

The Historical Signs of the Peaceful Advent of Islam to Indian Subcontinent (From the Beginning to the Ghaznavid Dynasty)

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Abstract

Islam emerged in the Indian subcontinent in the early Hijri centuries and it is a great member of the Islamic world today. Hence, an understanding of how they became familiar with Islam is necessary. This issue is important from two aspects: first, the arrival of Islam as a thought that the Islamic commissioners had a role in it which is called under the title of "Islamic Invitation Date in India". Second, Muslim domination with conquests led to their governance and was called "Islamic Governments in India". The first aspect is more important than the second one, but the writers who have written about the arrival of Islam to India, have a military look at which. However, the majority of the phases of the emergence of Islam in India have been peaceful. They refer to the attacks done by Muhammad ibn Qāsim Thaqafī (62-98 Hijri) and Mahmud of Ghazni (421 Hijri) while speaking about the arrival of Islam to India. Without ignoring those two military attacks, the writer believes that Islam came to India from different ways; before the Ghaznavid dynasty, the presence and residence of Muslim merchants and immigrants had a great role in the spread of Islam in India. The objective of this study is to investigate the significance of the non-military ways of the arrival of Islam to India and present the historical evidence in the early Islamic centuries before the governance of the Ghaznavid dynasty. The reasons for durability of Islam and Shia sect in this country are also of this study findings. The method of this study is a combination of documentary-library and descriptive-analytical method.

Key words: Islam, Shia, Islamic conquests, The Indian subcontinent, Merchants, The Ghaznavid dynasty, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Thaqafī

INTRODUCTION

The Indian subcontinent includes Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh; a land where Islam emerged in the early centuries. Now that millions of Muslims live there and the Indian subcontinent is regarded as a great member of the Islamic world, an understanding of how they became familiar with Islam is necessary. 97% of Pakistan population and 85% of Bangladesh population are Muslims. After Indonesia, India includes the most population of Muslims.

The arrival of Islam is important from two aspects: first, the arrival of Islam as a thought that the Islamic commissioners had a great role in spreading it which is called under the title of "Islamic Invitation Date in India". That is because, before the attack of Qasim ibn Muhammad, Islam came to India through Muslims' individual propaganda and hence, had a deeper effect. The second aspect was Muslim domination with conquests which led to their governance and was called "Islamic Governments in India". The first aspect is more important than the second one because it was preaching. However, the writers in this field have a more military look at which.

Some writers of Indian history have neglected the fact that most of the phases of the arrival of Islam to India have been peaceful. They refer to the military attacks done by Muhammad ibn Qāsim Thaqafī and Mahmud of Ghazni while speaking about this issue. Without ignoring those two military attacks, the writer believes that Islam

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came to India from different ways; before the Ghaznavid dynasty, the presence and residence of Muslim merchants and immigrants had a great role in the spread of Islam in India. The first phase of the arrival of Islam in India was done by the Muslim merchants and passengers who came to that region; the Muslims who resided in many of Indian regions forever. Therefore, the Indian Muslims are divided into two groups: first, the non-Indian Muslims who brought Islam to India and second, the followers of different Indian religions who became Muslim with different motivations (Arnold, 1979: 180). This study investigates much evidence for this claim. The objective of this study is to investigate the significance of the peaceful ways of the arrival of Islam to India and present the historical evidence in the early Islamic centuries before the governance of the Ghaznavid dynasty. The main research question is: How did Islam arrive in India? With military attack or peaceful ways? The method of this study is a combination of documentary-library and descriptive-analytical method.

Some works have been written in the early centuries on the Muslim conquests in India. Ibn al-Nadim has talked about the three books of 'Seghr Al-hind', 'Ammal Al-hind', and 'Makran conquest', all written by Abū'l-Hasan al-Madā'inī (135-228 Hijri) (Ibn al-Nadim, until 116). Some have related a book named 'Akhhbare Futuh Alsend' to Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Waqidi (130-207 Hijri) (Mubarakpuri, until 15). Belzari (279 Hijri) has written an independent part in 'Futuh al-Buldan' about Sindh conquests (Belzari, 2000: 257). Another work is 'Fath al- Sindh'¹ which is known as Chach Nama and written by Ismā'il ibn Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Musa Thakafi Sindhi and more than three quarters of which is related to the history of Sindh and conquests (Mubarakpuri, the same). Regarding the contemporary background and study resources, the book 'Al-aghd Al-samin fi Futuh Al-hind va men Varda Fiha men Al-sahaba va Al-tabeen' written by Qazi Athar Mubarakpuri can be named. The writer tries to mention the conquests in India and introduces the friends and followers who had entered there. The book 'the Muslim history in Indian subcontinent and Pakistan and their citizenship' is written by Ahmed Mahmood Sadati and includes the history of Indian Muslims up to the contemporary period. The study resources with regard to this issue include: 'Islamic invitation and its formation in India' by Al-vae, 'the history of Islamic thought in India' by Aziz Ahmed, 'the effect of Islam on Indian culture' by Tara Chand, 'India at one glance' by Jalali Naeeni, 'Islam and Al-tiarat Al-hezaria in Indian subcontinent' by Ismail Arabi, and 'Islamic attack in India' by Adnan Alnahvi.

1 This book was written by Ali ibn Hamed ibn Abibakr in 613 Hijri and published by Soheil Zakar's study.

The Indian Political History Periods

The political history of India is divided into four periods of Hinduism, Muslim governance, the European influence and governance, and the independence of the three countries of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (the same: 27). The history of India is divided into three periods by the English and some Indian historians: ancient or Hindu period, Muslim period, and the English period. Nehru believes that this division is incorrect and due to the unawareness which makes a false picture of India and its history (Nehru, 1982: 394). Among the Indian periods, this study concerns the period of the arrival of Islam and the ways it was spread in the early Islamic centuries. Historically speaking, it is placed between two periods of Hindu and Muslim governance.

The Indian Islam in the Era of Prophet and the First Caliphs

There are some reports saying that some Indians had seen Muhammad (PBUH) at the time of the Prophet and accepted Islam. While introducing the Prophet's companions, Ibn Hajar mentions that an individual named Ratan Hindi became Muslim and writes: "he was an old man and the news was hidden until the beginning of the sixth century; he had claimed to be a companion at that time; a group has narrated him, but I did not find his name in the books written before me" (Ibn Hajar, 1415, Vol 2: 434). Al-Dhahabi has referred to him as a liar old man who had claimed to be a companion after 600 Hijri; his name has been made by some liars and he did not exist at all (the same). One of the researchers has considered him as the first Indian Muslim and wrote: " he was an Indian doctor settled in Yemen and believed in Islam when the prophet (peace be upon him) was alive, although it was not proved that he visited that Hazrat". (Alvaei, 1986: 126- 127) the Neishabourian governor has reported (quoted by Abu Saeid Khederi) that India king sent a bladder of ginger to the Hazrat. The prophet (peace be upon him) gave a bit of that to each of his friends. He gave a bit to me, too and Prophet Muhammad himself ate of that, too. (Neishabourian governor, 1986, Vol. 4, 135; Mobarakbouri, Bi ta: 23- 24) Nakhoda Ramhormozi, Historian of 4th Hijri century, writes:

- "The people of Serendib (Seylan) and its suburbs, when heard the news of advent of Muhammad the Prophet, sent a wise man to him. That man reached Madine after the decease of God Messenger (peace be upon him) and Abu Bakr for the reason of some barriers and went to Omar. He asked Omar about Prophet and Caliph said him the event in detail. When returning, he died in Makran regions; but his slave who was an Indian man came to

Serendib and explained the event. His descriptions caused their attachment to the Muslims". (Nakhoda Ramhormozi, 1966: 156- 157)

Some historians talked about the letter of Prophet (peace be upon him) to the king of Malabar in 628. Mobarakbouri writes in the book "India and Arab in Prophetic Mission era": "it has been quoted in a handwritten set that God Messenger (peace be upon him) sent a letter with his five friends to Sindh. When reaching that land, they dismounted in a castle named Niroun. Two of them returned and three of them stayed there and the people of Sindh believed in Islam. That three men propagandized Islam until the time they died there and their graves exist there now". (Alvaei, 1986: 194) Mobarakbouri has written in continue: this handwritten set named Javame- Al- Javame is not valid and we do not know what this book is. Sivati has understood this matter out of mind, too. So, we have no correct narration which confirms the trip of one of the friends of Prophet (peace be upon him) as Islam advertiser to India in 627 and 628. What is obvious is that the Muslims reached Bambaieii by the way of Bahrain in the time of the government of Omar, as so they reached Debil, Bohruj, and Gujarat in Sindh (same). Some historians also wrote about sending some friends like Hazife, Asame, Sohayb and ...from Prophet (peace be upon him) to Sarbank, king of Kannauj, and his belief in Islam; but they themselves denied that (Ibn- Hajar, 1995, Vol. 3: 229; Ibn- Asir, dateless, Vol. 2: 266).

As quoted by Balazeri, the second caliph sent Osman Ibn- Abi Al- As Saghafi to Bahrain and Oman in 636. Osman sent his brother, Hakam, to Bahrain. He went to Oman and sent an army from there to Tane, of coasts of India. After returning from Oman and informing the second caliph of sending army to that region, Omar prevented him from these kinds of assaults. Nevertheless, the governor selected by the caliph sent his brother, Hakam, to Berossos in the coasts of India again and his other brother, Moghire, to Debil. In this trip, Moghire achieved the victory. (Balazeri, 2000: 257; Hamavi, dateless, Vol. 2:200) Omar ordered the Muslims not to go next after Makran. (Tabari, Bi ta, Vol. 4: 181- 182) when Osman was successor, Abdallah Ibn- Amer Ibn- Kariz was selected as the governor of Iraq. For the appeal of caliph, he sent Hakim Ibn- Jebele Abdi to India to be aware of condition of region. His report dissuaded Osman from military campaign to that region. (Balazeri, same; Hamavi, same) with regard to the writings of some researchers, in the time of government of Omar, Islam reached to Seylan and Serendib (today Sri Lanka) by the Muslim merchants and a council of people of Seylan came to the caliph. (Nahvi, 1992: 37) in the time of government of Imam Ali, Hares Ibn- Marre Abdi went to Saghar in India in 659 with the

permission of Imam and voluntarily. At this time, he achieved some victories and was killed in Keygen in the next assaults in 662. (Balazeri, 1974: 368)

India in the era of the Umayyads and the Abbasid dynasty

When Moaviye was successor, Mahlab Ibn- Abi Sofre campaigned to India in 664. He conquered the frontier cities of Sindh and entered Bane and Lahour. (Hamavi, Bit, Vol. 1: 501) Abdollah Ibn- Savar Abdi was appointed in the border of India in 665. Although he achieved victory at the beginning, he was killed in Keygen in 667. (same, Vol. 4: 432; Balazeri, dateless: 257-258) as though it was Senan Ibn- Salme Hazali that for the first time could conquer Makran at the time of government of Ziyad in Iraq and create a military base in the west of Panjab and bring this region into the territory of Islam. (Balazeri, same; Mounes, 1955:149; Yaghoubi, dateless, Vol. 2, 224)at the time of government of Ziyad, the other several men were appointed for conquering Saghar in India and the Muslims conquered Sanaroud, Boughan, Keygen to Ghasdar and the citizens of these cities believed in Islam. (Balazeri, dateless: 258-259) Balazeri and Hamavi wrote: today (third Hijri century), the people of Boughan are Muslim and Omran Ibn- Mousa Barmalki built there a city named Beyza, when Mo'tasam Abbasi was successor. (Balazeri, same; Hamavi, same: 510)

Discovering the ground ways to get to India at the time of first caliphs and also collecting information caused that Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem could conquer Sindh at the end decades of first Hijri century; although the continue of commerce by the way of sea and living some Muslims in the cities of south coasts of India and Silane had paved the way for the presence of Islam. (Tarachand, 1954: 72) in 710, Hajjaj, governor of Iraq, sent Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem Saghafi to India, because the Indians had impounded one of ships of Muslims and Hajjaj sent some forces there to request remedy; but all of them were killed on the order of king of that region. So, Hajjaj, this time, sent one of his superior general named Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem to Daher, king of Debil, and Daher was defeated. (Balazeri, 2000: 259- 260; Dolafouz, 1898: 82; Habibi, 1960: 220) Muhammad conquered many cities and broke the idols and built the first mosque in Debil city. (Balazeri, same; Yaghoubi, Bi ta, Vol. 2: 288) after conquering Debil, most of cities surrendered and made peace with the Muslims. (Balazeri, same; Mounes, 1955: 149) near to Shatt Mehran, Daher with big army fight with Muhammad; but finally the Muslims were conquered and Daher was killed. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 289; Ibn- Khaldoun, Vol. 3: 60) after conquering all the territory of Sindh, the messenger of Hajjaj reached Keshmir and fixed the boundary signs at there. (Habibi:

228) the last city which Muhammad conquered, was Multan; derived from the name of Betty who was prayed there. (Ibn- Havgel: 321) Multan, because of many gold and silver captured of which, was named Dahane Beyt Al- Zahab. (Balazeri: 261; Mounes: 149) by conquering Multan, the advertising movement of the Muslims became powerful and during three centuries government of the Muslims, many people believed in Islam. This city, from the same beginning of entrance of Muslim, was the center of aggregation of Islamic army. By the peace contracts which was entered into between the Muslim and the citizens of region and their reciprocal courteousness with each other, the native people of that city believed gradually in Islam; in a way that the heathens' believing in Islam was noticed in the formal letters of Muslim conquerors. (Balazeri, same; Basort, 1943: 73; Arnold: 192) contemporaneous with conquering Multan by Muhammad, he heard the news of Hajjaj's death. After that, several cities were conquered by the Muslim. (Balazeri: 262) although the victories of Muhammad were of special importance, some have regarded his works as just peripheral event of history of India. (Jalali: 11) regarding this event peripheral is perhaps for this reason that this event is of less importance in comparison with the population of Muslim merchants and passengers and Arab tribes who entered India during about first Hijri centuries and rooted the seed of Islam by staying at there. The policies of Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem is like this that in conquering Sindh, he protected life and assets of people and refused hemorrhage, depredation and getting windfall and requested just a tax named "Jazit" from the native citizens who had not believed in Islam and anybody who believed in Islam by heart or in language, was exempted from paying Jazit. He took assistance from the old guards in the management of Sindh and managing the country was kept like the past regime. The people of Sindh, because saw the courteousness of conquerors, believed in Islam. (Jalali, same, 11)

After Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem died, the kings of India rioted and their power grew again. When Omar Ibn- Abdolaziz became successor, wrote a letter to the kings and invited them to Islam. He promised they would stay in power and would have the same rights which the Muslims have, if they obey the Muslims. They accepted the invitation of caliph and believed in Islam and changed their names to Arabian ones. But the Omavi government did not kept its victories in India; because the signs of fall had been appeared in Omavi government. After Omavian, the Abbasi government also had no motive for the victories; because the territory of Islam had been worldwide sufficiently. On the other side, India territory in addition to the relative famine and reduction of its tax, had been besieged with the powerful Indian governments from the north and east and the people settled in these regions, rioted against

the Arab governors; because there is no comradeship and compromise which existed at the time of Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem. The Muslim governors wrapped it up with establishing security in their conquered range and gave up keeping the victories. (Sadati, same: 51- 52) the reasons such as the weakness of power of Omavian in India, to appoint unprincipled persons on the government of that territory and disagreement in the cities have been of the factors of discontinuing the victories in India. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 316 & 324; Ibn- Khaldoun, Vol. 3: 67) at the end of government of Omavian, the condition of Sindh became disturb. On one side, the disagreement between the Omavi brokers and the support of central government of some of them, persuade the other ones to disobey them. (Yaghoubi: same) on the other side, with the advent of Abu Moslem in Khorasan and sending an individual to Sindh, a fight happened between the messengers of Omavi and Abbasi and exacerbated the disturbance of condition. (Yaghoubi, same: 324 & 340; Tabari, Vol. 7: 464) Saffah, first Abbasi caliph, and his brother Mansour tried to reorganize the condition in Sindh. Keshmir was conquered and became a part of Islamic territories, when Mansour was successor. (Mounes: 150) at first period of Abbasi, some factors caused that Abbasian would have not so victories. The tribe fights between the Arabs settled in Sindh was one of the most important factors. A war happened between Yamani and Nazari tribes in Mansoureh city, when Haroon Al- Rashid was caliph. Haroon sent several governors to there and finally, decided to divide the region into several parts and expel the Yamani tribe. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 409) at this time (800), Moghire Ibn- Yazid Mahlabi was the governor of Sindh. He could not control the tribe fight and took assistance of Baghdad compulsorily and by entering the dispatched army, Mansoureh city was surrounded for 20 days and the rioters finally surrendered. (Sadati: 55) the fight between Yamani and Nazari tribes exacerbated, when Omran Ibn- Mousa Barmaki was governor and was busy in making the region habitable. He advocated Yamani tribe and was killed in these fights by the Nazari tribe. (Balazeri: 265) Mehdi Abbasi decided to continue the victories, but the conflicts between Arab emigrant tribes weakened the Muslims' power. The Hindu governors seized the opportunity in this internal conflict and defrauded many regions from the Muslims. By coming Leys Ibn- Zarif and his severities, the condition of region became better and the tribe riots relented for a while. (Sadati, same of other reasons of being unsuccessful the victories of Abbasian in Sindh, it can be referred to the riot of their brokers. Ayine Ibn- Mousa Tamimi was appointed as the governor of Sindh by Mansour Abbasi. (Sam'ani, 1987: 467- 468) when the caliph was departing to Hajj, the defiance of Ayine was reported to him. As if Ayine had discharged Mansour. (Tabari, Vol. 7: 512; Ibn- Kasir, Vol. 10: 83) he sent Omar Ibn- Hafs with 1000 men to Sindh in 759 and left Hajj.

Ayine prevented the entrance of governor appointed by the caliph and with the conflicts which happened some friends of Ayine resorted to Omar. So, Ayine wanted to make peace and Omar accepted and sent him to Abbasi caliph and he himself stayed at Mansoureh city. Ayine escaped in the middle of way and went to Sejestan and was killed in there. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 327; Hamavi, Vol. 1: 23 & Vol. 4: 246 & Vol. 5: 211) when Mehdi Abbasi was caliph, Zotian took some measures in Sindh. He sent there some governors of whom Leys Ibn- Zarif could frustrate the riots. When Ma'moon was caliph, Bashr Ibn- Davoud from Ale Mahlab rioted in Sindh. The caliph compelled Bashr to be submitted by dispatching the forces that Mousa Ibn- Yahya Ibn- Khaled Barmaki with the responsibility of governor of Sindh was among them. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 398 & 458; Tabari, Vol. 8: 620) when Vasegh was caliph, the condition of Sindh became chaotic and Omran Ibn- Mousa Barmaki, governor of that region, was killed. Itakh Turk who had been appointed as the governor of Khorasan by the caliph, sent Anbase Ibn- Ishagh Zabi to Sindh. He stayed at there for 9 years and the region became calm. Discharging the governors of Sindh with short- time governments by the Abbasi caliphs is the explanatory of chaos of region and weakness of Abbasi government. With being forgotten of Sindh by Abbasi caliphs and independence of Hindus in Sindh and weakness of the Muslims in that region, the Muslims succeed to retain their politic independence and perform their religious rituals in the mosques. (Yaghoubi, Vol. 2: 479; Tabari, Vol. 8: 53, 123, 132, 140 & 151; Arnold: 198) with the weakness of Abbasi government, Mo'tamed Abbasi abdicated Sindh with Balkh, Takharestan, Sistan and Kerman to Saffarian. Nobody of Abbasi governors could establish the security in Sindh until fourth Hijri century, when Daeian Fatemi and then Gharamtian entered Sindh by the way of Bahrain and took the power there. The city of Multan where have many Muslims, attracted by Daeioan Ismaeli. Their government continued until the last decade of this century (1004), when Ghaznavian destroyed the government of Ismaelian in Multan. (Basort: 57- 58)

The Advent of Shia Sect in Sindh

In the second half of first Hijri century, Hajjaj who was famous among the Muslims for his tyranny, deported most of Bani Hashem from their provenance to the distant places. Some of them treaded arid west coasts of India named Kankan and some others went to Komorin cape. (Tarchand: 73) governing Sindh became chaotic with the death of Hajjaj and Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem. Some of Shi'as who were bothered by Omavian, found a shelter in the regions distant from the government. Sindh, Ghoor, Khorasan and Ma Wara AL- Nahr became the centers of uprisings of Shi'as. (Razavi: 231) the presence of individuals with Shi'a attitudes caused the attraction of people of Sindh to Shi' a Mazhab. Abu Al- Faraj has noticed an individual

named "Ziyad Hindi" who was executed with Zeyd Ibn- Ali (pbuh) in Kanase of Koofe (Isfahani: 128) as has written by the Indian historians, the first individual of the family of Muhammad Prophet (pbuh) that went to India territory was Abdollah Ibn- Muhammad Alavi (known as Abdollah Ashtar), Nafs Zakiyye's boy. He entered India when Omar Ibn- Hafs was appointed as the governor of that region by Mansour Abbasi. Omar was Shi'a and had already covenanted with Nafs Zakiyye. (Al- Hossa, 1962: 26- 27) the event is this that at the time of governing Omar Ibn- Hafs in Sindh, Muhammad Ibn- Abdollah known as Nafs Zakiyye in Madine and his brother Ibrahim in Basre rioted against Mansour Abbasi. Nafs Zakiyye sent his boy Abdollah Ashtar with a group of Zeydi Mazhaban to Sindh. (Isfahani: 268; Sadati, 54). He did this for the reason that Omar Ibn- Hafs had trend to the family of Abitaleb and had already covenanted with Nafs Zakiyye. He commemorated Abdollah Ashtar and covenanted with him in the interest of his father. He also invited his entourage and commandants to covenant and they accepted. (Tabari, Vol. 8: 33- 34; Ibn- Kasir, Vol. 10: 115) he concealed Abdollah Ashtar. (Ibn- Khaldoun, Vol. 3: 198) some has regarded this period as the beginning of propagation of Shi'a in Sindh and believe that the attitude to Shi'a was such that Hesam Ibn- Mojahed Hamedani who was of Khavarej, came to Sindh at this time, but found no place to propagate his minds; because most of citizens of that region had attitude to Shi'a. He returned from the same way he had come. (Sadati: 54) at this time, he received a letter from the wife of Omar Ibn- Hafs. She had reported the news of Nafs Zakiyye and his brother being killed by her husband. After hearing this news, Omar offered his condolences to Abdollah. After hearing the news of martyrizing Nafs Zakiyye, by the offer of Omar, Abdollah and 400 men of his accessories went to a king in Sindh that regarded special respect for the prophet (pbuh). The king respected them. Abdollah, by resorting to the king of India, married with a slave- girl and the product of this marriage was a boy named Muhammad that is the same Abu Al- Hassan Muhammad Alavi and is known as Ibn- Ashtar. (Tabari, Vol.8: 34- 36; Ibn- Khaldoun, Vol. 3: 198) Abdollah and his accessories stayed at there for ten years and propagandized their beliefs (Razavi:233; Sadati: 54) after about six years, Mansour heard the news of resorting the boy of Nafs Zakiyye. He discharged Hafs's boy from the government of Sindh and appointed Hesham Ibn- Amro Taghlabi instead of him. The new governor was not satisfied with capturing the Nafs Zakiyye's boy. He pretended for the caliph in such a way that he corresponds with the king of Sindh that Abdollah Ashtar had resorted to him. Mansour received the reports and persuaded him in a letter to capture Nafs Zakiyye's boy. Hesham stayed at Multan and appointed his brother Bastam in Mansoureh. Bastam conflicted with Abdollah Ashtar in an event Nafs Zakiyye's boy was killed. (Yaghoubi,

Vol. 2: 273; Tabari, Vol. 8: 35- 36) Hesham had no way except pretending Abdollah being killed his own expedient to be secured from the wrath of caliph. (Sadati: 54)

In the report of uprising Yahya Ibn- Hossein Ibn- Ghasem against Abbasian in Yemen and inviting the people to Zeydiyye Mazhab, Ibn- Khaldoun writes: "he had brought this Mazhab from Sindh; because his ancestor Ghasem after the riot of his brother had escaped with Abu Al- Saraya to Sindh (Ibn- Khaldoun, Vol. 3: 209) Meghrizi has understood the reason of escape of Abu Al- Ghasem Ibn- Ibrahim Ibn- Tabataba to Sindh to be not having the permission in the use of his farm and garden in Madine. (Meghrizi: 102- 103) Masoudi has reported the presence of group of children of Abu Taleb and the posterity of Omar Ibn- Ali and Muhammad Ibn- Ali in Mansoureh. (Masoudi, Vol. 1: 165) these entered Sindh by the way of Hijaz in third Hijri century and attracted many people to themselves because of having several boys and marriage with local salient persons. (Razavi, Vol. 1: 234) although when taking about Shi'a in India, most Ismaelian and Gharamtian and then Zeydie seem to be regarded; because these governments have attracted the attention with more hotfooting, but the presence of Imami Shi'a is considerable in India, too. The presence of Imami Mazhaban in India was gradual and they have preferred the peaceful methods to forcible ones and retain themselves by dissimulation. This affair resulted in the establishment of Shi'a Imami governments in the next centuries. (Hollister: 112- 113)

Commercial Interaction of Arab and India

The commercial interaction of Arab and India is related to the periods before Islam. Both India and Jazire Al- Arab have been encompassed by three sides of seas and this matter caused the commercial activity in this region. From distant pasts, the Arabian ships transferred the products of west India to Bahrain, Hazarmoot, Oman, Yemen and Masghat and from there to Hijaz and Sham by the camels and to Egypt by Red Sea and then it had been taken to Europe. (Nahvi: 33) so, it is natural that the Arabians played important role in the commerce between the east and the west. By the advent of Islam, this interaction get stronger and regular and the commercial interaction between India and Islamic territories entered a golden period at first Hijri century. By keeping this commercial interaction, some Indians settled in the Arabian territories and the traffic increased in the west coasts of India. (same:71) these interactions paved the way for the invitation to Islam. The Muslim merchants held the line of sea trade of Iran and the number of Arabian trade ships increased in Indian Ocean. The interactions and rampant exchanges between the Indians and the Muslims caused that the Indians be familiar with Islam. The Muslims also came to India and

propagandized new religion and received a good reception. With the presence of the Muslims, some mosques were built and Islam, before to be regarded as a politic power in India, had been promulgated as a religion in India. (Nahro: 380)

The narration of Muslim historians and travellers and permanent commerce of Arabians with India from the very past shows that the Muslims appeared short time after the decease of Prophet (pbuh) in the coasts of India and were validated among Hindu governors of Malabar quickly. Rowlandson writes: the Muslim Arabs settled in the coasts of Malabar at the end of seventh century. Most of researchers believe that the Arabian and Iranian merchants settled in the west cities and bandars of India since the seventh century and married with the local women. These migrants in Malabar were more than the other places, because, from the past, the merchants were more respected in that region. (Tarachand: 108-109) the commercial interaction between two territories caused a group of Indians be settled in Arabian regions and populations of Arabs be settled in Indian regions and these groups have played an important role in the establishment of Islam in India. Some researchers have regarded three factors of social life of Islamic population, commercial markets for Indian products in coasts of Muslim cities and the sea paths and land paths between two territories as the reason of improvement of this interaction. (Alvaei: 38)

Paths of Arrival of Islam in India

Islam entered India by three ways: first, the sea path in the coasts of Malabar in southwest of India beside Arab Sea that was the path of traffic of Arab merchants and passengers since the distant past. Second, land path in the regions of Sindh in northwest of India by which the Muslim conquerors entered India. And third, the land path in the borders of northwest of India adjacent with Iran and India by which the Ajam Muslim conquerors entered India for the first time with the commandership of Mahmoud Ghaznavi between 998 and 1030. (same: 8 & 183-184) the first way is the oldest path by which Islam entered India for the first time. The old and new writers have wrote more about the importance of two last paths; but, about the first path, some of them have never talked about that and some ones have only referred to that; this is while this path is of the oldest and most important paths; because the interaction between Jazire Al- Arab and the west coasts of India beside the Arab Sea was a close- run interaction. This path provided the commercial interaction between India and Jazire Al- Arab in prophetic mission era and groups named "Zat", "Bahasere" and "Ahamere" entered the Arabian territories and have been famous among them. (same: 7) the presence of Islam by the first way was peaceful. If we make an exception the event of

conquering Sindh by Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem Saghafi at the end of first Hijri century, the interaction between the Muslims and India has been completely commercial and cultural. The Muslims propagandized Islam at first century without tension and with respect to the others' beliefs in the west and south coasts of India. The beginning of Islam in India was on the southwest coasts of Malabar. This step of presence of Islam was by the individual efforts of Muslim merchants and the Indians who had been Muslim play a role in this propaganda. (same: 185-186) in the opinion of Nahro, Islam had entered India peacefully as a religion and belief until the assault of Mahmoud Ghaznavi in a period more than 300 years and had taken a place for itself among the other religions of India, without any problem. But the new behavior of Mahmoud Ghaznavi among people caused a severe reaction emotionally and created animus in the people. (Nahro: 392) most of Muslim geography writers like Masoudi, Ibn- Havgel, Astakhri and the others who have visited India before the assault of Ghaznavian, have exalted the friendship behavior of Hindu Governors with the Muslim. (Tarachand: 84)

Thomas Arnold writes about the acceptance of Islam by the Indians: "it can be derived from the tolerant behavior which the Arabs showed to the new migrants after the first wars that the establishment of Islam in these parts has been voluntarily. For instance, the people of Berahman Abad that their city had been conquered by the Muslims, had been let to rebuild their temples where were the center of Berahmani activities and nobody is prevented from worshiping his/her religion and usually after surrendering the people, the army camped at a certain place and prevented from the disturbance and even the traffic of local people and the people had freedom to follow the traditions of their own religion. (Arnold: 198)

Some irregular assaults carried out by the second path since the government of Omar to the end decades of first century until the time when Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem attacked that region in 710 and went to Sindh and Panjab by the way of Baluchestan and built the first mosque in that territory. (Balazeri. 2000: 260) with the entrance of Muslim conquerors by this path, a Muslim government was established in the north of India that obeyed the central government. The Muslims nominated the capital of India territory Mansoureh (Masoudi, Vol. 1: 166; Hamavi, Vol. 5: 211) and this city became an important center for the politic and military leadership of the Muslims' government in Sindh since 710 to 928. Mansoureh was considered to be the center of promoting Islamic culture in the subcontinent. The third path is the border of Ajam conquerors that entered India in fourth Hijri century and established the first Ajam Islamic government named Ghaznavi Government in India in 1001. After this victory,

the next governors such as Ghourian, Mamalik and Moghol entered India by this path, too. (Alvaei: 185-186)

The Role of Merchants and Immigrants in Spreading Islam in India

Most of researchers who have studied about the manner of development of Islam in India, considered the development of Islam in the subcontinent beholden to the military assault of Mahmoud Ghaznavi. But the fact is that most of people of subcontinent have accepted Islam in the volition of themselves and the important factor has been the peaceful method of the ones who have had no dependence on the government. These individuals were the merchants in the west of subcontinent specially the ones had come from Iran to India for the commerce and propagandized Islam during the commercial activities or the Sufi or gnostic ones who made the oppressed people of subcontinent aware of their equal rights as a conscious human. (Seyyed Naseri, 2000: 34)

The move of Muslim advertisers to India at different periods continued in the commercial or military form; because the Muslims had always the motive of propagandizing their religion with themselves in a commercial or political form or Jihad. (Nahvi: 38) undoubtedly, the development of Islam in India did not happen just with the military occupation and their deployment was most based on the migration of small groups of merchants and refugees of Jazire Al- Arab or the Muslims of Middle Asia that intended to continue the work of first conquerors. (Al- Arabi, 1985: 26) some of researchers of history of India, although have known the history of entrance of Islam in the subcontinent accompanied with fictitious events, have written: "this is obvious that the Arab merchants who had believed in Islam at the time of Prophet (pbuh), developed Islam in the coast regions and islands of south of India". (Razavi, Vol. 1: 229) in some references, we see some notices about the role of Muslim merchants in the acceptance of Islam by the people of India specially the kings. Balazeri has reported a story about believing in Islam of one of kings of Asifan. He writes: "Asifan had a wise king. The people of that territory worshipped Betty. At this time, the king's boy got sick. He requested the trustee provosts of temple to pray at the front of idol so that she heals his boy. They prayed and pretended that their praying has been granted, but the king's boy died soon. So, the king destroyed the temple and broke the idol and killed the provosts. After this event, he invited a group of Muslim merchants and they talked about monotheism and the king believed in Islam. (Balazeri: 265; Arnold: 198) undoubtedly, the advertising penetration has been occurred like the report of Balazeri from the Muslim merchants. Of many numbers of advertisers who have propagandized Islam with a peaceful method, were noticed. (Arnold: 199- 207) it seems that a friendship relation existed

between the Muslim merchants and kings of India. There was no barrier for commercial activities and even the local Muslims enjoyed the concessions and respect of the foreign merchants, although they were at the lower social classes before the acceptance of Islam". (Arnold: 191)

Of the first Arabs who regarded India as their own home is the tribe that Hajjaj Ibn- Yousef expelled them from Iraq and they resorted to the west coast and some of them settled on the coast of are originally from this tribe, are named as "Navayat". Tarachand notices that the group of Muslims named Kobay that live in the regions of south of India and Seylan, are from this tribe. (Alvaei: 82- 83) the documents show that the entrance of the Muslims into the south of India and its west coasts is related to the beginning of eighth century and perhaps earlier and their entrance into the east coasts is related to about the tenth century. They dispersed in all bandars and cities in a very short time and were validated rapidly in the political and social affairs. They got some status, too and propagandized Islam by building the mosques. The non- development of Hindu religion in the south of India was because of penetration of Islam, too. The development of Islam in that region increased considerably and the Muslims settled in the coasts of Malabar for more than one hundred year. With good acceptance of Muslims by the people, they could develop the religious propaganda. (Tarachand: 73 & 79) the Muslims played an important role in the development of Islam by the commerce and settling in the territories of India. Tarachand has explained the sea path of bandars from Saudi Arabia or the Persian Gulf to China and its reputation that shows the Arabs has known this path and by which many ships have trafficked and many exchanges have been done between the Muslim countries and India. (same) these explanations certificate the entrance of Islam into India by the sea path. As Nahro said, different contacts between the Arabian world and India were increased. The passengers were trafficking from two sides. The ambassadors were exchanged between them. The Indian books were translated into Arab language in Baghdad. Most of Indian doctors went to Baghdad. The exchange and cultural communication was not just restricted to the north of India and the governments of south and west coasts of India had plentiful exchanges and commercial communications with Arabs. (Nahro: 380) the cultural exchanges of the Muslims with the Hindus have not been one- sided. Of Indian doctors, Manke Hindi and Saleh Ibn- Bahle Hindi were noticed that have come from India to Iraq and the people have used their knowledge, when Haroon Al- Rashid was caliph. (Ibn- Abi Asiba'e, 1956, Vol. 3: 51- 51) Manke Hindi has been named as the translator of Indian language that was among the friends of Ishaq Ibn- Soleyman Ibn- Ali Hashemi. Also, Ibn- Dahn Hindi has the responsibility of hospital of Baamake and

translated the Arabian books into Hindi. (Ibn- Nadim, dateless: 305)

The geography writers and travellers who have visited India before the assault of Ghaznavian, have wrote about the development of Islam in India. Ibn- Havgel has visited the cities where their citizens were Muslim and the Muslims just governed them and the Islamic mottos and Azan have been performed in the minarets. He writes "mansoureh is a city where its citizens are Muslim and an individual from Ghoraysh, of children of Habar Ibn- Asvad, governs on them. (Ibn- Havgel, 1938, Vol. 2: 319- 320) and Masoudi narrates that more than ten thousands Muslims have migrated from Siraf, Oman, Basre, Baghdad to Simour (today Chal). He writes: "I was in Simour of India in 304. At that time, the governor of Simour was named Jazeh and ten thousands Muslims from Bisar, Siraf, Oman, Basre, Baghdad and the other cities were settled in there". (Tarachand: 76- 77; Masoudi, Vol. 1: 205- 206) Masoudi writes about the presence of Muslims in the territory of one of kings of India: "Islam is respectful in Balahra and the Muslims have Jameh mosques in which they pray and the king governs there for 40 and 50 years and more and the people of country think that their kings have long life because of justice and respect for the Muslims". (same: 167) Astakhri and Moghaddasi have talked about the development of Islam, existence of plentiful knowledge and scientists and building mosques of the Muslims and their speeches in each Monday in the cities of India specially in Mansoureh and Multan. (Astakhri: 147; Moghaddasi, 1982, Vol. 2: 704) the rapid development of Islam in a short time in very parts of India has wondered French Gustave Le Bon. (Gustave Le Bon, 1956: 231)

Although some researchers have denied Malabar king believing in Islam in the visit with the Muslim group going Seylan and his secret move to the coast of Saudi Arabia and then inviting people of there to Islam by writing them a letter, but they reminded that this story indicates that the development of Islam in the coasts of Malabar has been the result of peaceful propagandas. (Arnold: 191- 192) in the second half of first Hijri century, a group of Muslims dismounted in the coasts of Malabar, Kambay Gulf and Dakan regions with commercial purpose and some of them settled in the coast part of these regions and married with the local families and created a medley generation. The entrance of these Muslims to the coast of Malabar was not military. The Muslims behaved so friendly with the people of coasts that some of India Rajes selected some of their brokers from the Muslims. (Jalali: 5) one of orientalis has numbered three groups of the migrants to India that settled in that region: 1) the migrants who migrated from the territories of northwest of India and settled in Sindh and Panjab regions. 2) The lords and armies of Muslim

royal families in the past that settle more in Olya India in Dakan State. 3) The people who settle in the west coasts and are probably of the Arabs generation that entered India by the sea path. (Arnold: 184) the presence of the Muslims in that region resulted in the acceptance of Islam by the Indian kings. At the end of ninth Gregorian century, one of Hindu kings of Shiramen Biromel hierarchy believed in Islam and named himself Abdolrahman Samouri. A number of Hindi Rajes added Islamic surnames to their names. This matter caused that some of Islamic traditions be generated in the coasts of Malabar that it is still performed. (Alvaei: 156; Tarachand: 74- 75; Jalali: 10)

Factors for Advancement and Persistence of Islam in India

The factors which caused the development of Islam in India are as following: first, Islam considered the virtue as the only factor of superiority of the humans, whereas the existence of class hierarchy was one of the blind spots of Hindu religion. Some have written with emphasize on the factor of social equality in Islam: “the prejudices applied on the lower Hindu classes by their own coreligionists and the barriers which prevented the improvement of conditions of these classes, show the considerable difference disagreement between Hindu and Islam. For instance, the cloth and cotton stuffs knitters that their coreligionists look at them superciliously believe in Islam so that they can release themselves from the lower social classes”. (Arnold: 209) second, the spirituality and its spiritual status was not restricted to a special class. (Behvarzan, 2000: 127) Islam was accepted by the people by lying on the monotheism principle which consorted with the nature of humans and saw the superiority just in the knowledge and virtue. Islam propagandized equality and freedom in the social life and did not regard the generation or social classes of the individuals. This ideology affected Hindu religion, too and the new thought of social equality voided the old systems about the social classes. (Tarachand: 192) the leniency and tolerance of the Muslims in counter with the religious mottos of the Indians should be added the aforesaid factors. It worth mentioned that Muhammad Ibn- Ghasem Saghafi behaved respectfully with the Famous of India specially the religious scientists and left them free in the worship provided that they accept the governance of the Muslims and pay them Jaziyye with their own satisfaction. (Sadati: 48) in Multan where was the last castle of people of Sindh, most of merchants and narrators resorted to the governor of the Muslims from the injustice of Barahame; because had heard the news of his tolerance and his avoiding of assassination and depredation. These all accepted the governance of the Muslims. The good temper of the Muslims with the Indians and avoiding of aggression and rape was more effective in the stability of center of the Muslims in Multan. (same: 49- 50) perhaps, most of experts of India thought that the Muslim conquerors also

like the other aggressors who entered this subcontinent, would not be constant in this territory; but it got no long time that the Muslims conquered most of the regions and had religious, cultural, scientific and social effects on this region. The existence of more than 100millions Indian Muslims in this region is the sign of this stability. The other sign is talking most of its citizens in Laager which is one of derivatives of the Muslims’ language. (same: 36- 37)

The Impact of Islam on India

With the presence of the Muslims in India, the important changes happened in the social and cultural life of north of India. The old, generative, political and religious features were entirely changed; destroyed the feudalist entities, councils, congresses and tribe governments; the old governing hypothesis was changed and replaced with a kind of power balance. The old cultural centers and the commercial and active regions of life were changed and generally the presence of the Muslims in India had a considerable effect on the cultural evolutions of that territory and everything changed. (Tarachand: 181- 182) the Muslims had two kinds of effects in the territories they have conquered. They completely performed their civilization in the conquered country such as Egypt and in the others like Iran and India they compiled the civilization of that country with their own civilization. Gustave Le Bun writes: these two civilizations are compiled like milk and sugar in such a way that affect the religious beliefs and after a while, the third civilization named civilization of Iran compiled with that and by this, a purity and agility was appeared in that. (Gustave Le Bun: 232) Tarachand who has talked in the best manner about the effect of Islam in India, writes: “when the Muslims entered to India, built there like their own home. They were encompassed by the population of Hindus and because of this situation, any conflict and enemy with them were imposable. The permanent relationship and cooperation created gradually a mutual understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims...so, a new culture was promoted that was neither completely Hindu nor completely Islamic. This new son can be named the Hindu and Islam culture”. (Tarachand: 189) the mentioned researcher has shown the penetration of Islam in different Hindu communions very well and has presented some signs of similarities of ceremonies and traditions between the Indian communions that affected by Islam. He writes: “if we say the penetration of the Muslims has been generalized in all aspects of life of the Indians, we would not say so vainglory speech. But its effects do not seem so peremptory in the other place that the deep effect of Islam is seen in the traditions, details of family life, music, cloths form, cooking, marriage ceremony and so on”. (same: 193)

Perhaps, it can be said that the entrance of Islam to India was the biggest event since the entrance of Aryayian into

India; because had the most effect on the Indian society. During its adventurous history, India tolerated the foreign effects on its culture; but in fact, Islam was effective in the Indian culture. This is interesting that Islam did not impose itself on the society of India and did not amalgamate different societies that lived together and with their own religious and cultural framework. Islam could use the Indian culture in the regard of its own purposes, without losing its principles and this itself was the biggest miracle. After entrance to this subcontinent, the intellectual principles and creative values of Islam reflected the cultural and continental necessities of the region in self and combined with the intellectual and philosophical heritages of India and by this way was suggested to a new creativity and development. (Aziz, 1988: 1)

Now, this question springs to mind that with the existence of deep and undeniable effect of Islam on India and long governance of the Muslims in that, why didn't the most of citizens of this region believe in Islam? The following factors have been effective in remaining the majority of Indians in their previous religion: 1) most of Muslim governors who attacked this region, instead of devoting their first efforts to the development of Islam, tried to consolidate the basis of their government. They spent many properties in the luxury. Of course, this does not mean ignoring their share in the development of Islamic civilization and surviving some sciences and technologies. 2) The governments such as Ghaznavian and Mogholan who entered India by the help of the military power had no proper familiarity with Islam; because they themselves were novice in Islam and took no notice of the education of Islamic instructions by being busy in the victories and power. 3) Also, in recent centuries, the role of the English in irritating the Hindus against Islam and the Muslims at the result of their distaste has not been non-effective. (Alvaei: 312- 314)

CONCLUSION

The manner of entrance of Islam to India has been one of the apprehensions of researchers of the history of India. Although some researchers wrote in a one-sided form about the entrance of Islam by the victories, but the historical evidences proves the opposite of this claim. The entrance of Islam to this territory has been studied of two aspects: one the Islamic invitation and the other military conquest. In the writer's opinion, the first aspect is of special importance in comparison to the second one. The historical evidences show that before the assault of Ghaznavian, the Muslims have been effective in the development of Islam by different ways such as commerce and migration to this territory. The treatment based on

virtue, social equality and lack of prejudice, good and lenient behavior of the Muslims with the Hindus have been resulted in the persistence of Islam in this territory. With the development of Islam, the Shi'a religion persisted in this territory by establishing the Islamic governments, too.

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Dehghi: Historical Signs of the Peaceful Advent of Islam to Indian Subcontinent

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