

## The Muslim Elements in Hindu Polity during Early Medieval Period

### RASHMI UPADHYAYA

Associate Professor Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh.

E-mail: [rashmiprerak@gmail.com](mailto:rashmiprerak@gmail.com)

**Abstract:** This paper is intended to work on the Sanskrit literary sources and inscriptions in order to construct the image of the Muslims in the Hindu realm during the early medieval period. The rare occurrence of the Muslims in the Hindu army and administration as apparent from the survey of sources puts a question on their reliability. The shelter provided to a few of the enemy troops or officials by Hammira, the Rajput ruler of Ranthambhor and Rai Karna of Vaghela dynasty of Gujarat was apart from the tradition and undoubtedly sets an example of the broad mindedness of the Indian kings during the dark phase wherein no reliance was generally put upon the Muslims in general and their image as raiders was predetermined in the thoughts of the Indian folk. The historical figure in the name of Mahimasahi was nevertheless a remarkable example of the loyalty of a Mangol chief, who could transform himself as a Rajput by way of his martial spirit.

**Keywords:** *Tajika, Hammirmahakavya, Turushkas, Samyana, Chinchani, Madhumad.*

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### Introduction

The Muslims are usually found mentioned in Sanskrit sources of early medieval period as *tajika* and *turushka*. Their image as raiders has generally been configured from the innumerable accounts enumerated in the Sanskrit inscriptions and literary sources.<sup>1</sup> The Rajput resistance against the Muslim invaders was continued over a long period of time beginning with the Arab invasion of Sind till the establishment and consolidation of Delhi Sultanate. The political system of the Delhi Sultans has been revealed to us in a much better way owing to the abundance of source material than that of the Hindus or the Rajput rulers. The Arabs and Turks were also known for the establishment of political power in India in distinct regions. The Muslim accounts including *Chachnama* clearly mention the Position of the Hindus in the Muslim realm.<sup>2</sup> The offices and designations conferred on them by

the Arabs and Delhi Sultans have often found specific mention in the contemporary sources.<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit inscriptions and literary sources of early medieval period though generally do not mention the Muslims as possessing any significant position in Hindu polity. It was possibly on account of a strong sense of non-reliance on them in the minds of the Hindu Kings. However, we do have some scarce references to this effect under the Rashtrakutas, who could believe them on account of the friendly terms maintained by them with the Arabs.

### Objective

This article is aimed to deal with such scarce references traced from contemporary sources which conform to the place of some Muslims in the Hindu Polity.

### Incorporation of Muslims in Hindu Army

The Muslims probably owing to their unreliability were generally provided no significant position in army during the Rajput or Hindu period. They were subjected to great suspicion with regard to their own reliability and faithfulness. The political writers of early medieval period are alert to the employment of the *aribala*<sup>4</sup> or the enemy troops (which might have also meant as Muslim troops) in the state army and advised the king for their limited use in times of emergency.<sup>5</sup> However, the practical use of the Muslim troops is reflected from some of our sources. *Chachnam* refers that at the time of the Arab invasion of Sind, Rai Dahar, the ruler of Sind had five hundred Arab troops in his service.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, king Harsha of Kashmir is also known to have incorporated a number of *turushka* soldiers in his army.<sup>7</sup> Commenting on Harsha's zeal of temple spoliation Kalhana calls him a *turushka* and refers to the *turushka* troops being employed in his army and enjoying his favour. Kalhana also accounted that king Bhoja was also supported by allied *mleccha* chiefs from the upper Indus in crushing the revolt of the *damaras*.<sup>8</sup> Possibly, some of the Rajput rulers following such examples might have included some such troops in their armies, either for the operation of technical weapons like war machines (variously termed as *manjaniqs*, *arra'das*, *maghrabis* etc.), to which the Hindus were not so much familiar. Mohd. Habib seems to be correct in assuming that such siege engines were originally constructed by skilled Musalmans in the service of *Hindurais*.<sup>9</sup> It is apparently clear that the Turks had paid a great attention for the inclusion of experts like *ballista* operators, *arbalasti* workers, *naphta* throwers, shield carriers in their armies.

### Mahimasahi- A Sheltered Muslim Chief

In some rare cases some of the Muslim Chiefs were incorporated as warriors in the Rajput army. *Hammiramahakavya* presents an interesting account of the Mongol General named Mahimasahi<sup>10</sup> seeking refuge with the Chauhan king Hammira after being displeased with Alauddin Khalji. According to *Hammirmadamardana* Mahimasahi, of Yavana origin was one of the trusted subordinates, who fought for Hammira till end against Alauddin Khalji.<sup>11</sup> Mahimasahi, who served the Rajput king Hammira Chauhan was a neo - Muslim and originally a Mongol warrior. He was known to have led an unsuccessful rebellion by the Delhi Sultanate army. After the failure of the rebellion, he fled to Ranthambhor and joined the services of Hammira. When Alauddin Khalji (1206-1526) attacked Ranthambhor in 1301 Mahimasahi fought valiantly from the side of Hammira and lost his life during the course of battle.<sup>12</sup> The Sultan in recognition to his loyalty to the defeated king ordered his body to be properly buried. *Hammirmahakavya* portrays Mahimasahi as a paragon of loyalty to Hammiradeva of Chauhan dynasty. The play in final section discusses about his fidelity to Hammira, which turned him into a proto type of Rajput warrior.<sup>13</sup> Mahimasahi,

a kshatriya warrior was allowed by Hammirato enter in to battle. His loyalty and martial spirit as portrayed in *Hammirmahakavya* proves his character as a kshatriya warrior, preferred to die in the battle rather than to choose a simple option of surrendering the sheltered in spite of belonging to a different religion.<sup>14</sup>

His tale has also been partially defined in *Purushpariksha* of Vidyapati and *Kanhadadeprabandh*. He first appears on the scene as one of the eight commanders of Hammira in *Hammirmahakavya*, while fighting and defeating Ulugh Khan in a contestant battle. Vidyapati added colours to the story in his own way. He accounts that the Sultan, who is entitled as a Yavana demanded the extradition of the sheltered. At this Hammir replied defiantly, 'Not even the God of death, let alone the Muslim king, dare look askance at one who hath sought asylum in my house'<sup>15</sup> Persian sources clearly refer to Mahimasahi as a New Muslim (*naw-i-musalmana*), which is a term generally applied to Mongols and their affiliated Turkic tribesmen in the Delhi Sultanate. His identity as a Neo Muslim suggests that either he was a new convert to Islam or a new or foreigner to the land of Islam or as an outsider to Indo-Muslim community. He is identified by some scholars with Muhammad Shah, one of the neo-Muslims, who led a rebellion against the Delhi Sultanate army in 1299.<sup>16</sup> *Futuh -us- Salatin* of Isami, who refers that while Ulugh Khan came to know about the three Muslims named Kamizi, Muhammad Shah and Kabharu who took shelter with Hammira, after revolting against Alauddin,<sup>17</sup> he sent a message to Hammira to submit the Mongol chiefs and if he does otherwise, he should get prepared for war. Hammira consulted his ministers who advised to avoid the war by submitting the sheltered to Alauddin. But, he disregarded the advice of his ministers and declared to continue his protection to the Mongols chiefs.<sup>18</sup> These Mongol chiefs were called as neo-Muslims as they had been converted to Islam during the reign of Sultan Jalalu'ddin Firoz. They planned to kill Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan but were completely crushed, according to Isami.<sup>19</sup> Isami accounts that while Alauddin's forces returned after the first expedition of Gujarat in AH 704 (1304-05 AD) to Delhi Ulugh Khan forcibly tried to take the Sultan's share from the rich booty collected by the soldiers. This enraged the neo-Muslim Mongols led by intrepid chiefs Qamizi, Muhammad Shah, Gabhru, Balchaq and Barq. They revolted and attempted to kill Ulugh Khan. But at the failure of the revolt, they fled. Muhammad Shah and Gabhru sought shelter in the fort of Ranthambhor and Balchaq, Barq and Karri joined Rai Karna of Vaghela dynasty.<sup>20</sup>

### **Muslim Officials under the Vaghela King**

The above account of Isami has been attested by a Persian- Sanskrit inscription of Karna Deva Vaghela of Gujarat discovered at the village Sampla (Sopla of the Survey of India Maps)<sup>21</sup> in 1981 in Padra Taluka, district Vadodara, which refers to Rai Karna as a reigning monarch. The inscription is inscribed on a marble tablet measuring 85 centimetre in height and 22 centimetre in width, on the top of which there is a Persian inscription of 12 lines and immediately below it there is a Sanskrit inscription of 8 lines. Both the inscriptions are incomplete.<sup>22</sup> The Persian portion of the inscription refers that on Tuesday, the first of the month of Muharram 704 (4<sup>th</sup> August 1304) through the charitable intentions of Karnadeva and of Maliku'l-Akabar (literally prince among the great) Balchaq and Maliku'l Umara (literally prince among the nobles) Shadi and Taju'd - Din Hasan, son of Vaziru'l Vuzara (literally minister of ministers i.e chief minister) Najmu'dDunyawa'd Din Mahmud Katib made an endowment of village Samba ie Sampa in Kanam<sup>23</sup>, with all its limits and its revenue and whatever is connected with it for the Jami mosque of Khambayat (Khambat, i.e Cambay). The inscription also mentions that the terms of the trust should be abided by the Muslims. Those who will misappropriate the trust or violate its order in any way will be cursed by the God and prophet.<sup>24</sup>

The Sanskrit version is more incomplete than its Persian counterpart. The content is same. Only the name of Malik Shadi is lost. It refers that on *Bhadrapada vadi2*, VS 1360 (18 August 1304) through *Maharajadhiraja* Karna Malik Shri Balchaq, Malik Shri (Shadi) and Shri Hasan etc endowed the village Sampa for the mosque of *stambhatirtha* for the religious purposes. All the *theranakas* are asked to abide by it.<sup>25</sup> The historical significance of the inscription lies in its date which is regarded as the date for Gujarat's final conquest by AlauddinKhalji.<sup>26</sup> The inscription particularly the Nagari portion proved helpful in settling the pronunciation of the name of neo-Muslim Mongol chief Balchak, earlier the name was variously written in various Persian sources. The name of donor's father Najmu'd Din Mahmud as Vaziru'lvuzara or chief minister is introduced first time through this inscription. Probably he was vested with some official position as merchant of Cambay.<sup>27</sup>

### Muslim Officials under the Hindu Kings of Kashmir

Kalhana refers to Shahi princes who held court offices under Lalitaditya. The title Shahi was used by Kalhana for the Turkish people, who used to rule in Kabul valley and Gandhara up to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The members of this family were holding parts along the Indus valley and eastward areas.<sup>28</sup> Lalitaditya's minister Cankuna was of Turkish race belonging to Tokharistan which comprised Badakhshan and the immediately adjoining tracts of upper Oxus. This region was inhabited in the eighth century and even earlier to it by tribes of Turkish race. The name Cankuna bore by him was derived from the Chinese title (Tsiang-Kian) probably meant a General. Later in Kashmir it came to be known as his personal name.<sup>29</sup> Kalhana also mentions that after the death of Harsha in Kashmir his grandson Bhikshachara became king for a shorter period (1120-21). While Kashmir was passing through a political and economic disturbance, Bhikshachara's minister Bimba led an expedition against LoharaSussala in which he was allied by a force of *Turushkas* or Muhammadans under Sallara (Persian Salara Vismaya).<sup>30</sup> Jonaraja accounts that Suhadeva, the last king of Kashmir established his authority over the whole of Kashmir with the help of Sahamera (Shah Mir), who was a Muslim adventurer of the Rajput origin and an immigrant to Kashmir.<sup>31</sup>

### The Rashtrakutas and Muslims

The Arab writers specifically mention the Balharas (Vallabharaja or the Rashtrakuta Kings), maintaining friendly terms with the Arab Musalmans and for being extremely partial to them. It is also stated by them that some Muslims were employed of temple appointed by governors of cities and that none but the Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in that empire.<sup>32</sup> The above testimony of the Arab writers has been substantiated from an inscription of the reign of Rashtrakuta King Indra III, which is found on a copper plate at Chinchani in district Thana of Maharashtra. The language of the record is Sanskrit, composed in both prose and verse. It refers that when Indra III was reigning, there was a ruler (*nripti*) named Madhumati<sup>33</sup> who belonged to *Tajik* (Arab) race (*Tajik anvay*). The said governor or ruler is mentioned to have received the entire *mandala* of Samyana from Krishnaraja (Krishna II).<sup>34</sup> It is mentioned that Madhumati conquered the chiefs of all harbours of the neighbourhood (*Vijitya-kara-dandenaSarvavelakuladhipan*) and imposed taxes on them (by making them their feudatories). Madhumati's other name is referred as Sugatipa and his father's name was Sahiyaharaha.<sup>35</sup> Madhumati alias Sugatipa's able minister was Punvaiya. The plates record the religious benefaction in the locality of Samyana and several provisions made by Madhumatialias Sugatipa. The provisions contained the establishment of free ferry on two streams (on SamyanRiver) and a feeding house (at Samyana) where Sali rice, curries, and ghee were catered free of cost. Verse 22 of the inscription mentions about a Brahmana named Narayanabhatta belonging to Bhardwajagotra and Maitrayanishakha. His

son named Annaiya was a friend of Madhumati alias Sugatipa's minister Puvaiya and an obedient servant of Nityavarsha (Indra III). Annaiya constructed *amathika* (temple) at Samyana with the permission of the king (*Nityavarshanugah*). It is mentioned in the following prose portion that at the request of Annaiya, Sugatipa alias Madhumati (*Mathumatya- para-namna Sri Sugatipena*) made a grant of village of Kanaduka situated in Kolimaharavisaya within Samyana mandala together with a small portion of land (*dhurardham*, half a *dhura*)<sup>36</sup> in the village of Devihara with the permission of *Parambhatraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshvara Indrarajadeva*. The purpose of the creation of the endowment was that the income accruing to it would be utilized for the repair of the *Mathika* constructed by Annaiya and for offering prayers (*naivedya*) to the Goddess *Dasami* (Probably a form of Durga or Parvati) and the feeding of nine persons belonging to *Panchgaudiyamahaparishad* of Samyana (community of Gaudiya or north Indian Brahmins settled at Samyana).<sup>37</sup>

Although there is some difference between the verse and prose portions of the epigraph. In verse 23 Annaiya is referred as creator of endowment but the prose part of the record refers to the governor of Samyana as the creator. (This is because the creation of the rent-free holding was the prerogative of the government). The creation of the endowment was declared by the governor at an assemblage of the citizens of Samyana (*Hamyamanapura*)<sup>38</sup>, administrative officials of district round Samyana and the superintends of the collection of the royal share of the produce of the fields from the farmers. The village was granted in perpetuity together with the rights of collection of almost all kinds of taxes and the grant has been declared as *dharmasetuie* bridge of *dharma*. The inscription was written under the orders of the Arab governor, who received instructions in this matter from reigning monarch Indra III.<sup>39</sup> The ending verses refer to the prayers for the continuous rule of the Arab governor. *Sugatipanripati* is mentioned as equal to sun in brightness (*tejah*).<sup>40</sup> Two other persons named Revana and Kautuka are prayed along with Annaiya for acquiring the mountainous abode of the Gods, (Sumeru) i.e., heaven. Revana and Kautuka together with Annaiya might have been responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the image of goddesses within it. In other inscription of the same place, Annaiya and Revana are referred as the younger brothers of Kautuka and the latter alone is referred as the builder of the *mathika*.<sup>41</sup>

The inscription reveals some aspects of immense importance, the foremost of which is the governorship of a *Tajika* (Arab) over Samyana (mod. Sanjan in Thana distt.) under the Rashtrakuta King. The other epigraphical records of the Rashtrakutas make no mention of any Arab administrator. That the Arab governor was successful in his administrative capacities is proved by the fact that he was continuing to hold the important post for more than a decade right from the period of Krishna II. Besides corroborating the testimony of the Arab writers regarding the employment of Muslim or Arab governors by the Balharas, the inscription also denotes that while ruling over their territories the Arab administrator maintained friendly relations with the members of Hindu community and creed. The spirit of religious toleration is reflected from the grant of aforesaid endowment and the income from it for the repairs and maintenance of the *mathika*. The specific mention of the *panchgaudiyamahaparishad* makes it clear that the Brahmin community of that place was organized in the form of *Parishad* (local *sabha*) and that they were playing a dominant role in the local administration of the village. The appeasement of that assembly of the Brahmins by feeding them during the days of some ceremonial worship might have been a practice leading to the spiritual gain or benefit. The Tajik governor's awful regard and respect to this community of Brahmins is clearly evident from the particular lines of inscription. The officials as concerned within the administration of the village Samyana and the local people appear cordial to the Arab governor, providing approval to the grant made by him. The blissful attitude of the people for the maintenance of the continuous rule of the Arab governor Sugatipa is a reflection of



his healthy and prosperous rule, tolerant attitude and open mindedness in managing all the affairs of administration of Samyana.

### A Muslim Administrator under the Kadambas

According to an inscription preserved in Portuguese version one Kadamba king Guhalladeva (980-1005?) while marching towards Goa was offered a great and public service by one Madumood of Taji race, who was wealthiest among all the seafaring traders and a person of great wisdom.<sup>42</sup> During the period of Kadamba king Jayakeshi I (1050-80), while Goa was made the capital of his kingdom one Sadano is mentioned as wise administrator of that place, credited for the substantial part of the prosperity of this place. He was the grandson of the merchant Muhammada, who had earlier served Guhalladeva. He was appointed by Jayakeshi as governor of Konkan and was well versed in Mathematics and fourteen arts, the four resources and the seven solicitudes. This rich merchant Sadano was known to have established a charitable institution in the capital, which arranged food for the poor and the helpless and lodgings for the pilgrims, which was maintained out of the money that came from trading vessels and merchants from foreign origin.<sup>43</sup> The Panjim plates of Jayakeshi I, dated AD 1059 mention the same person with the name Sadhana. His identification with Sadano is helped by his family details, which described him as grandson of Aliyama of the Tajika descent, an intelligent and wealthy sea faring merchant and the son of Madhumad. That Madhumad is mentioned 'like full moon, delight to the eyes of the people', which indicates that he was on administrative or governing position. Sadhana is mentioned 'as equal to Keshiraja (Jayakeshi) in the matter of protecting the realm.', which proves his capability as good administrator of higher rank. The inscriptions further mention that 'His munificence removed the distressed and his strength put an end to his enemies. The good conduct of that wise man attracted the minds of the honest persons.'<sup>44</sup>

### Governing Position of a Muslim Merchant in Gujarat under the Chaulukya King

The Veraval inscription<sup>45</sup> written in Sanskrit mixed with Gujarati and numerous Arabic and Persian words, dated in Hizra year 662 followed by VS 1320, Vallabhi Samvat. 945 and Simha Samvat 151, corresponding to 1264 AD states that Arjunadeva<sup>46</sup> belonging to the Vaghela branch of the Chaulukya dynasty was reigning victoriously at Anahilapataka. His Prime Minister (*mahamatya*) *Ranaka* Sri Maladeva living devoted to his feet (*tatpadpadmopajivin*), was transacting all the business of seal. It is further referred that while Amir Ruknuddin was governing the Hormuza coast, one shipowner Noradina Piroja (Nuruddin Firuz), a native of Horamuzadesa, who has come for some business to the town of Shrisomanathdeva together with his own treasure bought a piece of land outside the town of Somnath. With the blessings of Pashupatacharya named Mahanta Sri Abhayasiha of the shrine of Somnath in the presence of all the great men of the area including the *ranakas*, *thakkuras* and *vrahatpurushas* the said shipowner for the purpose of attaining perpetual merit and glory built a mosque (*mijigiti*) at that place, which is named as *dharmasthanain* in the inscription. It is also mentioned that the laying down and erection of the mosque had taken place with the help and association of a great man Raja Sri Chhada. For the maintenance i.e. for the lamps, oil and water and for the preceptor (*nauvattikanam*), a crier to the prayers and monthly reader of *kuran* and for the payment of the expenses of particular religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shite sailors of Somnathpatan, for the annual white washing and repairs of the mosque Phiroz dedicated the income from a whole piece of land located in the centre of the town of Somnathdeva and attached to temple of Sri Bauleswar. The income from an oil mill and two shops in front of the mosque bought by him was also dedicated. It is stated that the eventual surplus i.e. the expenses on the days of particular festivals) is to be made over to the

holy places Makka and Madina. He also appointed the trustees including the Muslim congregations (*jamath*) of Nakhuyanaurika (ship owners), of wharf people (*ghattaka*), who were devoted to the Martyr and their preacher (*Khaliba*) and of the Musalman landholders (*pathpati*) and artisans (*chunakar*) etc. In the ending lines an announcement is made that whosoever plunders and causes harm to this place of worship and this source of income that bad man will be defiled by the guilt of the five mortal sins and will go to hell.<sup>47</sup>

Besides furnishing a remarkable example of religious tolerance, it appears from the above inscription that merchant NuruddinPhiroz was unofficially holding some responsibility at the harbour in the capacity of a trader. It is gleaned out from the epigraph that the Muslim merchants and sailors came and lived in the coastal area of Gujarat for the purpose of trade and the Hindu kings offered them warm hospitality and every facility to prosecute their religion.<sup>48</sup>It is also notable that while almost all the Chaulukya inscriptions are dated in Vikrama era, an exception was made in the favour of this Muslim merchant from Hormuz undoubtedly out of respect for the religious susceptibility of the latter. As a result, in this inscription the date is first recorded in Muslim era (*Rasula Mahammad Samvat*) followed by Vikram era.

## Conclusion

The above survey reveals that the Hindu kings and more specifically the Rajput rulers of early medieval period in general did not prefer to appoint the Muslims on the significant administrative positions. The administrative posts conferred to the Muslim traders under the Rashtrakut as and Kadambas in rare cases might have been aimed to promote the trade and commercial activities in coastal areas. Sometimes the traders also secured the substantial position without having any official designation as represented through the Veraval inscription noted above. It is not clear whether the protection provided to the enemy troops as sheltered, as was in the case of Mahimasahi stood imbued with some political motives or was simply a reflection of the Hindu tradition of welcoming the guest (*atithi*). The inclusion of the Muslim troops in the army as mentioned in *Chachnama* and *Rajtarangini* most possibly intended to acquire knowledge in terms of operating the technological devices and weapons of wars like heavy war machines termed as *munjaniqs* and *arra'das*.

## Notes and References

1. B.D Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Others? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (eighth to fourteenth century)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998.
2. *Chachnama* Vol. I, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Delhi, 1979.
3. Peter Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate - A Political and Military History*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, New York, 1999, p.19 ff; Ali Athar, *Military Technology and Warfare in the Sultanate of Delhi*, New Delhi, 2006.
4. *Manasollasa* considers *amitra* or *ari* troops consisting of soldiers, who once belonged to an enemy king but taken captive and made slaves after his defeat (Vol. I, G.O.S., Baroda, No.28, *Vismshati* II, 6.557-60). *Rajnitiratnakar* defines *aribala* as troops, which came to a king after leaving his enemy (ed. K.P. Jayaswal, Patna, 1936, p.35).
5. Shukra states that a king should include the ablest persons abandoned by the enemy in his own army paying them to his best. But, he says that such an army subdued by a king is the weakest and can not perform any task independently (*Shukraniti* Hindi tr. with text, by Pt. Mihir Chandra, Bombay, p.156). Kamandaka advises the king to employ them, if under complete domination and sufficient strength in plundering the enemy's territory and in weeding out the thorns (obstacles and difficulties) in the forest-forts of frontier

stations(*Nitisaratr*. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Calcutta, 1982, p.395, V.22). Chandeshvara observes that a king accepts such troops only with a view to enfeeble the power of the enemy and as such no confidence should be placed on them(*Rajnitiratnakar*, op.cit., p.35).

6. *Chachnama*, p.56.
7. *Rajtarangini* of Kalhana, tr. M.A. Stein, Delhi, 1960, VII, 1149.
8. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.113, VII,1095,1149.
9. E.H Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, Vol.II, Aligarh, 1952, Introduction, p.47.
10. Mahimasahi is literally meant 'great Shah'. The Sahis originally belonged to Kabul. During the 4th and 6th centuries these Sahis were belonging to the Yueh-chih (Kushana) or Scythian (Saka) stock. Before the conquest of Mahmud of Ghazna Sahi term was referred to Buddhist and later Hindu dynasties of Kabul. In Jain miniature paintings of 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries Sahis are portrayed as Turkic Muslims (Michael Boris Bednar, 'Mongol, Muslim, Rajput: Mahimasahi in Persian texts and the Sanskrit *Hammirmahakavya*', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.60, 2017, pp.587-588).
11. *Hammirmahakavya*, ed.by Nilkanth Janardan Kirtane, Education Society's Press, Byculla, 1879,XIII, vv.198-225.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Euginia Vanina, *Muslim Indian Mindscales: Space, Time, Society, Man*, New Delhi, Primus,2012, p.151.
16. Michael Boris Bednar, op.cit., pp.588.
17. *Futuh us Salatin* or *Shah Namah i Hind* of Isami, Vol.II, ed. and trans. by Agha Mahdi Husain, Bombay,1976, p.424.
18. *Ibid*, pp.446-47.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, ed. by Z.A Desai, 1975, p.16.
21. Sampla is located at a distance of 45 kilometres from Vadodara and two kilometres from Masar road railway station on the Pratapganj (Vadodara) Jambusar narrow gauge section of the western Railway. (*Ibid.*, p.17).
22. *Ibid*, pp.18-20.
23. The term Kanam in the Persian portion of the inscription is applied for the black cotton soil for which Bharuch district is famous. According to the editor of the inscription this is the earliest reference for black cotton (*Ibid.*, p.20).
24. *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.
25. *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.
26. *Ibid*, p.20.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Rajtarangini*, op.cit., Introduction, p.89.
29. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.90.
30. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p.121, VIII,844.



31. H.C Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Delhi, 1973 (second edition), Vol. II, pp. 177-78.
32. E.H Elliot and J.Dowson, *History of India as told by Its Own Historians*, Vol. I, Delhi 2001 pp. 13, 21, 27, 34. Also see A.S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, Poona, 1939, p. 187.
33. D.C. Sircar, the editor of the Inscription regards Madhumati as the Sanskritised form of the Arabic name Muhammad. According to him the Arabic name is Sanskritised as Madhumada in the Panjim plates of Kadamba Jayakesin I. (c. 1050-80 AD). This Madhumada is also stated to have belonged to the *Tajiya vamsha (Tajika)* (see *EI*, Vol.32, p.47 fn. 3).
34. *Krishnaraja dayavapta Krtsna Samyana mandala (Ibid., p. 52, line 20).*
35. B.D Chattopadhyaya has identified him as a feudatory ruler of Samyana Mandala appointed by the Rashtrakutas (B.D Chattopadhyaya, op.cit., p.36)
36. According to the editor of the grant *dhura* is regarded as 1/20th of a *bisva* which is 1/20th of a *bigha* (*EI*, Vol. 32, p.47).
37. *Ibid.*
38. According to D.C Sircar Hamyamana sometimes denoted the community of Parsees of western India while V.V Mirashi regards that Hamyamana corresponds to Kannada Hamyamana meaning artisans. Some Pahlavi inscriptions at the cave site of Kanheri in Mumbai suggest Parsee association of Konkan area (B.D Chattopadhyaya, op.cit., p.69, fn.17).
39. *EI*, Vol.32, p.47 ff.
40. *Dattam yeneha sa shri sugatipa-nrpati suryatejah prashastu (EI, Vol.32, p.55, line 64).*
41. *Ibid.*
42. B.D Chattopadhyaya, op.cit., p. 37.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.11,1882, pp.241 ff.
46. Arjunadeva is referred as adorned with the titles *Samastarajavali Samalankrita* (Adorned by the whole line of the kings), *Parameshwar*, *Parambhattaraka*, *Maharajadhiraja*. *Nihashankamalla*, *arirayahridayasallya* (a thorn in the heart of hostile king Nihashankamalla (*Ibid.*).
47. *Ibid.*
48. Muhammad Ufi, the celebrated Muslim historian narrates that once some Hindus at Cambay destroyed a mosque incited by some Parsis and killed eighty Muslims during the period of Siddharaja Jayasimha. While the king was informed about it, he took immediate steps to rebuild the mosque (*Jami' ul Hikayat*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol II, op.cit, pp.162-64).

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