



Forgotten Queens of India: Political Agency and Cultural Patronage (1100 - 1800)

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Abstract

This paper examines the political agency and cultural patronage of great queens who ruled kingdoms in India from the 12th to the 18th century. These women exercised significant control over governance, diplomacy, and military affairs while supporting arts, architecture, education, and religious institutions. Often overlooked in historical records, their actions challenged social norms and contributed to India's diverse heritage. The study focuses on queens such as Razia Sultan, Rani Durgavati, Rani Mangammal, Rudramadevi, Chand Bibi, Mata Bhag Kaur, Onake Obavva, Keladi Chennamma, Belawadi Mallamma, Abbakka Chowta, Ahilyabai Holkar, and Rani Velu Nachiyar. Through strategic leadership and cultural initiatives, they maintained stability, promoted unity, and left lasting legacies. Political agency is evident in their navigation of power dynamics. Razia Sultan demonstrated diplomacy by appointing diverse officials and leading campaigns, consolidating authority. Rani Durgavati defended Gondwana against Mughals, forging alliances for autonomy. Rudramadevi reformed systems and expanded territories, asserting sovereignty. Chand Bibi unified sultanates, while Abbakka Chowta and Rani Velu Nachiyar resisted colonialism. Cultural patronage fostered progress: Ahilyabai Holkar rebuilt temples and promoted education; Rani Mangammal invested in infrastructure and interfaith harmony; Mata Bhag Kaur advanced Sikh unity; Keladi Chennamma patronized arts. This highlights their roles in shaping landscapes, reclaiming their historical place. By highlighting these dimensions, the paper provides a balanced view of their roles in shaping political and cultural landscapes, reclaiming their place in history and underscoring the interplay between power and cultural enrichment in pre-modern India.

Keywords

Political agency, cultural patronage, Indian queens, medieval leadership, historical contributions.

Introduction

In India's historical narrative, queens from the 12th to 18th centuries demonstrated remarkable political agency and cultural patronage. Political agency involved their ability to make decisions, form alliances, and lead armies in challenging environments. Cultural patronage included support for temples, arts, education, and infrastructure, which strengthened their kingdoms and societies. This paper explores these themes through the lives of selected

queens, using historical sources to show their impact. Razia Sultan showed agency by appointing diverse officials and leading military efforts, while patronizing learning. Rani Durgavati defended her realm and built reservoirs for cultural and economic growth. Rani Mangammal used diplomacy to secure borders and funded roads and temples. Rudramadevi reformed administration and supported arts in the Kakatiya era. Chand Bibi united sultanates and engaged in painting and politics. Mata Bhag Kaur rallied Sikhs in battle and promoted religious teachings. Onake Obavva defended her fort, symbolizing local resistance. Keladi Chennamma provided refuge to allies and encouraged education. Belawadi Mallamma led women in war, fostering community spirit. Abbakka Chowta formed anti-Portuguese alliances and ensured fair justice. Ahilyabai Holkar reformed welfare and rebuilt sacred sites. Rani Velu Nachiyar organized resistance and honored allies with religious buildings. These queens' efforts not only protected their lands but also enriched India's culture, offering a nuanced perspective on women's roles in history (Haeri, 2020; Sengupta, 2021; Rajagopal, 2019; Punjala, 2016; Stewart, 2015; Kaur, 2023; Prabhu & Chincholi, 2015; Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, n.d.; Kottewar, n.d.; Feminism in India, 2018). Their political agency often meant breaking traditions, like ruling as men or leading troops. Cultural patronage helped legitimize their rule and promote harmony among diverse groups. This dual focus highlights how they navigated power in patriarchal societies.

Razia Sultan

Appointed by her father, Sultan Iltutmish, who recognized her superior capabilities over his sons, Razia ascended based on merit rather than lineage, directly challenging gender norms. She strategically balanced power by appointing non-Turkish nobles, such as the Ethiopian Jamaluddin Yaqut, to high positions, thereby diluting the dominance of Turkish elites and fostering a more inclusive administration. Her diplomatic prowess was evident in negotiations with iqta holders and her adept handling of court intrigues, while her military strategies effectively quelled rebellions and maintained territorial integrity (Maity & Varma, 2021; Gabbay, 2011; Fatma, 2020). Razia personally led campaigns, made autonomous decisions like establishing a non-Turkish nobility to counter internal threats, and asserted her sovereignty through symbolic acts, including minting coins in her name and adopting male attire for public appearances. This agency extended to judicial reforms, where she directly addressed public grievances, ensuring equitable governance and accessibility for common subjects. In terms of cultural patronage, Razia transformed her court into a vibrant hub for scholars and intellectuals, promoting education and administrative fairness as cornerstones of her rule. She supported learned individuals, encouraging intellectual discourse that integrated diverse cultural elements within the sultanate. Historical accounts note her contributions to infrastructure, including the construction of public works, though details are sparse; her tomb in Delhi remains an enduring symbol of her legacy (Barani, 1968; Lyons, 2022; Haeri, 2020). These efforts not only helped assimilate varied ethnic groups but also advanced a tolerant, knowledge-driven society. Despite her reign's abrupt end due to noble betrayals and her marriage to Altunia amid turmoil, Razia's actions inspired subsequent female leaders across Islamic domains. By seamlessly blending political acumen with cultural support, she demonstrated that women could wield substantial influence, reshaping perceptions of leadership in medieval India and leaving an indelible mark on its historical narrative.

Veerangana Durgavati

Born a Rajput princess in Kalinjar in 1524, she married into the tribal Raj Gond Dynasty, skillfully blending her heritage with local traditions to forge a unified administration. Her selective appointment of officials, including Muslim generals, exemplified practical tolerance that mirrored the policies of her Mughal rival Akbar, facilitating diverse alliances and internal stability. This strategic inclusivity was crucial in forming coalitions against external threats, such as the invasions by Baz Bahadur between 1555 and 1560, whom she decisively repelled, and the unprovoked 1564 assault by Mughal governor Asaf Khan. Durgavati personally commanded her forces, employing espionage to gather intelligence on enemy finances and movements, demonstrating astute diplomacy and military acumen (Sengupta, 2021; Garg, 2023; Khan, 2015). Despite depleted troops, she led a valiant stand with initial 500 soldiers swelling to 5,000, ultimately choosing self-inflicted death over capture on June 24, 1564, to preserve honor—a act that inspired unwavering loyalty among her people and prompted Jauhar by court women. Praised by contemporaries like Abul Fazl for her grace and manly courage, and by British chronicler Sleeman as Garh-Katanga's greatest ruler, her agency created a resilient kingdom through cultural synthesis. In cultural patronage, Durgavati invested in infrastructure and scholarship, constructing reservoirs like Adhartal, Ranital, and Cherital to enhance irrigation and economic prosperity, while accepting tributes in elephants and gold coins to sustain the realm. She supported learning by granting Acharya Bitthalnath permission to establish a Pusti Marg Cult seat in Garha, promoting intellectual and spiritual growth. Gond folk songs, such as "Here comes the queen, here comes the goddess, her sword in her hand, she is called Mata Durga," immortalize her as a divine figure, preserving her image in oral traditions (Singh, 2006; Jerosch, 2007). These initiatives not only boosted agricultural productivity and unity among diverse groups but also ensured long-term societal resilience. Durgavati's rule exemplifies how intertwined political agency and cultural patronage fortified kingdoms against imperial pressures, leaving an enduring legacy in Indian history.

Rani Mangammal

As the daughter of General Tupakula Lingama Nayaka, she married King Chokkanatha Nayak and assumed regency for her infant grandson Vijayaranga Chokkanatha after a series of familial tragedies, including her daughter-in-law's sati. In a patriarchal system where women rarely held power, Mangammal demonstrated exceptional military and diplomatic acumen. She orchestrated campaigns against neighboring rulers, such as Kilavan Sethupati of Ramnad and Raja Ravi Varma of Travancore, deploying skilled generals like Dalavay Narasappaya to reclaim tributes and territories. Her forces decisively defeated the Thanjavur Marathas under Shaji, forming coalitions to counter encroachments. Diplomatically, she maintained amicable relations with Mughal general Zulfikar Ali, paying tributes to Aurangzeb for autonomy and leveraging his support to recover lands from Thanjavur kings. In 1702, she petitioned the Mughal emperor for military aid against Udaiyar Palayam, showcasing strategic foresight in navigating imperial dynamics (Rajagopal, 2019; Sathyanathaier, 1924; Enoch & Ball, 2004).

Complementing her political endeavors, Mangammal's cultural patronage focused on infrastructure and religious inclusivity, fostering societal cohesion and economic growth. She constructed extensive roads from Cape Comorin, repaired irrigation channels like Uyyakkondan in 1687 and 1704, and built dams across the Cauvery River to mitigate floods. Palaces such as the Tiruchirapalli Darbar Hall and Madurai Tamukkam Palace, now museums, served administrative and recreational purposes. She endowed jewels and palanquins to temples like Madurai Meenakshi

Amman, while issuing the 1692 Copper Charter and 1701 Telugu Charter to support Christians and granting lands to Muslim dargahs and mosques, promoting interfaith harmony (Tripathy, 2023). These initiatives not only ensured security and prosperity but also reflected her visionary leadership, leaving a legacy of tolerance and development in southern India. Mangammal's integration of agency and patronage illustrates how female rulers could thrive in male-dominated frameworks, enhancing cultural resilience.

Rudramadevi

Ascending the throne as designated successor by her father, Ganapatideva, she navigated gender constraints by adopting masculine titles such as Rudradeva Maharaja and Raya Gaja Kesari, meaning "lion to elephant-like enemies," as inscribed in the Bidar records. This symbolic assertion of authority enabled her to command respect and lead as a warrior queen. She implemented the Nayamkara system, a decentralized military governance model that assigned lands to loyal warriors in exchange for service, enhancing administrative efficiency and defense capabilities. Rudramadevi personally led campaigns against formidable adversaries, including the Yadavas and Eastern Gangas, resulting in territorial expansions and the consolidation of Kakatiya influence across the Telugu-speaking regions. Her diplomatic strategies involved forging alliances with neighboring kingdoms, ensuring stability amid regional rivalries, while her early training under guru Sivadevayya in horseback riding, swordsmanship, and combat equipped her for battlefield leadership (Punjala, 2016; Yajnik & Raju, 2013; Devi, 2006). Complementing her political endeavors, Rudramadevi's cultural patronage fostered a golden age of Telugu civilization, marked by architectural and artistic advancements. She commissioned grand temples, such as those in Warangal, and extensive irrigation projects, including tanks and canals, which bolstered agricultural productivity and economic prosperity. These initiatives not only supported the agrarian base but also promoted cultural integration among diverse communities. Inscriptions and coins bearing her titles highlight her role in patronizing literature, sculpture, and performing arts, elevating Telugu as a medium of royal expression and scholarly discourse. Her support for Brahmin scholars and religious institutions further enriched the cultural fabric, leaving a legacy of resilience and innovation (Suryanarayana, 2023; Sharma, 2024; Venkateshwarlu, 2023). Rudramadevi's reign exemplifies how strategic agency and enlightened patronage could sustain and elevate a dynasty, influencing subsequent South Indian polities.

Chand Bibi

Born as the daughter of Sultan Husain Nizam Shah I of Ahmednagar, she married Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur to strengthen political alliances. Following his assassination in 1580, Chand Bibi served as regent for their young son, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, skillfully neutralizing internal threats from ministers like Kamil Khan and Kishwar Khan through strategic alliances and decisive actions, despite facing imprisonment in Satara. Her return to Ahmednagar after her brother's death positioned her as regent once more, where she orchestrated the defense against Emperor Akbar's forces. Leading from the front, she united the sultanates of Bijapur, Golconda, and Bidar, employing brilliant tactics such as cutting off Mughal supplies during Prince Murad's siege, forcing a retreat. Multilingual in Persian, Marathi, Kannada, Arabic, and Turkish, she excelled in negotiations, rallying diverse factions and personally charging into battle veiled and armored. Her agency culminated in repelling subsequent assaults by Prince Daniyal, though betrayal by nobles, fueled by false rumors of Mughal collusion, led to her tragic assassination (Stewart, 2015; Haeri, 2020; Eaton, 2005). In cultural patronage, Chand Bibi enriched the Deccan courts through her passions for

painting, hunting, and politics, fostering an environment of artistic and intellectual vitality. As regent in Bijapur and Ahmednagar, she supported miniature painting and architectural endeavors, blending Persian and local styles that influenced Deccani art. Her court became a center for cultural exchange, promoting tolerance among Muslim and Hindu elements, as evidenced in the vibrant manuscript illustrations and fortifications she oversaw. This patronage extended to diplomatic gestures that preserved cultural heritage amid turmoil (Michell & Zebrowski, 1999; Waheed, 2025; Asher, 1992). Chand Bibi's legacy illustrates how political resilience and cultural support could sustain regional identities against imperial dominance, inspiring narratives of female empowerment in Indian history.

Mata Bhag Kaur

Born without a recorded date, she was raised in a family that instilled values of courage, honesty, and fearlessness, leading her to defy gender norms by aspiring to martial training from a young age. When 40 Sikh deserters abandoned Guru Gobind Singh amid Mughal persecution, Mai Bhago rallied them back to the fold, shaming their retreat and leading them into combat against imperial forces. Clad in armor, she fought valiantly, sustaining injuries but surviving to become the Guru's personal bodyguard, a position that underscored her strategic influence in maintaining Sikh unity and morale during a period of existential threat. This agency extended beyond the battlefield; after losing her husband and brothers in the conflict, she dedicated her life to the Guru's service, living as a saint-soldier and promoting collective resilience (Kaur, 2023; Singh, 2018; Fenech, 2013). Her actions challenged patriarchal restrictions, as women were typically barred from military roles, yet she trained in weaponry and participated actively, inspiring a sense of equality within the Khalsa order established in 1699. In cultural patronage, Mai Bhago contributed to the propagation and institutionalization of Sikhism, aiding its expansion through preaching and community service. Settling in Bidar after the Guru's passing, she preached the principles of equality, justice, and devotion, drawing from her experiences across five Gurus' lifetimes, from Hargobind to Gobind Singh. She actively served langar, the communal kitchen symbolizing egalitarianism, and supported the compilation and dissemination of sacred texts like the Guru Granth Sahib. Her efforts fostered spiritual and social cohesion, emphasizing Sikhism's commitment to fairness regardless of gender or caste (Jakobsh, 2003; Grewal, 1990). Mai Bhago's work not only spread these ideals but also preserved Sikh cultural identity amid adversity, leaving a legacy as an emblem of female empowerment and religious patronage in Punjab's history.

Onake Obavva

Though not a queen or noble, Obavva, the wife of guard Kahale Mudda Hanuma, embodied grassroots resistance in a time of regional power struggles. While fetching water near the fort, she discovered soldiers infiltrating through a narrow crevice known as "Kindi." Armed only with a pestle (onake), she single-handedly ambushed and slew numerous intruders one by one, concealing their bodies to prevent alarm. This act of vigilance and bravery thwarted a surprise attack, preserving the fort's integrity and allowing time for reinforcements. Her husband, upon discovering the scene, alerted the king, though Obavva was fatally struck by the final soldier. This episode highlights the role of ordinary women in political defense, contributing to local autonomy against imperial expansion and challenging gender norms in warfare (Nayak, 2015; Kamath, 2001; Rice, 1897). In terms of cultural patronage, Obavva's legacy has been preserved and amplified through folklore, inspiring generations in Karnataka. Celebrated as a symbol of Kannada pride and female valor, her story is immortalized in ballads, plays, and educational narratives that

emphasize resilience and patriotism. Statues, such as the prominent one at Chitradurga Fort, serve as cultural monuments, drawing visitors and reinforcing regional identity. Annual festivals and memorials commemorate her, integrating her tale into school curricula and popular media, thus promoting values of courage and community defense (Reddy, 2025). Obavva's bravery has evolved into a folk cultural icon, illustrating how individual acts of agency can foster enduring cultural narratives that empower women and preserve historical memory in Indian society.

Keladi Chennamma

Originating from a non-royal merchant family in Rameswaram, she ascended through marriage, defying traditional hierarchies to become a trusted advisor and eventual sovereign. Her agency manifested in quelling internal plots and rivalries, particularly those orchestrated by Bijapur operatives after her husband's murder, where she deftly restored order and maintained stability. A key demonstration of her diplomatic prowess was providing political asylum and security to Rajaram, son of Maratha leader Shivaji, in 1685, forging a unique alliance between Keladi and the Marathas that bolstered regional resistance against Mughal expansion. Chennamma valiantly led her forces against Aurangzeb's armies during the siege of Bidnur, engaging in prolonged combat before an honorable defeat, showcasing her military leadership and commitment to sovereignty (Prabhu & Chincholi, 2015; Tripathy, 2023; Kudva, 1972). This resilience not only preserved her kingdom's autonomy but also positioned her as a symbol of defiance in South Indian politics. In cultural patronage, Chennamma nurtured education, arts, and religious institutions, treating her subjects and palace staff with maternal care to foster societal harmony. She gifted extensive lands to temples, monasteries, and rishis, supporting spiritual and scholarly pursuits that enriched Karnataka's cultural landscape. Her encouragement of literary and artistic endeavors transformed Keladi into a hub of learning, promoting values of knowledge and piety amid turbulent times (Naikar, 2009; Hayavadana Rao, 1930; Joshi, 1976). These endowments ensured long-term cultural vitality, reflecting her visionary approach to governance. Chennamma's integration of political agency and patronage left an enduring legacy, inspiring narratives of female empowerment in Indian history.

Belawadi Mallamma

Hailing from Belawadi in North Karnataka's Bailhongal district, she was the daughter of Sode King Madhulinga Nayak, a Lingayat vassal of the Vijayanagara Empire. Renowned for her academic excellence and intelligence from youth, Mallamma married Isaprabhu after he triumphed in her Swayamvara. When Maratha soldiers stole cattle from Belawadi, she mobilized an army of women, launching a surprise assault on their camp. Catching the unprepared troops off guard, her forces inflicted heavy casualties, reclaimed the livestock, and secured a decisive victory. Enraged by the theft, Shivaji dispatched a larger army led by General Dadaji. In the ensuing battle, Isaprabhu was fatally stabbed from behind, prompting Mallamma to assume command and lead her women warriors with unyielding resolve. Captured and presented to Shivaji, she learned he had ordered her husband's live capture, not death, and graciously forgave him upon recognizing his lack of intent. This act of clemency not only preserved peace but also earned Shivaji's admiration, highlighting her diplomatic wisdom in protecting her land amid regional conflicts (Patil, 2019; Kamble, 2025; Shetty, 2000). In cultural patronage, Mallamma promoted intelligence, community values, and resilience, fostering a legacy of empowerment in Karnataka. Her story, rooted in Lingayat

faith and scholarly pursuits, emphasized education and unity, inspiring folk narratives that celebrate female valor and ethical leadership. By leading women in defense, she challenged patriarchal norms, encouraging communal solidarity and land stewardship as cultural ideals (Rao, 2010). Mallamma's tale continues to motivate Karnataka's heritage, symbolizing how individual agency can safeguard and enrich regional identity.

Abbakka Chowta

Known locally as Abbakka Mahadevi, she forged strategic alliances with the Zamorin of Calicut and Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1570, uniting regional powers to counter European incursions. Despite her Jain faith, she maintained an inclusive administration with strong representation from Muslims and Hindus, assembling a diverse army that included castes like the Moggaveera fishermen. Her marriage to a neighboring Bangher ruler ended acrimoniously, with her returning his jewels, but this did not deter her resolve. In 1567, when Portuguese Viceroy Antony Noronha dispatched Joao Peixoto to assault Ullal, Abbakka escaped to a mosque and led a nighttime counterattack with 200 warriors, slaying the general and 70 soldiers. The following year, her Muslim supporters evicted the Portuguese from Mangalore Fort. Betrayed by her ex-husband's intelligence to the enemy, she was captured and imprisoned, yet rebelled fiercely, perishing in combat rather than submitting (Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, n.d.; Kamath, 1998; Prabhu, 2020). In cultural patronage, Abbakka promoted justice and inclusivity, laboring late into the night to administer fair rulings, which fostered societal harmony amid diversity. Her patronage extended to military integration, empowering various sects and castes, thereby strengthening communal bonds. Festivals and bronze statues in Ullal honor her legacy as the "unsung warrior queen," preserving her story in folk traditions and inspiring anti-colonial narratives (Nayak, 2018). Abbakka's blend of agency and patronage exemplifies resilient leadership against imperialism, enriching Karnataka's cultural heritage.

Ahilyabai Holkar

Ahilyabai Holkar's ensured the stability of the Malwa kingdom from 1767 to 1795, transforming a period of potential turmoil into one of prosperity and peace following the deaths of her husband Khanderao in the 1754 Battle of Kumbher and her father-in-law Malharrao Holkar in 1766. Born in 1725 in Chaundi village, Maharashtra, to a Maratha family, Ahilyabai ascended as regent and effective ruler, appointing capable chiefs like Tukojirao Holkar as army commander and relocating the capital to Maheshwar for strategic governance. She implemented welfare reforms, drawing from her personal wealth of approximately 16 crore rupees to fund initiatives without burdening public coffers, demonstrating fiscal prudence. Ahilyabai vehemently opposed the caste system, advocating for social equity, and empowered women through access to education, schools, and economic opportunities in handicrafts, industry, and agriculture. These measures ameliorated farmers' conditions and promoted inclusive development, fostering a stable administration amid regional conflicts (Kottewar, n.d.; Bodke, 2020; Sharma, 2025). In cultural patronage, Ahilyabai rebuilt and restored numerous temples, including the Kashi Vishwanath in Varanasi—118 years after its destruction by Aurangzeb—and contributed to Ellora's Kailasa Temple, spanning charitable works across India's four Dhams. She constructed wells, stepwells, dharmshalas, and free kitchens for pilgrims, while supporting learned pandits and establishing a textile weaving industry in Maheshwar that endures today. Her projects, such as temples in Bhanpura, Bharatpur, and Gangotri, along with ghats in Haridwar and bridges like Karmanshini, enhanced religious and cultural infrastructure nationwide (Kulkarni, 2025; PIB, 2025; Gordon, 1994).

Ahilyabai's legacy illustrates how integrated political agency and patronage could uplift society, inspiring enduring admiration for her just and visionary rule.

Rani Velu Nachiyar

Born in 1730 in Ramanathapuram as the only child of Raja Chellamuthu Vijayaragunatha Sethupathy and Rani Sakandimuthal, she was raised like a male heir, mastering warfare, languages, and strategy. At 16, she married Muthuvadugananthur Udaiyathevar of Sivaganga, but in the Kalaiyar Kovil War, British Colonel Joseph Smith, allied with the Nawab of Arcot, assassinated her husband, his consort, and ministers. Escaping with the Marudhu brothers' aid, she sought refuge and forged a crucial alliance with Haider Ali of Mysore in Dindigul, impressing him with her multilingual proficiency. Rejecting the caste system, she assembled an inclusive army comprising women, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, viewing Tipu Sultan as a brother. In 1780, she led a fierce assault on British fortifications, with her commander Kuyili—regarded as an adopted daughter—becoming India's first suicide bomber by igniting their ammunition depot. This victory compelled British surrender, reclaiming Sivaganga. Ruling for a decade until 1790, succeeded by her daughter Vellachi, Nachiyar deterred further invasions until her death in 1796 from a heart condition treated in France (Nayak, 2025; Feminism in India, 2018; Government of Tamil Nadu, 2020). Culturally, her patronage honored diversity and gratitude, exemplified by constructing a mosque and a church in Sarugani to commemorate Haider Ali's support, promoting interfaith harmony in a divided era (Venkataraman, 2017). Nachiyar's legacy underscores how agency and inclusive patronage could galvanize anti-imperial movements, inspiring modern narratives of empowerment.

Conclusion

The great queens of India from the 12th to the 18th centuries exemplified exceptional political agency through astute leadership, strategic alliances, and military command, often in defiance of patriarchal constraints. Figures such as Razia Sultan, Rani Durgavati, and Abbakka Chowta navigated complex power dynamics, forging coalitions to defend their realms against imperial threats and ensuring territorial stability. Concurrently, their cultural patronage advanced societal unity and artistic endeavors; Ahilyabai Holkar's temple restorations, Rani Mangammal's infrastructure projects, and Rudramadevi's support for Telugu arts enriched India's diverse heritage, promoting education, interfaith harmony, and economic progress. These women's legacies, frequently marginalized in historical narratives, underscore the integral roles females played in shaping governance and culture. By reclaiming their contributions, contemporary scholarship inspires greater recognition of women's historical agency, fostering a more inclusive understanding of pre-modern India's multifaceted evolution and emphasizing empowerment's enduring value.

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