

**The Architecture of Procession: Political and Spiritual Pathways between the
Qutb Shahi Necropolis and Golconda Fortress**

by

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on
July 17, 2015
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Architecture Studies

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

September 2015

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of the role of processional architecture in articulating the Qutb Shahi necropolis in southern India at the beginning of the Qutb Shahi dynasty (mid-16th c). More precisely, it analyzes two processional pathways that connected Golconda Fortress to the Qutb Shahi necropolis. The pathways were significant because of the political and spiritual qualities they held. They extended northward toward a Sufi shrine and water complex, and beyond that to the antecedent capital of Bidar 135 kilometers to the northwest. Later, these paths would be important in connecting Golconda and the necropolis with the city of Hyderabad founded in 1591.

Methods used to examine these pathways are a mix of historical, topographical, visual, and spatial investigations as they relate to the wider political and spiritual patronages of the sultanate. The first part of each chapter provides context of the wider patronage of each sultan. The second part explores the landscape of procession by moving through the pathways as they were laid out. The third part shows how the series of structures take advantage of the natural topography by framing key “views” of the processional ways and thereby connect Golconda to the necropolis. The final section of each chapter shows how these larger perspectives help to interpret the spatial layout of tombs on the necropolis.

Through this analysis of four spatial relationships, the thesis shows how the tomb complex was defined by an initial pair of orientations to the East and South, which shifted to a primary emphasis to the South during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550-1580), and back to the East during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611.) As the Sultanate evolved, the pathways became, and remained, as important as the critical monuments of spiritual and political significance that they connected.

Thesis Supervisor: James Wescoat
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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my professors, family, friends and colleagues for their support throughout this process. My thesis advisor Professor James Wescoat guided my process through weekly meetings and careful feedback. His dedication included field visits in Hyderabad and countless hours working through drafts. My reader, Nasser Rabbat was another amazing influence as he pushed me to look into a deeper critical reading of the historical research and theoretical aspects of the thesis.

I am extremely grateful to the Aga Khan Trust for Culture for their endless support from every member of their team in Hyderabad and some key members of their Delhi office, especially Poornima Balakrishnan, Yoshowant Purohit, Ganesh Reddy, Sridevi, Harpreet Kaur, Rajendra Patnaik, Barathi Prasad, Lipi Bharadwaj and Arcana Saad Akthar. The AKTC generously provided housing and transportation for the summer of 2014 and January of 2015, access to survey maps, historic documents, photographs, their team of experts and countless other resources. Thank you to Dr. K.K.Muhammed for teaching me so much about field surveys and Rajpal Singh for all of your guidance and encouragement throughout. I'm especially thankful to Ratish Nanda for his academic and field survey guidance, providing me with all of the resources that I needed to conduct my research, and for inviting me to look at the historic Qutb Shahi landscape, which inspired a dramatic change in the direction of this thesis.

I am very grateful to The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, The Aga Khan Travel Grant, Harold Horowitz Grant, and MIT India for funding my travel and research. Thank you to MIT's Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture - the faculty, the librarians (in particular Andrea Schuler), my colleagues (especially my AKPIA thesis cohort Chantal El Hayek). Thank you to Sneha Mandhan for all of the help with maps.

Thank you to Professor Kathryn Gleason, who introduced me to historic landscapes, for her mentorship as my thesis advisor at Cornell University and for her continuing support, inspiration and advice.

Finally, thank you to my family for believing in me and for their constant support and encouragement.

Thank you to George Detsios who passed away in May of this year. Thank you for your mentorship, support and 20 years of amazing friendship. This thesis is dedicated to you (1931-2015).

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction, Thesis Problem Statement and Outline

The Qutb Shahi Sultanate, (1518-1647), established by Quli Qutb ul'-Mulk built an elaborate necropolis on three terraces just below their Fortress at Golconda. The entire sultanate is buried on the necropolis, the majority in chronological order, from west to east. The two pathways that connected the spaces; these pathways were shaped as processions moved through the politically and spiritually symbolic territories in the act of paying homage to the first king, Sultan Quli Qutb ul'-Mulk. His son, Ibrahim Qutb Shah and grandson, Muhammad Quli Qutb gradually, fortified the pathways by building a series of structures that connected the areas in between Golconda and the Necropolis.

A single pathway originated at the Bala Hisar ("New Fort") at Golconda. It split near the Resham Bagh tank in the lower fort. One of the two paths proceeded north and then entered the necropolis from east to west. I will call this the E-W path. The other path, emphasized by Sultan Ibrahim, proceeded north-west and then turned due north into the necropolis. I will call this the N-S path.

Both pathways led to the tomb of Sultan Quli Qutb as he built it on the necropolis site to the north of the fortress. The N-S path marked the most direct route between the fortress and necropolis and was gradually assembled by the first sultan's immediate successors. Eventually, gateways, mosques and roads formalized the territory.

During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, a new processional pathway was emphasized to link Golconda to the shrine of a Sufi saint patronized by the Qutb Shahis known as Husain Shah Wali. The dargah (or Sufi shrine) was erected on the main road to the north of the fortress that linked Golconda to Bidar..

Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb continued the work of his father and grandfather by maintaining important connections to the necropolis and dargah as he established the city of Hyderabad to the east. This thesis looks at the gradual formation of these pathways and the significance of the urban development in relation to the building of a fortress, necropolis and a city, respectively. The first step is to review the origins of and early influences on the Qutb Shah dynasty.¹

Quli Qutb ul' Mulk and the Foundation of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate²

Quli Qutb ul'-Mulk, a member of the Turkman Qara Qoyunlu ("Black Sheep") tribe emigrated from Persia in 1487 as a political refugee after the Aq Qoyunlu ("White Sheep") tribe took over the region of western Iran.³ Shortly thereafter, the Aq Qoyunlu rose to power, the Qara Qoyunlu were forced out and Sultan Quli traveled to India with his uncle to join the Delhi Sultanate. After spending several years with the Sultanate, they moved to Bidar where Sultan Quli was asked to join the Bahmani court.

Eventually, in 1496, Sultan Quli was appointed governor of the province of Telangana by the Bahmani Sultanate. After the breakup of the Bahmanis in 1514, he established the Qutb Shahi Dynasty as one of five Deccani Sultanates. Sultan Quli founded the city of

¹ Bilgrami, S. A. A. (1927), Eaton, R. M., & Wagoner, P. B. (2014), Sardar, M. (2007), Sherwani, H. K. (1974).

²According to Green, N. (2012). p. 242, the word 'Qutb' is a Sufi term meaning, " 'axis' (a) saint who serves as the axis of the entire cosmos atop of the hierarchy of *awliya*." Green defines *awliya* as: "Friends of God," the leading Sufi masters venerated as living or dead saints." Therefore, Sultan Quli Qutb chose a name that held significant weight in the establishment of a sultanate with tribal roots, which was, no doubt, seeking to legitimize its power in the region in the eyes of the local population by adopting a Sufi name. Also shahi comes from the word 'shah' meaning "king" in Persian.

³ According to Eaton, R. M., & Wagoner, P. B. (2014)., p. 204 "By the late fourteenth century, these Turks had become fully Persianized and, under the rule of their sultan, Jahan Shah (1434-67), had emerged as the dominant force in Western Iran. Just a few years before Sultan Quli's birth, however, Sultan Jahan Shah died and a group of rival Turkmen, the Aq Qoyunlu ("White Sheep"), encroached on Qara Qoyunlu territories."

Golconda on a hill above what would eventually become the monumental necropolis, visually connecting the Qutb Shahi sultanate to its dynastic roots.⁴

Necropolis Tombs

The Qutb Shahi tombs remain iconic fixtures in the Hyderabad landscape and a reminder that it was the Qutb Shahis who laid the foundation of the city. A growing body of historical scholarship is devoted to the Sultanate, including the architecture of Golconda Fort.

However, very little has been written about the necropolis. A study of the necropolis raises questions about how the two co-evolving sites (the Qutb Shahi Necropolis and Golconda) were connected. This thesis focuses on the processional pathways between the Qutb Shahi Necropolis and Golconda Fortress in order to understand that evolution. This study may be compared with similar formations in necropolis sites.

A UNESCO designation application submitted by the Permanent Delegation of India to UNESCO in October of 2010 describes comparative sites with “similar properties.”

According to the UNESCO Delegation,

Royal necropolises were produced by some, although not all, Indo-Muslim dynasties, but that of the Qutb Shahis is the most extensive and best documented in all of India. The practice appears to have made a very tentative beginning in Sultanate Delhi; thus, two adjacent tombs in the Lodi Gardens are identified as belonging to the first two Lodi sultans (Digby 1975; Parihar 1997). The Mughals, in contrast, did not construct a dynastic necropolis; their mausolea are widely dispersed, with the first six rulers each entombed in a different location (Kabul, Delhi, Sikandra, Lahore, Agra, and Khuldabad). In the Deccan before the Qutb Shahis, the Bahmanis had built three different necropolises, including two separate groupings of tombs at Gulbarga, and a third just outside Bidar. Contemporaneously with the Qutb Shahis, the first four 'Adil Shahi sultans of Bijapur had their tombs constructed in a necropolis at Gogi, while the next four each had his tomb constructed in a different neighborhood of Bijapur itself. Most of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar had their remains taken to the Shi'i holy site of Kerbala to be examples, in that it contains the epigraphically documented

⁴ All of the tombs can be seen from the northern side of Golconda Fortress.

tombs of five of the dynasty's seven sultans, as well as those of another four members of the royal family, spanning the 130-year period from 1543 to 1672. The Qutb Shahi monuments of Golconda and Hyderabad may be instructively compared with several other sites both in India and in other countries in the broader region of South Asia, Central Asia, and West Asia.⁵

Conceptual Framework

The framework for studying the architecture of procession used in this thesis includes an analytical approach to landscape evidence at several scales, and an interpretive approach to the jointly political and spiritual significance of the tomb complex.

Procession, as it is used here, refers to a function of “ritual” within the Shi’a practices of the early Qutb Shahi Sultans. The architecture of procession represents a series of symbolic elements in the building of the Qutb Shahi political and spiritual territory; this investigation explores these elements in the territoriality of the two processional pathways as they connected the two sites.

For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term “procession” as it is defined by Arnold Van Gennep’s notion of “territorial passage,” a system of “zones” related to different periods or stages in one’s life.⁶ As James Wescoat explains in reference to Mughal procession, “territorial passage is an encounter with the external 'signs' and 'protocols' that guide one through the process of individual and social transformation. Territorial passage involves not an abstract or metric space; but rather movement between different realms of cultural expectation, constraint, and possibility. The ritual space may be as small and concrete as the rooms of a house, or as vast and abstract as the heavens of the universe. Territorial passage is transforming as well as maintaining.”⁷

⁵ UNESCO website: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5573/>. Visited July 15, 3:06pm.

⁶ See: Van Gennep, A. (2011) p. 18.

⁷ Wescoat, J. (1991). pp. 56-63.

The analytical approach to procession has four parts that describe and then follow the processional paths from Golconda to the necropolis for each successive ruler. These four steps in the analysis “follow the processional path” from the fort then to and through the necropolis. The architecture of the processional pathways evolved based on several factors, such as how and when the sites could be seen from different points on the pathways, when and where it would be important to add nodes along the way (such as the mosques and gateways built in-between sites), and how the space of each architectural contribution related to the next (gate to mosque to pathway to gate etc.). Finally, an examination of the architecture and landscape at the "local scale" (on the necropolis site) acknowledges the larger political-spiritual significance of the rituals involved in the processions. The political mark of a significant monument to each sultan was placed in the landscape to be seen from several vantage points entered from below and at the foot of the Sultan to emphasize the greatness of the Sultan, and the greatness of the sultanate as it evolved into a dynasty. The dargah was strategically placed in close proximity to the necropolis and on the road to and from Bidar. As Sufi visitors passed by the dargah, they would pay reverence to the Sufi saint. A Sufi saint was known to legitimize a sultanate and sultans relied upon these relationships for power and devotion.

In political terms, the tombs mark the power of the dynasty through their siting, size, visibility, and spatial relationships.⁸ In religious terms, they were sites of *ziyarat*, especially on the *urs* (death day) of the sultan. Nile Green defines the Sufi term *urs* as defined by Nile Green as a ‘wedding,’ “a saintly death day anniversary celebrated as a

⁸ This is based on the interpretive approach that addresses the jointly political and religious aspects of funerary architecture at the tomb complex and related shrines.

wedding with God.”⁹ And ‘*ziyarat*’ is defined as “*Procession: ziyara*: “a visit or pilgrimage to a Sufi Shrine.”¹⁰ An annual *ziyarat* to the tombs of the sultans would further emphasize the intention of the sultan to be recognized as a saint, through the act of pilgrimage.¹¹ However, Sufi saints were recognized as having a direct connection to the divine, and were therefore more powerful than a Sultan. The Qutb Shahi sultans had evolving relationships with one or more Sufi complexes, including some at Bidar.

Husain Shah Wali, the official Sufi saint of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate, traced his lineage to Bidar. According to H. K. Sherwani, “Husain was descended from the Saint of Gulbarga, Hazrat Khwaja Gesu Darza...and was born at Muhammadabad-Bidar. Although Ibrahim was a Shi’a he was much impressed by the reverence with which the memory of the Saint of Gulbarga was held by the Muslims and non-Muslims of the Deccan, and when Husain came to Golconda he was called to the palace and was received with great honor and regard. Ibrahim appointed him Superintendent of Public Works and later married him to his daughter, who was known henceforth as Pir Man Sahiba.”¹²

The marriage was both a political and spiritual symbol. Ibrahim married Pir Man Sahiba to Husain Shah Wali first to ensure a familial tie to the Sufi saint. This would tie the Qutb Shahi family politically to Bidar and symbolically to Sufism, again strengthening the power of the sultanate through this gesture.

The tombs and shrine appeared as representations of these forces of power. Both had political and symbolic significance, the former primary for the sultan the latter primary

⁹ See: Green, N. (2012) p. 241.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 242

¹¹ Ibid. p. 242

¹² Sherwani, H.K. p. 254

for the saint. The subtle variations in these politico-religious relationships are discussed in each chapter.

Fieldwork and Photographic Method

Fieldwork was a critical part of the process of this thesis. The Aga Khan Trust for Culture generously provided housing in their guesthouse for the entire summer of 2014 and January of 2015. They also provided transportation and access to a team of experts working on the conservation of the Qutb Shahi tomb restoration. Without this support, the depth of this research would not have been possible.

On the site, I followed the conservation team, as they excavated different parts of the landscape and conserved tomb structures. I used photography to visualize the processional pathways and took photographs from high above the site in the balcony of the tombs. I walked the site every day, multiple times, to get a sense of what the site would have been like as processions moved through from one side, then the other. I photographed extensively as I walked, embedding myself in the landscape all the time looking for clues.

As I learned the dates of the buildings and their former uses, I photographed the architecture and the pathways that were currently and formerly associated with them. I also spent some time driving to the other areas that had been built as a part of the larger extents of each sultan's campaign.

I climbed up and down Golconda hill, photographing the insides, outsides, pathways and views from the buildings there. Then I went to the other areas of patronage. The Naya Qila, different mosques and monuments, the town of Patancheru, and the hills of the Taramati Baradari and the mosque of Premamati above the former Bagh-i-Ibrahim. All of

this was necessary to physically understand the topography and to place myself in the landscape surrounding the processional pathways to finally come to the topic of this thesis.

When I returned, I worked through all of the photographs and catalogued them according to landscape and monument. This gave me a different perspective and insight and allowed me to piece them together as a part of a whole. I began to see how the elements were connected.

Sufi Shrine and Waterworks

A 1927 British survey map of the territory indicates the pathways that connected Golconda to the *dargah* of Husain Shah Wali (Figure 1). Two important *types* of processions are identified within these territories. One type of procession involved an annual pilgrimage from the kingdom of Golconda to the tombs of the sultans on their annual “death day,” and before major political and dynastic acts. Another type was to the *dargah*, where all kinds of devotional events occurred throughout the year. As is the tradition of the Sufis of Gulbarga, from which Husain Shah Wali descended, there would also have been a procession that started at the *dargah* and connected to the shrines of the followers of the *sajjada-nishin*, or “one who sits on the prayer carpet.” As Richard Eaton explains, the *sajjada-nishin* was,

selected by his predecessor theoretically on the basis of spiritual merit alone. As a hereditary descendant of the *pir* and a resident of the *dargah*, the *sajjada-nishin* became the most important individual in popular Sufism. It was his duty to supervise the *dargah's* various devotional and social activities, such as the festivities commemorating the birthdate and death date of the *pir* the maintenance of a public kitchen at the *dargah*, leadership of community prayers in the *dargah*, etc. In this way a mystic discipline originally imported from the Middle East and practiced by a small elite, eventually broadened into a popular devotionalism sustained and admired by a familial descendant of a man now acclaimed to have been a saint. To borrow from Max Weber's terms, the original charisma of an early

Sufi, or *pir*, was transmitted both on the physical site of his burial and also through blood ties to his descendants residing at or near the tomb.¹³

The pilgrimage pathways between Golconda, the necropolis, and the Sufi Shrine intersected on the north-south road that led to the east-west road. This road (see Figure 1) linked both the tomb of Sultan Quli, who once ruled as a part of that kingdom and the shrine of Husain Shah Wali, who descended from the Saint of Gulbarga.¹⁴

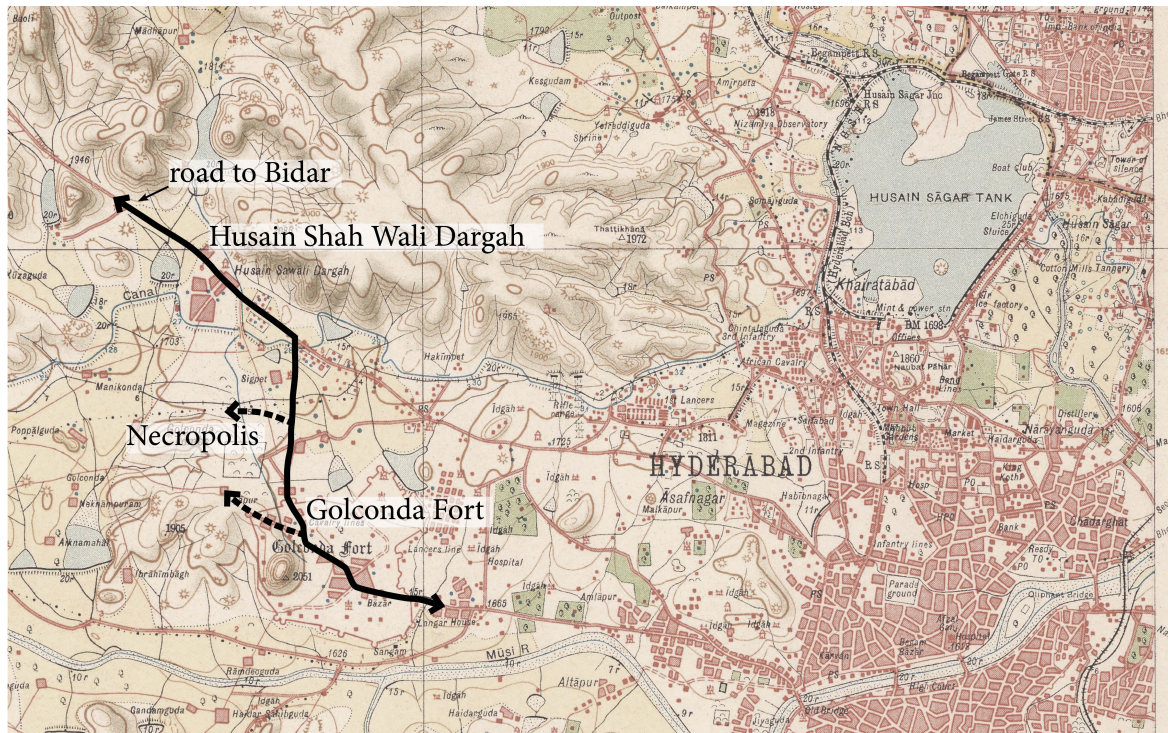


Figure 1 Urban Scale Map of the study area from Hyderabad (1927), Published under the direction of Colonel Commandant E.A.Tandy, R.E., Surveyor General of India. Published in this thesis with permission from the University of Chicago Libraries.

Chapter Outline

¹³ See Eaton, R. M. (1973). p. 51

¹⁴ See: Sherwani, H. K. (1974). p. 254

The rest of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter Two is a historiography of the early Qutb Shahi Sultanate with an emphasis on its funerary architecture and ritual use of these spaces. Chapter Three is an analysis of the topographical, spatial and visual considerations in Quli Qutb's initial layout of the necropolis. Chapter Four looks at how Sultan Ibrahim formalized the pathways as he built the architecture that ceremonially connects the two sites. Chapter Five looks at Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb as it opens the necropolis to a new, broader connection as he established the city of Hyderabad. Chapter Six concludes and offers directions for future research. Building on previous research that has developed up to this point, the next chapter is a historiography of the Qutb Shahi necropolis.

Chapter 2 Historiography

Historical literature written about the Qutb Shahi dynasty is mostly focused on the political lives of the sultans and the Golconda complex. Little has been written about the architecture of the necropolis, including the tombs and the landscape that surrounds them. This chapter is organized into four sections related to three main periods of research: 1. Qutb Shahi sources; 2. the Nizam's period of history, archaeology, and early photography; 3. the modern period of historical writing about the dynasty led by H.K. Sherwani; and 4. a period of more recent scholarship in doctoral dissertations and related chapters on the contemporary manuscripts, architecture and geography of the area.

Contemporary Texts and Paintings

Although the translated Qutb Shahi manuscripts that I consulted did not reveal explicit information about the necropolis or its garden structures, an analysis gives some insight about courtly life. In some instances, the manuscripts suggest how Qutb Shahi gardens might have been used. Translations and analysis of these sources appear in H.K Sherwani's *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*, recent dissertations and art historical contributions on the associated paintings and poetry.¹⁵

Two contemporary Golconda paintings express the qualities of procession, pathway, topography and landscape that are central to this thesis. The first, entitled, 'Wedding Procession of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah", (Figure 2). Although it is a depiction of a wedding procession rather than a pilgrimage, it provides a vision of what a Qutb Shahi procession would have looked like. The second, an 18th c. painting commissioned by Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jah II (Figure 3) includes an insight into the complexity of the landscape at

¹⁵ Sherwani, H.K.(1974) pp. 681-703

the Naya Qila and depicts the tombs behind the new palace.

This chapter looks at the sources with an emphasis on the Qutb Shahi necropolis. The Nizam era literature is compared to the most prominent modern (post colonial) histories of the Necropolis in the context of what was written about the landscape and architecture of the tombs and surrounding garden design, meaning and structure.



Figure 2 The Wedding Procession of Muhammad Qutb Shah. Golconda, c. 1650, 24.3 x 32.3 cm. (height x width), guache on gold paper. Ashmolean Museum.

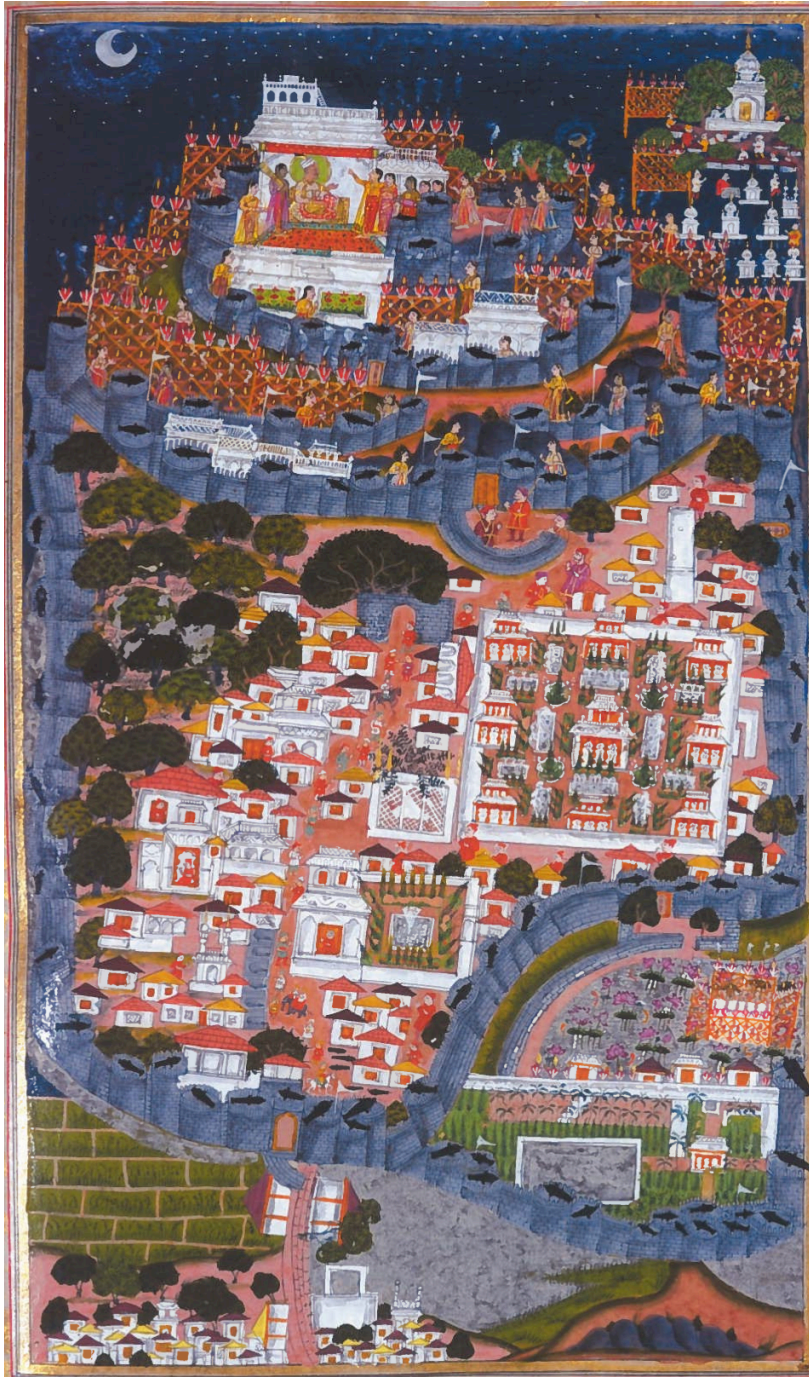


Figure 3 *Tuzuk-i-Asafia*. Taj allī Ali Shah (1768). In: *Miniature Paintings From Nizam Asf Jah and Others*. M.A.Nayeem (2014).

Early Research in the Nizam's Period (1869-1948)

In 1898, the Nizam Asaf Jah VI (1869-1911) commissioned Scottish photographer Claude A. Campbell to document the contemporary political territory of the Nizam's dominions. The result was a formative publication, including almost 600 views of the political life of the Nizam, portraits of the social elite and prominent views of the Islamic cultural heritage of the region. The book, *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions: Being an Exhaustive Photographic History of the Hyderabad State, Deccan, India*, was a tribute to the local Islamic ruler, toward the end of an era of formal political ties to Persia and London, via the Nizam as figurehead.¹⁶ The book was political propaganda for the Nizam, asserting his power towards the end of the empire while under colonial rule. It was published in London as a coffee table book for Hyderabadi elite and British colonialist book collectors.

The book was propaganda for the British as well, demonstrating an "orderly" "princely state." Nizam Asaf Jah VI, reinforced the lineage of his empire by devoting one chapter to the Qutb Shahi Necropolis. The necropolis can be seen in this context as a distant reminder of the power of the sultanate that established a culturally localized government with ties to its Turko-Persian roots.¹⁷ The necropolis was visible from the center of the city of Hyderabad, which was established by the fifth Qutb Shahi sultan, Muhammad Quli Qutb in 1591. Like the Qutb Shahis, the Nizams were of Turkic origin, emigrating from the same area in 1724, near Samarkand, in modern day Uzbekistan. I argue that the Nizam, via Campbell, had two agendas for including the necropolis as a chapter in the book. The first was to tie Asaf Jah VI's lineage back to the first Nizam, Asaf Jah, who established the

¹⁶ Campbell, A. C. (1898).

¹⁷ The Qutb Shahis maintained ties to their Turkic origins. The founder of the dynasty, Sultan Quli Qutb ul-Mulk was a descendant of the Kara Koyunlu (Black Sheep) tribe from an area near Samarkand in modern day Uzbekistan. See: Sherwani, H.K. ,(1974), p.1

dynasty as an independent state in 1724. The second was to propagandize the state of Hyderabad for the British Government and advertise the colonial relationship by publishing an extensive documentary of the “local nobility” under the control of the British monarchy. Through the conservation of a prominent group of Deccani monuments on a hilltop in Hyderabad, the Nizam traced his family’s roots to local and Persian histories of the region.¹⁸

A recent doctoral dissertation completed by Marika Sardar traces the formation of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society under the Nizams to British archaeologist John Marshall. According to Sardar, “In 1914, the following Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan (r. 1911-48), inaugurated a department dedicated to the full-time study, conservation and publication of historical monuments. He had been encouraged to do so by John Marshall, the ASI’s new director, who had advised heads of the 'Native States' 'to establish their own archaeological departments to complement the ASI’s work in British-held territories. The Mysore royal family had already formed one in 1890 that was followed by departments at Travancore in 1908, at Kashmir in 1912, and at Gwalior in 1913.”¹⁹

Campbell writes that if it were not for the Nizam’s *Grand Vizier*, Salar Jung, the tombs of the “great kings” would have been lost forever, “from year to year these structures gradually decayed and there was no one to repair them until the first Sir Salar Jung’s advent to power, before which the complete ruin of every mausoleum seemed imminent. The gardens were overgrown with jungle and wild grass, which harbored innumerable snakes. To Sir Salar Jung I is primarily due the preservation of these magnificent

¹⁸ The “Nizam’s Dominions” included the territories of Telangana, Karnataka and Maharashtra. The Nizam-ul Mulk, or Nizam or *Administrator of the Realm* was the name assumed by the sovereign Asf Jah Dynasty from 1724-1948. See: Faruqui, M. D. (2009). pp. 5-43.

¹⁹ Sardar, M (2007). p.7

monuments to departed kings, and the work of restoration is still being carried on by the Government.”²⁰ Salar Jung I’s interventions were extensive, preserving some aspects of the necropolis while damaging others in the name of preservation. He added a boundary wall on the northern side of the site, creating a ‘zone’ that protected the necropolis from encroachment.

Just as he arranges the other components of the Nizam’s “dominions,” Campbell sets the stage in a visual documentary of the architecture in the context of the surrounding landscape. Although each tomb is unique in terms of style and structure, he first designates them as, “mostly of a uniform appearance, each standing in the center of a vast quadrangular terrace, approached on all sides by flights of steps, leading to an arcade formed by an equal number of pointed arches on each side, and topped by a lofty flat terrace with a minaret at each angle...the principal material used in the construction of the tombs is grey granite embellished in some parts with stucco and in others with what appear to be porcelain tiles, although on closer inspection the covering is found to be a colored glaze.”²¹

In the narrative, Campbell dates the current wall surrounding the necropolis to the conservation efforts of Salar Jung, “Outside the wall with which Sir Salar Jung surrounded some of the tombs, to the north, is the mausoleum of the sixth king, Sultan Abdulla Kuli Kutb Shah.”²² If the dating of the wall is correct, this is a critical component in the current puzzle of the Qutb Shahi Necropolis site excavations.²³ In addition to the visual descriptions, Campbell offers some spatial readings of the tombs in relation to each other.

²⁰ Campbell, A. C. (1898). p.246

²¹ Campbell, A. C. (1898). p. 246.

²² Ibid. p. 248.

²³ The Aga Khan Trust for Culture began excavations on the site in 2013.

“Inside the wall, to the left, is a domed tomb about 60 feet high, and further on, a little to the left, is the tomb of Fatima Sultana, a daughter of Sultan Mohamed Amir. H. 1021 (A.D.1612). Leaving these three tombs and returning to the main path, and passing to the right, the visitor comes to the mausoleum of Hayat Bakshi Begum, the wife of Sultan Mohamed Kutb Shah, the fifth king.”²⁴

Beyond the wider spatial relationships of the larger structures, material traces on the facades of some of the tombs are described in some detail in the chapter. Of Ibrahim Qutb Shah’s tomb, Campbell writes, “this tomb is the only one that shows to any extent traces, in its many colors, of the enamel with which many of these shrines were ornamented. The tomb is now undergoing repairs, and it is hoped that the small traces of enamel will be retained.”²⁵ This description is helpful for the purposes of current conservation. Campbell’s other descriptions of the tomb facades would have been after the Nizam’s interventions.

Included in Campbell’s book are references to seventeenth century travel accounts by two French travelers, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier and Jean Thevenot who arrived in Hyderabad during the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was a traveler and a merchant from Paris. Travenier visited several countries in the Middle East and Asia and reported on his visits to Golconda between 1640 and 1666. He wrote about Golconda in one of his travelogues, *Les Six Voyages*, which was published and translated several times. A detailed account of the necropolis from the time of the seventh Qutb Shahi Sultan, Abdulla Qutb Shah, appears in the chapter. However, the accounts of Golconda by Tavernier and Thevenot are not seen in this thesis as very reliable sources. Many of their

²⁴ Campbell, A. C. (1898). p. 248.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 250

travelogues from their adventures in other cities were proven later to be unreliable, such as an article written by Tavernier, (thirty years after he visited Agra in 1665) claimed that the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan planned a mausoleum that was to be made from black marble and placed across the Yumana river, connecting to the Taj Mahal by a bridge. Tavernier suggested that Shah Jahan was overthrown by his son Aurangzeb before the mausoleum could be constructed. The myth was proved erroneous by later excavations, and it is unclear whether Tavernier had even visited the site in the first place.

These travelers offer "orientalist" accounts of Golconda from the perspective of two European merchants who were in Golconda looking for diamond mines and not "mixing" with the local population but rather making assumptions about what they saw without learning from local sources.²⁶ Campbell quotes Thevenot²⁷ who describes the tombs and gardens in some detail in his travelogue. However, if he was not able to enter the tomb as he claimed, he would not have been able to describe its contents in such detail,²⁸

Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1667 during the reign of Abdulla Kutub Shah, the sixth king, writes as follows: "The sepulchers of the king who built Golconda, and of the five princes who have reigned after him, are about two musquet shot from the castle. They take up a great deal of ground, because every one of them is in a large garden. The way to go thither is out of the west gate, and by it not only the bodies of the kings and princes, but of all that die in the castle, are carried out, and nothing can prevail to have them conveyed by any other gate. The tombs of the six kings are accompanied by those of other relations, their wives, and chief eunuchs. Every one of them is in the middle of a garden, and to see them one must ascend by five or six steps to a walk built of stones. The chapel which contains the tomb is surrounded by a gallery with open arches. It is square, and raised six or seven feet fathom high; it is beautified with many ornaments of architecture and covered with a dome, and each of the four corners has a turret., few people are suffered to go in, because these places are accounted sacred. There are Santos who keep the entry, and I could not have got in if I had not told them I was a stranger. The floor is covered with a carpet, and on the tomb there is a statten pall with white flowers that trail upon the ground.

²⁶ see: Said, E. (1979).

²⁷ See: Thevenot, M. (1686). p. 85.

²⁸ Campbell, Campbell, A. C. (1898). p. 251.

The gardens surrounding the tombs were maintained, as Thevenot writes of the tombs, “every one of them is in the middle of a garden, and to see them one must ascend by five or six steps to a walk built of stones.”²⁹ If he did actually visit the tombs, from the outside, Thevenot would have been able to see the gardens enough to describe them.

One of the richest collections of sources for the Necropolis are photographs taken between 1860 and 1900 by travelers and British military elite (Figure 4). These images reveal structures that have been lost over time. Many structures original to the necropolis architecture disappeared due to damage from squatters and conservation campaigns beginning in the Nizam's era and again in the 1980s with a complete re-design of the pathways and gardens surrounding the tombs.³⁰ The images of the site taken in the mid-1900s are important to understanding what elements of the site were in existence at the time and which had disappeared.³¹ A series by Colonel Horatio Biden between 1860-65 from *The Biden Albums, Vol. II* is one such example. The image entitled, “*Golcondah*,” from *Photographs of India and Still Life (The Biden Albums)*, shows the tombs of the first five kings in the background on an angle taken from the northeast. In the middle of the image is what could have been a processional way.³² The pathway is marked by columns covered by a pergola. This path is on axis with the first king, Quli Qutb ul-Mulk's tomb. There is a prominent gateway in line with the tomb at the end of the long line of columns. In the

²⁹ Campbell, A. C. (1898). p. 252.

³⁰ according to the Hyderabad State Archaeological Society.

³¹ The image entitled, “*Golcondah*,” Biden, C.H.,(1860-65)

³² The kings, in chronological order: Quli Qutb ul-Mulk 1518-1543, Jamsheed Quli Qutb 1543-1550, Subhan Quli Qutb 1550, Sultan Ibrahim 1550-1580, Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb 1580-1612

foreground is the structural shell of the summer palace that seems to be connected to the northern necropolis wall.

The photos differ from Campbell's in terms of the information conveyed, as Campbell's photographs are close-ups of the tombs as well as a few taken at a distant, landscape scale (Figure 4).³³ Campbell introduces a visually framed description of the necropolis landscape with views of the tombs alone (without writing about the context of the other tombs or surrounding gardens) and from afar through text and photographs.³⁴ As Campbell notes, "The tombs, which form a large group close to each other, stand upon a slightly raised plateau, the only signs of vegetation in their near neighborhood during the dry season being the trees and shrubs with which the gardens in which they are enclosed are planted."³⁵

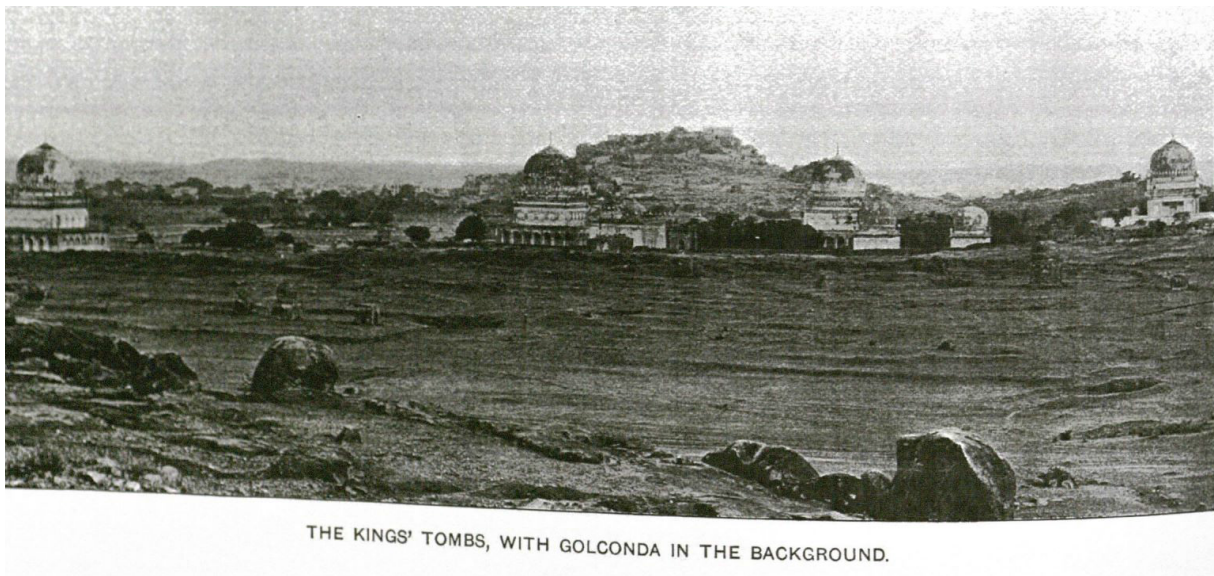


Figure 4 Campbell, A.C. (1898). Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions. William Watson and CO., London, under the patronage of HEH the Nizam's Govt. p.246

³³ Image 3: Campbell, A. C. (1898). p. 246.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 246

³⁵ See Image 1: Photograph from *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions: Being an Exhaustive Photographic History of the Hyderabad State, Deccan, India* – page for this quotation?

The period between the 1947 declaration of Indian Independence, and 1960, was mostly devoid of new literature about the Qutb Shahi necropolis. The lack of new research during this period, was due to a transfer of power from the Nizam to the Republic coupled with the imperatives of economic development which led to a lapse in heritage conservation. The 1940s marked the end of the Nizam's rule and political power was shifting the role of the archaeological survey from the Nizam's direction to the Archaeological Survey of India. According to Marika Sardar, "in 1941, the department's activities and the publication of the Annual Reports came to a sudden end, perhaps because of the contemporary political situation. The state of Hyderabad was forcibly joined to the new Indian republic in 1948, and the Nizam was divested of his ruling powers. Within a few years, once the configuration of states within the republic had been sorted out, Golconda became a part of the administrative responsibilities of the new state of Andhra Pradesh. Work by the department was overseen by the ASI, now run by the Indian government."³⁶

³⁶ Sardar, M. (2007). p. 8

The first extant plan of the necropolis was included in the 1920-21 archaeological survey headed by Padma Bhushan Ghulam Yazdani. Yazdani established the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad State in 1914 under the last Nizam, Asf Jah VII. He was the director of the department for thirty years, during which time he published historical accounts of the Deccani sultans, mostly the Bahmani Sultanate and the architecture of Bidar. Although not completely accurate, the site plan is the first published evidence of an attempt to survey the spatial relationships of the tombs (Figure 4). Yazdani was also editor of *Epigraphia Indica* from 1913 to 1940.

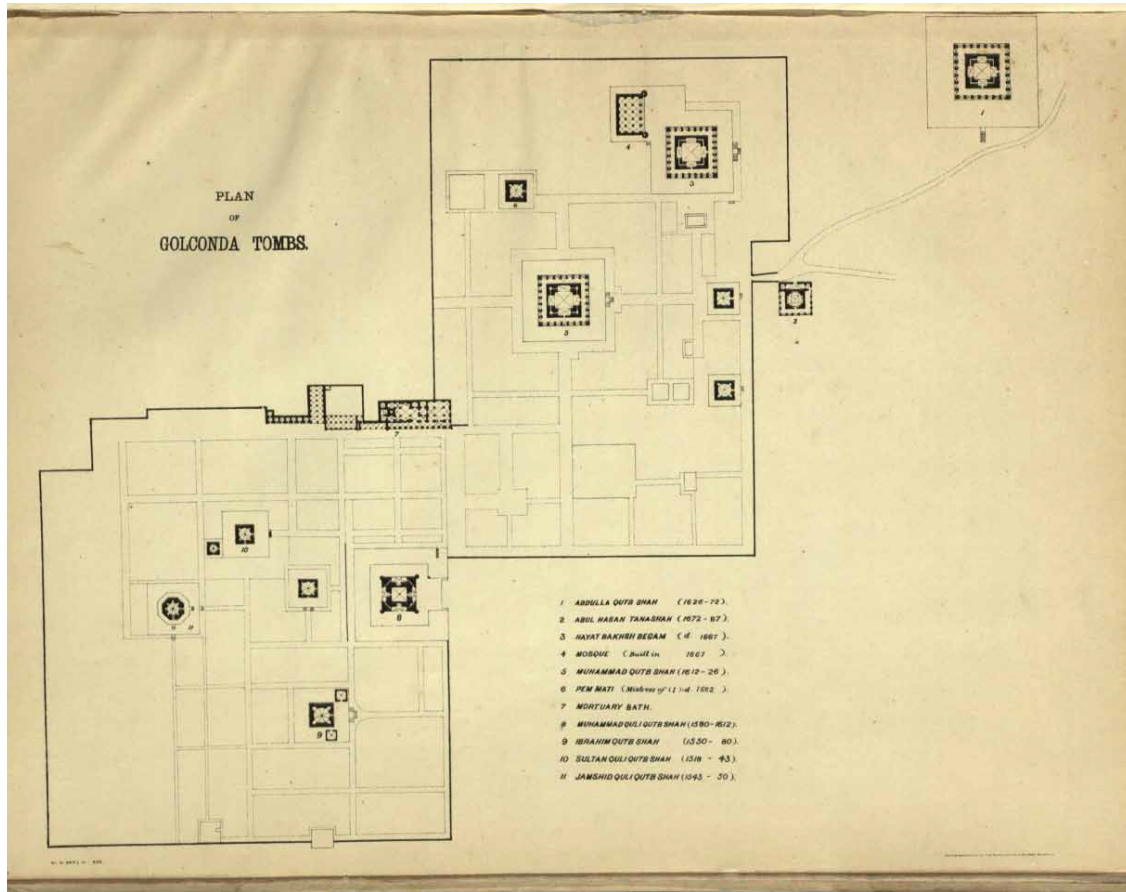


Figure 5 Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions 1920

Another important source of an archaeological catalogue and epigraphic translation is from Syed Ali Asgar Bilgrami, Director of Archaeology for the Nizam Government from 1922 to 1924. Bilgrami published *Landmarks of the Deccan: A Comprehensive Guide to the Archaeological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad* (1927).³⁷ The book chronicles all of the most famous monuments of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty, but does not record the smaller tombs, which exist outside of the Necropolis. Bilgrami records the structures, providing translations of each associated epigraph, which along with the work of Yazdani offers important information about the Qutb Shahi monuments, for identifying the tombs that have inscriptions.

Modern Historical Research

In 1974, Haroon Khan Sherwani published the seminal book on Deccan history, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty*. The book is still recognized by Deccan historians to be the most comprehensive history of the Qutb Shahi Empire. Sherwani describes the architecture of the Qutb Shahis through the heavily political narrative of the sultanate as he writes about the evolution of the dynasty. Sherwani also presents an in-depth analysis of primary sources recorded in manuscripts written by the court historians and associated nobility of the Qutb Shahi Sultans.

In one passage, he describes the architectural development of the kingdom of Golconda by the first king, Quli Qutb ul-Mulk, linking the original fort on Golconda hill to the Hindu Kakatiyas. Sherwani imagines the formation of the kingdom by placing it in the landscape as it was built, hierarchically. He emphasizes Quli Qutb's decision to build on a

³⁷ Bilgrami (1927)

high elevation. The fortress was built on the highest level, then the mansions of the nobility and then the dwellings of the “poorer subjects,” which Sherwani remarks,

It is said that the Fort was constructed on a site where an older Kakatiya fort stood, but the name of Golconda was given to it by Sultan Quli after the Telugu word 'gulleru' or shepherd as it was a shepherd who is said to have pointed out the site to him. But we know from our authorities that the name given to the fort by Sultan-Quli was Muhammadnagar, and in any case it was not necessary for a shepherd to have pointed out the older structure, as the fort, with its central summit, the Bala Hisar, rises to the height of nearly four hundred feet from the ground level and can be seen for miles round. Beside parts of the great wall which is three miles in circumference and is now pierced by eight great gates and broken by eighty-seven bastions each with a distinct name, there is little left of Sultan Quli's palaces or of the mansions of his nobles which have been so much eulogized by our chroniclers, as they have all been replaced by later structures by his successors.³⁸

While Sherwani's estimation of how and where Sultan Quli chose to build this fort provides insight into the local narrative as it reconstructs the story of the fortress from the perspective of the local collective memory of the city, there is still reason to question the historical accuracy of this account as it is taken from local histories rather than primary sources. However, the Necropolis was built below the city of Golconda; building the grandiose tombs, visible from the city, which reinforced the power of the sultanate by building grandiose tombs visible from the city.

Sherwani also accounts for the necropolis spatially, in relation to Golconda. In his description of the architecture of Sultan Quli Qutb ul-Mulk, he recounts the tomb constructed by the sultan as he laid the foundation of the architecture of the Qutb Shahis and also refers to the associated epigraphy, “The mausoleum which he constructed for himself stands in strong contrast with the adjoining tombs of his successors by its fine proportions and its simplicity of design...the four corners of the roof are ornamented by

³⁸ Sherwani, H.K. (1974). p. 47

four bouquets after the fashion of corresponding Bahmani structures. Apart from the inscription stating the name, title and date of death of the deceased which are inscribed in three bands, there are four bands covering the Throne Verse of the Qur'an and Shi'ite Durud containing the names of the twelve Imams."³⁹

Sherwani asserts the hammam on the necropolis site is a mortuary bath, although archaeologist K.K. Muhammed has recently contested this.⁴⁰ Dr. Muhammed claims that the structure was most likely a hammam used by the Sultans as a bath house and the bodies would have been prepared at Golconda. Sherwani makes the argument that the buildings were wash-houses in the chapter on Sultan Quli, "Here mention should be made of two wash-houses, one near Sultan Quli's tomb and the other just inside the Bala Hisar Darwaza in the Fort itself. Both these places were meant for washing the dead bodies of royal personages, the former for males and the latter for females of the royal house. The hammam for males is a part of the Langar-Faiz-Athar, which is definitely mentioned as having been constructed by Sultan Quli himself, while the other is almost its replica on a smaller scale, and according to local tradition, this was also built by him.circular platform in the center of both with twelve beautifully inlaid patterned waves jutting out from the center, reminding one of the twelve imams of the Shi'ite creed."⁴¹ With no epigraphic evidence or reference made in manuscripts, an archaeological survey is the most logical way to settle the debate.

³⁹ Sherwani, H.K., (1974). p. 48.

⁴⁰ Dr. K.K. Muhammed has been the head of archaeological excavations from 2013-present for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture conservation program of the necropolis.

According to Marika Sardar, the 'Langar-Faiz-Athar' that Sherwani refers to here was a garden that surrounded Sultan Quli's tomb.⁴² The garden was accessible from Golconda to the South and the N-S road to the east. A metrological study discussed in Chapter 3 provides measured evidence of the garden extents.⁴³

The territory of Golconda is positioned on a hilltop south of the necropolis. A panoramic view of the entire necropolis can be seen from the southern wall of Golconda. Sherwani places the Qutb Shahi Dynasty in the broader political geographical context through his description of the building of the territory by Quli Qutb ul-Mulk. Sherwani describes the geography of Golconda in the context of the region, "from the geographical point of view the Golconda hill, which rises nearly four hundred feet from the ground level is the easternmost important hill in the great Deccan plateau which extends from the Western Ghats eastwards, and thus commands the whole country right up to eminences in the Godavari-Krishna, doab such as Devarkonda, Kondapalli, Kondavidu and other places."⁴⁴

The fourth king, Ibrahim Quli Qutb (1550-1580) built numerous structures connected to the Necropolis and Golconda. As he moves through the many contributions of Sultan Ibrahim Quli Qutb, Sherwani addresses the outer fortress wall that he built. Sherwani describes Ibrahim as a peaceful ruler who resisted conflict and was criticized for it as a result. His close political advisor, Mustafa Khan, a Safavid immigrant and prominent figure in the nobility of the Deccan, convinced him to build a fortress to protect the

⁴² Sardar, M. (2007). p. 76

⁴³ See: Wescoat and James, Metrology (2015)

⁴⁴ Sherwani, H.K. (1974) p. 18.

Sultanate of Golconda from “approaching threats.”⁴⁵ According to Sherwani, “it was now that Mustafa Khan suggested to Ibrahim Qutb Shah that the country was surrounded by the enemies of the kingdom and it was necessary that the fortifications of the capitol should be strengthened and widened. Ibrahim, therefore ordered the extension of the fortifications, and the noble walls and moat of the great fortress-city of Golkonda as they exist now took their shape. The high officers and jairdars of the state took advantage of the security offered by the ramparts of the extended fortifications and built their own palaces within the walls, and the city became replenished with gardens, hammams, fine wide streets, shops belonging to various trades, and other works of public unity.”⁴⁶ Ibrahim built a gateway connecting the city of Golconda to the necropolis directly in front of his tomb.

Recent Scholarship

This fortress is presented in connection with the landscape of the dynasty in Ali Akbar Husain’s book, *Scent in the Islamic Garden*.⁴⁷ Husain traces the water system of stepwells that once irrigated a series of adjacent gardens and agricultural fields. In addition to irrigating the necropolis gardens, the chain of wells, three of which are in the Necropolis supplied water from the Necropolis to Golconda. I argue that the building of elaborate gardens along the stepwell system was a way for the Sultanate to exhibit their power, harnessing water to irrigate elaborate gardens in an arid climate.⁴⁸ According to Husain, “until 1952, a canal from the Durug tank (twelve miles away) fed a succession of baolis in the Qutb Shahi necropolis, irrigating fifty acres of the royal tomb gardens. The canal

⁴⁵Ibid. p.134

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.134

⁴⁷ Husain, A. A. (2000).

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 8 “a network of wells, baolis (stepped-wells), and water-storage tanks surrounds the citadel and its north eastern extension (the Naya Qila or New Fort), a reminder of vanished gardens within and outside the citadel.”

extended to the Bala Hisar, where it supplied water to another succession of wells, water being pumped up there by ox-power to irrigate the gardens of the necropolis. The canal, now in ruins, can still be traced.”⁴⁹

Husain connects the baolis to the necropolis and notes changes made to the site by the department of archaeology. The Qutb Shahi necropolis was walled and rejuvenated in the days of the Nizams, and since 1956, when the Andhra Pradesh Department of Archaeology took over its management, it has been embellished with modern fountain jets and is now treeless too, thanks to the Department’s untiring zeal. To the west of the fort is the Ibrahim tank dating from the mid-sixteenth century. It has a circumference of two miles and irrigated the sixteenth century Bagh-e Ibrahim Shah flanking it to the south, which survives now as a rice field.”⁵⁰ Husain’s book is a particularly important contribution first because of his critical analysis of landscape modification in the Deccan. It connects contemporary literature, especially poetry of the Qutb Shahi court, which romantically describes sensory experience as an essential consideration in the design of the gardens. He also translates Urdu plant lists used in Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb’s Yunnani hospital, and a list of trees that would have been planted in all of the Qutb Shahi gardens.

For the purposes of this thesis research, Robert Simpkins, Marika Sardar and Laura Weinstein have written three important dissertations on Golconda art and architecture in the past ten years. These contributions yielded discoveries in the cultural geography, planning and building of architecture, and the interpretation of courtly life through manuscripts and paintings.

Robert Simpkins’ dissertation, *The Road to Golconda, European Travelers’ Routes*,

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.8

⁵⁰Ibid. p. 8

Political Organization and Archaeology in the Golconda Kingdom (1518-1647) uses a cultural geography approach to trace the travel itineraries of European travelers in Hyderabad.⁵¹ The study uses the travelogues to look for patterns in road networks throughout Golconda Kingdom. Simpkins identifies some key patterns in the networks and architecture associated with trade in the Qutb Shahi dynasty. The study is comprehensive and provides new information of the extents of the Qutb Shahi territory.

However, by focusing on the European travelers Tavemier and Thevenot, Simpkins relies heavily on orientalist travelogues.

For the critical site-specific research about the monuments at Golconda fortress, Marika Sardar's dissertation provides a comprehensive compilation and study of the monuments. Sardar also examines the relationship between Golconda and the Necropolis at the South Gate of the Necropolis, and situates the monuments in relation to their dates chronologically. She describes the tomb placement, suggesting ceremonial usage: "Rather than responding to practical concerns, the Qutb Shahi palace area, congregational mosque, tombs and gates were placed within the landscape for dramatic effect. The palace area was separated from the main town by means of a wall and gate. This gate opened onto a street that traversed the town, passing the congregational mosque and leading to a gate in the city walls. The domes of the dynastic tombs were visible in the distance. Tughluqabad, Daulatabad, Firuzabad, Gulbarga, Bidar and Bijapur were also arranged in this fashion, and their layout seems to have been dictated by ceremonial purposes. A Tughluq period source describes the official processions that took place on the street between the city gate and the palace area, with the sultan passing by the major monuments he and his family had

⁵¹ Simpkins, R. A. (2011).

bestowed upon their subjects before disappearing into his palace through a gate adorned with royal symbols.”⁵² Sardar draws upon contemporary Qutb Shahi manuscripts and epigraphy as primary sources for dating the architecture of Golconda.

Laura Weinstein offers an in-depth exploration of these documents as they relate to each Sultan. Weinstein’s work is a comprehensive study of the contemporary manuscripts from Golconda. Of particular interest to this thesis are her explorations of the manuscripts and epigraphy created during Sultan Quli, Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli Qutb’s reigns.

Weinstein’s cites epigraphic and architectural evidence to explain the development of medical services and research in the early Qutb Shahi Dynastic development, especially as it applied to community services. As Weinstein notes, “Norms of Islamic kingship required rulers to support the continuing development of medical knowledge as well as to maintain the health and welfare of their people by establishing hospitals and financing them with waqfs or pious endowments.”⁵³ She presents this evidence suggesting that the Qutb Shahi sultans closely followed this aspect of Islamic kingship. As Weinstein remarks, “We have, for example, an inscription recording the endowment in the name of the Shi’a imams of two towns for the purpose of providing food for the poor by Sultan Quli in 1513. Likewise, Ibrahim Qutb Shah established gardens and opened them to the public.”⁵⁴

Daud Ali and Emma Flatt’s edited book, *Garden and Landscape Histories in Pre-colonial India* brings another several perspectives to the range of different aspects of the landscape in the Qutb Shahi Sultanate. For this thesis, one important article from this book is Philip Wagoner’s examination of a Telugu connection to Amin Khan’s garden (mentioned

⁵² Sardar, M. (2007) p. 197

⁵³ Weinstein, L. (2007) p.66

⁵⁴ Weinstein, L. (2007) p.

in Chapter 4).⁵⁵ Wagoner describes the wider patronage of Sultan Ibrahim's amirs engaged in acts of community development such as the town of Patancheru to the northwest of Golconda, on the road between Hyderabad and Bidar. The garden includes Amin Khan's tomb and a second tomb, laid out in the same way that the Sultanate tombs on the necropolis are situated, diagonally from West to East (Figure 6). Wagoner describes the town of Patancheru as it was built as a center of "charitable gardens." According to Wagoner, "It is important to note that Amin Khan's establishment of a garden is described not in isolation but as one of seven meritorious actions that are traditionally referred to in Telugu as the *sapta-santanam* ('seven kinds of Progeny'). Just like the begetting of a son, these actions were held to bring the performer fame in this world and an auspicious condition in the next. Definitions of the *sapta-santanam* vary somewhat but according to Cynthia Talbot all listings include "'building a tank, installing a god or temple, commissioning a poem, and planting a grove or garden.'"⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Wagoner, P. in Ali, D. and Flatt, E. (2012) p.99 Amin Khan was one of Sultan Ibrahim's amirs, according to Wagoner, "The garden described in *Yayati Caritramu* was founded not by the Sultan himself, but by the one of his amirs, 'Abd al-Qadir Amin Khan, who was also responsible for commissioning Telanganarya's literary work. The first canto of the poem conforms to 16th century Telugu literary conventions by tracing the patrons genealogy and praising his accomplishments, and it is in this context that Telaganarya describes Amin Khan's garden. Although the *Yayati Caritramu* preface would appear to be the most detailed historical source available on Amin Khan, there are two other bodies of evidence that also relate to him and are in substantial agreement with this literary evidence. These are, first, a group of archaeological remains preserved at Patancheru (Medak district, Andhra Pradesh, some 30 kms. North-west of Hyderabad) including Amin Khan's tomb... and a second, smaller tomb, as well as a mosque, a sarai, an idgah, and two inscriptions...recording the foundation of the larger tomb and the mosque by Amin Khan; and a second, two famans preserved in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, which mention Amin Khan's son 'Abd al-Karim, who inherited his father's title."

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 106.

In his essay, Wagoner also cites epigraphic evidence (Kakatiya inscriptions), as he describes, “from at least the 12th century there was an established tradition of founding charitable gardens in Andhra country. These sources suggest that access to these gardens was not restricted to the elite but rather that they were open to the public, and that at least



Figure 1 Figure 6 Amin Khan's tomb (left, SW) and unknown tomb (right NE). Photo by Allison James 2015.

one of their primary purposes was the production of fruits, and possible vegetables, for feeding travelers and the poor. The evidence also suggests that these gardens would have been located adjacent to tanks or other irrigation sources and that they would either have contained structures where people were fed and provided with drinking water or had such structures located outside in close proximity. Such charitable gardens were perfect embodiments of the spata-santana ideal, producing both fame and merit for those who

founded them.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Ibid. pp. 108-9

He then cites a poem commissioned by Ibrahim about Amin Khan's garden.

Wagoner translates the Telugu poem by the poet Telaganarya,

Wood-apples, rose apples, mango trees
cinnis and citrons—three different kinds—
cashews and figs and pomegranates

jack fruits, bananas and Champaka trees
laurels and cherries and betel-nut palms
lemons, palmyras and jujubes
Butter trees, dates and Ambala Plums
Pineapples, aloes and coconut trees.

Grapes and cardamoms, screwpines and betel vines
Jasmine, viraji and needle-flower creepers:
Thus did Amin Khan plant his garden
To flower and fruit without end.

The beautiful garden of Aminpuram
Thrived and flowered, bloomed and bore fruit.
It brought joy and rejuvenation'to young and old alike
As they wandered within
Admiring its views
And receiving its wonderful fruits.

He made feeding-houses and watering-sheds,
Pools and wells and flower beds,
And rustic bowers among its groves.
Thus was Amin Khan's fame secured
Forever on the face of the earth.

yayati Caritramu, 1.36-38.⁵⁸

Wagoner also emphasizes the impact that Vijayanagara had on Sultan Ibrahim, evidenced by his Telugu patronage, as Wagoner describes, "the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah was a time of profoundly creative interaction between Persianate and Indic cultural forms. Ibrahim himself is remembered in Telugu oral tradition not only as an ideal king but also a great connoisseur and patron of Telugu literature. Ibrahim's taste for Telugu was likely

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp. 109-10

formed prior to his accession, during the years he spent in Vijayanagara court as a guest of the de facto sovereign, Araviti Ramaraya.”⁵⁹

Among Philip Wagoner’s wide contributions is a recent book edited by Wagoner and Eaton (2014). The book covers several aspects of urban design and architectural development in the Deccan including a chapter on Amin Khan’s garden and the joint-influence of Hindu city planning on Islamic city planning in the Deccan, specifically Vjayanagara and Golconda.

Robert Simpkins’ contribution in Laura Parodi’s book, *The Visual World of Muslim India* is similar in nature to the work in this thesis, with two important differences. The research is an extension of his dissertation based on a field survey on archeological remains, and cultural geographic exploration of the areas around the necropolis (Figure 7). The work is based on trade routes and the development of the necropolis and its extents from a larger geographic perspective as well as a micro scale analysis of the architecture on the site. I am doing something similar in this thesis except my research is a structured analysis of processional ways that have not previously been explored.

The patterns that emerge around the Necropolis appear in his essay titled, “Golconda’s Mosques and Tombs: Distribution, Chronology and Meaning,” published in Laura Parodi’s book, *The Visual World of Muslim India*.⁶⁰ This essay looks at the larger territory of the trade routes connected to Golconda as well as the micro-scale comparison of the tomb and mosque architecture on and around the Necropolis site. What it does not do is to connect the spaces of the Golconda fort, the Necropolis, Dargah, and Hyderabad in the landscape that joined these sites during the Qutb Shahi dynasty. However, Simpkins

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 104

⁶⁰ Simpkins, R. (2014), p. 31, in Parodi, L. (2014)

shows how important it is to look at the local landscape scale when dating and grouping monuments connected to a site to deepen and broaden the contextual aspects of the research.

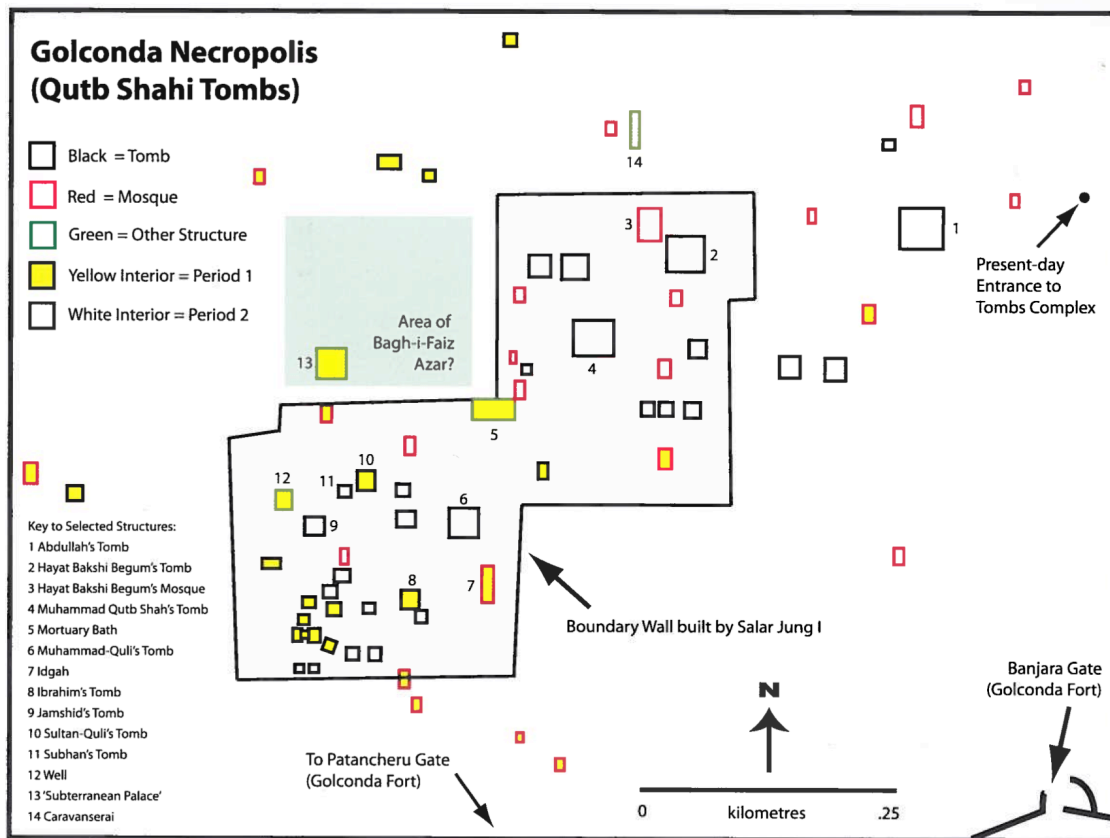


Figure 7 Robert Simpkin's survey of necropolis. Simpkins, R. (2014), p. 35, in Parodi, L. (2014)

Chapter 2 Conclusion

Historical research on the necropolis has increased in interest in the last ten years. A new collection of work on manuscripts, epigraphy, urban design history and landscape studies provides critical reference for this thesis. However, the literature does not link the necropolis, Golconda and the Dargah to the wider urban context by identifying processional pathways in-between them. Also missing from the literature is a spatial analysis of the

necropolis site as it relates to the wider patronage of the Sultanate, all of which are included in this thesis.

The next chapter introduces the spatial layout in the establishment of the necropolis by Sultan Quli.

CHAPTER 3: Topographical, Spatial and Visual Considerations in the Initial Layout of the Necropolis

Sultan Quli Qutb ul' Mulk (1518-1543) planned and built his tomb before he died at the age of 99. The monument was built in a prominent place to be seen from Golconda Fortress and all surrounding areas. The decision to place his tomb in the area to the northwest of Golconda was important to a king who spent the last half of his life establishing a new kingdom. He maintained a strong connection to Bidar as he retained political ties to Bahmani roots while establishing an independent, culturally local kingdom. Those passing on the main road leading to or from Bidar would see the tomb on the way and on certain occasions, pay their respects to the king. These larger spatial patterns of patronage are outlined in the next section to illustrate the larger context of architectural procession.

The Geographic Context of Early Qutb Shahi Patronage

Golconda and the necropolis lie to the north of the Musi River, which allowed for the eventual expansion of a new city to the east (which would be established by his grandson, Muhammad Quli Qutb in 1591.) The territory of the Qutb Shahi Sultanate was established as one of five Deccani Sultanates (Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Berar) in 1518 after the decline of the Bahmani Sultanate. A regional map (Figure 8) shows Golconda in relation to the other four Deccani Sultanates as well as their territories, including the

Bahmani and Delhi sultanates that existed prior to the establishment of Golconda.

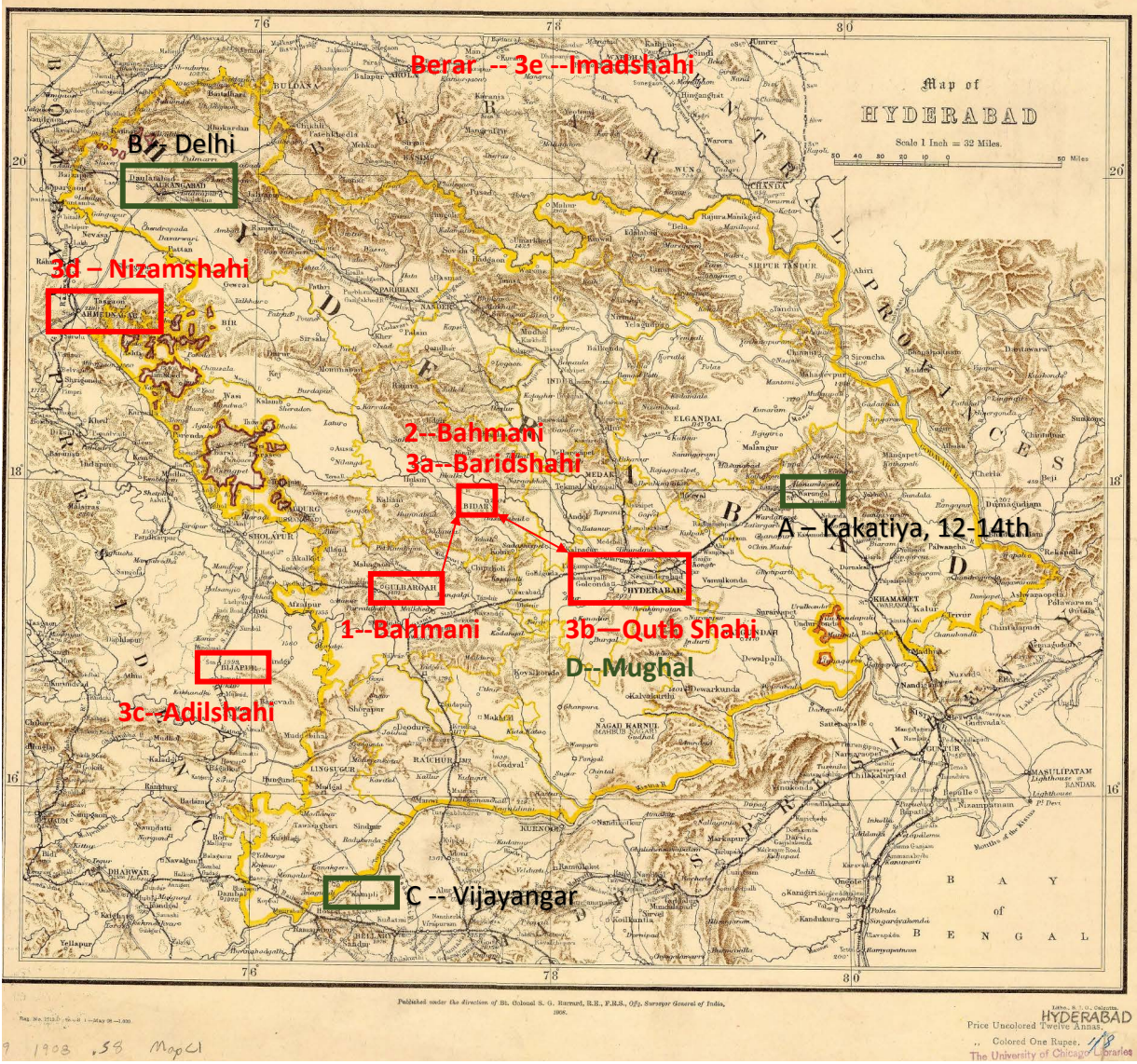


Figure 8 1927 British Survey Map showing Golconda in the context of the five Deccani Sultanates, Bahmani Sultanate and Delhi Sultanate Territories. Credit: James Wescoat and University of Chicago Libraries

The Golconda territory was in the eastern area of the Deccan, and became a center of trade, which peaked during the reigns of Sultan Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli Qutb. The expansion of trade extended the trade routes, especially to the trade centers of Vijayanagara, Masulipatam and to the hinterlands, connecting to Bidar in the northwest

and Delhi in the north. Golconda was an international trade center for Golconda diamonds and printed textiles and at its height attracted trade from Persia, Central Asia, Arab countries, China and occasionally from the Europe.

Chapter Outline and Structure

First, this chapter explores the placement of the first tomb and establishment of the necropolis as it relates to the wider patronage of Sultan Quli Qutb's Sultanate. Next I relate the tomb placement to the landscape of procession and analyze the way that the pathways were laid out through the landscape as it developed through the act of procession, and to Golconda Fortress. Thirdly, I look at how the architecture evolved and then how, in the case of Sultan Quli's contribution, the processional ways followed. And finally, I show how important political and spiritual connections to the architecture are explored throughout this chapter. These considerations are investigated by analyzing the following elements:

Tomb placement related to surrounding areas and wider patronage:

Sultan Quli Qutb ul'Mulk chose the highest elevation on the first terrace below the Golconda Fort to build his tomb. The tomb can be seen from the entire northern side of the fortress.

Visual Links to Pathways: Visual links were important to the design and planning of the necropolis, as each monument can be seen from Golconda and the surrounding areas.

Views from the necropolis were just as important as a deciding factor in where to place the first tomb. Evidence of this can be seen in historical and recent photographic images. These views would have been important to the design as the surrounding hills frame the tomb and help to order the processional pathways, as the processions would initially see the tomb in the distance as they moved from Golconda to the necropolis.

Processional Paths: Two pathways were established by Sultan Quli, connecting Golconda to the tombs from the south and east. The southern and eastern doorways, which are emphasized by a strong visual alignment with the tomb from these directions, suggest that the pathways were established with the intention of being used for procession. I argue that a strong visual connection between Golconda and the tomb of Sultan Quli from the Bala Hisar would mark the best place on Golconda fortress to begin a procession. Other evidence (such as directionality and axial alignment) from his successors' tombs suggests this initial building pattern was set by Sultan Quli.

Spatial considerations: Sultan Quli chose to build his tomb in this place as he envisioned a procession would move from south to north, to enter as with most Islamic tombs at the feet of the tombstone as it is placed in the direction of the burial, from north to south. He also built a door to the east, inviting processions in both directions. The tomb was positioned in accordance with the four cardinal directions, aligned toward Mecca and enclosed inside of a square. These initial patterns of development at the beginning of the dynasty set the stage for following the funerary procession from the Fort to the Necropolis.

These four types of analysis are elaborated below.

3.1 Sultan Quli's Wider Patronage

Sultan Quli's contributions were focused on laying the foundation of the Sultanate politically and spiritually. He focused his campaign on the architecture of the Necropolis and Golconda rather than the areas around these sites that would be developed by his descendants. First, he built a new fortress over the top of the Bahmani and Kakatiya structures that stood in ruins on Golconda hill. Later, at the end of his life, he built his tomb

and the two connecting pathways. One pathway connected to Bidar along a road to the east of his tomb. The road to Bidar was an important part of Sultan Quli's wider patronage.

This connection is important because Sultan Quli continued a strong relationship with Bidar, and this relationship with Golconda remained strong during the reigns of Ibrahim and Muhammad Quli. As a part of his wider patronage, Sultan Quli repaired the Durug tank to expand access to water for Golconda (Figure 9).

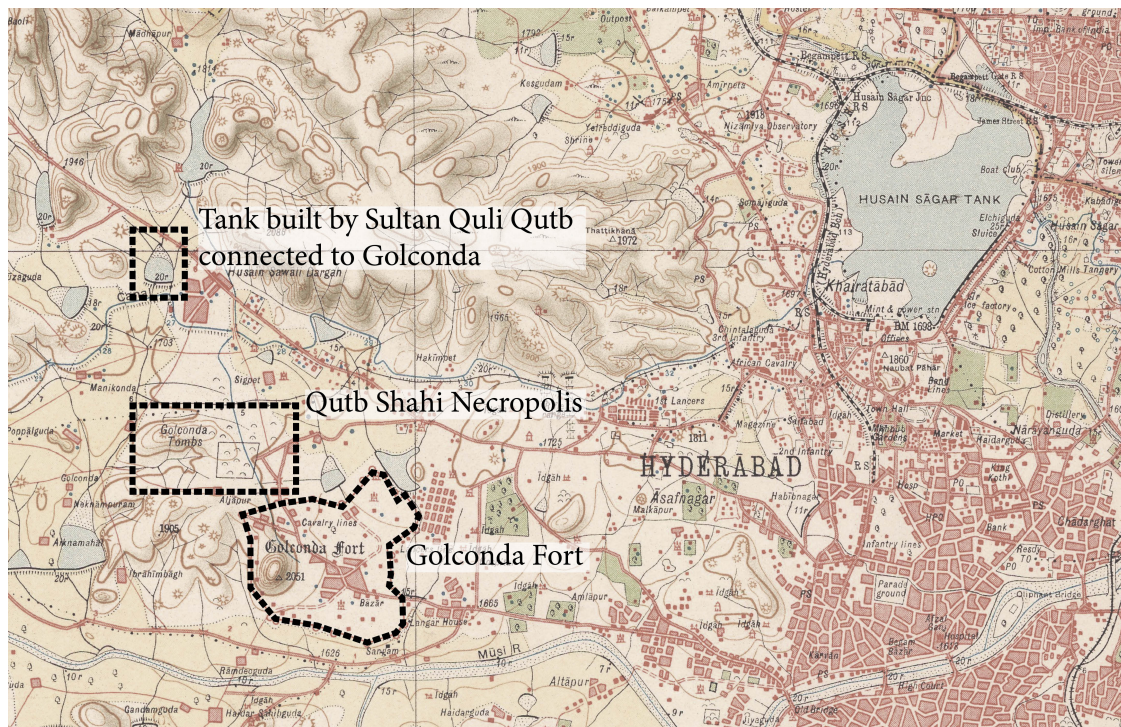


Figure 9 study area from Hyderabad (1927), published under the direction of Colonel Commandant E.A. Tandy, R.E, Surveyor General of India. Published in this thesis with permission from the University of Chicago Libraries.

3.2 Relationship between Golconda and the Necropolis

It is easy to imagine how topography shaped Sultan Quli's strategy to find the most prominent place to build his tomb, as it would be seen from the entire northern side of Golconda. A photograph taken from the Bala Hisar on the Northern side of the fortress

reveals design elements that Sultan Quli might have envisioned when he planned to build his tomb on the upper terrace of the necropolis (Figure 10).

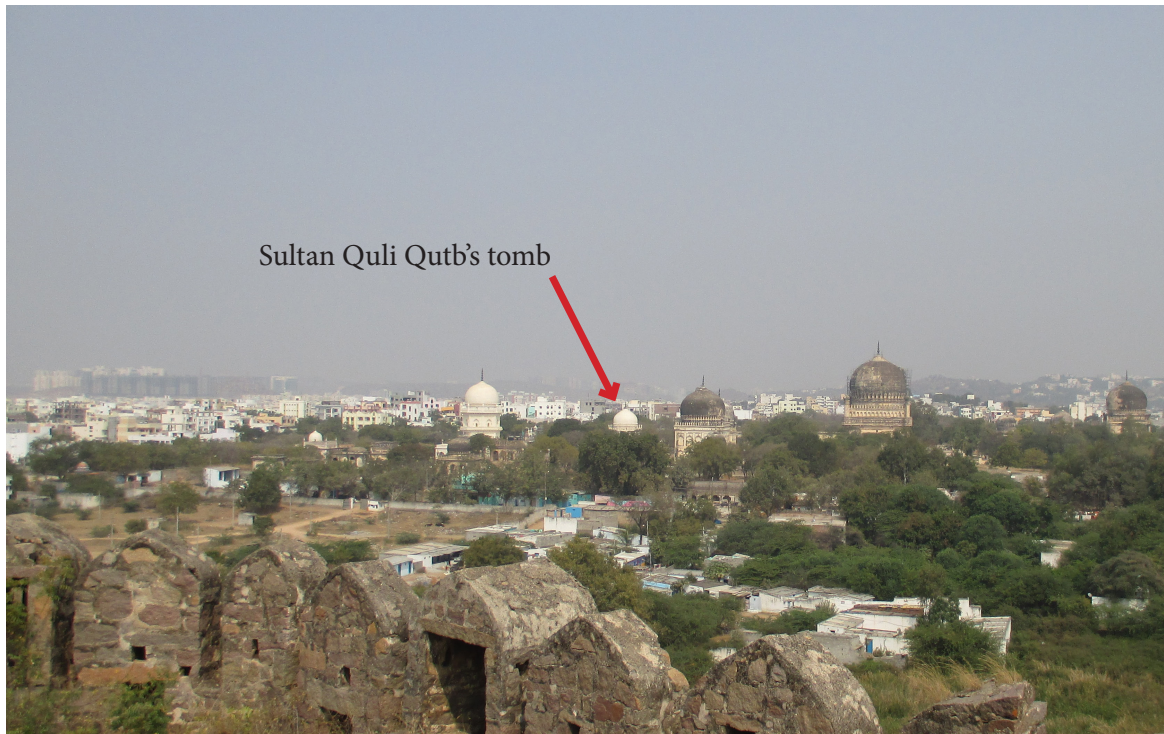


Figure 10 Tomb of Sultan Quli Qutb ul'Mulk (1518-1547) taken from the Bala Hisar, Golconda. Photo by Allison James 2015.

From this position, the building of Sultan Quli's tomb can be explored visually starting with the most prominent architectural element, the dome, acting as the node from which all of the other elements were connected. The dome can be seen from any point on the Northern edge of the fortress. At the time, it was the largest building in the area and would have appeared in stark contrast to the surrounding vegetation. A white (lime coated) stucco exterior was built above the tree canopy. The tomb was placed on the highest point on the upper terrace of the necropolis as well, to ensure that it would be seen from all of the critical vantage points (from the fortress and lower elevations of Golconda). Surveys of the terrace suggest several adaptations to the terrace in the formation of the necropolis. At

the time of Sultan Quli's reign, however, the terrain was reconstructed to accommodate only one tomb and surrounding enclosure walls.

As he planned his tomb and surrounding tomb-garden, the visual link between Golconda and the necropolis was clear and important to the tomb layout. This visual connection allowed those involved in the procession to see where they were going, from the Bala Hisar to the Necropolis. This visual link enhanced the experience as they looked toward the tomb in the distance, framed by the landscape surrounding it. In addition, a road leading from the Bala Hisar, from a gate descending from the upper terrace (Figure 11) to what is now Patancheru Gate (built during Sultan Ibrahim's reign) provides more evidence of a processional way that was most likely planned as Sultan Quli built his tomb.



Figure 11 Bala Hisar gate leading to processional pathway (Photo: Allison James 2015)

A procession from Golconda to Sultan Quli's tomb involved the establishment of two pathways formed by followers of Sultan Quli most likely as a part of a "death day," paying

homage to the Sultan (Figure 12). The pathways would have been marked first by those traveling to the tomb as it was being built, and then by visits to his tomb by his close advisors, family members and occasionally the public. The N-S pathway would have been the closest route from Golconda Fortress. Starting at the Bala Hisar, one would have moved down through a gateway on the northeastern side of the Bala Hisar. This gateway (now closed) had a ramp leading to what is now a road connecting to Patancheru Gate. Before this gate was built or the road fortified, the pathway between the two sites was much more informal, until one reached the necropolis. Another possible entrance, to the east along the main road to what is now the main entrance to the site, is also evidenced by a historical link to Bidar. This road, running from what is now the Banjara Gate to the necropolis entrance and then to the east-west road to Bidar would have been used heavily.



Figure 12 Urban scale map showing the processional pathways during Sultan Quli's reign. Google maps 2015.

Detailed topographical analysis of the site shows elevation changes between the tomb and processional ways. The approach from the south would have involved a steep decline from the Bala Hisar, wrapping around along the road to a valley and up to the terrace where one would have entered through the southern gateway to through the enclosure wall to the tomb (Figure 13). The approach from the east would be more gradual, as it moved down the Bala Hisar, around in the direction of what is now Banjara Gate, then into the tomb to the east.

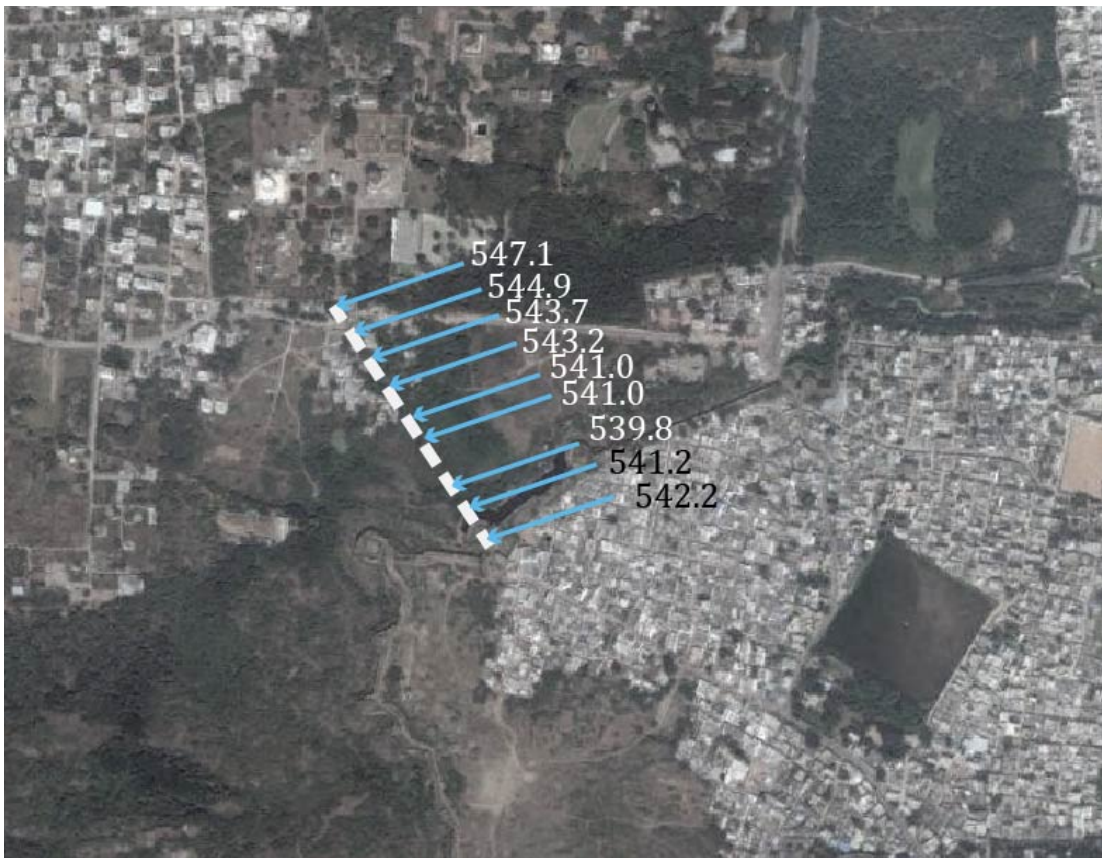


Figure 13 Topographical differences (meters) between Patancheru Gate and the South Gate of the Necropolis.

3.3. Arrival at the Necropolis

Once the tomb was built, it would have been approached from one of two directions: from the south via the shortest distance from the Bala Hisar and from the east on the way

to Bidar (Figure 14). There was still a strong political connection between Bidar and Golconda at the time of Sultan Quli. Other members of the court at Bidar would have paid their respects to Sultan Quli on the way to Golconda after his passing. Therefore, an entrance to the tomb along the Golconda-Bidar road would be the most logical next entrance to Sultan Quli's tomb. As the seventeenth century French explorer Thevenot describes in his travelogue, "The way to go thither is out of the west gate, and by it not only the bodies of the kings and princes, but of all that die in the castle, are carried out, and nothing can prevail to have them conveyed by any other gate."⁶¹ The "west gate" Thevenot refers to here is most likely the west gate of the fort, as the bodies were carried out of this gate. A visualization of the approach from the east, exiting to the south imagines the E/W entrance (Figure 14).

⁶¹ Thevenot, (1686)



Figure 14 The Approach: Processional pathway leading to Sultan Quli's tomb.
Photos by Allison James 2015.

3.4 Tomb Layout on the Necropolis

This thesis builds upon studies of Mughal garden complexes that use Indo-Islamic units of measurement, such as the gaz and bigha ⁶² It presents a preliminary analysis of tomb footprints, plinths, and garden layouts using an empirical method, in which these basic measurements are assumed to be decimally proportioned (Wescoat and James, 2014). Using that assumption the gaz length is estimated to be 0.75 cm. This analysis remains highly provisional because we have not identified texts that describe Deccani architecture in gaz units to date.

A gaz analysis of the Sultan Quli enclosure reveals a square layout of the tomb as it was situated in a garden. Sultan Quli Qutb's tomb, according to Wescoat and James, was

⁶² Wescoat, Brand and Mir, (1993)

originally built on a footprint of 11.78 meters (16 gaz square) with a height of 521.3 meters.⁶³ The tomb sits on a 20 gaz square plinth, which was placed on a 30.46 m (40 gaz) plinth to allow for plinth graves on the southern and western sides of the tomb. The tomb enclosure was roughly 135 meters square (180 gaz square). As for tomb placement, it would have been logical to build a tomb adjacent to a water system, as the tomb would be surrounded by gardens (Figure 15).

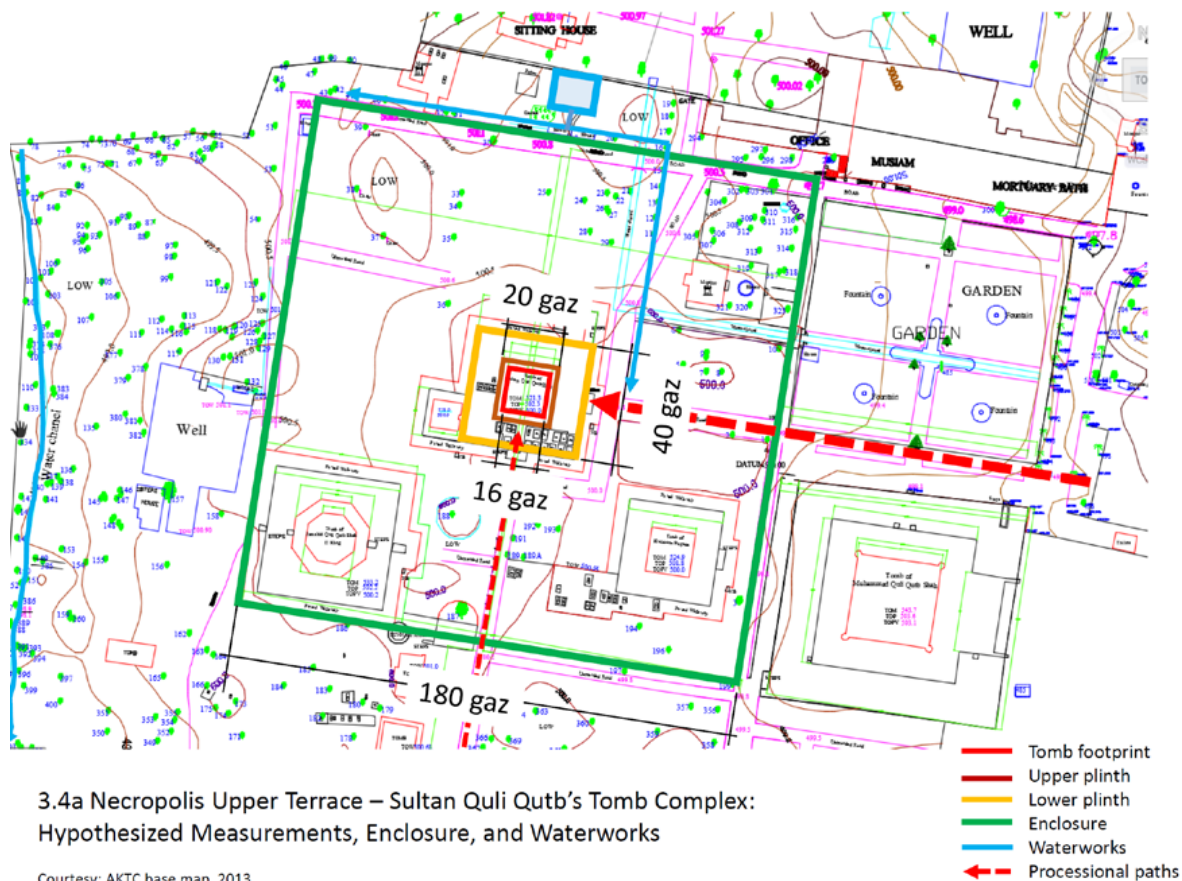


Figure 15 Gaz analysis Wescoat and James (2015). This diagram shows the southern and eastern approach to the tomb and the “Hypothesized Measurements, Enclosure and Waterworks” of Sultan Quli Qutb’s Tomb Complex. Credit: Wescoat and James (2015), Overlay, AKTC CAD map 2013.

⁶³ Wescoat and James (unpublished ms. 2015)

From the topographical lines, (Figure 14) it is clear that the upper necropolis terrace was largely flat, sloping gently towards the southeastern corner of the terrace; a baoli sits behind the first tomb to the west, irrigating the garden surrounding Sultan Quli's tomb. The baolis were connected to the Durug tank to the north of the site (as mentioned above).

Although Thevenot's testimonies are at times questionable and orientalist, he does provide some colorful vision of what the gardens surrounding the tombs and the interior of the tombs might have looked like. Given this perspective his descriptions are useful in a process of combining multiple sources to try to figure out the original tomb placement. (See chapter 2 reference.) Here Thevenot colorfully depicts the tomb's proximity to Golconda, "the sepulchers of the king who built Golconda, and of the five princes who have reigned after him, a musket shot from the castle."⁶⁴ He also emphasizes the importance of the garden to the tomb, and the approach from below: "they take up a great deal of ground because every one of them is in a large garden. The tombs of the six kings are accompanied by those of other relations, their wives, and chief eunuchs. Every one of them is in the middle of a garden, and to see them one must ascend by five or six steps to a walk built of stones."⁶⁵

Thevenot refers to the tombs as "chapels" and describes the interior of the tombs as sacred spaces he was not permitted to enter. However, it seems that he was either able to see inside of the doorways, or imagining what might have been on the inside:

the chapel which contains the tomb is surrounded by a gallery with open arches. It is square, and raised six or seven feet fathom high; it is beautified with many ornaments of architecture and covered with a dome, and each of the four

⁶⁴ Thevenot, in Campbell p. 251

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 251

corners has a turret...the floor is covered with a carpet, and on the tomb there is a statten pall with white flowers that trail upon the ground. There is a cloth of the state of the same stuff a fathom high; all is lighted with many lamps. The tombs of the sons and daughters of the kings are on one side, and on the other all the kings books, on folding seats, which for most part are Alkorans with their commentaries, and some books of the Mahomedan religion. The tombs of the other kings are like to this, save only that the chapels of some are square on the inside, as on the outside, and of others built in the form of a cross; some are lined with that lovely stone I have mentioned.⁶⁶

These details, if they were real (and not imagined to paint a more colorful travel account), provide a depth to the story of ritual and memorial, and of the material aspects of the ritual involved in Qutb Shahi memorials.

Summary of Findings

In conclusion, Sultan Quli was the first to place his tomb with an emphasis on axes to the south and east. By establishing two equally important entrances to his tomb, Sultan Quli connected the necropolis both to Golconda and to Bidar by way of the access to the main road to Bidar to the north of the necropolis. Sultan Quli also introduced the tomb-garden enclosure, placing his tomb inside of a 135-meter (180 gaz) square garden. Most importantly, Sultan Quli established a set of rules that would not be broken by any of his early descendants. The rules were the following:

1. Each tomb was laid out with a doorway to the south and east.
2. These doorways connected to two pathways from the south and east, each having importance for the necropolis layout.
3. The tombs were laid out inside of a rectilinear enclosure even if the garden walls were extended, they followed the similar metrics, e.g., by doubling the size of the courtyard (as seen in Sultan Ibrahim's tomb garden).

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 251

4. All of his parameters for the initial design and tomb layout were followed by his successors, although they adapted the design of their tombs and amended pathways to fit their tombs within the processional pathways.

Sultan Quli's spatial layout of the necropolis was so strong that it would become a pattern used by his descendants in the construction of their tombs and pathways. Sultan Ibrahim strengthened these territories and built new structures that emphasized the pathways, as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Formalizing the Territory between Golconda and the Necropolis

As a critical part of his building campaign, Sultan Ibrahim formalized the territory between the necropolis and Golconda by building along the processional way. He placed a strong emphasis on the N-S path that had been used to pay homage to his father, Sultan Quli Qutb ul'Mulk. Ibrahim extended the path from the new highest point on Golconda Fort and built an entrance to the necropolis marked by a large gateway. He also built a wall on the southern side of the necropolis. . His tomb complex was laid out in a new space between this enclosure wall and the earlier square enclosure of Sultan Quli Qutb ul'Mulk.

At the same time, Ibrahim introduced a spiritual-political presence into the kingdom by patronizing the Sufi Saint, Husain Shah Wali, who would become a strong spiritual symbol of the early Qutb Shahi Sultanate. The dargah built for the Saint north of the necropolis strengthened the processional pathway and political connection along the road to Bidar. This chapter explores the architecture associated with Sultan Ibrahim's fortification of the processional ways and seeks to understand the political and spiritual connections to these pathways.

As the sultanate evolved, so did the territories of procession. The following components are investigated by looking at the architectural elements built in the processional pathways by Sultan Ibrahim: the wider regional context of patronage, the architectural path from Golconda Fort to the necropolis, the approach to the new southwestern gate of the necropolis, and a new rectangular funerary space on the upper terrace of the necropolis.

4.2. Context: Sultan Ibrahim's Wider Patronage:

Ibrahim built more in the area than many. In addition to Golconda Fort and the upper terrace of the necropolis, his contributions included several towns, baolis, gardens, pavilions, asharkhanas and tombs (Figure 16). One of the most significant of Ibrahim's contributions is an old bridge (Purana Pul) that crosses the River Musi to the east, allowing widespread development to take hold across the river (Figure 16 and 17).



Figure 16 Ibrahim's wider patronage included the Purana Pul, his tomb, the Ibrahim Bagh and the Husain Shah Wali Dargah. 1927 British survey map courtesy University of Chicago Libraries.



Figure 17 Purana Pul: <http://hyderabadadvisor.com/purana-pul/> (site visited May 3 2015 at 8:51pm)

The most important contributions for the purposes of this chapter occurred in three main areas: the Bagh-e-Ibrahim to the west of Golconda Fort, a dargah to the north, and the

areas to the east that would come to be known as the Naya Qila.



Figure 18 Garden pavilion (undated) in lower Naya Qila. Photo Allison James 2015

The Sultan built the large Ibrahim tank and surrounding Ibrahim Bagh gardens to the west of Golconda Fort, which still exist. The tank was part of a larger system of waterworks. The waterworks include a twelve mile system of connected channels and step wells used to irrigate agriculture throughout the area. The system also provided water to the Ibrahim Bagh, the Necropolis and Golconda. Tanks were important because harnessing water in a public garden was a way for the sultan to give back to the community on ceremonial occasions while exhibiting his power and creating spaces for himself. Philip Wagoner discusses this socio-political function in his article on the gardens that were built during Ibrahim's reign in the town of Patancheru.⁶⁷ The water system and public gardens were in line with contributions made in a list of ideal ways of living and ruling, written in a

⁶⁷ see: Wagoner, P. in Ali, D and Flatt, E. (2014). p. 98

Telegu document that was commissioned by Ibrahim and adopted from the seven years he spent at Vijayanagar called “The Seven Kinds of Progeny” and were instituted by his advisor, Amin Khan. The water tank fulfilled one of these political virtues and provided irrigation for another important development, a public garden.

The Ibrahim Bagh to the southwest of the necropolis took advantage of the water-harnessing system. According to Sherwani, “Ibrahim planted a number of groves, some of which, including a small portion of the vast Bagh Ibrahim Shahi or Ibrahim Bagh to the south-west of the fort of Golconda, still exist. He them open to the public. The original Ibrahim Bagh extended from the twin hillocks now topped by the Baradari of Taramati and the mosque named after Pemamati, both of which flank the road to the modern Osman Sagar, right up to the ruins of palaces lying towards the west of the mosque.”⁶⁸ The orchards and gardens fed the community and visitors to the kingdom. It is important to note that these charitable socio-political functions of gardens were broader in scope than those of contemporary Mughal, Sultanate, and Rajput gardens in northern India.

These developments set the stage for Ibrahim to move westward. The projects also strengthened the south to north access to the necropolis, as they were built to the west of the fort, emphasizing the necropolis in the center of four important areas of development (Figure 16).

⁶⁸ Sherwani, H.K. (1974), p. 203

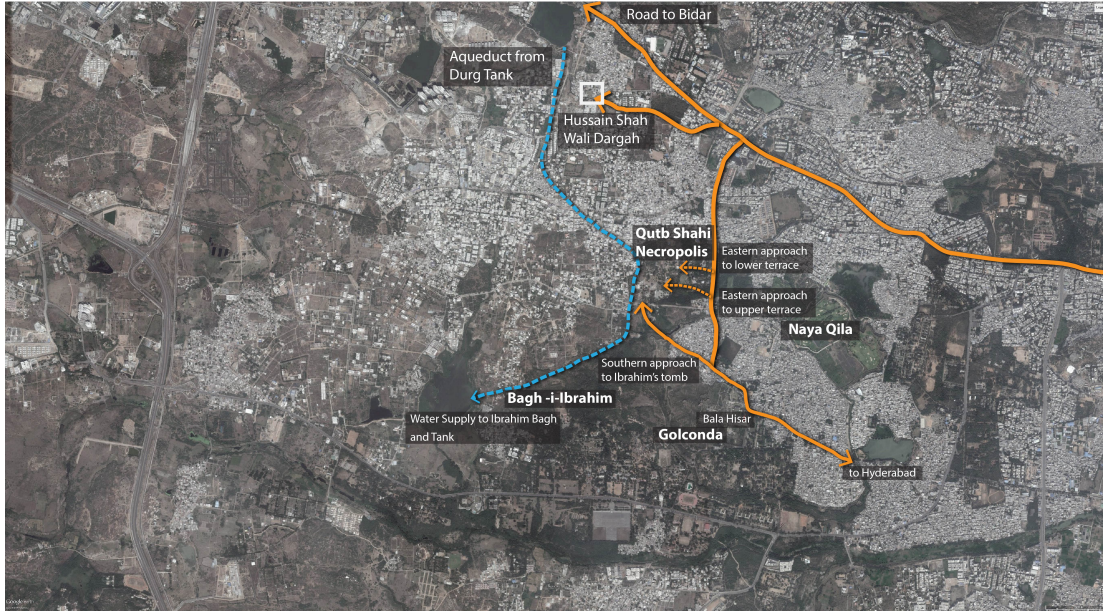


Figure 19 Sultan Ibrahim's wider patronage. Google Maps 2015



Figure 20 Baoli on the western part of the Necropolis, connected to the larger system of baolis. Photo Allison James 2014

The baolis, fed by the Durug tank north of the necropolis, provided water for gardens in the necropolis and fort area. The aqueduct system irrigated gardens for twelve miles, originating in the north near the shrine of Husain Shah Wali, passing through the necropolis gardens, and continuing further south to Golconda Fortress. These system included baolis in the Ibrahim Bagh area to the west of the fort (Figure 20). To the north, at the beginning of the system is a shrine to the northeast of the necropolis. Husain Shah Wali Dargah would become the next place for large groups associated with the kingdom to form processions (Figure 21).



Figure 21 Husain Shah Wali Dargah, built for the Sufi saint of Golconda
(<http://visitmyhyderabad.com/hussain-shah-wali-dargah/>)

Richard Eaton recounts an example of a procession in his article “The Court and the Dargah in the Seventeenth Century Deccan.”⁶⁹ The procession was to the tomb of Husain Shah Wali’s famous Chishti ancestor, Hazrat Sayyid Muhammad Husaini Banda Navaz Gesu Daraz, at the time of the ‘*urs*’ celebration. The procession was recorded by French traveler Abbe Carre. Although obviously orientalist and most likely erroneously interpreted, the account gives some idea of what such a procession from a dargah might have looked like. According to Abbe Carre, “After having marched all the morning while it was cool, I was surprised to find the road (to Gulbarga) full of processions of Fakirs and Hindus...most of the men had a sort of cradle on their heads covered by little streamers of cocks’ feathers, bells and the like. The women and children all carried sticks which they lifted in the air, for the wind to turn whirligigs on them, made of cloth in all sorts of colours. They also carried plates of copper, little pots, and a sort of cauldron on which they beat as on our Basque drums. Others, who had shaved their heads, carried their hair on the end of sticks, as if it was a very precious possession...Here (in the village of “Trapour”) were still more of the same folk that I had met on the road.”⁷⁰

Sufi processions typically originated from the shrine of a given saint and proceeded hierarchically to tombs of others within that order. No historical text or religious practice indicates that the tombs of the Sultans would have been included in those processions, though visits to the tombs might have been followed by visits to nearby shrines. As for the architecture of the dargah procession, the spatial layout suggests that it would have gone

⁶⁹ Eaton, R. (1973)

⁷⁰ See Abbe Carre in Eaton, R. M. (1973). pp. 55-56. According to Eaton, “Abbe Carre had just missed the main festivities. The last and biggest day of ‘*urs*’ celebrations, which corresponds to the actual date of the Sufi’s death, in Zu’l-Qa’d. In A.D. 1673 that date fell on the 5th of March. Since the passage quoted here was entered on March 9.1673 when en route to Gulbarga, he must have missed the peak festivities by four days, and was evidently witnessing pilgrims leaving Gulbarga for their home villages.”

along the same road that runs to and from Bidar, thus linking the Saint's tomb geographically to his lineage associated with the Bahmani capitals (Figure 19). This political and spiritual link was in an important position geographically as well.

By advancing this spatial relationship and introducing a Sufi Saint into the Sultanate, Ibrahim carried this politico-spiritual connection, he furthered this gesture in the act of marrying his daughter, Khairat-un-Nisa Begum, to the saint.

By giving a Sufi saint a powerful position in government, Ibrahim enacted the intention to merge political and spiritual power within the kingdom, strengthening the Sultanate.⁷¹ Ibrahim also made Husain Shah Wali the Superintendent of Public Works.⁷² The saint is credited with building several water structures, including a canal, and a major lake known as the Hussain Sagar Tank (Figure 16).

Hierarchy was also a critical element in the Qutb Shahi processional architecture. Just as all processions at Golconda originated at topographically high points, all of the Sultans' tombs were built on high points in the landscape so that they could be seen and approached as well as viewed from different places. A similar hierarchy of building also applies to hierarchy associated with Sufi lineage, as it relates to procession.

The area to the east of Golconda that includes Naya Qila can be seen from the Diwan-i-am was annexed by Ibrahim and later developed by his descendants. The area includes two mosques that were built during the reign of Ibrahim. One of the mosques was built for his military advisor, and minister in his court, Mustafa Khan. Another mosque was for his court poet, Mulla Khiyali, who, according to Sherwani, was "one of the earliest Dakhni poets of Telangana, and thus it is doubly important as taking us back to Ibrahim's reign as well as

⁷¹ Prasad, D., & Vēṅkaṭāvadhāni, D. (1969).

⁷² Sherwani, H.K. (1974). p. 254

commemorating the progress of Dakhni as the literary language of the State.”⁷³ Aside from his tomb and mosque, Sultan Quli didn’t develop the area as much as his descendants, who would build a fortress there. But the fact that there are some early Qutb Shahi sites of patronage on the eastern side of the fort suggests that the eastern approach to the necropolis would have still been significant, though not as much as the southern approach road, during Ibrahim’s reign. The development of the southern approach road was closely connected with Ibrahim’s improvements at Golconda Fort.

4.3 Golconda Fort: Fortifying the Processional Way

Ibrahim was primarily responsible for building Golconda Fortress as it stands, including all of its major walls and gates. In this section I emphasize four key monuments within the fort that connect to the processional way: the Golconda fortress, the Diwan-i-khas, Ibrahim’s mosque, and the road leading from the Bala Hisar to Patancheru gate along with the mosque inside of Patancheru gate. I chose these monuments and structures to represent key nodes and pathways along the processional way between Golconda and the Necropolis.

The pathway must have started from the highest point on the fortress, known as the Diwan-i-am. To support this argument I offer evidence of a strong visual connection between this building and the Necropolis. I propose this as the beginning of a processional way as Ibrahim could see his tomb and his father’s tomb from the courtyard as well as from the second level of the Diwan-i-am. The next structure, just below on the pathway to the necropolis was Ibrahim’s mosque.

⁷³ Ibid. pp. 192-3



Figure 22 Historic photo: “Golconda Tombs from Fort, 1902-03” This photo shows the Necropolis from Golconda and Husain Shah Wali’s Dargah in the distance.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qutb_Shahi_tombs#/media/File:Golconda_Tombs_from_Fort,_1902-03.jpg

As the next stop in the progression, Ibrahim’s mosque linked the procession spiritually as well as politically. After prayer at the mosque, the gathering could look out at the entire eastern side of the kingdom and see the structures being built as a part of Ibrahim’s large and far-reaching building campaign, before walking down a steep stairway to the Bala Hisar.



Figure 23 View of the Naya Qila from the Diwan-i-am (Photo: Allison James 2015)

Once at the Bala Hisar, the procession could look towards the necropolis and see the pathway in full view to the north over the inner fortress walls. From this vantage point, they would turn towards a gateway with a ramp leading down to the street below. The street leads directly to Patancheru Gate.

The Patancheru Gate was a major new feature of Ibrahim's fortifications. Even the Patancheru Gate's name is important to the political and spiritual narrative because it shares it with a town built to the northwest on the way to Bidar, where the spiritual advisor Amin Khan lived. Inside of the gate are the remnants of a mosque built into the fortress wall. Beyond that is a large courtyard, then another gateway leading to a moat. The

procession would have stopped inside of the mosque and passed over the moat to get to the other side, where they would have proceeded through a gentle valley and up to the new southern gate of the necropolis (Figure 11).

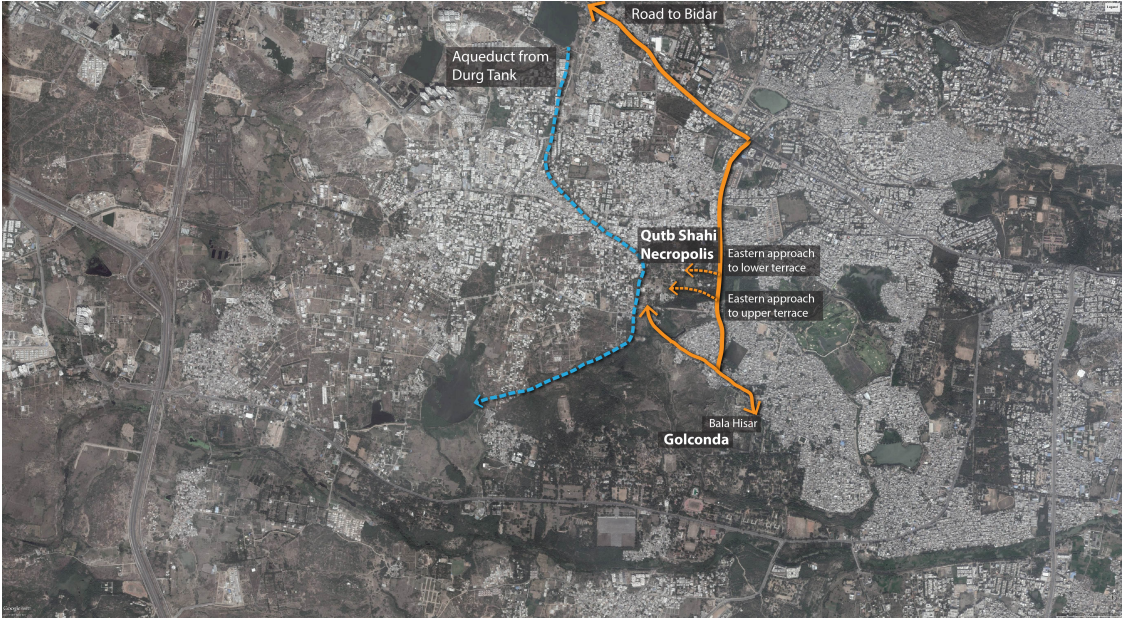


Figure 24 Patancheru Gate to the Necropolis. Google Earth (2015).



Figure 25 Patancheru Gate from the inside of the fortress wall (Photo Allison James 2015)

Between Golconda and the Necropolis

A procession would move from this valley to the South gate during Ibrahim's time. His father's tomb was built on the highest elevation on the necropolis, though as we will see Ibrahim's tomb was taller and more visible than his father's from this southern direction. By placing these structures on the highest elevations in these areas the sultans established a hierarchy of symbolic importance. They also ensured that they could see one from the other, connecting the spaces and structures visually.

These intentional visual connections to and from all structures in the larger area are apparent when looking from one structure to another (in any one of the four major areas of patronage in the north, southwest and east of the necropolis). (Figure 15) An image taken from the Diwan-i-am, shows the first terrace with Sultan Quli and Ibrahim's tombs in view to the south. From Golconda to the necropolis, the building of Sultan Ibrahim's tomb can be explored visually in relation to the first tomb (the tomb built by Sultan Quli). The spatial relationships between the tombs are explored in the next section of this chapter.



Figure 26 View from inside of the Diwan-i-am. Photo: Allison James 2015



Figure 27 View of Necropolis taken from the Diwan-i-am. Photo: Allison James 2015

From certain points on the necropolis, Golconda can be seen to the north. The clearest view of Golconda is from the plinth of a mosque above the southern gate to Ibrahim's tomb (Figure 28).



Figure 28 Image of Golconda from the plinth of a mosque over the South Gate at the necropolis

On the inside of Patancheru Gate is a mosque and a courtyard for prayer. This space would have been the next stop in the processional way before moving past a moat and through a valley towards the domes that towered above the tree canopy and could be seen from this point in the landscape. From that point, one would move down through a heavily vegetated area into a valley and up towards the South Gate.

The approach from the south into the new gate built by Ibrahim was a choreographed experience planned by Ibrahim. The nodes that connected these structures, mosques, gateways and the procession, would have met a very formal new entrance to the necropolis, where the view through that gate and up to Ibrahim's tomb reveals a direct

visual and spatial axis. The gateway frames the view to Ibrahim's tomb. Anyone arriving through this gate would thereby pay their respects to him before moving through to other parts of the Necropolis.

4.4. Arrival at the Necropolis

Ibrahim's tomb faces Golconda to the south. As a procession entered the necropolis through the southern gate, it would have a direct visual axis to Ibrahim's tomb, framed by subterranean walls. Both the dramatic height of the tomb and the view from below the ground level would create a very dramatic effect when entering through that gate; Ibrahim's tomb appears larger when looked up at from the inside of the gateway below the terrace level. Anyone entering the necropolis would be faced with Ibrahim's tomb first, and a prayer would be said blessing the Sultan as they entered.



Figure 29 Sultan Ibrahim's tomb procession from the inside of the South gate to the inside of the tomb

The South Gate was set in a new strong stone wall, built by Sultan Ibrahim, which defined the south and east sides of the necropolis. The enclosure wall surrounded Ibrahim's tomb as well as the upper terrace.

4.5. Tomb Layout and Processional Pathways

According to the AKTC CAD site map detail, (TOD), the dome of Ibrahim's tomb is built above the height of this Sultan's predecessors. There is one anomaly: the tomb currently said to be that of Ibrahim's brother, Jamshed. However, the so-called Jamshed's tomb is out of place, given its position in relationship to the layout of the other tombs, its differences from the architecture of the other tombs on the upper terrace, and its height, which is not consistent with the sequence of each tomb being built higher than its predecessor.

Processional pathways on the necropolis site

Upon reaching the necropolis site, the procession would have been directed by the architecture of the South Gate to walk into Ibrahim's tomb first, circumambulate the tomb and then walk out of the eastern door. From there a pathway was connected through a gate leading from Ibrahim's boundary wall into the inner part of Sultan Quli's garden. A long wall still stands with openings to the west. As the procession walked, Sultan Quli's tomb would have been gradually revealed, frame-by-frame, until it was in full view. From there, a gateway still stands. A procession would then follow a direct pathway toward the tomb and enter to the South, up the set of stairs to the plinth, enter the tomb, circumambulate the headstone and go out to the east or back to the south gate.

A sequence of photographs with an approach to Sultan Ibrahim's tomb on the first terrace reveals the upward view from the inside of the South gate to the foot of Ibrahim's

tomb. (Image 18) A direct axis from the gate to the tomb also aligns with Ibrahim's headstone from South to North. After circumambulating the tomb inside, the procession would pass through the doorway to the east.

Detailed topographical Analysis

A gaz analysis diagram measures the garden extents in all four directions to the garden walls dated to Sultan Ibrahim. Also included in this map are topographical measurements between the tomb and the baoli to the east of Sultan Ibrahim's tomb.

Sultan Ibrahim's tomb was measured according to the gaz metrics. According to the gaz analysis conducted by James Wescoat and Allison James, the main domed structure was built on a 15.33 meter (~20 gaz) building footprint set on a 35.62 m.

(47.5 gaz) plinth, an irregular number but wide enough to accommodate two ~10 gaz tombs on the south and northeast sides. The tomb has a height of 530.2 meters (above its tomb base elevation of 499.5 m), which is more than 5 m higher than all of the earlier tombs (except the so-called Jamshid tomb).

The structure is surrounded by a rectangular garden-enclosure. The southern boundary wall of the enclosure runs roughly East-West. Its southeastern corner still appears to stand as it was during Ibrahim's reign. Near this corner is a small water cistern, recently uncovered by the AKTC, which looks to be connected to a garden irrigation channel fed by the baoli on the southeast side of the site.

From the southeast corner to the centerline of the tomb gate is 90 gaz. This is a critical finding as the measurement is one-half of the enclosure size of Sultan Quli Qutb's tomb. However, the southwest corner of the enclosure is hard to determine. It may have been extended 90 gaz to make a 180 gaz width, the same as the enclosure of Sultan Quli

Qutb's tomb, but there are no surface features that confirm this. According to our gaz study, "The maximum extent of the stone masonry wall may have been an additional 90 gaz to a possible corner *burj* like structure, which would make the southern boundary wall a total of 270 gaz in length."⁷⁴ Therefore, Ibrahim's tomb enclosure would have been rectangular but in keeping with a geometry similar to his father's tomb-garden.

The layout of Sultan Ibrahim's tomb garden enclosure is unclear, but the architecture within the garden suggests that it was not divided symmetrically from north to south. Given that Ibrahim's tomb garden was irrigated by the baoli to the southeast, these spaces must have been heavily planted and watered, although it is unclear what they would have looked like. Between the gardens, however, there are architectural remains that suggest alternative processional ways.

Some of the other processions might have been seasonal, during Id for example. During Id, the tombs might have been approached from the Idgah to the Southeast, after prayer. The tombs would also have been visited during the 'urs of each ruler, and perhaps before or after major battles or dynastic events (e.g., marriage, birth, circumcision, deaths).

4.6 Summary of New Spatial Relations Established by Ibrahim

In conclusion, Sultan Ibrahim fortified the processional pathway between the necropolis and the fort with politically and spiritually symbolic structures that served as nodes along the processions. This reflected on the evolving sultanate and legitimized it by introducing a shrine devoted to a Sufi saint who became the religious figurehead of the kingdom. Starting on the highest point of the fort and most probably the origination of the necropolis procession, Ibrahim built the Diwan-i-am. From there going down the pathway,

⁷⁴ Wescoat and James (2015).

he built a mosque, fortification wall and several structures within the wall including Patancheru Gate (with a mosque inside), and the South Gate serving as the main entrance of the necropolis.

All of these projects and many more structures built by Sultan Ibrahim, such as the Purana Pul Bridge that connected Golconda to the area that would become Hyderabad, set the stage for his successor, Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb to build a new city while retaining the strong historical procession through Golconda and the necropolis, as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 : Muhammad Quli Qutb’s Tomb in Relation to the Foundation of a New City

Before Muhammad Quli Qutb (1580-1611) became king at the age of fourteen, his father Ibrahim constructed the Purana Pul (old bridge), which paved the way for the establishment of the city of Hyderabad. Following the guidance of his father’s advisors, Muhammad Quli Qutb extended the boundaries of the imperial city by building eastward. As he established the city of Hyderabad, he also positioned his tomb on the eastern side of the upper terrace, in direct visual alignment with both Hyderabad to the east and Golconda to the south (Figure 19).

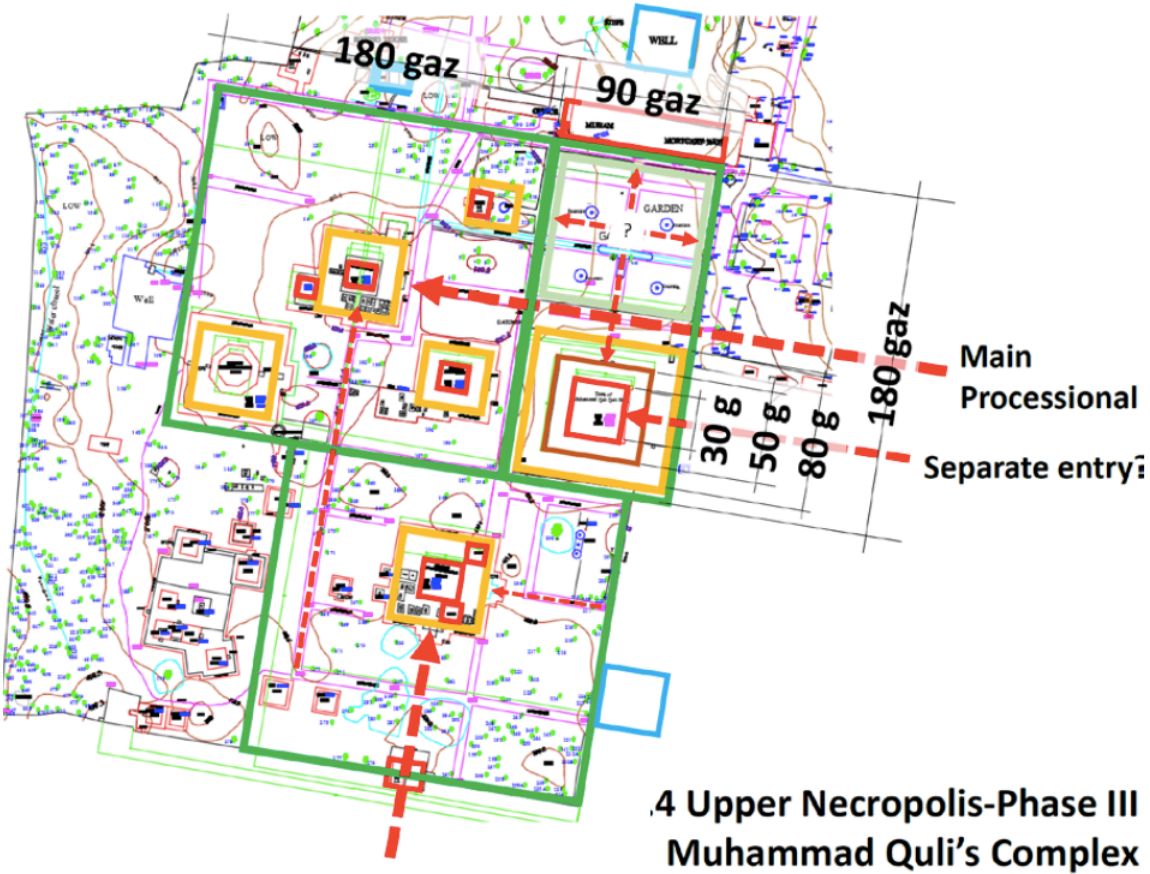


Figure 30 Muhammad Quli Qutb's Tomb; Necropolis upper terrace; early Qutb Shahi tomb complex; AKTC CAD Base Map (2013)

This chapter discusses how Muhammad Quli Qutb broadened the architectural contributions of the first two Sultans to connect them to new spatial extents at the height of the empire. As the new area of urban development expanded, Muhammad Quli Qutb linked processions between the city of Hyderabad, Golconda Fortress and the necropolis. Additionally, this chapter discusses how new developments in the kingdom connected back to Bidar. Muhammad Quli Qutb also continued the politico-spiritual relationship between Sufi saints and the Qutb Shahi Sultanate by linking the new city to the dargah area.

This chapter applies the same methods as chapters three and four to connect the spatial territories of the processional way between Golconda and the necropolis. The chapter describes how the connections between the tombs on the site evolved, including the introduction of a proposed “grand entrance” in the direction of the city of Hyderabad at the base of Muhammad Quli Qutb’s tomb. Also discussed in this chapter are the symbolic linkages between the new city, Naya Qila, and the dargah via shifting processional pathways.

5.1 Context: Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb’s Wider Patronage

During Muhammad Quli Qutb’s vast building campaign, he strengthened the four areas patronized by his predecessors to the north, south, west and east of the necropolis. Within the necropolis complex, he built his tomb and a new “grand entrance” from the East. The pathways also led to Golconda by reinforcing the entrance to the east of the necropolis from Banjara Gate. The eastern connection to the necropolis was further supported as it became the main processional pathway between the necropolis and Golconda. This was the same road that led to Hussain Shah Wali’s dargah and to Bidar (Figure 31).

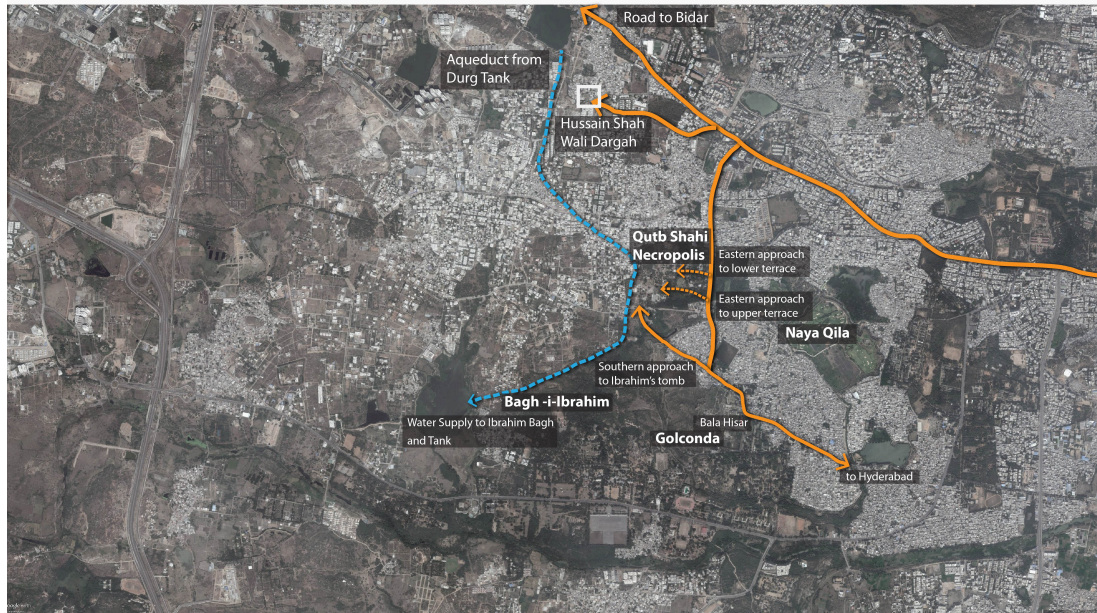


Figure 31 Urban scale map showing processional pathways during Muhammad Quli Qutb's reign. Google Earth maps 2015.

His most important contribution, however, was the organization of the city of Hyderabad, beginning with the building of the Charminar. The Charminar, a large, monument with four towers (minarets) was built in 1591 to mark the Muslim calendar year 1000 A.H. The building has four archways positioned in the four Meccan directions (Figure 32). According to H.K. Sherwani, "There was already a road running from Golconda eastward as far as Masulipatam and the east coast towns of the kingdom, and this road was made to intersect a new road running nearly north and south at the place where the Charminar now stands."⁷⁵ According to Bilgrami, "Four highways lead to different parts of the city through every arch and exactly in the center of the four arches there is a reservoir, a view of which may be had from every direction, hence its name Char-su-ka Hauz (the four cornered reservoir.) It is now called Galzar Hauz; the old terrace with which it was surrounded was pulled down in 1313 A.H., (1895 A.D.) for the sake of widening the path, and an iron fencing

⁷⁵ Sherwani, H.K. (1974). pp. 301-2

was fixed in its stead.”⁷⁶



Figure 32 Charminar http://www.holidayiq.com/destreviewimages/shareiq_1309963713.434233.jpg

Among the many projects built in the center of the city by Muhammad Quli Qutb, are the large Mecca Masjid near the Charminar and the Qutb Shahi Kamans, a former piazza with four archways also facing the four cardinal directions. Additionally, and perhaps following his father’s introduction of "The Seven Kinds of Progeny" (as in the village of Patancheru and his public works including water tanks and public gardens) was the Daru’sh Shifa (general hospital) built along the Musi River in the center of Hyderabad. This hospital was also built as a college of Yunani medicine. The structure still stands today

⁷⁶Bilgrami, S. (1927). p.21

(Figure 33) and functions as a school, but the hammam and original mosque once attached no longer exist. The hospital was associated with several adjacent gardens containing test plots for medicinal plants.



Figure 33 Daru'sh'Shifa. Photo Allison James 2015

To the north of the necropolis, more tombs were built for the Sufi lineage of Husain Shah Wali, as he and his followers were a continuously important presence in the politico-spiritual construct of the Sultanate. The east-west road to and from Bidar was strengthened and extended into the territory of new urban development (Figure 31) As in Sufi tradition, the followers and descendants of the Saint would be buried near the dargah, perhaps in some hierarchical order. In this case, the tombs are mostly placed to the south of the

dargah (Figure 34).



Figure 34 Husain Shah Wali Dargah and tombs of his followers

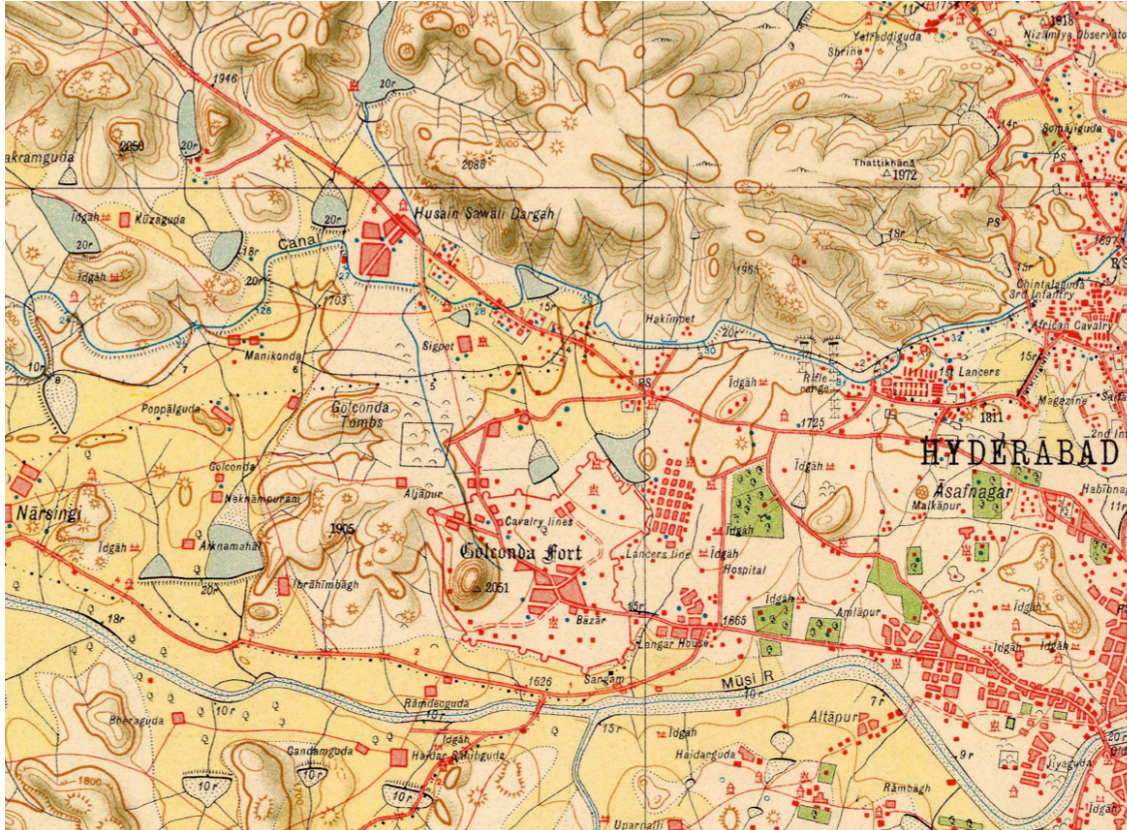


Figure 35 Map of Hyderabad, (1927), Published under the direction of Colonel Commandant E.A.Tandy, R.E., Surveyor General of India. Used with permission from the University of Chicago Libraries.

The necropolis architecture evolved with the introduction of the larger tomb (higher than those of his predecessors following the pattern started by his father, Ibrahim.) This included the addition of a pathway, linking the historical roots of the Sultanate with the new direction of the city. Processions from the east would go in two directions depending on the occasion, one to the necropolis and the other either to the dargah or onwards toward Patancheru.

5.3 Relationship Between the Necropolis and Golconda

This section describes how topographical relationships changed as the center of the city shifted eastward. This major shift in geographical and political concentration changed the direction of the building campaign and the pathways. The paths that connected to the

necropolis also changed accordingly. Muhammad Quli Qutb followed the same hierarchy and direction in the placement of buildings as he developed the surrounding area.

While the processional way through Patancheru Gate to the South Gate of the necropolis might have been in used by Muhammad Quli Qutb and members of his sultanate on certain occasions (such as on the death days of Ibrahim and Sultan Quli), this pathway fell out of prominent use and a new pathway became the most prominent connection. This is apparent from the primary orientation of Muhammad Quli Qutb’s tomb to the east. Processions out of Golconda to the necropolis now turned to take advantage of the Banjara gateway entrance to Golconda Fortress.

After the descent from the Diwan-i-am and Ibrahim’s mosque, the procession changed at the Resham Bagh Tank. At that point instead of proceeding down through the gate leading to the street below, the procession continued towards the eastern Banjara Gate and from there to the main entrance of the necropolis (Figure 36).



Figure 36 Route from Bala Hisar to the Banjara Gate



Figure 37 View from Diwan-i-am to the eastern entrance to Golconda (processional way)

An informal access way would meet up with the original gate entrances to Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb complex. An eastern approach ensured that the procession would pay homage to Muhammad Quli Qutb on the way to his father's and grandfather's tombs (most likely his grandfather's first as the fortified pathway suggests).

5.4 Arrival at the Necropolis

As Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb was built with a grand entrance to the east, there must have been another entrance on the eastern side of the site that would have opened directly to Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb (not unlike the entrance to his father's tomb from the south gate.) The northern entrance that exists today might have also been another entrance to the crypt.

The necropolis can be seen from several points in the city (despite recent development in the area.). At the time of Muhammad Quli Qutb's reign, the views must have been very majestic, since the tombs were the tallest structures in that area and the views to

the tombs, framed by the hills behind them, would have enhanced their effect. Within this framed landscape, Muhammad Quli's tomb was the most majestic, its presence standing out above the rest. The relationships between the early tombs and the introduction of Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb are explored later in this chapter.

Sultan Muahmmed Quli Qutb's Tomb Complex

The tomb complex consists of a hammam, a small mosque in the northeast corner, a pathway leading to Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb and another path leading to Sultan Quli's tomb. The site of Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb shows that the tomb measures 543.7 meters in height, some 13.4 meters higher than his father's tomb measuring (530.3) and his grandfather's (521.3). It is also placed next to the southeastern baoli, well- positioned to use this water source for irrigating tomb gardens.

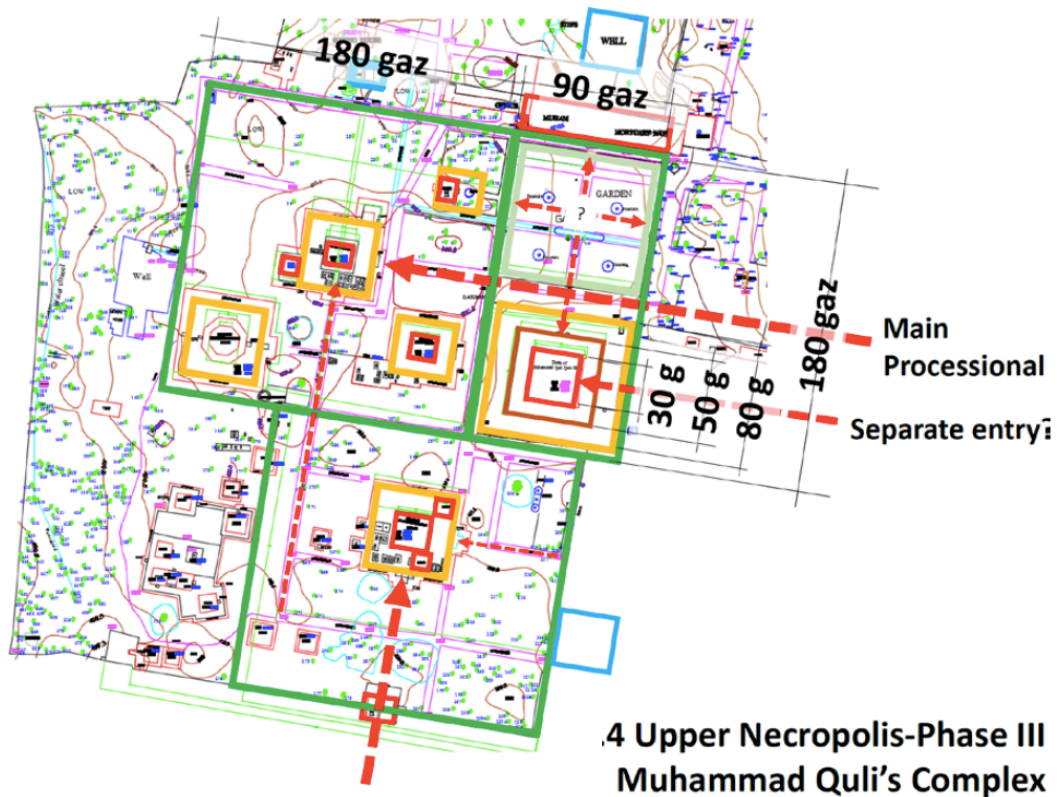


Figure 38 Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb enclosure and entrance from the east. Credit: AKTC CAD Base Map (2013)

The tomb sits in between two baolis on the first terrace (and another on the second terrace, although that baoli has not yet been dated,) which placed it in a good position for water supply to its gardens. The hammam may also have been incorporated into the garden, and possibly the mosque to the northeast of Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb.

Processional Pathways on the Necropolis Site

From the East: The grand entrance at the base of the tomb most likely had a set of stairs leading to the crypt. Processions would enter the crypt from the east and circumambulate the tomb inside before moving up through the staircase next to the upper cenotaph. Once the procession moved to the plinth level, they would enter the tomb and pray again under the dome. A clear view of Golconda can be seen from the entire southern

side of the plinth. The procession might then move out of the tomb through the eastern door and into a gate connecting to the northern garden.

If the procession wanted to proceed to the other early Qutb Shahi tombs on the upper terrace, they may have followed an undated set of stone stairs linked directly to a pathway on axis with Sultan Quli's tomb (image), along the northern side of Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb. The procession would have traveled through the garden and then on to the Sultan's tomb. Walking up the stairs and inside the tomb, the procession would have then turned to go out of a gate to the south. Then proceeding to the east, the procession would have moved toward Sultan Ibrahim's tomb.

As the center of the kingdom moved, so did the main processional way. The pathway between Golconda and the south gate would have been in use during Muhammad Quli Qutb's time, but it was definitely used less frequently than during his father's reign. As the main processional way would have been now from the east, this entrance was likely used at other times, by nobles who still lived within the fortress at Golconda and by those who maintained the tombs and gardens.

5.6 Visual Analysis:

Following the trend started by his father, Muhammad Quli Qutb built his tomb higher than his predecessors and in a prominent position on the Eastern side of the upper terrace where it would be seen directly across from both Golconda and Hyderabad. Significantly, the tomb could not be seen from the western areas of patronage in the Bagh-e-Ibrahim, which was the main processional route to Ibrahim's tomb.

View from Golconda to the Necropolis:

It is easy to imagine how topography influenced the layout of the kingdom, as each Sultan was able to imagine new opportunities for development by taking advantage of the views from the hills of Golconda. Muhammad Quli Qutb expressed his vision for the new city with his appreciation for aesthetics and, like his father, an appreciation for gardens. Many of his garden pavilions, which were built on hilltops overlooking gardens below, are gone now. However, it is still possible to stand on top of those hills and imagine what the gardens were like.



Figure 39 View of Golconda from the Bagh-e-Ibrahim

Views to Golconda from Muhammad Quli's Tomb Plinth

A direct visual link was intended as Muhammad Quli Qutb placed his tomb on the southeastern corner of the site. Clear views to and from each area were important as the

city moved eastward. This perspective allowed for the sultans to lay out designs from above, and in relationship to each other, following clearly defined directions (N-S and W-E).

5.7 Architectural and Spatial Considerations: Detailed Topographical Analysis

The tomb of Muhammad Quli Qutb has a footprint of 22.3-23.9 meters (30 gaz square.) The inner plinth was 38.3 meters (50 gaz square.) The outer plinth was (58.96-60.84) 80 gaz square. The walk along of the western side of outer plinth is 4.55 meters square (6 gaz wide.) The distance from Muhammad Quli's tomb to the Mortuary Bath is 76.2 meters square (~100gaz), which makes the total width of MQ tomb and garden 135 meters square (180 gaz), the same overall dimension as the Sultan Quli Qutb enclosure.

The modern planted area of the garden on the north side is about 60.2 Meters square (80 by 80 gaz). The baoli behind the hammam on the north side is aligned like the upper tombs. The baoli provided irrigation for the original tombs, and possible for the later garden enclosure around Muhammed Quli's tomb.

The main observation of the gaz analysis is that the same 90 x 90 gaz module extends from the Sultan Qutb Quli enclosure eastward to the Muhammad Quli Qutb tomb and garden complex. Thus, the upper necropolis terrace seems to have evolved with common principles of layout, adapted to the terrain, and with an even more dramatically evolving architecture. While the Qutb Shahi tomb architecture continues to build on Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb's monumental precedent, the spatial organization of later tombs on lower terraces is entirely different, and requires a separate study of its own.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

Historical conclusion

This thesis has established that there was an initial strong processional pathway between Golconda fortress and the necropolis that can be traced back to Bidar. This finding is significant in that no previous scholarship has focused on the political and spiritual aspects of the landscape that symbolically linked the monuments of procession in the city of Golconda and necropolis. Urban scale mapping of the wider patronage of each of the early Sultans examined in this thesis reveals how the ritual act of procession was a main consideration in the planning of the extents of the municipality. The pathways were shaped by the act of procession from one sacred and political space to another, and the wider architectural patronage of each sultan grew out of these practices.

The thesis has shown how these pathways have been strengthened by various kinds of patronage in the area to the north, initially through the building of a Durug tank, that symbolically and literally irrigated all of the gardens in the north and west, including the Bagh-i-Ibrahim.

The early Durug tank connected to Husain Shah Wali's Dargah by way of proximity, is concluded in this thesis and the fact that it was built by a Sufi saint was meant to show the spiritual and political strength of the Sultanate. The tank not only provided a main source of water to the city but also irrigated the public gardens of the Sultanate. Husain Shah Wali himself oversaw construction of a large canal and tank, Husain Sagar.

The careful analysis of this wider patronage and literature review led to Amin Khan's town and city on the main road to Bidar, to the northwest of Golconda, built as a center of public works. The thesis linked the South Gate of the necropolis, built by Ibrahim,

to the architecture of Ibrahim’s close advisor and amir, by showing the southern gate as a physical link to the necropolis and town, linking it to a long distance processional path on the way to Patancheru and Bidar.

Spatial rules for the development of the necropolis

The thesis maps the pathways and shows extraordinary continuity in the paths and in the spatial rules for the development of the necropolis. The hypothetical measurement system suggested here is similar to that of the north Indian Sultanate and Mughal tombs. A key difference is that the Qutb Shahi tombs were laid out in close, yet not always axial, relationships with one another. Like the north Indian tomb-gardens, They were laid out using even gaz numbers (1,5,10,16,20 gaz, etc.). Walks, rooms, walls and water channels had smaller, yet still regular, gaz dimensions (Figure 40).

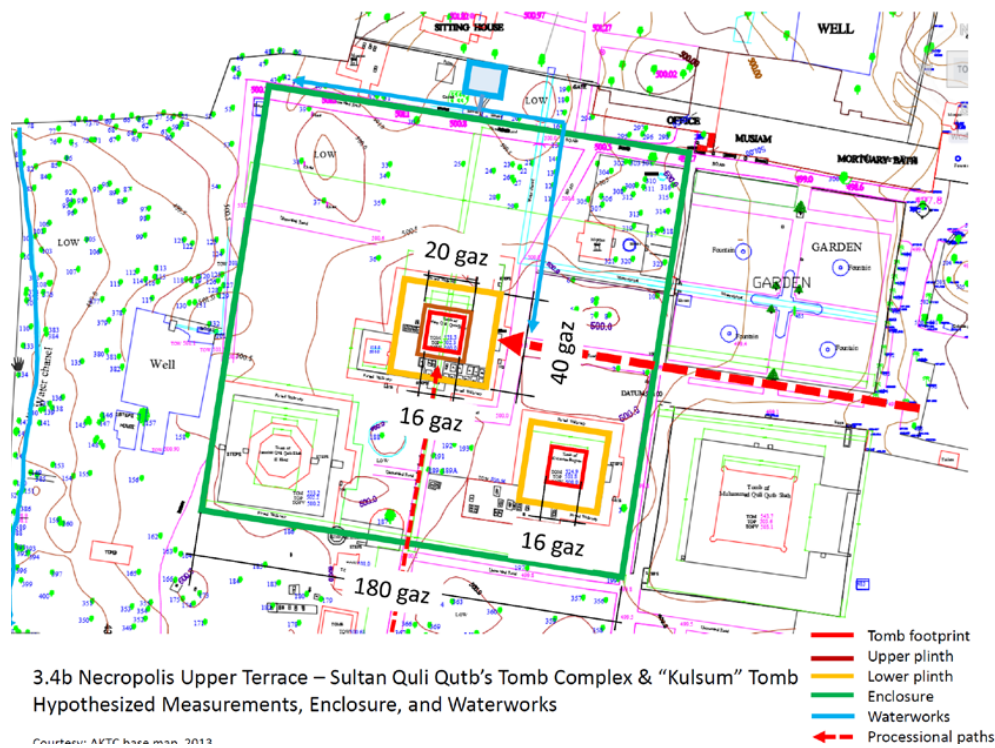


Figure 40 Necropolis Upper Terrace; Sultan Quli Qutb's Tomb Complex: Hypothesized

Measurements, Enclosure and Waterworks. Courtesy: AKTC CAD Map (2013)

By using a *gaz* measurement system, where a *gaz* length was found to be 75 cm, the thesis indicated continuity in the layout of the pathways, starting with the first king. It should be qualified that this *gaz* analysis is provisional and while it appears to be supported by field documentation, we have not found any historical sources to date, and so this analysis and conclusions based on it have yet to be confirmed.

The tomb layouts were found to emphasize areas to the south to east (the wider patronage), but the necropolis was always at the center of these areas. The developments in the south and east strengthened the necropolis as center. This set rules for the layout of the necropolis by the descendants of Sultan Quli, who followed the same metric rules, only changing them to accommodate spatial experience of the architecture, and terrain, as seen in the approach to both Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb's tombs.

Religio-Political Symbolism in the Layout of the Pathways

Significant spatial adjustments in the processional ways were discovered in the process of this thesis. These adjustments reflect very interesting changes in the religious and political symbolism of each sultan's patronage; at one time emphasizing public works, followed by Sufi shrines and then a history of religio-political combinations. Starting with Sultan Quli Qutb, the layout of his tomb with entrances to the south and east facing Golconda and the road to and from Bidar, respectively, connected the necropolis to the spaces of political and spiritual importance from the beginning.

The research shows that the next Sultan to follow, Ibrahim, positioned his tomb with the doors in the same two directions, south and east, thereby strengthening the paths. However, the research determined that Ibrahim shifted the paths with the addition of his

tomb and the South Gate. He also strengthened the paths by building around them. The research determined that the contributions of a public garden to the west (Ibrahim Bagh), the Naya Qila to the east, and the Purana Pul to the east strengthened these pathways.

A particularly interesting connection made through this thesis is the establishment of the Husain Shah Wali Dargah. Although the history of the dargah has been tied to the Qutb Shahi dynasty politically and spiritually, the physical placement of the dargah has not previously been interpreted for its symbolic significance. The importance of making the connection the dargah to the pathway that leads to Bidar and Golconda changes the politico-spiritual significance of these pathways with the introduction of the Sufi Saint. The identification of this path also brings to light the history of politico-spiritual combinations with the Sufi saint as a symbol of authority in the government, as he was made Superintendent of Public Works.

The addition of Muhammad Quli Qutb's tomb changed the symbolic relationships of the pathways once again, but maintained the axes to the south and east. This allowed for the grand entrance to be built in front of Muhammad Quli's tomb to the east as it opened to the new city of Hyderabad.

Necropolis Connection

This thesis found that the foundations of the N-S and E-W pathways were so strong that the necropolis was able to maintain its symbolic and spatial power even when the urban center had relocated to the east and built the city of Hyderabad. The thesis found that during Muhammad Quli Qutb's reign, the eastern pathway locally between the fort and necropolis and regionally with Bidar was maintained over time. These connections were so strong that subsequent sultans continued to build on the necropolis.

Methods

I have been able to do this research through a set of four inter-related methods of historical geographic analysis, from the larger urban context to visual and spatial linkages to the actual layout of the built funerary spaces. The historical geographic analysis revealed the wider connections of the Sultanate in relationship to the development of the pathways. These visual and spatial connections helped me to place myself in the landscape as I connected the architecture to the landscape processions. The gaz analysis solidified the assumptions that the Sultans used these methods as they laid out the necropolis.

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