments. It is dated to 1698 AD. Salabat Jung, one of the officers who served Aurangazeb in the Deccan.¹³⁷ A palette of vibrant white, green pink **and** gold colors are used. Nawab listens to the music attentively. The picture also depicts the interior and exterior decoration of the

palace, court, utensils and other architectural details. The inscription on the reverse gives the Nawab's name as Salabat Jung in Devanagari script. It is in the collection of Victoria and Albert museum, London.

Few themes on nature were also depicted; the most popular among them being '*Nal Daman*'¹³⁸ In it beautiful scenery, different kinds of birds in a jungle are depicted with long - tailed peacocks moving between them. Long thin trees were depicted in the background. Fantastic foliage gives added pleasure. Excellent light colors in the picture give charming delight and pleasant scenes of nature. The manuscript dated to 1698 AD. was written in Deccani Urdu, the language spoken by the Muslim of the Deccan. It is a story version of a romantic story of Nala and Damayanti, of a great Hindu epic Mahabharata, indicating another Hindu theme being depicted in late 17th Century miniature painting by local regional artists under Mughal hegemony. The features include both Mughal and Deccani characteristics in depiction of scenery and colour-contrasts. A painting dated to 1700 AD. depicts a run away buffalo, where a man dressed in a pink costume and slippers tries to rein it. A miniature dated between (C 1700 to 1720 AD.) depicts a flowering plant with a single stem bearing leaves and pink flowers and buds. It is in the Johnson's album.

Themes exclusive on religion are limited during this period. A miniature painting depicts Animals and Ascetics in a landscape.^J This picture is closely similar to a copy of the Hindu romance '*Nal Daman*' executed at Golconda in 1698 AD and now in the Prince of Wales museum, Bombay. It depicts forest life suited for ascetics with squirrels and other animals marked by autumn saturnalia, with joyous emotions, making it an ecstastic celebration of nature in religious in mood.

Another particular miniature of Jain faith depicts a noble man, worshipping a Jain Thirthankara. It was painted by Ali Reza and is attributed to last quarter of 17th century Medieval Deccan.⁴⁰ It contains Deccani features like use of pink and blue colours, depiction of sky in orange, long trees of Deccan landscape and complexion of nobleman, which are very native to Deccan atmosphere. Other manuscript of the time were Bahar Danish by Inayatullah painted in 1713 AD.

During the subedari of Dawud Khan Panni and other is a Jain manuscript of Upadesamala executed between (C 1724-1725 AD).^m

Thus, in a variety of other miniatures illustrated during this period under patronage of Deccani nobles, both Muslim as well as Hindu artists participated and hence divergent influences resulted on paintings like Mughal, Bijapur, Rajput, etc. They must have been painted by Mughal trained artists working in the Deccan or Deccan artists of Golconda influenced by other arts styles. Ultimately, the tough competition between the local and migrated artists resulted in prolific production of paintings.

A mixed style of painting developed during this phase resulting from the intermingling of Rajput, Mughal and Deccani painters and patrons. Rajput influence was strong in Northern Deccan around the Mughal administrative capitals of Aurangabad and Burhanpur, the cities which had been under Mughal control since the early 17th century.

The main features of his phase was the depiction of attendants, birds, butterflies and deer in typical poses, smoking *oihuqqa* inlaid with brass flowers by noble personages, *huqqa* with large round typeihat was specially vogue in late 17th century paintings, depiction of huge butterflies, tiny staircase, maroon and gold carpets, sky in pink, orange and dark blue colours, bright green gardens. Other features included the main figures resting their hands on a pillow or twisting a pillow beneath their arms, with gestures and movements, and depiction of figures more in leisure like relaxing on cushion instead of sitting on throne in a royal court, which was the main feature of Golconda School of painting. Among technical aspects spatially illogical setting, cursory modelling around outlines, thin washes of colour, confident strokes of brush, bold floral patterns and intense use of colours of violet, orange and prickled gold.

All these artists' depicted themes related to the private life of royalty and nobility, their public ambitions and activities, with precision, clarity and conception. **All** together different artistic - cultural traditions co-existed in **Deccani miniature painting** of 18th Century.

In other words though Aurangzeb brought about the extension of the royal dynasty of Golconda, which contributed lavish artistic patronage in 17th Century, the flourishing trends of this School of painting continued even after its fall with different themes. The main difference was that ruling Deccan elite i.e. the Qutb Shahi Sultans were replaced by Mughal representatives who were indeed artistic and gave patronage to miniature painting by employing artists in their minor principalities. This made art tradition to continue inspite of political disturbances and local social changes like settling of new ruling classes in Medieval Deccan society at Hyderabad and surrounding areas. However critical aspects these miniatures reveal the fact that though art forms continued they seemed to be small in comparison with earlier execution of paintings and in terms of quality and picturisation. Paintings were affected. However, Deccani paintings retained creativeness, local concepts and techniques continued in terms of paper, pigments and colouring. All these enriched miniature painting which acted as a great between fall of Golconda and rise of Asaf Jahi kingdom leading to another excellent phase or School painting namely by Hyderabad School at the beginning of 18th Century under the patronage of Nizams.

PART-III

HYDERABAD SCHOOL (C 1724 - 1948 AD.)

Though painting continued after the fall of Golconda, the actual phase of painting got differentiated as Hyderabad School only after the foundation of Asaf Jahi dynasty in 1724 AD. The founder of the Asaf Jahi dynasty was Mir Qamaruddin Khan, Chin Qilich Khan, Nizam- Ul - Mulk.¹⁴² The political line related to him came to be known as Nizams or Asaf-Jahis of Hyderabad during whose reign Hyderabad became the main center of painting. The Hyderabad style was the direct heir to Golconda style of painting. Though Golconda miniatures persisted in Hyderabad during 17th Century, from 18th Century that is with the coming of Asaf Jahis, the painting at Hyderabad acquired new features

in regard to subject - matter, costume-jewelry, coloring atmosphere, landscape and general setting and hence came to be known Hyderabad School of painting.

Though main styles of Mughal and Rajasthan had their impacts on it, still the School retained its own features and trends seen in artist's draughtsmanship, quality of picturing, multiplicity in details of drawing, rich colouring, representation of real nature and architectural peculiarities. In various group and individual scenes elements of standardized conventions can be perceived, which easily differentiates Hyderabad style from various Schools of Medieval Deccani paintings. It retained the general medieval Deccani characteristic features, which made it to occupy another importance in medieval artistic history.

Among the factors of importance which finally gave rise to these paintings are the Aurangzeb's preoccupation with war and lack of interest in artistic trends, made many artistes to settle down in the Deccan, before coming of the Nizams, where patronage was available by local regional nobility who were prosperous and enlightened patrons of the arts.

Moreover though general revenues throughout India seriously declined during beginning of the 18th Century, resulting in economic downward phase due to political anarchy, Nizam's on other hand inherited the richest part of the Mughal Empire. For instance, the six Deccani provinces he ruled had a standard revenue of 160 million rupees as against 170 million from the other 12 provinces of the Mughal Empire combined.¹ Hence, Nizam's court at **Hyderabad remained cultured and** relatively wealthy center of artistic patronage.

Apart from these Asaf Jah - 1 or Nizam - Ul - Mulk gave relative peace to the region during his rule did not hinder the art tradition that followed and indeed encouragement to few painters to depict superb miniatures. Muslim and Hindu nobles, feudatory princes or rulers of some samsthanas like Kurnool, Cudappa, Shorapur, Wanaparthi and Gadwal also gave patronage to artists, who depicted **painting with** great originality at Hyderabad and surrounding areas. Social atmosphere also suited for the new talented persons, to settle down on this new **land where peace and harmony** existed.

All together political patronage, economic wealth and social co-existence coupled with powerful continuing tradition of Qutb Shahi Painters advent of new painters Mughal style and finally impact of other artists influenced by Bijapur and mainly Rajasthani style of art, finally resulted in efflorescence of new School of painting at Hyderabad which acquired new identity in history miniature of painting. Yet this School retained peculiar qualities and themes which can be analyzed as follows:

Royal patronage was most important factor flourishing art forms hence among the themes represented royalty aspects remained the main corpus of minter art. Among the earliest paintings, a portrait of Asaf Jah I (C 1724 - 1748 AD.) of mid 18th Century is a remarkable one it depicts Asaf Jah sitting on a terrace with a rosary in his hands.¹⁴⁵ A simple background with two birds flying in the sky and little coloring of blue can be perceived in the picture. It indicates that the lavish gorgeousness of paintings of Golconda period was absent in the earlier phase of Hyderabad School. Even the presence of luxurious is also absent in the illustrations, which in other words represent a simple, pious and spiritual life, led by the Nizam.

Another painting of same nature depicts Asaf Jah standing on a garden terrace holding a sword and an open book. An inscriptional label on the painting reads Mir Kumar-ud-Din-Chin Quilich Khan, Fateh Jung Nizam - Ud-Daula, Nizam-Ul-Mulk, Asaf Jah, and Amir -ul-umra 1st Nizam.¹⁴⁶

A painting of Nizam - ul - Mulk, Asaf Jah depicts him breast predominantly standing on a terrace facing left holding a red sword, while two attendants stand with '*morchals*' on the right.¹⁴⁷ Gold, silver, red and orange colours are used for the depiction of various features in the painting. It represents the majestic royal personality of the Sultan and the loyal obedience of the attendants serving the Sultan.

A miniature by an artist Venkatachellam depicts Nizam Ali Khan II (C 1761 - 1803 AD) standing under a flower - filled tree with birds. He is illustrated holding a flower in his right hand as if enjoying its fragrance. A long sword attached to his waist can also be seen in the picture. He wears several chains of

pearl necklaces. He wears a long flowing/ama. The painting gives the picture of royal grace and aesthetic outlook of Sultan. The representation of the sword is another symbol royalty. It is dated to (C 1791 - 1792 AD.).¹⁴⁸

Another painting depicts a prince at a well where sitting on horseback, he receives water from one of the five girls who draw water at a well beneath a tree.¹⁴⁹ the prince must be on his ride on the Deccani landscape as picture in the background depicts a distant landscape with extensive green field and a deer resting by a pool. Red, gold and yellow Colours give it a attractive look.

A Miniature painting of Nizam Ali Khan depicts him seated on a terrace receiving a minister. A servant with a '*morchav*' stands behind him and a pavilion and garden are seen in the picture. A Persian inscription points him out as Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur. This ruler who is also known as Asaf Jah -II was cultivated man and a generous patron of the arts. Poets, musicians, painters and calligraphers, flocked to his court. His long and prosperous rule and general well - being of the people provided lot of the impetus for the development of the arts. He was very fond of having his portraits drawn in indoor and outdoor settings. He got his biography, '*Tuzuk - i - Asafi* '; written and illustrated in 1793 AD by the Tadjalli Ali Shah.¹⁵¹ Ali and Rai Venkatachallam were his court artists among whom, Venkatachallam painted numerous miniatures. He was also given a yearly jagir of Rs.12, 000. The most representative and majority of the Hyderabad School paintings were done during the period of Nizam Ali Khan, depicting him his officials and other noble man of the time.

One painting of '*Tuzuk - i - Asafi*' illustrates Nizam Ali Khan hunting with huge army. Various animals like lion, deer, and variety of birds are hunted out in the picture. While this constitutes the top part of the picture, bottom part of the picture depicts Nizam Ali Khan listening to music with his officials and courtiers. It is dated to 1793 AD. The picture incorporated even minutest details of a forest life like grass, small-birds, animals trying to escape etc. Musical scene show the ruler engaged in entertainment. Fantastic designs and **costumes mark an important feature of the painting.**

Few other portraits of Hyderabad School illustrates Nizam AH Khan standing alone discussing with his ministers, sitting on elephant followed by retinue, watching dance performances or listening to music. In most of these paintings, the complexions of the characters have delicate features and the dressing pattern; ornaments and personages depicted is mostly Muslim subject. Few Hindu officials are seen in some paintings, which give us idea that they are most probably executed under the patronage of Hindu officials who got themselves painted with the ruler. Pail green, pallid blue and other dark colors of wash are used to depict flower - gardens horizon and tangled clouds.

During the reign of Sinkandar Jah (C 1803-1829 AD) a portrait depicts Sultan seated holding a pink flower. A sword and shield are placed near him indicating his royalty. A simple fountain is depicted at the bottom of the painting, which throws light on one of the interior decorations of the court. A floral decorated carpet gives charm to the painting.¹⁵

Another painting depicts prince Sikandar jah as a child. It depicts him squeezing a ripe mango with one hand and sniffing at another as if trying to decide which one is the best.¹³³ A miniature painting during his time depicted him seated on a terrace facing left. A Persian inscription read it as illuminated presence of sikandar Jah. Pink is used for floral decoration and for borders.

A group portrait of Nizam Sikandar Jah depicts him seated on a terrace, enjoying the fragrance of a rose while his two chief ministers stand before him, mainly Raja Chandulal on the left and Munir-al-Mulk on the right. He was depicted as folding his hands in veneration. It is attributed to 1809 AD.⁵

A painting dated to 1850 AD depicts Nizam Nasirud-daula (C 1829-1857 AD), near a window dressed in yellow with a white turban. A Persian inscription reads as illuminated presence of Nasirud-daula Bahadur. A miniature depicts a prince seated on terrace with his companions.¹⁵⁵

Thus few paintings on royal theme were depicted during Nizam's rule. Though some of them are competent and of good quality like gem-like brilliance, sensitive drawing of the figures and penetrating characterization of the personages, other paintings lack quality of work being dry and spiritless.

This School of Hyderabad painting which started with Nizam-ul-Mulk continued under his successors. For instance after the death of Asaf Jah-I in 1748, his son Nasir Jung, who himself was a painter ruled between 1748-1750, followed by Muzaffar Jung and Salabat Jung.

The painters of Asaf Jah-I even continued to work under his successors. Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah-II. Being a great patron of arts gave encouragement to the tradition of miniature painting due to which diverse types of work of several painters were executed under his inspiring support.

After Nizam Ali Khan, his successor Sikandar Jah Asaf Jah-III (C1803-1829 AD) also continued the tradition with same spirit but quality of paintings remained inferior. He was enthroned immediately after the subsidiary Alliance of 1800AD and hence made Hyderabad a British dependency due to which British's interfered in the internal matters of Nizam's administration like appointment of Diwan etc.

This indicates that last phase of Asaf Jahi's political life was full of interferences and the spirit of art during this period was also of a declining nature. Moreover when compared to Golconda School of painting the themes on royalty were less with rare depictions of rulers enthroned or sitting on throne in royal court. They were mainly depicted standing or seated on terrace. Even war or hunting scenes were few, which indicate that even if they participated in the wars or went out hunting, they never like to see such themes in miniature paintings, which they commissioned mainly for pleasure, relaxation and entertainment.

But one very important and striking feature of Hyderabad School of painting is that innumerable paintings on nobility and women were executed when compared to earlier Medieval Deccani art traditions and hence this School acquired recognition and identity in this field. Moreover School had special qualities and features, which distinguished it from other Schools.¹⁵⁶

Variety of paintings on nobility-related aspects were depicted during Nizam's rule which throw light on the fact that more than royalty, the local nobles gave more patronage to the artists. This artistic tradition of encouraging artists by

nobility continued mainly after the fall of Golconda, when there was absence of strong royalty. Moreover medieval Deccan was under the control of Mughal hegemony their noble representatives before Nizams, indicating the transition from rulers to nobles not only in political-administration but also in artistic-patronage. Hence this patronage by nobility remained with same pace even during Asaf Jahi's or Nizam's time. Among the nobles both communities, Muslim and Hindu commissioned many miniatures in which they enjoyed themselves being represented which can be evaluated as follows.

Among the paintings of early part of 18th century a portrait represents Deccani Nawab of Hyderabad smoking from a beautiful gilt *huqqa*.¹⁵⁷ Another painting depicts nawab Mohatram Khan Bahadur Jung dated to 1725 AD.¹⁵⁸ In it, the Nawab, holding a long sword, stands elegantly in a portico of a noble house.

A miniature of 1784 AD depicts nawab Himmat Yar Khan smoking a *huqqa* and listening to a lady singing.¹⁵⁹ The painting captures the nobleman's mood of pleasurable concentration with brilliant design work of various objects seen in the painting. Smoking-*huqqa* remained a common feature in most of the paintings on nobility in Hyderabad School.

A painting of noble Aziz Khan Chaghata datable to 1784 AD depicts the noble seated on a white terrace holding a bow and arrow dressed totally in white. His sword, spittoon, pan box and 'katar' lie on the terrace beside him. There is a grey sky with clouds at the top. An interesting miniature depicts nawab Saif-al-Mulk, son of the Prime Minister Azim-ul-umara of Nizam AH Khan dated to 1795 AD. The picture depicts nawab inspecting a plate of jewelry which throws light on the material-richness of his noble palace which is also visible in the long chains of jewelry and emerald ornaments worn by the nawab. Excellent features of palaces with its interior decorations and dress patterns are visible. Strong colours of green, gold and mauve give dazzling effect to the theme depicted. It was attributed to the painter Venkatachallam.

Another fine miniature painting of Saif-al-Mulk depicts him as hawking on camel back. Beautiful cranes are illustrated flying across the sky, while well-

disciplined retinue follows him. Once again a falcon is seen resting on nawab's right hand as if guiding the ride under taken by the nawab or waiting for an opportunity for a hunt. This painting is in private collection.

The painting of nawab Ihtisam-al-Mulk Bahadur by Venkatachallam is attributed to 1795 AD. ' In it nawab rides an elegantly painted elephant, accompanied by his huge army carrying arms. Courtiers too follow him discharging their duty of serving him. Brilliant colours of blue, green and orange are used. But a controversial point regarding this painting was that the inscription, which identifies the nawab as Ihtisam, is not known Deccani nawabs during this period. The person in the painting must be most probably Nizam Ali khan when he was young. More over the grouping of the army in parallel lines represent the influence of Ottoman Turkish miniatures, which the Nizams could have acquired as a result of their matrimonial alliances.

A Miniature of Iqramul Mulk Bahadur, eldest son of mir Bahadur, eldest son of Mir alam, the diwan is dated to 1800 AD.¹⁶² It depicts him seated enjoying the fragrance of a flower, while a courtier conveys him some message. The scenery depicted at the background is exclusive of Hyderabad region with 'todi trees' banana trees, etc. both interior and exterior decorations of palace architecture can be perceived. A Miniature painting of different style is executed between (C 1804- 1808 AD.). It depicts Mir Alam Diwan of Asaf Jah-III and Raja Chandulal Peshkar in a conversation. They are seated in chairs in a beautifully located architectural setting and elegantly dressed floor.

Similar miniature painting with a theme on nobility depicts Muniaral-Mulk or Aristu Jah, the Diwan of Nizam Sikandar Jah executed between (C 1809-1810 AD). Proud, elegant and reserved, the nawab is splendidly isolated from his attendants upon a plane green ground crowned by a glorious ridge of orange clouds and white birds flying. A courtier behind him carries huge huqqa which nawab smokes. Two persons before him are illustrated as if communicating something related to the kingdom, which nawab listens attentively. The dress trends and jewelry fashions are very much related to Hyderabad.

Another painting depicts Munir-al-Mulk folding his hands in front of him as if worshipping. He got a noble look with flowing costumes.¹⁶³ Similar painting of Chandulal, Diwan of Nizam of Hyderabad dated to 1808 AD, where he kneels facing right with his hands placed together in reverence.¹⁶⁴ Another miniature is of a Hindu noble riding a horse with his retinue. His officials too follow him riding horses. The painting gives a feeling of the beginning of a war scene. It is datable to 1840 AD.

Several other paintings on nobility were also illustrated mainly of Sikander Shah's court mainly 35 in number. They were collected by Sir Henry Russell, who became the assistant secretary to the resident of Hyderabad and secretary in 1802 AD.¹⁶⁵ Among them important are portraits of Nural-umara, Sharaf-al-umara, Sayyid omar Khan, Sulaiman Jah, Izzat Yar Khan, Ismail Khan, Nadi Ali Beg Khan, Husain yawar Jang, Teghjang, Akbar Yar Jang and others who were depicted in various poses like seated or standing but mostly enjoying the fragrance of flowers which they hold in their hands. Most of the pictures have depiction of swords, which were placed beside the nobles or carried by the nobles indicating their majestic personality next to the rulers.

Though themes on courtiers were engulfed with the themes of royalty or nobility, few themes exclusively of commoners were also depicted. Genre scenes are rare but if painted were related to the Deccan or telangana area. For instance a painting depicts a telangana shepherd dated to mid 18th century.¹⁶⁶ The costumes worn by him are peculiar to medieval Deccan.

All these paintings on nobility and commoners are generally depicted against a fine setting on terrace with finely designed and worked carpets, cushions and jamas that at once reflect the refined tastes and rich life of the Deccani nobles.

Few themes on religion were also depicted which includes both Muslim and Hindu religions indicating the secular attitude of not only the reigning Nizams but also of artists whom they gave patronage.

A miniature painting depicts a dervish dated to 1792 AD. He was illustrated as a poor monk of Muslim religious order whose devotional exercise is generally expressed in frenzied whirling and dancing often accompanied by

loud singing and shouting. In this he is represented walking philosophically carrying a 'morchhal'.

Two paintings of saints are in Johnson album dated 1730AD. One depicts Saint Hafiz Abdallah, with a full white beard and dressed in white with a beige shawl, kneels facing right. There is a green background with sky above. Another painting depicts Saint Shah Ahmad Naqshvand with a full white beard kneeling against a mauve cushion holding a rosary. A green background was illustrated.

Another miniature painting represents a noble man in conversation with a saint ¹⁶⁸ It was executed about 1800AD. The saint has an aura behind his face, which indicates, his spirituality. He has a rosary in his left hand and looks as if offering huqqa to the noble man and making him to undergo some sort of spiritual test. The architecture in the background gives a look of a mosque. A painting depicts a Muslim saint with full beard and green costume sitting on a patterned terrace holding a rosary. It is dated to 1820 AD. ¹⁶⁹

A painting of Hindu origin depicts Krishna, playing the flute. He stands on a rock under a tree playing his flute to a peacock and cattle. ¹⁷⁰ His followers kneel in worship in the right. Similar painting of Johnson album collection illustrates Krishna standing beneath a tree playing his flute to Caparisoned oxen and a devotee waves '*chauri*'. He has four arms of which three hold attributes of Vishnu, the conch, the disc and a lotus indicating in one sense Krishna as the avatar or another form of Vishnu. They are executed around 1770 AD. Such depiction of religious themes became more popular under the sub Schools of Hyderabad like Shorapur, Wanaparty etc.

Thus an evolution of themes of Hyderabad School depicts various paintings on royalty, nobility and religion, which also included illustrations of courtiers, musical aspects, architectural patterns and social fashions. The migration of new artists from Northern parts of Deccan and imitation of Northern and western styles of paintings also resulted in variety of new themes and abundant production of miniature paintings.

However this School of Hyderabad painting cannot be compared to the glorifying style of Golconda School. Yet the tough competitive spirit between the local and migrated artists resulted in prolific paintings which inspite of innumerable impacts retained characteristic features of their own, and Hyderabad aura in them. In most of these illustrations, group scenes and individual portraits were depicted on the terrace outside a building or with a pavilion or in a courtyard garden with a fine background behind. The parapets of the terraces are of marble, golden or red wooden balconies. The doors were depicted with light brown with light black veins of wood, and colors, which are peculiar of Hyderabad School. The white terraces are covered with cushions and flowered carpets of yellow, green, red or mauve color. Even architecture is related to medieval Deccani style. Flower pots of blue and white, china-ware are seen many a times in the paintings. Long big-bellied glows are also displayed in the wall niches of some paintings. Both golden floral and simple designs with red color were depicted.

Mango and coconut trees with fruits, champa, plumera and palm trees birds perceived in them gives a distinct Deccani look. In several miniatures there is a decorative type of tree with small conical leaves shown in light green or gold all along the rounded fringes of the tree. This gives the feeling of massiveness and breezy quality of the atmosphere. Blue clouds with golden streaks in some paintings were depicted. Indigo clouds and other tangled clouds run across on top of the most of the pictures in clear sky of lighter Colours. Colorful birds flying across give pleasant look.

One significant feature of Hyderabad School was depiction of finely designed carpets and cushions. Though few paintings like those of saints and dervishes were hastily executed with little coloring or proper placements of postures, yet fine drawing, lyrical quality, careful draughtmanship in many of the paintings can be perceived. In particular variety of clouds trees, birds and animals along with personages place these compositions in the list of medieval Deccani miniatures. Most of these paintings were executed for Nawabs, majority depicted nobility and their outlooks, features and activities. Both teams

Muslims and Hindu nature were executed of patronage of respective nobles. The pictures depicting Hindu scenes and lifestyle like costumes, features, etc were indeed Hindu in feeling, though retained similar Deccani architecture and motifs of other paintings which indicates or through light on the fact that, even though Hindu officials commissioned these paintings since they lived under Muslim controlled or rule that is Nizam's authority and hence artist depicted architecture related to the time more of Persian nature in which nobles lived and worked.

Main figures are depicted usually as tall and of fine built. Costumes of long plain or flowing muslin *jamias* and small *pagiris* depicted are typical of Asaf Jahi style. Men were depicted generally wearing half sleeves jacket was known as *Neem-Astin*. Asaf Jah - I and Nasir Jung generally used it. It was given as gift to men of very high position by them¹⁷¹ Different kinds of jewelry were worn by men like pearl chains, thus the '*dust band*' or '*asumram*'.

In totality the artistic achievements of Hyderabad School particularly during 18th century is significant because after Golconda School, it seemed as if art - tradition of Deccan was orphaned due to lack of royal patronage. Moreover no strong ruler ruled over Deccan during transitional phase and it did not have a name for itself for in art history when compared to Golconda or Hyderabad School. Though many paintings were executed with different themes and characteristics of Deccan under the patronage of nobles, appointed by Mughals yet they could not be matched to Golconda style of paintings. In such circumstances once again art history of Deccan reached to glory with identification only with the coming of Asaf- Jahi's and their subordinate's controls like rulers of Shorapur, etc, who were responsible for this flourishing style of Hyderabad School of paintings.

Thus in totality, Hyderabad School assured mastery of illustrations with themes on court life, private life and religious life during 18th century. There was **prolific output** of paintings displaying magmatic impulses strong design, fine coloring **and** good enlivened drawing. A large number of them evolved with standardized conventions due to the reconciliation of conflicts in the trends

represented by the Mughal idiom on one hand and age-old eclectic style combining the Vijayanagar, Bijapur, Rajasthan, and Persian and Turkish elements. With this conflict resolved a total new and relatively homogeneous style appeared during Asaf jahi period.

Altogether during Asaf- Jahi period Hyderabad became important centre of paintings patronized by Nizam - Ul - Mulk Asaf Jah I , Mir Ahmed Khan Nasir Jung, Sayyid Mohammed Khan, Salabat Jung, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II, Mir Mohammed sharif Khan Basalat Jung and Mir Mughal Ali Khan Humayun Jah and others. Gradually In course of time several new Deccani Schools emerged due to its impact under the patronage of Nawabs of Kurnool, Cuddapah and few Hindu samsthanas like Shorapur, Gadwal, Wanaparthi during early 18 century. "

Muslim officers in Aurangzeb service Pathan- Afghan in origin established themselves as nawabs of Kurnool, cuddapah during the early 18* century later they became tributary to the Nizam who were independent from Delhi. Hindu rajas who also became tributary to the Nizam mainly the Telugu speaking Reddy caste ruled at shorapur, wanaparthi and Gadwal. All these rulers remained as prominent artistic patrons.'

By assimilating Golconda and Hyderabad styles of paintings, these sub Schools developed individuality of their own with traditional local styles. The reason for this development was that as the viceroy of the Mughal emperor in the Deccan, The early Asaf-Jahi rulers exercised control over the subordinates Nawabs of Kumool, cuddapah etc. Similarly when Aurangzeb conquered Deccan many Hindu samsthanas at shorapur, wanaparthi, Gadwal were reduced to tax -paying Zamindars as they found no place with regular military service of the Mughal Empire.¹⁷⁴

The Mughal governors, as well as the rulers of Hyderabad not only extracted revenue but also military assistance from these samsthanas, the system that continued **till** Nizam **Ali** Khan's reign. From then onwards smaller chiefs were reduced to **tax** paying over lords known as Deshmukh. All of them in totality became **a part of** revenue administration.

This political - Economic influence Nizams on samsthanas also let to artistic influence on them. Many of the rulers of these samsthanas patronized artist who depicted pictures related to their overlord lifestyles and psychological emotions which can be evaluated because they contained many characteristic features of Hyderabad as well as Deccani School of medieval era miniatures retaining local idioms and folk cultures which can be analyzed as follows.

IKURNOOL

At Kurnool, which is situated at the Banks of River Tungabadra many portraits were illustrated depicting themes like pictures of like Nawab or their relatives, smoking Huqqa listening to music or visiting saints. After 1700 AD, a Pathan general in Aurangazeb service established himself as a semi-independent Nawab at Kurnool.¹⁷⁵

During the rule of Siddi Masud, influence of Bijapur paintings was seen on Kurnool School due to his relation with Bijapur Sultan Sikander.¹⁷⁶ Hence Kurnool, School of painting is related not only to contemporary Hyderabad trends but also to 17th Century Bijapur portraiture as well. This connection suggests that Bijapur painters had accompanied Siddi Masud to Kurnool, in 1683 AD and founded a School of painting, which continued to be patronized by the Patan Nawab during the 18th Century.

The earliest painting of this School depicts durbar scene in which Ghulam Hazrat Akbar Khan Bahadur with other nobleman and courtiers.¹⁷⁷ Nastaliq inscription identify the nobleman facing the ruler as Muhammad Akbar Khan, Hoshdar **Khan and Hasan** Muhammad, behind the ruler as Osmun Khan, Hafiz Lutfullah **and** Ghulam Muhammad. A sword and a shield are placed in the front of Nawab on a well- decorated carpet. The garden foliage at the top of page consists of tiny birds, butterflies and squirrels. Blue gold couloirs are used extensively. These decorative details throw light on the lacquer industry for which Kurnool was famous.¹⁷⁸ Once again coconut trees of Deccani landscape are visible **in the background**.

Another durbar scene depicts Mahmud Khan Dawudi smoking a bidri huqqa and his son-in-law Abdul Razzaq Khan facing him wearing white Jama while to the left Bandi Khan Dawudi dressed in bright orange is seen. Orange flowers, blue background and provincial earthiness mark the painting. The Muslim noble man must have Kurnool, painters to do their portraits. It in the connection of Riedberg museum, Zurich dated to C 1750 AD.

Some other paintings depict Nawab's listening to music or visiting saints. One such painting depicts Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan visiting the saint piran sahib. He was the brother of the ruling Nawab Munnawwar Khan.¹⁷⁹ The young nawab wearing a distinctive long jama and low turban of Kurnool, area, stands obediently before the saint and his son Ibrahim who was seated next to his father Piran Sahib. A courtier in respect behind the Nawab and was depicted as offering a flower to the saint. This throws light on the fact that Kumool must have remained as important centre of Islamic -culture and that nawab of the time was religious oriented person. Warm green, blue and yellow Colours give spiritual look to the picture.

Similar painting **dated** to (C 1815 - 1823 AD) depicts Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan visiting another saint Burhan Uddin Sahib, who is seated in a cell like room with background of white - washed mosque. A courtier stands in respect behind the Nawab who is seen with a sword and shield tied to his waist. The religious saint seems to be communicating a spiritual message to the Nawab.

Thus these paintings of Kurnool reveal that Deccani traits continued at local levels with elegance and decoration.

II GADVVAL

The rulers of Gadwal, a place near to Kurnool were also patrons of art. This School of miniature paintings achieved a local flavor particularly during the reign of Raja Soma Bhoopal Rao. The slender figures and delicate Islamic patterns **of Hyderabad** School are visible in most of the paintings like massive

physical personalities. However Indian icons of fertility spirits and plain expanses of brilliant Colours are local flavors.

For instance a painting depicts Raja Soma Bhoopal Rao practicing archery at his court suggesting the talent and the energy of the ruler. It is in the collection of state museum of Hyderabad. Another portrait of the same prince is in a private collection dated (C 1840-44 AD).¹⁸⁰ It depicts him as if engaged in a mystic thought. The majestic personality, jeweler, costume style and noble look of the Nawab are clearly visible in the painting. Islamic arabesque and red and white Colours are used in the painting.

Several other portraits of Gadwal rajas sitting in a court, listening to music, conversing with courtiers, smoking *huqqa* and watching dance performances are found in the collection of Salar Jung museum and state museum Hyderabad. They were executed with extraordinary care and detail. The shorapur and Hyderabad influences on few paintings indicate that some of the artists of these Schools must have stayed at Gadwal for certain time and executed them.

In the paintings of the royalty, the glory of the monarchs is portrayed with certain accomplishment and sincerity. Use of kalka shaped guldastas was common in them. Indigo, blue, green and red Colours were generally used with various inter-mixing shades on a white background. Dravidian style of wooden pillars is used for verandas. Once again mango, coconut and palm trees of Deccan are depicted. These trees are generally depicted laden with fruits blooming with birds and squirrels. Men wore Maratha type of long pagri, transparent **white** jama **and** pyjamas. Floral decorations and shining pictures can be perceived in them.

HI SHORAPUR

Rajas of Shorapur, a region to the southwestern border of Hyderabad proffered religious themes in portraiture as the place was an important centre of Sanskrit scholarship, which was even depicted in the arts of the time. They are dated to **mid 18th century** and were mainly painted for aristocratic Hindu nobility like marriage of Vishnu to Lakshmi, Krishna and the gopis etc in the

collection of Bharatha Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala of Pune and Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

A painting depicts Krishna, the lord of Hindus and avatar of Vishnu, dancing with Radha. Another depicts Ram and Ravana in a fierce battle.¹⁸¹ Similar painting on religion depicts devotees worshipping Shiva Bhairava and Devi attributed to 1775 AD. Most of these paintings of Shorapur are themes on Hindu religion with depiction of rich palette of deep vibrant Colours produced by a bigger brush than the fine Hyderabad Kalam.

The iconography of the gods, the gorgeous aberration with gold work and the picture of rajas wearing Maharastrian attire, etc can be seen. Though several paintings were inspired by the legend of Krishna, Shiva and other episodes from Shaivaite mythology also formed the subject matter of the paintings. The borders of men dhotis are of red colour. Portraits of several Maharastrian saints like Virupaksha swamy, Gundeva baba and others were prepared for local rajas and other devotees at Shorapur. Finally when British occupied the place in 1858, many painters took refuge at Hyderabad and continued to paint for the Hindu noble men and rich temple priests. However, majority of depictions revolved around folk-culture of the times.

IV WANAPARTHY

At Wanaparthi, a place 15 km from Gadwal, very few miniature paintings of folk intensity were executed during mid 18th century. " Most of these paintings according to Raja Rameshwar Rao of Wanaparthi belong to their ancestral library.¹⁸³ They retained individual characteristic in coloring architectural setting and dress pattern. Telugu inscriptions are evident at the top of the most of the illustrations. They are executed around 1750 AD and are commissioned by Raja Sawai Venkat Reddy (C1746-1763 AD).

The preoccupations of the exalted new house holds, sophisticated folk style and depiction of personal life of Nawabs are main features of few paintings of Wanaparthi School. For instance a painting depicts a Nawab with his companions seated intensively at his private chamber while few birds and

peacock watch them. The figures generally appear tall with south Indian Hindu costumes and ornaments. Male costumes are sometimes designed on a Muslim Deccani model.

On the whole during Asaf Jahi rule at Hyderabad, Muslim nobles at Kurnool and Hindu Rajas of the samsthanas Gadwal, Shorapur and Wanaparthi patronized miniature paintings by employing painters. The closer relations with Hyderabad rulers and the frequent visit of these rajas to the state capital led to the further reward, for these rajas also engaged some painters. Many local styles developed mainly after 1750 AD. Even some Hyderabad painters were commissioned by the Rajas and in course of time some of them migrated to these Samsthanas, which show impact of Hyderabad style on these local styles.

While Muslim nobles commissioned pictures of their lifestyles in which head-dress remained quiet distinct with architecture showing cypress like pillars more slender and taller than Hyderabad pillars with ornate walls and depiction of Nawab and their family members.

The local rulers at Kurnool. Shorapur. Gadwal and Wanaparthi mainly Muslim and Hindu nawabs also gave patronage to miniature paintings during early 18th century of note and nativity. The Deccani style was prolonged in modified form during 18th century in the courts of these samsthanas where painting gradates quickly to a popular folk manner. In particular at Shorapur, the slight regression to the folk idiom managed to recover a surprising robustness and vigour of pictorial statement. Most of the paintings were derived from Hindu mythology mainly at Hindu principalities. The facial types, trees, flowers and ornaments are of Hindu nature. The workmanship remained exquisite with garish coloring. The quantity of gold depicted in the picture depended on the status of the patron for whom the particular work was done. In some paintings architectural features are seen in cusped arch on the two sides of which are **floral motifs** and scrolls with predominantly indigo color. But many of **them were illustrated** mainly for religious purpose rather than for deriving **aesthetic pleasure**. But few paintings depicted at imaginative impulsive, strong **design, fine coloring and** excellent drawing skill.

On the whole in the pages of medieval Deccan, art history or culture of miniature painting Hyderabad School had its unique style of approach and depiction, which made it to glow during 18th century medieval Deccan.

However though the miniature paintings created an identity in the pictorial art of medieval Golconda and Hyderabad regions, yet most of them are scarce, widely scattered and the subject itself is of heated controversy. Art specialists and Scholars argue that several impediments made the miniatures in accessible and undistinguishable. In many cases the paintings and manuscripts available bear no evidence of provenance or date turning the subject into an academic guessing game. Hence many important surviving Deccani paintings remain relatively uncharted and unidentified as they are usually unsigned uninscribed and unlabeled.

When compared to the Mughal and Rajasthani ateliers, very few miniature paintings are in existence. This took place mainly on account of invasions, incessant wars and long periods of political upheaval in Deccan, which dispersed and some times totally destroyed the local collections making the Deccani art the rarest of the India styles.

In this period of political unrest and political change, the rulers and nobility carried several surviving miniatures to Delhi, Persia, Bikaner and other places.

Another reason for this scarcity of miniatures must be most probably that the artist working at Deccani court was limited in number. The material available in public and private collection is also very limited. Until recently the Deccani miniatures in the Bikaner palace collection. National museums and from few other museums have been studied and published.

The miniature carried off to far off places, yet has to be analyzed in depth and to be classified properly. The Nizam's personal collection has also largely remained inaccessible to scholars. Though few art exhibitions brought to light miniatures of varieties yet a large number still remain indoors. Some paintings are in Ratan Tata collection which contains portraits of Tana Shah.

Deccani paintings are also found in the collection of Kishangarh, as many Rajasthani portraits done at Kishangarh strongly resemble Deccani paintings

during the first part of the eighteenth century. Some miniatures are taken to Holland from Golconda by Dutch ambassador Lawrence Pit in 1686 AD.¹⁸⁵ They contain portraits of all the rulers of Golconda from the founder of the Qutub Shahi dynasty Sultan Quli right upto the last ruler Abul Hasan.¹⁸⁶ Few sets of portraits collected by Sir Henry Russell further testify to the continued requisition of Hyderabad miniatures by Europeans.

Such paintings in different collections have to be collected and analyze to know the personages and trends of painting. The stylistic characteristics of Deccani miniature also lack cohesiveness as a whole. The Deccani material published far refuses to fall into a neat stylistic bundle. Often Deccani miniatures are lost in Galleries and boxes labeled as Persian, Mughul, Rajput, etc. The all important but elusive differences having been over looked. Several paintings have been wrongly scribe to the Mughul artists due to their Muslim atmosphere themes and resemblance to Mughul paintings in technique and finish, which had considerably influenced the Deccani School mainly in late 17 and early 18 century.

The early Deccani kalams executed by Persian artist in Persian style and by Deccan artist with strong Persian influence are labeled as Persian. The strong cultural links with the Middle East especially with Iran have also long let scholars to confuse. Deccani art with Iranian style. Apart from this difficulty in the stylistic character in the Deccan School as a whole there are also problems within the Deccani School. Once again Golconda School has been confused with other Schools of Deccan style like Ahmednagar and Bijapur due to their stylistic similarities, except few characteristics of their own.

For instance the exact provenance of few ragamala and yogini paintings remained puzzle despite their mature, confident, and remarkably expressive style. Similarly Hyderabad School of Ragamala miniatures were confused sometimes with Bidar, Bikaner and Rajput School of paintings.

Moreover **it is not** even possible to assert in the exact number of surviving paintings **for public accounts do** not agree and the total material available for the study appears **ill defined** and wake in character, because of the difficulty in

making any precise identification, except for small group. There are also controversies regarding so-called copies of early Deccani paintings.

The spread of artists of Deccan to other places to created confusion and only a fragmentary portion of original corpus had survived. For instance after the political turbulence during the late 17 Century or following the Mughul conquest of Deccani kingdoms. Many Decanni artists have left the places of work to find patronage with the smaller sub states of the regions or with the Mughuls where they produced miniatures in Deccani style. This accounted for the large number of pictures having identifiable Deccani characteristics, which cannot be attributed to a particular place. Above all no local traditions about paintings appeared to have been gathered from survival of artists or patrons. Nor are there are any family collections, to presume the painting intact.

Moreover, the havoc caused by Aurangazeb's wars and dreadful allies famine, plague following in their wake ruined the city and erased many traces of arts including the delicate miniatures. The most important problem in identifying Deccani miniatures related to Golconda and Hyderabad was that the lack of appreciation of the historicity of miniatures and that many valuable pictures and historical documents remained unnoticed.

If these difficulties and differences of opinion are so wide and sharp then the study of medieval Deccani art itself will face many problems. Hence a critical scrutiny of all miniatures is needed to overcome the obstacles. In spite of these hazards one has to trace carefully, the stylistic character of each miniature and give them a place in the medieval Deccani world.

A proper perspective and techniques will enable to overcome the vague notion of their evolution which had become highly controversial in recent years and to overthrow the problems caused by the violence and confusion that obliterated quantities of these Deccani master pieces.

One most obvious method of relating paintings to a particular center is to analyze **the history of the time, the** character of the Sultan the peculiar landscape style of dress and to demonstrate that the author of the paintings was actually **working there when the** miniature was painted. A linear ascent, patch

of color, waving cloth, characteristic turban or features of personages can distinguish the miniatures and attribute them to a particular provenance. For this a sharp eye, a proper idea of the style of paintings and equally sharp imagination is essential to sort them out.

A satisfactory analyses of the character of the work produced in different areas also had to be undertaken which will enable to rediscover the stylistic peculiarities of each School in spite of them having strong leanings towards the Islamic culture of Persia or mogul impact, Turkey or parts of central Asia. A comparison of uninscribed portraits with other inscribed paintings will also indicate the authenticity of their identification.

In totality, a systematic collection of all available dated material, manuscripts and paintings have to be collected, which would be of great assistance for further research. More and more material has to be collected for a re consideration of prevailing theories and conjecture. Our public and private collection required thorough overhauling preferably by Indian expert in art history, to explore full historic and valuable history. In this regard one must welcome every opportunity as that provided by journal, articles etc, to become acquainted with as many as these unidentified paintings as possible in the hope that stylistics sartorial or material parallels will eventually lead to more precise information, identification and attribution. Such an approach and perception will also arouse intense interest in the brilliant art of miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools.

On the other hand a critical review of these Schools brought to light certain aspects like that very scant attention was paid to record or deposit event a realistically as evident from difficulty in differentiating between portraits of real princess and idealized symbols of royal splendor. It also appeared that very few histories or historical events were commissioned as the ruler was to passionate recorders of wordily phenomena or lacked the temperament for documentation.

Most of the paintings remained subservient not dazzling due to the imaginative composition and poetic content. They are also filled with somewhat unearthly spirit because instead of actually depicting the religious acts of persons

they only reflected its spirit and mystical exuberance. Some miniature show lesser movements and poorer taste for color. Pictures executed by unskilled painters was less successful in individual characterization than those by the masters.

In Hyderabad School most of the portraits of saints and dervishes though produced in large number were executed hastily without standardized formula for portraiture grouping and colors except for sentimental values. Such portraits of nearly six hundred came to the market from the Nawab of Kalyani collection, which were executed during mid 18 century.¹⁸⁷

Some of these portraits were displayed during Muharram in Abdarkhana by Nawab of Kalyani and Nawab Qiamul Mulk Mir Kalan who was son in law of Asaf Jhah I. At local Schools the main defect remained in their palate which was earlier too heavy, cold and garish in some cases, while chalky in others, their static drawing and stereo type compositions are the other points which indicate that the Deccani Schools was on the verge of collapse.

Few pictures with date and style restricted themselves to a determination of prominence and had remained on a descriptive level. They had not addressed themselves to an investigation of the totality of the worldview by placing specific examples of paintings against the background of philosophy, ethics or metaphysics. In other words although they speak of a flourishing civilization with a distinctive esthetic cultural values, yet these objects are still so few that it is hard to understand the values they communicate or even their language or expression. Moreover they differ radically in spirit from other School s especially in the cool precision of art. Most importantly, the miniature paintings in general are not an art of the people at large but of its royalty and nobility belonging to the aristocratic routes of medieval kingdom

There function apart from the functional was primarily a glorification of its patrons their activities and depiction of their talents. The treatment of its style continues **to be in terms of isolated units**, corresponding to reigns of individual rulers and as a momentum and logic of its own through which it evokes **transcending the preference and predilections** of its patrons. Even with in the

artistic frame work they work was marked by serious misconceptions betraying a lack of understanding of medieval society and the working of its institutions.

Further, while the obvious functional significance paintings cannot be denied, the cultural role as a medium through which the sovereignty of the ruling classes is endorsed cannot be denied. The evidence of miniature paintings should be corroborated and linked with the contemporary literary sources to have full and authentic history. Moreover one cannot just criticize these illustrative arts merely from the conceits and vanities of their rulers in search of their own images in the vague world of passion because the painters in spite of there obedience to there patron excused their functions independently which resulted in conglomeration of styles with different teams and give us a glimpse into the era gone by.

D) SPREAD AND DECLINE

Though the Deccani Schools of Golconda and Hyderabad suffered from few criticisms and their atelier seem always to have been small in comparison with the other Schools, yet their output dramatically original and consumably sumptuous in terms of papers, pigments and other materials used. These miniature paintings as discussed earlier possessed certain distinctive features of merit, which not only created a lasting in print in the Deccani kingdoms, but also spread far and wide.

The lavish artistic patronage provided by the elite dynastic rulers of Golconda and Hyderabad, continued even after extension of these kingdoms for certain time which reveal their artistic importance. The glowing Golconda style of paintings which reached their heights during the middle of 17th century witnessed the climax with its fall in 1687 AD, when Mughals attacked However patronage was shifted from royal lineage to noble lineage, who by transforming the Deccani kingdoms into some hereditary principalities, started acquiring power and wealth. After entrenching themselves in power, their artistic pursuits were exhibited in form of patronizing arts among which miniature art received a blow. Very soon artists who worked at Golconda School and those artist who

found no place at Mughal court rule of Aurangazeb due to his lack of artistic interest and continuous involvement in Deccani wars, found new place at Deccan notables and started portraying these noble which in one way made Deccani art to continue by enhancing the prestige of these new regional identities.

Some of them even found work not only under Muslim officials appointed by Auragazeb but also of Hindu officials in and around Hyderabad which resulted in new themes of Hindu nature. Others have accompanied their Rajput patrons back to Rajasthan, where there suddenly emerged a Deccani imprint on the Schools of Mewar, Kishangarh, Jodhpur and Bikaner. Related painters had immigrated further a field to Rajasthan and Punjab hills. Portraits executed by an artist named Wajid who worked in eastern Rajasthan and certain pahari portraits from Chamba, Bilaspur and Mandi are related to Deccani style.

Many others immigrated to Northern India especially to Mughal courts and produced works which became difficult to differentiate between Mughal and Deccani painting in late 17th century. For instance Mughal artists like Muhammad Ali and Farrukh Beg, who initially worked at Deccan, later on their return to Mughal court painted in pseudo Deccan style and produced excellent paintings that intrigued and pleased the Mughal rulers. On other side during Deccani Sultanate rule, Mughals collected several Deccani paintings, now found inserted into Jahangir's albums. It was believed that 2000 volumes, many of them illustrated were sent from Deccani kingdoms to the Mughal court in 1661 AD in connection with the arrangements for the marriage of Sultan Ibrahim's daughter to **Sultan** Daniyal, Jahangir's son.¹⁸⁵ Such copies in spite the Mughal artist, who composed or worked in styles heavily influenced by the Deccan. As a result across new idiom aroused in their work which combined the sober realism of Mughal portraiture with Deccani extravagance and a cool precision.

At the same time many officials of the Golconda kingdom remained at **Deccan itself even after its downfall**. Their imperial overlords allowed them to **continue keeping** in view of their administrative experience such officials patronage to the arts was also partly responsible for the spread of Deccani

painting within several regions and around Golconda kingdom. Apart from these new appointees being artistic persons gave additional impetus to the glow of the Deccani art.

Though in the later works of the paintings could not be matched to the style of the Golconda in draught manship and technical touch, yet they maintained the charming spirit of the earlier Deccani culture. But one particular and significant change or a great shift in illustrations that can be perceived was that artists, patrons, noblemen, governors and new-comers turned away from mere portraiture to rediscover the beauty of women, escaping into an idealized world of princesses and courtesans. Many male miniatures from then onwards were dry and repetitive, but there was a tendency towards effects of mere prettiness in the rediscovered feminine world.

Hence comparatively female portraitures and themes related to woman like royalty, raginis, courtesans, etc emerged in multitude, to those pictures of men. Altogether the tradition set by Golconda Sultans was followed by noblemen, vassals and other petty officials till rise of the Asaf Jahis who continued this art tradition of miniature painting.

Once again in Hyderabad School, Nizams by establishing flourishing workshops and Schools at their courts, made Hyderabad School to attain uniqueness in depiction, which made miniature paintings to spread from the capital cities into the minor centres and provinces like Kurnool, Shorapur, Wanaparthy, Gadwal. etc, where it always kept its predominantly worldly and secular character intact in the tradition of medieval Deccani art.

Finally with the growing impact of British power and art and casual interest of the rulers and Nawabs for the work of local painters dried up the flow of works completely after mid 19th century which indicates that Hyderabad School mainly belong to 18th and later 18th century-phase during which various themes were depicted with trim precision and grip of visualization. During this period most of them remained as cheap, impotent imitations of work done at earlier phase. However in other perspective they too remained a veritable treasure for the analysis of life, manners and costumes of the people of those days.

Thus in totality, during 17th and 18th centuries, Golconda and Hyderabad kingdoms and local feudatory rulers of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Wanaparthi, Gadwal patronized miniature paintings with which great originality, pulsate with personality of rulers, moods of their companions, official features of their nobility, work trends of their courtiers, universal beauty of nature, technical skill of architecture and mythological folk-lore, depicted different themes with blend of royal-emotional and spiritual moods, radiating colorful pictures of energy and look.

They in art history exist as independent objects with inspiring illustrative information testing a past reality through depiction. They deal with medieval Deccani aspects, which help or add in historical making. Such trends of approach or boost of sources will help in long-run in the perfection of history and to know the artistic output of medieval Deccani centres of polity and painting.

It was noticed in the analyses that Golconda School which reached its pinnacle during 17th century did not end with the fall of the kingdom but continued into the early 18th century before developing into a more fixed Hyderabad School and even continued to function under smaller local patronage as sub Schools. Though during intervals and transitional Dark Age of 18th century as known as, some paintings remained dull, colourless and imitative as if supporting the period, yet during peak times of Golconda and Hyderabad phase they are indeed medieval Deccani in nature with styles and qualities of nativity. These miniatures with natural figurisation; creative action, and aesthetic experience and with well-developed materials, tense subject matter, dynamic complex picturisation, revealed several aspects of Deccani life of the times in different realms and also of artistic work executed.

Finally the miniature paintings remained as diamond illustrative expressions of higher strata of artistic excellence at various stages of medieval era of Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis.

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²⁷ Brown Percy, *Indian Painting*, Hamam Publications, New Delhi, 1982, pp 35-50. He said that the system of kalms is being used mainly with regard to the Miniature Paintings of Rajputs and Mughal Paintings with local variations that possess important categories of style.

²⁸ The 16th century Miniatures had Persianate characteristics features due to foreign origin of the ruling dynasty - The Qutb Shahis, where Sultan Quli, the founder of the dynasty emigrated from western Iran to Bidar, the Deccani capital of Bahamani in 1478 AD and later found favor at their court and soon assumed political power as a noble man and finally with the beginning of the disintegration of the Bahamani empire declared independence and founded Qutb Shahi dynasty at Golconda, which continued till 1687 AD, till Mughal conquest of it.

²⁹ Various influences like Mughal, Persian, Vijayanagar, European, Rajput, etc on Deccani Painting and the differences and the similarities between them are discussed in pArt -II of this chapter in detail to know the real essence of Deccani Painting.

³⁰ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, **p.154**.

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³² Skelton Robert, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to the XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, where the author brought to light several other Golconda works. It is in the collection of Chester Beatty Library- Dublin.

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³⁵ *Ibid*, p.220.

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⁴⁰ Pinder - Wilson R.H, *Painting from the Muslim courts of India*, London, 1976, p. 187, in a private collection.

⁴¹ It is in the collection of Victoria and Albert museum, London.

⁴² Muhammad Ashraf, *Golconda* in 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol.16, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.41. It is in the collection of Raza Library, Rampur.

⁴³ Bawa V.K, *Aspects of Deccan History*, Institute of Asian Studies, Hyderabad, 1975,

pp 199-200. They are in the collection of British museum, London.

⁴⁴ Douglas Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan XVIth - XVIIth century*, The Faber Gallery of oriental Art, London, 1958, p.20. It is in the collection of British Museum.

⁴⁵ Sherwani H.K., *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, 1974, pp 436-38.

⁴⁶ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p. 183. It is in the collection of Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, It is in the collection of Victoria and Albert museum, London.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp 183-184, in the collection of William Ehrenfeld, California. Other Paintings of Abdullah Qutb Shah are strongly influenced by Mughal taste. They are in the collection of Dickford collection, Cleveland, Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Witsen album, Amsterdam, Bibliotheque Nationale Paris and in the British Library, London.

⁴⁹ Partha Sarathy, *Andhra Culture (A Petal in Indian Lotus)*, A state gazetteer department Publications, Hyderabad, 1984, p.23

⁵⁰ Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol., 1 Hyderabad, 1974, p.225.

⁵¹ Jagdish Mittal, '*Painting*' in History of Medieval Deccan, ed. Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, vol.2, Hyderabad, 1974, p.41. It is in Deccani Urdu in the India of his Library.

⁵² Sherwani H.K., *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.541.

⁵³ It can be noted that Abul Hassan himself was an ethnic Arab, born in India and hence encouraged Arabic literature. His spiritual guide was Shah Raju, who wrote in Urdu. His son Akbar Shah Husain translated Hindu Books into Persian and wrote Treatises in Sanskrit.

Binney Edward, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, Portland, 1973, No.137.

⁵⁵ Jagdish Mittal, '*Painting*' in History of Medieval Deccan, ed. Sherwani H.K and Joshi M, vol.2, Hyderabad, 1974, pp 221-222, It is in the British museum , London.

⁵⁶ Douglas Barrett, *Some unpublished Deccan Miniatures*, Lalit Kala journal, vol.7, April 1960, pp 10-12. It is in the collection of British Museum.

It was observed that the influence of western Paintings through Goa was responsible for the vogue of Paintings on cloth. European Artist also worked for

the Sultan, leaving a lasting imprint on the Golconda School. The mid 17th century kalamkari textiles of Palakollu and Petapoli known as Golconda works, are other sources for inspiring painters to work on cloth with themes like procession scenes. However the placement of figures in rows is Deccani characteristic feature and Deccan Artists used traditional gouache medium for these Paintings instead of European oil.

⁵⁸ Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, *History of Medieval Deccan, vol.II*, Hyderabad, 1974, p.222.

⁵⁹ Martin F.R, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* vol.2, London, 1921, pi. 208. It is in the collection of Saltykov-shchedrine state public Library.

⁶⁰ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 160-170. •

⁶¹ Welch S.C *Marg*, March 1963, vol. XVI, No.2, pl.30. It is in the collection of Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

⁶² Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p.177. It is in the collection of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

⁶³ Bedekar V.H and Goswami B.N, *Stylistic Approach to Indian -Miniatures*, Baroda, 1979, p. 113. In the collection of India Office Library, London.

⁶⁴ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, p.225. It is in the collection of Johnson album.

⁶⁵ Skelton Robert, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to the XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, p.95.

⁶⁶ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 195-197. It is in the collection of Musee Guimet, Paris.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.201. It is in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁰⁸ Sherwani H.K., *History of Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, New Delhi, 1974, p.62. The author remarked that Paintings were dated to early 18th century and must be portrait of a Mughal courtier or nobleman and name Abul Hasan Tanashah must have been added to it in order to make it fetch a good price

⁶⁹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 185-187, in a private collection.

⁷⁰ Binney Edwin, *The Mughal and the Deccani Schools* from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd, Portland, 1973, No 137-140.

⁷¹ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, p.226.

⁷² *Ibid*, pp 225-226. It is in the collection of Johnson album.

⁷³ Goetz, *Indian and Persian Miniature Painting*, Rijksprenten Kabinet, Amsterdam, 1958, pp 41-44.

⁷⁴ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press. Delhi, 1981, pp 225-226.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp 240-44.

⁷⁶ Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, London, 1937, pi.22

⁷⁷ Barrett Douglas and Basil Gray, *Treasures of Asia, Painting of India*, World Publishing Company, 1963, p.125. It is in the collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁷⁸ Mathur N.L., *Indian Miniatures*, Caxton Press Private Ltd, New Delhi, 1982. p.48

Basil Gray, *Indian Painting*, p.125.

⁸⁰ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p. 161. It is in the collection of Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.

- ⁸¹ Skelton Robert, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to the XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, Fig-159, In the collection of Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.
- ⁸² Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p.180.
- ⁸³ *Ibid*, pp 98-99. It is in the collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai., Ahmedabad.
- ^M *Ibid*, p. 150.
- ⁸⁵ Barrett Douglas and Basil Gray, *Treasures of Asia, Painting of India*, World Publishing Company, 1963, p.123.
- ⁸⁶ Shervvani H.K and Joshi P.M. *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol.11, Hyderabad, 1974, p.211.
- ⁸⁷ Sherwani H.K., *History of Outb Shahi Dynasty*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, New Delhi, 1974, pp 327-30.
- ⁸⁸ Muhammad Ashraf, *Golconda* in 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol.XVI, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.42.
- ⁸⁹ Martin F.R, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* vol.2, London. 1921,p.263.
- ⁹⁰ Sherwani H.K, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India (Architecture, Painting, literature and language)*, Asia publishing house, New Delhi, 1968, p.61.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid*
- ⁹² *Ibid*, pp 60-61.
- ⁹³ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p. 157. It is in the collection of British Library, London.
- ⁹⁴ Binney Edwin, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools from the collection of Edwin Binney,3rd* Portland, 1973 115-116
- ⁹⁵ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,

pp 155-156. It is in the Victoria and Albert museum.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p .156. It is in the collection India Office Library.

⁹⁷ Skelton Robert, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to the XIXth centuries*, Venice, 1961, p.95. It is in the collection of Chester Beatty Library. Dublin.

⁹⁸ Jagdish Mittal, *Tainting'* in History of Medieval Deccan, ed. Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, vol. II, Hyderabad, 1974, p 219. It is in the oriental public Library.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.219. It is in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

¹⁰⁰ Muhammad Ashraf, *Golconda* in 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol. XVI, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p -4. It is in the collection of Raza Library, Rampur.

¹⁰¹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 170-173. It is in the collection of Chester Beatty Library. Dublin.

¹⁰² Ivanov A.A, *Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures of the XVIth-XVIIth Centuries*, Moscow, 1962, p. 13.

¹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 170-175. It is in the collection of Islamisches museum, Berlin.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp. **170-175**, It is signed by Muhammad Siyah Qalam. It is in the collection of Kevorkian Foundation, New York.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Ettinghausen, *Deccani Kalams* Marg vol. XVI. No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.14. It is in the collection Freer Gallery, Washington D.C.

¹⁰⁶ Bedekar V.H and Goswami B.N, *Stylistic Approach to Indian Miniatures*, Baroda, 1979, pi 13.

¹⁰⁷ Bukhari Y.K, *An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript Entitled Fawaid-i-Qutb Shahi*. Lalit Kala, No. 13, 1967, p.9.

¹⁰⁸ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, p.240.

- ¹⁰⁹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp170-175.
- ¹¹⁰ Barrett Douglas and Basil Gray, *Treasures of Asia, Painting of India*, World Publishing Company, 1963, p 124. It is in the collection of British Museum.
- ¹¹¹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp192-193. It is in the collection of David Copenhagen.
- ¹¹² *Ibid*, pp 192-196.
- ¹¹³ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, p.220.
- ¹¹⁴ Douglas Barrett, *Painting of the Deccan XVIth - XVIIth century*, The Faber Gallery of oriental Art, London, 1958, p35 Fig6.
- ¹¹⁵ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, pp. 238-239.
- ¹¹⁶ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III Delhi 1963, Chapter 16-18, on History of Golconda.
- ¹¹⁷ Karl Khandalavala, *Deccani Painting: A Consideration of Mark Zebrowski Deccani Painting*, Lalit Kala, No.2, 1985, p.46. Both the black sheep and white sheep Turkmans patronized Manuscript Painting and Turkmen style which had its own characteristic fused with the late safavid style and this mixed style, particularly that of Shiraz did influence Deccani Painting at Golconda.
- ¹¹⁸ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1965, p. 197.
- ¹¹⁹ Manucci, *Storia do mogor*, translated by T.Irvine, Oriented Books Reprint corporation, New Delhi, 1981, p. 111.
- ¹²⁰ Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II, Hyderabad, 1974, p 224.
- ¹²¹ Baba V.K and Syed Mohiuddin, *Rulers of the Centres of Deccani Painting*, Marg vol. XVI.No.2, Bombay, 1963, p vi.

¹²² *Ibid*

¹²³ Richards J.F, *Mughul Administration in Golconda*, Oxford, 1975, pp53-54.

¹²⁴ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p 211.

¹²⁵ Richards J.F, *Mughul Administration in Golconda*, Oxford, 1975, Chapter V.

¹²⁶ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p 220. It is in the collection of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 213-214, It is datable to 1700 AD.

¹²⁸ Welch S.C, *Indian Drawings and Painted Sketches*, New York 1976 No.3.

¹²⁹ The present paintings are in the collection of Rietberg Museum.

¹³⁰ Binney Edwin, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools* from the collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd Portland, 1973, No.148.

¹³¹ Khandalavala K and Chadra Moti, *Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the Late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, BARX* Bombay 1965, No 61.

¹³² Richards J.F, *Mughul Administration in Golconda*, Oxford, 1975, p 55.

Das A.K *Treasures of Indian Painting from the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum*, Series one, Jaipur, 1976 pl.2. It is in the collection of City Palace Museum, Jaipur

¹³⁴ Athar AH M, *The Mughul Nobility under Awangazeb*, Aligarh, 1966, p 167.

¹³⁵ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, pp 244-245.

¹³⁶ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp 212-213. It is in the collection of Sainsbury Museum, Norwich.

¹³⁷ Athar Ali M, *The Mughul Nobility under Aurangazeb*, Aligarh, 1966, pp 241-244.

¹³⁸ Sarabhai M, *Nala and Damayanti*, Bombay, 1976 pp 1-12.

¹³⁴ Archer W.C, *Indian Miniatures*, Newyork Graphic society, U.S.A, 1960, pl.31.

¹⁴⁰ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,pp 218-219.

¹⁴¹ Jagdish Mittal, '*Painting*' in History of Medieval Deccan, ed. Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, Vol. II,p 225.

¹⁴² A detailed political, economic and social history of Nizams or Asaf Jahis is discussed in the III chapter of the present thesis.

¹⁴³ An analyses of distinctive features of Hyderabad School are discussed in detailed in Part -II of this chapter.

¹⁴⁴ Sarkar Sir J, *Aurangzeb and the Hyderabad State (1724-62)* in the Cambridge history of India Vol. IV, Delhi reprinted 1963 p 378.

¹⁴⁵ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magazine of Arts) Deccani kalams, Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963,p44

¹⁴⁶ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981, p 234.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.227.

¹⁴⁸ Gray Basil,"Painting" in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. Leigh Ashton, London 1950 pi-150. It is in the collection of Late Mohammad Ashraf, Hyderabad.

¹⁴⁹ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981 .p 234..

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p 234

¹⁵¹ Jagdish Mittal, *Islamic Paintings of the North and the Deccan*, Roopalekha, (A Journal of the All India fine Arts fine Arts and crafts society), vol. XXXVII, No.1, New Delhi, **Vol. XXXVIII**, No **1** and 2 to p 138.

¹⁵² Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981 .p 237.

¹⁵³ Basil Gray, 'Painting' in *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. Leigh Ashton, London, 1950, pi-149.

¹⁵⁴ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,p 270.It is in the collection of Late Mohammad Ashraf,Hyderabad.

¹⁵⁵ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press, Delhi, 1981 .p 237.

¹⁵⁶ Aseparate section or chapters on Women Paintings are discussed in the present thesis.

¹⁵⁷ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,p 249,It is in private collection.

¹⁵⁸ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol.16, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.47.

¹⁵⁹*Ibid*, p 264.It is in the collection British Library, London.

¹⁶⁰ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magzine of Arts) Deccani kalams, Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963,pp 44-45,where the author remarked that Venkatachallam Nizam Ali Khan's favorite painter who received a princely annual jagir of 12000 Rs and was responsible two procession Paintings of Nizam Ali Khan on cloth of about 1800 AD.

¹⁶¹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,pp 268-269.It is in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹⁶² Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol.16, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.50.

¹⁶³ It is in the collection of Prince of Wales museum, Bombay.

¹⁶⁴ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford University press, Delhi, 1981 .p 237.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp 235-236.

¹⁶⁶ It is in the collection of Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.

¹⁶⁷ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magazine of Arts) Deccani kalams, Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963,p 51.It is in the collection of Salar Jung museum.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁶⁹ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford university press. Delhi, 1981 .p 237.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p23 I.It is in the collection of Johnson Album.

¹⁷¹ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magazine of Arts) Deccani kalams. Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963,p56.

¹⁷² Jagdish Mittal, *Islamic Paintings of the North and the Deccan*, Roopalekha, (A Journal of the All India fine Arts fine Arts and crafts society), vol. XXXVII, No.1, New Delhi, Vol. XXXVIII, No 1 and 2 to p 138.

¹⁷³ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magazine of Arts) Deccani kalams. Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963,pp 57-64. These provincial Deccani Paintings are in the collection of State Museum, Salar Jung Museum and Mittal Museum of Hyderabad.

¹⁷⁴ Baba V.K and Syed Mohiuddin, *Rulers of the Centres of Deccani Painting* Marg vol. XVI.No.2, Bombay, 1963.p ix.

¹⁷⁵ Chatty N.G, *Kurnool Gazetteer*, Madras 1886 pp 28-41

¹⁷⁶ Sarkar Sir J, *Aurangzeb and the Hyderabad State (1724-62)* in the Cambridge history of India Vol. IV, Delhi reprinted 1963 pp. 284-290.

¹⁷⁷ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983,p 238.It is in the collection of Musee Guimet,Paris.

Ibid.

ⁱ¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 272-273. It is in the collection of national museums. New Delhi.

¹⁸⁰ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Deccani kalams, Marg (A magazine of Arts), Marg Publications, Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963, p 59.

¹⁸¹ Jagdish Mittal, *Deccani Painting at the Samsthanas of WanapArthy, Gadwal and Shorapur*, 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol. XVI, No.2, Bombay, 1963, pp 58-59. They are in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi and in private collection.

¹⁸² Binney Edwin, *The Mughal and Deccani Schools from the collection of Edwin Binney*, 3rd Portland, 1973, No. 175.

¹⁵³ Jagdish Mittal, *Deccani Painting at the Samsthanas of WanapArthy, Gadwal and Shorapur*, 'Deccani Kalams', Marg Vol. XVI, No.2, Bombay, 1963, p.59.

¹⁵⁴ Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Paintings (Manuscript, Mughal and Deccani traditions)*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p.77.

¹⁸⁵ Sherwani H.K, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India (Architecture, Painting, literature and language)*, Asia publishing house, New Delhi, 1968, p.61.

¹⁸⁶ Goetz, *Indian and Persian Miniature Painting*, Rijksprenten Kabinet, Amsterdam, 1958, pp 40-44.

¹⁸⁷ Jagdish Mittal, *Paintings of the Hyderabad School*, Marg (A magazine of Arts) Deccani kalams, Marg Publications. Vol. XVI No.2, Bombay March 1963, p. Art 11.

¹⁸⁸ Milo Cleveland Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, The New Cambridge History of India, Cambridge University Press, vol.1 1992, p.1 14.

CHAPTER V

DEPICTION OF ROYAL AND ORDINARY WOMEN IN MINIATURE PAINTINGS (C17TH - 18TH CENTURY)

In the epistemological framework of total history, women's role and their study mark its turn towards analyzing the true dimensions of gender. Institutionalization of cultural and artistic studies in culmination with feminist scholarship remains an intellectual current that transcend boundaries restricted to one-side perspective of historical studies. In such an analysis, research interpretation, targets and rediscovers the representation and identity of women in various realms and structures of universal entity. This ultimately reflects the shift in new source material and explores art and artifacts, which locate meaning in textual and narrative structures that ultimately gives a meaning to the evaluation of women in different spheres of history.

With this focus the present chapter analyzes the royal and ordinary women in various realms like their work-involved, dress-pattern, jewelry-decoration, etc. Such a project and new enterprise would definitely helps in extending the frontiers of historical knowledge by enriching our understanding of women spheres in various historical processes.

Based on this dimension of probing into past of identifying medieval women of Golconda and Hyderabad namely Qutb Shahi and Nizam Shahi women and women of local Samsthanas, an evaluation of miniature paintings of these Schools and sub-Schools of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Wanaparty and Gadwal is undertaken, on the basis of classification of various themes. Techniques and styles of paintings executed by talented artists and painters under the patronage of Qutb shahis and Nizams or Asaf Jahis. This highlight that medieval women are mentioned not only in few literary texts, but are depicted in paintings as symbols of beauty, pleasure and

historical identities.

The study of these miniatures makes it clear that they had always a defined purpose depending on the context in which they were made and hence an identification of various themes in which they were depicted is a necessary prerequisite for an over all evaluation of Royal and Ordinary women.

With this analysis of miniature paintings, it is pertinent to understand the importance of women in art history and the role-played by Qutb shahis and Asaf jahi women in medieval Deccan. This, in one way, also strengthens the present study of integration of art and women by giving glimpses of various influencing factors on women's life, choices and role-patterns, that finally results in app.roaching women in new trend-fashionable and art-historical way.

Feminism in the arts grew out of contemporary women's moment in the early 1970's, when feminist critics and historians began to question the assumptions, which lay behind the masculinistic claim for the universal values of a history of a 'heroic art, which happen to be produced by men and which had so systematically excluded women production and representation from its main stream and so powerfully transformed the image of women into one of possession and consumption.

The resulting re-examination of women's life in art proceeded amidst debates about **the relationship** between gender, culture and creativity. They questioned the qualities associated with femininity such" as decorative, precious, miniature, **sentimental, amateur**, etc that have provided a set of negative characteristics to measure high art. Then onwards, investigations were taken up, with a desire to reclaim women's histories and to resituate women within the artistic world. This led to an **important** focus **on** female representations in art and on the structured knowledge of art history, which has emphasized on the style, dating, authenticity and re-discovery of forgotten women. Such an app.roach also defined women's place **in art-culture**.

Gradually, this new method of historical and critical evaluation of women in art

led to challenging new interpretations that brought a shift from male-oriented to female consciousness wherein historians of women's history came forward with new ways of approaching historical materials to discover the real place of women in the past and gave a different perspective of women's history.

In this regard an estimation of miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools may provide an interesting study of how they depicted the lives of different women in the framework of medieval Deccan royalty, society and in totality of history. Such pictorial evidence of women may present a kaleidoscopic picture and an illustrative look of the lives of women in medieval era.

Moreover, an evaluation of women through art will be meaningful as artifacts and visual projections depicted in paintings offer new evidence for certain significant aspects on women. It also helps in corroborating the finding with other sources mainly literary, which is essential to stake the claim of objectivity and authenticity.

Hence, a total interpretation of Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi women through art depictions gives a complete picture of these women in medieval era. An account of these illustrative aspects with historical evaluation is analyzed under following themes, which highlight both Royal and Ordinary women in different realms within and outside royal-domestic establishments.

In this regard the present chapter is divided into three parts. Part - I deals with depiction of women of Golconda School, Part - II highlights transitional phase and part - III contains the themes of Hyderabad School.

PART I

DEPICTION OF QUTB SHAHI WOMEN OF GOLCONDA

(ROYAL AND ORDINARY)

Qutb Shahi women played an effective role in various realms of polity, society and religious aspects of the time through their marriage alliances of political significance, charitable-endeavors, spiritual-outlook and philanthropic-

approach. The miniature paintings executed under Qutb shahis portray women of both Royal and ordinary strata who played significant role, an analysis of which helps to arrive at certain conclusions regarding the contemporary preferences in art while depicting women.

I THEMES ON ROYAL COURT AND PALACE LIFE:

The miniature paintings on royal court and palace life depict women in various realms like Royal women as Queens and princesses and ordinary women as maidens and artist together engaged in royal activities.

Few miniatures executed during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign (C 1580-1612 A.D) depict such royal scenes illustrating women of various strata. For instance, *Kulliyat* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah illustrates King and Queen enthroned watching a dance performance with great curiosity.² It is also known as *Diwan*, which is the collection of Sultans own poems in Deccani.³ **(PLATE - I)**. In this miniature Queen appears along with the King enthroned, which indicates that though purdah system was in vogue in Muslim-culture, in terms of art like painting they were depicted with full vigor without a veil covering her face. However, the Queen in the portrait is with her eyes and neck bent downwards. This painting clearly showed that the public space is not for the women and she is not sitting in the court on a footing of equality. This painting indicates that there was not complete absence of female portraiture in Islamic art.

Another interesting manuscript *Khusrau-u-Shirin* by Hatifi Maulana a reputed Persian poet, was executed in 1568 A.D contains several miniatures of which a page depict, a princess riding a horse in beautiful landscape of flowers and trees, while her companions watch her from distance.⁴ **(PLATE - II)**. This was illustrated in Bukhara School style, which indicates the presence of a Persian painter at Qutb Shahi court who had accepted a royal commission to illustrate this manuscript. In riding too, the Princess has her head bent down.

A plate of *Kullivat* contains pictures of maidens engaged in royal service like

offering wine, *huqqa*, etc, dancers and other lady artists playing music. Few royal ladies are seated around the throne. Similar miniature of *Kulliyat* of Muhammad Quli's poetry especially folio 93A contains several maidens performing their duty of serving the King and the Queen.⁵ In it the arabesque is simple and the lines are delicate with fantastic features of maidens with sharp nose and eyes.

Another painting of the manuscript *Diwan - e - Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah* executed during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign (c 1580-1612 A.D) contains a lady, a princess dozing against a huge bolster in a garden, while her attendants or maidens surround her in elegant poses against a lacquered wall.⁶ This painting is glistened with prickled gold surfaces, exemplifying the richness of Golconda taste. The costumes of the princess as well as maidens are richly decorated indicating the luxury and status enjoyed by the maidens at Deccani courts equally to that of Royal women. These portraits of maidens are generally depicted as serving or decorating Queens and princesses in interior and exterior settings of royal court. Chinese clouds, grey coloured duck pond, wine bottles, candlesticks, etc. mark the painting. Blue border and brown and gold floral designs were depicted.

A charming painting of 1660 A.D depicts a prince with women in a garden, of these the beautiful lady standing close to the prince appears to be a princess.⁷ (PLATE - HI). It is signed by Rahim Deccani. Women depicted behind the prince appears to be a musician entertaining the royalty melodiously with tambura, while the lady with the deer seems to be a dancing girl. An interesting feature of this painting was that the women offering a glass of wine to the royalty was dressed in European costume which indicates the absorption of not only European trends like appearance of palaces, romantic crag, castle in the background of few paintings but also depiction of dress patterns and use of chair in miniature paintings. By this time the Europeans had made in roads into Deccan and hence we can see European furniture also.

This painting gives a feeling of pleasant atmosphere enjoyed by the women

within the exteriors of palace life as the picture seems to be a garden at a royal court, with a shy antelope, frisky pup and frolicsome birds.

Beauty always formed an important part of the paintings. Especially miniature illustrations depicted pictures related exclusively with aesthetic aspects of women involving princess and attendants. Few paintings depicting the beauty and sensuality of women specifically are attributed to Golconda provenance. A picture by Ali Naqi of Golconda illustrates a royal woman admiring herself and her beauty in a mirror.⁸ A maiden helps her in decorating.

Another drawing of a brilliantly sensual sleeping girl is datable to late 17th century Golconda. There is an alluring tropical world spring to life in the picture seen mainly in the warm breezes; luxuries and languid pace delicate twists of loosened garments and serene expressions of the girl suggest both inner contentment and sexual joy and beauty. She seems to be princess of beauty in sleep. Both princes and maiden standing beside her are richly ornamented with different kinds of jewels. Although such pungent celebrations of life are profoundly Indian, they are more frequently encountered in sculpture than in miniature painting. Hence this illustration acquired an importance among miniatures representing the sensual life of women.

Another miniature painting illustrates a beautiful girl expressing her beauty.¹⁰ Narrow waisted and voluptuous, she wears a transparent red, green and orange costumes trimmed with gold and tarnished silver. A rich group of pearls and gold jewelry is set with green and orange stones. The overall features of the girl most probably a princess with a background of shimmering gold sky, streaked with orange and blue clouds augment her radiance and elegance. A few stylistic elements of this painting like use of gold, red and orange colors, blue sky and feathery tree are distinct features of Golconda School.

Few miniature paintings of Golconda School depict exclusively the romantic life of women vis-a-vis men. With decent depiction and expression a painting of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shahs reign depicts two lovers in flower - strewn meadow.

The painting has Persian conventions and depicts the lovers engaged in a romantic conversation with a designful background and glazing utensils placed at their feet.

Another painting dated to 1610 AD, depicts a prince playing to a princess.¹² In it the Prince seated on a stool, plays a harp to a Princess, romantically sitting on a chair holding a fruit. There is a fantastic landscape surrounding by pairs of animals, who have gathered charmed by the music.

A painting during Abdullah Qutb Shah's period illustrated a prince holding a wine cup to the lips of a young Princess who fondles her knee.¹³ They kneel facing one another on a terrace, with four girls kneeling in the foreground, while three other maidens stand behind. Related paintings more conventionally pretty, cover the top and four sides of a small lacquered box, perhaps a jewel casket, belonging to Golconda.¹⁴ The scene depicts a sleeping Princess dreaming of her absent lover. This picture is on top of the box, which also has a picture of a maiden pressing the leg of the Princess, while behind her the prince lover, is depicted as just arriving as if her dream turns to reality.

Other sides of the boxes illustrate an adolescent Prince enthroned holding his lady, while two maidens serve them. A young girl mostly a Princess grasping a tree while breezes play with her diaphanous robes and a woman dancing and two women artists playing music. The artist of these miniatures on the box is Rahim Deccani. The meticulous draughtsmanship and restrained colors of the pictures create a mood of delicate romanticism.

An interesting painting of the later Golconda phase depicts a Majnu brought before Laila in chains.¹⁵ The ladies in the picture have similar faces found in the painting of women attributed in the earlier phase of Golconda. Here it is apt to remark that Mirza Muhammad Amin Shahristani who came to Deccan was honoured by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and he composed fine poetry in Persian and compiled four books of which *Laila - Majnum* was famous.¹⁶ It became a theme for miniaturists to paint such romantic episodes like *Laila Majnum*.

For instance, the front page of the manuscript *Laila - Majnum* contains excellent

works in the purist Persian style, however retaining Deccani colours like pink. Another painting dated to 1640 AD illustrates a Prince seated with his ladies on a terrace as if engaged in a romantic talk.¹⁸ while two girls kneel on the corner of the orange carpet. The entire illustration is in Golconda fashion.

Several other miniature paintings with romantic themes representing women and men together are painted before and after the fall of the Golconda kingdom. While Qutb Shahi Sultanate patronized the earlier paintings, the latter ones are executed under the patronage of Mughal Nobles stationed at Golconda.

A point worth mentioning here is that romantic themes became popular aspects of miniature paintings supporting the history of the times filled with romantic episodes which throw light on women and men in love. For instance, Ibrahim Qutb Shah had fallen in love with beautiful Telugu women Bhagirathi of Vijaynagar during his stay of seven years exile at Vijayanagar kingdom. It was even believed that Ibrahim desired Golconda to be known as Bhagiratha Nagaram.

Similarly, the popular episode of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and a ordinary woman, Bhagmati after whom Hyderabad was named as Bhagyanagar is also filled with romantic excess and love. This tradition was continued even during Abdullah Qutb Shah whose lady - love was Prema Mati.

Hence, miniatures justify themselves in depicting romantic-scenes, which were part of Royalty from historical times.

II THEMES ON DANCE AND MUSIC:

In medieval Deccani courts like Golconda and Hyderabad, dance performances and musical display always formed an important part of royal entertainment in which Queens and princesses enjoyed the spirit equally with the rulers. Hence, miniatures in the form of manuscript representing women in dance and music formed another important component of medieval Deccani painting.

Keeping this in view, the artists of the time painted similar themes in their miniatures. One significant aspect here worth mentioning is that both royal and

ordinary women are depicted almost in a similar fashion with the textiles, jewelry and beautiful facial features. The main difference is seen only in the way they are placed. While Royal women were generally represented as enthroned or seated in the center, Ordinary women were depicted on the side as maidens serving or artists entertaining the royalty.

A manuscript named *Diwan - e - Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah*, contains few scenes on dancing girls and musicians within the court - structure. For instance, a miniature of it depicts a scene in a royal palace with a king and Queen seated on a throne, with cups in their hands watching dance performance to the accompaniment of music. In it the faces of the women folk including Queen appear to be Deccani in nature. This throws light - on rulers' love for music, dance, wine and women. Since the verse at the top of the painting reads that 'God has given to Qutb Shah a lovely lady to be loved due to his prayer and his being the slave ardent worshipper of God.'¹⁹

Similarly, the miniature paintings elucidating women during Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign (1626-1672 A.D) represent the best Golconda style imbibing the charm and elegance of the Deccani courts. The earlier miniatures executed at the beginning of Abdullah's reign about 1643 A.D are mainly five in number, bound up in a manuscript *Diwan of Hafiz*.²⁰ They represent the scenes of women and their palace life at the court of a young ruler who is most probably Abdullah Qutb Shah. Since in one miniature a courtier seated to the right of the throne in the durbar scene was identified as Muhammad-ibn-i-Kharun, the Prime Minister of Abdullah Qutb Shah.

The figures in the paintings are lavishly enriched with gold in the canopies, costumes, utensils, sky and architecture. All five miniatures are of good quality with rich and distinctive palette. In most of the pictures, the artists and dancing girls for whom Golconda court was famous are entertaining the Sultan and his charming companions in the acrobatic style which is known to have been practiced by the professional dancers of Golconda from the description of William Methold written

in 1622 A.D after four years at Masulipatam as principal at the East India Company's factory. The paintings are ambitious and elaborate in design highlighting the Deccani court.²¹

One page of *Diwan of Hafiz* consists of two miniatures of which one painting depicts Sultan enthroned holding a typically long straight Deccani sword watching dance performances. This painting is divided into two fields with the dancing scene below and above a canopy over a covered throne, surrounded by heraldically placed gold plates and two gold elephant figures.

A miniature of the same manuscript depicts a prince enthroned under a canopy in the background flanked by his cupbearer. The royal figure with his carousing court ladies watches rhythmic dance performance. Costumes of the dancing girls are distinctively of Golconda and their ornaments are rich and decorative. Gold is lavishly used in the depiction of jewelry of dancing girls. Other colors used in the picture are gold for the sky, black, purple green, violet, pale blue and scarlet for the scrolling of the tents, canopy and background. These dancing girls who belong to Ordinary strata in miniature paintings are depicted as part of royal establishment, their main role being entertaining regality or women of upper strata. This indicates that two dimension of women spheres were depicted together in miniatures clearly indicating their roles performed and status attained.

Another miniature of *Diwan of Hafiz* depicts a pavilion of royal palace in which a prince is engaged in drunken revel with women, one of whom is pressing his leg-a popular theme of Deccani court paintings. Below his lady watches a dance program. Being royal women, she was not likely to have been portrayed in the above indecorous condition of the monarch. At the bottom of the figure, there is a dancing girl and women mainly maidens engaged in the preparation of the meal for royalty. The colors in this painting are a wonderful harmony of greens, pinks and purple with bold clashes peculiar of Deccani type and indicates a culmination of three-strata of women namely Queen, dancer and maiden as part of royal sphere. The animal fresco in the wall behind the princess is exceptionally attractive.

Similarly, a painting of *Diwan* is again a dancing scene, where a prince reclining on the throne having his leg pressed and the lower third of the picture is occupied by the preparation of a meal and drink by maidens. Another page of it consists of fine miniature, where a prince sits on the throne holding his long sword. Below in a separate field two women are dancing to the music of an abyssian orchestra.²² The artist of these pictures introduced two narrow lines of decorative ornament. The picture shares a lovely palette of pink, pale green, blue, gold, and scarlet. and Female faces with small angular features and starring eyes. Similar theme depicts Prince watching dancing girls. The girls dance in gay abandon and the courtiers also look on. The prince seems occupied because he is not paying any attention to the dancing girls and is looking in some other direction. Yet the prince is central to the painting for interms of size he stands out.

A fantastic miniature attributed to Golconda depicts a young prince seated on a throne in a garden of the palace, surrounded by three beautiful women.²³ These women resemble different characters. While one seems to be a musician playing *ektara*, the other look like a princess and the third one has features of dancing girl. The inscription above the royalty reads Raqam-i-banda Rahim Dakani meaning 'The work of the slave Rahim Dakani'. This painting depicts palace life where women are entertaining the Sultans within the surroundings of royal palace.

In late 17th century a painting entitled Raga-Megh-Malhar was attributed to Golconda. (**PLATE — IV**). It depicts six women dancing and playing music in an excellent greeny landscape. The women are mostly from an Ordinary background and are dressed up in a Hindu fashion. Another miniature painting signed by Muhammad Taqi of Golconda depicts a woman playing a lute.²⁵ She appears to be a royal princess sitting out in the open land near the palace. Her dress style is Royal in look and she seems to be enjoying the natural beauty with musical melody, which she plays.

It was observed that during second half of the 17th century, some Deccani miniatures got associated with the Iranian Safavid painter Shaykh Abbasi and his

sons Ali Naqi and Muhammad Taqi, who were strongly influenced by the Mughal, Deccan and European art. This painting on music-theme representing Royal women is one such influence painted by Golconda artists.

All these paintings signify the personality of both Royal and Ordinary women as musicians and dancing girls and their role-played in the medieval Deccan society as part of royal customs and culture and the talented spirit of princesses playing music. Ordinary women too displayed musical talents at royal court of Golconda. For instance, Jan Pieper, a German scholar, remarked that Hyderabad city, which was established by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah as the model of the garden of Eden and allegories of paradisiac exclusiveness is one in which the blessed are attended by houris (beautiful girls), with large black eyes. They sang in their nasal voices and play music enchanting the garden of eternity with their ethereal melody.²⁶

Hence, many miniatures show these women playing music at royal courts with musical instruments like tambourines, sitar, ektara, etc and displaying their talent.

III. THEMES ON POETRY:

We have many poems, which are illustrated, through miniature paintings representing Royal and Ordinary women. One outstanding painting depicting women based on poetry exclusively was produced during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign (1580-1612 A.D). The Kulliyat of Muhammad's poetry also known as Dakhni Diwan contains superb and sumptuous miniatures on women, which are highly finished, and of greater pictorial quality.

These lavishly illuminated and illustrated miniature paintings are transcribed by the court calligrapher of Golconda, Zainuddin Ali Shirazi and were painted by Qasim-Ali-al-Mudhahhib. One miniature depicts a lady resting in a garden while other folios depict angels, dancers and other Ordinary ladies of court like maidens, all of them having large eyes and pointed noses.

These pictures on women seem to be painted by a Bukhara artist, as the painter **applied thick** colors of Bukhara taste. However, the dresses of women were of

Golconda style. The King enthroned with Queen in some pictures is none other than Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah as indicated by the scribe and the painter. Several influences on these miniatures signify that Golconda School was a cosmopolitan place with diverse influences where Deccani artists with other artist worked side by side.

However, despite Persian and European influences like depiction of angels, the Deccani features are discernible, mainly in the use of mineral colours like bluish-purple and salmon-red that are typical tastes of Golconda School of painting.

The Queen depicted in some paintings enthroned with King is none other than the mistress of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, a beautiful Hindu dancer Bhagmathi in whose honor Hyderabad was called as Bhagyanagar.

Similarly, a manuscript of a pantheistic Sufi poem is richly illustrated with more than 20 miniatures occupying the whole page inside the margins and is dated to 17th Century.²⁸ This manuscript also depicts female artists, dancers and royal figures. The costumes of women illustrated are of Golconda style and the trees of the Deccani type with richly tinted edges with some plants silhouetted against a mass of dark foliage another Deccani feature. The coloring of skies is both in gold and blue colors. This corresponds to two separate sky conventions. Gold is again freely used, a peculiar feature being coloring of skies in both gold and blue in separate bands, the gold **being** the gold being below the blue and both enlivened with conventional clouds. This miniature mainly highlights the religious practices of the women and their beliefs conveyed in poetry. This illustrated manuscript is dated to 1610 AD.²⁹ Another manuscript *Khawar-Nama*, a Persian poem contains depictions of the exploits of the Qalif AH completed in 1649 AD for Khadija, a Golconda princess married to Mohammed Adil Shah of Bijapur.³⁰

V. THEMES ON MEDICINE:

During the period of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (C1552 -1580 AD), a medical encyclopedia was written at **Golconda** by the fakir Baba Mirak of Hirat executed in

1572 AD. It contains pictures of women mainly flying angels baring golden trays and tambourines, a small flat drum.³¹

Its decoration is dense and contains a palette of coral-red, lilac pink and purple. This medical manuscript is known as *Zakhira-i-Khawarazm-Shahi* and highlights the role played by the Ordinary women in curing diseases in other evils. The facial types of women in the painting bear certain degree of European influence, though the architecture is Islamic.

V. THEMES ON NATURE:

Natural themes represent beautiful women of various strata. Among them women were depicted with animals and birds in an excellent greeny landscape and in rocky surroundings attributed to Golconda kingdom. These paintings excellently depict the beauty of women and nature. One such painting illustrates an eerie composite tree, in which several beckoning fairies adorn the branches/² The atmosphere in this painting gives a terrifying inauspicious look on one hand and indicates a blind faith in natural worship on the other. The somber palette and black background with formally arranged tufts of grass suggest an early 17th century Golconda provenance

VI SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS THEMES:

Miniatures dealing with heavenly bodies mainly representing spiritual angels and fairies are another significant aspect of Golconda School, which also included Royal and Ordinary women. For instance a manuscript *Dakhni Diwan* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (C1580-1612 A.D) contain miniatures illustrating angels of which one painting depicts a royal court in which the ruler is surrounded by angels. Other illustrates angels showering the royal personality with jewels, while he watches a dance performance.³⁴ The angel's wings are made of marbled paper. Similar painting depicts king enthroned surrounded by angels and courtiers.⁵ The faces of angels **are charming** with a background of shinning afternoon.

Earlier to this painting a medieval encyclopedia written at Golconda by Faqir Baba Mirak of Hirat in 1572 AD, contains fine illuminated double front piece with figures of angels in metropolitan Persian style.³⁶ Palette of different glowing colors is used in it, giving an excellent picture of flying angels with red, pink, and purple colors.

During Muhammad Qutb Shah's reign (C 1612 - 1612 AD), few paintings depicting spiritual themes with women as angels are illustrated. One miniature depicts an angel holding a big fish executed about 1615 AD.³⁷ The angel has brilliantly colored wings and wears a realistic cloak and a skirt covered with a fine arabesque design on a gold ground. The painting depicts row of flowers in the foreground and has combination of the realistic face and decorative background. Its spiritual character and rich color and the background of the flowering trees indicate its being from Golconda provenance.

There is another painting of the same period depicting a person handing over a big fish to an Angel. It is brilliantly colored and has fine arabesque and gold decoration in the background. These paintings of Angels and Fairies suggest the spiritual protection on royalty conferred by these heavenly bodies. Even poetic-forms of the time emphasis on such themes. For instance Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's poetry compiled as *Diwan* contains several poems both in Persian and Devnagari script of which a poem named the rainy season describe beautiful Angels. It says the angels in the sky have incited the rainy season delighted by it has rained sea-pearls, flooding the courtyard. The earth has wound a turban of pearls and worn a crystal - colored skirt. The red velvet - colored insects have appeared everywhere. In the green forest the peacocks are crying and the parti-colored birds are singing songs of joy in the garden. What you see in the forest are not crimson - colored flowers, but candles burning in dew-drenched oil. Seeing the freshness of the season the beautiful damsels adorn themselves in gay clothes, displaying their charms as they walk gracefully. Their clean breasts, fresh like the water of immortality are surmounted by black nipples, which on the sky of their

beauty look like two black clouds in a transparent sky. To enjoy the beauty of the season the girls have regaled themselves with wine.

Among the jasmine flowers the black bees are flying about singing Malhar. These black bees disporting themselves amidst flowers like black moles on their jasmine white chins. The gaudy clothes in which they are dressed from head to foot and the music of the music of the morris bells on their feet have captured my heart and made it restless like a fish out of water.³⁹

Such depiction in poetry had its reflections even in miniature paintings of the time, where painters depicted angels with beautiful feature and shining spiritual background with brilliant foliage and color - scheme. They are mostly illustrated giving their divine blessing to royalty and other Ordinary women present at royal - court.

A painting dated to 1617 AD depicts Radha, meeting Lord Krishna who was standing holding his flute and a piece of sugarcane, which Radha has given him. She holds some pan in her left-hand.⁴⁰

VII EUROPEAN THEMES

In consequence to the diverse trading contacts that the Deccan had with Europe, we can find in some miniatures, which may either drawn by the European artists of Deccani courts or by the indigenous artists who happily acknowledged the European influence and painted several themes based on European models.

Among them few significant ones are a painting depicting Madonna and child based on European print executed about 1650 AD.⁴¹(PLATE-V). The Madonna is of the same European facial type, with heavily stripped features and wears innumerable pearl chokers and chains but retained Deccani characteristics. There is another painting showing the European Themes ' Holy family' of about (C 1630 - 1635 AD) of Golconda.⁴² It has the pictures of angels, maidens and other royal women.

The European influences like depiction of wings and themes are well represented

in the picture. However the arabesque and other decorative elements in the painting are qualities of Golconda School. The females in it have doll like cute faces, with a dark background and rich palette of mauve, orange and greens colors liberally enhanced by gold. The angels on the left with crown carry a garland, convening another impact of European trend

Another miniature of *Diwan* manuscript of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah depicts royalty listening to a religious musical party known as Sama. It depicts royalty seated on a throne with two two winged angels behind⁴³ In another miniature two flying angels are depicted of whom while one was clad in blue and the other was in

44

orange

Other miniatures paintings based on European models are executed during Abdullah Qutb Shah's period. One picture depicts a European lady with a dog, dated 1640 AD.³ This painting strongly shows the European influence as it depicts a European lady, wearing a stylish orange bodice over a green dress with ruff collar. She stands in a landscape, holding a fruit in one hand and a morsel of food for the dog in other. Another painting of a female Christian saint executed about (C1640-1660 AD) depicts a female saint, standing on a plinth with her hands in prayer and her eyes rose to heaven.⁴⁶ There is a gold ewer beside her and a stone table in front with other gold vessels. Silver and red are used for arabesque

A Miniature executed between (C1640-1660AD) illustrates a picture of Virgin Mary, where the Mary stands on a crescent moon holding the Christ child in her arms and a serpent is entwined about the crescent.⁴⁷ Two angels fly above bearing a crown and two other angels attend the virgin's mantle on either sides. Mary is dressed in simple green florets and borders are of marble blue- paper.

There are two other pictures of Virgin Mary dated (C1640-1660 A.D).⁴⁸ One miniature painting depicts Mary standing in a field holding the infant Christ in her arms while other illustrates the haloed Virgin Mary standing and holding a book in her left hand. Two winged angels adore her. One falls at her feet in worship and other kneels with hands in prayer. In both paintings the Mary is barefoot dressed in

full-length robes. The borders of the paintings are decorated with blue color.

Another painting with the theme Madonna and child about 1680 AD depicts Madonna holding a child in her lap.⁴⁹ Though this painting is inspired from a European painting the landscape in the background with tiny bird's ornaments, carpet cushion, coloring and the flowering plants confirm its Golconda origin. The workmanship is extraordinarily fine.

Similar European painting with the theme Adoration of the Magi with Deccani features and European trends was executed in mid 17th Century.⁵⁰ Another painting depicts a Christian scene based on the Last Supper dated (C1640-1660 AD).⁵¹ A palette of gold and blue are used in the depiction. Similar interesting painting showing European influence is that of Madonna and child dated 1680 AD.⁵² The Madonna holds a child in her arms. There are tiny birds in deep background, which proves the readiness on the part of painter to create within the whole area of painting a succession of receding planes. The vegetation on both sides of the Madonna is so naturalistic that there is a breezy movement of flowers and leaves. Though the miniatures are based on European model or is inspired from a European engraving, the landscape in the background and furnishings with glazing colors confirm its Golconda origin.

In these pictures both Royal and Ordinary women are represented in European fashion. European impact can be mainly seen in the themes mainly in the faces of females, the wings of angels and in the nature. In a painting of European nature with a theme nativity, Virgin Mary kneels before the Christ child who lies with a gold halo. Angels attend and descent from above and animals are in the foreground with inner gild - decorated border and an outer margin of floral decoration.

Another painting of similar theme depicts Virgin Mary kneeling before the Christ child with a halo. There is a hut on the right and cattle and sheep are beside a pool in the foreground. Two feathered Angel's approach from the left, seven angels descent from the sky bearing bells, a book, flames and a trumpet and there are several winged angel-heads above.

Thus, several new themes and elements were introduced into miniature paintings of Medieval Deccan while depicting Royal and Ordinary women. A crisp new idiom arose that combined European portraiture with Deccani extravagance and they must have been painted for Qutb Shahi's European friends and other European traders and travelers who collected these charming miniatures.

VIII THEMES ON OTHER ORDINARY WOMEN:

An important feature of Medieval Deccani miniatures of Golconda depicting women was that apart from the usual representations of Royal women and women as maiden, artists and dancers engaged in royal service and entertainment, there few significant paintings exclusively on other Ordinary women. Especially few paintings were executed during Abul Hasan Qutb Shah's reign (C1670 - 1687 AD) at Golconda.

Among them a picture depicts a lady holding a lotus flower dated 1680 AD in which, a female stands facing left holding a lotus with a long stem.³³ She wears a pink chadar over a full length dress. Her simple dressing patterns reveal the dress-style of Ordinary women, which was absent in the depiction of Royal or service women.

Another painting illustrates a girl with a pot dated 1680 AD, where a girl stands facing left beneath a little tree holding a tray with a covered pot. There is water in the foreground and dark clouds above. The painting has colored borders decorated with floral designs in gold color. A painting of a lady smoking is also datable to 1680 AD. She wears a dress of Chinese blue and a white porcelain base. She places one foot on a stool and holds a branch of little tree, growing above her. She wears a gold hat with a black aigrette.

An interesting miniature painting illustrates a girl chasing a white cat, which has stolen her pet parrot from a cage hanging on the branch of a slender tree. The theme is symbolic of the rival, the cat winning the lover, the parrot.

A painting of same nature depicts a female playing a Vina. She sits on the branch

of a small tree, while a buck and dog, stand listening to the music of Vina. There are several birds in the tree. A miniature illustrates a woman in a landscape, where she sits by a stream naked to the waist, cleaning her foot. Her orange drape has been left beneath the tree behind her. The painting has green border decorated with gold and silver and the margin with flower heads.

Another miniature paintings depict a lady going to worship carrying fruits with her. She is dressed in South Indian style with a dhoti and her hair in a low-bun. It is in private collection. Few other miniatures attributed to the last phase of Golconda dominion are a lady smoking a huqqa under a decorated tree and in a garden full of flowers and birds and a lady distributing huqqas to soldiers, as if selling them.⁵⁴

The specialty of these miniature paintings is that they depicted just the Ordinary women of the society rather than the women of palace life and these Ordinary women are depicted performing various activities that are Ordinary in day-to-day life. An indigenous artist, who is professional in depicting women of the Medieval Deccan society, most probably illustrated them.

Thus in totality the various themes of Golconda School, illustrated and represented Royal and Ordinary women in various realms. The kingdom presents a colorful history of miniature painting under the artistic patronage of the Qutb Shahi Sultanates. Several miniatures illustrating these women and their characters are executed with stylistic trends and techniques. A close observation of women in these paintings in Golconda reveals that besides the usual representation of women as royal ladies and women performing variety of tasks at royal court, several new themes and elements were introduced into to painting seen in the depiction of angels, fairies, and paintings based on European models like that of Virgin Mary, Holy Family, etc. The pictures of Ordinary women were also portrayed with great precision.

In the illustrations of angels, a crisp new trend arose that culminated European and Deccani styles of execution. They are depicted with brilliantly colored wings,

large-scale features, and huge spiky vegetation and with European looking faces and heavily shaded draperies. But despite European influence, these pictures retained the local aura. A certain degree of realism was seen in the wings of the angels and in the penetration in the drawing of the faces. The angels signified the divine protection blessing given to Sultan and his ladies. The depiction of fairies indicate a blind believe in the superstitious worship.

The miniatures illustrating dancing girls added a romantic flavor to art. The ornament and figural composition of dancers have throbbing vitality and remind the strong rhythms of the Indian dance. The depiction of these dancing girls within royal palace and with royalty denotes that they occupied an important place in the society. It is also evident from the literary sources that dancing girls enjoyed considerable amount of significance in the Golconda society.

Several illustrations of Ordinary women, performing their day-to-day activities like praying, smoking, distributing huqqa and playing music were breath with life and captured the feelings of women. They reproduced the inner substratum of the Deccani life and urge for rhythm is considerably modulated with perfection.

The pictures of Royal women, maidens and several ivory-colored ladies of royal court are painted languishly with the lovely gardens inner courtyards, architectural settings, pictorial designs, realistic faces and decorative background. They were illustrated with great originality giving the real picture of the time. The placing of the Queen at the top of few paintings makes her royal status clear. The dress-patterns with elaborate design also give fantastic look to their features. Maiden's depiction highlights their important role as part of royalty or royal atmosphere.

On the whole there was fine drawing of female figures with lyrical quality, careful finish, rich coloring and compact compositions. They are charged with delicacy, romantic flavor, dramatic action and well-knit masses of colors. These miniatures elucidating Royal and Ordinary women in various spheres achieved the sensuousness of medieval sculpture visible clearly in different poses of females. This denotes that attunement to the earlier traditional pattern and superiority in

terms of psychological insight and verisimilitude attitude apparently was recognized throughout the Medieval Deccani kingdom of Golconda.

The peaceful vibrant line and vitality made these miniatures altogether the proficient pieces of Deccani paintings, with perfect illustrations of women in royal cultural and social spheres. They have peculiar charm in their colors and in their rhythmic quality. They are painted with cool and subtle refinement, which communicates even minutest expressions of women, which is a unique feature of Golconda miniatures.

All these paintings representing women of Golconda are of greater pictorial quality. The overall subject matter, costumes, jewelry, coloring, landscape and architecture are distinct features of Golconda. For instance mango and todi trees, green and white jewels decorating gold surfaces and the intersecting arcades are Golconda conventions, which brought realism in architectural setting. The plain green background, the fan like clouds and deep blue sky are related to Golconda taste. Rich and dark palette of inky blue, lilac pink, salmon-red, bluish grey and green are typical of Golconda style, determined by locally available pigments.

The artists of the time stimulated to explore compatible indigenous elements. They shared more initiative and imagination in obtaining variety of forms within a framework or theme. Foreign artists retaining their style with a combination of indigenous sources produced new models with a seething line and composition and according to the local taste. They depicted pictures with such perfection that one could easily perceive all the figures and could feel their expressions.

There was **enticement of naturalism** and innate sense of decoration with formed patterns in their work. One could sense the rigid etiquette of a formal court, the luxury of the kingdom, the idealized symbols of royal splendor, artistic flamboyance and sober intellectualism in the arts of painting expressing its energy in colorful tones and forms.

The vitality and strength of Golconda painting was lost with the decline of political power of the Sultans and the absence of royal patronage to the artists.

However, from the beginning, the Golconda School particularly while depicting different categories of women displayed assured mastery in painting that resulted in the adumbration of miniatures, which can hold their own with any provincial School of Deccan. They enjoyed effective patronage with broad stylistic trends and reached new creative dazzling heights while illustrating women of elegance, endurance and eternity.

Thus women of Golconda occupying an important place in the arts indicate that they played a effective role in social, religious and political spheres of Medieval Deccan. While social and religious realms were naturally their fields of activity, they played a prominent part in politics also, although most often as peacemakers. Through marriage alliances women of royalty even consulted their loyal courtiers and attempted to persuade them to accept members of their choice to succeed.⁵⁵

Royal women in particular took an active interest in the affairs of their subjects and in public-endowments. The prominent among the Qutb Shahi women were Bibi Jamal, Bibi Khedija, Khanum Agha, Hayat Bakshi Begum, Khirut Uinnisa Begum, Chand Sultana, Khadija Sultana, Kulsoom Begum, Kulsthum Begum, Bade Bibi, Choti Bibbi, Bhagirathi, Bhagmathi, Premamati and others.

For instance Bibi Khedija, paternal aunt of Sultan Abbdullah Qutb Shah was a devout woman known for her chastity. Similarly Khairatunnisa Begum, Kulsoom Begum daughters of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah and Kulthum Begum, grand daughter of Muhammad Qutb Shah were persons of great toleration and even Kulthum Begum even constructed sarai or inn for the convenience of all travelers.⁵ Similarly Khanum Agha, the mother of Muhammad Qutb Shah was also known for her noble acts like construction of Masab tank or Ma Saheba Tank, by name of Hayat Bakshi Begum, wife of Muhammad Qutb Shah. It became a tradition or practice, to give these names to all Queens - mothers of the Qutb shahi Kings. An inscription at the Tank reads it was for conscious of public good and always endeavors for the creation of comfortable life for people. Khanum Agha was said to have wielded much power with a moral will during her son's reign.

Most of them even gave orders for the construction of Mosques, which became places of worships for both men and women. For instance Khairatunisa Begum constructed a Mosque at Khairatabad, Kulsum Begum Princess of Qutb Shahi lineage, constructed a Mosque near Mustaidpura. Similarly Kulthum Begum and Hayat Bakshi Begum constructed Mosque at Kulthmpura and Hayathnagar respectively. Which indicates the culmination of religion with philanthropy and the political act of giving orders.

Hence miniature paintings of the time keeping in view of royal power represented Queens and Princes along with the Sultan enthroned in many paintings symbolizing their political in contrast to the Purdah-system of remaining aloof from politics and cultural activities. Art forms too in one way revealed this fact of power politics through representation of Royal women along with royal power at court politics of Golconda as they are depicted without veils covering their faces.

Few royal women had tremendous impact on the thinking, attitude and behavior of Sultans. For instance Queen of Ibrahim, Bhagirathi was mainly responsible for his secular attitude and patronage to local language like Telugu which ultimately resulted in flourishing Telugu literature during his reign that throw light on Golconda history. In other words due to Queen's influence, rulers like Ibrahim had a better understanding of the Deccani politics and literature received impetus.

Among all Qutb Shahi women Hayat Bakshi Begum also known Ma-Saheba or Queen mother played a prominent role in Golconda history as mediator, peace - maker, charitable person with a religious bent of mind. She exercised power during the reigns of three Qutb Shahi rulers, her father Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign, husband Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah's reign and son Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign. She gave orders for several constructional works in the kingdom like mosque at Hayath Nagar, an extensive Karwan Sarai for travelers and Chashma Bibi, the ladies fountain and a small cistern with bathing facilities, which remained as the favorite resort of Mohammadan women of all classes from the kingdom. The waters of it are supposed to contain some specific virtue and

hence women in large used to go bathe in it.

Hayat Bakshi Begum was born at the time when the kingdom was on its way to the pinnacle of glory and the new city of Hyderabad was being laid out with all its architectural grandeur. Apart from this the cultural influences of the time and the special care and training she received contributed largely to her greatness and success as a woman shouldering responsibilities in the kingdom. She was also well educated with progressive outlook and gave beneficial advises and negotiated treaties. For instance Hayath Bakshi Begum even met Aurangzeb in 1656 AD and requested the prince to pardon her son Abdullah Qutb Shah and accept the treaty of marriage of Abdullah's daughter with Aurangzeb's son Prince Muhammad.⁵⁷ Due to this act of her Golconda continued to be independent for a certain period without falling into Mughal hands.

Moreover the peace and prosperity during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah testify to the fact that Hayat Bakshi was closely associated with her husband in the conduct of State affairs. Her cooperation with Muhammad Qutb Shah in handling political affairs gives an idea of her power in Golconda kingdom. This successful association with the politics of the time also continued during Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign. When a minor son was raised to the throne she played the key role of an *undisputed ruler of the realm, by maintaining law and order* and necessary arrangements for the accession of her son. She even established sound administration by appointing efficient officers to various posts in the kingdom known as council of regency.

For instance Hayath appointed her son-in-law Shah Muhammad as peshwa with a salary of 12,000 hons and later Shaikh Muhammad Ibin-i-Khatun, as high executive officer in his place.⁵⁸ Regarding her power it is remarked that. She was a woman with wits and shrewd understanding and sound reason and handled state affairs on her own initiative and brooked no interference from any quarter.⁵⁹ She was **adored by her people and was addressed Ma Saheba.**⁶⁰

Marriage alliances in which women remained as main targets for peace or

expansionist matters of kingdom also formed an important component of Golconda history. For instance Hussian Nizam Shah Sultan of Ahmadnagar gave his daughter Bibi Jamal in marriage to Ibrahim Qutb Shah in 1563 AD.⁶¹ Similarly Sultans Ibrahim Adil Shah's daughter was given in marriage to Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's sister Chand Sultana was married to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur.⁶² She was later given the title of Malika-i-Jahan or The Queen of the world by Ibrahim.⁶³ Even Sultan's Abdullah Qutb Shah's daughter was married to Sultan Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Adil Shah married Abdullah Qutb Shah's sister Khadija Sultana.^M

Abdullah Qutb Shah's had three daughters Bari Sahibni, Fatima Khanam and Badshah Bibi of whom the eldest daughter Bari Sahibni or the great lady was married to prince Muhammad Sultan according to the treaty of 1656 AD and it was decided that since the King had no main heirs, the throne of Golconda should go to Muhammad Sultan. But in the war of Mughal succession followed the imprisonment of Shah Jahan by Aurangzeb. Muhammad Sultan was lured to take sides with Shah Jahan's second son Shah Shuja and was finally arrested and imprisoned with his wife. He died while in prison. Fatima was married to Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad " and Badshah Bibi was married to an Ordinary man Abul Hasan who later on became the next and the last Qutb Shahi Sultan of Golconda.

Thus, marriage alliances formed an important part of Golconda royalty and politics, through which Golconda women played important in establishing peace within the Kingdom and extending territorial boundaries. There were also instances that women even accompanied royalty in **the** procession scenes. There are gleanings of the military organization of the Sultanate in the diary of the progress of Abdullah Qutb Shah to the East Coast in 1639 AD kept by Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad, who remarked that hundred palanquins carrying the royal ladies accompanied by one thousands and horseman, one thousand foot soldiers, lancers and carbines as if entire royal court and city was moving.⁶⁶

Hence miniatures paintings gave equal importance to royal women with men in

their illustrations away from seclusion and Purdah system that were very much vogue in Muslim traditions. They painted Royal women who exercised power in their themes, which resulted in a variety of illustrations of them within royal court, palace - interior and outdoors of the kingdom.

Ordinary women too played their part in Qutb Shahi kingdom. For instance few Ordinary women of royal harem were against Akkanna and Madanna, the Hindu ministers of Abul Hasan Tanasha. Two women Saroma and Jad-e-Saheba actively involved in the plotting against them which led to dissensions, palace intrigues and rampage killing of Hindus and ultimately Akkanna and Madanna were beheaded and then dispatched to Prince Muazzam of Mughal Empire.⁶⁷ This remained one of the reasons for the fall of Golconda Kingdom as it lost the advice of great thinkers and administrators which on other hand also indicates that women played not only a prominent part in constructional aspects but also in destruction of politics. Few other Ordinary women also played prominent role positively. For instance Amin Khanan important officer of Golconda had three wives, Bari Babi, Sekkar Bibi and Semma Bibi, who had soft corner for the poor and distributed milk to the children of the town.⁶⁸

Tavernier remarked that they were so many public women in that town the Suburbs and in the fortress, which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than 20.000 entered in the register of the Darogha. They pay no tributes to the king but certain numbers of them are obliged to go every Friday with their governess music to present them in the square in front of the balcony. If the king went there, they dance before him and if he is not, eunuch signals to them to withdraw.

Tavernier appears to have visited their locality for he observes that certain Ordinary women selling tari (toddy) at shops, which they open at evening. It is a drink brought from five or six koss distance in leather bottles, upon horses that carry one on each side and go at a fast trol and about 500 of them enter the town daily. King derives from this a tax, which he places on this account. Tari provides

considerable revenue and it's principally on this account that they allow so many public women. Because they are the cause of the consumption of much tari, those who sell it having for this reason their shops in their neighborhood. Perhaps women and wine go together. But these evil practices have to be stopp.ed for a better society. While royal women lived in palaces, separate houses or palaces were constructed for Ordinary women like maidens. For instance Qutb Mandir was meant for royal women to attend functions. Lai Mahal remained exclusively for royal servants.

An interesting poem, Suka Saptati written about four hundred years ago by Palavekari, who was the lord of Kadiri in the Cuddapah district and was therefore called Kadiripati, also describes the general conditions of women who lived in the Telugu country under Qutb Shahi dominance. He remarked that women folk wore many gold and silver ornaments.⁷⁰ Their houses were in a state of prosperity with stacks of hay and fodder for the cattle near the main building.

Travelers like Bernier, Tavernier. Thevenot wrote that Ordinary women in general wore saree and a bodice. The costumes worn by them are very simple, devoid of any decoration or Zari work. But dresses with novel material and fashions are the order of the day. Though these literary and foreign sources do give some information regarding the life of Royal and Ordinary women, regarding their dress - patrons or textiles and costumes, or ornamental - designing, miniature paintings of the Medieval period are best sources of knowledge. However one point apt to mention here was that artist of the time were mainly influenced by the Persian style of dressing and hence depicted such trends even in female portraiture. The lower order of the people copied their masters.

The women of Golconda wore skirts usually with a check of geometrical patterns. Tucked in front of the skirt is a long *patka* in different colours, occasionally made of zari with floral designs to the contemporary taste of Mughal and the Deccan. The transparent *odni* generally made of the muslin stands out behind **the** head; its tasseled ends are stiff and form an angle to the body. The *choli*

or the bodice fits just below the breasts and is decorated with floral designs. The bodice is always in a color, which contrasts with that of the skirt. It is usually short reaching hardly down over the hump and leaves the portion beginning from the bodice and their lower roundness covered. The neck is v shaped and the bodice most probably tied behind gold and silver zari is extensively used mainly for the dress of ladies of royalty and nobility.

In paintings, royal personages as well as Ordinary women are shown wearing beautiful red coloured *chakdarjama* having three visible points at the end reaching up to the feet. There is *apatka* tied over the girdle. The other end made of zari also touches the feet of the lady. Other dress patterns of women being a jacket with *lahanga* which is a waist cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the chord passes for fastening or dandiy which is a large sheet worn over the *lahanga*, part of which drawn over the head and other head fastened to the waist. These three garments are of necessity while wealthy wear the other garments made with gold or zari, the Ordinary could not offer them. Women are generally depicted wearing zari apron or veil cloth both ends falling over the both shoulders with floral designed long *pyjamas*.

Altogether miniature painting represents beautiful floral, leaf and creeper designs in printed, painted and embroidered types in dress - trend. General courts were in vogue textiles practically for the royalty and wealthy like wearing a *pyjama* over which was generally a skirt and above which was a veil one end tied at the girdle, the remaining covering head and the waist and covering the bodice which was generally a culmination of Hindu and Muslim dressed patrons.

The secular attitude of the Qutb Shahi Sultans and the close contact between two section of the society namely Hindus and Muslims also had its impact on the very life of both these sections. Moreover the close relationship of the kingdom with that of Hindu Vijayanagar Empire, during the early years of the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah also led to the dovetailing of cultures. Particularly in the dress styles of **women like the sari of twelve** cubits covering a bodice with sleeves coming upto the

elbows was the rule, while the heads of women were usually covered when they went out.

Hindu women of the society in particular wore sometimes saris without a bodice, mainly Ordinary women while others wore short bodies, which might be long enough to cover the navel.⁷¹ Among the more affluent classes of society the sari as well as the bodice had borders of varying width of gold and silver embroidery. Among the Muslim women the alternative dress was the *dupatta* of about four and a half yards a cloth, one end of which was tucked on to the pyjama or trousers, which were embroidered and kept in, check by girdles with embroidered ends. This type of costumes were worn by royal ladies and those ladies who are attending on the nobles, zenana and of the courts. While Ordinary women generally wore veil and pyjama with bodice.

Miniature paintings of the time depicted all these textile-features with rich coloring, elaborate designing and pleasant look both for Royal and Ordinary women of Golconda.

Regarding jewelry patterns both Hindu and Muslim took pride and felt it as a matter of great privilege in wearing a variety of ornaments. In gold, silver and other precious stones. Mainly Qutb Shahis territories had nearly twenty-eight sites of diamond mines enabling them to use them for ornamentation. Even miniature paintings revealed this wealth of jewelry and the variety in them.

The ornaments of Medieval Deccan in 'general had its own peculiar characteristics of traditional orientation. Qutb Shahi kingdom flourished as a big cultural center with natural and mineral resources of diamonds and gold and good trading centers and seaports, which in turn facilitated in enriching the firm and features of jewelry of various types. Depiction of this jewelry in painting reveals skills of master, craftsmen and talent of painters.

The lustrous pearls, diamonds and jewelry were the privilege of the royal and wealthy people. It should be observed that by the beginning of 17th century, Golconda was the wealthiest of the Deccan kingdoms. This was due to the active

trade of the ports along the East Coast from Iron and cotton goods were shipped to South-East Asia, while a considerable trade was carried on with Persia, especially in painted cottons, which afterwards gained a high reputation in Western Europe, to which they were brought back by the Dutch and English East India companies.

The discovery of diamonds added a further good source of revenue. This wealth was visibly apparent in the gold jewelry worn by women and men, but especially by the dancers and courtesans for whom Golconda was renowned.⁷²

Navaratna jewelry was made out of nine chosen gems, which represented glory and magical influence. Each gem was set according to the advice of the astrologers in accordance with horoscope.⁷³ The gems have then specified place in the navaratna setting, ruby in the center, diamond in the east, sapphire in the west, cats-eye keto in the north. Coral in the South, emerald in the Northeast, the pearl in the Southeast and topaz in the northwest with amethyst in the Southwest. The metals in gold and silver were used for preparing the ornaments.

The fashion of adding bright colors of enamel jewelry to the lushly set precious stones came from Persia and was introduced in India in 16th Century. In the Deccan flowers, leaves, and decorative motifs added brightness to various colors of enamel. This work in black enamel is the specialty of Hyderabad known as Kundan work.

The unique Bidiri work is a class by itself both for its colors and choice of metal. This art of Bidri jewelry and Industry related to it became popular in Hyderabad during 17th Century. Bidri jewelry is believed to possess power of magic and mystic function besides ornamental value. It is expression of power and wealth, a token of love, symbol of highest aspiration, a witness of joy and glory. It is a source of enhancement of beauty and inspiration to all.

The ornaments that were generally used during Qutb Shahi times were, *Kanthmal, Kangan, Glasari, Goshpera, Kammarpatta, Thussi, Beenajnuj, Hansli, Hayayal, Turrah, Chowsara, Karamphool, Phulri, Bunde, Teela or Tike, Jugni, Nagsar si-ladi, Karimoti, Bungdian. Har Mala, Painjan and Zanjeer.* These ornaments were also mentioned repeatedly in the poetry of Sultan, Muhammad Quli

Qutb Shah who was a great lover of Deccani culture. He in his *Kulliyat* or Deccani poetry gave a detailed account of various types of jewelry used by his beloved Bhagmati Hyder mahal and many other Ordinary women of his palace.

It was generally observed that women wore earrings sometimes six or seven in each ear, finger rings, toe rings, gold or silver bands round their wrists, arms and anklets, even a ring or a jewel on the side of the right nostril and sometimes even on the bridge of the nose.⁷⁴

With Golconda and Hyderabad becoming important centers of diamond culture and precious stone like garnet, amethyst, topaz, agate, etc, ornamentation also grew rich. Pearls added flavor to their style. With all these trends jewelry became important aspect and order of the day mainly related to the fashion trends of women. While Royal women wore variety of ornaments made of valuable diamonds, stones and gold. Ordinary women also decorated themselves with ornaments of different quality. The gem laid jewelry gained so much importance that they found place in folk songs, like Chakkiname stories for children and game songs, making people of the times to name their children's and pets after jewelry like Hira, Moti, Lai, etc.

Hence due to the importance given to jewelry in Qutb Shahi times, royalty gave patronage to skilled craftsmen to produce excellent jewelry and even miniaturists recognizing their significance depicted variety of ornaments in their illustrations particularly related to women of Golconda.

On the "whole miniatures paintings of Golconda depicting Royal and Ordinary " women, under various themes have a peculiar charm in their colors, rhythmic vitality and in the depiction of beautiful features of women. They convey a convincing image of royal magnificence of the Royal women and at the same time, illustrate with perfection the talents of the dancers and artists and maidens working in royal household. They also signify the luxury and pleasure of royalty at royal court and palace. In totality the miniatures remain as wealth of artistic sensibility and technical professionalism in history of painting while depicting women.

PART - II

TRANSITIONAL PHASE (C 1687 - 1724 AD)

The end of 17th Century and the beginning of 18th Century is generally perceived as Dark age in history of medieval Deccan in particular due to absence of strong powerful royalty as a result of collapse of Golconda kingdom to the Imperial Mughal power till the rise of Asaf- Jahis or Nizams to power and authority. This had impact on miniature painting tradition also both negatively and positively.

While the negative aspect remains a set - back in full - flowering of miniature tradition during this tradition with extensive themes and lack of royal patronage, on other hand the positive side highlights the continuation of this art culture by nobility even after the collapse of mighty kingdom of Golconda till it was caught and boosted under the patronage of Nizams marked with variety of works and perfect illustrations. Indeed it was very surprising that Deccan artists produced many marvelous paintings during nearly four decades of Mughal political domination of Deccan. The imperial ruler to enlist their support treated local nobility with generosity. He sent orders or Farmans to all incumbent administrators and military officers through Golconda kingdom after its capture. These documents confirmed the nobility of their positions, assured their safety and ordered them to acknowledge the emperor's authority. ^

With this assurance of peace and safety resulting stability and wealth, enabled officers under Mughal control to give patronage to the arts and mainly continued the tradition of miniature painting that reached its height in 17th century. Hyderabad remained as main center of painting during this period where patrons from the viceroy of the Deccan till the governor of Hyderabad downwards gave patronage to miniature painting. Few important paintings executed during this period are,

I THEMES ON ROYALTY AND NOBILITY:

A miniature painted dated to 1700 AD depicts a fierce Deccani huntress, in which a Queen targets a tierce lion and kills it with bow and arrow. She resembles

paintings of Queen Chand Bibi, whose heroic exploits passed into Deccani legend. Despite Islamic connection she has fierce folk qualities of Rajput representations of the Hindu Goddess Durga, slaying the buffalo demon.⁷⁶ This is rare painting indicating women participating royal aspect of hunting which generally remained favorite pastime of men of royalty.

Another painting depicts a girl holding a fawn, in a beautiful garden. She appears to be a princess gone for an evening walk enjoying the fragrance of a flower from the garden, which she holds in her left hand. **(PLATE-VI)**. This painting comes from a widely dispersed series depicting beautiful girls holding small animals or children. It was executed during the first quarter of 18th Century and is in private collection.

A painting executed about 1690 AD depicts a prince enthroned.⁷⁷ The lady with a green halo sits on a golden throne on a carpeted terrace, wearing transparent chemise and gold trousers and a hat adorned with an aigrette plume and a parrot-brooch. There is a pale green sky with clouds above. A miniature painting executed during 1720 AD depicts a lady enthroned holding a rose in her right hand against a green background with red flowers in the foreground.⁷⁸ **(PLATE-VII)**. She is sitting in a chair like throne, but with a traditional cushion - *masnad* at the back.

A manuscript *Khusran-u-Shirin* of Nizami, executed around 1723 AD depicts romantic Persian poem, recounting the story of the Sassanian King Khusrou Parwiz II and the love of Shirin, together with the tragic fate of Shirin's devoted admirer Farhad, the heroic artist - sculptor. Its author Nizami was a celebrated poet of Persia. The text is in beautiful black nastaliq written within gold panels enclosed in ruled lines and decorated in blue gold colors.

It was transcribed in 1723 AD by Abdul Hadi son of Muhammad Azim which represent best phase of Hyderabad Kalam in the first quarter of 18th Century.⁷⁹ It depicts a princess with a horse in a beautiful Deccani landscape with a natural background of trees, birds, sky and green field. The princess has a quiver filled with arrows and is almost dressed in a tribal style. **(PLATE-VIII)**.

A miniature depicts a Queen riding a horse in the company of king and her maidens, while two women were depicted taking bath at the end of the painting and a woman tries to cover them in seclusion. **(PLATE-IX)**. The royal ladies are depicted with turban of Deccani style. Among Ordinary women a lady tries to veil the naked beauty of other two women taking bath, from the view of royalty passing-by. It gives the picture of Deccani landscape far away from palace as if indicating that the ladies with royalty are returning after a long pleasant ride. Though the cloth tries to shield the women, yet the painting in one way is revealing their beauty to the viewers. It is in private collection.

Similar painting depicting Royal women and maidens was a painting of a princess with her companies dressed in Hindu and Muslim styles, at her private apartments. **(PLATE-X)**. It gives the picture of royal palace in the background with threatening clouds. A lady among them points at the sky as if horrified by the black clouds. It illustrates the life led by Princess at her royal court in leisure and maidens engaged in their royal services as they are depicted holding *morchhal*, fan, etc. The princess smokes a *huqqa* and there are some fruits and eatables spread around. It seems the ladies are sitting on the terrace and enjoying the view beneath. The treetops, the distance castles and the landscape can be perceived. A cat sits near by to the Princess, which is another popular feature of Deccani painting indicating the compassion and delicacy of Royal women.

A miniature of early 18th Century depicts a Mughal noble man Mujahid Jung and his lady Mirassa Bai sitting in a garden of noble house. **(PLATE-XI)**. This noble man was working at Deccan under Imperial supervision.⁸⁰ The artist working at Hyderabad depicted it with sharp-edged draughts manship and Mughal sobriety to Deccani extremes. Symmetry and balance linked to Mughal realism, become abstract ends in themselves. The result is an easy alliance between severity and opulence. Strong colors of bright green garden, gold sky streaked with blue, maroon carpet are depicted in the painting. Coconut trees are illustrated in the background, which is another Deccani characteristic feature. The picture gives a real feeling of a

garden with small fountain and trees foil of flowers. One important feature of this painting of noble women was that she was depicted smoking huqqa, while the noble enjoys a fragrance of flower. She appears to be more fashionable lady of the times with elegant looks, simple dress and ornamentation. In this whole miniature, the noble stands out in terms of size, showing his importance and the women is very small in comparison to him. It is attributed to a Jaipur painter staying at Deccan and is in private collection.

During this period the emerging Hyderabad style of painting gradually absorbed the Bijapuri input. For instance seven paintings from an unidentified Urdu manuscript probably painted in Hyderabad about 1700 AD is executed in a transitional mode showing partially assimilated Bijapuri and Golconda trades. Many artists after the fall of Bijapur in 1686 AD left the Capital and few in 1670 AD and others went to Hyderabad where the great art patron Abul Hasan was ruling. After the fall of Golconda, they must have received work at the fortress capitals of the new great nobles at Golconda and Hyderabad.

One such painting depicts angels flying down to visit a sleeping princess.⁸¹ The women's large languorous eyes and dusky complexion derived from Bijapuri trend, while the turbulent line of the angels decent and the fussy attention to detail are Golconda in origin. Other page of the manuscript depicts a Prince collapsing in the arms of a King, consoled by the Queen and other royal ladies and maidens executed around 1700 AD.⁸² **(PLATE-XII)**. In these paintings while the depiction of angels' flying denotes European influence, their dressing pattern and crown styles are related to Golconda and Hyderabad. They are depicted as if showering their divine blessing to the Princess. Similarly in this painting the costumes of the women like pyjama transparent veil, bodice etc. are related to Golconda. A shocking and surprise look is clearly visible on the faces of these women, with beautiful large eyes and sharp noses.

All together these themes indicate that miniatures paintings executed during this period (C 1687 - 1724 AD) were patronized by nobility and medieval Deccan and

depicted several themes related to Royal and Ordinary women within social spheres.

A miniature painting illustrates a lady mostly a princess languishing on a terrace, executed during first half of 18th Century. Her maidens attend the love - sick lady languishing on the terrace. The idealized beauty, gentle eroticism and lyrical feeling mark the main feature of this painting on women. It incorporated various features like depiction of different kinds of animals like lion, cows, cranes, swans, cat, etc, which are placed at different parts of the scene indicating their real locations. For instance while lion was depicted among hills, cat was seated beside the Princess being her sweet - pet (**PLATE-XIII**). The distant castles, the swans swimming in the pool, the look on the face of the maiden and the princes, all add to the somber and sad mood of the environment.

In the background one can perceive, the wall of the palace - fort with windows, doors and gates. The dressing patterns like pyjama, skirt and veil of both royal lady and the maidens are typical features of Deccani miniature painting. This painting also illustrates various utensils, cushions and carpets placed on the terrace. While the royal lady seems to be engaged in mystic romantic thought, maidens are illustrated engaged in royal services. It is in private collection.

Another painting of about 1690 AD depicts a Prince sitting on a terrace beneath a canopy with his arm around a lady mostly a Princess, who is kneeling beside him offering pan in a box to two youthful singers who kneel before them. One of them was holding a tambur. A girl servant is standing on the right with a chauri.⁸³ Gilt - decorated borders and gilt - sprinkled blue outer margin can be perceived in the miniature.

II THEMES ON MUSIC AND DANCE:

Music, which remained as one of the favorite pastimes of nobility, was even depicted in miniature paintings of the time with rhythmic sensibility. One miniature dated to 1698 AD depicts Navvab Salabat Khan listening to women artists playing music. In this Miniature it is the Nawab who stands out and the women are very

small in comparison almost like dwarfs (PLATE-XIV). Impressively generous in scale and mood, this large page is a visual delight of vibrant white, green, pink and gold. The palette, the depiction of women with excessively long eyes and the distinctive foliage composed of tiny dabs of bright color arranged in circles are identical to conventions in 17th and 18th Century Bikaner painting. The inscription on the reverse which gives the Nawabs name in Devanagari script, also suggest that it must have been painted for a Rajput patron mainly Raja Anup Singh working at the time in the Deccan. The artists working at Hyderabad must have been influenced by the Rajputs style of miniature painting and must have illustrated it to please their patrons.

The picture illustrates three strata of women like ladies of noblemen seated behind him, maiden serving him and female artist entertaining the nobility. Among them a lady holds a sitar like instrument and plays pleasant music while others hold different kinds of musical instruments. Though there is Rajput influence, still the textiles, ornaments and architectural settings and placement of different objects within the palace are Deccani features.

Another musical theme depicts Qaidar Dad Khan Leti listening to music. It was executed during early 18th Century. In it a noble man listens to a concert by women on the roof of a lake - side pavilion. It is in the sleeking elegant style of metropolitan Hyderabad painting. He was Turkman officer, who served in the Deccan under Aurangzeb during the late 17th Century. Beneath him in the Zenana his royal women dressed in red and gold also listens to music guarded by an African Amazon.⁸⁵ Two girls in a boat, resembling the yoginis of early 17th Century Bijapur painting, observe the suns reflection in the fish - filled lake. Strong greens, glowing reds and a dark blue sky produce a richer effect than most Mughal paintings of the Aurangzeb period, to which this painting is closely related.

It is unique painting during transitional phase as it depicts women of four different realms like Queen, artists, maiden and yoginis. Once again in the depiction of the artists and the maidens differentiation is clearly visible. The artists

who entertains noble seems to be a *sanyasin* - type (a lady who renounced world) while the artist with the Queen seems to be glamorous holding *tamburim* (a musical instrument). Similarly the maiden behind the nobility is dressed in Hyderabad style, holding a *morchhal*, while the maiden depicted with Queen in the lower part of the painting is completely different in her dressing pattern and hair - style and resemble an African lady at Deccani court. Queen looks elegant listening to music attentively and at the same time enjoys the fragrance of the rose. This painting symbolizes the aesthetic and musical aspects in culmination.

An interesting miniature executed around 1700 AD depicts a lady listening to music. She leans on the bough of a tree holding a rose in her left hand and listens to a *vina* played by a girl dressed in the styled of a *yogini*. Their clothes are embroidered with gold, chocolate background. The painting has a border of former flowers in red, green and gold land is in Johnson's Album collection.

Similar musical themes depict a young Princess and her companions on a white marbled terrace covered with carpets, listening to musicians. The purpose of the yellow *yoga patha*, a cloth striped around the knees of the young lady is to support her body to facilitate prolonged listening to music. It is executed around 1720 AD.⁸⁶ (PLATE-XV). All together these particular miniatures give the picture of life style of both Royal and Ordinary women enjoying music during early 18th Century Medieval Deccan.

III RELIGIOUS THEMES:

A painting of religious theme executed around 1700 AD depicts a Ordinary women greeting a holy man who is apparently blind. He has a white beard and walks with the aid of the staff set in a formalized landscape with a pink background and blue border. It is in private collection.

Another painting depicts two Hindu women visiting a saint in the mountain, who holds *rudraksha mala* (a spiritual chain) in his hands. They appear to be offering *prasadam* to the saint. It is in private collection executed in early 18th

century Medieval Deccan. **(PLATE-XVI).**

V THEMES ON ORDINARY WOMEN:

There is a fantastic miniature painting depicting variety of common women outside the walls of the royal palace. The painting executed during early 18th century illustrates a prince on ride receiving water from girls at a well.⁸⁷ **(PLATE-XVII).** These ladies represent the Ordinary women of the- then society. The composition has the dense pulsating vitality and colors the somber glow, which distinguish both the Golconda and Hyderabad Schools. The painting has several features like musicians entertaining nobility in the background, where Ordinary women near by listens with delight while few women swing from the trees. A lady near by the tree was depicted playing *ektara* (a musical instrument) while few ladies fetch water from the well. Other women are depicted carrying water from the well as if retaining to their houses. One woman among them quenches the thirst of the Prince, who seems to be returning from a long ride with his retinue to the palace.

The painting also incorporated depiction of several aspects of beautiful nature like depiction birds like deer's, ducks, cranes, peacocks and other small cute lovely birds, illustration of different kinds of trees related to Deccani landscape, rolling monsoon clouds hills etc. This miniature painting throws light on different kinds of textiles and decoration of Ordinary women, who too appeared beautiful and well - dressed and symbolizes both Hindu and Muslim women. Comparable painting of definite Deccani provenance existed during this period. This painting is a celebration of everyday life.

V EUROPEAN THEMES:

Few European miniature paintings were also illustrated highlighting the impact of European trends on Medieval painting during transitional phase. One painting dated 1700 AD depicts an angelic figure dressed in wine - red sitting on a throne, which is being carried across a flowery field by a demon. Three angels attend with

victuals. The subject may intend for the Queen of Sheba. The painting is in gold decorated green borders and a gray washed margin.⁸⁸

Another painting depicts a girl standing on a gold stool between two blossoming trees braiding her hair, a transparent drape about her waist. Clouds are above the hillside behind. It has blue and pink margin and is executed around 1720 AD and is in Johnson Album collection.

Another painting depicts a European lady dressed in Indian way seated on a European - styled chair on a terrace with a parrot or parakeet perched on her hand and an slender tree and a pavilion behind.⁸⁹ It was executed around 1700 AD and pink colors. A miniature of European theme executed around 1700 AD depicts the Virgin Mary standing on a crescent moon entwined with a serpent, holding the child Jesus on her left arm. Cherubs are in the clouds on either side and the background is colored green in places with a band of blue sky above. An inscription in Persian reads it as the lady Mary and Jesus. It has golden arabesque border and gilt - sprinkled - green margin.

Another painting executed between (C 1680 - 1700 AD) depicts three ladies in European costume gathered in a chamber with four maidens attending them.⁹¹ A cat is in the foreground. They must be royal Princess fascinated by the new fashion wearing European style of dress. The calligraphy is by Mirza Muhammad

Thus, before the rise of Asaf Jahis local notables of Qutb Shahi administration and officials appointed by imperial authority gave patronage to artists who depicted pictures with violet, orange and prickled gold, creating a feeling of a private opulent world than the down to earth aspects. Though they had Rajasthani and Mughal influences on them, yet Deccani nativity was distinct. Rajasthani influence was due to the fact that several Bikaner Maharajas served the Mughals as officers in the Deccan, like Rai Singh, Sur Singh, Karan Singh, Anup Singh, who resided permanently in the Deccan.

Many Rajasthani painters, who accompanied their patterns to the Deccan, popularized these conventions. Mughal influence like rigid poses and meticulous

technique is related to Mughal domination and to the Mughal artist working with their patrons in the Deccan, who conceivably produced features related to Mughal realism. However palette of red, pink, blue, gold and dreamy landscape, costumes and ornamentation with natural fashions are related to Medieval Deccan.

In most of these miniatures paintings although the energy and humanism of 17th Century was absent to large extent, however they retained lyrical quality and gripping severity. As 18th Century progressed Deccani artists increasingly turned their attention to depicting escapist themes such as the opulent life of ideally beautiful courtesans or themes with marks of power and wealth.,

PART III

DEPICTION OF ASAF JAH I WOMEN OF HYDERABAD

(ROYAL AND ORDINARY)

Asaf Jahi women also played a significant role in history of Hyderabad and of Nizam dynasty. The prominent among them were Safia Khanum (mother of Mir Qamurruddin Nizam - ul - Mulk), Padsha Begum, Khairunnisa Begum, Moshima Begum (daughters of Nizam - ul - Mulk), Umda Begum, Taniathunisa Begum (mothers of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II), Bakshi Begum, Tahiniya Begum and Bashir - Unnisa Begum (wives of Nizam Ali Khan), Parwarish Unisa Begum (Daughter Afzal - ul - Daula Nizam V and sister of Mahub Ali Khan Nizam VI), Zehra Begum (Mother of Mir Osman Ali Khan), Dulhan Pasha Begum, Azim Unnisa Begum (Wives of Mir Osman Ali Khan) and Shah Zadi Begum (Daughter of Osman Ali Khan and others).

Other royal women of the time were Tanaba Hazrata Zina Tunnisa Begum (mother of Salarjung) Noor Unnisa Begum, (Daughter of Salarjung I, Princess Durashiar, Princess Niloufer, Chandini Begum, Manjli Begum, Bakshi Begum, Khairunnisa Begum, Tyeba Begum, Jahan Parwar Begum and others.

Some of them were known specially for their charity and concern towards poor. For instance Hyderabadis had great regard and sympathy towards Dulhan Pasha, who used to distribute gifts to the poor. These women generally married Paigah nobility.

The Purdha and Burkah system was scrupulously followed both among royalty and nobility and among Ordinary people. Men never entered into women's apartments namely Zenana areas. Neither did the women enter into the rooms where men were present. For instance when Salarjung I was on his deathbed, his mother and other royal ladies couldn't enter the room since male doctors were treating him ⁹²

Other women of Royal strata included Ranis of Wanarpathy, Shorapur, Gadwal like Rani Lakshmi Devamma, Adilakshmi Devamma, Veera Laxhmi Devamma, Sai Lakshmi Devamma, European ladies or wives of residents and ministers like Cason Walker, Lady Haidri, Lady Dr. Mallanna and others.

One interesting feature was that the miniature paintings of Hyderabad School depicted variety of themes representing Royal and Ordinary women and also themes of women related to local samasthanas and European ladies who all constituted the main corpus of Hyderabad royalty and society during 18th Century. They illustrated them with perfection depicting textiles, jewelry and engagements with clear precision and excellence giving a real picture of the Hyderbadi royal - outlook and cultural - traditions.

During the period of political instability throughout India and mainly in Deccani like Golconda during 18th Century, which were exhausted and impoverished, many nobles tried to carve out independent kingdoms, while paying lip service to the fiction of centralized authority. At such circumstances, Mughal Viceroy of Deccan, Nizam - ul - Mulk the most capable administrator of the century founded Asafiya Dynasty in 1724 AD. The kingdom that later had Hyderabad as its capital.

The royal lineage of Nizams then onwards preserved the Mughal conservative's

traditions of their ancestors and the ancient Persianate culture of the Deccan well into the Twentieth Century. This gave relative peace to the region after decades of turmoil, and gave patronage to arts of the time mainly to the tradition of miniature painting that continued during various phases of up and downs of 17th and 18th Century.

At the same time, feudatory princess at Kurnool, Gadwal, Shorapur, etc also gave patronage to arts like miniature paintings. All this resulted in the formation of Hyderabad School of painting and other sub School around Hyderabad during 17th Century.

The unsettled conditions of 18th Century brought about a transformation in the character of Deccani painting mainly when related to male - portraiture that was less realistic and imitative. On other hand very interesting and significant feature of miniature painting during this phase was that 18th Century Deccani artists suddenly turned their attention towards re - discovery of female body, creating an idealized world of Princess and courtesans. The artists had invariably concentrated on the rhythms and the energy of the nude to depict deities and the feminine principle whether called as devi, shakhti, yogini or ragini reemerges considerably Islamized of course, reaffirming the continuity of India culture through centuries of Islamic rule and also the continuation of the tradition of Miniature painting which attained its glory under Qutb Shahis.

As a result with the rediscovery of feminine charm, a tendency towards superficial effects of mere prettiness developed and women were represented in various realms with extensive themes that can be analyzed as follows.

1 THEMES ON ROYAL COURT AND PALACE LIFE:

Among Hyderabad School of painting, themes relating to palace - life, pastimes and other activities of Royal and Ordinary women were depicted in majority, within and outside palace frontiers.

One miniature painting depicts princess seated on chair attended by maidens. Objects and people are shiftily arranged like bouquets of dried flowers in this

painting. Shades of mauve, green and white resemble Jaipur artist's conventions. The Princess was depicted enjoying the fragrance of a flower, sitting elegantly on the chair. The picture gives an excellent feeling of prettiness and beauty of Royal women. One interesting feature of this painting was that, she was depicted sitting on a chair in contrast to earlier miniatures depicting women, of Golconda School, like being seated on throne or on a terrace. It was executed during the first half of 18th Century.

Another painting depicts a lady with a pet cat and a maiden behind holding a morchhal fan.⁴ There is enamel green - background and chored silver water like engraved steel. It was executed about 1725 AD. The leisurely ease and the intimacy of the atmosphere in this miniatures are new in phenomena and gives a feeling of peaceful life of Princess being enjoyed in a household in the lap of the gardens with the fountains bursting, the birds singing, the lush fruit ripening and the animal cat adding the touch of domesticity to the secluded life. The entire picture is indeed Deccani in feeling with Deccani costumes and features of women.

A miniature painting depicts a royal lady engaged in a conversation with a maiden within the interior of royal court, as if communicating something urgent. (PLATE-XVIII). It is executed about 1800 AD and is in Hyderabad style. The painting is done in a very simplistic fashion with straight lines and almost appears to be the work of a folk-artist. It is in private collection. Few other paintings on royalty depict ladies carousing in a garden. The painter depicts princess relaxing in the center with a maiden pressing her leg. Other maidens and women around her engaged in different sorts of activities like while few gossip other ladies are seen preparing wine, garland etc. Few women artists are ready to play music. It is an excellent depiction of royal life in relaxation.

The 18th century painters sometimes de lived into the personality of their patrons and imagine the life of Princess, as they were not directly allowed into zenana. Patrons seem satisfied with records of life's glittering moments, perhaps as a refuge from financial strains and political anarchy. The result being frivolous and

lyrical as in the splendid painting of this royal ladies and maidens carousing in a garden of a royal court. Far from life's problems the ladies were depicted enjoying music, wine, *huqqa*, conversation or hawking, which reflects their engagements.

For instance, a painting depicts mostly a royal Princess smoking *huqqa* on terrace and feeding her pet pigeons, executed about 1780 AD.⁹⁵ She seems to be enjoying the company of charming pigeons in pleasant atmosphere of seclusion of natural beauty.

An excellent miniature depicts a princess riding a brown caparisoned horse against the green background.⁹⁶ (PLATE XIX). She wears yellow costumes and is decked with garland of flowers and ornaments. She holds a spear in her right hand the reins of the horse in the left. A quiver is tucked to the saddle. An aigrette worn in her turn indicates her high rank. The painting shows the skill of the Deccani artists in portraiture. Though living in purdah for most of the time, this painting is an interesting study in that it shows that the women were also trained in the use of weapons and warfare.

A fantastic and a rare painting on hunting theme of women were executed at Hyderabad in the third quarter of the 18th Century. It depicts a princess hunting with a gun with other royal ladies outside the walls of palace, which can be perceived in the background.⁹⁷ She seems to be shooting at a deer.(PLATE-XX). This painting displays the talent of Princess as a shooter and also reveals the fact that Royal women with other "Ordinary women of royalty indeed took pleasure trips like hunting that remained a favorite past-time of regality. Halo behind the princess reveals her majestic personality, the dress - patterns of the women clearly distinguish them as princess and maiden. For instance while Princess depicted with headdress of elegant design, the maiden's dress was of simple nature, but of variety. The lady behind the Princess seems to be a close friend or associate of her, which is a very Ordinary feature of royalty depicted not only in paintings but also was mentioned in literary aspects.⁹⁸ This is one of the few paintings which depicts all women hunting excursion.

Another painting depicts a motherly lady who cajoles a naughty little boy out of his angry mood within palace court." She appears to be a Queen - mother this was executed around last quarter of 18th Century. It gives a realistic look of motherly affection and royal way of dressing. Similar painting depicts mother and child executed about 1800 AD in which the lady appears to be an Royal women enjoying the company of her child on a terrace of royal court.¹⁰⁰

The painting of two women offering each other wine, perfume and flowers beneath a splendid tree is another new trend of illustration (PLATE-XXI). The women's faces give a princely look and Hyderabad trends of painting like primarily drawn flowerbed and the tangle of clouds above can be perceived. The gracefully arching tree, bearing blossoms like jewels on a chain, injects drama and fantasy. The woman appears to be engaged in a deep conversation by exchanging the things, which they hold. Once again the dress style like long - designed skirt and colorful veil over the head, are peculiar of Hyderabad.

Another painting depicts a beautiful lady grasping the branch of the tree like a yakshini of ancient Indian sculpture, executed around mid 18th century.¹⁰¹ A parrot, symbol of sweetness and beauty in Indian and Islamic literature perches on her figure. A strong Deccani sense of fantasy and a typically southern palette of deep greens and blues are depicted. She appears to be a princess standing near the palace. Her slender body, large eyes and sharp nose and delicate look give aesthetic pleasure to the viewer.

Similar painting depicts a princess stretching or relaxing on top of a terrace. In it a radiant young women dressed in diaphanous robes of red and gold stretches to flaunt her seductive charms.¹⁰² This erotic masterpiece was most probably executed around third quarter of 18th Century. Giant butterflies hover above enormous white and purple flowers of trees among which the princess stands. The butterflies seem to be ready to hover on this woman who was as beautiful and as sweet as the flowers depicted in the paintings.

A theme highlighting the beauty and decoration of Princess was a painting

depicting Hair - dressing scene, executed during 18th Century.¹⁰³ **(PLATE-XXII).** In it maidens are dressed in Hindu fashion who decorates the Princess. While one behind her combs the long hair of the Princess, other maiden holds mirror in which the beautiful face of Princess got reflected. This lovely toilet scene approximately to the Hindu orientation and more mundane in a purely decorative scheme, where the leisurely process of the hair do becomes more important. The brushwork is sustained at a high level of accomplishment and this miniature is typical of the native period of Hyderabad School.

Another painting depicts two friends executed about 1760 AD.¹⁰⁴ **(PLATE-XXIII).** It depicts the female forms especially in the evocation of sensual charm, which had been attempted in the unique Hyderabad style, with textiles and features of Deccani trends.

Themes on romance were one of the important aspects of miniature painting, mainly when related to women, who are considered as symbols of beauty and eternity.

Many such romantic pictures were produced by the painters in the mainstream of Hyderabad taste, during the first half of the 18th century. Among them a masterpiece depicts a lovesick lady.¹⁰⁵ In it the lady, who is a princess, was waiting for her lover, who has not yet come. An elderly maiden tries to soothe her feelings, while other two young maid's hover uneasily about. Oblivious to them, the princess stares unhappily ahead dressed in bright orange and green, lying on a pink mattress. Undecorated expanses of dark violet and blue evoke solitude and depression. The princess reclines on a bed beneath a canopy in the moonlight and looks as if sharing her feeling duenna in white stoops, who talks with her. Two cranes fly overhead. The entire approach is bold, demonstrated by the vigor with which the wind flutters the fringe of the canopy. It is dated to 1745 AD

Another painting Nal Daman depicts a dreamy unrealistic holding of compositions, with a degree of efficient naturalism found in the details of drawing and coloring and with romantic landscape.¹⁰⁶ It indicates a synthesis of Mughai,

Rajput and indigenous Golconda styles of painting. This illustrated manuscript Nal Daman.¹⁰⁷ being a fine specimen of art, depicts the episodes of story of Nala and Damayanti, one of the gems of Mahabharata.¹⁰⁸ It is re-handled by many Sanskrit poets like Shri Harsha and Trivikrama. The story was so popularized that it was even translated into Persian by Faizi at Akbar's behest. The lovers of ancient Hindu epic appear in this miniature in Persio-Deccani fashion with Deccan Mughal and Rajput features. A page of it depicts Damayanti garlanding Nala. A long retinue of men and women look on. (PLATE-XXIV).

III THEMES ON MUSIC:

Music, which was a pleasant past time of royal culture, continued to be depicted even in Hyderabad School of painting. For instance a miniature illustrates a Deccan beauty serenaded by a singer and musicians.¹⁰⁹ The lady who appears to be a Princess charms with her elegant spatially illogical pose and large languorous eyes. It was executed during first half of 18th Century. She was depicted on terrace of a palace, with pleasing background trees laden with fruits, birds and distant background of hills, trees and other animals. Both musical and aesthetic essence can be perceived in the painting. While costumes of princess as usual appear rich in look, the textiles of musicians appear humble and simple.

In another musical theme of ladies carousing in a garden.¹¹⁰ Apart from other royal **ladies maidens** and Queen relaxing, a women artist is depicted away from the **main - figure playing** music, while other ladies listen to her in a happy mood. In it Princess dreams non-chalantly surrounded by companions and musicians, in her flower - filled garden, reclining under a canopy at the center of a small white marble **terrace. Adorned** with pearl necklaces, transparent muslin and precious stones, **they** relish the sweetness of life. The entire picture has flowerbeds and mango **trees loaded** with fruits. In a pool four white ducks disport themselves. The **wealth of the coloring in** which reds, pinks, madden yellows, blues, and greens are beautifully **intermingled** creating a fascinating harmony. It was executed around

1725 AD.

Delicate harmonies of mauve, white and green give charm and delight. This painting throw light on the fact that musicians mainly women artists were depicted not only in the royal palace entertaining royalty, but also were depicted in the interiors of the royal court, when Royal women enjoyed music which gave relaxation and happiness.

A painting about 1800 AD depicts two women with princely look standing under a mango tree, while peacock dances behind them. Among them while a lady plays music with a *tambura*, other seems to be enjoying it. The ladies are richly decorated and dressed in competition to the glazing beauty of nature."¹

Similar painting depicts two women with a peacock in a garden containing mango trees laden with fruits and fountain. While a lady plays a sitar, other looks at peacock as if talking to it. The costumes of women are a mixture of Islamic and Hindu traditions.¹¹² It was executed about (C 1799 - 1800 AD). This miniature is a fine example of the fusion of the two cultures, Hindu and Islamic, which resulted in the rich Deccani culture.

A painting with similar theme on music dated to 1810 AD depicts a lady stretching her arms above her head as she stands on terrace beneath a tree looking at a peacock which is beside her. A girl standing to the right of the Princess plays a tambur.¹ⁿ Gold and brown colors are used in depiction.

Another theme represents chamber music, where a Queen on a terrace plays *tambura*, a musical instrument, while other ladies listen to her attentively.¹¹⁴ The ladies around her are dressed **both** in **Muslim** and Hindu way. This is a fantastic painting representing not only different strata of women like princess, maiden, artists, **but** also the **lady before** the princess appears to be a dancer. **All** together this miniature gives the feeling of musical essence culminated with delicate **expressions of human and excellent design work** of the carpet, canopy etc.

HI THEMES ON ORDINARY WOMEN:

Themes on Ordinary women were also painted at Hyderabad. A miniature illustrating Azam Shah returning or approaching Golconda contains depiction of Ordinary women. In it Azam Shah returns from bird shooting and approaches his pleasure garden at the foot of Golconda fort."⁶ While the top of the picture depicts prince returning with his party, bottom depicts women sporting in the pleasure garden. The foliage of trees though stylized, retains a poetical feeling and sculptured forest nymphs with Persio-Deccani costumes. This painting apart from depicting Ordinary women who follows the retinue of Azam Shah also includes Royal women, maidens and musicians. A lady depicted as yogini entertains the princess in the pleasure garden and other ladies seem to be enjoying swimming in the pool. All the women have beautiful features and are dressed in Deccani style.

A painting dated to 1745 A.D. illustrates a woman holding a flower prig in her left hand. She wears a yellow choli beneath a transparent pink-tinted sari with gold edges gathered at the front and her hair hangs loose. There is a streaked sky and pale green background."⁷ Other colors depicted were pink and black. A painting of a Hindu woman depicts her standing holding pan. Her hair tied in a low bun; she wears a gold choli and transparent orange-tinted sari with gold ends and edges. Flat like wallpaper, design and lingering in floor a green background, cyclamen pink border with black ink rules.

All these women depicted must be Hindu women who lived in the Nizam Shahi society of Hyderabad during 18th century, which is clearly visible from their features and dressing patterns.

Another miniature painting depicts a theme after the bath."⁹ (PLATE-XXV). The woman depicted in it seems to be Ordinary women as they are illustrated on the roadside of a Deccani landscape. The small plants in the foreground of the picture at left recall the sprigged sward in Persian painting. Their flowering tufts with less constraint and the sprays above swinging rhythms are almost completely naturalistic in spirit. It is executed about 1750 AD. Though the maiden tries to shield them from the ongoers, she is revealing them to viewers.

Few other paintings in Johnson's Album's collection. A painting dated to 1780 A.D depicts a prince on horseback receiving water from one of the five Ordinary girls who draw water at a well beneath a tree in Deccani landscape and far away from palace. There is an extensive green field behind with a deer resting by a pool in the distance.

Other paintings of Ordinary women are in Johnson albums collection executed between (C1730-1780A.D). For instance a painting depicts a girl draped in a green cloak sitting facing right against an orange bolster holding a bottle in one hand. There are fruits on the terrace before her and a low fence runs behind against an uncolored background.

Another miniature illustrates a young woman standing in a field holding a baby in her hands. She wears diaphanous skirt over gold-striped pyjamas. There is a blue background with a cloud-band at the top.

A painting of a girl depicts her facing half-left, holding a rose with a purple chadar draped loosely about her. It has gold and pink border. Similar painting of a girl dressed in mauve depicts her standing beneath a little weepy tree, holding one of its branches. An egret is in the left corner. The sky has colored clouds.

Another miniature depicts young girls in Deccani landscape swinging (**PLATE-XXVI**). The dress patterns reveal their status and simple living and at the same time indicates the enjoyment part of their life. It was executed about 1790 AD. The tilt in the painting almost gives the feeling of swinging in the swing. The breezy trees also add to the movement. Another painting depicts mama Champa an elderly wet nurse dated (c1806-1816A. D). Her dress pattern was simple with delicate ornamentation.

An interesting miniature revealing life of Ordinary women depicts two girls playing phugari a popular pastime of Hyderabad (**PLATE-XXVII**). An inscription on it reads sarkar Naji Bunnisa Begum Taswir Phugri dated 1819 AD. " It is a game in which girls go around forming circles by holding each other's hands.

Many other such themes of Ordinary women were illustrated at Hyderabad, **which reflects their** life-styles and engagements in society.

IV RELIGIOUS THEMES:

One interesting feature of Hyderabad School was that though the political authority was Islamic in nature and it was this royalty which gave main patronage to miniature art, yet few themes depicted themes of Hindu nature signifying two important factors. **One** indicating a secular attitude of the Nizams and other being the fact that they must have been painted by those artists for their local Hindu officials who commissioned them and who were under Nizams control.

They mainly depicted popular religious practices of the-then society. For **instance a painting** dated to 1725 AD depicts Lord Krishna with Gopikas. (**PLATE-XXVIII**). There is thick foliage and the Gopikas are dressed beautifully offering gifts to Krishna. It is in the collection of National Museum New Delhi. Another painting dated to 1750A.D depicts lord Ganesha with devotees.^mWhile Ganesha was illustrated enthroned on his while-the rat, two female devotees stand on either side holding lamps. It has red background and green border. It must be the first **manuscript** of religious fiemes invoking the blessings of Lord Ganesha on the work. **Few other** themes of religious nature are in Johnson album collection of which one **painting** depicts goddess Saraswati. enthroned and diadem, holding in her forehands **an axe, tambur, book and** a rosary of temple eyes. There is a flowerbed across the foreground with gold and pink borders.

Another painting depicts god and goddess Shiva and Parvathi sitting on a gold **chauki** beneath a tree, shiva holds a gold vessel and the Ganges flow from a small **human head, which** surmounts the coils of his hair. Parvati is holding a dish of pome granites. A miniature illustrating Krishna, the lord of Hindus playing a flute **standing** on a rock undet a tree to a peacock and cattle. A gopika kneels in worship on the right. Similar painting executed at Hyderabad about 1770 A.D depicts Lord **Krishna standing beneath a tree** playing his flute to caparisoned oxen and a gopika who **waves a** chauri. He has four arms of which three hold attributes of Vishnu namely **the** conch, **the** disc and a lotus, indicating the avatar of supreme lord and

sustainer of the universe lord Vishnu of **trinity** concept.

Similar llicine of (minting depicts Krishna playing to two gopiknw ilnloil to 1770 AD While Krishna sits on a mound of mauve rock beneath a tree playing his flute to gopikas and **threee** cows. One of the girls holds a gold lamp. The other holds a gold **devotional vessel**. The waters of *hc Jumna* almost encircle them.

In most of these religious themes, Ordinary women in society and their religious practices and beliefs were depicted.

Thus, Hyderabad School of painting depicted Royal and Ordinary women in **different realms** which had innumerable peculiarities of their own in subject-**content, textiles**, ornamentation, color-scheme, flora and fauna and above all the Deccani landscape and architectural features which immediately disclose the identity as being Deccan. The execution of majority of them is very competent and of good quality though few consist of a dull draughtsmanship.

In many paintings of women fine arrangement of figure groups, their easy and fixed postures, ethnic types dresses, the typical Deccani background background and the often used poppy flower-beds in the foreground of the painting display a peculiar model of contemporary Hyderabad Deccani life-style and structure of the royal atmosphere. Among the themes depicted, court scenes and Zenana scenes in which ladies were drinking, smoking *huqqa*, playing with pigeons, listening to music on a terrace or playing with children prevailed. Girls playing yo-yo or a **duenna** escorting a beautiful damsel were other popular themes.

When compared to earlier Schools of Deccani painting, the significance attached to women in Hyderabad School is intensive and actually is symbolic of the easy going and pleasure loving Deccani people. The painters illustrated such pleasant themes related with women more than hunting or war scenes for their patrons, so that the patrons pleasant movements were not disturbed in the company of their women.

One peculiar feature of Hyderabad School was that the figures are generally set in **profile against a flat background** in pale green or pallid blue colour with perfect

complexions of the character depicted with perfect execution of line and figuring. In most of the miniatures of the women, the costumes, jewelry and accessories depicted remained Muslim in nature. Since the patrons Nizams and other notables of Islamic origin. But few paintings illustrated by Hindu officials mainly at sub-Schools depicted Hindu women and themes related to Hindu-culture. Portraits related with European women residents and subjects were also illustrated with European outlook, which politically signify their stay at Hyderabad or semi independence of Nizams under European domination.

The women figures were illustrated usually on a terrace outside a building or with a pavilion or in a courtyard-garden in the background of which variety of Deccani-natured trees like mango, plumera, champa, coconut, palm, etc can be perceived. In many paintings a small decorative tree with conical leaves in light green or gold color was depicted. These suggest a sense of massiveness and add a breezy quality to the atmosphere. The terrace or the architecture occupies the central portion in which both Royal and Ordinary women were depicted with flowerbeds and fountains in which ducks play in front of them. Sometimes small cypresses also grow in the flowerbeds along with poppies mainly white or yellow colored round flowers with pearl like petals and dots. This natural beauty with women's sensuality illustrated gives additional glow to the paintings of women in particular.

Women figures are generally well built, tall and beautiful. They generally have a backward sloping forehead and young smiling face with sharp features. Their faces are shown in profile, but at times are shown in front. Their long wavy and black hair is brushed back and falls to the shoulders in loose curls in most of the painting.

Mainly at Hyderabad School, a love for portraiture, court scenes and zenana scenes were painted in which ladies were depicted engaged in various pastimes, entertaining themselves or playing with children. Among other themes prevailed were raga and raginis.¹²

The jewelry depicted in most of the paintings is rich and consists mainly of white pearls. They are generally three strings of pearls at the parting of the hair, a three

fold pearl kanthi (necklace), a five (*pachladi*) or seven stringed (*satladi*) pearls necklace with emerald or ruby studded pendants (*dhukdhuki*). A two stringed pearl mala, a two stringed pearl chain joined to the pendant of the pachladi or satladi crossed in front and reaching to the hips. Armlets worked with gold and red between double rows of pearls, wristlets of eight fold pearl strings or gold bangles between two rows of pearls and double pearl or gold anklets. Ruby and emerald drops are round gold earrings with pearls in the ear and gold rings with pearls, rubies and emeralds are other ornaments depicted in paintings.

The women palms are dyed light red with mehendi and slippers are illustrated in golden colors. It was marked that maidens and other old ladies of royalty had lesser jewelry than the Royal women did. In dress-trend, women generally wore a transparent white, red, yellow, blue, green or mauve color '*peshwaj*' dress over a long choli and tight trousers with plain or flowered material. *Duppattas* too are transparent and covered the front and fall on the back or crossed in front along the two stringed pearl chains reaching the back. This mode of wearing the dupp.atta is known as khada-dupp.atta and is a peculiarity of the medieval Deccan.¹²³

In several miniatures there is a swing and sweeping movement of dupp.attas. This tendency is also another important characteristic feature of Deccani painting of Hyderabad. Few paintings depict women mainly royal personages wearing beautiful red coloured chakdar jama having three visible points at the end, reaching upto the feet. There is patka tied over the girdle. The other end made of zari also touches the feet of the lady.

Among Hyderabad School of painting only few paintings had European influence in matter of detail and depiction when compared to early Schools, which indicates that the artists were more influenced by the Mughal and Rajput trends rather than European styles. European influence grew powerful only after 1800 AD.¹²⁴

All together both Royal and Ordinary women were depicted wearing different kinds of silver, gold and other ornaments made of precious stones and pearls, which

indicates that use of jewelry was the order of the day. Though art of jewelry received a setback after 1687 AD, however it was revived again during the time of Asaf II, who brought with him all experts of arts and crafts and traders in jewelry.¹²⁵ As a result the manufacturing of jewelry had undergone a change due to the impact of Persian elements.

In this process of giving importance to jewelry Rukunuddolla his Prime Minister of Nizam Ali Khan II with his approval even set up a permanent bazaar of jewelry at Shahi Julu Khana in Hyderabad City. As a result hundreds of big jewelry shops cropped up from Gulzar House to Charkaman. The famous jewelers of that time were Anandi Ram, Kamariji Naik, Hiralal Kanji, etc. They built their houses along with the shops. These jewelry experts produced variety of jewelry, which were in great demand by the Asaf Jahi ladies and other Ordinary women of the society.

Among them the famous ornaments were *dand ka tilai*, *Kada*, *Kangan*, *Choli Ke Moti*, *Kan Ke Loung or Thinka*, *Path Ka Lacha*, *Efi Chada* which were Jewelry of middle class and Muslim women and *Pushthe*, *Pattadar*, *Gregaijulu*, *Gentilu*, *Kadiyalu*, *Mukkupulla*, *Chevula*, *Kammalu*, etc, were worn by the Hindu women.

On important occasions women used the ornaments of *Sar Ka Jumer*, *Choti Ke Taweez*, *Chand - balian*, *Bhutte*, *Karam*, *Pool Lacha*, *Chintak Jungi Sastlada*, *Chandanhar*, *Dugdugi*, *Thussi*, *Kada*, *Kangan*, *Bazab* and *Navartan*, *Sumran*, *Pouchia*, *Choosi Ke Peecha*, *Kakade*, *Challe*, *Aarsi*, *Antian*, *Angothian*, *Pazeb*, and *Angothe Ke Pattian*. During marriage times, bride was decked with bangles, dressed in *Kurti - Choli*, *Zareen drowhastya*, *Goed Khewa Pyjama*, *Jem ma* Ear - rings of diamonds and rubies and Zamarud studded lacha and Jugni.

The Begums of the Nizams palaces were always the pacesetters of fashions. The daughters of Nizam ul Mir Mahbub Ali Khan used to dress themselves in gem entrusted caps and gold threaded garments, known to be the most traditionalist, preserving the faded glories of Mughal era.

Women related to Salar Jung family paigah nobility and Nawabs of Hyderabad followed the royalty in trend setting. Bhujaband, her Chowlada, Kanthi, Sarpech,

Therrah and Jehega often presented by Nizam were their favorite jewelry. On many occasions, they presented this jewelry to both Hindu and Muslim nobility.¹²⁶ The last Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan who was one of the richest man of the world, was very much found of collecting valuable gems and jewelry and posses a rich collection of Sapp.hire, Pearls and diamonds. He even constituted a trust for its protection called "Nizam Jewelry Trust".

Hence keeping in view of Hyderabadi composite culture in which Royal and Ordinary women used gem and jewelry of exquisite designs and types. The miniaturists of the time depicted extensive jewelry mainly in relation to the themes on women in their paintings. Women and jewelry remained as two sides of a coin from historical times and this received much importance not only in cultural history of Nizams but also artistic history of the times.

Altogether miniatures paintings of Hyderabad School testify to the rich and pervasive art traditions under Nizams who played a conspicuous part in the development of the pictorial art of Medieval Deccan. During their rule there was fusion of Mughal, Rajasthani and indigenous art traditions. These influences were harmonized into a whole, with the distinguishing features of Hyderabad School of paintings that had an underlying Deccani atmosphere, an interest in feminine beauty and rhythms of natural aeation.

The most striking feature of miniatures representing Royal and Ordinary women was that, artistic concern remained not just with the beauty and grace of the females, but also highlighted the other aspects like their feelings, engagements and talents. The female figures had sharp figures with curvaceous line. In few paintings like new themes were introduced like women hunting, sitting on chair etc. The artists created starkling powerful shapes and strong decorative patterns keeping in view of the cultural systems of the time.

Though a critical aspect reveals that most of the portraits depicted un even quality in their draughtmanship, which are marked by heavy shading, dull in perspective and with wavy consorts, there was lot of difference in the quality of the

pictures owing to the fact that large and wide sources of influences were available to the Hyderabad painters, which created a bewildering multiplicity in details of drawing and coloring. For instance few paintings in the representation of the nature, architecture and pot - pourri, peculiarities of these paintings can be associated with the Deccani paintings of all kinds. However in themes and way of presentation and qualitative depiction of personages, Hyderabad had its own way of representative style remaining within the groove of the main current

DEPICTION OF WOMEN IN SUB SCHOOLS OR SAMSTHANAS (ROYAL AND ORDINARY WOMEN)

After the fall of Qutb Shahi dynasty, Hyderabad was placed under the Mughal military Governors and the Generals who penetrated in to South India and established petty principalities all over medieval Deccan and became famous during 18th Century as Afghan rulers of Kumool, Cuddapah etc. They gave equal patronage to the arts of the time mainly to miniatures paintings in consequence to the impact of Hyderabad School. The themes illustrated included women of the times.

For instance a painting of Kurnool depicts a Mandozi Jamindar or a nobleman seated smoking huqqa and enjoying music played by a woman, who sits with a sitar in front of him.¹²⁷ The woman depicted resembles an artist entertaining the nobility with in his royal palace. A background of coconut trees and other Deccani features like birds flying in clearly visible sky with white clouds and extensive foliage with designful architecture can be perceived which very much related to the Deccan.

Cuddappa School is a branch of Kurnool and both in sum together with Shorapur are off- shoots of Hyderabad School.

Painting at samasthans also represented women of the different strata. Samasthans were big military chiefs who had established their authority over large territories. During the pre - Qutb Shahi rule they were known as '*Paligars*' and under the rulers of Golconda were known as '*Makasaders*'. Only with the beginning of Asaf Jahi rule they were styled as samasthanas. Hindu officials ruled

these places like Shorapur, Wanaparthi, and Gadwal and paid revenue and gave military help to the Asaf Jahis.

Among Shorapur School the miniatures mainly comprises mythological themes representing women, due the fact that this place was a great center of very learned Sanskrit **scholars, astrologers** and astronomers. The characteristic elements of this School are basically South Indian. Another reason being Shorapur family originally came from a place called Ratangiri from Mysore and hence nayak painting of Tanjore had its impact on Hindu paintings. Moreover with this family many artists also came to Deccan region and settled in places like Shorapur, where they depicted themes related to myths and divinity.

For instance a painting depicts the picture of Krishna dancing with Radha, while the cow - girls clap. **(PLATE-XXIX)**. It is dated to 1775 AD.¹²⁸ The dressing patterns of women like sari and their features are Hindu in look and feeling. The sari is acclaimed as the most popular dress of Hindu women in particular which looks dignified and elegant. In this painting different designs of saris are depicted with varying types of frills. Women had beautiful large eyes and extensive jewelry. This theme is very popular among Hindus, where Lord Krishna who was considered as an avatar of Lord Vishnu, placed with Gopikas or local women, and the concept was even depicted in the paintings. There is a lot of similarity in this to the Tanjore paintings.

Another painting related to spirituality depicts a devotee worshipping Devi, Bhairva **and** Shiva dated to 1775 AD. Similar painting depicts Gods in attendance **before** Devi, signifying religious and spiritual entity dated to 1800 AD. a miniature on goddess Devi depicts fierceful Devi slaying and is private collection of Hyderabad. **(PLATE-XXX)**.

Another Shorapur painting depicts marriage of Vishnu and Lakshmi, which had sensitive depictions of plants and animals, which compensate for the brittleness of the main figure.¹³⁰ The painting has a culmination of various Hindu Gods attending the marriage of God Vishnu with Goddess lakshmi who are depicted seated in the

center. It is an excellent painting with different idioms and design work.

A miniature about (C 1790 - 1800 AD) depicts Krishna with Gopikas, which illustrates Krishna surrounded by many Gopikas.¹³¹ They seem to be in deep conversation with Lord Krishna, while two women near the trees are depicted as if engaged in a talk regarding the magical - power of Lord Krishna. Once again Deccani features of Hindu nature are visible in the painting like dress of women figures, bushy - background, birds flying in the sky etc.

Few other paintings of Shorapur Idom at Hyderabad are a devote bowing before his beloved near shrine of Shiva (**PLATE-XXXI**). The temple seems to be located amidst nature with trees, ducks, lotus-filled ponds, etc. The women have come to worship Shiva but the lover is turning his back to God and is seems to be worshipping his beloved, who becomes his God. Rasalila of Krishna with Gopikas, Birth of Krishna executed between (C 1800 - 1810 AD) and are in private collections.

A miniature paintings of musical theme depicts Sahji Prithvi Das, listening to a girl playing veena while a hilarious procession of his military might marches by, smaller than the poppies in his garden, complete with elephants, cannon, cavalry, infantry in European uniform and with camel.¹³² The miniature highlights the might, *wealth* and aesthetic aspect of the nobility *through* creativeness, musical essence and lyrical composition.

A painting of aesthetic sense of Hindu nature depicts a maid combing her mistress hair. The miniature seethes with sexuality and sensitive look. The lady with all ample curves appears lost in thought perhaps remembering an absent lover. The South Indian proportions of the women's bodies, tiny waist and huge hips suggest its provenance mainly of Shorapur where Dravidian figural traditions were stronger than at Hyderabad.

Similarly, at Wanarparthy a set of Raga and Ragini paintings about thirty in number **were** painted.¹³⁴ At Gadwal, seems like Rajas witnessing dance, music, etc were **executed** which represents both Royal and Ordinary women.

In totality miniature paintings at these sub Schools derive mainly from Hyderabad types, only mainly difference marked in Hindu and Muslim nature of patronage and the sub - School paintings being usually shorter often figures standing in rigid South Indian poses like temple sculptures of the period. The Islamic costumes of Hyderabad paintings can be seen Kurnool and Cuddapah School as patrons were of Islamic origin. The paintings at Shorapur, Wanarparthy and Gadwal, depict women wearing eight - yard sari, tied Maratha in style between the legs. They often have expressive eccentricities, which elevate them above the hackneyed productions of the Hyderabad School. Patrons were probably keen that their artists depicted local peculiarities of rank, wealth and personality along with mythical themes, a demand, which many artists responded immediately to produce creative and humorous trisodes.

Thus the stylistic features of miniature paintings done at Hyderabad for these Hindu patrons in particular mainly derived from the Hindu mythology with trees, flowers, and ornaments remaining same as Hyderabadi painting. The main difference seen in women wearing saris in Maharastrian way. The workmanship remained exquisite, but the coloring is garish. By the end of the 18th Century, the artists started using cheap pigments, gilded gesso work, built up in relief and incised with repeating patterns of depiction.

However despite reliance on visual formulae they enjoyed a freedom to develop their own concept of the situational realities of patron's life and mythological beliefs of local people, among which women constituted an important part. In the depiction of deities headgears and ornaments were carefully executed in relief in gold. Which depended on the status of the patron, for whom the painting was illustrated.

Finally few paintings among total displayed imaginative spirit, with local influences. These trends of sub - Schools and Hyderabad painting continued throughout 18th Century and middle of 19th Century saw a declining face, as it was threatened by the aristocracy's interest in the realism of Western art and after mid

century, with the increasing interest in photography. For instance Nizam Mahbub Ali Khan turned to a talented photographer Lala Deen Dayal to record the personalities and events of his reign, creating a taste for photography which effectively killed the moribund tradition of painting.¹³⁵ European perspective and modeling were adapted to a certain extent with incisive evocations of types, alien elements of expressions to local demand and superficial modeling and suggestion of depth.

Flashes of painting in totality during later phase were romantic and expressed a desire for aloofness. It became descriptive by gathering all the elements to enrich the art of representation. The elongated form of potential force and energy and transcending vigor of Deccan were lost to great extent, remaining static. However they retained glorious creative talent and brilliant colours which one way indicates declining the nature, vitality, and strength of paintings in parallel to that of declining political power of rulers.

However Hyderabad remained as unchanging bastion of traditional Muslim society in the middle of the sub continent, highly conscious of its unique position and miniatures of the time indeed reflected their Islamic rule and in particular women's spheres in different strata of royalty and society highlighting two main aspects. First being the impact of alien rule in painting regarding architecture, way of living and fashion trends and other aspect being incorporating the native traditional styles and impulses of the time thus remaining a comprehensive once in illustrating history of women of Hyderabad with content, colour and characters. An appraisal of depiction of Royal and Ordinary women in miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools gives an idea of the prevailing pictorial style at Qutb Shahi's and Asaf Jahis court and on the subject matter of women. These places witnessed furious art activity remarkably in the field of painting mainly throughout 17th and 18th Century certain illustrations representing women were executed which not only excited greatest interest, but also can be treated as excellent sources on women's history.

The study reveals that apart from the usual representation of Royal women in the realms of royal atmosphere as Queens and Princesses, depictions of several other Ordinary women, which included maiden, dancers, musicians and angels were also illustrated. These paintings concentrated on fine sensitive features of women and their expressions with movement and depth. Each picture had artistic peculiarity and was depicted with utmost care and devotion to the subject. The scenes of these women indicated both their secular as well as religious lives. They represented them in different physical psychological and mythological realms, in which each woman was depicted with her defined role in accordance with certain trends, norms and values of time.

From the analyses the role of Royal women as a Queen or princess can be seen, who remained as a symbol of royal elegance and power and participated in the activities of the court along with the Sultan. The paintings established an idiom for that peculiar aroma of the court life, a world of passion, magnificence and colorfulness.

The role of maidens from the miniatures indicates that they formed an important component of labor structure and served royal powers with obedience and discipline. At the same time they enjoyed luxurious of royalty, as known from their costumes and jewelry.

The miniature paintings of dances display the role of women who devoted themselves to the arts, including the art of living. Their poises are dramatic and full of movement. The pictures turned twists epitomizing the energy and strength. The painter had brilliantly immaculate the excited rhythms of dances and their beautifully proportioned abstract shapes and expressions.

The depiction of angels and deities under Islamic rule introduced a new tonality in Deccani painting that combined aesthetic spirit with spiritual spark.

Most of the female's figures in the panels of Golconda and Hyderabad painting are elongated **and the** costumes are of local variety. The facial types of women both Muslim and Hindu and colors are nearer to Deccani work, except few showing

Western influence like Madonna, angels etc on account of trade contact with Europeans and political changes in Deccan with the coming of Europeans.

A Survey of these paintings on both sections of women also exhibit that, several charming paintings of women with all best traits were produced, which aimed at realism, precise portraits and depiction of historical realities and situations. The vigorous gesturing, side long glances, graceful poses, pensive faces and restrained dignity of women prove the vitality of these Schools, which depicted with clear precision and outlook of the life, interest and romance of the Princess, activities of maidens, talents of artists and spiritual power of angels and deities. The luxurious costumes, decorative ornaments and glaring utensils and furnishings illustrated in miniatures also suggest the wealth and prosperity of these kingdoms and indicate the luxuriant growth of painting sustained and fostered by Qutb Shahis and Asaf Jahis of Golconda and Hyderabad.

These miniature paintings illustrating women attained a new brilliance representing women in various spheres. The finest work of painters with sensual delight in the mass and movement of the female figures captured their inner realities. New interest also developed in historical record as some of the paintings were signed and dated by Bikaner painter, Leningard, Bodlian and Dublin painters.

Despite foreign influence due to diplomatic and trade relations these School retained their individuality in warmer color tones, preference being given for Deccani background and fine draughtsmanship. Since the artists were not slavish in imitating, but endeavored to develop certain characteristics of their own life sumptuous grandeur linked to wistful magnificence and richness, with mysterious dark great landscape with billow cloud like leaves and the gorgeous pictures.

The palette of strong bright and glowing colors like pink, blue, green, maroon, orange, yellow with massive torso bursting with energy and hold were used with a background of brown, blue and green.

The overall miniatures paintings depicting women and their work produced an effulgent icon of royal splendor with artistic ideas and ideals, the descriptive

element being an enlivening factor, with the differences of depiction of Royal or Ordinary women clearly marked in their head - gears, costumes, ornamentation and placement of the picture or the activities involved. However all the female figures were executed with feminine splendor, prettiness and elegance with garment designs and decorative elements.

The evaluation of the themes also reveal that the basic motive behind these illustrations was the idea that the women were objects of sensuality and entertainment for men as these paintings show the cultural construction of an ideal female as young, shapely, sensual, carefully scanty and transparently dressed and made up fashionable and glamorous. In art forms like painting, women portriat itself become a compelling object of desire and veneration obviously by men. Female pictures illustrated with delicacy and sensuality mainly for male gaze and even for those women who loved and enjoyed womne portraits. It means that while male patrons and their associates enjoyed viewing such reavealing pictures, women mainly of elite strata, within which these portraits were executed must have also enjoyed seeing their beautiful reflections. Hence the concepts like 'erotic' or 'sensuality' are related to historical times rather on value - concepts. For any production as practice, as object, as context needs to be historicized. Because medieval courts specifically comissioned eroticized representations in minature art, where men as subjects, objects, and patrons enjoyed viewing sensual female portraits.

In other words they depicted women in "miniature " terms. This kind of portrayal must have preferred an image which many women of the - then society might have felt important to live up, which at the same time unattainable for most of them. Because with an exception to the women of royalty the Ordinary women in medieval Deccan society as part of Indian society were subjected to various types of social, economic domestic and cultural bondages

One striking phenomena, which draws one's attention is that we do not have enough evidence to believe that the women miniatures of the medieval Deccan were

executed by women painters. There is hardly any illustration painted by a female artist. Mostly these miniatures were creations of male painters. Hence the meanings produced by the subject content of these paintings of women were inserted into the subject by the mainstream male perspective and bear specific a priori meanings in and for themselves.

Hence it is to be remembered that while addressing ourselves to the paintings, we cannot find the specific feminine character from the women perspective, because these paintings are in conformity with the dominant masculine discourse of the time. Moreover though few paintings were inscribed and mentions the name of the rulers, there are only few paintings mentioning the personalities of women involved, which once again delineate the real - characters of the women of Medieval Deccan. For instance it is very difficult to identify the woman of the times portrayed either with the royalty or in individual realms, as the royal personalities of the time contained many women in *zenana* and hence the actual importance given to Queen enthroned with royalty in many of the paintings remains unknown to the viewer. Only the qualities and features of the royalty can be perceived. More over under Islamic law, the king was entitled to four wives, although in fact he had access to any woman within the precincts of his palaces. They never went through the ceremonial parts of marriage. All these ladies were generally referred to as palace ladies of *Zenana*. The *Zenana* was that area, in a palace where women hid their attractions and resisted temptations. Women passed their time adorning themselves in silver and jewels, singing and dancing for their Lord.

Another important point was that the purpose of the creation of women miniatures was certainly not to improve or benefit the lot of women of the society, but these paintings were produced mainly for the purpose of royalty and nobility and to entertain and please their European friends and merchants or traders, so in that sense these paintings left no mark on the life and conditions of an average women. They neither entertained her nor do they decry the oppressive status in which she was placed.

Here the crucial question is how far the miniatures go beyond depicting women, who just have illustrative utility. It is to be noted that while more practical and day-to-day relevance can be depicted, these miniatures pushed those aspects into oblivion by employing them for mere illustrative purpose. There is a possibility regarding which one should be careful in the analysis of women in miniatures. Precisely one should not ascribe the emotions and tendencies that manifested in some miniatures of women, because it was the patron's personal inclinations towards that particular way of depiction that made the artist to present the women in that particular manner rather than the actual feeling or situation of a female.

Though truly a clear demarcation and method of analysis in this context is certainly not possible, but it is to be stressed that some kind of caution should be exercised while deriving conclusions from these depictions.

Moreover it would be a fallacy if one leads oneself to the hasty conclusion of denying the significance of miniatures as potent source of reconstruction of the past. Any source for that matter, is not devoid of lacunae and it is mandatory on the part of historian to tread cautiously on the part of proper scrutinisation of his / her sources. Though these sources owe their origin mainly to masculine stimulus they do expose certain popular themes of medieval Deccani era, which were Ordinarily understood and enjoyed. So one can test the pulse of the societal disposition regarding women by analyzing them. Though these Schools impact of Persian conventions, idioms and characteristics, they had their own -style of depicting themes and fashions related to Deccan. For instance Persian features like book illustrations, bright colors mosaics, sensitive exploitation, carpets, symmetrical composition, symbolic gestures like pointing of fingers to the lips suggesting surprise, coral shape mountains, hills against sky line, Turkish elements like thinly convoluted clouds, flamboyant halo, scenes of drinking, revelry, Mughal idiom of relaxed mode, empty background, Rajasthani influence of depiction of *black clouds*, transparent veil, European characteristics like spatial relationship of picture with every other **figure, depiction** of objects far and near in a continuous recession,

architectural setting between trees or rocks in the background, halos, use of curtains, furniture's accessories, angels, dramatic poses etc can be perceived. Ahmadnagar techniques like tropical lushness, jasmine white transparent robes, turbans, relaxed atmosphere rich palette enriched with purple, violet, crimson with gold and light carmine background, Bijapuri traits like breezy quality, naturalistic tendency, delicate line, brilliant ornaments, dramatic elements, pale blue were incorporated.

Yet inspite of these varied impacts, Golconda and Hyderabad School retained Deccani characteristics typical palette with brilliant hues, tendency to elongate female figures, ornamental effect, sweeping lines, rhythmic compositions, flowering trees, leaves with light green and yellow outlines, exaggerated swirl of the girdle of women-dress, features and overall the Deccani landscape and atmosphere can be felt and enjoyed.

The miniatures exemplify the luxuriant aspects of these courts, with brilliant successful coloring and the vigor of the simplified composition. Here each theme was supported by its characteristic inhabitants remaining an art of gorgeous vitality and moving action, the dualistic principals of energy which are very organisms of works of art, that were lavishly illustrated and exemplified. This analysis also indicates that an active art tradition flourished at Deccani courts of Golconda and Hyderabad with a style strong enough to contribute significantly to women's world and to compete with changing tough trends of history.

This study of various depicted in larger historical contexts makes it clear that art has sustained a set of socio - cultural specific issues about the meaning of femininity, their capability, power relations and their appropriate roles in society. A conceptualizing and critical evaluation of these miniatures indeed provide ideas that help in interpretation and reconstruction of the past and in sense contradict the biological determinant for gender difference like women represented as depended or feeble. Since these portraits place women as equal important, dominant and active as their partners **in miniature** paintings - a general feature which is absent in other **analytical methodologies**. This indicates that miniatures paintings provide universal

gender equanimity against dichotomy remaining as representative view and illustrations of women's culture.

From vantage point of view they do reflect women's spheres and perspectives, in the dynamic contexts of social actions and analysis. They in turn make "invisible" women in general historical literary studies, "visible" through art depiction leading to expansion of women's spheres and remaining as enchanting artistic dimensions in history of medieval Golconda and Hyderabad.

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- ⁶⁰ V.V .Krishna Sastry, *Select Monuments of Hyderabad*.p.43
- ⁶¹ Vedagiri Rambabu, *The Story of a Great city*, translated from Telugu by Sai Prasad Alahari, Nagaraju publications, Hdyerabad, 1991, p.20.
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pp.223 - 224 it is in the collection of Ismail Merchant, Newyork.

⁷⁷ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India office library*, Oxford University press Delhi, 1984, p.245

⁷⁸ Ibid p.248.

⁷⁹ *Marg, (A Magzine of Arts)*, Marg publications, Bombay, vol.35 p51. It is the collection of National Museum, New Delhi.

⁸⁰ Athar AH *MJhe Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Aligarh,1966, p 208.

⁸¹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp.223- 224. It is in private collection.

⁸² *Ibid*, it is in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd, San Diego.

⁸³ It is in the collection of Johnson Album, No. 10.

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⁸⁷ Khandalavala K. and Chandra Moti, *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the Late Sir Cowasji Jehangir*, Bart Bombay 1965, No. 48. It is in the Collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.

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⁸⁹ Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India office library*, Oxford University press Delhi, 1984, p.246.

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CHAPTER VI

DEPICTION OF COURTESANS

Miniaturists of medieval Deccan in the creation of themes related to women produced themes of reality, sensuality and fantasy, among which depiction of courtesans constituted an important part. These paintings give us a glimpse into the life-style of the courtesans and their role in Golconda and Hyderabad kingdoms during 17th and 18th centuries.

A Courtesan is a lady who is associated generally with wealthy, aristocracy or nobility as a prostitute or dancer who entertains them. Concubines are those ladies who cohabit with a man without being legally married to him, a mistress or a secondary wife to a certain extent. Both courtesans and concubines played a prominent role in medieval kingdoms. The life styles of these women almost remained the same, both being the representatives of sensuality and attractiveness with beauty to entertain the sultan and his nobility to fullest extent. They remained within harem and noble houses and such harem scenes with royalty became one of the themes for artists to depict these courtly beauties and aesthetic figures in royal courts. The miniatures paint them amidst dark, vaulted cellars, huge halls, fountains and tanks which constituted one of the most striking styles of architectural excellence combined with artistic perfection.

In the miniatures depicting courtesans, we find a fusion of European, Persian and indigenous elements mainly during Golconda phase. During the Hyderabad school of paintings, the synthesis of Mughal and Deccani styles gave a new direction to these paintings.

A variety of lively and playful paintings were executed under the patronage of Qutb Shahis and Nizams with a typically Deccani swing. Gestures and glances exchanged among personages in paintings established a psychological personal coherence with thrusting vitality. Rich glowing colors too appeared giving glazing outlook. The pictures of courtesans were illustrated mainly with royalty within **harem** and few depicted individual beauties of these courtly sensual figures in

palace-frontiers and outdoor-settings.

These miniature paintings throw light on the luxury and cultivated leisure of the sultans and the importance given to courtesans in royal houses of the time and also by the artists of the times, who depicted them.

PART -1

At Golconda a miniature painting of a courtesan dated (c1630-1650 A.D) depicts her enveloped in orange and purple scarves, which is a virtual translation of Isfahani work into Indian terms. Here Persian elements persisted in less assimilated form in the Deccan, seen in blue and white bottle and in the curly courtesan's hair. The azure background, violet and pink rocks and fluttering veils reveal the naked flesh of courtesans till waist. These are derived from European style of painting. The vermilion, crimson, yellow-green, blue and violet colors are combined in the frenetic and textile like border is artfully related to the circular patterns of the flowers in the foreground of the miniature and to the trees on the horizon. The jungle-like border breaths of life and fertility.

An artist working at Golconda atelier painted a picture of courtesan deriving from Islamic, Indian and Chinese sources." In it, the courtesan wears diaphanous robes of pink, while her veil and border of the painting are green-like foliage. She holds a little bird, in her delicate left hand and wears necklaces made of pearls. Her dress decorated with roses is an oriental symbol of beauty

A miniature painting of Bhagmati depicts her standing elegantly holding a rose in her right hand. She wears flowing robes of Deccani style and was depicted with simple-ornamentation.³ Another painting depicts Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah meeting with Bhagmati with Golconda fort in the background.⁴ This painting is an artist's view of the romantic episode of the royalty with a courtesan Bhagmati, who later on became the mistress of Muhammad Quli. Her name given to the city and capital of the kingdom that was named Bhagyanagar. Later on, when the Sultan married her and bestowed on her the title of "Haider Mahal" it was named Hyderabad. It depicts Bhagmati with broad features, sensitivity and delicacy. She was depicted dressed in a mixture of Hindu and Muslim fashion, with long designful skirt and *dupatta* over head, which covers her bodies. She was depicted

wearing slippers, a rare feature of Deccani painting.

Similar painting depicts Bhagmati standing under a branch of a tree with a maiden⁵ She wears transparent skirt and seems to be enjoying the natural-beauty and sip of wine, which her maiden offered. A miniature painting of Deccani style depicts another courtesan Taramati seated on a terrace listening to a musician.⁶ She was dressed in typical Hyderabad style with a turban and textile-pattern. The musician has a Hindu look with large big eyes and elegant features.

In another painting of a courtesan Premamati, she was depicted swinging with her attendants with a beautiful Deccani spring background. Among her attendants there are musicians with *tambura* who are entertaining her. Two maidens' help her in swinging⁷ Premamati was the favorite mistress of sultan Abul Hasan Tana Shah, the last of Qutb shahis.

An interesting beautiful miniature depicts Premamati enjoying the fragrance of a small flower, which she holds in her right hand.⁸ She stands facing right in profile, with garments and jewelry typical of Golconda. It is apt to point out here that there was a distinction in the dress worn by women of the Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi periods. From the pictures of Qutb Shahi period, it appears that women wore narrow *pyjama* and a broad *jama*, sometimes the portion of the chest was open. Asaf Jahi ladies wore slightly narrow *pyjama choli*, *kurta* on which gold and silver laces were stitched and *khada dupatta* was used. The Khada Dupatta continues to be worn today by the Muslim bride on the day of her wedding. Besides Muslims, this dress **was prevalent** among the families of Hindus of the upper classes, as this dress is combination of the Islamic style and the sari of the Hindus.

Miniature paintings though less evocative and more conventionally pretty covering the four sides of a small lacquered papier-mache box, perhaps a jewel casket, depict various scenes of princess and courtesans of which one side depicts a courtesan dancing.⁹ She wears typical Golconda dress of *jama*, veil and bodice and **has curly** shapes with broad features of a dancer. Meticulous draughtsmanship and **restrained colors creates** a mood of delicate sensuality. It was signed by Rahim Deccani. **By that time Indian** lacquer was beginning to influence Iranian lacquer ware. **The other side of the casket** depicts a prince with three courtesan's.¹⁰ **The miniatures are in mellow tones and** reveal the Golconda craftsmen in their poetic

mood.

PART - II

A painting during transitional phase depicts a young prince seated on a throne in a garden surrounded by beautiful women, most probably courtesans of the time." A painting during transitional phase depicted around (C1700-1725 A.D) depicts ladies enjoying wine. It is an excellent picture of courtesans in a harem enjoying exotic life and pleasures of palace. A color-scheme of blue sky, orange and yellow flowers, pink flower-filled carpets, yellow, pink, brown garments, etc, can be perceived in the painting. The women have beautiful facial features mainly of Hindu look, while the maiden with *morchhal* depicted has a Muslim look. The picture also depicts musicians entertaining these ladies. **(PLATE-XXXII)**. Hence, the courtesans used to have their own courts complete with wine and entertainment and copied the **Sultan**. The scene is one of the luxury and well. Beautiful carpets are spread along with cushions and a large number of wine bottles lay scattered. The illustration of the cat seated is another common feature of Deccani painting.

This painting illustrates the sporting of courtesans who charming on account of their hirsing as if struck water from syringes discharged by naughty gallants. These lovely women under the exhilaration of wine generally seize royalty. The quarters in **which** courtesans were depicted gives the feeling of swelling wild music and **fragrance of their** aesthetic bodies. The general entertainment aspects of royalty **included singing and** dancing by artists and courtesans, who are involved in these artistic pursuits, as if entwined under the gulf of love. Such depictions of courtesans **are visual** images of human affinity and create gay ambiance suffusing pleasure and **enticement**.

Another miniature painting of early 18th century depicts prince playing holi in harem with princess, musicians, courtesans and dancers. ' **(PLATE XXXIII)**. Holi is a festival of spring and god of love and a festival, which occurs at the time on the **full-moon** day also **known** as *Holika or Holaka*.¹⁴ In this particular painting, the **sultan** seems **to** be **playing** Holi with his ladies of harem, while the floors are **rendered with yellowish red with a** mass of fragrant powder scattered all about. Holi is a festival of colour, **quatting** of wine in mixed gathering of men and women.

While the prince and his courtesans are involved in playing Holi, there are musicians who are entertaining them.

In such circumstances, the royalty are directly engaged in the ritual of throwing powder and musk, as a part of culture, which often delimits itself by its traditions and customs. The king being historically the functional and theoretically the representative of social order and prosperity of citizens in the social system and hence as symbolic overseer of the festival articulates that order and as conveyor establishes the legitimacy of the celebration in which the ladies are the main source of enjoyment.

In other words such depiction of festivals responds to a broad spectrum of human concerns, in the sphere of politics, it can be turned to account to celebrate and reinforce the power of sultan and in the social sphere it is a time of entertainment and merry making indicative of the annual renewal of society and in the sphere of religion, it celebrates the exploits of the gods and human worship of rejuvenation and renewal and the relationship between nature and humanity and in particular of men and women in which courtesans derived full length spirit at harem contributing their love and feelings to royalty.

Another painting during transitional phase depicts prince adored by courtesans of his harem.¹⁵ These ladies have Hindu way of dressing style and seem to be happy with the visit of the prince. Different patterns of printed textile formats and ornamental decoration of these women can be perceived in the painting. It was illustrated around 1700 AD.

PART - HI

Similarly few bewitchingly beautiful portraits of courtesans were painted at Hyderabad school under Nizam's patronage, which were resuscitator of Deccani independence. These painting represent the idealized tenderness and gentle eroticism of courtesans.

One miniature painting depicts the leisure life led by these ladies in a garden, where they are depicted engaged in various pursuits like gossiping, drinking wine, listening to music, relaxing, moving-about, etc. This painting of courtesans carousing in the garden was executed about first half of 18th century.¹⁶ A palette of

mauve, white and green charm our senses. (PLATE XXXIV).

Another painting of same style was executed during first half of 18th century.¹⁷ It depicts ladies mainly courtesans carousing under a garden-tent. There is a pond next to the tent where the ducks are swimming. There are rich carpets strewn around and the courtesans are being served by a number of maidens. Arrangement of figure groups, their easy postures and typical Hyderabadi costumes served as an ideal for the Deccani painting in the following decades. A depiction of courtesan smoking *huqqa* reflects alluring courtesans enjoying the life on a terrace with pigeons and natural beauty.¹⁸

A miniature painting depicts a prince with his ladies of court of courtesan look, seated on a terrace. While two ladies surround him, other two ladies kneel on corner of the orange carpet. It was executed around 1740 AD.¹⁹

Another fantastic and excellent painting of 18th century medieval Deccan depicts a royal harem containing several features like courtesans decorating themselves enjoying wine and nature, conversing, etc.²⁰ Architectural excellence with designs and curves of palace structures can be perceived in the background. A palette of gold, green, orange, white are richly used. It contains almost all features related to royal harem like the feelings and movements of courtesans, furnishing, fountains and flowing garments.(PLATE XXXV).

Hence few themes depicting such scenes of harem with courtly beauties were illustrated in the kingdoms of Golconda and Hyderabad.

Even literary sources of the time referred to these courtesans and concubines. For instance an observation of William Methwold, in charge of the English factory at the chief port Machilipatnam from (C1618-1622 A.D) remarked that many talented courtesans of Golconda wore at their necks many chains of small pearl and coral. These features are visible even in the miniature paintings on courtesans. Methwold in his relations also remarked that the king used to have four wives and thousand concubines. He said that all meat except cow's flesh is common to them, and they themselves are common to all and avert music and dance had become the monopoly of the prostitute's."

The best among them had to dance before the sultan or other provincial governor's at least once a year. They were also invited to sing or dance not merely

at social functions such as wedding or circumcision but also when large vessels arrived at a port and even at the celebrations of religious festivals such as the month long celebrations of the Prophet birthday.

They were also the devadasis attached to Hindu temples whose profession was to dance before the idols. To the foreigners these temple dancers were not greatly different from the public women. There were cases when a woman's children did not survive, then she would take a vow that if the newborn girl were to live, she would make her a devadasi probably meaning that she would dedicate her to the life of the temple.

Tavernier who visited Hyderabad during Qutb Shahi period giving description and procession scenes remarked that. Courtesans nearly ten to twelve preceded procession scenes followed by elephants, horses, camels etc. and who await the nobility at the end of the bridge, leaping and dancing before him up to the square.^{2j}

He also noted that courtesans enjoyed considerable amount of status in the Golconda society. He states that there were nearly twenty thousand courtesans in the Golconda kingdom." They became a source of revenue to the state for they paid tax to the State. Some of them were expected to dance in the court regularly. They were a potential source of income and a perpetual source of enjoyment to the people and rulers in the kingdom. Most of the artists depicted these portraits of courtesans mainly for sale to European and other foreign travelers.

Thevenot who visited India and Golconda in (C 1665 - 1666 AD) also remarked that public women are allowed in the kingdom, so that no body minds it, when they see a man go to their houses and they are often at their door well dressed to draw in passengers. But they say most of them are spoiled."³ He also remarked that no stigma was attached to those who frequented the rooms of these whores.

Literary sources also mentioned about the famous courtesans Bhagmati, Taramati and Premamati. For instance regarding the historicity of Bhagmati, it was said that Hyderabad was also known Bhagyanagar or Bhagnagar named after a lady Bhagmati, popular courtesan of that time and the name was given by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah in (C 1590 - 1591 AD)

There are controversial views among historians and foreign travelers regarding the veracity of Bhagyanagar being named after Bhagmati. While few historians

liked to call her as courtesan or mistress of Muhammad Quli, others called her as his beloved wife. However majority of historians affirmed that Muhammad Quli built the city and named it after Bhagmati who he married. She also embraced Islam in 1605 AD, and higher Hayat Bakshi was their daughter.²⁶

Faizi, the imperial resident of the Deccan between (C 1590 - 1593 AD) writing about Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bhagmati remarked that, Ahmad Quli steeped in Shiaism and has built a city Bhagyanagar by name after Bhagmati. the old whore (*Fahisha* - *i* - *Kuhna*) who has been his mistress for a long time (*Mashnqa* - *i*- *Qadim*)²¹

Nizamuddin Bakshi, a panegyrist of the imperial court in his chronicle *Tabaqat - i - Akbar Shahi* written in 1594 AD said that Muhammad Ali Qutb Ul - Mulk, Son of Ibrahim succeeded his father. He became so enamoured of a Hindu prostitute (*Patare*) Bhamgasi by name that he founded a city which called Bhagyanagar after her and ordered that one thousand horseman should always accompany the whore (*Fahisha*).

Another well-known historian Ferishta mentioning about Bhagmati and Bhagnagar in (C1609 - 1610 AD) remarked that, the Sultan was greatly fascinated by a whore (*Fahisha*) named Bhagmati. He ordered that whenever she came to the court a thousand-horse man should attend her so that she should not be inferior to any one of the big nobles. About this time the climate of Golkonda had become so bad that it was for this reason that the Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah founded and populated a city four Kroh away which became unequalled throughout the length and breadth of India for its planning as well as for its cleanliness he called it Bhagnagar at first but later changed the name to Haidarabad .²⁸

There is another legend, which says that Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah loved a girl named Bhagmati, who lived on the other side of the river Musi.²⁹ in a village called chichlum.³⁰ She was beautiful and an accomplished dancer. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah used to go across the river to meet her. His passion for her was so strong that on a stormy night when the river was in spate, he jumped his horse into the river unmindful of the risk to his life just to keep his rendezvous. The incident was duly reported by the spies to his father Ibrahim Qutb Shah, who ordered a bridge to be built across the river. '

According to another version, as a punishment for this dare - devilry the young Prince was confined to his quarters and provided with a bevy of international beauties to lure him away from his infatuation for a rustic commoner. After the death of Ibrahim, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah became the king. He bestowed honors upon her and later married her. After he founded the new city he called it as Bhagyanagar after her and later when she was given the title Hyder Mahal, the name of the city was also changed to a Haiderabad.

The other historians who referred to Bhagmati episode were Abdur - Rahim Khan *Khani - i - Khanan*, the *Maathir - i - Rahimi* and Khafi Khan in his *Munlakhab - id - Lubab, Nihawandi*, Qader Khan Munshi in his *Tareekh - e - Qutb Shah*, and *Gullzar - e - Asafi, Hadiqatal Alam*, Dr. Nazir Ahmad Syed Hussain Bilgrami, C Willmott and others. Apart from these direct references to Bhagmati in historical works, there is an allegorical reference to her in poet Wajhi's long romance *Qutb - Mushtari*. In this work the hero is supposed to be Quli himself while the character of the heroin is based on Bhagmati. Thus the romance of the young Prince Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and the pretty charming courtesans had firm roots in history. Bilgrami writes that she was courtesans and resident of Chenchulam village, now known as Shalibanda.

Bernier, the physician of ShahJahan also said that Bhagnagar was named after Bhagmati. Francoise G Careri who came to this city in 1695 AD also called this place as Bhagnagar. The commentators and Editors of the travels of Thevenot and Careri recorded that Bhagmati was the favorite mistress of the Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bhagnagar was named after her.

Regarding Bhagmati's social status Sri Jagannadham asserts that she was an Arundhatiya damsel. The place Chinchalam, where Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah encountered Bhagmati was a devotional place, where cult of Mathangi or dedication of young girls as devadasis to temple was a religious custom of the day and community. Hence Bhagmati could be from a sect of courtesans. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah charmed with her beauty nourished it and took her to the palace as courtesan, who later turned to be his royal mistress. The tradition of adopting such girls by royalty and nobility as slaves and courtesans existed during this period and such women who were beautiful did enjoy a high status and were sometimes even

given as gifts to royal personalities or monarchs. Children born to such women were generally legitimized through *Nikah* marriages by kings. Many Muslim historians called such legally wedded Hindu ladies as courtesans or sometimes as prostitutes in derogatory terms.

Tavenier also remarked that the grand father of the present King Abdullah Qutb Shah founded Bagnagar. Here the king had very fair gardens——Bagnagar or the garden of nagar.³² He asserts that Bagnagar stands for the city of gardens or Bagnagar, as a new capital was replete with gardens and groves.

Even Moreland in his Relations of Golconda stated that, every year in the month of April, the prostitutes of the whole kingdom have to travel to Bagnagar whether they are summoned by *amaldaer*, (a sort of tip staff) to dance in celebration of the death of the first Moslem king, a thing which seems to be very strange. He explained Bagnagar as Hyderabad, the new capital of Golconda. Abbe carre in 1672 AD also referred to city as Bagnagar and founded full of strangers and merchants. Bernier also mentioned about Bagnagar in 1667 AD.

On the whole regarding the historicity of Bhagmati, it is inevitable that in hands of story - tellers, some embellishments would have been added to the core of historical facts. This Baghnagar became Bhagyanagar only to add romantic element to the name and reveal the love - episode of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Bhagmati.

Bhagmati was even equated with Mushtari, the heroine of Wajhi's purely imaginary romance, *Qutb - Mushtari*. But this story has neither a historical nor a realistic value except the fact that it was woven around the dynastic title of the Sultan i.e. Qutb or the pole - star. The story of *Qutb - Mushtari* comes close to reconciliation between intellect and love. According to the compromise, intellect becomes minister of love. Wajahi believes that though love is supreme it should be kept in check by intellect.

In another poem written by Wajahi's, *Sabras* or the story of beauty and heart written in 1634 AD," also mentions about the allegory of love and the characters involved were named as beauty, heart, love, intellect and various parts of human body. The theme is the natural attraction of heart and beauty, the difficulties that stand in their way and how they manage to come together.

Such description is very much related to the relationship between the royalty and the courtesans, which became a theme for miniaturists. Two other prominent concubines of the time were Taramati and Premamati.³⁴ They must be Hindu converts to Islam and later on were regularly married to Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Tana Shah respectively. Both of them were buried in regular Muslim graves in the royal necropolis and their tombs have shapely domes. The sarcophagus of Premamati is inscribed with two verses of the Quran, the *Shite Durad* and a chronogram indicated 1662 AD as her death. The inscription reads, from all eternity Premamati was a flower of paradise.³⁵

As per Taramati she was builder of a Mosque right in the center of the apartments of the Golconda forts which go by her name and further, the pavilion above described is the very symbol of the Shia sect of Islam. Neither of them could have been merely, temporary wives of the Sultan or perhaps exclusive occupancy of the palace. It was observed that Abdullah Qutb Shah used spend his leisure hours, listening to the music of these two ladies, carried over the distance by the wind.³⁶

Taramati Baradari, the stately pavilion during Qutb Shahis days in particular used to reverberate with music and dance when even Taramati entertained. This lady is said to have seen her days as a royal mistress during the reign of Abdul Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Tana Shah roughly from (1626 - 1687 AD). This beautiful courtesan was an accomplished singer and musician. According to popular lore, Taramati, on moonlit nights used to dance on a tight rope that extended from her pavilion all the way to the Golconda fort.⁷

Architectural evidences reveal such women were given importance gleaned from the fact that they also constructed Mosque after their names. They were buried along with the dead royal ladies within the *Longer - e - fours e* (compound of the **Qutb** Shahi tombs). For instance the tombs of Premamati and Taramati were buried in close vicinity of grand Tomb of Hayat Bakshi Begum.

Even literature of the time described about the courtesans constituting social fabric. For instance Kandakuri Rudrakavi, the court poet of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, in his work *Nirankuso Pakhyanam* describing the accomplishments of courtesans, remarked that, these ladies who without themselves loving any one evolved love in their clients by pleasing each one in a particular way.

Similarly during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign Sarangu Tammaya Mantri, Karnam of Golconda wrote *Vaijayanti Vilasamu* in which he mentioned about two courtesans Madhuravani and Devadevi.³⁸ These two sisters who were prostitutes by profession lay a wager to entice a Brahmin youth, Vipranarayana. One of them, Devadevi succeeds in her attempts and the youth fell in disrepute and finally was saved due to his faith in Sriranganatha.

These kavyas though mainly served the interests of the aristocracy, yet, indeed gave a picture of decadent morals of the society during this period. Particularly in relation to the condition of courtesans and their life styles in medieval period.

Hence, keeping in view of the prominence of their role in society and at royalty court, the artists depicted themes related to them. Such paintings illustrating these royal beauties gave additional pleasure to the royal taste of aesthetic artistic pursuits and patronage and paintings represented the same tendency of interaction.

Tavernier who visited Golconda in 1648 and 1652 AD observed that there were nearly twenty thousand women who entered into this profession and were obliged to go every Friday with their governess and their music to present themselves before king in the square in front of the balcony. He appears to have visited their locality and remarked that, in the cool of the evening, they stand before doors of their houses, which are for the most part small huts and when the night comes, they place at the doors a candle or a lighted lamp for a signal, who also sells tari or toddy indicating women and "wine go together.

Muhammad Quli poetry also talks about extensively about courtesans, their dressing-patterns and features. With great ease and felicity he composed many *rubais*, *masnavis*, *ghazals*, *jnarsiyas*, and *qasidas*.*eic*, with full imagination and varied themes and vividly described his devotion to wine and courtly beauties appreciating their charms and bodily flavor. Hence he was considered to the Deccan what Geoffrey Chaucer was to the England when related to poetry aspects.³⁹ His descriptive naturalism gives a world of woman in the realm of *courtly atmosphere* and harem with pleasant nature of seasons, gardens, parks, fruits and flowers and festivals of culture of love and season.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's poetry in Dakhni language mainly Diwan in particular consists admiration of Hafiz of Persia. Some of its poems were lavishly

illustrated. For instance Diwan of Hafiz contains miniatures of sultan enthroned watching dance performances at his royal court, among which scenes of courtesans engulfed in wine and dance are also depicted.

Among his Urdu poetry, *ghazal* (love lyrics) and *mathnavi* (romance) were popular. In these he talks about variegated aspects of which sings of the pleasure of physical love with courtesans and candor also constitute an important part. Religion does not inhibit him from enjoying himself nor describing the pleasure he has derived from his indulgences. There is no difference between a Hindu and Muslim in these respects. For example his poetry consists few lines like,

"What is the heathen's path, what the Muslim's even practice

Is based on the secret of love"

"I am where you are my dear,

I have nothing to do with any one else.

I am bothered neither about the temple nor about the Mosque."⁴⁰ ;

This is the reason why the royal harems of the time generally consisted of both Hindu and Muslim women and in particular many Hindu courtesans as evident from the miniature paintings. He described of the intoxication of wines, which multiply his enjoyment with the ladies in the harem, about union of sexes, and of the beauties of his palaces, which make both these possible

In harem atmosphere real merry- making, complete abandons, full enjoyment and indulgence of the senses are main aspects which are even depicted in miniature paintings like prince carousing with his ladies in a garden, prince embracing a lady, etc. Regarding courtesans Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's poetry contained lines like:

" Having put on resplendent ornaments

They come jingling and in a moment embrace the sultan

The young damsels are high

And so have become unsteady in their gait"

"My beloved made herself up

in all her coyness came to my palace

Then she with all her love and life poured me a drink"

"The mouth of the beloved is the dish of jewels,

Lips are rubies, chin is shining bright
On the golden breast are the jewels of boobs, what a woman"

It was observed that few miniatures revealed such features and individual naked portraits of beautiful courtesans upto waist, etc. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah gave excellent description of women, their types, nature, dress and ornaments. He wrote specially about his twelve beloved's, some of the names being *Nannhi* (The young one) *Sanwali* (The dark one), *Kanawali* (Lotus), *Gori* (The fair one), *Lala*, *Lalan*, *Mohan*, *Mushtari* (Jupiter), *Sundar*, *Sajjan*, *Padmini*, *Bahamni* Hindu, etc.⁴¹ He wrote poems in praise of these women in romantic sentiment.

He also mentioned about their dressing patterns and features. For instance the spoke of sari and equated features of these women like teeth are like nuts of Chiranjya Ja Sapida, lips are kernel of coconut, beads of perspiration are poppy-seeds, eyes are drunkards sleeping under the arches of Mosques, the long hair of the beloved spread on her white breast are dark clouds ascending a mountain, regarding **black** nipple on the white breast of the beloved, he wonders how the sun has arrested night within itself. The candle melting before the beauty of the beloved is **like** hailstones, which vanish before the sun.

Similes and metaphors of such refreshing originality describing of his beloved's are natural related to the courtesans of the time, rather than the royal ladies and one **can** even perceive such fantastic features even in miniature paintings of the time illustrating harem scenes with courtesans surrounding the royalty and of glazing **individual** personalities of them.

For instance he remarked that *Nanhi* is coquettish, *Sanwali* is good natured like **a cuculus**, *Kanwah* stands holding a cup in her hand and her eyes are already heavy **with drink**, *Gori* is unequalled in her beauty, *Chhabeli* is the women without whom he cannot live a moment, *Mohan* is Coy, and feels for her like Majnum for Laila, and is full of virtues, *Bilquis* is a houri from heaven, *Rangeeli* takes the cake and she **is** sweet - tongued and gives him a sweet drink, her eyes betray the languor of the nocturnal, vigil and the way she walks, and he is a slave of Bahamni Hindu.

These love - lyrics through light on royal - enjoyments and features of **courtesans** who constituted an important part of their entertainment **and** pleasure in

palace frontiers and of his revelries, amours and intimacies and of harem life of oriental rulers which constituted women irrespective cast or creed.

On the whole Muhammad Quli Qutb Shahs amours constituted the raw material of experience for much of his poetry, which in one way indicates his royal prerogative reinforced by poetic license. These love - lyrics and poetic - styles indeed throw light on social trends particular in relation to the life of courtesans and supports the miniature paintings executed during this period representing them indicating that courtesans constituted a part and parcel of royal life and hence poets and artists of the time depicted them along with royalty and few individual portraits signifying their place and status attained in medieval kingdoms of Deccan.

Courtesans and dancing girls also played a major role in the life of Nizams, Nawabs, Jagirdars and people of Hyderabad. Famous among them were Kaminiji, Muradji and Muneeraji. They used to get a monthly salary from Nizam and nobles. From the records of Kanchan kacheri, it can be said that they were exempted from tax and payment of Nazarana in the city and districts. The nautch girls of Qutb Shahis on other hand to register but paid no tax for their professions.

The Asaf Jahis established an office known as *Daftar - e- Nishat* or *Kanchan Kacheri*. The superintendent of this office was lady called Mama Sharifa, who held a high status in the palace and society. And was very influential among all Mamas of the palace during Nizams VI reign. A Jamaldar and four other subordinates assisted her. All cases relating to prostitutes were presented before Mama Shafira.

The patronage leading to respectable and prosperous life for these dancing girls of Hyderabad attracted many such women from Northern India; the increase in their numbers changed their position and the profession no longer respectable, later on they adopted prostitution.

Nawab Rafat Yar Jung Bahadur turned his attention towards this evil, which none of his predecessors had ventured to face in the past and raised his voice against this evil practice. Nautch women adopted girls with the immoral motive of benefiting by them in later years. The Nawab first ascertained whether such girls related to the nautch women or were obtained during famine or in any other way. According to the information obtained, he compelled them to deposit securities where by they was forced to bring them up in a decent manner and later arranged

for their marriages with worthy persons. On marriage, they were given a few useful articles, clothes and a little cash to start their fresh lives.

However this profession continued both at societal and royal levels and in particular they remained as an important components of royal harem, with whom royalty passed their leisure hours and hence, the paintings of the time depicted such themes highlighting the activities, features, garments and ornaments of these women, who remained as part of sexual life of royal sphere.

Another famous courtesan of Hyderabad was Mahalaga Bai Chanda. She was a poet and a signer also. She used to wear heavy and priceless jewelry. She entertained Nawab AH Khan Asaf Jah II, Nawab Secundar Jah, Meer Alam and Raja Chandulal.⁴².

During the reign Nizam II, families of highly cultured courtesans migrated to Hyderabad, one of them being Mahalika Chanda Bibi. She was an outstanding poetess and an expert dancer who patronized and entertained by Nizam.⁴³ She was a favorite of the Nizam due to her performance of poetry, dance and magic. Among women she was considered as par with Muhammad Quli, the founder of the city for her proficiency in poetry. Her elder sister who also equally well versed in fine arts was reported to have married the Prime Minister, Ruk - Nad - daula. She had a jagir conferred on her by Nizam II near about the Moula - Ali Gutta.

Among Salarjung Begums Janaba Hazrata Zinatunnissa Begum, mother of Salarjung wrote to Sarver - ul - Mulk, asking that concubines of late Nawab Mukhtar ul Mulk Bahadur (Salarjung - I) be granted enhanced pensions. 19 concubines were listed in the letter and these included Wazir - un - Nisa Qanum (mother of Imad - ul - Salamat, Salarjung - II) and Amir - un - nisa Qanum (mother of Munir - ul - Mulk, his younger brother). The other concubines had endearing names like Nurafza Buwa, Dilruba Buwa, Khush - Kadam Buwa and Nanhi Bi, which indicates that Salar Jung did not follow the custom of Nikah or wedding ceremony and entered into marriage bond at all.

Thus this analysis of depiction of courtesans in miniature paintings in comparison with the literary sources reflect the presence of courtesans and their passionate role at Deccani courts. The pictures depicted arouse elusive feelings with elemental passion which resurrect the liberties of sleep and integrate the intimate

yearnings into moment which is the quintessence of all moments into an image which is the part of many heightened images which are melting in our own sensibilities.

The illustrations reveal their slender and charming personalities with transparent and attractive draperies and sensitive facial features. They indeed depict their placement at royal courts and their intimate domestic engagements

The miniatures painted highlight that at Qutb shahi courts, poetry and mystic love of nature comes through a cultured delicate aroma of new confrontation of themes related to courtesans and at Nizam's court, the new luxury makes for decorativeness and sensibility of women beyond the egoism of political power with depiction of pictures with hot colors and flowers. A brilliant black replaces the gold as foil to the Deccan palette in few paintings and in some gold, violet and rose finery with small delicate flowers and glinting creepers, softly lit the charm feminine beauties depicted, leading to matutinal freshness of miniatures.

The Harem scenes were painted in an idiom and atmosphere of contemporary Deccan with swinging movements and gorgeous colors. Moreover the popular memory of the beautiful courtesan Bhagmati continued when the Nizam of Hyderabad inherited miniature painting tradition, with a fresher and a more romantic echo, particular when related to women paintings.

Few paintings depicted retained warmth, intensity of the figures and sophisticated expressions of royal court. While in Golconda painting width and monumental adjustment of figures with sweeping movement and lavish use of gold coloring for gorgeous costumes marked the paintings, at Hyderabad school lyrical quality with a background of variety of clouds and trees with rich coloring and compact compositions remained the main features of paintings on courtesans.

In totality these themes retained local atmosphere with Deccani color scheme with imposing marvels of architectural excellence and grandeur and glory of Golconda and Hyderabad schools, coupled with beauty of standing courtesans and harem scenes. These paintings indeed reflect the social order of courtesan's life at royal court and signify that that indeed they were apart of Golconda and Hyderabad politico - socio structure.

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CHAPTER VII

DEPICTION OF RAGINIS

Art forms with musical flavor particularly in relation to miniature paintings become rhythmic and pleasant in viewing. When the concept of women is represented in these artistic musical trends, the paintings even more become splendid giving a charming illustrative picture of feminine essence of artistic elements.

In medieval Deccani kingdoms several conventional systems of music - Ragas and Raginis were apostrophized as ladies and pictures were made to indicate their themes.¹ The Sultans of the time evolved a routine of pleasure and work in the provincial capitals of their kingdoms. In periods of peace, they cultivated the arts, especially music, which seems to have supplied abiding consolation, with a depth and mastering beyond the superficial connoisseur. It is not surprising therefore to find that among the themes, which the sultanate courts preferred the artists to take up were the rendering in paintings Raga — Raginis or musical mode depicting women. The sultans of medieval era wished to see the representation of melodies in pictorial images in colors suggested by the tunes of Raga and Raginis."

These miniature paintings with a theme illustrating Ragini paintings or women symbolizing musical modes, constituted the crux of Golconda and in particular of Hyderabad School of paintings. The evolving of Ragas or melody moulds of the Indian musical system, commenced mainly when the devout heart felt the need to sing rather than to chant.³ Here variety of Ragas are literally known as '*Shakal*' in musical traditional of the world. These Ragas have been pictorial visualization in the categories of Indian miniatures as Ragamala paintings in which the Ragas as melodic types deals with artistic feminine essence and stimulates creative activity.

Here Ragini paintings are visual interpretations of Indian musical modes previously envisioned in divine or human forms by musicians and poets. They show most frequently romantic or devotional situation in a somewhat stereotyped, aristocratic settings. These paintings are created in albums containing most often Thirty-six or Forty-two folio, organized in a system of families. Each family is headed by male Raga and contains five or six Raginis (wives) and sometimes Raga *Putras* (sons) and Raga *Putris* (daughters) and wives of the sons. These paintings are inscribed with their title or even a poem which renders a verbal interpretation of the theme and hence they are combination of music, poetry and paintings and name individual miniatures with the names of musical modes and are arranged as garland of Ragas.

Such paintings are genuinely concerned with aesthetic symbolism. The musical modes depicted tries to explore a whole new world of pictorial and endeavor in representing female visuals, iconography images and episodes. With in the musical modes, a group of classification or distinction namely Raga denoting masculine and Raginis indicating feminine became popular trends in medieval Deccan paintings. These masculine and particularly feminine nuances of music, which begun to be used in visual art incorporated the tradition of classical poetry namely the *Nayika - Nayaka* lore which minutely analyses and categories the moods of men and women in all the vicissitudes of love, ranging from grief in separation to joy in union.

This tradition of *Nayika - Nayaka* themes made its impact on Deccani miniature paintings, where the visualization of Ragamala or musical paintings were done in conformity with the *Nayika - Nayaka* poetry paintings a re-adoption of the old theme.

Accordingly in these Ragini paintings several themes representing women as *Nayika* or *Abisarika* waiting for *Nayaka* in different conditions or situations of love like waiting anxiously in expectation, one who hopefully waits, or one who sonowfully writes to *Nayaka* or another who is depressed or cheated, etc were **painted** emotionally and psychologically. Here the Ragamala illustrations mainly depict various stages of *Nayikas* love. They treated women as objects of

love or one who is loved and depicted love - sick ladies and their intense passionate feelings and distress with sensitive expressions.

The musical modes, suggesting the moods of episodic painting are usually grouped into families of five to seven or twelve. This particular group forms a set of Ragas. One of the most popular ways of organizing the Ragas within a Ragamala or garland or melodies is to arrange them in six groups of six, each comprising a personified male (Raga) and six wives (Raginis). This selection and recombination of Ragas, gives a wonderful variety in specialization and illustration. These sets and icons form the fundamental features of Indian music.

Certain interesting icons of these Ragas depicted in miniatures are Hindola Raga, SriRaga, GoudiRagini, etc. representing both male and female musical modes. For instance Raga Bhairava consists wives like Puniyaki, Sanchi, Bilawali, Bhairavi, Malkos has wives like Gunkali, Gandhari, Seehuti, Dev Gandhari, Dhanasri, Hindola Raga has Bhim Palasi, Ahiri, Basanti, Telangi and Sandhuri as its wives. Similarly Sri Raga consists wives like Vairati, Gauri, Karnati, Saveri, Megha Raga has Sorath, Gaur Malhari, Kunkunni, Suhi, Asavari, etc.

Regarding the origin of these Ragini paintings, both musical and poetic beginnings of Ragamalas are from many centuries older than the painted versions. The introduction of paper and a blooming of miniature paintings in **many** parts of India among Jain, Hindus and Muslims alike, the first illustration of Ragamala paintings or prayer formulas were executed between (C 1450 - 1550 AD).⁵ Gradually a demand for such illustrations with prevailing local **fashions** developed during the next three hundred years.

In Deccan the first Ragini miniatures were mainly illustrated at Ahmadnagar between (C 1580 - 1600 AD) with strong colors and sturdy figures. During this period such illustrations were common at Mughal court also. Hence, Burhan - II of Ahmadnagar on his return from the Mughal court, where he was in exile in **the year 1591 AD**, had brought with him the theme and technique of Ragamala **painting**.⁶ This style of execution spread to other Deccani kingdoms like Bijapur

and Golconda and once again revived with full splendor under Nizams of Hyderabad School.

Several other factors also contributed for the existence of these paintings at Deccan. Mainly Hindu influence from Rajasthan was remarkable.⁷ Though striking sense of pattern, tangled clouds, cool palette of blue, green and mauve depicted in paintings are from Deccan, the conventions for the foliage are mainly from Rajasthan. The Raginis are more Hindu in feeling and there is a Sanskrit verse on many Ragini paintings, which could be more likely to be prevalent due to the presence of Gujarati merchants.⁸ Numerous semi-independent Hindu Rajas also lived in the Northern Deccan as feudatories. One of these Rajas must be likely the pattern of Ragamala paintings besides Deccan Sultanates.

Moreover the presence of Rajput noblemen in the Northern Deccan must have produced these themes of paintings which combine the boldness of Rajput **painting** with a strong melancholy Deccani palette of blue, pink and mauve and the depiction of tiny paintings of women standing alone. The Mughal and Persian influence can also be perceived in these Ragini paintings due to political links and ruling alliances.

All these factors finally resulted in a new theme of Raginis depicting women. Few such Ragini paintings depicted at Golconda and Hyderabad Schools can be analyzed with different themes as follows.

PART-1

GOLCONDA SCHOOL

At Golconda, during Abdullah Qutb Shah's period, certain Ragini paintings were executed. For instance a manuscript entitled *Khawar - Nama* dated (C **1645 - 1649 AD**) consists of two Ragini paintings Gurjari Ragini and Sarangi Ragini.⁹ During the same period other Ragini paintings two Gujarati Raginis were **illustrated.'**

I THEMES ON MUSIC

One miniature painting depicts Gurjari Ragini seated outside the house and playing the *ektara*, while another Ragini listens to her. The vibrant trees and branches are integrated with the atmosphere of music. The Raginis have a Hindu look and wears bangles, necklaces and have applied *bindi* on their forehead. The costumes show a certain degree of Rajasthani influence.

Another miniature painting depicts Gujar Ragini seated on a lotus, near a lotus pond playing the *ektara*, while a deer and other animals like swan and crane listen to her. The red background, golden sky, indicate strong Rajasthani influence. The lotus, crane and swans indicate water in the pond. There are thin parallel golden lines in drawing of the females' figures, costumes, deer and banana tree. In Gurjari paintings *kamal* (lotus) flower - studded bow, loaded with sugarcane arrow with a lotus tip plays a prominent part in promiscuous lover.

In a musical theme of Kakubh Ragini of Golconda executed during mid 17th century contains Ragini seated over rocks with a *vma* and several peacocks and cranes surround her in joy.^{1"}

Abul Hasan Qutb Shah the last Golconda sultanate also known as Tana Shah or the king of taste was a great lover of art. The miniature-paintings elucidating women, during his reign are of variety and style. A few Ragini illustrations were painted at his court during (C 1672 - 1687 AD). Among the Ragamala illustrations or paintings based on musical modes, an interesting one is the painting of Todi Ragini, dated to 1680 AD.^{1"} Several Hindu officers' musicians and artists were favored at his court. Pictorial evidence of this is furnished by the painting of Todi Ragini, which was illustrated by an Indian Hindu artist.

The Ragini is drawn in a tender, highly control line of delicacy tinted in light washes of orange, pale green and tan. The trees are painted in opaque greens of brilliant intensity. The sky is rendered in passages of blue, effectively blotched to echo the pointed hillocks, which evoke the haunting landscape of Golconda. In these painting Ragini goes around in a rocky area, playing the *ektara*, while a

bunch of deer's and birds follow her listening to the music. The Raginis dress is distinctly of Golconda with decorated flowers and broad lines.

In another painting of Todi Ragini of Golconda School executed during last quarter of 17th Century, depicts Ragini seated under a tree holding *tambur* in her right hand and a small little flower in her left hand as if enjoying its fragrance. A deer listens to her in delight. The foliage of this painting retains the Vijayanagar period as well as Hindu costumes, but betrays some Mughal influence in the drawing and in the softer color.¹⁴ Even the texture of the sari is of Vijaynagar and bears a resemblance to Lepakshi, This painting is a very good example of the synthesis between the two styles.

Todi Ragini is generally depicted as a young woman with a vina holding a garland of flowers, whose blossoming youth and beauty has begun to inspire love. She is followed by a herd of gazelles, which with their faces up lifted gaze at her in silent admiration enchanted by her beauty. **(PLATE XXXVI).** The gazelles represent the lovers. The deer - thirst is also symbolic of love. Todi Raginis are generally depicted clothed in snow-white sari and perfumed with camphor but not in this painting. She holds a *vina* and garland of flowers. Deer follow her attracted by her music. In the foreground are depicted a pond with lotus - a common motif in most of the pictures. The background remains bright sun - scorched landscape indicating that this Raga is sung at midnight.

II AESTHETIC THEME

In a painting known as Sarangi Ragini. the Ragini is shown relaxing on a cushion, with a pose of dancer with brilliant features that displays her personality.¹⁵ The entire picture has a pleasant atmosphere. The clouds are in ultra marine ash color, while the background is in bluish Grey. The other predominating colors are light mauve, red and white. The foreground is in pale yellow green. There are broad parallel lines on the costumes of Ragini. Her **ornaments consisted** of anklets, bangles, necklaces and golden flowers.

III RELIGIOUS THEME

In a miniature painting of Sri Raga, Krishna dressed in silver sits on a terrace listening to five musicians while an attendant stands holding a garland and chauri. There is a lotus pond and landscape beyond.¹⁶ In such spiritual themes Krishna with dark complexion often was depicted with three - pronged peacock feather. He - the divine lover beguiles woman with his dance and the sound of his flute and often pursues his amorous intentions in a more direct approach. Here the blend of *Nayikabada* and *Krishnalila* occurs in Ragini Paintings, which incorporated the romance of the Radha and Krishna as encounter of Raginis and Ragas giving them the identifies of Radha and Krishna.

PART-II

TRANSITIONAL PHASE

During transitional phase (C1687-1724A.D) or between fall of Golconda kingdom and rise of Asaf Jahi dynasty few related paintings on Raginis were executed in Hyderabad region during the first quarter of the 18th century and are presently widely dispersed.¹⁷ These paintings are standardized productions of a Deccani workshop mainly illustrated for Hindu patrons. They depicted realms and locations of Raginis, with linear emphasis, thinly erect vegetation and muted colors.

Few Ragini paintings of impressive dimensions illustrated during this period are mainly five in number.

I THEMES ON MUSIC

In a painting of Asavari Ragini, three ladies are depicted in a jungle landscape with palace - view in the background. Among them, the one depicted with halo, seems to be a royal princess, who was entertained by a musician with *vina* standing before her. A maiden with *morchhal* seems to be fanning the elite lady. The picture also illustrates the natural beauty of trees, cranes and birds flying.

An interesting feature of this Ragini painting was that charmed by the music and royal elegance, jungle - snakes, came out of their hidings in huge numbers adding a scary look to the pleasing atmosphere. The elite lady was shown holding a snake indicating her magical powers and affection towards wild creatures. Even angles are depicted flying around as if attracted by the melodies music. Asavari Raginis are generally depicted as a young ladies seated on a *chauki* or a beautiful young woman wearing red garments and yellow bodice.

In another painting of music of original spirit is of Hindola Raga, which is a visualization of a mode of Indian music meant to be sung in the morning and connected with spring.¹⁹ Yellow stains on the terrace recall the frenzied rites of Holi, the spring festival when men and women douse each other with colored water. Hindola means swing and paintings of this Raga often depict a young prince seated on a swing attended by beautiful women

In this painting also a young Prince swings at a royal court pavilion, surrounded by charming women, who plays music with different musical instruments like *tabla*, *vina*, *tambura*, etc. While a lady behind the royalty helps him in swinging, other lady maiden fans him with *morchhal*. The picture reflects a formal mood, but with dark colors like tones of green, black and tan, giving gorgeous details of courtly atmosphere. Baroque bouquets of flowers, chirping parrots on tree, and toy like palm trees, fountains cranes in the field, beautiful features of women of Hindu look and costumes gives delightful feeling.

This painting has bold diagonals leading towards the mysteries white castle on a hill that provide a welcome escape from the rigidity of the terrace world.

II AESTHETIC THEME

A miniature painting of Paraj Ragini depicts a lady in the center of the picture enthroned with a turban and a halo behind. She was surrounded by **maidens and other royal ladies** at a palace house. Artist had depicted female **figures with mere prettiness**, which many in 18th Century favored. The simple shapes are **monotonously** plain with repetitive decorative details resulting in

stormy bleakness. However, the painting reveal Deccani atmosphere regarding costumes and jewelry with facial features of local women.

Dhanasri Ragini is another fascinating miniature painting of first quarter of 18 Century. In it two royal ladies are enthroned at a pavilion of a palace court, of whom one lady enjoys her beauty looking into the mirror which she holds, while a lady with typical Muslim - dressing pattern of *Jama* and a turban is seated on the ground in front of them as if communicating something. Among the ladies in the background a maiden helps in handing over the mirror to the elite women, while other looks at the guest arrived. A maiden stands behind the ladies seated and seems to be fanning them. All these women wear extensive designful garments with simple jewelry typical of Hyderabad. This painting throws light on the leisurely life of elite women combined with nature and rhythmic vitality.

III ROMANTIC THEME

The painting of Ramkali Ragini has tender romantic flavor.²⁰ This Ragini refers to a lady angry at her lover for dallying with another women and arriving late for their tryst. He finally falls at her feet to beg forgiveness and to please her. The scene is tender, hushed and restrained. Romantically paired deer at the lovers' feet hint at secret joy. Pious ascetics, a dream city on a hill depicted in the background and slender trees murmur reconciliation and mystic romance. Ramakali Raginis are generally visualized as charming ladies of dark complexion playing with her friends.

All these paintings are neither signed nor dated but they are related to the regions near Hyderabad because of their peculiar characteristics and picturization resembling medieval Deccani courts and landscape. These Ragini illustrations at Hyderabad once again highlight the most common practice of illustrating musical theme in painting. Here each modal series of notes or Ragas used as the basis for musical improvisation was considered to possess its **individual mood and** poems describing these in personified form were collected into treatises or Ragamalas and were illustrated by painters.

The miniature painting depicting women as Raginis are charged with emotion and splendor. They reflect different walks of female life and evoke powerful impression of enormous passions, the year of spring, the driving forces of the monsoon, the endowments of artists, the rational temperament and practical wisdom.

PART-III

HYDERABAD SCHOOL

A large number of miniature paintings comprising Ragamalas series mainly in thirty-six sets of each group with variety of themes were illustrated at Hyderabad between (C 1760 - 1785 AD) under the patronage of Asaf Jahi rulers. Among their favorite themes were the illustrations of Raga and Ragins are modes of Indian music ²¹ They are mainly in the collection of Johnson Album." Some Ragini paintings are in the collection of India office library, London, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Indian museum, Calcutta and other private collections.'

Though these themes are in relation to musical aspects, one can see in them romance, aesthetic, spirituality, separation, anger and anxiety.

I THEMES ON MUSIC AND DANCE

In a painting of Bhairava Raga, Bhairava dressed in a yellow dhoti and green mantle is rubbed with sandal paste by his consort. Two girl musicians play a *tambiiir* and drum and one of the two attendant maids prepare sandal paste in the foreground under a full moon in cloudy sky.

The miniature painting of Vasanta Ragini depicts Radha and Krishna dancing on a terrace in the spring season surrounded by girls playing music and spraying red dye through syringes to celebrate the Holi festival. Generally illustrates the bliss and frustrations of lovers in springtime.

In an unidentified Ragini, a lady sits under a full moon and starry sky with a **pet parrot perched** on her hand. Her companion playing on a *tambiiir* kneels on a **terrace** with candles. In similar unidentified Ragini miniature, a lady seated in

garden pavilion holds a garland, while a girl kneels before her tuning a *tambur*. Two maids attend with a *chauri* and a tray of bottles. Champaka trees are on either side against a blue sky. It is identified as Puraj Ragini in related Deccani series.

In a painting of Kakubha Ragini, the Ragini with a *tambur* is depicted in a pleasant jungle like landscape surround by peacocks. She stands near a pond containing tiny swans. The drawing of female body and of the background is stiff in comparison. This painting was executed during first half of 18th Century." Kakubha Raginis are generally depicted as ladies watched by peacocks between two leafy fruit - laden trees, as she awaits her lover with garlands.

In a miniature painting Hindola Raga, a Prince and his lady sit on a swing. He has a *vina* over his shoulder. Girls on either side propel the swing and play cymbals and a drum. The painting of Sarang Ragini illustrates a lady standing **beneath** a tree bearing green mangoes listening to her companion playing on a **Sarangi** as she sits beneath a tree laden with ripe fruit. The companion is dressed in male costume.

The miniature of Megha Raga depicts Lord Krishna holding a lotus dancing on **a** terrace in the rain accompanied by five girl musicians. The Sohini Ragini of musical scene illustrates a young lady with peacocks.²³ **(PLATE XXXVIII)**. In a golden atmosphere and an idyllic peace, a young lady plays the *vina* sitting on a promontory. The peacocks surrounding her listen and spread their tails as if enjoying the music.

The painting of Todi Ragini depicts a lady standing in a field with four deer **gathered** around her. She holds a *vina* and a garland, while pair of white cranes **fly across the** gold land blue sky. In other painting of Todi Ragini, the Ragini **with *tambur* sits under** a **tree** with palace - structures in the background. A **bunch of white** deer's listens to the magical music which attracted them. **It was executed during the third quarter** of 18th century."

In a miniature painting of Sri Raga, a Prince with four girls in attendance sits beneath a canopy of a garden terrace listening to a Yogini with a *vina* and a horse-headed *kinnara* who is playing cymbals.

The painting of Sorath Ragini depicts a girl holding a *tambur*. She stands in a moonlit landscape surrounded by peacocks. The peacocks also stand listening to the girl playing the *tambur*. In the distance on the right is a town. It is symbolized by the tall minarets and arches with prominent Islamic architecture. The equivalent subject in related Deccani series is often identified as Sohini Ragini. (PLATE XXXVIII).

The painting Dipaka Raga depicts a prince with flames burning from his forehead and turban and he sits by candle light with his lady on a *chauki*. They are listening to two girls playing *mridanga* and cymbals. In a painting of Pamcham Ragini a Lord and consort are seated with a female musician standing before them."

The painting of Hindola Raga depicts a Prince sitting on a swing attended by girl musician. In another painting of Todi Ragini a lady is depicted with a *vina*. The girl sits under a tree surrounded by swans and it seems a large number of deers have left their abode and come to her as if drawn by her music. A large number of swans also dot the landscape.

In a miniature painting of Khamaj Ragini, a lady listens to a companion playing the *tambura*.[^] In a painting of Saranga Ragini a lady standing plays a Sarangi, while another stands beside a tree holding on to a branch. In similar painting of Sarangi Ragini, a lady standing plays *tambura* under a mango tree with ripen fruits.

In an unidentified Ragini of musical theme a Ragini is depicted listening to a female musician^o Another *vina* is King near by and there is a tree which is providing them shade. (PLATE XXXIX).

II ROMANTIC THEMES

A painting of Vibhasa Ragini depicts a couple sitting on a bed at dawn, while the Nayaka aims a bow and arrow at a cockret that has awakened them. In

another painting of Gujari Ragini, a noble man intercepts a girl carrying a pot upon her head, as she is about to leave the courtyard through an open door as if teasing her romantically. The window alcove has cushions laid out and there are gold fish in fountain pool.³⁰ In similar painting of Gujara Ragini, Krishna intercepts a water carrying women at a Deccani landscape, while two ladies before turns back and looks at Krishna in anger.³¹ Gurjari Raginis are generally depicted as ladies singing songs of lamentation in an angry mood or playing a *vina* with a river in the foreground as well as pair of love birds.

In a painting of Gunkali Ragini. a Lord with a lotus follows a lady to a terrace.³² The miniature painting of Sankara Baran Ragini depicts a shy young lady being escorted by a duenna (old lady or maiden) to a Prince's bed on a terrace. The Prince is reclining with a garland in one hand watching the approach of the two women. Candles are burning and full moon shines over the canopy of the bed.³³

The painting of Sugrai Ragini. depicts two lovers walk arm in arm through a garden, towards a bed which is being prepared in a pavilion by a maid. The man holds a garland and the lady indicates the bed with her hand. This subject in Rajasthani sets was identified as Malavi Ragini. The title Sugrail, with minor variations of spelling is found in other Hyderabad sets and may derive from a Sanskrit precursor.

A miniature depicting Malkos Raga depicts a Pnnce and a lady who sit embracing on a verandah. Two girls are in attendance and two female musicians play by candle lisht on the terrace before them. A crescent moon is shining before the clouds. Malkos Raga is generally depicted as enthroned couple taking pan. In a painting of Dipaka Raga A Lord and consort embrace on a bed, and a lamp is burning in the Lords turban.

The painting of Varari Ragini illustrates a lady sitting on a bed-arranging flower - heads, as if waiting for her lover. In a painting of Vibhasa Ragini, a couple sit embracing and the man holds a flowery bow and arrow as if teaching **the lady the** war of love. In another painting of Vibhasa Raga,³⁴ a Ragini of Raga Megha, represents unending dalliance such as only Kamadev and Rati

enjoyed. Kamadeva in the visual representation of the Ragini desires no interruption to his enjoyment take his bow to have an aim at the wicked cock, which as the harbinger of dawn, threatens to put an end to his dalliance. The Ragini invariably relates to Kamadeva and Rati. This Raga is the union of Radha and Krishna

In a painting of Malkos Raga a Lord is seated with a consort standing before him and two girls in attendance. In a painting of Malavi Ragini, lovers embrace standing outside a bed chamber. In a painting of Bhairava Raga, A Lord seated with a consort who rubs him with sandal paste.

III AESTHETIC THEME

The painting of Vilavali Ragini depicts the Nayika sitting on a bed on a verandah with her hands clasped behind her head looking at her reflection in a mirror held for her by an attendant. Another girl holds a ewer and a napkin. In the miniature of Gauri Ragini, a lady out of the picture to the left stands on a garden terrace holding two sprays of flowers.

In other painting of Trivani Ragini, a beautiful woman with elegant features sits between designful trees enjoying the beauty of nature. Peacocks move about the tree. The small plants in the foreground are almost similar to those in a Persian painting/" Flat like wall - paper, design and lingering can be perceived. The flowering tufts with less constraint and the sprays above swing in rhythms that are almost completely naturalistic.

In another Ragini painting of Syam Kalyan, an attendant brings a lamp to her lady, shading by flame with one hand. The lady is sitting with a garland around her neck. In a painting of Todi Ragini, the Ragini stands in the middle laden with ornaments yearning for her lover. The black antelope is in the background.¹¹

The miniature painting of a young Ragini depicts her leaning against a mango tree and dreams as she contemplates the scenery in the company of a couple of gazelles, as if waiting for her lover. The exquisite, coloring in the range of blues turquoises and greens imparts a rare charm to this painting. It was

executed around 1725 AD in Deccan.³⁷ There are lotus dotting the pond and at a distance banana trees stand waving their leaves in a breeze. This miniature has a lot of religious symbols related to Hinduism in the form of banana and mango tree. (PLATE XL).

A miniature painting of Gormalar Ragini, depicts a charming woman dressed in a leaf skirt sitting on a lotus pat on an island in a lotus pond, holding a bow and arrow.³⁸ There is a town in the distance and rain is falling from the clouds above. This subject is only found in Deccani Ragamalas. The equivalent pictures in Price of Wales museum, Bombay are identified as Gond Ragini in their inscription. They are generally depicted as a lonely woman startled by the cry of the cuckoo. The painting however depicts woman walking among peacocks and dangling garlands or lotus flowers from her hands.

In a painting of Sohni Ragini, a lady talks to a parrot sitting within the interior setting of the palace/⁹ Another lady is seated opposite to her. Beautiful decoration and features of woman can be perceived. In a painting of Dhansari Ragini, a lady draws on a tabled with two girls present displaying her talent.

The miniature of Desvarati Ragini, depicts a lady holding her arms above **her head** and looks into a mirror held by the maiden. In Kamoda Ragini, a girl stands in a meadow holding a dish of flower - heads pointing towards the moon. Vilavali Ragini, illustrates a lady looking into a mirror decorating herself.

The Gormalar Ragini contains a lady picking flowers in a landscape that is as **beautiful** as her. The miniature of Kakubha Ragini depicts a lady standing in a landscape with peacocks and a garland in her hand with sensitive features and aesthetic look. The painting of Gujar Ragini, illustrates a girl standing in landscape holding garlands.

The painting of Gouri Ragini has a girl holding sprays of flowers in a Deccani landscape. Gunakali Ragini depicts a lady arranging flowers in a vase. Making the atmosphere as pleasant as her. The Malasri Ragini has **a lady and a companion holding lotus flowers.**

IV SPIRITUAL THEMES

The miniature painting of Kedara Ragini, depicts an ascetic sitting on a tiger - skin outside his dwelling by moonlight while a female disciple plays the *vina* and his dog and a visiting female ascetic sleep. A jackfruit tree is on the left and a town is in the distance on the right.

The Bangali Ragini, illustrates the lady crouching in worship before a shrine to Shiva with a lioness lying behind her beside a burning candle She is in a courtyard overlooked by a balcony. Other Hyderabad sets supply this subject with the title *Behag*.

The miniature of Asavari Ragini illustrates two female ascetics in a landscape. While one plays a snake - charmer's pipe, which is attracting snakes around and the other lady with a dog at her feet, embraces a tree while holding a fan and crutch.

An interesting spiritual theme of Devgandhar Ragini contains an elderly ascetic sitting on a tiger tree under a Banyan tree outside a cave, fanned by a disciple with a *morchhal*. A second disciple reads in the foreground and three women with a child stand in veneration on the right. The depiction of elite woman with such ascetic sitting on the skin of a black deer or a tiger in and around palace settings, indicates their acquisition of religious merit and these ascetics for secluded women act as ideal messengers between distant spouses or lovers as well as between political opponents

In the distance there is a town with a church indicating European presence in Deccani kingdom of Hyderabad. Devagandhar Ragini is generally depicted as a lady undraped above the waist praying before a Shiva temple under a tree.

In another miniature of spirituality, a lady kneels in worship before Brahma who is seated on a throne holding a book and an arrow. An attendant girl stands holding a dish. This subject is also identified as Khambaj Ragini. Similar theme of Bhairavi Ragini, depicts her kneeling and playing symbols before a shrine of **God** Shiva. A maiden stands behind her holding a garland and a ewer. On the left is a pillar with a flame burning from the top. The bull, Nandi leans against

the base with the Ganges gushing from its mouth. It is a raga of asceticism and reverence.

The painting of Megha Raga depicts Krishna dancing in the rain with four girls. The Khambhavati Ragini depicts a lady worshiping Brahma. The Bhairavi Ragini illustrates a lady worshiping at a shrine with a bull in the foreground.⁴⁰

V THEMES ON SEPERATION

The Ragini painting of Patamanjari Ragini depicts a lady sitting on a garden pavilion receiving advice from an older confidante who gestures with her hands. She seems to be consoling the lady in distress due to separation from her lover. Patamanjari Ragini generally depicts a Princess sitting on a *chauki* fondling a cat or a young woman playing sitar in front of her two tablas are laid on either side.

In Lalita Ragini, a Prince holding two garlands walks down three steps into a garden leaving his lady sleeping on a bed under a crescent moon. In this painting the night's stillness is conveyed with moving intensity as a Prince tenderly takes leave of his dozing mistress. The Europeans perspective of the architectural setting probably derives from Western painting. He must have acquired them from the French officer who made the Deccan a French colony in the 1750's AD before their defeat by the British in 1760 AD. **(PLATE XLI).**

In this painting and other unidentified painting of a lady listening to a musician, figures become delicately sinuous, a taste for lighter and more thinly applied color replaces its dark palate. They conjure up a fantastic world of delicate colors and seductive figures.⁴¹ In such paintings, Persian and Indian poetry had their reflections. The Ragamalas connection with poetic symbolism is not surprising because their owner was Richard Johnson, British resident at Hyderabad during (C 1784 -1785 AD). He was familiar with Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit literature and in field of painting, he was more interested in literary **content than** aesthetic expression and was fascinated by the connection between **Indian** art and music.⁴² He must have acquired these Ragini painting while **in**

Hyderabad, as they appealed to him because of their delicate evocation of Persian poetical symbolism.

Lalita Ragini is generally depicted as a young lady standing on the bank of a pool filled with lotus flowers. In another theme of separation of Gunakali Ragini contains the *Nayika* sitting outside a building holding a lotus flower waiting while her attendant approaches with two other lotus blooms. Gunakali Raginis are generally depicted as ladies standing on a *chauki* holding a *chawi* in one hand and napkin in the other. In front of her a ewer with a prominent spout is depicted. With a background of sun rising behind the mountains and dark clouds in the corner of the sky tinted with gold.

In a painting of Dhanasri Ragini, a lady writing a letter to her absent lover sits on a canopied verandah before a fountain pool with fish. Her confidante approaches up steps in the foreground. In a painting of Asavari Ragini a lady sits in a landscape with a snake as if asking it about her beloved whom she is praising, in a painting of Lalita Ragini, a lover leaves his lady sleeping.^{4A} In another painting of Patamanjari Ragini, a lady is being consoled by two companions. In another painting of Syam Kalyan Ragini an attendant brings a lamp to a lady sitting on a terrace in loneliness.⁴

VI THEMES ON ANGER

In a painting of Ramakali Ragini, a princely lover kneels at the feet of his lady who turns her face away from him, while a maid and the duenna gesture in dismay. The garden door by which the lover has entered stands open on the left. In another painting of Ramakali Ragini a lover prostrates himself before his mistress. Ramakali Raginis are reminiscent of *Khandita Nayika* or one who's Lord has spent night away from home, and when he returns in the morning she reproaches him bitterly.

VII THEMES ON ANXIETY

The Ragini painting of Madhu Madhavi, illustrates a lady running indoors into the arms of a duenna leaving her slippers on the terrace in haste. The storm

breaks as lightening strikes and the rain begins to fall. This subject in related Deccani series is often identified as Pata Manjari Ragini.

In another painting of Madhu Madhavi Ragini, a lady run indoors from the rain.⁴⁵ Madhu Madhavi is Abisarika Nayika who goes around seeking her lover.

In totality all these Ragini paintings of Hyderabad School are sophisticated in look and execution, where the conformities of iconography are shown. Beautiful Raginis were depicted standing in various postures under a mango or a willow tree, sitting with their maidens with sumptuous costumes and ornaments etc. Each Raga was symbolized and represented a theme. For instance Gunkali, Kakubha represent Raginis who expects and yearns for her lover. Gurjari, Gormalar, Komod etc., are Vasakasayya Nayikas who expects her Lord and waits with the bed prepared. These paintings are supplied with regional painting styles and techniques. They are generally set against a green' background while the interiors of the apartments in which ladies are depicted are painted in Grey. The architecture in many paintings remained simple with floral motifs incised on them. Sky represented blue or black with a band of light blue clouds with white lines cutting across the upper right hand corner. These Ragas were ascribed to seasons, nature or feelings of lovers, while each Raga has particular and sentiment associated with it.

A color - scheme of gold and green is extensively used in many paintings. Few paintings are mounted in-groups of six on six sheets of paper with floral decoration in colors and gold in the form of garlands. Here each Raga with floral garlands decorating the page and running between the pictures suggests their musical relationship with one another. Different range of pigments used **with the** characteristic mauves and pinks are associated mainly with Hyderabad painting.

When compared to Golconda School, these Ragini paintings of Hyderabad are comparatively more with sweeter lyrical tones of representation of women with music and nature with perfect illustrations. Though the precise **circumstances** under which these comparable sets were made is not certain, yet they could be the products of a court atelier at Hyderabad, but equally may have

been made for other rich patrons in the region of the Capital. These depictions of court works are among the most polished and visually pleasing pictures painted in the Deccan during the 18th Century.

The origins of the Hyderabad styles detectable in this series are numerous. In many cases the basic arrangement of the components of a Raga or Ragini subject derived from existing Ragamala traditions. The figure types in most paintings resemble Golconda portraiture and luxuriant gardens depicted have been inspired from Mughal paintings. After its early consolidation, the Hyderabad style of Ragini paintings tends in succeeding decades towards simplification and a measure of rigidity perhaps partly due to the quantities of the pictures painted at commercial level.

At sub Schools of Hyderabad also, similar Ragini paintings were illustrated. For instance at Wanaparthi. a set of Raga and Ragini paintings about thirty in number with themes on music, romance, etc, were painted. These paintings according to Raja Rameshwar Rao of Wanaparthi, belong to their ancestral library.⁴⁶ Of these paintings, one Ragini depicts three ladies together in a garden pavilion standing/ They have Hindu look and costume - styling. They seem to be friends enjoying the natural beauty and their friendship.

Another painting depicts a ruler embracing his lady at royal palace, while few animals watch them. When compared to other sets, these Ragini paintings in coloring, drawing architecture and costumes are of fairly individualistic manner and at the same time retains Hindu - element. The inscriptions on the top of these Ragini miniature paintings at Wanaparthi are in Telugu language, which indicates their provenance and patronage.

Stylistic observations indicate that these might have been executed around 1750 AD and it is peninent therefore to assume that the set was commissioned by Raja Sawai Venkat Reddy (C 1746 - 1763 AD). These compositions are bold and daring. The use of colors and the relation of shapes and color are ideal. Though there is little emphasis on detail, the directness of treatment and their appeal make these paintings important works of art. The women figures appear tall with South Indian costumes. However Hyderabad factor dominates

these South Indian elements of paintings in architectural details and technical analyses.

In totality these Ragini paintings depicting women of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools, emerged as a result of the fertilization of pictorial art by musical modes and a great literary tradition of love poetry. This tradition goes back to the Vedic period where vedic poetry was profoundly sensitive to feminine beauty.⁴⁸

Generally women in such poetry was addressed in words which suggest beauty, purity and auspicious like Kalyani meaning the blissful one, or Subhaga the graceful one. Some of the enchantingly lovely phenomena of nature are inevitably composed to women. The image of dawn is one of the finest such evocations, in which these Ragini paintings were depicted picturing women in different realms.

For instance women was depicted as a elite lady of elegance engulfed in love or Nayika in romance, as the maiden with equal beautiful smiling, youthful or brightly shinning features, as the beautiful dancer, who enrobes her self in embroidered garments which both veil and reveal her curly forms and as a musician who displays her talent or as a damsel who is clad in the star - sprangled silken garment of moonlight or as a beautiful woman of all spheres conscious of her charm and personality.

In other terms musical modes are equated with the charm and grace of women and their representation were illustrated with nature and poetic — content. In most of the pictures musical essence combined with romantic ardor marks the paintings, resulting in magnificent evolution of Ragini painting, with glowing color and richness of melodic rhythmic lines of execution.

Here the passion for music which remained as favorite engagements of royalty was dispersed all over the Deccan in form of art, where the main concentration was on women depictions with tenderness and equilibrium of the discrete palette and dramatic situation of women spheres in their different modes of anger, anxiety, grief, separation, love etc. Combined with blossoms of **nature**, lyrical tendrils of plants and features of feminine prettiness.

All these aspects were executed with utmost balance and logic of composition of which music remained as the main undertone for depiction of Ragini paintings where the 18th Century artist in particular rediscover feminine elegance and created an idealized world of princess as Raginis which were mostly Hindu in look, but Islamicized due to royal power, but reaffirmed the traditional concepts of music, poetry and nature in art which existed under Golconda and Hyderabad School of painting of Medieval Deccan.

In this tradition of Ragini paintings or system of music in the classification of Raga and Raginis, Sanskrit poems were in existence which gave clues for the visualization of these musical modes as aid for rulers' meditative contemplation and many such poetic contents were visualized. For instance Bhairava Raga was visualized as Siva with crescent moon upon the forehead with his devotees, Malhar is visualized as the rainy season with charming women and peacocks dancing. Karnati as beautiful woman wearing a indigo blue sari and bodice etc and pictures were illustrated of these themes.

Sultans love for music and art made the artists to portray these Ragini paintings of variety. Some Raginis represented the worship of Gods and in such paintings we can see the atmosphere of devotion like Raga Sankara Baran, Bhairava Raga etc. like Ragini worshipping the Lingam, of Lord Siva who is considered as God of dance and music. Other Raginis represented different stages of love like Sri Raga representing the meeting of eyes, union of lovers and their partings.

Raginis representing love in separation are Asavari. Dhanasri, Devagandhari, Gujari, Todi etc, where Virahini Nayikas pinning for their absent lovers to come out of their agony are depicted engaged in weaving a garland of flowers or writing a letter, singing songs of lamentation in an angry mood and these paintings visualizes love-lorn ladies yawning with her arms up-raised in a mood of expectancy.

One point worthy of mention here is that these themes on love, separation, **romance**, devotion are inter linked in one sense for instance Bhairava Ragini symbolizing spirituality depicted as worshipping also signifies the devotion of a

wife for her absent husband. In many painting Raginis are depicted playing music on top of a hill, awaiting for their lover surrounded by a large number of snakes, which have descended from the sandal tree attracted by the music to console her. The snakes here represent the unsatisfied longings of love.

Dhanasri Ragini is represented as a woman painting a portrait of her absent husband or writing a letter to him, where tears run down he cheeks and wet her breast. In paintings like Madhu - Madhavi, a love - sick heroine pinning for her lover is depicted feeding a peacock in a palace garden. Monsoon clouds and lightning are shown in the sky. Peacocks generally represents symbols of unrequested love

In few paintings arch is formed by two convergingly slanting mango trees linked by the contour of a hill and in few two flowering trees bend to meet and this arch is reinforced by an architectural feature. The relaxed elegance and tenderness, which are the main characteristics of Deccani paintings, are maintained in these Ragini paintings with scenes of music sessions and carousals of Hyderabad. The placement of garden patterns in the foreground, the flower vases and the delicate architectural styles adds pleasant feeling to feminine beauties depicted. Rarely has the sensuous imaginary of Persian and Indian poetry achieved such appropriate visual expression.

Though art was in decline during 18th century art forms like Ragini paintings received impetus, where each face and flower as elegant symbol of perfection remained exciting. In many paintings stark white terrace contrasts beautiful with the bright colors of the garden flowers. Cypress trees, symbols of the divine beloved's graceful statue in Persian mystical poetry, frame the heroine against a deep blue sky.

When compared to Rajput and Mughal Ragini paintings for instance while Rajput paintings possessed temperament and imaginative feeling and is accompanied by the *Dhyana - Shlokas*, a spiritual means or *sadhana* for the attainment of God and Mughal paintings are more effective in finish and balance. The Deccani paintings are aesthetic in look with charming female features and color - scheme. There is free movement of the figures. While the

several surfaces occupied by the figures are invaded and traversed by flamboyant indentations, each Raga indicates a sort of smiles, tears of passion or pathos, its noble and lofty impulses leaving its marks on the mind of the hearer and viewer.

In these paintings females were depicted wearing a short bodice of blue or pink and yellow colors, a long sari, black tassels and transparent *odhnis*.

The principle characters of these paintings are aristocratic lords and ladies almost portraits of the patrons of these paintings. In a flattery way these figures are idealized and stylized and frequently approach the divine representations. Which means divinity and royalty are the main characteristics in the miniature paintings of Raginis. Such a trend was common in medieval times where Lord Krishna was worshiped as dark - skinned cowherd and aristocratic absolute ruler was considered as over - Lord by his subordinates, indicating that the royalty was worshipped as god by the people. Moreover *Bhakti* or devotionism was another element illustrated in Ragamala paintings. This devotional concept exists in a direct relationship of the worshipper with god possessing personal attributes. In visual presentations, the same concept takes the form of romance often explicitly sensual imagery, where the worshipper (lover) longs for union with the divine (lord).

The predominating settings in these paintings indeed reflect the lifestyles and principle environment of the women members of the ruling wealthy strata. Their ideal and secluded life, well served by maidens, but largely unfulfilled in sexual matters found an emotional and para - illustrative compensation in these paintings. The settings are generally are of a shady breeze terrace, well-grounded garden, a lovely lotus pond, wild vegetation, often the jungle with peacocks and snakes.

The objects depicted in these paintings are those familiar to elite house - holds, **but** they also serve at the same time a symbolic function, which is verbalized occasionally in related poetry. For instance few things depicted like two earthen jars are pleasure-spending breasts of a young woman, peacocks represent the lovers prodding with their glamorous display of beauty. Buzzing

bees symbolize the passion of lovers and lotus blossoms are epitome of beauty, rain is harbinger of love-making, lighting in the sky as an expression of passion, white crane-like birds indicate substantial rainfall which creates pleasant atmosphere for the lovers, the sprays of plums and pink blossoms of peaches are emblems of youth life and joy. The white plum blossom is symbolic of spiritual strength and beauty. Pink peach blossom signifies bodily or sensuous beauty. Mango is the harbinger of spring.

These themes of sensuous style were frequently the heroines encountered with terrifying dangers and hardships and at other times experienced profound loneliness due to beloved's absence and at times of joy was also illustrated. Such themes were further elaborated in the systematization of the various flavors mode and sensation associated with love called Ragamala.

In these miniatures women formed art of beauty and delicacy where naturalism and musical poetic content remains passionate due to imaginative composition of women in accordance with the poetic content. In such collaboration there is delicate modeling of female portraits, which have fragment of musical sense and poetic forms as subject matter of paintings.

For instance few lines of poems, which were symbolized in the miniature paintings in the depiction of Women as Raginis, were:

**"Her body blossoms like an open flower for the meeting with the lover,
She stands embraced"**

**"Enthralled by the thought of her lover lords embrace
There is bliss in her heart"**

**"With swimming eyes she gazes deeply dyed in the tincture of love
Singing and dancing absorbed in pleasure
Roaming through groves and forest deeps
keeping her beloved Dipak in her heart a great heap of bliss"**

These Ragini paintings clearly prove how closely the triple arts of poetry, music and painting are inter-linked. They aimed at expressing the meanings **behind the traditional** forms of our music through the medium of pictorial art.

Nature was also symbolically represented in Ragini paintings. Here cycle of songs had grown upon the seasons and they in turn inspired painting. For instance, seasons were intimately related to the erotic traditions, like summer heat augmenting the fire of separation, the rain stimulating the yearning for a shared savoring of its benediction, etc.

Here each Raga centers around one particular emotion that it develops, explains, elaborates and exalts until it creates in the hearer a suggestion almost impossible to resist. The Raga - forms are thus the physical transmutations of physical states.⁴⁹

Each Raga or Ragini consists of 5 or 6 notes of its own mood, personality, rasas, aesthetic quality, passions, color-scheme, ethos or presiding deity and its unique psychological effects. Because of these multiple associations each Raga evokes its own aura. time, season and its own mind - pictures.

The inter - relation of notes with color on one hand and with emotional expression has made possible the graphic representation of Ragas through poem - pictures. Besides symbolizing the emotional qualities of music by personifying each Raga or Ragini as male or female character, it also takes note of the powerful associations of mode with particular moods and sentiments, particulars and seasons of the years and even with special hours of the day and night.

For example Basant is a seasonal Raga expressing the joy of life in spring, youth love mirth and a festival mood. Such theme was illustrated as Lord Krishna dancing with lovely Gopikas accompanying with musical instruments like the *mridang*. castanets, etc. in miniature paintings. Similarly Megh Raga is depicted as a monsoon mode, a Raga of romance and joy against the background of majestic dark clouds, pattering rains etc. In similar Raga depictions of re - union of lover in the early hours of the morning wearing pink . clothes pink indicating joy were depicted.

In totality these Ragamala paintings precisely illustrated the verbal imagery **of each Raga and the** concept of Raginis is crystallized were each musical form was given a precise expression and a picture interpreting it was depicted

symbolizing women. Here art of Ragini paintings aim not only at illustrating poetic descriptions but also at conversing pictorially the mood and senses of music, locales, seasons of the year and hours of the day and different colors are used to depict different themes like pale yellow for background pale blue for sky, white walls for shrines and apartments, pink pillars dark red doors and canopies, pale green roofs, orange, red, mauve, pinks and yellows for garments, black and gold for sashes, slate gray for rivers, pink and mauve complexion for the figures and covers all the different *Nayika - Bhedas* (heroines in different plights and moods.)

CRITICAL EVALUATION

The critical analyses of these paintings reveal that the actual aesthetic modality of pure tonal shape, abstract sound pattern, seems to be totally different from that of the concrete visual image. While in pictorial quality they remain as fine art forms as miniatures based on lyrical episode and narrative poetry, yet there are great difficulties in evaluating their capacity to suggest by resonance the specific Ragas they are supposed to visualize.

Moreover these paintings were produced mainly for those admirers of paintings Muslim and Hindu rulers and noblemen and their often polygamous families like sub Schools of Wanaparthi etc, whose leisureful aristocratic life style is often mirrored in the contents of these paintings, but not for general women who were actually depicted and themes like love longing, love union, piety, subservience which are related to women.

A part from these the painters of these Ragini depictions like their patrons, were associated with the subject content only at the periphery of their existence. Though they were skilled craftsmen working with more experience on many themes, yet they lacked the learned quality of many of their patrons and of the poets, whose verses they illustrated in accordance with previous paintings of the subject. Their expertise lay entirely only in the field of paintings while there literally and musically knowledge was only at its roots resulting in partial

iconography of musical manifestations and limited only to imitative representation of earlier Schools with little changes.

However, religious and aristocratic imagery of their patron's personal preferences, poetic symbolism, emotional states, and local character of the fauna, flora and landscape had their reflections on the paintings in spite of lack of full - fledged musical - resonance.

Another aspect was that tremendous influences caught Deccani Schools of Golconda and Hyderabad, which are located in Medieval Deccan that remained as a buffer zone between South and North and between opposing forces of independent sultans and Mughal emperors. There was also proximity of the South Indian cultural elements also. But despite these influences the Schools retained special Deccani cultural traditions of their own in depiction and techniques with beautiful Ragamalas of unique style and approach.

One significant aspect was that though the rulers of these kingdoms were of Muslim origin they developed their own variations of Ragini paintings and favored this subject of Hindu origin in view of the common love for music. Local Hindu rulers naturally echoed the style that was already inborn in them, their sources of paintings being contemporary treatises on music.

Moreover unhampered from Western cultural and natural environments, which we find in other themes of miniature paintings depicting women, these themes Ragini miniatures are related to more cultural and natural ingredients and intends and depicted other sources only in specific matters.

Another interesting feature was that autonomous female deities such as Kali, Durga, or Saraswati, who are very popular subjects of Miniatures paintings related with other themes are conspicuously absent in these Ragamalas. Radha and Paravati the female counterparts of Krishna and Siva are presumably present among the attending ladies in Ragini paintings. They are much less distinguished from other females in the same picture then they are in other miniatures of the time. In Ragini paintings the mood or situation is often reminiscent of the life of Parvathi or Radha. but these moods are often reflected with those all women universally.

Though these paintings did not explore to fullest extent a emotive expression through abstract color and pattern they to a great extent can be considered as perfect visualization of music. It is rather experimentation of a traditional endeavor through Nayika poetry, seasonal songs and Krishna themes that are incorporated with them.

On the whole different Raginis were depicted and named after flowers like lily, jasmine and lotus, birds and animals like peacock, koel, snake, swan, blackbuck, seasons, clouds, moons, lamps, swings, acrobats, feelings of love and anger and derived from devotional songs, poems and folk songs. These paintings are typical creations that have succeeded to a great extent in illustrating even abstract things. Since vision is the most important channel for the sensory experience of the life, here visual apprehension with color can be perceived in these paintings. Here Raginis were depicted as princesses and other pretty elite ladies, Hindu deities, musicians, dancers, etc engaged in the eternal cycle of love, longing and fulfillment.

While the last three decades of Sixteenth Century saw the origin and stabilization of Deccani Ragamala painting, during 17th Century Golconda School of painting sustained it further and in 18th Century, Hyderabad School gave these paintings real life and content with women in different characters, realms and themes. Local sub Schools also gave impetus to this tradition of Ragini paintings. In fact one sees a upward development in the miniatures with **the** passage of time.

Altogether these miniatures illustrated the personification of melodies and **feminine** beauties together with charming colors, thus giving Golconda and Hyderabad Schools of paintings of musical modes a new meaning and of art a new dimension.

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CHAPTER VIII

DEPICTION OF YOGINIS

Miniature paintings depicted a variety of themes mainly for royal consumption. Few themes communicating well-known social contents through illustrative hypothesis were also produced by artists. In their endeavor they tried to maintain uniformity between literary trends and visual representations. Even these depictions were produced for the enjoyment of their wealthy patrons and for their understanding of common cultural issues of the time. They depicted such themes once again highlighting the charm of feminine beauty with all its grace which was very much welcomed by the romantic royal personages and economic exigencies and were tuned to the tastes of market of art.¹ Though the concept of Yogini was of mystic nature, yet the ladies depicted as Yoginis were tender in look and beautiful as other women figures depicted in Deccani miniatures giving pleasant feeling and aesthetic sensual look to the viewer, at the same time maintained a track with spiritual-realm.

Yoginis were illustrated with charming facial features presenting a look of royalty. They are invariably shown with matted hair raised upward and carrying either a *morchhal* (peacocks feathers) or a trident in one of the hands. Sometimes Yoginis are illustrated holding a musical instrument *ektara* or fan made of peacock feathers. The rich garments of Yogini consisted of tight brocaded *pyjamas*, a *Khesa* (upper garment of *bhagava* or saffron colour), a zari *dupatta*, elongated *jama*, long *dupattas*, a scarf over her hair and embroidered waistband. These women were also depicted wearing shoes and are covered with ornaments like selhi (a sort of necklace going across the right shoulder), necklaces made of pearls, earrings, *mudari* made of rubies, wristlets studded with gems and rosaries as bracelets.² This suggest the high descent and aristocratic dignity of the Yoginis. In spite of these decorations, Yoginis used to

smear their bodies with ashes and applied *quashqa* (paste of sandal) on the forehead, which gave them the look of an ascetic.

In few miniatures of Golconda and Hyderabad School of paintings, illustration of Yoginis in individual realms as well as Yoginis in conversation with ascetics, with royal atmosphere and in Deccani landscape with other women were depicted. The miniatures with a theme on Yoginis were first executed at Bijapur School during Ibrahim Adil - Shah's reign, which were in majority among Deccani Schools with unique style as a whole.

PART I GOLCONDA

In Golconda kingdom very few Yogini pictures were painted when compared to Bijapur indicating only an impact of Bijapur School of painting on Golconda or imitation of such themes at this kingdom's atelier. The most important painting of Yogini by a Dublin painter was dated to 1605 AD. This painting is alternately called as Queen of Sheba. The Yogini appears as a religious mendicant, her body smeared with ash. She appears as a sorceress, wearing extravagant jewels, secretly communicating with a myna bird, which perches on her hand, and picks at her lips. Here face looks strange and exotic like a European. She seems to be endowed with special powers resulting from severe austerities. The use of gold in the background is a Deccani characteristic. The depiction of lady with Yogini hairstyle but aristocratic costume and jewelry is a fantasy creation. It was attributed to the time of Muhammad Quli *Qutb Shah's* reign and typical of the various strains that were flowing into this kingdom.

The picture highlights and stresses both Yoginis' magical as well as saintly qualities. Fantastic plants undulate around her, while a strong white palace is cleaning behind her. In this painting, the treatment of the rocks is obviously derived from the Persian Kalam via the Mughals. The Shrubs in the foreground owe something to the realism of the Mughal times. The two bigger plants in the middle owe similar to those which appear on the Chinese vases, which came **through** the sea ports by Dutch merchants. The castle in the background

enclosed by the trees is synoptic of European renaissance picture. Her gray face suggests that she is an ordinary girl transformed in to a dignity of a Muslim princess and a saintly religious person.

The large flowers on either side of the figure study in the painting of the lady with the bird seems to be inspired by the painting on Chinese porcelain. This was very much coveted by the Deccan nobility.⁵ The taste for it must have been introduced by Persian guests of the Deccani rulers and Persian merchants. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah gave one of his daughters in marriage to Shah Abbas of Persia and between 1603 and 1609 kept an embassy of a hundred Persian at his court. Dutch merchants have recorded that there was always a ready sale for Chinese porcelain at Petaboli on account of the number of Persian merchants residing their.⁷ Decorative motifs from Chinese porcelains also passed into Golconda cotton hangings as well, as Petaboli was an important center of production.

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Another painting of Yogini is dated to 1630 AD.⁹ The sources for this painting are the dark mysterious Yoginis of the Bijapur School. Here the Yogini is richly dressed and decorated. She moves around in a forest, playing the musical instrument, *ektara*. A lion is depicted as enjoying the music played by the Yogini. **(PLATE XLII)**. There is fantastic foliage in the dark background and tiny beautiful birds are seated on a tree like flowers. The costumes and jewelry, which the Yogini wears, are peculiar of Golconda and the palette consists of white green and brown colors, which belong to Golconda style of illustrating miniature paintings.

Another fine Yogini painting belonging to mid 17 Century depicts Yogini wearing a robe - striped *pyjamas*, white and gold turban, a short of patch work, a long, *jama* and a long narrow *zari* scarf tied around her hair arranged upwards.¹⁰ In this miniature a young woman is represented with crossed arms holding a *morchhal* in her left hand. Her face is in profile and body is in full view turned to left. She has a girdle with a small fruit knife attached to it known as *par - e - tuti*. Her ornaments consisted of earrings, a necklace with a ruby and other decorations. The dagger being carried by Yogini indicates that

she is most probably a Princess in the garb of a Yogini in search of her beloved, so that her real status is not disclosed and was carrying a dagger for self-protection.

PART-II

TRANSITIONAL PHASE

During transitional phase of early 18th Century, in a painting of nobility listening to music, the lower bottom of the picture, in the right hand corner, two Yoginis are depicted enjoying a ride in a boat in a lake.¹¹ They resemble the Yoginis of early 17th Century Bijapur painting. The Yoginis observed the sun's reflection in the fish - filled lake. A mixture of green, red and dark blue color produce strong effect in perceiving. An interesting aspect of this painting was that within the painting, three parts of life of nobility and Yogini were depicted. While the nobility was illustrated on the roof of a lakeside pavilion enjoying music of a lady artist, the lower part of the picture depicts his lady seated with in royal court on a cushion enjoying music simultaneously. The Yoginis were depicted in a forest like Deccani landscape with in a lake - the place where generally Yoginis led their part of life involved in spiritual penance for fulfillment of their vow or attainment of happiness. (PLATE XLIII).

Another painting of 1700 AD illustrates a lady leaning on the bough of a tree holding a rose in her left hand and listening to a vina played by a girl dressed in the style of a Yogini.¹² Their clothes are embroidered with gold and chocolate. It has border of formal flowers in red, green and gold. This page is from a manuscript of Persian poetry written in nastaliq script. The poets included Maulana Bazmi, Sheikh Ali Nagi, Mirza Fasih and Ahmad Ghazali of 17th Century.

A painting of about 1720 AD depicts a girl dressed in the style of Yogini with her hair tied in a bun. She stands on grass besides a terrace holding a pink rose and crook.¹³ The Album leaf was with fawn border and pink blue margin. It was a page of Naskhi calligraphy headed by a 'Bism Allah' signed by Mahbub - al - Alam Ibin Mulla Abd - al - Nabi of 17th Century.

PART-HI

HYDERABAD SCHOOL

At Hyderabad School, in a painting of a Prince with four ladies sits beneath a canopy on a garden - terrace listening to a Yogini with a vina.¹⁴ In another painting an ascetic was depicted with two Yoginis, sitting outside of his dwelling in moonlight. While one Yogini plays the vina, other seems to be dozing. A palace was depicted in the background indicating their situational place with in a forest, where they led their ascetic life.¹⁵ It is dated to 1760 AD of Hyderabad School.

In a painting of 1760 AD, a lady was illustrated with more of Yogini features in a forest area, surrounded by snakes.¹⁶ She was depicted holding a trident in her right hand and a snake in her left hand. Several cranes also look at her magnetic - magical personality. She with hair - knotted has an elegant look with smiling face and her hair is knotted. This painting must have been given title Asavari Ragini due to the poetic - content and atmosphere depicted in the painting. But the features of the lady resemble more of Yogini rather than of Ragini. (PLATE XLIV).

There is lot of perplexity regarding the role of Yoginis and who they are in reality. Hence there is a need to look at the concept of Yoginis and their functions, in order to know why they were represented in the miniature paintings of medieval Deccan,

A glance over the history of Deccan. reveals that women played a very significant role in the religious life of the region through out the medieval era. Both in Hinduism and Islam, the lady ascetics, were known to be in the forefront particularly in the Kamataka and Andhra region.¹⁷ During this time, the Basava cult of Saivism had gained considerable popularity in the Deccan, where in female worshipers, Basavis were also allowed to be initiated. The same Saivite influences are also reflected in the institutions of Jogatis flourished in major parts of Kamataka.¹⁸ The female ascetic of the other Saivite sets, like *Nathapanthi*, during the medieval period of Deccan history were known as

Joginis. They were given such nomenclature as Jogatis or Joginis on account of their Yogini or ascetic character. These Jogatis entangles their hair upward as *Jata* (knot) and carried *morchhal* in their hands. They worshiped the folk - Goddess Yellamma and performed several rites for eradication of diseases and fulfilling worldly desires.

The iconography of the Yogini portraits depicted in these paintings is close with the features of Jogatis and to that of Saivite association like the matted hair - knots and carrying of *morchhal*. Moreover many of these paintings of Yogini came from Bijapur region in Karnataka, where the tradition of Jogatis existed.

However there are certain problems in equating Yoginis of Deccani miniatures with the Jogatis also known as Devadasis of the Deccan. Matted hair with knots carrying a *morchhal* was the common characteristic of ascetic of various sects during Medieval India and particular that of Jogatis of Bijapur. The Jogatis hailed from a lower stratum of society and belonged to Hindu families, mostly from uneducated lower castes that believed in myths and superstitions.

On the contrary the Yoginis represented in these paintings had a look of the nobility and were richly dressed with embroidered clothes and ornaments made of costly pearls and studded with gems. Their facial features were very beautiful and sublime, suggesting their high social status. Though Muslim type of dress became popular with the Hindus, it was confined mainly to the aristocratic classes only. Finally, the devadasis did not lead a secluded life as they sang and **danced** in public and possessed no super natural powers, which the Yoginis of the miniature paintings are shown to be endowed with.

Hence these charming facial features of Yoginis and the costumes worn associate them with the female ascetics belonging to the Muslim Sufi - order who had also gained popularity in and around Bijapur right from the period of the Sultanate.

A survey of the monuments of Bijapur would also show a large number of **memorial** tombs of Sufi ladies who lived in 16th and 17th Centuries AD. The book entitled *Rauzutul Auliya Bijapur* written by Mohammad Ibrahim, deals

with the Sufi - Saints of Bijapur.²⁰ This treatise presents a vivid account of the Sufi saints of Bijapur, both male and female.

It mentioned that a large number of Muslim ladies belonging to the noble families adopted Sufism and led the life of a recluse. They sometimes lived with the Sufi saints on the outskirts of cities and were greatly admired and respected by the Muslims as well as Hindus because some of them were called as *Sati ma*, Sati as used by the Hindus, meant a holy lady with divine qualities and *ma*, a synonym for mother commanded respect from both Hindus and Muslims.

Some of the famous female Sufi - saints were Bibi Khavandama, the daughter of Shaikh Ainuddin Ganie - Ilm, a well-known Sufi saint of Medieval period, who said to have possessed miraculous powers. Bibi Nayeem, belonged to the period of Ibrahim Adil - II, Bibi Shamsa and others, who possessed spiritual powers. These famous female Sufi saints known for their holiness and divine qualities, lived at Bijapur which had been a seat of Sufis from the 14th Century onwards.²¹

Some of the miniatures paintings of the time must have reflected their spiritual spirit or mystical exuberance by depicting Sufi ladies as Yoginis with floating garments and halo around them, signifying their spiritual powers. Though we have evidence that women were also admitted in the Sufi order and the attributes like *morchhal*, *sarong* and musical instruments are associated with the Sufi sets also, yet we have no evidence to prove that Sufi women moved in jungles as Islam does not allow ladies to appear in public. Hence it is difficult to accept the Yogini portraits of the Deccani miniatures as Sufi ladies.

These Yogini paints are almost always in fine raiment and bejeweled. At times they carry a *morchhal* or a trident or a musical instrument. And again at times they were seen with an animal or a bird. The carrying of trident and covering of face and body with ashes suggests a Saiva affiliation. These ladies must have belonged to a *lingciyata* Vira Saiva sect or they must be ladies of high estate or from well placed families who have taken a temporary vow namely to

wander as Yoginis forsaking the world for a certain period of time. Hence the fine decoration and jewels are depicted.

In Karnataka it is known that a man or a woman makes a vow to remain standing for a certain period of time and paintings exist showing a Yogini like lady carrying out these vow by remaining standing and resting her hands on a swing - like contraption to avoid falling down in sleep.²² Attendants feed her while she remains standing for days together to fulfill her vow. Dr. Khare also remarked that this vow being performed amongst lingayats in the Karnataka.²³

An interesting account regarding the nature of Yoginis is also given by Mathanavi, Sahrul Bayan, written by Mir Hasan Dehlavi. The author mentions that the women of Princely families, who otherwise lived in purdah, went out of their homes in guise of Yoginis of certain saivite sects, who have been popular at that time. They came back and led a normal life again once their specific mission was over. These ladies from aristocratic families disguised themselves as Yoginis only for temporary period and roamed around mostly in search of their beloveds, so that their real identity is not disclosed.

It appears that the Yoginis of Deccani miniatures mostly came from a Muslim background since the dress worn by them consisted of *pyjamas, khesa, jama, dupatta* and other garments mostly worn by Muslim women. But their other iconographic features associate them with Saivism, the most flourishing sect in the medieval Deccan.

For instance the trident, which they carried as depicted in the miniature paintings is one of the weapons held by Lord Shiva, the *morchhal* is also found associated with the Saiva sect. The musical instrument *ektara* was popular with Jogis for playing music to accompany devotional songs in praise of God. The applying of ash *vibhuti* on the body has been common in India with almost all the Saiva sects. Even the *qashqa* or the sandal paste applied by the Yoginis on the forehead as *tripunda* was common with the saiva ascetics.

Hence, we can conclude that the Yoginis in the miniature paintings of the medieval Deccan are mostly princess and other ladies from aristocratic royal families, who dressed up as Yoginis in close association with the Joginis of

Saivite sects as Saivism gained an upper hand. Several Jogis and Joginis seem to have wielded considerable influence and power in Medieval Deccan. Kings and other wealthy persons approached for their blessings, and they in turn performed several miracles, in order to command respect from the people and to create an identity in the society.

It is also interesting to note that the Yoginis of Saiva sects were included in the Mathnavis written by Muslim Sufi saints. This was mainly done because Sufis believed in the idea of spiritual love as the best way of reaching God. In their sense the Yogini or lover, who goes out in search of her beloved or whom she dreams or sees in a picture, in the allegorical sense meant the lover (soul) who moves around in search of the unknown beloved (the God) and hence considered Yogini as a guru, who leads an individual towards God.

The painters of the Deccani miniatures of the medieval era mostly selected these popular themes like Yoginis, Raginis etc from contemporary literature and depicted them as visual imageries and as living beings, mainly for the enjoyment of their wealthy patrons. Such an endeavor also resulted in uniformity between contemporary literature and visual representation of women, making the paintings authentic as well as interesting.

In totality these miniature paintings of Yoginis are reposeful and had special meditative calm, they had a background of wild intensity and colors with Deccani glow. These paintings represent the concept, which is a combination of both philosophical and societal aspect of women.

Few Yogini paintings depicted are heavily modelled. Their starring eyes and multi colored jewels have the electrifying intensity that can be associated mainly with Golconda. The portraits of Yoginis in the company of a lion and **other** animals and birds either standing or seated in a couchant position, indicates the association of Yoginis with wild beasts or suggests their supernatural powers to tame terrifying animals on one hand and their compassion for all living beings on other hand.

These paintings have a distinct quality of their own in the very **unconventional** composition, rich landscape, mysterious atmosphere, gem - like

coloring, lavish use of gold, profusion of large plants, flowering shrubs and sweeping rhythmic style and Deccani castles in the background.

On the whole these pictures of Yoginis in Medieval Deccani miniatures resemble an atmosphere of spirituality and romance in combination, where their lives and works constitute the supreme form of self-expression. They consciously departed from their actual life - styles for certain time till their goal was achieved. Feminine virtues of beauty, modesty and gentleness were reflected in these paintings of Yoginis who were respected by both upper and lower echelons of society.

Miniatures illustrating Yoginis indicates that any theme of art must be localized or analyzed so that the real — sense of art is achieved and the term by which it is designated are successfully applied. Such paintings also highlights that a symbolic element is always present in art forms as far as it is subjected to psychological interpretation.

Indeed this art of medieval times was far away from the representation of women as an objective reality towards the expression of subjective status of their feelings. In these endeavor it has become a wholly symbolic element with women portraits in conformity with cultural literate trends and hence these depiction of women as Yoginis derived justification for themselves as reality - themes and of feminine - realms.

References:

It was observed that such miniature paintings were produced for European travelers and merchants, apart from royalty.

Nigam M.L., *The Yoginis of the Deccani Miniatures*, Lalit Kala, No.23, New Delhi, 1988, p. 35.

³ Barrett Douglas, *Painting of the Deccan, XVIth - XVII th Century*, London 1958, pi - 7, p. 18. It was attributed to Golconda. Mark Zebrowski attributed it to the Bijapur School. But it has more Golconda characteristics of execution. It is in the collection of Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

⁴ Basil Gray, *Art of India and Pakistan*, ed, Sir Leigh Aston, London, 1950, p .174, No.808. He has assigned the paintings to 1600 AD and remarked that it belongs to a fully developed School but unusually eclectic, landscape being in the later Akbari style, while the large plants are Chinese. Stella Kramrisch has dated to 1575 AD on the basis of the dated calligraphy, mounted on the reverse of the leaf.

⁵ E.Hunt, *Old Hyderabad China*, Journal of the Archaeological Society of Hyderabad, January 1916 p. 16

⁶ Sha Rocco, *A Guide to Golconda Fort and Tombs*, Hyderabad, p . 15.

⁷ Moreland W.H, *Relations of Golconda*, London, 1930, p . 55.

⁸ Lalit Kala. No.5. April, 1959, p . XI.

⁹ Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, p. 182. It is in the collection of Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Poona. There are controversies among historians regarding its attribution. Few scholars like Karl Khandalavala remarked that this painting belonged to Bijapur Provenance.

¹⁰ Muhammed Ashraf, *Golconda*, Deccani Kalams, Marg (A magazine of Arts), Marg Publications, Vol.XVI, No. 2, Bombay, March, 1963, p. 41, where the author mentioned it under the title of Jogan.

¹¹ **Mark** Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting*, Roli Books International, New Delhi, 1983, pp .240-241. It is in the collection of Rietberg Museum, Zurich.

¹² Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*,

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981, p. 246. It is in the collection Johnson Album, 11, No. 1.

¹³ It is in the collection of Johnson Album 13, No. 14.

Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981, p. 509.

¹⁵ *Ibid*

Jagdish Mittal, *Islamic painting of the North and the Deccan*, Roopalekha, A Journal of the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, Vol. XXXVIII No. 1 and 2, p. 137. It is in the collection of State Museum Hyderabad.

¹⁷ Nigam M.L., *The Yoginis of the Deccani Miniatures*, Lalit Kala, No.23, New Delhi, 1988, p.35.

Ibid, The Jogatis worship the Goddess Yellamma, whose shrine is in Belgaun district. They are offered to the Goddess in marriage by their parents with a great deal of rejoicing.

¹⁹ Sherwani H.K and Joshi P.M, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. - I, 1973, pp. 212-213.

²⁰ Nigam M.L., *The Yoginis of the Deccani Miniatures*, Lalit Kala, No.23, New Delhi, 1988, p.37.

²¹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Master pieces of the Deccan Sultanates*, Marg, Vol.37, No.3. p. 6. The author remarked that the Deccani sufis were among those who used the vernacular language to preach their teaching of love and trust in God. At Bijapur they transformed the occupations

²² Karl Khandalvala, *Deccani Painting, A consideration of Mark Zebrowski*, *Deccani Painting*, Lalit Kala No.2, 1985, p. 39.

²³ Khara belonged to Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

An exploration of women's world and enquiry about their world remained as one of the impulses behind historical engagement. But at the most basic level of reconstructing women's history, certain problems arise about the discovery of sources and their proper interpretation. Though for the modern period compact compendium of vast sources on women throughout the world and across many cultures are available like journals, articles, pamphlets, biographies, diaries, directories, organization records, etc, while evaluating medieval period there is acute paucity of source material regarding women.

Moreover majority of the works on women's issues suffer from the single most drawback namely relying primarily on the dominant perception of the dominated where general history analysis has been masculine by definition, giving importance only to authority and influence. Because wars and materialistic history gained attention and the role of women has been neglected and underestimated.

In most historical records women were deprived of their basic *prerogative* to be recognized in their due capacity, but also their past was appropriated along with their psyche, by a crude imposition of the **roles** and notions in *which they* had no choice. One has to search among, *Vast* of these sources to locate *them* in the social, economic, religious, political and psychological immobile of changing histories. Hence a new methodology and frame work with a fresh approach to known material and available sources is essential to search for new meanings that could provide valuable new insights on women's history.

In such an endeavor we use miniature paintings for the analysis of women, as **a new historical available** source material, in order to narrate events and actions **of different women. This** is of immense significance **to over come the lack of material on women in medieval Deccan history.**

In this effort the present thesis, Representation of women in the miniature paintings in the Deccani School, highlights miniature paintings of Golconda School, Hyderabad School and regional Schools of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Wanaparthy and Gadwal. These miniatures are analyzed along with their thematic contents and their significant features chiefly in relation to the depiction and representation of women.

Miniature paintings in Medieval Deccani School illustrated women in various realms, which indeed helped in providing a framework for women's lives and their reflection in contemporary history and society. It indicates that new source material like art, indeed did not remain silent on the subject of women. Hence art and women were twined to look at historical assumptions about gender - dynamics. Here the female roles and activities were depicted not only with distinctive features, but were visible at many instances along with those of their male associates, however in subordinate relation

Moreover such an endeavor contributed to retrieve the 'lost', 'Stolen', 'concealed "or "buried." past of the womankind to perfect and justify the definition of the discipline of history, as the study of human past in its totality. This representation and identity of women through artistic mediation reflected the shifting trends of historical research and helped in locating meaning in textual and narrative structures. Because art - forms in particular as a new targets had an explicit framework of both gender inclusive and gender specific issues. An examination of women's history through paintings also contradicts the literary trends in which males were typically represented as stronger, more aggressive, dominant, active and in general more important than females, who were presented as weak, passive and dependent. In these texts male perspective is taken to identification of the culture, where as the female view was typically considered as peripheral to the norm or some how exceptional or idiosyncratic.

In other words in dominant study - centered view of culture, women were often described primarily in terms of their lack of male characteristics and relative to men. Under such circumstances, when we look at these artistic sources like paintings, biological determinants for gender differences are substantiated

and women were portrayed with asymmetrical relation to that of men against universal gender dichotomies.

In particular artistic reflections like miniature paintings granted a kind of diversity in historical source material and hence the hitherto and un-explored potency of these miniatures for historical evaluation of women was tapped. Because women are part and parcel of society and one cannot be non-challant about the vital connection between the intricate interplay of the depictions of art and paintings and actual portrayal of women in the period concerned.

Moreover, the female forms in Indian art would help to understand how femininity was constructed and depicted with different decorative designs and themes, according to certain laws or principles of the society. It will also present a clear and a responsible perspective regarding women in medieval times.

The present work was carried over on the basis of various primary and secondary sources, maintaining a close track of the existing contours of scholarship and literature in historical enquiry like published and unpublished documents and historical manuscripts in Persian, French, English, Urdu, and Telugu, which proved to be of immense use for the present research. Miniature paintings pertaining to Golconda and Hyderabad in these manuscripts apart from depicting usual male-dominated royal scenes, also represented the neglected sensual, private and historic feminine world, retaining the medieval geographical and archaeological environment with glowing Deccani colors. Various themes helped in understanding the evolution of art in medieval Deccan that set forth with a unilateral pattern of growth which was sustained and enriched by contemporary developments in other spheres of Deccan region.. Here artistic concern was not just with the prettiness, charm and sensuous beauty of the females but also with the aspects related to power, participation and strength of royalty as well as their artistic, aesthetic, spiritual and literary endeavors.

Besides these various accounts of foreign travelers and scholars of the times like, Tavernier, Thevenot, Careri, Fitch, Newberry, Ferishta, Manucci, **Methold and others**, who **referred** to the economic wealth, society and religious conditions of the Deccani states and their observations regarding the situation of medieval

Deccan, conducive to the growth of art were evaluated. They witnessed the glory of the Qutb Shahis and considered the kingdom as the jewel of the Deccan. They gave account of not only on the pageantry of the court, life of the kings but also brought acumen upon the socio-economic life of common people

As far as secondary sources are concerned, the entire existing literature on the subject has been consulted to the maximum possible extent with two main approaches. The first approach was predominated by Indian scholars and few foreign experts who looked at various conditions of medieval Deccan from 17th to 18th centuries. The second and final approach was exclusively related to all works of art, their style of presentation and in particular to miniature paintings of Golconda and Hyderabad.

One can pulse from these works that 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 a variety of miniatures with Persian, Turkish, Mughal, Vijayanagar, Rajput and European influences, which were thoroughly digested like depiction of gold sky, flowering shrubs, marbled decoration, plastic rendering of draperies, almond shaped eyes, triangular sharp edges of saris, tiny paintings of women, etc. Yet Deccani features like profuse use of gold, **unique** color combination of pink, blue, yellow, jewelry, Deccani landscape, etc can be perceived. With a different and individual flavor, they maintained distinctive **qualities** especially in their subject matter, pictorial approach and perspective with excellent illustrations, conglomerations of conventions, coupled with **quantity** of stylistic sensibility and thematic contents.

An analysis of portraits and a link between the socio - political and **cultural milieu** of the times disseminated the art knowledge and helped in removing several contradictions and anomalies regarding medieval Deccani art **and their existence**. A survey of historiographical trends clearly points out that if we **take up** the issue of women and their depiction in medieval Deccan history and art, much has to be explored.

Hence in the present endeavor, a chronological account of the development of art based on a neat division of themes covering the entire Span (C17th to 18th Century) was made to arrive at a comprehensive picture of women and to interpret the artistic manifestation within the historical context of medieval Deccan. Moreover apart from placing miniatures against various contexts, an attempt has also been made to trace the kind of atmosphere that led to the culture synthesis that was expressed to the medium of miniatures in the Deccan. This cultural history was analyzed amidst political, economic and social spheres and established vital linkages between the artistic representations of women and the situational realities that were prevalent in medieval Deccan.

The study also revealed that the tradition of miniature of paintings which the Turks or Muslims brought with them stemmed not so much from the nonnative forces of Islam itself, but also from a interaction of various factors like geography, climate, availability, historical settings, and mobilization of resources together with a continuous cross-fertilization of currents through migration of rulers, architects and craftsmen and mobility of migrants and pilgrims. Amidst the maze of kaleidoscopic description, painters attempted to build up various themes, each quite different from the other, highlighting the medieval Deccani political, geographical background and the stunning Deccani colors

The positive prevailing conditions in polity, economy and society of Golconda mainly from 17th to 18th centuries reveal that on political front new dynastic centre at Golconda got stabilized with economic progression and cultural interaction. This synthesizing blend of patronage system was instrumental to a great extent in the development of miniature paintings in the Deccan because it was this royal patronage, of Qutb Shahis, their interest in artistic pursuits, abundant economic wealth and the theme of Deccani culture, which remained the prime factors for the growth, progress and existence of miniature paintings.

The Golconda School displayed features like depiction of court scenes, depiction of royalty, their companions, nobility, courtiers, with different themes like music, dance nature, architecture, medicine etc. large scale human figures, use of new rich and dark colors like coral -red, purple and orange giving

delightful and attractive look to the paintings, illustration of natural beauty of mountains, trees, birds and animals, heavily shaded draperies, depiction of figures along with architectural settings or palaces in the background.

The survey of the stylistic development of these miniature paintings at Golconda disclosed that the paintings were sophisticated and cosmopolitan, with harder, flatter and more stylized designs. In several themes of fighting, hunting and other scenes of imperial pastimes, creativeness was set in motion. The themes containing the spontaneous beauty of natural history of animals birds, mountains, trees, flowers and fruits, were perfectly captured by the royal Golconda atelier consisting artists from all over India and Islamic world. This rendered Golconda miniature paintings to remain original and significant in Deccani art.

Though the miniature art diminished due to the decline of the kingdom, which catered to the demands of royalty, the styles in art, which for convenience, were named after the ruling dynasties of the period need not necessarily originate with the rulers nor degenerate when the dynasty ends. Due to several other means or possibilities like patronage given by Mughals, nobility etc., there was diffusion of art styles and welcome renewal of interest in pictorial material once again. In other words, albeit the quality suffered to some extent in the later miniatures of the Deccan, creativity continued with the reminiscent of the earlier glory.

In transitional phase from C1687-1724 AD, art continued with nobility as central power - structure. Many artists received patronage from their Noblemen who were cultured persons and had artistic pursuits. These feudatories after **breaking** ties with the central power at Golconda transformed into small **hereditary** kingdoms after the fall of Golconda. The artists readily invented styles deserving praise from their new masters, which in one way increased the prestige **and** the power of new independent authorities. With them a later chapter in Deccani painting started at Hyderabad, which developed into Hyderabad School of painting with its allied kalams of **Kurnool, Cuddapah, Shorapur, Gadwal and Wanaparthy principalities**

All these factors led to the continuity of Deccani tradition, even after the fall of Golconda kingdom. However in later works of miniature painting quality suffered to some extent, but creativity continued which maintained some of the charms of earlier Deccani culture. A great shift or change that took place was that, Deccani artists, patrons, noblemen, governors and princes turned away from portraiture to rediscover the beauty of women, escaping into an idealized world of princesses and courtesans. Most male portraiture from then on was dry and repetitive, but there was a tendency towards effects of mere prettiness in the re-discovered feminine world. This was the reason why comparatively lesser number of themes exclusively on royal sultans and other notables were painted in 18th century Deccani art when compared to Golconda paintings.

The transitional phase has exclusive features like depiction of nobility, attendants, huge butterflies, leisure life of nobility like smoking *huqqa* mlaid with brass flowers, illustration of staircase, gold carpets, sky in pink, orange and dark blue colors, bright green gardens, figures resting their hands on a pillow, figures with more gestures and movement and relaxation, more of private life of nobility. The paintings also incorporated several aspects of beautiful nature like depiction of birds like deer's, ducks, cranes, peacocks and other small cute lovely birds, illustration of different kinds of trees related to Deccani landscape, rolling monsoon clouds hills etc. Paintings with gold decorated green borders and a gray washed margin.

During this phase, the nobility displaying plenteous vitality gave stimulus to artistic advancement, which throws light mainly on the court culture, costumes of the time and color patterns. They mainly concentrated on relaxed atmosphere, environment with tropical lushness and typical Deccani costumes. In spite of their fewer numbers, the miniatures exhibited brilliant features of themes of the time, maintaining typically Deccani art characteristics.

With the establishment of Asaf Jahi kingdom from 1724 AD onwards once again a new School namely Hyderabad School of painting emerged with Deccani traits, where majority of themes concentrated on royalty and royal life, still though a cross section of common society was also portrayed with precision

underlying variations in lifestyles like pomp and glory and indicated the patronage which made the resources available. The constructive interest of rulers in artistic pursuits and their encouragement to artists and painters provided incentive to the development of miniature paintings in the Deccan.

In the hierarchy next to the rulers were Paigah nobles, who were very influential and faithful to Nizams. They promoted art, literature, sports and enjoyed great respect in society. The ministers namely Salar Jung and his successors and Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad who were symbols of nobility also gave encouragement to art, literature and patronized men of learning.

On economic front of Nizam's rule, the wealth can be seen in the piled up stacks of gold bricks, chests of diamonds and pearls and mountains of silver rupees. Wealth was spent in organizing social gatherings, in designing the architectural styles and in aesthetic and moral resurgence by way of patronizing poets and artists. This provided the necessary incentive for the promotion and development of the art of miniature painting. For instance one can perceive abundance of wealth in the lavish use of gold jewelry, gold brocades worn by both men and women and also in the utensils and furniture illustrated in the paintings

As a result of coexistence of diverse cultures, languages, and traditions, a delightful blend of culture enriched Hyderabad society, which came to be known as Hyderabad culture. In religious sphere, Nizams from the beginning laid the foundation of a secular society This religious synthesis of Hindu and Iranian Islamic cultures can also be seen in art and architectural aspects like depiction of cultural themes in paintings and construction of blend of Indo-Islamic architectural styles making Hyderabad tradition rich and unique.

The regional Schools throw light on local Muslim Nawabs and Hindu rulers' independent approach and outlook in political and artistic spheres

Significantly art became a status symbol and we find an inexplicit congruence among the psyche of the Deccani's regarding the need to have a firm belief in the cultural integration and a kind of determination to sustain the cultural synthesis for long. This process was also facilitated by the diverse activities in various

spheres, which resulted in an inflow and outflow of different categories of people such as ambassadors, mendicants, traders, poets and mainly artists who worked with local talents. This resulted in new styles and new symbolism in art... Such synthesis can be perceived in miniature paintings which indicate that culture as a concept led to a situation in which artistic patterns and multi-faceted improvement of human entity can be achieved.

The Hyderabad - School displayed depiction of royalty with nobility and courtiers, musical aspects like listening to music, hunting scenes, marble terrace outside a building, figures depicted in a pavilion or courtyard garden, golden and red wooden balconies and light brown doors, terraces covered with cushions or flowered carpets of yellow, green, red or mauve color, depiction of flower pots of blue and white, china - ware, small conical trees, tangled clouds, colorful birds flying across, long plain flowing muslin *jamias*, pearl - chains., etc.

The investigation of Hyderabad and regional Schools divulges that the art of miniature painting prospered for much longer time with artistic excellence and multiplicity of styles. Besides the looks of rulers, nobles, their manners and costumes which enabled to know court customs, themes on nature and music also received impetus. All these themes were immensely lively and convincingly individualized. Two main traditions developed within Hyderabad School. While some artists leaned towards the depiction of Islamic arabesque and garden setting in their portrayals, others endeavored to use idealized human being as a means of expression in these themes.

In other words some artists gave more importance to living beings than non - living things. Later these two traditions merged to produce a complete picture comprising of human forms along with the architecture and landscape in which **they** lived and functioned. The artists highlighted in their work, the features like dramatic element, breezy quality and naturalistic tendencies. The colors like pale blue, pink and green are charming and fascinating.

More importantly the historical and critical evaluation of women in miniature **art** indeed opened up new vistas in interpretations. For instance the various **miniature paintings** on women around themes of royalty, themes of royal court

and palace life, themes on Raginis, themes on Yoginis, themes on Courtesans, themes on maidens, themes on ordinary women, themes on Music, Dance, Poetry, Medicine and Nature, Aesthetic, Spiritual, Festival and European themes. These thematic contents decimated knowledge of prevalent cultural traditions through their subject portrayals. The most important aspect is that apart from highlighting art history, they gave scintillating picture of lifestyle and active role of women in various realms of that age.

The study provided interesting details of how they depicted the lives of women in socio - historical context of times. The life of Royal and Ordinary women, their dress - patterns or textiles, ornamental - designing in miniature paintings of the Medieval period are best sources of knowledge.

In Golconda School of miniatures, some of the important features that are found are depiction of court scenes in large numbers, dancing scenes, portrayals of courtesans. European models, pictures of ordinary women, etc. The specialty of the miniatures was that, women in various spheres like royalty (royal ladies), royal work (maidens) royal past times (courtesans), royal art (dances and musicians) and day to day living (ordinary women) were portrayed.

In few paintings, royal personages as well as Ordinary women were shown wearing beautiful red colored *chakdar jama*, jacket with *lahanga and dandiay*. While wealthy wore other type of garments made with gold or *zari*, the Ordinary could not afford them. Women were generally depicted wearing *zari* apron or veil cloth both ends falling over both shoulders with floral designed long *pyjamas*. Altogether miniature paintings represented beautiful floral, leaf and creeper designs in printed, painted and embroidered types in dress - trend, which was generally a culmination of Hindu and Muslim dressed patterns.

The secular attitude and the close relationship of the kingdom with that of Hindu Vijayanagar Empire also led to the fusion of cultures. Particularly in the dress styles of women like the sari of twelve cubits covering a bodice with sleeves coming up to the elbows was generally depicted with borders of varying width of gold and silver embroidery. Miniature paintings of the time depicted all these textile-features with rich coloring, elaborate designing and pleasant look.

Regarding jewelry patterns both Hindu and Muslim took pride and felt it as a matter of great privilege in wearing a variety of ornaments in gold, silver and other precious stones. Mainly Qutb Shahis territories had nearly twenty-eight sites of diamond mines enabling them to use them for ornamentation. Even miniature paintings revealed this wealth of jewelry and their variety by depicting and decorating them along with women portraits.

The ornaments that were generally used and illustrated in paintings were, *Kantlwnal*, *Kangan*, *Glazari*, *Goshpera*, etc. Hence due to the importance given to jewelry in Qutb Shahi times, royalty gave patronage to skilled craftsmen to produce excellent jewelry and even miniaturists recognizing their significance depicted variety of ornaments in their illustrations particularly related to women of Golconda.

These miniatures on women with various themes and styles had a peculiar charm in their colors, rhythmic vitality and in the depiction of beautiful features of women. They conveyed a convincing image of royal magnificence of the Royal women. The pictures of Harem scenes and courtesans indicated that they were part of elite structure. Miniatures also signified the luxury and pleasure of royalty at royal court and palace. They remained as wealth of artistic sensibility and technical professionalism in history of painting while depicting women.

The paintings on music and dance signified the interrelationship between cultural and arts. Actual dance programs performed at Golconda royal courts became the subject themes on which numerous paintings were based. It was noted that the demonstration of performing dancers and other artists, became popular subjects in the visual arts through Indian cultural history. Dancers of the Golconda court were commonly shown as ladies of the court entertaining the ruler, his personal and chief guests. They were usually depicted individually as well as frequently with idealized Princess or court ladies, whose presence added charm and elegance to the paintings. Few scenes reflected accurately the role of female musicians at Deccani court and at rural amusements. Individual portraits of these artists indicate their importance and usual honor given to them by the **Sultan** and the artists of the time. This depiction of artists also indicates that the

royalty appreciated music and dance and their inclination towards painting, combined their artistic interest by commissioning portraits of themselves with artists at concerts. This deep personal communication of cultured patrons was a unique theme in the field of miniature painting of Deccan.

A due cognizance should be taken of fact that we find few European themes like Madonna, Virgin Mary, etc, also being depicted in miniatures. In some pictures, the ideal form of courtly beauties and the personification of the forces of nature were expressed systematically. Youthful and pretty women highlighting the sensuality and beauty were depicted as related to experiences of love and emotions. These images of women with delicate hand gestures, lightness in walking are based on balance and moderation. The women, which artists created, were strictly conventionalized to show that their appeal transcended human experience and the aesthetic relationship of art to human emotions.

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Few representations of women vis-a-vis men indicated the theme of Nayaka - Nayaki trend that was a favorite subject among the scholars and the people. Naturally its pictorial representation became the fashion of the time. Another striking feature is that in most of the pictures the duties or functions of the attendants and maidens who formed a part of royal retinue and who performed various tasks are portrayed along with the royalty, but one cannot see any class difference in the depiction of the two.

Among the themes, Yogini paintings are were also illustrated. Here the term Yogini is not related or confined to any particular devotional belief, but was simply one of the methods accepted for fulfilling the desire of women, which is more worldly than spiritual in nature. Yoginis were royal ladies who in garb of an ascetic or in close association with Saivite Joginis of the time went in search of their beloved. Here the concept of Yogini indicates a discipline and *dhyana* or concentration for achieving their goal through philosophical knowledge. This life of royal Yoginis, became the theme for Indian miniaturist, who portrayed them in dignified, meditative, saintly and traditional realms. This artistic evidence, throws light not only on the religious history, mainly existence of

Joginis and Saivite sect in Medieval Deccan, but also the activities of majestic ladies. The Yogini miniatures indicated that these paintings indeed reflect regional, ideological concepts, which were conceptualized, formed, shaped and reared by symbolizing women along with the Islamic patronage given to these paintings.

During transitional phase miniatures depicted Royal women and maidens dressed both in Hindu and Muslim styles, at their royal and private houses. They reflected the life led by Princess at her royal court in leisure and maidens engaged in their royal service as they were depicted holding *morchhal*, fan, *chauri*, decorating, etc. Features like, individual portraits of women with natural beauty of trees and flowers as background, pictures of women standing alone, listening to music on a white marbled terrace covered with carpets, women with nobility smoking *huqqa*, languishing on terrace with maidens, women with languorous eyes, dusky complexions, harem scenes and scenes with dramatic - element are perceived.

In few paintings animals like cat was depicted sitting near the Princess, another popular feature of Deccani painting indicating the compassion and delicacy of Royal women. The idealized beauty, gentle eroticism and lyrical feeling marked the main features of this period of miniature paintings on women. Different kinds of other animals like, cows, cranes, swans, etc, were also depicted in the background in majority of paintings and were placed at different parts of the scenes indicating their real locations. This combination of women with compassionate animals in one way represents women's soft character and love towards other natural creatures.

The dressing patterns like *pyjama*, skirt and veil of both royal lady and the maidens are typical features of Deccani miniature painting. The paintings also illustrated various utensils, cushions and carpets that were generally used by royalty. Gilt - decorated borders and gilt - sprinkled blue outer margin and colors like vibrant white, green, pink, strong greens, glowing reds, a dark blue and gold can be perceived in the miniatures which added beauty to the grace of women pictures.

Music, which remained as one of the favorite pastimes of nobility, was even depicted in miniature paintings of the time with rhythmic sensibility. The palette, the depiction of women with excessively long eyes and the distinctive foliage composed of tiny dabs of bright color arranged in circles were identical to conventions in 17th and 18th Century Bikaner painting. The artists working at Hyderabad must have been influenced by the Rajputs style of miniature painting and must have illustrated it to please their patrons like depiction of large eyes of women. Still the textiles, ornaments and architectural settings and placement of different objects depicted within the palace were Deccani features. Few pictures illustrated three strata of women together like ladies of noblemen, maidens serving them and female artists entertaining the noble ladies. Differentiation in rank and status was clearly visible in such miniatures.

Religious themes of merit were also executed like women greeting a holy man in a formalized landscape with a pink background and blue border, two Hindu women visiting a saint in the mountain, who holds *rudraksha mala* (a spiritual chain) in his hands. Paintings like Common women carrying water from the well as if returning to their houses were also depicted which reflected day to day living of women of the times and even illustrated different kinds of textiles and decoration of Ordinary women, who too appeared beautiful and well-dressed and symbolized both Hindu and Muslim women. Mughal influence like rigid poses and meticulous technique was related to Mughal domination and to the Mughal artists working with their patrons in the Deccan. In most of these miniatures paintings although the energy and humanism of 17th Century was absent to large extent, they however retained lyrical quality and gripping severity.

The Hyderabad School of paintings had distinctive characteristics like, depiction of deities and Raginis in large numbers, women with Maharastrian type of saris, women sitting on chair, listening to music played by female artists, hunting, women in conversation themes, aesthetic, decoration and spiritual themes and themes of mother and child. An insight into the miniature paintings

of this School also throw light on varied themes related to women like Queens of regal elegance, beautiful Princesses, capable maidens and talented artists.

In many paintings of women fine arrangement of figure groups, their easy and fixed postures, ethnic type dresses, the typical Deccani background and the often used poppy flower-beds in the foreground of the painting displayed a peculiar model of contemporary Hyderabad Deccani life-style and structure of the royal atmosphere. Among the themes depicted, court scenes and *Zenana* scenes in which ladies were drinking, smoking *huqqa*, playing with pigeons, listening to music on a terrace or playing with children prevailed. Girls playing yo-yo or a duenna escorting a beautiful damsel were other popular themes.

When compared to earlier Schools of Deccani painting, the significance attached to women in Hyderabad School was intensive and actually was symbolic of the easy going and pleasure loving Deccani people. The painters illustrated such themes more than hunting or war scenes for their patrons to provide visual pleasure.

One peculiar feature of Hyderabad School was that the figures were generally set in profile against a flat background in pale green or pallid blue color with perfect complexions of the characters depicted with perfect execution of line and figuring. In most of the miniatures of the women, the costumes, jewelry and personages depicted remained Islamic in nature since the patrons Nizams and other notables were of Islamic origin. But few paintings illustrated by Hindu officials mainly at sub-Schools depicted Hindu women and themes related to Hindu-culture. Portraits related with European women residents and subjects were also illustrated with European outlook, which politically signify their stay at Hyderabad or semi independence of Nizams under European domination. This shows that few paintings had European influence in matter of detail and depiction when compared to early Schools, which indicates that the artists were more influenced by the Mughal and Rajput trends rather than European styles. European influence became much more marked only after 1800 AD.

The women figures were illustrated usually on a terrace outside a building or with a pavilion or in a courtyard-garden in the background of which variety of

Deccani-natured trees like mango, plumera, champa, coconut, palm, etc can be perceived. In many paintings a small decorative tree with conical leaves in light green or gold color was depicted. These suggest a sense of massiveness and add a breezy quality to the atmosphere. The terrace or the architecture occupied the central portion. They were depicted with flowerbeds and fountains where ducks played in front of them. Sometimes small cypresses were illustrated in the flowerbeds along with poppies mainly white or yellow colored round flowers with pearl like petals and dots. This natural beauty with women's sensuality illustrated gives additional glow to the paintings of women in particular.

Women figures were generally well built, tall and beautiful. They generally had a backward sloping forehead and young smiling face with sharp features. Their faces were shown in profile, but at times were shown in front. Their long, wavy and black hair was brushed back and felled to the shoulders in loose curls in most of the paintings.

Most importantly the crux of Hyderabad was themes illustrating Ragini paintings or women symbolizing musical modes. They made the tradition of depicting Ragamalas to have greater intelligibility, warmer appeal and more universal communication than abstract art. In one way though Ragamalas may not be perfect visualization of music yet they explored the possibilities of emotional expression. This was simultaneous with assimilation of musical modes for expressing in a new way, the feelings of women in love and other traditional perceptions. They enabled to understand and appreciate the intimate relation existing between the *Nayika* and *Nayakas* and between nature, music and women. Ragas like *Malhar*, *Asavari*, *Kalyani* etc. were visualized as charming ladies with different complexions and colorful garments. In these Ragini miniatures, the inter-relation of notes with color on one hand and emotional expression on the other hand illustrating women made possible the graphic representation of Ragas through poem - pictures and natural sceneries. Each raga **here** centered around one particular trend that it developed, explained, **elaborated and exalted** and was finally painted.

The standard Ragamala with thirty six - paintings depicted possible relationships and psychological feelings of women categorized according to the emotional potential of different times of day like dawn or sunset or seasons of the year like pre - monsoon or rainy season. They were depicted with a background of wild jungle plants, whose rich birds and blossoms are emblems of divine creativity. Here nature is used to intensify the human situations and in totality remained as India feminine modes of music expressing emotional themes. These paintings proved that arts influence one another and intermingle as a result of their natural evolution.

The jewelry depicted in most of the paintings of Hyderabad School was rich and consisted mainly of ornaments like *kanthi* , *pachladi*, *satladi*, etc. Armlets worked with gold and red between double rows of pearls, wristlets of eight fold pearl stings or gold bangles between two rows of pearls and double pearl or gold anklets. Ruby and emerald drops, gold earrings with pearls in the ear and gold rings with pearls, rubies and emeralds are other ornaments depicted in paintings. All together both Royal and Ordinary women were depicted wearing different kinds of silver, gold and other ornaments made of precious stones and pearls, which indicates that use of jewelry was the order of the day. All women wheather princess, attendants, musicians, singers or dancers wore these ornaments.

In dress-trend, women generally wore a transparent white, red, yellow, blue, green or mauve color '*peshwaj*' dress over a long *choli* and tight trousers with plain or flowered material. *Duppattas* too were transparent and covered the front and fell on the back or crossed in front along the two stringed pearl chains reaching the back. This mode of wearing the *duppatta* is known as *khada-duppatta* and is a peculiarity of the medieval Deccan.. In several miniatures there was a swing and sweeping movement of *duppattas*. This tendency is also another important characteristic feature of Deccani painting of Hyderabad. Hence keeping in view of Hyderabad composite culture in which Royal and Ordinary women used gem and jewelry of exquisite designs and types, the miniaturists of the time depicted extensive jewelry mainly in relation to the themes on women in

their paintings, which indicates that women and jewelry which remained as two sides of a coin from historical times, received much importance not only in cultural history of Nizams but also in artistic history of the times. .

The regional Schools depicted themes with folk - idioms and spiritual - contents which are symbolically conceived like depiction of lord Krishna with Gopikas and depiction of God and Goddess like Vishnu, Shiva, Ganesha, Durga etc. The colors like yellow, reds and green leap out with astonishing vibrancy. It indicates that from the beginning of 18th Century art activity seems to have continued within and outside Nizam Shahi territories in diverse forms, where incidental motifs of a costume, trees or rocks within the broad pictorial parameters were imitated. The eclectic character of these emergent kalams represented the resilience of the imperial patronage in recognificance and diversity of regional Schools, where regional identities or themes got reflected. The glances of the female figures and their stretched bodies seem to demonstrate the tension of a godlike energy.

Such pictorial evidence provided a kaleidoscopic picture of women in various spheres of their functioning, decoration, engagements and activities. Various themes portrayed reflect the fact that, among arts, painting cleanses the mind, curbs anxiety, augments future good and causes the greatest delight. Since miniatures in a concrete form became social objects and are subject to the laws and principles of the society to which they belong, they cannot be looked at or experienced exclusively as objects of aesthetic pleasure or beauty alone, isolated from social environs. In turn they are something useful as well as beautiful. The question of this connection to social life and requirement has always been a vital issue, because art is not an exclusive cult of chosen few, but an intelligent rigorous discipline distinguished from other ordinary human activity

The traditions, beliefs and practices together with social attitudes and aptitudes of persons belonging to particular region or society also played a significant role in deciding its styles and techniques, which on other hand are essential for both religious and secular purposes and more for social and individual enjoyment, pleasure and recreation. It is not just a physical substance

but in reality transcendental in sense indicating the grace, emotions and feelings of society, in which they were produced and executed.

In general when compared to the painting of the west which is an art of mass, the painting of the east remained an art of line, where art forms like paintings interpreted and expressed form through a clear cut theme of illustrations, which preceded ideas and are depicted by colors, lines and figures giving us insights about aspects of the time.

Similarly the intrinsic character or dynamic activity represented in miniature paintings also had their own references to the life and nature they depicted. In reality they are needed for the employment of skill and vision to reconstruct and reorganize the observed facts and situations of life and nature and their interactions. They are also essential for concentrated attention, intrinsic perception and appreciation of aesthetic principles. They generated some interest in the relatively neglected areas of art in relationship to social phenomena, thus leading to the growth of historical research and in marshalling historical facts by interpreting them in terms of meaningful questions.

Above all the importance of the miniature paintings in the art history of the Deccan can be gleaned from the fact that they were patronized by the very sultanates of the Deccan kingdoms and the tradition of patronizing them continued even after the extinction of the kingdoms, especially under the Nobles, lesser notables and officials. They produced a new situation in medieval Deccani art being most astounding conservators of human creativity.

These Deccani artifacts being the chance survivors of an extinct culture never the less transmitted to us the ideas, habits and tastes of their makers and possessors. One could feel the ideal physical type of medieval Deccani atmosphere of Qutb Shahis and Nizams, which these pieces mirror. The precise study of their material culture or artistic endeavor gave us an account chiaroscuro effects also.

The painters in most paintings lavished special care to render the undulating waves of features, to give it the quality of dynamism, which is the essential source or field of creation. To the maxim they tried to reflect the contemporary

magnanimous life of the elite structure. The narrative scenes, the grandeur and humanistic values were expressed by figure grouping and gesture, supported by the choice of earthy colors and the broad, generous rhythms of the compositions. Every aspect of life was incorporated into a known hierarchy of values in the physical, psychological and metaphysical realms. In this ordered body of values, each miniature painting, with its own particular function was placed in accordance with a superexcellent norm.

The critical aspect of the miniature paintings of the Deccan brought to light that very scant attention was paid to record or depict events realistically which is testified by the difficulty in differentiating between portrayals of the real Princes and idealized symbols of Regality. It also appears that very few histories or historical events were commissioned as the Sultans were not passionate recorders or lacked temperament for documentation. Although the miniatures spoke of a flourishing civilization with distinctive aesthetic and cultural values, yet due to the paucity of such paintings, it is hard to understand the contemporary values, language and expression. Moreover, these paintings in general were not an art of the people at large but of its patrons belonging to the aristocratic roots of the medieval kingdom.

However, while acknowledging the fact that the analysis of the miniatures as a tool for historical research is subjected to certain criticism mainly presenting only the point of view of royalty. However one cannot escape the inescapable inevitability of accepting that despite its problems, the miniature had a special purpose and significance for a researcher of historical process.

In historical sense, the miniature paintings acquired full worth as historical documents, since they reflected various facets of contemporary life. They often provided true records of the lifestyle of the times in politico, socio-cultural spheres. Working even in minutest forms, these miniatures of Golconda and Hyderabad Schools have captured the spirit and mood of the subject matter in minutest details like the royal splendor of the sultans and the princesses, the romance and the passion of the lovers, the elegance of the court, etc.

The medieval artists tried to paint to life, bringing out not only the physical features and personal appearance, but also even the personality of each subject like their expressions, feelings and activities. Since history consists of individuals acting according to their different characters and motives, the portraits of these historical figures must be recognized as being an important source in their own right.

Moreover the miniature paintings played a significant role in evolving the cultural identity of the region and its people and also the diverse form of activities and institutions in the region. In other words, they gave the Deccani region a cultural identity and endowed it with an all-round regional stability and maturity. They highlight that the medieval Deccani kingdoms are not only noted for their cultural history, political winnings but also for their pictorial heritage. The most striking feature of miniatures was that, artistic concern remained not just with the beauty and grace of the females, but also highlighted the other aspects like their feelings, engagements and talents. The female figures had sharp figures with curvaceous line. In few paintings like new themes were introduced like women hunting, sitting on chair etc where insight was totally innovative. Depiction of Ordinary women and European ladies was up to reality and was pleasant in perceiving. The artists created starkling powerful shapes and strong decorative patterns keeping in view of the cultural systems of the time.

Though a critical aspect reveals that most of the portraits depicted uneven quality in their draughtmanship, which are marked by heavy shading, dull in perspective and with wavy contours, there was lot of difference in the quality of the pictures owing to the fact that large and wide sources of influences were available to the Deccan painters, which created a bewildering multiplicity in details of drawing and coloring. For instance few paintings in the representation of the nature, architecture and pot - pourri, peculiarities of these paintings can be associated with the Deccani paintings of all kinds. However in themes and way of presentation and qualitative depiction of personages, Deccan School had its own way of representative style remaining within the groove of the main current of artistic trends.

All these miniatures remained as part of cultured aroma of new confrontations and enabled to rediscover a new feminine world. They reflected the tradition of depiction of women in art forms of India and in totality reflected art - culture of women in medieval Deccan history and of natural forms feminine beauty with Deccani styles and women in various realms of Royal - structure, servile - form, and Ordinary - strata of medieval era,

The paintings depicted by different artists included women of different status, the distinguishing features marked in their fashions and locations. Most of the illustrations were painted to life bringing out not only physical features and appearance but even the characters and feelings of women in that specific context, which makes it clear that women's representation in Golconda and Hyderabad Schools are not just chance portraits but appears that painters had studied the characters and day - to - realities of both sections at depth and hence the depictions looked so individualized as actual portraits. In other words naturalism was achieved to a great extent and gave the real feeling of the themes depicted. The miniature also dealt extensively with the iconography, composition and picturization of various scenes with which women were associated like palace life, hunting, hawking, listening or playing music, dancing, worshiping and other daily engagements, displaying their elegance, beauty, capacity, talent, and spirituality.

These magnificent themes, gives a glimpse of feminine world depicted in paintings. They gave pictorial account of both individualistic element or episodic lives of women as well as group scenes, which have great significance. They dealt with female beauty where figures appeared delicate and tendered and faces that were charming and beaming. The female faces drawn in profile were striking and represented different dispositions of women. These pictures portrayed women in relaxed graceful poses, which denotes great freedom as well as feminine serenity. They gave the message of feminine tender, prettiness and elegance with garmented designs and decorative elements. In totality **they** reflected the **culture and art** of medieval times on which women were involved **or associated with.**

An attentive study of these works of art also reveal about the techniques and persons who created them. The visual system essentially oriented to the human image is almost invariably foregrounded pronouncing community, cultural and regional trades. These can be analyzed through costumes or ornaments where every motif of pattern, mode of wearing or material used denotes a specific period, place and culture. Knotting, tying or wrapping of the upper and the lower bodices, conditioning posture and movements could indicate specific communities and locales.

Here one miniature was not usually the work of a single artist. Generally while the composition was conceived and drawn by a master painter, the colors were applied by other junior members, one of whom executed the costumes, another faces and a third the details of jewelry, weapons and other furnishings. A single model was often used for several copies. They were executed from the sketch kept by the master draughtsman and on which the instructions for the color were noted. These sketches were very highly priced and carefully preserved by their creators, who handed them over to their descendents as family heirlooms.

Few paintings were inscribed with a title or even a poem, which rendered a verbal interpretation of the themes more or less closely related to the painted version. Pictures gave bliss and reflected beauty for which these paintings really stand living under the spell of time, space and causation. They with artistic grace were executed with new vigor and spirit throughout the 17 and 18 centuries.

In contrary to music or literature, which appeals more to be senses and liberates the passions, but cannot take tangible form, paintings dealt with specific concrete works and forms that had an existence of their own. Here symbol of emotional aliveness where the boundary between high and low art became blurred.

The royal paintings were powerful and sophisticated made for an epicurean elitist taste with considerable technical expertise, expressive originality, **subtlety** of color and **spirited** landscape. They depicted possible relationships categorized according to the emotional potential of different situations. The sense of court

was petrified by opulence. Darbar scenes were enlivened by artist's ability to make active and energetic patterns from the textiles or the architecture. Portraits remained convincingly individualized and exaggeratedly generalized and immensely lively.

Few paintings like procession scenes representing women remained as celebrations of worldly pomp, asserting the opulence and wealth of the court. Their stylistic primitivism, coupled with the quantity of people and material objects suggested that work was as much a declaration of wealth as a fulfillment of artistic sensibility. In these paintings the time, colors, season, hours and virtues were so blended together as to create a composite production. Here painters belonged to different traditions. However they were not traversal and were re-rooting retaining a strong regional base. Sometimes in depiction a series of changes underwent according, to contemporary prototypes of rulers and chieftains possible according to the changing perception of the patron community and ruling elite. Artistic enterprise itself remained highly stratified in accordance with the prestige granted the type of activity. However changes were more discernible in the secondary rather than principle figures including motifs where descriptions, iconographic etc, changed. Altogether technologies, ideologies, cultural system, above all splendid patronage affected miniature art, where changes in any of these variables modified its artistic culture and gave rise to new variants of them

Among entertainments, paintings portrayed different kinds like dance, music, hunting which was a favorite source of recreation of the ruling class. In many paintings hunting by hawks was commonly depicted. The practice of hunting was also prevalent among women mainly princess during the 18th century as evident from few paintings. This depiction or use of horse, elephants, and camels indicates the aristocratic mounted travel. Europeans provided a ready **market** for these paintings hence many pictures of European subjects, reminiscent of some of European themes were painted at the beginning of 17th **Century. Later after Mughal** conquest of Golconda, artists from **Bijapur and Golconda left their** places of work to find patronage with the smaller sub states

of the region, resulting in large number of miniatures at many places having identifiable Deccani characteristics. In 18th Century much of these dispersed tradition re assembled at Hyderabad.

In addition the arts represented one possible way of testing human significance of various aspects of the message of a religion or a secular ideology. On other hand for the arts like paintings a complete separation from a religion or secular ideology means relevance from the obligation to serve a tradition regarded as superior to an itself and from its various efforts at social control over artistic expression. It also means the loss of a type of patronage that has historically been more continuously interested in the arts and that has tended to exhibit more concern for the aesthetic merit of art.

Structures were based on improvisatory perceptions of functional anatomy with characteristic rhythm of movement. Where often their body languages acquired a more formed delineation through their articulation in dance and the performative modes. Sedentary habits or agility, sense of pride or servitude were illustrated through a theatric hyperbole and pictographic abbreviations, with excessive girth, recumbent positions mercurial movements or drooping or genuflecting body - forms. Periodic repainting or remaking formed part of their basic raison d'être. They used ingredients and chemistry common to the techniques of paintings and left their impact on visual sensibility. Here artists being the formulators of the pictures were in a position to choose and articulate and even effect changes in the representation of traditionally transmitted imagery. They indeed made changes because of the Psycho - social mediation of the times they belong to.

Depictions alternated from being assertive to ambiguous or even cosmic at times possibly according to the changing perceptions of the patron commonly vis-a-vis the ruling elite. During Golconda phase while royalty was depicted seated on throne, during transitional phase and later phase, they were depicted at seated on a terrace or on a cushion indicating the simple life style or decline of political authority.

Similarly women figures that were depicted within royal courts at Golconda School, in later years were depicted in aloofness with sensitive and individual figures, highlighting more of sensual features of women rather than figure - grouping. These must be either the result of patron's perceptions to view such figures or artists taste to depict such scenes

Another significant aspect observed was that there existed a relationship between these technological aspects and patronage given. While Golconda School of patronage, which was comparatively stronger than transitional phase, produced paintings with better quality of paper, pigments and palette, latter phase reflected dull imageries. Different themes representing hunting, royalty, domestic dwelling, allegories, nature, were portrayed with innate realism, with shining colors, milky marble architectural settings, flowing waters and Deccani landscape of heat, air and humidity. To this category also belonged women figures which were portrayed and we have figures like women smoking *hnqqa*, drinking cup of wine etc.

Paintings throw light on certain social customs like worship, festivals, smoking of *huqqah* and drinking wine both by men and women. Though we have depiction of royal ladies and other ladies of court smoking *huqqah*, or drinking, incidentally we do not find any painting of drinking regarding the women of lower society.

This analysis of women through art on the whole focused on the possible material manifestation of various dimensions of women by interpreting art depictions. This line of approach ultimately could lead to major theoretical contributions explaining the emergence and development of women's history as observed through time and across space. To put women back in their proper place is not nearly to fill a long-standing gap and thus complete the sum, restoring its balance to the whole. But, it is to discover a new dimension of the historical object, perceptible only when approached from a particular intellectual angle. Here representation stands satisfactory as form and contributes to the general abstract design and can be said to be a matter aesthetically. Paintings

remained representations of expressions, feelings, lifestyles, things and situations of women

A critical part of the study also reveals that, most of the miniature paintings on women were structured specifically for a male viewers gaze. The female figures and their structure of looking and longing with a variety of significances are manifestations of the male viewer or patron, the connoisseur and the painter.

Paintings were defined by the presence of women and are infiltrated with feminist concerns. The female beauty whether she is sitting, playing music, writing, gazing in a mirror, holding a flower, or smoking *huqqah* remained as a compelling object of desire for male gaze. The thematic structure of these paintings articulated through the actions and gestures of the women provided insight into different modes of spectatorship. In few paintings where women were depicted in aloofness on terrace or in a garden gave a feeling of outside world of the palace, a place for escape and illicit embraces. In few paintings of royal women with maidens or *sakhi*, maidens play out a scenario unique to painting by unveiling her mistress for her lover's eye. There by decorating her in one sense display her to her male admirer. By serving her and gazing upon her, they turn the mistress into an object to be attended reverentially and passion by men.

In few other paintings maidens tried to shield the royal women's nudity from prying male eyes with a cloth which in one way indicates an object which is something to be looked at. The male eye looked at the female's beauty with desire and for aesthetic enjoyment and fulfillment. Whether visible or invisible like male peering at women from a window or doors, in few paintings the cloth that conceals or reveals the women's known beauty, male view was everywhere implied in these paintings. However the cloth provides dubious protection since though it conceals the women from the peering, it reveals her to the viewers. It lets him see what her lover longs to see implicating the viewer in the lovers desire for the women and her physical aspects like her nude breasts, long legs, sensuous smile and her entire body illustrated as twisted perfectly with seductive exposure.

Female viewer may find several places where her own interest and activities intersect with the themes of the paintings of these paintings. Her image remained as a symbol of womanly perfection to be emulated, to the connoisseur, women pictures embodied the aesthetic experience and its structures of longing. The paintings on women remained as sum total of artist's visual rhetoric. The brilliant looks of the female figures, their natural gestures, sinuous lines of their postures, black hair, and glowing colors of their *jama*, veil, and bodice gave completeness to painting turning it into a perfect picture, where grace of women was revealed through these paintings.

Maidens by decorating or adorning their mistress act out the process of objectification. In one way beautiful women were made up by their beautiful maidens. It is important to note here that not the woman but her beauty which was venerated in these paintings. Hence whether it was maiden, courtesan or a royal lady all were made up sensual, delicate and touchy. The principal figures face, hair, body were less different from those of women around her. The main differences were only seen in their placement, work involved, number of jewels and clothing style.

These paintings were mainly done for royal feast of their eyes. The themes of stolen glances, attractive poses, cosmetic adornment, expressive outlook, teasing concealment and illicit revealment were extremely potent for men in a court culture. Such features were painted accordingly to patron's desire and fulfillment. The faces of women were often the most characteristic feature of the painting style evolved in these courts. Their sharp profile and large eyes, perfect expressions of faces, platted smooth hair, and gentle smile, sweet delicacy of body are most recognizable features of women of Deccani style with fetishizing structures that exalted not just the beauty of women but also beauty of Deccan School.

Structures of desire elicit from female viewers in the court *zenana* /onging for beauty or power as well as sexual desire. In one way these paintings open up for women a place for interventions in the male construction of femininity even while appearing to depict them as the passive recipients or objects of male desire. The

royal ladies would have compared themselves with these portraits of women figures and must have enjoyed loving sensuous female portraits.

A persistent theme in the artistic history is the sensuous female figure often provocatively depicted. An exploration of women in art indicated that men look at women and women watch themselves being looked at. Such paintings were enjoyed by the patrons for their own pleasure. The beholders of such pictures were presumed to be male. Here looking is of course an act that involved a power relation ship and it is patrons who commissioned the paintings who looked at them and women who looked at these miniatures generally were those within this power structure.

Regional artistic achievements, with political identities even were conflated with the delicate sensual figures of women. The visual rhetoric of female paintings builds the principle figure into an object for the eye satisfying in itself. Here the women as an object exist solely to be looked at and this perfectly suited the aesthetic pursuit of sensual pleasure in which material world became the connoisseur. In one sense few images of women exhibiting her beauty satisfied patrons as well as merchants who bought these pictures.

. Paintings had subject matter in the sense of theme or underlying idea. Here representation meant that the paintings represented the persons, things and scenes of the time, which are of historical significance and are connected with the life styles of the then cultural trends and feelings. For any creative process is a representative process in which both words depiction and portrayal includes. It is the projection of that cultural humanity in its own particular circumstances, which can be perceived.

Regarding the question whether women of the times had any say in the manner of their representation in art mainly in this context of the sensuality, one has to view the erotic not as a self-evident universal category but as a culturally defined concept that is ideological in nature. Moreover what is erotic in one cultural context may not be viewed thus in another and even women of the times must have enjoyed viewing the pictures which represented them. The erotic in art is indeed, a culturally loaded category where routine use of similes of **female**

bodily possession and submission must be viewed as historically specific phenomenon.

Thus in these paintings women whose beauty is revealed through painting so much as the beauty of the painting which is, ultimately, revealed through the medium of the woman. In particular miniature paintings of Deccani School representing women remained as artistic expressions of historical phenomena with gender - arrangements. They acted as transmitters of a symbolic repertoire of female realms, which is not explored much by other alternative sources. They portrayed women in a broad range of themes in a variety of cultural domains reflecting both royal and ordinary women interculturaly and intraculturaly depicting simultaneously women of power and influence with women of talent and servitude.

These illustrative modes reflected women with tune, song, colors, season's hour and virtues of life and time, creating a composite medieval art culture. This art with standing recurring political storms, military disasters, economic heat, social upheavals, and fluctuating cultural weather of Golconda and Hyderabad kingdoms indeed represented women with historical context of situational circumstances, naturalistic schemes for resilient views, unraveling spaces and escalating entrancement and above all for advancement of women's history.

Appendix -1

Rulers of the Deccan

(A) Outb Shahi Rulers of Golconda

1. Sultan Quli Qutb Shah - 1518 - 1543
2. Jamshid Quli Qutb Shah - 1543 - 1550
3. Subhan Quli Qutb Shah - 1550
4. Ibrahim Qutb Shah - 1550- 1580
5. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah - 1580-1612
6. Muhammad Qutb Shah -1612-1626
7. Abdullah Qutb Shah - 1626 - 1672
8. Abul Hasan Qutb Shah - 1672 - 1687

(B) Mughal Viceroys of the Deccan in the Transitional Phase

(1687-1724)

1. Khan Jahan Zafar Khan Jang Kokaltash - 1680 - 1707
2. Ghaziu-d-din Khan Firoz Jang - 1707-1708
3. Prince Mu'azzam - 1708 - 1709
4. **Dhu'l-fiqar** Khan - 1707 - 1713
5. **Nizamu'l Mulk** -1713-1714
6. Husain Ali Khan - 1714-1724
7. Mubariz Khan - 1724
8. **Nizamu'l Mulk - 1724 onwards.**

(c) Asaf Jahi Rulers of Hyderabad

1. Nizamul Mulk, Asaf Jah - I - 1724 - 1748
2. Nasir Jung - 1748 - 1750
3. Muzaffar Jung - 1750 - 1751
4. Salabat Jung - 1751 - 1762
5. Nizam AH Khan, Asaf Jah - II - 1762 - 1803
6. Sikander Jah, Asaf Jah - III - 1803 - 1829
7. Nasiruddaula, Asaf Jah - IV - 1829 - 1857
8. Afzaluddaula, Asaf Jah - V - 1857 - 1869
9. Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, Asaf Jah - VI - 1869 - 1911
10. Mir Usman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah - VII - 1911 - 1950

(D) Rulers of Kurnool and Cuddapah

Kurnool

1. Khizr Khan - upto 1674
2. Dawud Khan - 1674 - 1712
3. Ali Khan - 1712 - 1717
4. Ibrahim Khan - 1718 - 1731
5. Alif Khan - 1731 - 1744
6. Bahadur Khan - 1744 - 1751
7. Munuwar Khan - 1751 - 1792
8. Alif Khan - II - 1792 - 1815

Cuddapah

1. Abdul Nabi Khan - 1714 - 1732
2. Mahazoo Khan - 1732 - 1742
3. Abdul Hakim Khan - 1742 - 1751
4. Abdul Salam Khan- 1751-1779.

(E) Raias of Wanaparthy, Gadwal and Shorapur

Wanaparthy

1. Veera Krishna Reddy - 1512 - 1540
2. Venkat Kumara Basawa Reddy - 1540 - 1566
3. Rama Krishna Reddy - 1566 - 1592
4. Pedda Venkat Reddy - 1592 - 1625
5. Immidi Venkat Reddy - 1625 - 1648
6. GopalRao- 1648- 1676
7. Kumara Bahiri Gopal Rao - 1676 - 1691
8. Venkat Reddy- 1691 - 1719
9. Bahiri Gopala Rao - 1719 - 1746
10. Sawai Venkat Reddy - 1746 - 1763
11. Bahiri Gopal Rao - 1763 -
12. Rani Janamma - upto 1781
- 13.B.Janamma- 1781 - 1807

Gadwal

1. Pedda Vera Reddy
2. Peddamma Bhupaludu
3. Sarga Reddi
4. Veera Reddi
5. Kumara Veera Reddi
6. Lingamma
7. Ramanayya- 1711 - 1715.
8. Somanna- 1715- 1719.
- 9.Ammakka & Lingamma 1727-1740.
- 10.Thirumala Rao - 1740 - 1742.
11. Mangamma & Chokkamma - 1742 - 1747.
12. Pedda Rama Rao - 1747 - 1761.
13. Somanna alias Sombhupal - 1761 - 1794.
- 14.Raja Rambhupal-1794-1807.

Shorapur

1. Kallappa Naik - up to 1523
2. Chikk HanmaNaik - 1523 - 1538
3. JampNaik- 1538-1622.
4. Gaddad Pam Naik - 1622 - 1656
5. Gaddad Pid Naik - 1656 - 1674
6. Pam Naik- 1674- 1695
7. Pithambar Bahari Pid Naik - 1695 - 1726

8. PamNaik- 1726- 1741
9. Pid Naik Pithambar Bahari - 1741 - 1746
10. Mundgai Venkatappa Naik - 1746 - 1752
11. PamNaik- 1752- 1774
12. Venkatappa Naik - 1774 - 1801

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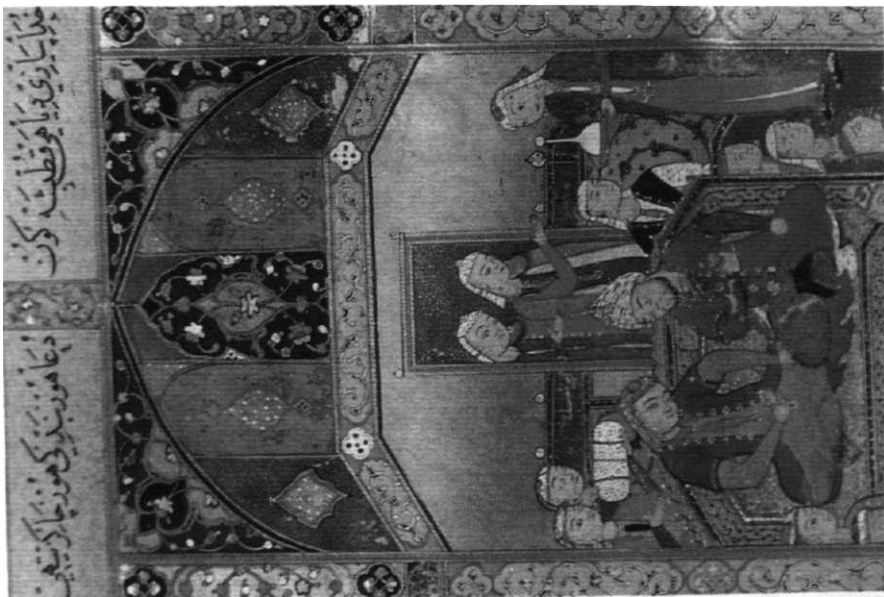


PLATE-I

A King and Queen enthroned, a folio from *Diwan* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah
Golconda School, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.



PLATE-II

Khusrau-u-Shirin of Hatifi, Golconda School,
Khuda Baksh Library, Bankipore, Patna.



PLATE-III
 Prince with women in a garden,
 Golconda School, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

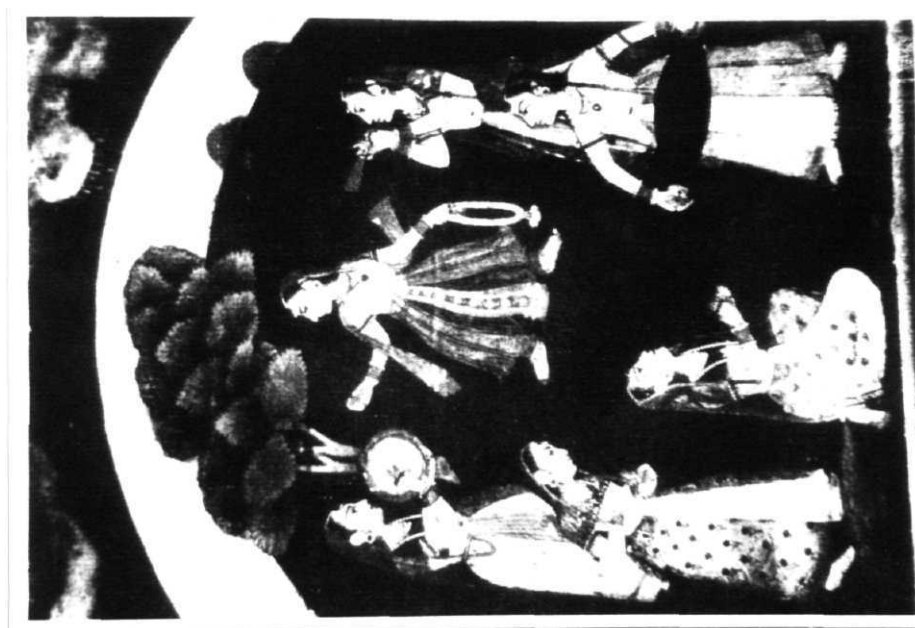


PLATE-IV
Raga-Megh-Malhar, Golconda School,
 Jagdish Mittal's Collection, Hyderabad.



PLATE-V
Madonna and Child, Golconda School,
 Washington Freer Gallery of Art.

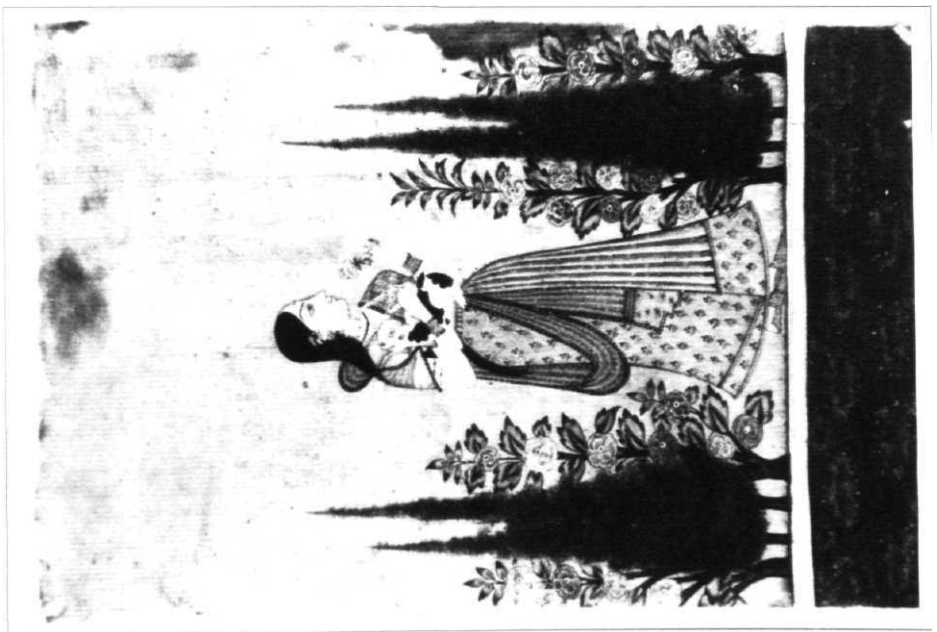


PLATE-M
 Girl holding a fawn, Transitional Phase,
 Private Collection.

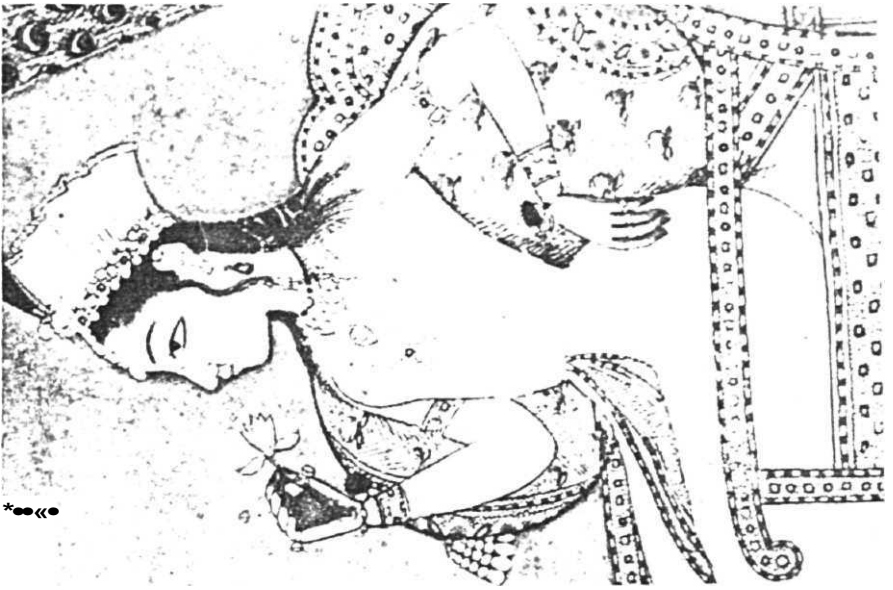


PLATE-VII
A Princess sitting on a chair, Hyderabad School,
Baroda Museum.



PLATE-VIII
Khusrau-u-Shirin of Nizami, Transitional Phase,
National Museum, New Delhi.

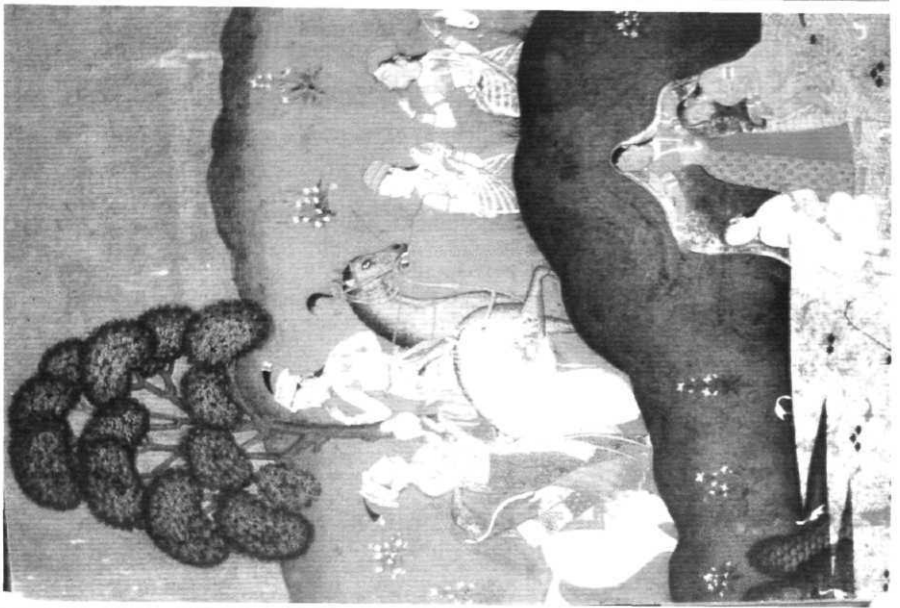


PLATE-IX
Queen riding a horse in the company of Maidens,
Transitional Phase, Private Collection.

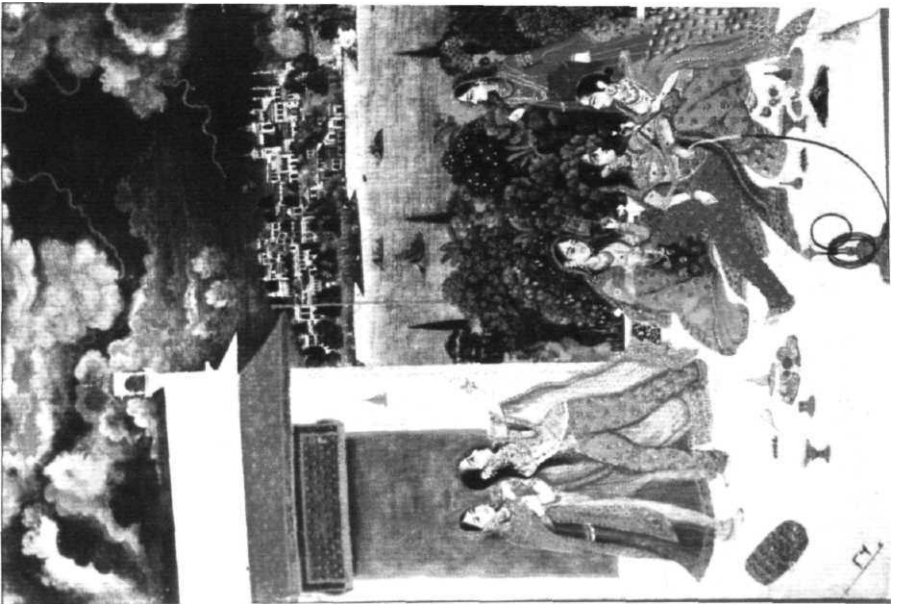


PLATE-X
Princess with her companions, Transitional Phase,
Private Collection.



PLATE-XI
Mujahid Jung and Murassa Bai sitting in a garden,
Transitional Phase, Private Collection.

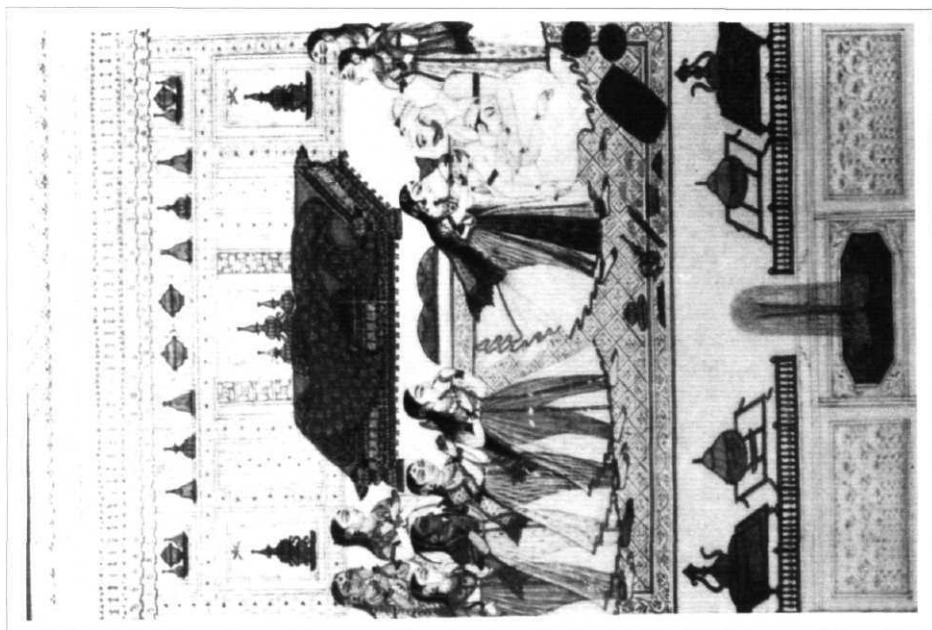


PLATE-XII
A Prince collapses in the arms of a King,
Transitional Phase, Edwin Binney 3rd Collection, San Diego.



PLATE-XIII
A Lady languishing on a terrace,
Transitional Phase, Private Collection.

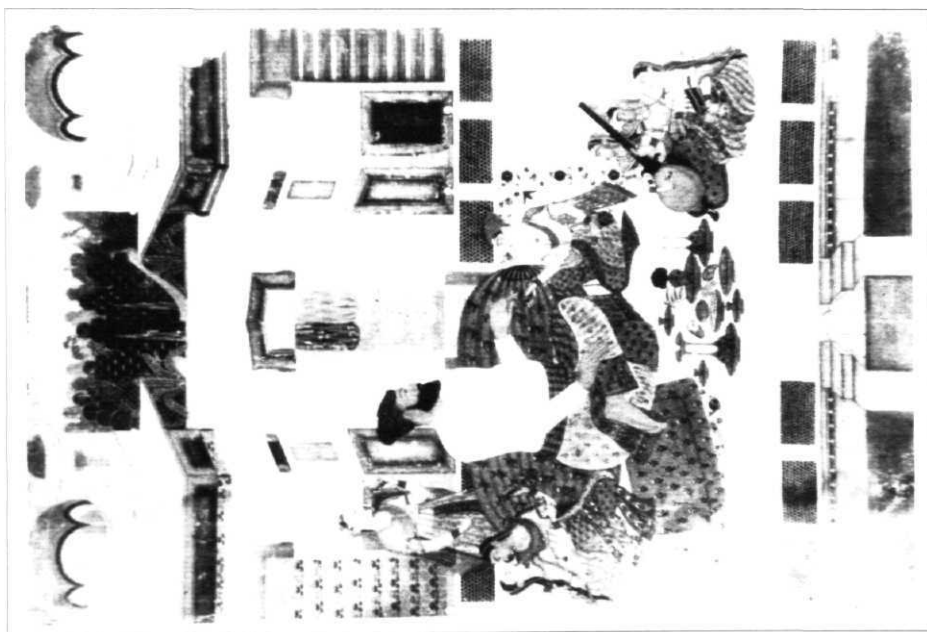


PLATE-XIY
Nawab Salabat Khan with women artists,
Transitional Phase, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



PLATE-XV
Musical Scene, Transitional Phase,
Private Collection.

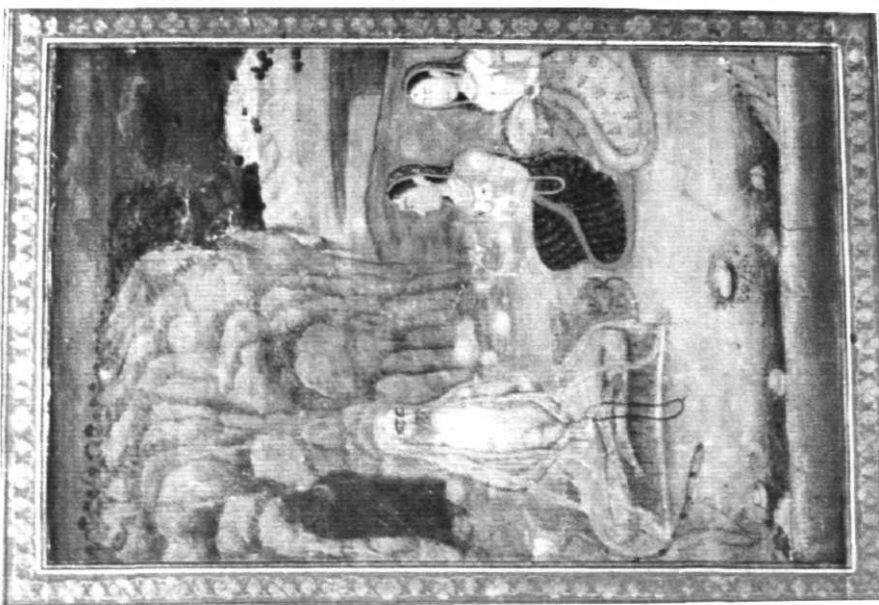


PLATE-XM
Spiritual Scene, Transitional Phase,
Private Collection.



PLATE-XVII
At the Well, Transitional Phase,
Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.

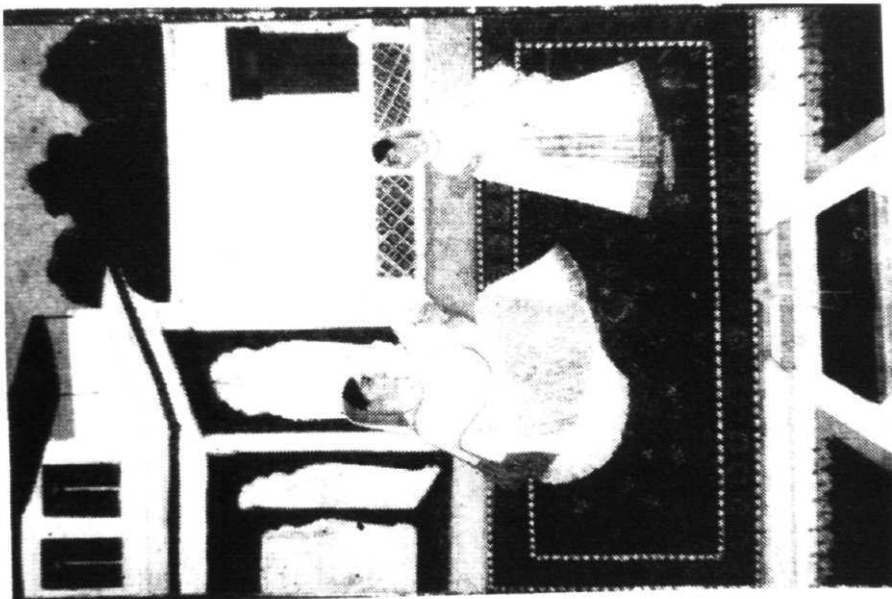


PLATE-XVIII
Woman conversing with her maid,
Hyderabad School, Private Collection.

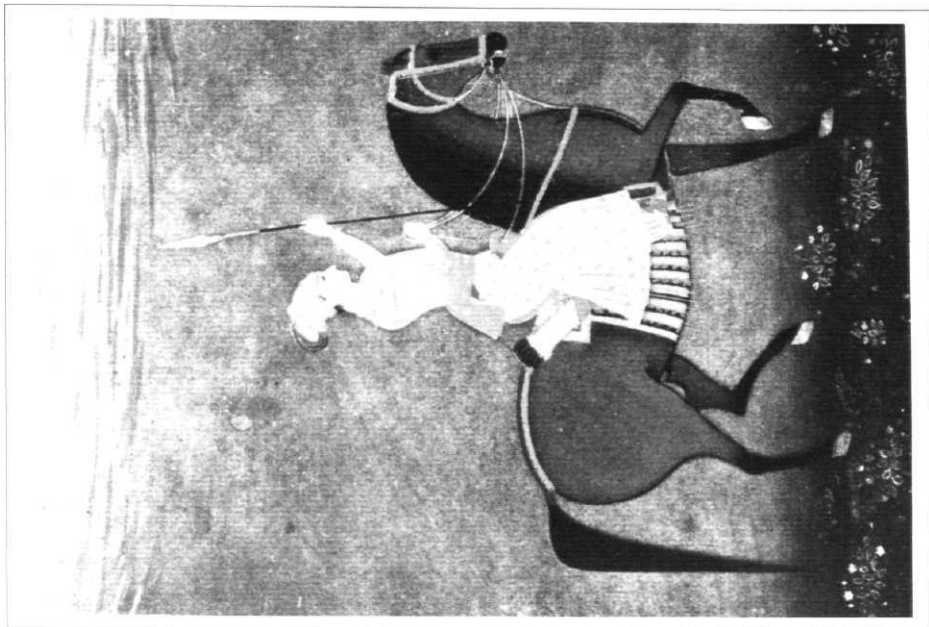


PLATE-XIX
A Princess riding a horse,
Hyderabad School, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.



PLATE-XX
A Princess hunting with her ladies,
Hyderabad School, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

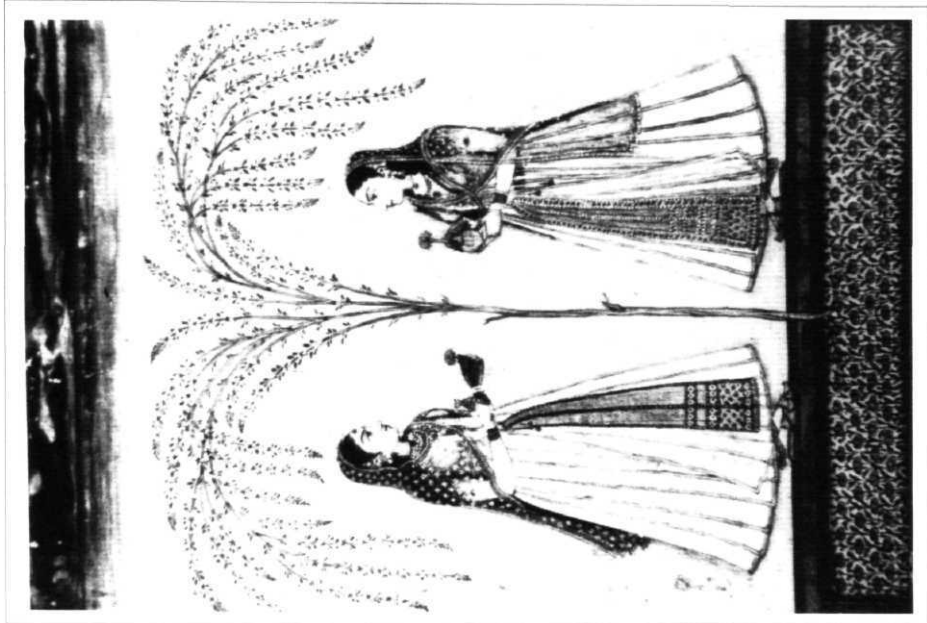


PLATE-XXI
Two women beneath a tree,
Hyderabad School, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

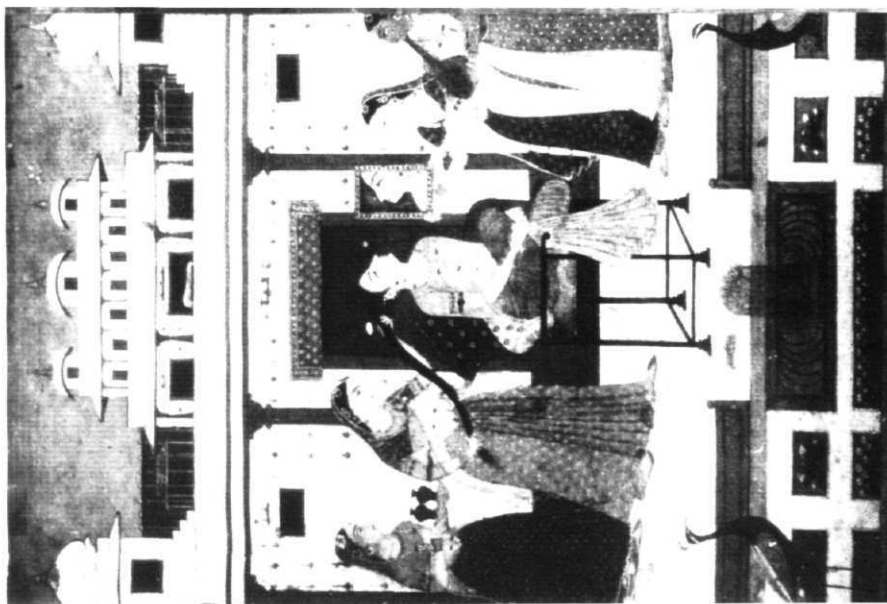


PLATE-XXII
Hair dressing scene,
Hyderabad School, Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.

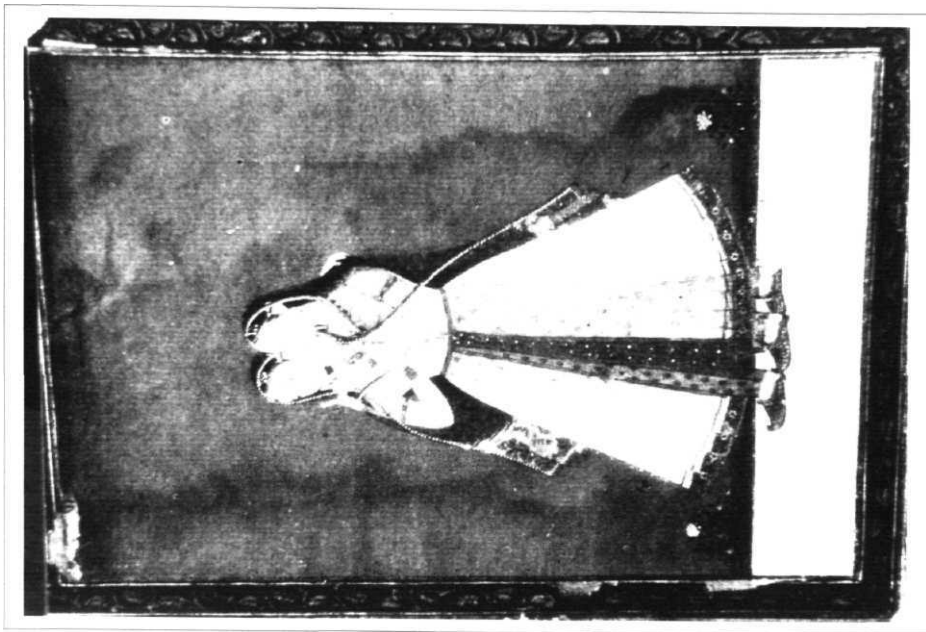


PLATE-XXIII
The Friends, Hyderabad School,
Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad.

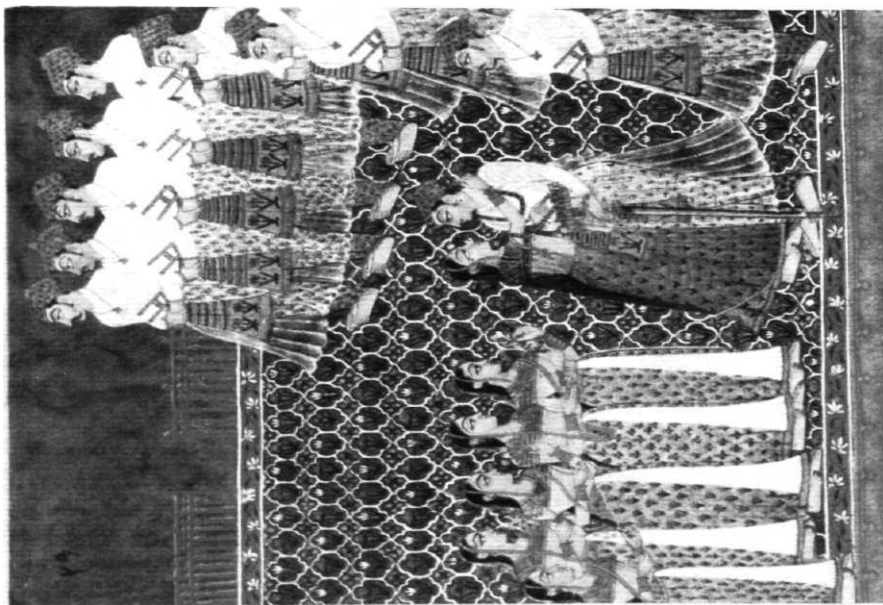


PLATE-XXIV
Damayanti garlanding Nala, Hyderabad School,
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.



PLATE-XXV
After the Bath, Hyderabad School,
National Museum, New Delhi.



PLATE-XXVI
The Swing, Hyderabad School,
Mehendra Kumar Gupta's Collection, Bombay.

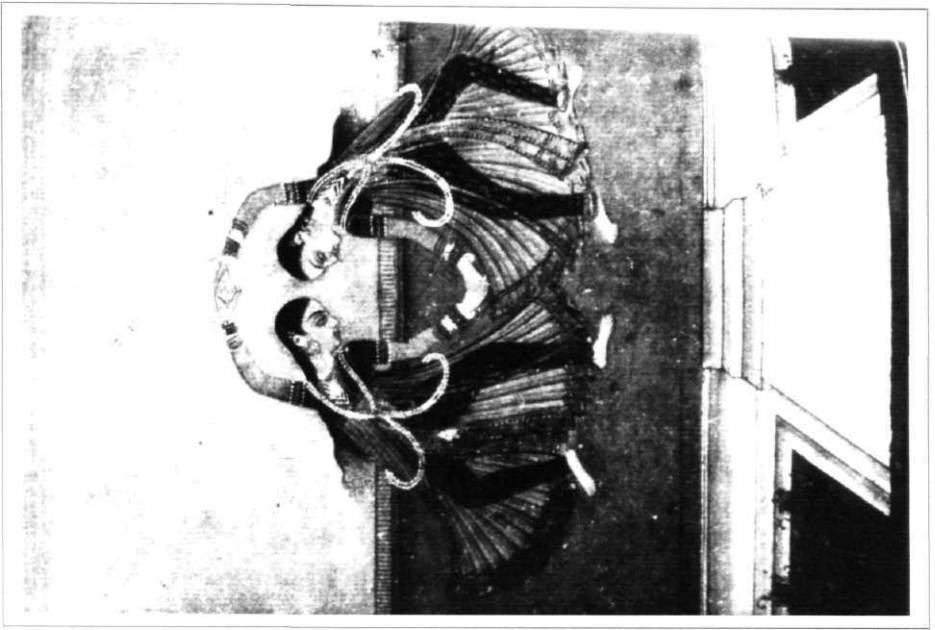


PLATE-XXVII
Girls playing *Phugari*, Hyderabad School,
Harish Chandra Agarwala's Collection, Hyderabad.



PLATE-XXVIII
Krishna with Gopikas, Hyderabad School,
National Museum, New Delhi.



PLATE-XXIX
Krishna with cow - girls, Shorapur School,
Jagdish Mittal's Collection, Hyderabad.



PLATE-XXX
Devi slaying a Demon, Shorapur School,
Private Collection.

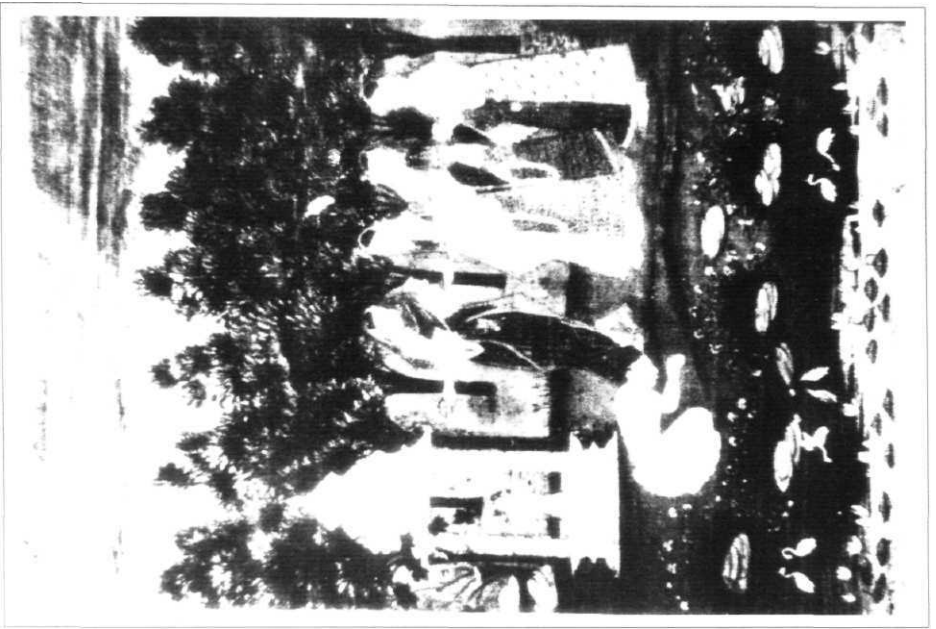


PLATE-XXXI

A lover bowing before his beloved near the shrine of Shiva,
Shorapur School, Private Collection.

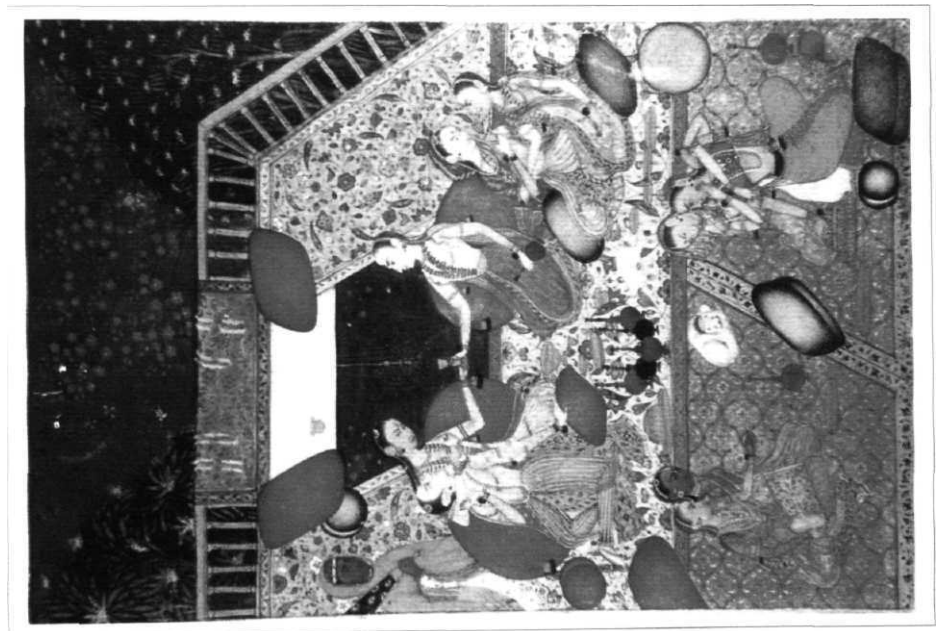


PLATE-XXXII

Ladies enjoying wine,
Transitional Phase, Private Collection.

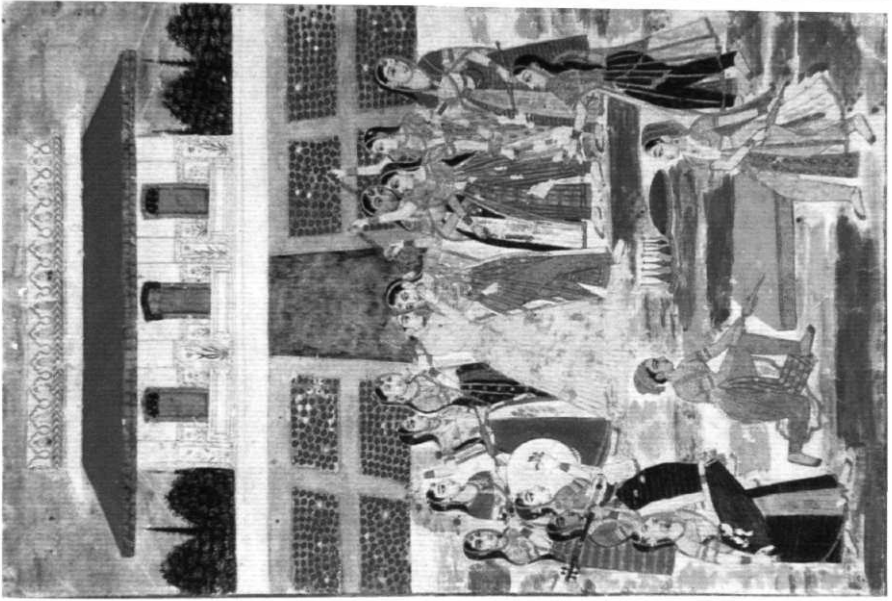


PLATE-XXXIII
A Prince playing Holi in harem,
Transitional Phase, Private Collection.

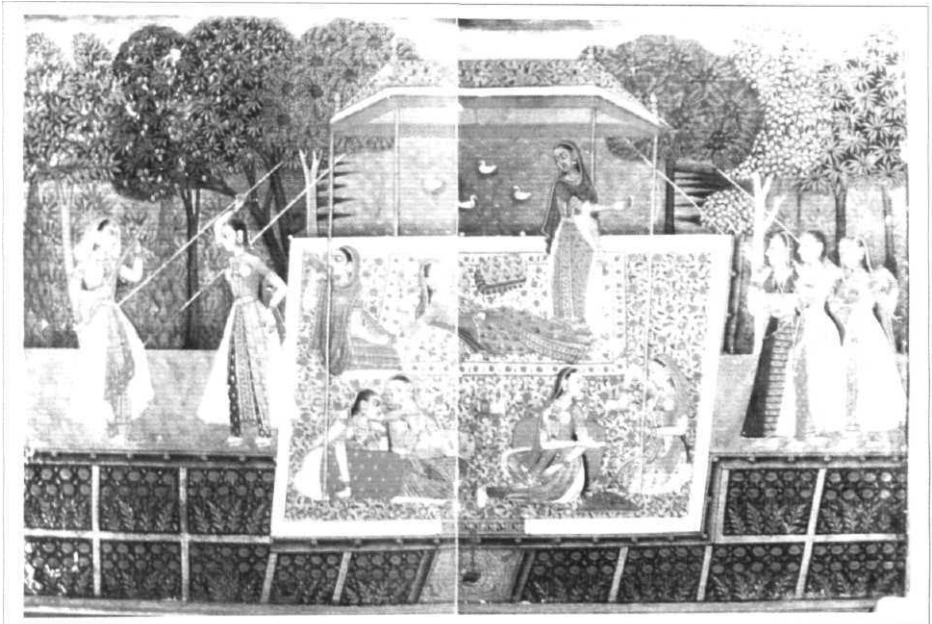


PLATE-\\XI\\
Women carousing in a garden, Hyderabad School,
Archer Collection, London.

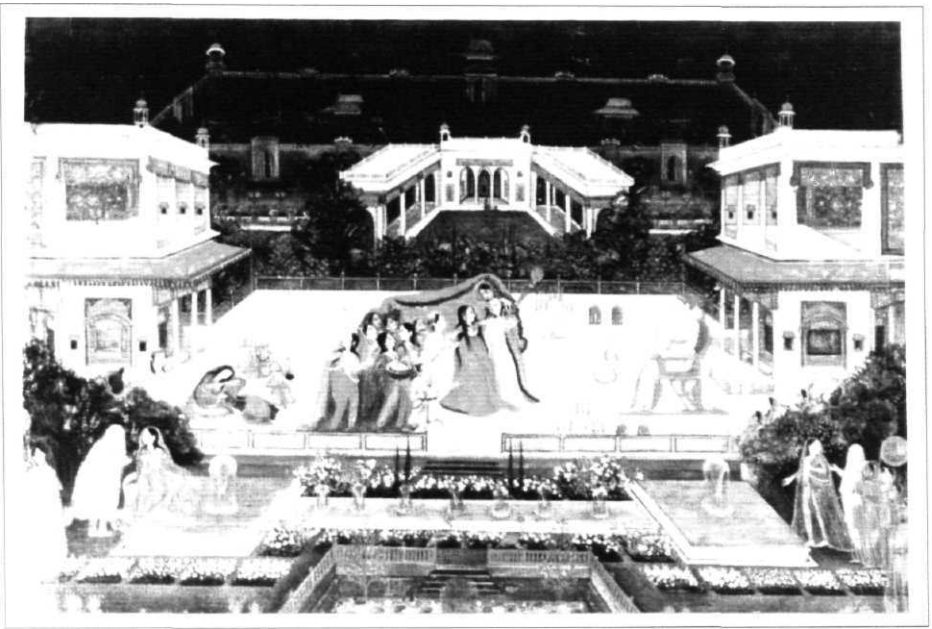


PLATE-XXXV
 Royal Harem, Hyderabad School,
 Private Collection.

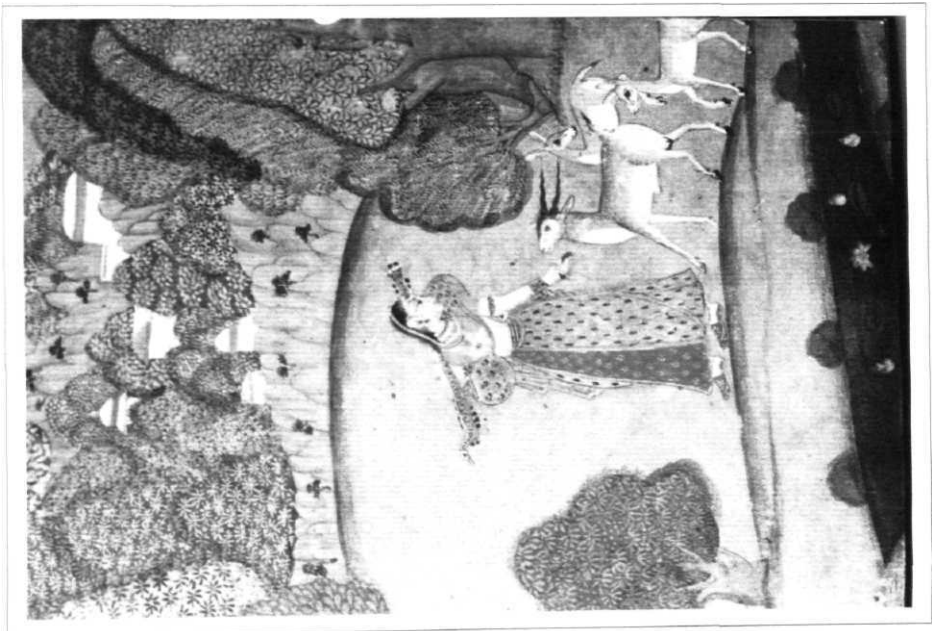


PLATE-XXXVI
Todi Ragini, Golconda School,
 Private Collection.



PLATE-XXXMI
Sohini Ragini, Hyderabad School,
 National Museum, New Delhi.



PLATE-XXXMH
Sorath Ragini, Hyderabad School,
 in the Collection of Maharani of Vizianagaram.



PLATE-XXXLX
A woman listening to a lady Musician,
Hyderabad School, Private Collection.

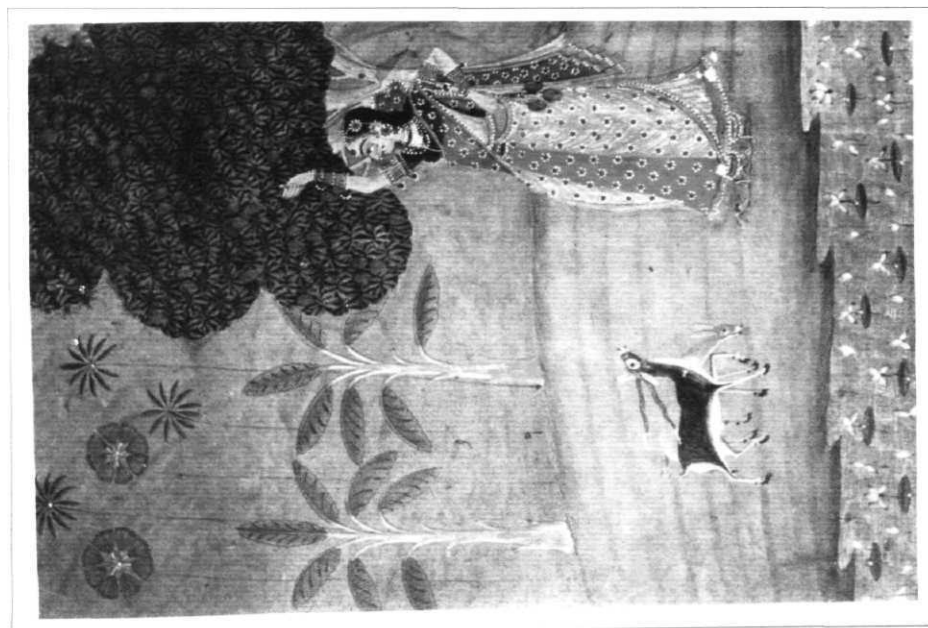


PLATE-XL
A Dream, Hyderabad School,
Private Collection.

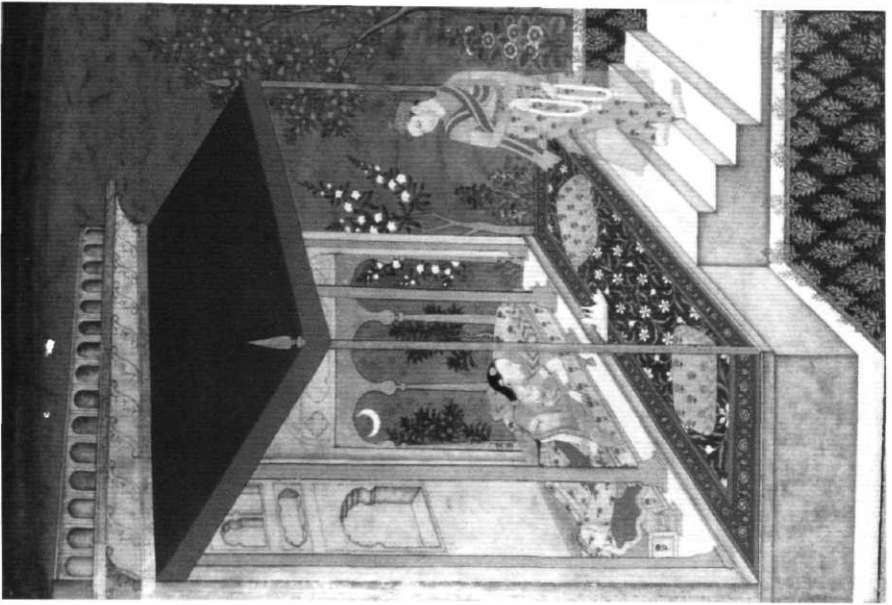


PLATE-XLI
Lalita Ragini, Hyderabad School,
 India Office Library, London.

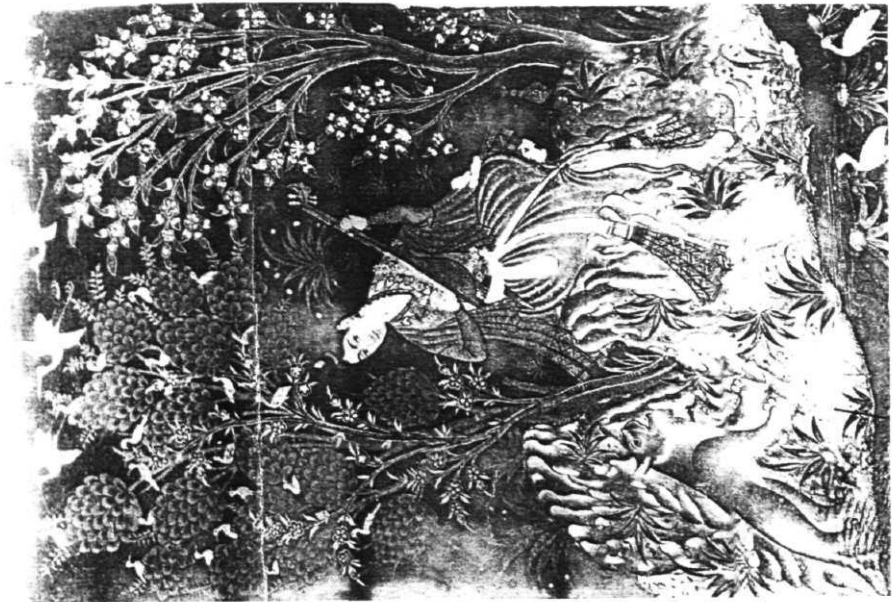


PLATE-XLII
 A *Yogini* in a forest, Golconda School,
 Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.



PLATE-XLIII
Qadir Dad Khan Leti listening to music,
Transitional Phase, Rietberg Museum, Zurich.



PLATE-XLIV
A Yogini surrounded by snakes,
Hyderabad School, State Museum, Hyderabad.