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### RESEARCH ARTICLE

#### MUGHALKINGDOM IN INDIA ACCORDING TO HAMKA'S SEJARAH UMAT ISLAM

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#### Abstract

India is important in the study of Islamic history and civilization research as it was one of the earliest territories that received Islamic preaching and was the site for various Islamic kingdoms until the year 1857. The achievements of Islamic civilization in India, particularly during the Mughal era, added sparkle to the glory of Islamic history. For this reason, the facts relating the Mughal Kingdom in India have been discussed in writings on Islamic history and civilization, including the book, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, by Hamka. The purpose of this article is to study Hamka's work on the history of the Mughal Kingdom in India and analyse the narration and discussion he submitted. This research adopts a qualitative approach using historical study and content analysis to gather and analyse data. Research results find that Hamka had the interest and knowledge in writing Islamic history by describing Muslim societies and Islamic states from their inception to their end, including the Mughal Kingdom in India. In his narrative of Mughal history, Hamka inserted the element of teaching or *ibrah* (lesson), particularly when discussing the time of Mughal decline. The narrative approach is consistent with the philosophy of Islamic history that stresses on the *ibrah* concept, which was meaningful to Hamka's own personality as a missionary. Hence, his work, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, proved Hamka's ability to discuss Islamic history, and simultaneously resonated with readers interested in issues of Islamic history

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#### Introduction:-

India was one of the earliest territories to receive Islamic preaching and was also under the dominion of various Islamic kingdoms for a long time. A military expedition led by Muhammad ibn al-Qasim in the year 710 was the starting point for the spread of Islam to the regions of the Indian sub-continent. The spread of this religion was supported by the existence of various Islamic rulers in the regions, beginning from the Umayyad era and ending with

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the Mughal era in the year 1857. Although India was conquered by foreign invaders, the impact of Islamic civilization can still be seen today, such as the buildings of the magnificent Taj Mahal, Qutub Minar and Fort Agra.

However, Islamic history of India would be incomplete without discussing Mughal history. Hence, most historical works, in various languages, included Mughal history in the main discussion of the whole Islamic history in India. Among Malay works which also discuss Mughal history is *Sejarah Umat Islam* by Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, or known as Hamka. In discussing history in his work, he used the research method, area studies, by dividing into sections, discussion of Islamic history based on regions or continents, beginning with pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula until the spread of Islam in the *Nusantara* (Malay Archipelago). The writing of this book proved Hamka's deep interest and proficiency in writing Islamic history and civilization, thus adding to the collection of Malay works in this field

### Writing about Mughal Kingdom in India

There are various sources, in English and Malay, which discuss Mughal history. Among them are by Agrawal (2000), Ali (1997), Burn (1987), Chaudary (1987), Dalrymple (2006), al-Faqi (2002), Naqvi (1977), Naved (2010), Qamaruddin (2004), Schimmel (2005), Sharma (1988), Reeve (2012), Fisher (2016) and Truschke (2017). In these sources, discussion not only touch on the development of the Mughal Kingdom, beginning from its establishment phase to the decline, but also focus on intellectual, arts, economic and administrative issues, and about each of the Mughal rulers.

Malay sources also did not miss out on discussing Mughal history in India. One of them by Ishak (1992) discusses Islamic history in India chronologically, beginning from the advent of Islam to the fall of the Mughal Kingdom. Mughal history is discussed in one chapter, for the Mughal era 1526-1763. Ishak intentionally selected the year 1763 as the limit for discussing Mughal history even though most other references preferred the period 1707-1857 as Mughal decline and ending. This was because Ishak (1992: 72) inserted the discussion relating to the *islah* (reformist) figure, Shah Wali Allah al-Dahlawi, who passed away in the year 1763. The discussion about the latter figure was deemed important as his efforts to restore the true Islamic teachings were perceived as a reaction to the Mughal Kingdom's decline starting in the year 1707 after the demise of Awrangzeb.

Likewise, *Sejarah Islam*, authored by Yahaya and Halimi (1993: 447-527), also discuss Mughal history in India. A specific chapter, entitled Islam in India, narrates the development of Islam in the region, beginning from the spread of Islam to the era of Mughal weakness, particularly after the demise of Awrangzeb in the year 1707. Discussion of Mughal history covers the development of the kingdom under each of the rulers beginning from the time of Babur until Awrangzeb. Discussion in this book becomes more interesting when the issue of Mughal achievements was included. The Mughal era is acknowledged as the golden age of Islam in India as during this time the intellectual field had rapidly developed. In addition, the architecture field reached its peak in Mughal era (Yahaya & Halimi 1993: 515). Due to such statements, Mughal Kingdom in India is selected as research subject to specifically study Hamka's discussion of Mughal history and civilization in his book, *Sejarah Umat Islam*.

Bakar (2000: v-vii) also discussed Islamic history and civilization in India, including the Mughal reign covering the time of Babur until Awrangzeb, with focus on Mughal military expeditions. This is evident in the discussion mostly covering war events, such as the Battle of Panipat, wars between the Mughals and Hindu kingdoms, and wars between the Mughal royals themselves (Bakar 2000: 167-245). In addition, this book also presents the factors for the fall of the Mughals (Bakar 2000: 245-249). In a cursory discussion of Mughal history by Thohir and Kusdiana (2006: 83-102), focus is on each ruler's reign, from Babur to Awrangzeb. The history presented revolves around Mughal political development such as territorial expansion and wars. Meanwhile, Nor and Ashari (2017) analysed the Mughal political crisis, specifically during Shah Jahan's rule.

There is an article by Ashari et al. (2013) relating to history of Islam in India. This article does not specifically discuss Mughal history, focusing more on the history of Islam in India in the early and medieval centuries. However, the issue analysed may be the subject of research as the article is an attempt to explore the history of Islam in India based on authentic history books. The research corpus for the article is *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh* by Ibn al-Athir.

Book reviews of Hamka's *Sejarah Umat Islam* have been written recently. One of them was by Ashari and Jamsari (2010) in which Hamka was described as a writer and scholar who mastered many fields of knowledge, including Islamic history. This statement is based on his writing the book *Sejarah Umat Islam* which displayed historical

events beginning from *Jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic) Arabia to the Islamic states in the *Nusantara* (Malay Archipelago). Hamka described historical events not only in big Islamic states, but also involved various *duwaylat* (statelets), including the Marinid state in al-Maghrib region (Ashari & Jamsari 2010: 229-237). The process of establishing and developing the Marinid state in al-Maghrib is one of the issues discussed by Hamka in his work. Another review by Jamsari et al. (2011) is focused on the history of Islamic states in al-Andalus in Hamka's *Sejarah Umat Islam*. The review finds that Hamka had divided his discussion of Islamic states in al-Andalus into two parts, namely, the Umayyad and *Muluk al-Tawa'if* eras. According to Hamka, the Umayyad reign in al-Andalus was divided into three eras, namely *al-Wulah*, *al-Imarah* and *al-Khilafah*, and enjoyed its golden age during the rule of Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir. In contrast, *Muluk al-Tawa'if* rule witnessed chaos in al-Andalus (Jamsari et al. 2011: 170-171). The writers' later review clearly proved that Hamka had a deep interest and proficiency in producing his work on Islamic history. Historical narration based on area grouping facilitates the reader's understanding of Islamic history. Incidentally, the regions of the Indian sub-continent are also discussed in Hamka's work *Sejarah Umat Islam*, thus this article aims to study part of the Islamic history in India by focusing on the Mughal era.

The purpose of this article is to study Hamka's writing about Mughal history in India. The aim of this research is to critically understand Hamka's display and discussion relating to Mughal history submitted in his work. This research is by design qualitative in approach using historical study as a method of gathering and analysing data. The historical method was used to collect data with focus on Hamka's work, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, while data analysis was done using descriptive historical interpretation method by presenting the main issues of Mughal history discussed in his work.

### Biography of Hamka

His name was Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah, better known as Hamka. He was born at Kampung Molek, Maninjau, Sumatera Barat on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1908 and passed away in Jakarta on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1981 (Yaakob 2012, 1:74; Mahmudah 2017: 90, Arbain 2017: 77; Steenbrink 1994). Other writings state that Hamka's date of birth was 18<sup>th</sup> February 1908 (Shobahussurur 1430H: 82). He is remembered as a writer, preacher, scholar and political activist. He was also given the title *Buya*, a nickname by the Minangkabau society, which means father or someone revered. His father, Shaykh Abdul Karim bin Amrullah, or better known as Haji Rasul, was one of the pioneers of the *tajdid* movement in Minangkabau after returning from Mecca in the year 1906.

Hamka received his primary education up to standard two at the Sekolah Dasar Maninjau. At age ten years, his father established Sumatera Thawalib at Padang Panjang. There, he attended religious studies and Arabic language. He became a religious teacher in the year 1927 at Perkebunan Tebing Tinggi, Medan and then moved to Padang Panjang in the year 1929. Later, Hamka was appointed as lecturer at Universiti Islam, Jakarta and Universiti Muhammadiyah, Padang Panjang from 1957 to 1958. After that, he was appointed as Rector of Perguruan Tinggi Islam, Jakarta and then as Professor of Universiti Mustopo, Jakarta.

Hamka was an active member of the Islamic movement, Kumpulan Muhammadiyah. According to Kanafi et al. (2021), Muhammadiyah, an *Ahli Sunnah Waljamaah* organization, was formed in the year 1912. Hamka joined Muhammadiyah in the year 1925 to oppose *khurafat*, *bid'ah*, *tarekat* and heresy at Padang Panjang. In the year 1929, Hamka established a Muhammadiyah preacher training centre and was selected as Muhammadiyah consul at Makassar two years later. Then, he was selected as the head of Muhammadiyah Leadership Council in West Sumatra by the Muhammadiyah Conference, replacing S.Y. Sultan Mangkuto in the year 1946. In the year 1953, Hamka was selected as Adviser of Pusat Muhammadiyah. On the 26<sup>th</sup> July 1977, Indonesian Minister of Religions, Prof. Dr. Mukti Ali appointed Hamka as General Chairman of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Religious Scholars), but he later resigned in the year 1981 because his advice was ignored by the Indonesian government.

Hamka's political activities began in the year 1925 when he joined Partai Politik Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union Party) (Zuhaidi & Lubis 2021: 74-82). In the year 1945, he assisted in the struggle against the Colonial Dutch through his speeches and joined guerilla activity in the jungle in Medan. In the year 1947, Hamka was appointed as Chief of Barisan Pertahanan Nasional Indonesia (National Defence Front of Indonesia). He became a member of Masyumi (Council of Muslim Indonesian Associations) and the main speaker in the 1955 General Election. Later, Masyumi was banned by the Indonesian government in the year 1960. From 1964 until 1966, Hamka was imprisoned by President Sukarno on the charge of being pro-Malaysian. While in prison, he wrote *Tafsir al-Azhar* which turned out to be his greatest scholarly work. Upon release from prison, he was appointed as member of

Badan Musyawarah Kebajikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Welfare Consultative Body), Majelis Perjalanan Haji Indonesia (Indonesian Pilgrimage Council) and Lembaga Kebudayaan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Culture Board).

Besides his religious and political activities, Hamka was a journalist, writer, editor and publisher. Since the 1920's, he became a journalist for some newspapers such as *Pelita Andalas*, *Seruan Islam*, *Bintang Islam* and *Seruan Muhammadiyah*. In the year 1928, he was editor for the magazine, *Kemajuan Masyarakat*. Then in the year 1932, he was appointed as editor and published *al-Mahdim* magazine in Makassar. Hamka was also editor of the magazines, *Pedoman Masyarakat*, *Panji Masyarakat* and *Gema Islam*. Hamka was a prolific writer of Islamic scholarly as well as creative works such as novels and short stories. His greatest scholarly contribution is a 4-volume interpretation, *Tafsir al-Azhar*. His novels attracted public attention and became literature textbooks in Malaysia and Singapore, such as *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck*, *Di Bawah Lindungan Kaabah* and *Merantau ke Deli*.

Hamka also received in his lifetime national and international awards, such as an Honorary Doctorate from al-Azhar University in the year 1958, Honorary Doctorate from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM, The National University of Malaysia) in the year 1974 and the titles, *Datuk Indono* as well as *Pengeran Wiroguno* from the Indonesian Government. Hamka passed away on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1981. However, his service to society will always be remembered and his influence is felt even today, for dignifying the status of Islam, and he will always be honoured as a prominent scholar and writer in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore (Ashari & Jamsari 2010: 232).

According to some researchers' notes, Hamka produced as many 103 works of diverse genres, such as autobiography, biography, Islamic philosophy and knowledge, tradition and sociology, travel journal, translation, *tafsir* (interpretation), history and novel. Out of this number, about 14 are literary works (novel) successfully written by him (Hashim 2016: 4). Other researchers hold the opinion that he authored 113 books in his lifetime (Aziz 2009, 10:124). This proved and earned him the reputation as a prolific writer of diverse genres. Some of his works are *Tasawuf Moderen*, *Falsafah Hidup*, *Lembaga Budi*, *Kenang-kenangan Hidup*, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, *Keadilan Sosial dalam Islam* and *Tafsir al-Azhar*.

### **His Work, *Sejarah Umat Islam***

The writing of this book by Hamka took him a duration of 22 years to complete, beginning from the year 1939 until 1961. It elaborated on the history of Muslims beginning from *Jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic) Arabia to the development of Islam in the Malay World. Hamka (2018: 1) had stated that this book would take a long time to complete due to the rising cost of paper at the time. In addition, his pre-occupation with the struggle to fill Indonesia's independence with the call of Islam and his other writings in diverse fields delayed the publication of *Sejarah Umat Islam*.

This work is divided into four volumes. The first volume discusses the circumstances and environment in the Arabian Peninsula, the terrain, demography, earth produce, social practice and lifestyle of Jahliyah society. In addition, this volume also discusses the environment of Arabia during the Prophet Muhammad's PBUH time in Mecca, and later in Medina (Hamka 2018: 1-2). The second volume discusses the reign of the *Khulafa' al-Rashidin* (Rightly Guided Caliphs), Umayyad rule, Abbasid rule, and Islamic kingdoms in the Maghreb (Northern Africa) and al-Andalus. Among the matters discussed are the *futuhat al-Islamiyyah* movement, wars between the Muslim armies and Romans as well as Persians, political opposition, the Crusades, and clashes between the Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus (Hamka 2018: 2-3).

The third volume discusses the expansion process of Islamic state dominion to the eastern region, including Persia, Afghanistan and India. The Islamic sovereignties which were once established in this region were the Ghaznavid, Ghurid, Delhi and Mughal Kingdoms (Hamka 2018: 3-4). The fourth volume discusses the history of Islam in the Malay World. Hamka's book discusses the topic of Islamic Malay kingdoms which includes Samudera-Pasai, Melaka, Aceh, Johor, Demak, Mataram, Bantam in Java Island as well Ternate in the Maluku Islands. According to Hamka (2018: 4), the fourth volume is the heaviest compared to the rest because there was no available structured written sources of Islamic history in the Nusantara at the time of writing this volume. For this volume, he cited much information from several classical sources such as *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, *Sejarah Cheribon*, *Babad Gianti* and *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*. He collected materials from his travels throughout Indonesia, *Tanah Melayu* (Peninsular Malaya), Brunei and Sarawak. In addition, he obtained materials from state governments as historical materials were mostly not printed yet and kept in palace archives. The Malay state rulers who availed historical materials to him were Seri Paduka Sultan Siak Seri Inderapura (1940), Sultan

Terengganu (1955), Sultan Perak (1958), Aru Mappanyukki Raja Bone (1955), Raja Gowa (1956), Tengku Ahmad Tajuddin Ibni Sultan Kedah and Sultan Brunei (1960). Further, he also obtained materials from the Dutch and English to make comparisons with Malay historical records obtained from the Malay rulers (Hamka 1980; Ashari & Jamsari 2010: 235).

Although his work has its merits, in terms of compilation and discussion of historical issues, it also has its shortcoming, specifically in the use of sources as reference. It is not stated in the preface the sources used by him in writing the history of Islam, particularly in the Middle East region, beginning from the time of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH until the Ottoman era. However, this shortcoming does not at all affect his presentation when writing his work, *Sejarah Umat Islam*. This work can still be used as reference to obtain an early impression of an Islamic rulers and kingdom in a region.

### **Mughal Kingdom of India in *Sejarah Umat Islam***

Hamka divided discussion of Mughal history in India into two phases. The first phase covers the period 1526 to 1707. This era began from the founding of the Mughal Kingdom by Babur until the end of its golden age under Awrangzeb rule. The second phase covers the decline and weakening of the Mughal Kingdom, beginning from Awrangzeb's demise in the year 1707 until its fall to the English in the year 1857.

#### **1. First Phase (1526-1707)**

Discussion of the first phase begins about the Mughal founder, Babur. Hamka took the opportunity to praise the Mughal Kingdom in India with the statement that the kingdom was among the unforgettable pride of Islam, analogous to a gem in the records of Islamic history, similar to the Umayyads in al-Andalus, the Abbasids in Baghdad and the Ottomans in Eastern Europe (Hamka 2018: 500). Such a statement is due to the glorious civilizations of the said regions which developed during their rule. In addition, Hamka also briefly stated that the Mughal ruler, Babur, was of Turko-Mongol lineage, from Timurlane on the paternal side, and from Genghis Khan on the maternal side (Hamka 2018: 501). This was probably to prove Babur, highly regarded as a great Mughal war commander in history, was also of noble and heroic bloodline.

Hamka continued with records of Babur's heroism with a description of how he tried to conquer some areas near Iran in the year 1497 when he was still in his teens. Despite losing in fighting against Muhammad Khan Shaybani, the ruler of Bukhara, and retreating to Afghanistan, he continued his efforts to conquer other regions, among them Kabul and Kandahar, in the year 1504. Hamka viewed Babur's control over the two regions as the entryway for Babur to dominate India (Hamka 2018: 501). Babur carried out his military expedition to India in the year 1525 with a strength of 13,000 fighters. The expedition succeeded in capturing Punjab region and advanced next to Delhi, administrative centre of the Delhi Sultanate, ruled by Ibrahim Lodi II. Ibrahim Lodi commanded his army of 100,000 soldiers with 1,000 elephants to resist Babur and his men in the Battle of Panipat on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1526. Despite Ibrahim Lodi's bigger army, Babur's fighters did not experience a major difficulty in winning that historic war. According to Hamka (2018: 502), Babur's victory was supported by using cannons and weapons that Ibrahim Lodi's army did not possess. As a result of the victory, Babur departed for Delhi and proclaimed himself as ruler of India.

Discussion in the first phase continued with the era of Humayun, Babur's prince. After Humayun ascended the throne, he made efforts to deal with his competitors, namely, Sultan Mahmud Lodi based at Aod, Bahadur Shah at Gujerat and Sher Khan at Chunar. Initially, Humayun overcame them, but Sher Khan did not give up and re-organized his military force. So the battle between them resumed at Boksar in the year 1535, which saw Humayun defeated. A second battle between them took place in the year 1540 at Kanauj, that resulted in a worse defeat for Humayun. Humayun was forced to retreat, seeking political asylum and military reinforcement from the Safavid Kingdom. His requests were granted, and with Safavid military assistance, Humayun dominated the regions one by one, among them, Kandahar (1545) and Kabul (1550).

Humayun then went on his mission to capture Delhi on learning that Sher Khan had passed away in the year 1545, leaving the kingdom in a fractured state. Humayun took the opportunity of leading a 15,000-strong cavalry, advancing toward Delhi. Sher Khan's successor, Iskandar Shah led an 80,000-strong army to intercept Humayun's invasion. Hence, they fought at Sirhind Valley, located between Delhi and Lahore. Humayun's preparedness, and his courageous and well-equipped cavalry defeated Iskandar Shah and his bigger army in the year 1555. This victory

restored Humayun's dignity after he was deprived of his throne for 13 years and also reinstated Mughal dynasty as ruler in India. However, he did not continue to rule long as he passed away the following year (Hamka 2018: 505).

Next, Hamka continued discussing Mughal history during Akbar's era. Akbar was quite unschooled, hence functionally illiterate, as he was forced to rule at a young age of 15 years. Throughout his reign, he was assisted by the Prime Minister, Bayram Khan. Initially, Akbar was forced to confront Hemu's army who tried again to destroy Mughal power. Hemu's 100,000 strong army with 500 elephants invaded Delhi causing Akbar to retreat with his army to Punjab. There, Akbar and Bayram Khan re-organised their 20,000 strong army to confront Hemu's army at Panipat Valley. In the battle, Akbar's army gained victory after Hemu was killed in the battlefield, causing chaos for his soldiers as their leader had died. This victory established Akbar's leadership as the legitimate Mughal ruler in India (Hamka 2018: 506). From that time, Akbar continued his mission to expand Mughal dominion with the purpose of uniting India under the Mughal Kingdom. Initially, he sent emissaries to Hindu kings and requested them to submit to Mughal authority. Various feedbacks were received from the Hindu kings, some accepted conditionally and others strongly opposed. Hence, Akbar used the military approach to confront those who refused to submit, namely, Raja of Gwalior in the year 1558, Raja of Ajmer (1560), Raja of Mewar (1567) and Raja of Kalingar (1569).

After Akbar dominated the Hindu regions, he then turned his attention to Muslim kingdoms in India. He launched military expeditions to conquer the regions of Gujerat (1573), Bengal (1580), Kashmir (1586) and Sind (1592). Then he conquered the entire Deccan region in the year 1600 after spending five long years attempting to do so. His army met with fierce opposition from Ahmadnagar's army led by Sultanah Shandah, also known as *Baidaa-i Dekan*. Her demise in the year 1600 opened the opportunity for Akbar to conquer Deccan region (Hamka 2018: 509).

Hamka explained some of the reforms that Akbar implemented. One of them was the restructuring of *al-Wizarah* system. Akbar did not rule single-handedly but was assisted by ministers of diverse ethnicity and religion, such as Persian, Turkish and Hindu. In Akbar's reign, the office of Prime Minister was known as *Vakil-us-Sultanat* (Representative of the Ruler) while the ministers were known as *Wazir*. Later under Jahangir, the office of *Imperial Diwan* became prominent and then in Shah Jahan's reign, the grand vizier's title was transferred from the *Vakil* to the *Imperial Diwan*. The most senior Minister among the *Wazir* was the Minister of Finance whereas the highest office in the military was known as *Khan Qanan*. In fact, the Mughal palace also had a minister in charge of palace maintenance affairs, known as *Wazir Balat Sultani* (Hamka 2018: 510).

In addition, Hamka also described Akbar's reforms which ultimately tainted his image as Mughal ruler among his Muslim subjects. He promulgated *Din-i-Ilahi* (Religion of God), or known as *Tawhid-i-Ilahi* (Oneness of God), which was said to combine the values of all religions in a unified religion as a way of life. In his opinion, all religions preach morality, piety and kindness, and submission to one Almighty Essence. Hence he advocated a religious understanding that refers to 'Divine Unity' to celebrate religious diversity in India, even though this was opposed by his Muslim subjects, especially religious scholars in the palace. However, in his defence, some opinions begged to differ, stating that Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* was in practical reality only an inter-faith theological dialogue for mutual understanding of the values of every religion (Luka 2021: 1-9). The religion propounded by Akbar seemed more of a political solution to Muslim rule over a predominantly Hindu majority, but it attracted only a small number of followers. It mainly sought to maintain peace among Akbar's subjects of different religions.

Hamka proceeded in discussing Mughal history crossing over to Jahangir's reign though only cursorily. There was not much discussion by Hamka about Jahangir as he was a ruler who did not take after his father's greatness and excellence. Jahangir was regarded as weak as he always followed the words and decisions of his queen, Nur Mahal or known as Nur Jahan in other sources (Hamka 2018: 513). Her excessive influence, especially interfering in administrative affairs, indirectly caused him to be considered as less authoritative. This triggered problems at the time, such as the rebellion in Deccan region, lack of transparency of tax collection by Mughal officers, and opposition by his own son, Khurram.

Next, Hamka discussed Mughal history during the reign of Khurram who ascended the throne in the year 1627 using the title Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was regarded as stronger and more authoritative than his father, Jahangir, because he managed to quell the rebellion in Deccan region. However, Hamka (2018: 514) attributed Khurram's success not to his greatness but to his son, namely, Aurangzeb for his heroism and prowess in leading the Mughal army to Deccan. This region was considered as the 'thorn in the flesh' as it frequently caused disturbance and chaos to

Mughal rule. Hamka elaborated much on military expeditions, in Shah Jahan's era, led by Awrangzeb to the Deccan region. This could be said to be the cause for Awrangzeb's later opposition to his father. Each time Awrangzeb led an expedition and won the battle, he would send news to his father through his brother, Dara Shikuh. However, Awrangzeb's wish to advance further would be stopped by Shah Jahan after receiving the news. Hence, Awrangzeb suspected that Dara Shikuh was jealous of his success in the Deccan region. The situation worsened when it became obvious that Shah Jahan preferred Dara Shikuh to Awrangzeb. So Awrangzeb conspired with his other siblings, Shah Shuja' and Murad, to oppose Dara Shikuh's army while their father was ill and unable to resolve any problems arising then. Consequently, Awrangzeb's army defeated Dara Shikuh's army and entered the city of Agra. He then declared himself as the new Mughal ruler, after deposing his father and confining him to house arrest in Fort Agra until he died 8 years later in the year 1666 (Hamka 2018: 514).

Hamka ended discussion of the first phase of Mughal history with the description of Awrangzeb's reign. According to Hamka (2018: 515), Awrangzeb's ruled lasted for 47 years (1659-1707). He was regarded as the second leader after Akbar who became the topic of discussion for historians because Awrangzeb had a puzzling personality, with contradictory qualities. Awrangzeb was considered ruthless for killing his own brother for the throne and valiant in the battle field. But he was also a devout Muslim who shed tears upon listening to edicts of religious experts. Nevertheless, Hamka discussion of his reign mainly revolved around military expeditions to expand Mughal dominion. It was said that the expeditions succeeded in expanding Mughal territory more than its size under Akbar. Mughal controlled almost the whole of India stretching from Arakan to Kabul in Afghanistan. Following that, revenues for the Mughal treasury increased from 500 million to a billion pound sterling a year (Hamka 2018: 516).

Awrangzeb endeavoured to implement Islam in his administration such that it was said that the majority Hindu society in the Indian region was suppressed. Among the efforts were building of mosques on Hindu holy land in Benares, changing the name of Benares city to Ahmadabad and destroying Hindu temples. All these were attributed to his personality as a righteous and devout Muslim (Hamka 2018: 516). Due to this, it was not surprising that he was earnestly implementing Islam in his administration, as to himself, he was being cruel out of love for his religion. However, whatever he endeavoured and built did not last after his demise in the year 1707. All the regions he once controlled attempted to break away from Mughal dominion. Consequently, Mughal power continued to weaken and diminish until Mughal dominion covered only Delhi and Agra as well as cities nearby these two regions.

## **2. Second Phase (1707-1857)**

Discussion in the second phase of Mughal history is more focused on the kingdom's own weaknesses and decline. Hamka described this decline as beginning from Awrangzeb's demise in the year 1707. From that time, Mughal rule could be considered weak and ineffective in administrative affairs. Hamka gave the example of Nasir al-Din Muhammad (1719-1748), who was considered a weak Mughal ruler as he did not make any preparations when Delhi was threatened by the Persian military. Such weakness was made more humiliating by him going before the Persian ruler to beg for compassion and protection, as well surrendering his assets such as the Mughal Peacock Throne, which still stands in a Persian palace in Iran, as a sign of submission to Safavid rule. Mughal Crown Jewels were also brought out of the country, among them the 'Koh-i-Noor' diamond which now forms part of British Crown Jewels (Hamka 2018: 518-519). The information displayed by Hamka in the second phase illustrate the Mughal state experiencing a very painful dark age.

Based on Hamka's discussion submitted, there are some factors which caused Mughal decline. One factor was the weakness of the rulers. As asserted by Hamka, the Mughal rulers after Awrangzeb were weak in administration as they were incompetent and unauthoritative in running the administration. In addition, the rulers were distracted by luxurious living, leading to negligence in government affairs. For example, Nasir al-Din Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) failed to make adequate preparations to counter Persian invasion (Hamka 2018: 518). Further, the Mughal rulers in this phase became puppets without absolute authority. In fact, they were threatened by their own military commanders, such as experienced by Jalal al-Din Shah Alam (1760-1788, 1788-1806) who was blinded by his own army commander. This catastrophe caused the Mughal state to deteriorate until Indian rule was surrendered to the British. As compensation, Jalal al-Din Shah Alam was retained as a puppet ruler, without absolute power and given an allowance of 90,000 per month for his palace expenses by the British (Hamka 2018: 520). This situation subjected the Mughal throne to colonial control and stripped them of absolute power that they had in the first phase.

The second factor was the effort by small Indian kingdoms to break away from Mughal dominion. These vassal kingdoms, both Hindu and Muslim, strived to be independent territories with the support of the British. For example,

Ahmad Khan Durrani, an Afghan warrior, invaded India in the year 1761. This assault on Delhi defeated the Mughal army despite the armed support of Brahmana Hindu kingdoms for the Mughal army. As a consequence of Ahmad Khan Durrani's victory, Afghan region became independent from the Mughal dominion. In fact, Ahmad Khan Durrani placed his governor in Delhi and gave permission for the Mughal ruler then, Jalal al-Din Shah Alam (1760-1788, 1788-1806), to still hold the title of Mughal ruler but under the control of Afghanistan (Hamka 2018: 519). In addition, the small vassal kingdoms of Benggala, Bihar and Orissa also broke free from Mughal domination, also with British help and support. Consequently, the Mughal Kingdom lost many vassal states even though the British paid as much as 2,600,000 rupees as compensation (Hamka 2018: 520). The vassal states became independent after the central government in Delhi weakened and was unable to control them.

The third factor for Mughal decline was external threats and attacks. Persian ruler and founder of the Afsharid Dynasty, Nadir Shah sacked and looted Delhi causing Mughal rule to shake and weaken. This encouraged the British through the East Indies Company to similarly threaten the status of Mughal rule in India. The British gave assistance and support to small vassal kingdoms, both Hindu and Muslim, which wished to be independent from Mughal dominion (Hamka 2018: 520). British interference added to the disorder and complications for Mughal rule. After success in dividing the society in India, the British applied increasing political pressure causing the Mughal ruler to surrender administrative affairs centred in Delhi in the year 1806. The British tightened their grip more and more causing the people to rise up in rebellion, known as the Indian Rebellion in the year 1857, after which the British acted to make India a British colony, ultimately wiping out the Mughal state from the political map after it accepted defeat by the British. In fact, the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah II, was banished with his family to Yangon (Myanmar) and passed away in that city in the year 1862 (Hamka 2018: 521).

However, Hamka did not discuss the post-Aurangzeb *islah* (reformist) movement in India. Among the prominent reformist figures of that time was Shah Wali Allah al-Dahlawi (1702-1763). The miserable social environment and weak rule in India at the time triggered reform efforts by al-Dahlawi. His struggle, to re-shape society, including the ruling class, with the theme of going back to al-Quran, is a historical fact which deserves attention when discussing the era of Mughal decline (Ishak 1992: 72). However, this matter was not mentioned by Hamka in his writing. Perhaps, he had his own method of writing when displaying the history of each Islamic state, including the Mughal Kingdom, by focusing solely on the politics and governance aspect.

### **Conclusion:-**

The book, *Sejarah Umat Islam*, proved Hamka's deep interest and knowledge in the field of Islamic history. His work is a chronological discussion of Islamic civilization area zones, beginning with pre-Islamic history of Arabia until the time of Islamic development in the *Nusantara* (Malay Archipelago). He wrote in the Malay language so that readers in society, especially Malay readers, may understand and gain knowledge about Islamic history. One of the topics discussed in the book is about Mughal history in India. The topic begins with the Turco-Mongol origin and lineage of the Mughal dynasty, followed by the establishment of the Mughal state and its development into an Kingdom in the first phase (1526-1707). Hamka then continued discussion relating to Mughal history in the second phase (1707-1857) with focus on the decline of the Mughal Kingdom. Hence, Hamka's records can serve as additional reference to students and researchers, particularly those interested in the study of Islamic history and civilization in India. This research is appropriate for reading as it reveals the work, *Sejarah Umat Islam* on Islamic history in Malay language, and at once, proves Hamka's ability to write in the field of Islamic history. In addition, records of Mughal history in the work can cursorily give an initial description of the development of the Mughal Kingdom and serve as additional information, after reference to other more authentic and critical sources.

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