NUR AL-DIN AL-RANIRI'S CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC HISTORY IN *BUSTAN AL-SALATIN*: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF BOOK I-BOOK IV

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ABSTRACT

Nuruddin Muhammad bin Ali bin Hasanji bin Muhammad Hamid ar-Raniri al-Quraisyi al- Syaffi'i, known as Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658) (henceforth al-Raniri), was a learned and renowned Islamic scholar of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1047-1051/1637-1641). In 1638, al-Raniri composed a book on history entitled Bustan al-Salatin fi Dhikr al-Awwalin wa al-Akhirin (The Garden of the Kings on the Recollection of the Past and Present/ The Garden of Kings, showing forth the origin of all creation and the end thereof) (henceforth Bustan), which is the best-known work of al-Raniri on history and the biggest book written in the history of traditional Malay literature. Bustan al-Salatin is the largest work of al-Raniri on history, which is a combination of a universal history and a "mirror for rulers" of the seventeen century Aceh. Many scholars such as Grinter (1979), Braginsky (1993), Jelani (1999 & 2009), Siti Hawa (2002) and T. Iskandar (1966 & 1967) analyzed the concept of universal history in Bustan but did not discuss the concept of Islamic history. Therefore, this article provides an analysis on al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history in Bustan that have yet to be studied before. Discussion on the concept of Islamic history will include the structure, content and sources in history writing. This research is a qualitative research that applies the technique of documentation in collecting data while inductive approach to content analysis was utilized for data analyzing. The main documents used were the three versions of the manuscript of Bustan (Raffles Malay 8, Raffles Malay 42 and UM 41). The finding reveals that the structure, content and sources in Bustan are the reflection of al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history which accentuates Bustan as a book of Islamic history.

Keywords: Nur al-Din al-Raniri, Aceh, Malay literature, *Bustan al-Salatin*, concept of Islamic history.

INTRODUCTION

The coming of Islam and the emergence of the intellectual development in the Malay World led to the birth of distinguished Muslim scholars especially in the seventeenth century Aceh with their masterpieces mainly on *tasawwuf* (Sufism) and *kalam* (theology). One of them is al-Raniri who wrote at least 30 works on the mentioned subjects that caused him to be regarded as a sufi writer. Previous studies on Raniri have been carried out widely by scholars in the East and West. Among the leading western scholars are Drews, Voorhoeve, Winstedt and Nieuwenhuijze while Malay scholars are represented by al-Attas, Daudy, T. Iskandar, Jelani, etc. The majority of these scholars examine Raniri's biography and his contribution to the Muslim society through his remarkable works on *kalam* and *tasawwuf* (Azra, 2004), but none of them truly concentrate on Raniri's concept of Islamic history. In fact, al-Raniri's contribution to the development of historiography in the Malay world and his role as a historian have never been discussed profoundly.

Al-Raniri made a great contribution to the development of history in the Malay World through his remarkable work of *Bustan*, a great work on history in the seventeenth century Aceh (Jelani, 2009 & Hermansyah, 2014). *Bustan* differed to that of the previous book on history in the Malay-Indonesian World as al-Raniri was the pioneer of the concept of universal history in Malay historiography and consequently indicates the contribution of al-Raniri to the field of history. According to al-Attas, al-Raniri broke the tradition of Malay history writing as *Bustan* differed from the previous works on history in the aspects of content and writing technique (Yusoff, 1992). Al-Raniri pioneered a new era of Malay history writing through his concept of universal history where he narrates chronologically the universal history and incorporates the Malay kings into the universal history. With the new concept, al-Raniri had pioneered a new form of Malay historical writing (Azra, 2004). Al-Attas stated that *Bustan* comprises both the religious and historical values (Yusoff, 1992). Furthermore, T. Iskandar firmly believed *Bustan* is a historical work and the historical value in *Bustan* takes more important role in *Bustan*. The date in *Bustan* is more reliable compared to other Malay manuscripts (T. Iskandar, 1964 & T. Iskandar, 1967).

Previous studies on al-Raniri and his *Bustan* are useful and beneficial to this research. However, the above studies do not discuss al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history, rather they focus more on the biography and the works of al-Raniri. In fact, the concept of history in *Bustan* has never been studied profoundly that caused *Bustan* to be recognized as a work of *ketatanegaraan* rather than history. Many scholars such as Grinter (1979), Yusoff (1992), Braginsky (1993), Harun (2006), Jelani (1999 & 2009), Siti Hawa (2002) and Zawiyah Yahya (2010) claimed that *Bustan* belonged to the genre of '*ketatanegaraan*' (Mirror for Princes) (Yusoff, 1992; Braginsky, 199; Jelani, 2006; Harun, 2006 & Zawiyah Yahya, 2010). Their argument is that the contents of *Bustan* particularly Book III-Book VII contain numerous amount of didactic element that is intended to guide the rulers in their duties. It cannot be denied that many scholars such as Winstedt, Braginsky, Siti Hawa, Harun and Jelani recognize the element of history

in *Bustan*. However, they believe that the historical element in *Bustan* only confine to Book II (concerning the history of the Prophets and kings) especially on chapter 13 that deals with the history of the kings of Aceh.

However, the researcher has the opinion that *Bustan* is a very important work of history, to be specific Islamic history. In the researcher's opinion, the historical element in *Bustan* does not only restrict to Book II but the whole books of *Bustan*. The argument is based on the structure and the analysis of al-Raniri's purpose of writing *Bustan* that prove *Bustan* as a work of Islamic history. Book I and II of *Bustan* are obviously history as they narrate the creation of the universe and the history of the Prophets from the Prophet Adam until the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). Meanwhile, Book III- Book IV (concerning just king and dignitary, pious kings and holy man, etc.) (T. Iskandar, 1967) are regarded as the work of 'mirror for princes' due to the existence of didactic element. However, the researcher regards Book III-Book IV as in fact history because the element of didactic cannot be separated from Islamic history as didactic is the principle in the understanding of Islamic history. There are a large number of stories from the period of Islamic history such as the stories regarding 'Umar al-Khattab (the second caliph of the Pious Caliphate), Harun al-Rashid (one of the prominent caliphs of the 'Abbasid caliphate) and Ibrahim b. Adham (a pious king and saint). The didactic element in Book III-Book VII of *Bustan* parallels the purpose of history in Islam, that is, to give warnings and to bring mankind to the final destination, that is, to return to Allah, the Creator. In fact, at least half of the contents of Qur'an narrate stories of the Prophets and people of the past with the purpose of guiding mankind to the truth.

Based on the above background, this article, therefore, provides an analysis on al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history that includes the purpose of writing, structure, content and sources in history writing. It also determines to demonstrate that *Bustan* is a work of Islamic history and the way al-Raniri formulates the concept of Islamic history in *Bustan*. This is the significance and difference of this research to that of the previous studies.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF NUR AL-DIN AL-RANIRI

Nuruddin Muhammad bin Ali bin Hasanji bin Muhammad Hamid ar-Raniri al-Quraisyi al- Syafi'i, known as Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658), was a learned prominent Islamic scholar of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641). He was born into a diaspora Hadhrami family of Hamid clan in Ranir in Gujerat. Pertaining to his complete name, in the introductory part of Book I of *Bustan*, al-Raniri referred to himself as "Syeikh Nuruddin anak 'Ali Hasanji anak Muhammad, Hamid nama bangsanya, Ranir nama negerinya, dan Syafi'i mazhabnya…" (Nuruddin the son of 'Ali Hasanji, the son of Muhammad, Hamid was his clan, Ranir was the place he belonged to and Shafi'i was his mazhab (sect) (Raffles 8; Raffles 42 & UM 41). Al-Raniri obtained his early education in Ranir and later continued his studies in Hadramawt. In the year 1030/1621, al-Raniri went to Makkah and Madinah in search for Islamic knowledge (Azra, 2004; Hermansyah, 2012 & Hiroko, 2016) and had the opportunity to learn under Sayyid 'Umar b. 'Abdullah Ba Syaiban al-Tarimi al-Hadrami (d. 1066/1656) who is also known as as Sayyid 'Umar al-Aydarus (Voorhoeve, 1951; Drewes, 1955 & T. Iskandar, 1964).

Al-Raniri arrived in Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani in 1047/1637. Shortly after his arrival in Aceh, al-Raniri succeeded in gaining the patronage of the Sultan. He gained high reputation and success under the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani as he was appointed to the post of *Shaykh al-Islam* and was trusted to write *Bustan* in 1638. Besides the mentioned post, al-Raniri also was a court historiographer as well as a prolific writer (Jelani, 2004 & Amirul, 2004). Al-Raniri's contribution to the development of Islamic sciences in the Malay World is remarkable. Ismail Hamid stated that, "With regard to all of his intellectual and paxis tendencies, al-Raniri was the first *alim* who sowed the seeds of Islamic scripturalism in the Malay world." (Ismail Hamid, 2000). Besides that, al-Raniri had made great contributions to the development of Islam and the Malay literature. As a scholar, al-Raniri had authored 35 works that cover the fields of *tasawwuf* and *kalam* (24 books), *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) (3 books), history (6 books) and *hadith* (Prophetic Tradition) (2 books). As a prolific writer in Malay and Arabic, al-Raniri wrote 14 books within his short period in Aceh (1047-1054 AH/1637-1644 AD) and 13 of them in Malay language. T. Iskandar regarded al-Raniri as a figure of classical Malay literature or scholar of Malay-Aceh literature (T. Iskandar, 1964).

Despite his success, al-Raniri suddenly left Aceh in 1054 AH/1644 AD and returned to his birthplace, Ranir (T. Iskandar, 1966; Al-Attas, 1966 & Feener, 2011). Scholars have different opinions regarding the reason of his abrupt departure. According to Braginsky and T.Ito, al-Raniri left Aceh because of the arrival of a new scholar named Sayf al-Rijal, a Minangkabau scholar (T.Ito, 1978; Braginsky, 2004 & Jelani, 2008). Sayf al- al-Rijal who had just returned from Surat, India was more moderate towards the sufi doctrine of *wujudiyyah* of Hamzah Fansuri that was opposed by al-Raniri (Abdul Basith Junaidy, 2009). Consequently, a prolonged debate took place between al-Raniri and Sayf concerning *wujudiyyah* and finally, it was the latter who succceded to overcome the former (Braginsky, 2004; T. Iskandar, 2011 & Hiroko, 2016). Al-Raniri failed to obtain the support of the ruler of Aceh (T. Ito, 1978 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008). Therefore, al-Raniri felt challenged and left Aceh. In the year 1068 AH/1658 AD, al-Raniri died in Ranir/Rander, Gujerat (Winstedt, 1958; Voorhoeve, 1959; T. Iskandar, 1966: 10 & Hermansyah, 2012).

THE BOOK OF *BUSTAN AL-SALATIN*

Bustan al-Salatin was a very important historical work written by al-Raniri in the seventeenth century Aceh. It was written in 1638 by the order of Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh (1636-1641). *Bustan* consists of seven books with the total of 60 chapters. The books are the creation of heaven and earth (Book I (30 chapters)), Prophets and rulers (Book II (13 chapters)), Just king and wise ministers (Book III (6 chapters)), Ascetic rulers and pious saints (Book IV (2 chapters)), Unjust rulers and oppressive ministers (Book V (2 chapters)), noble, generous persons and brave men (Book VI (2 chapters)) and Intellect, medicine, physiognomy, women, etc. (Book VII (5 chapters)). *Bustan* is not only the largest work of al-Raniri but also the longest text written in the history of traditional Malay literature (consisting of seven books with 1250 pages). Nevertheless, due to the large

contents of *Bustan*, this article will only concentrate on Book I-Book IV. *Bustan* differs to that of the historical works in the 16-17th centuries in the Malay Archipelago. Al-Raniri broke the tradition of Malay history writing as *Bustan* differed from the previous works on history in the aspects of content and writing technique (Yusoff, 1992). Al-Raniri also pioneered a new era of Malay history writing through his concept of universal history where he narrates chronologically the universal history and incorporates the Malay kings into the universal history. With the new concept, al-Raniri had pioneered a new form of Malay historical writing (Azra, 2004). Besides that, al-Attas stated that *Bustan* comprises both the religious and historical values (Yusoff, 1992). Furthermore, T. Iskandar firmly believed *Bustan* is a historical work and the historical value in *Bustan* takes more important role in *Bustan*. The date in *Bustan* is more reliable compared to other Malay manuscripts (T. Iskandar, 1964: 439 & T. Iskandar, 1967: 52).

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF *BUSTAN AL-SALATIN*

Bustan as a historical work is clearly seen in the structure of *Bustan* (Book I-Book IV) which can be divided into two categories; history and didactic. The historical element consists of Book I and Book II with the total of 264 pages while the didactic element covers Book III and Book IV with 398 pages. These books (Book I-Book IV) contain 43 chapters related to history while the balance of 11 chapters contain didactic element. The historical part relates history starting from the creation of the universe and the history of the prophets and rulers of the past. Meanwhile, the didactic part narrates the appointments of kings and their duties, the conduct of the caliphs and just kings, the qualities required of wise viziers and their conducts and the conduct of pious kings and pious saints of Allah.

The didactic element contains stories of individuals either with good or bad characters (in *Bustan* refers to the Just King and Wise Minister and Ascetic Rulers and Pious Saints (Book III-Book IV)). For example, the stories of the Prophet Musa and the Prophet 'Isa, Sheikh Bila al-Khawas and Sheikh 'Abdul Rahman. The purpose of the stories concerning didacticism in Qur'an is to teach or educate mankind on *adab* so that they would take lessons from the past history and live in accordance to the Islamic teaching. Al-Raniri was inspired by the didactic element in stories in the Qur'an that he wrote special chapters on didactic (Book III and Book IV) to teach mankind the way to Allah (the right path) and humans were given the chance to repent and return to Allah. In other words, Islam offers forgiveness to those who repent and return to the obedience to Allah. *Bustan* relates stories of the wrong-doers and gives them chances to return to the right path. Al-Raniri too took the idea of pious people from the Qur'an when he narrated the story of an ascetic saint named Ibrahim b. Adham who was before the King of Balkh, but later renounced his luxurious life and throne to devout himself to Allah. The idea was from the stories of Luqman al-Hakim (*surah Luqman* (31)): 13-19, Iskandar Dhulqarnain (*surah al-Kahf* (18)): 84-98 and the *Ashabul Kahf* (the people of the cave/The seven sleepers) in *surah al-Kahf* (15): 9-26. The story of *Luqman al-Hakim* is a well-known story in the Muslim tradition regarding a wise man who guided his son on the concept of *tawhid* in Islam. Meanwhile, the *Ashabul Kahf* is the story of seven young men who had fled to a cave to avoid their disbelieving folk and they slept for more than 300 years by the will of Allah.

Based on the above explanation, it proves that didactic is part of the process of history and in the context of this article, Islamic history because didactic cannot be separated from the writing of Islamic history as didactic is the principle in the understanding of Islamic history. It begins with history and ends with some advices to the reader. The didactic element in Islamic history parallels the purpose of history in Islam that is, to give warnings and to bring people to Allah. Below is the general content of *Bustan al-Salatin* (Book I-Book IV) based on the manuscript of Raffles Malay 8 (henceforth Raffles 8). Raffles 8 is the basic manuscript used for this research as it contains a solid structure that consists of the complete chapters of book I, II and IV while manuscript of UM 41 is only utilized for book III. Besides that, Raffles 8 has the largest chapters compared to Raffles 42 and UM 41 as it is the only manuscript contains Book III of *Bustan*. For the whole book I, II and IV, the Raffles 8 contains 45 chapters, Raffles 42 with 40 chapters and UM 41 with 44 chapters. Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41 are utilized since these texts are the earliest and foremost manuscripts in the studies concerning *Bustan*.

Table 1: General Content of Book I

Book I:	***Bab yang pertama pada menyatakan kejadian tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi dan barang yang takluk pada keduanya*** (The Creation of the seven layers of heaven and the seven layers of earth and everything relates to them) (30 *fasals*/chapters).

NO.	RAFFLES 8 Chapters 1-30 (pp.1 -75) (75 Pages)
1	*Fasal kejadian Nur Muhammad* (Chapter concerning the creation of the Light of Muhammad)
2	*Fasal kejadian Luhmahfuz* (Chapter on the creation of the Preserved Tablet)
3	*Fasal kejadian Kalam* (Chapter on the creation of the Pen)
4	*Fasal kejadian 'Arash* (Chapter on the creation of the throne)
5	*Fasal kejadian Kursi* (Chapter on the creation of the Footstool)
6	Fasal kejadian *Liwa' al-Hamd* (Chapter on the creation of the emblem of praise)
7	*Fasal kejadian Malaikat* (Chapter on the creation of the Angels)
8	*Fasal kejadian Sidrat al-Muntaha* (Chapter on the creation of the Lotus Tree)
9	*Fasal kejadian Jan/Jin* (Chapter on the creation of Jan-the father of Jin)
10	*Fasal bilangan segala 'Alim* (Chapter enumerating the wise)
11	*Fasal kejadian tujuh petala langit* (Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the heavens)
12	*Fasal kejadian syurga* (Chapter on the creation of Paradise)
14	*Fasal kejadian Baitul Ma'mur* (Chapter on the creation of the House of Plenty-that is the original Ka'bah in heaven)
15	*Fasal kejadian matahari, bulan dan bintang* (Chapter on the creation of the sun, moon and stars)
16	*Fasal kejadian kelodak tahi bintang* (Chapter on the creation of meteors)
17	*Fasal kejadian awan* (Chapter on the creation the clouds)
18	*Fasal kejadian air sejuk, air beku dan embun* (Chapter on the creation of cool water, ice and dew)
19	*Fasal kejadian kilat, halilintar dan guruh* (Chapter on the creation of lightning, thunderbolts and thunder)
20	*Fasal kejadian Bintang Raja* (Chapter on the creation of the heavenly bodies that are visible in the sky)
21	*Fasal kejadian tujuh petala bumi* (Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the earth)
22	*Fasal kejadian Ka'bah* (Chapter on the creation of the *Ka'bah*)
23	*Fasal kejadian Bukit Qaf* (Chapter on the creation of Mount Qaf)
24	*Fasal kejadian yang menanggung bumi* (Chapter on the creation of that which supports the earth)
25	*Fasal Kejadian gempa* (Chapter on the creation of earthquakes)
26	*Fasal kejadian neraka* (Chapter concerning the creation of hell)
27	*Fasal kejadian kurrah bumi* (Chapter on the creation of the Globe)
28	*Fasal bilangan segala laut dan sungai* (Chapter on the number of the oceans and rivers)
29	*Fasal menyatakan segala 'alam* (Chapter enumerating the lands)
30	*Fasal menyatakan Iqlim* (continent) (Chapter relating to the regions)

Source: Raffles 8 (*Bustan al-Salatin*) & Jelani Harun, 2009

Table 2: General Content of Book II

Book II: *Bab yang kedua pada menyatakan permulaan tarikh segala Nabi Allah dan tarikh segala Rasul Allah dan pada menyatakan setengah daripada kelakuan mereka itu dan lanjut umur mereka itu daripada Nabi Allah Adam hingga sampai kepada Nabi kita Muhammad Rasul Allah (sallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa sallam),dan menyatakan setengah daripada kelakuan segala raja-raja pada zaman dahulukala serta dengan hal-ehwal mereka itu, dan lanjut umur mereka itu daripada masa Sultan Kiyaumurthi hingga sampai kepada masa tuan kita Paduka Seri Sultan Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat zillullahu fi al-ʿAlam* **(Book two, concerning the beginning of the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah, relating some of their deeds and their longevity, from the time of the Prophet Adam to our Prophet Muhammad (may God bless him and grant him peace) and relating some of the deeds of kings in the past and their affairs as well as their longevity from the time of Sultan Kiyaumurthi to the time of our lord Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat (the shadow of God upon the earth) (13 fasal/chapters).**

NO.	RAFFLES 8 Chapters 1-13 (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)
1	*Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan tarikh segala anbia yang mursal dan anbia yang tidak mursal* (The first chapter concerning the history of the prophets).
2	*Fasal yang kedua menyatakan segala raja-raja yang kerajaan pada zaman dahulukala kemudian daripada masa Nabi Allah Adam ʿalayhi al-salam* (Chapter two, the history of the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Adam).
3	*Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja di benua Yunan dan benua Rom pada zaman dahulukala* (Chapter three, the history of the kings of Yunan/ Greece and Rome in former times).
4	*Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Mesir* (Chapter four, the history of the kings who ruled Egypt).
5	*Fasal yang kelima pada menyatakan hak ehwal raja-raja Arab* (Chapter five, concerning the kings who ruled Arabia).
6	*Fasal yang keenam pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja Kindah iaitu di benua Najd* (Chapter six, regarding the kings of Kindah that is in the Najd
7	*Fasal yang ketujuh pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja di benua Hijaz iaitu hampir Mekah* (Chapter seven, regarding the kings of Hijaz that is near Mecca).
8	*Fasal yang kedualapan pada menyatakan hal ehwal kejadian Nabi kita Muhammad Rasul Allah (sallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa sallam) dan pada menyatakan salsilah nasabnya* (Chapter eight, regarding the Birth of our Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry).
9	*Fasal yang kesembilan pada menyatakan hal ehwal raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Syam daripada kaum Bani Umaiyyah* (Chapter nine, regarding the Umayyad Kings).
10	*Fasal yang kesepuluh pada menyatakan hal ehwal raja-raja daripada kaum bani ʿAbbas* (Chapter ten, regarding the ʿAbbasid Kings).
11	*Fasal yang kesebelas pada menyatakan tarikh segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Hindustan yang bernama Dihli dan pada masa sekarang negeri yang lain-lain bernama Agra, dan Jayahabad pun namanya* (Chapter eleven, concerning the history of the Kings of Dihli, a state in Hindustan).
12	*Fasal yang keduabelas pada menyatakan segala raja-raja di negeri Melaka dan Pahang* (Chapter twelve, relating the history of the Kings of Malacca and Pahang).
13	*Fasal yang ketigabelas pada menyatakan tarikh raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Aceh Darussalam* (Chapter thirteen, narrating the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh).

Sources: Raffles 8 (*Bustan al-Salatin*)

Table 3: General Content of Book III

Book III: *Bab yang ketiga pada menyatakan menjadikan raja dan mengikat dia dan menyatakan kelakuan segala khalifah dan segala raja yang adil dengan segala syaratnya dan pada menyatakan syarat sekalian wazir yang bijaksana dan kelakuan mereka itu, dalamnya enam fasal* **/ (Book three, concerning the appointments of kings and their followers, including their duties, and concerns the conduct of the caliphs and just kings including their duties, and also the qualities required of wise viziers and their conducts. This book contains six chapters)**

NO.	UM 41 Chapters 1-6 (pp. 292 - 576) (285 pages)
1	*Fasal yang pertama pada menjadikan raja dan mengikut dia dengan segala syarat* (Chapter one, concerning the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties).
2	*Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala khalifah dan segala raja yang dahulukala, dan segala kisah mereka itu supaya mengambil ibarat dan insaf segala yang budiman pada mendengar dia* (Chapter two, relating the conduct of the Caliphs and the kings of former times, relating their stories so that the wise who listen to them may derive a lesson and a sense of awareness).
3	*Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan menjadikan kadi yang menghukumkan dengan hukum syarak* (Chapter three, concerning the appointment of Qadi (Judges) who will apply Muslim law).
4	*Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan peri menjadikan wazir dan hulubalang serta dengan segala syarat mereka itu* (Chapter four concerning the appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties).
5	*Fasal kelima pada menyatakan peri utusan dan segala syarat mereka itu* (Chapter five, on envoys and their duties).
6	*Fasal keenam pada menyatakan peri katib dan segala perintahnya* (Chapter six, on scribes and their duties).

Sources: UM 41 & Jelani, 2009

Table 4: General Content of Book IV

Book IV: *Bab yang keempat pada kelakuan segala raja yang bertapa dan menyatakan kelakuan segala wali Allah yang salih, dalamnya dua fasal*/ **(Book four, concerning the conduct of pious kings and pious saints of Allah) (2 *fasals*/chapters).**

NO.	RAFFLES 8 Chapters 1-2 (pp. 265-341) (77 Pages)
1	*Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang bertapa yang yang meninggalkan dunia pada zaman yang terdahulu kerana mengikut keredhaan Allah Ta'ala* (Chapter one, relating the conduct of pious kings in former times who renounced the world for the sake of Allah).
2	*Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala aulia Allah yang dahulukala* (Chapter two, relating the conduct of the saints of Allah in the past).

Sources: Raffles 8 (*Bustan al-Salatin*)

Table 1- table 4 demonstrates in detail the historical content of Book I-Book IV of *Bustan*. Book I and Book II is obviously history as they narrate the history of the creation of the universe and the history of the prophets and kings. Book I (the creation of the Universe) consists of the description on the creation of Nur Muhammad (The Light of Muhammad), that was the earliest creation, followed by *Lohmahfuz* (the Preserved Tablet), *Kalam* (the Pen), *Arasy* (the creation of the throne) until the creation of regions. Al-Raniri's writing concerning the creation of the universe is basically originated from the idea of the creation of the universe mentioned in the Qur'an. For instances, sura *al-Baqara* (2): 22, 29 & 164 (concerning the creation of the heavens and earth), Sura *al-Ra'd* (13): 3, Sura *al-Nahl* (16): 14-15 and Sura *al-Furqan* (25): 53 (concening the creation of oceans and rivers), Sura al-Rahman (55): 46, Sura al-Hadid (57): 21 (the creation of paradise) and Sura *al-Shaffat* (37): 5, Sura *al-Nahl* (16): 16 and Sura *al-Anbiya'* (21): 33 (the creation of the sun, moon and Stars). Meanwhile, Book II narrates the history of the life of human being on earth starting from the history of the Prophets until the history of the Kings of Aceh that consists of 13 chapters (the total of 191 pages). It started with the creation of the Prophet Adam followed by the history of the Prophets of Islam (Idris, Nuh, Hud, Saleh, Ibrahim, Luth, Ismail, Ishaq, Ya'kub, Yusuf, Ayyub, Musa, Isa, Muhammad, etc.) and the history of the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Adam. It is interesting to note that al-Raniri intentionally aims to include the history of the Malay kings of Aceh as part of universal history. This is due to the fact that *Bustan* was written on the order of al-Raniri's patron, Sultan Iskandar Thani, and it was al-Raniri's responsibility to glorify the Kings of Aceh. In general, there are 43 historical stories in Book I-Book II of *Bustan* that is clearly seen in table1 and table 2.

As discussed before in the structure of *Bustan*, the second element in *Bustan* is mirror for princes or didactic. Based on the analysis of the text, it shows that the structure of mirror for princes contains a huge number of historical stories. There are 185 historical stories in Book III and Book IV such as the stories of the Prophet Daud and Sulaiman, many stories of 'Umar al-Khattab (the companion of the Prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h.), Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz (one of the Umayyad caliph), Caliph Harun al-Rashid and Caliph Ma'mun b. Harun al-Rashid (the 'Abbasid caliphs), Raja Nushirwan and others. Overall, there are 228 stories in Book I-Book IV of *Bustan*. These stories are the reflection of al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history as majority of the stories were taken from the early period of Islam especially concerning the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid caliphs. Therefore, even though Book III and Book IV are regarded as the book of mirror for princes, but they are in fact a book of history due to the mentioned reason.

In summary, the structure and content of *Bustan* described above proves that *Bustan* is a historical work. Besides the fact that it contains historical and didactic elements, *Bustan* also follows the format of history as it begins with the mentioning of the purpose of writing *Bustan* in the introductory part of the text, followed by the chronology of historical events beginning from the history of the creation of the universe, continued with the history of the Prophets and Rulers and it ends with several chapters containing history with a didactic element. Thus, the structure of *Bustan* reveals the importance of history to al-Raniri and that history is the basis of al-Raniri's thought.

THE SOURCES OF *BUSTAN*

Bustan (Book I-Book IV) comprises of various types of information starting from the creation of the world until the 'Abbasid caliphate. The researcher divides the sources used by al-Raniri in *Bustan* (Book I-Book IV) into three categories, Qur'an, *hadith* and reliable sources during the period of early Islam as below.

A) Qur'an

Concerning the Qur'an as one of al-Raniri's sources in writing *Bustan*, below is the detailed elaboration on the Qur'anic verses found in *Bustan*. The purpose of giving all the *surah* and verses used by al-Raniri from Book I-Book IV is to indicate the importance of Qur'an to al-Raniri as the basic source of Islamic knowledge including Islamic history and importantly, Qur'an is among the main source of al-Raniri's writing. Therefore, al-Raniri made Qur'an as his frame of history that is evident with the utilization of at least 161 surah and 167 Qur'anic verses in Book I - Book IV of *Bustan*. These high amounts of *surah* and verses show al-Raniri's reliance on the Qur'an as one of his main sources. In the researcher's opinion, al-Raniri's clear understanding of Islamic concept of history led him to make Qur'an as one of his main sources for *Bustan*. In addition, the utilization of Qur'anic verses by al-Raniri is also to strengthen his narration on the creation of the universe, the history of the Prophets and the messenger of Allah and stories with didactic element. For example, the Qur'an narrates lots of stories of the Prophets such as the Prophet Adam, Nuh, Musa, Ibrahim, 'Isa and others. Based on the stories of the Prophets and messengers of Allah in the Qur'an, al-Raniri applied similar subjects inside *Bustan*. Prior to al-Raniri, early historians of the second and third centuries of Hijra such as al-Tabari, al-Mas'udi and Ibn Khaldun described the stories of the Prophets in their historical works. Therefore, beside the Qur'an as his main source, al-Raniri also referred to the primary sources such as the works of al-Tabari (*Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-al-Muluk*), Ibn Ishaq (*Sirah Ibn Ishaq*) and Ibn Hisham (*Sirah Ibn Hisham*) (Raffles 8: 87, 110 & 129).

Table 5: List of *Surah* in Book I-IV of *Bustan al-Salatin*

NO.	SURAH	NO.	SURAH
1	*Al-An'am* (6)	2	*Al-Anfal* (8)
3	*Yusuf* (12)	4	*Ibrahim* (14)
5	*Al-Naml* (27)	6	*Al-Rum* (30)
7	*Al-Ahzab* (33)	8	*Yasin* (36)
9	*Al-Jathiyah* (45)	10	*Al-Ahqaf* (46)

11	*Muhammad* (47)	12	*Al-Fath* (48)
13	*Al-Mujadalah* (58)	14	*Al-Saff* (61)
15	*Al-Taghabun* (64)	16	*Al-Tahrim* (66)
17	*Al-Haqqah* (69)	18	*Nuh* (71)
19	*Al-Muddaththir* (74)	20	*Al-Sharh* (94)
21	*Al-'Alaq* (96)	22	*Al-Humazah* (104)
23	*Al-Kawthar* (108)	24	*Qaf* (50)
25	*Al-Tawbah* (9)	26	*Yunus* (10)
27	*Al-Hijr* (15)	28	*Al-Isra'* (17)
29	*Al-Kahfi* (18)	30	*Luqman* (31)
31	*Al-Fatir* (35)	32	*Al-Zumar* (39)
33	*Al-Waqi'ah* (56)	34	*Al-Mulk* (67)
35	*Al-Qalam* (68)	36	*Al-Insan* (76)
37	*Al-Nazi'at* (79)	38	*Al-Takwir* (81)
39	*Al-Anbiya'* (21)	40	*Al-Furqan* (25)
41	*Al-Qasas* (28)	42	*Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghafir* (40)
43	*Al-Shura* (42)	44	*Al-Najm* (53)
45	*Al-Hadid* (57)	46	*Al-Talaq* (65)
47	*Taha* (20)	48	*Al-Saffat* (37): 5
49	*Fussilat* (41)	50	*Al-A'raf* (7)
51	*Hud* (11)	52	*Sad* (38)
53	*Al-Hujurat* (49)	54	*Al-Nisa'* (4)
55	*Al-Nur* (24)	56	*Al-Dhariyat* (51)
57	*Al-Rahman* (55)	58	*Al-Nahl* (16)
59	*Al-Ma'idah* (5)	60	*Al-Baqarah* (2)
61	*Al-'Imran* (3)		
TOTAL	**61 SURAH**		

Sources: Book I, II & IV are based on Raffles Malay 8, Book III from UM 41

B) *Hadith*

Besides Qur'an, *hadith* was another historical source that al-Raniri relied on due to the fact that *hadith* served as the main source of Islamic history. Besides that, *hadith* contains many historical descriptions concerning the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and his companions. Al-Raniri was influenced by the historical methodology of the early Muslim historians mentioned above which is clearly illustrated in his selection of the number of *hadith* in *Bustan* as below.

Table 6: Number of *Hadith* in *Bustan al-Salatin* (Book I-IV)

BOOK	Number of *Hadith*
I	38
II	11
III	143
IV	24
TOTAL	**216 *HADITH***

Sources: Book I, II & IV are based on Raffles 8, Book III from UM 41

Table 6 demonstrates the number of *hadith* used by al-Raniri in *Bustan* (Book I-Book IV) that is 216 *hadith*. The big number of *hadith* apparently indicates al-Raniri's reliance on *hadith* which is the second source of Islam and *hadith* was closely related to the discipline of Islamic history. Based on the table, Book I consists of 38 *hadith*, Book II with 11 *hadith*, Book III contain 143 *hadith* and Book IV with 24 *hadith*. Book III occupies the highest amount of *hadith* followed by Book I.

The importance of *hadith* is evident in al-Raniri's elaboration on didactic element in Book III. For Book I, majority of *hadith* were utilized in *fasal* 1(the creation of *Nur Muhammad* (the Light of Muhammad) (12 *hadith*) followed by *fasal* 22 (Chapter on the creation of the *Ka'bah*) (5 *hadith*) and *fasal* 13 (Chapter on the creation of Nymphs) (4 *hadith*). Meanwhile, *fasal* 8 of Book II (regarding the Birth of our Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry) shows the highest number of *hadith* (6 *hadith*) used by al-Raniri. The reason is that the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) is an important figure in Islamic history. Islamic history is closely related to the Prophet because Islamic history begins with the advent of Islam and the appointment of the Prophet as the messenger of Allah. Besides that, the Prophet also encourages historical awareness among the Muslims which is evident in the development of *sirah*, *maghazi* and *hadith*. Therefore, *hadith* becomes the second main source of Islamic history besides the Qur'an. Al-Raniri's awareness on the importance of *hadith* in Islamic history encouraged him to include many *hadith* in *Bustan*.

C) Reliable Source (Scholars of Islam)

Table 7: Among the Reliable Scholars referred by al-Raniri in Book I-Book IV of *Bustan*

No.	Companions of the Prophet (*Sahaba*)	No.	*Tabi'in*	No.	Historians	No.	Muslim Scholars
1	'Abdullah b. 'Umar al-Khattab	1	Abu Muhammad Sa'id b. Musayyab	1	Ibn Ishaq	1	Imam Shafi'i
2	Abu al-Darda'	2	Dahhak	2	Ibn Hisham	2	Abu Amir al-Basri
3	Abu Dhar r.a.	3	Ka'b b. Ahbar	3	Al-Tabari	3	Sheikh Hasan al-Basri
4	Abu Hurairah r.a.	4	Muhammad b. Munkadir	4	Mun'im	4	Sheikh Fadhil b.'Iyadh r.a.
5	Abu Hudhaifah r.a.	5	Sufyan b. Uyaynah r.a.	5	*Kata Ahl al-Tawarikh*	5	Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal
6	Abu Musa r.a.	6	Wahb b. Munabbih	6	*Kata ahlultarikh*	6	Imam Fakhr al-Din al-Razi
7	Ibn Mas'ud r.a.	7	'Abd al-Razaq b. Hamam	7	*Kata setengah ahlultarikh*	7	Imam Ghazali
8	Zubair r.a.			8	*Segala ahlultarikh*	8	Imam Khusairi
11	Ibn 'Abbas r.a.					9	Imam Nawawi
12	Ibn Mas'ud r.a.					10	Ibn Hazm
14	Jabir r.a.					11	Malik b. Dinar
15	'Ali b.Abi Talib					12	Muqatil
16	Qatadah r.a.					13	Sheikh 'Abd Allah Yafi'i r.a.
17	Sakhr b. 'Umar r.a.					14	Sheikh Sa'id al-Maghribi
18	Sheikh Mu'az					15	Sheikh Shaqiq
19	Siti 'Aishah r.a.					16	Sheikh Sufyan al-Thawri
20	'Umar al-Khattab r.a.					17	Husain b. Mansur Hallaj
21	Zaid b. Muslim r.a.					18	'Abdullah b. Mubarak
22	'Amr b. al-'As r.a.					19	*Kata setengah Hukama`*
						20	*Kata Hukama'*
						21	*Ahlul Muhaddithin*
						22	*Ahlul Mufassirin*
						23	Abu 'Ali Daqqaq

Sources: Book I, II & IV are based on Raffles 8, Book III from UM 41

Based on table 7, it is apparent that al-Raniri referred to many reliable scholars that is divided into four categories; companion of the Prophet, *Tabi'in*, historians and Muslim scholars. The most authentic sources came from the companion of the Prophet which is 22 in number. Among them were Abu al-Darda' r.a., Abu Hurairah r.a., Ibn 'Abbas r.a., Jabir r.a., 'Umar al-Khattab r.a. and Siti 'Aishah r.a. who were the reliable sources in the early period of Islam. The overall reference to the companions of the Prophet is at least about 114 times while the *tabi'in* is mentioned 42 times. Besides that, reference to Muslim scholars is more than 50 times. Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Raniri refers to many authentic sources as mentioned above in his writing of *Bustan*. The usage of these sources, which were important sources in Islam apparently reflects al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history in *Bustan*.

CONCLUSION

Al-Raniri's purpose of writing *Bustan*, the structure and content of *Bustan* as well as the sources are the reflection of al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history which is based on the concept of *tawhid*. The contents of *Bustan* contain historical and didactic elements parallel to the Qur'anic concept of history. Besides that, al-Raniri referred to a huge amount of Qur'anic verses and *hadith* that reflects the concept of *tawhid*. In addition, al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history in *Bustan* is reflected

in the use of a big amount of Qur'anic verses and *hadith*. This is evident in the use of 167 of verses from the Qur'an and 216 *hadith* in Book I-Book IV of *Bustan*. These references parallel al-Raniri's statement in the introductory part of *Bustan*, that is to write *Bustan* using the reference of Qur'an and *Hadith* (Raffles 8). The Qur'an is the authentic and basic sources in the the writing of Islamic history. Therefore, based on the use of a large number of Qur'anic verses and *hadith*, the researcher emphasizes that *Bustan* is a book on Islamic history and al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history is the concept of *tawhid*.

Besides utilizing Qur'anic verses and *hadith*, al-Raniri also made references and referred to the quotation from to the companion of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) such as 'Umar al-Khattab, 'Uthman b. 'Affan, Abu Dhar, Ibn 'Abbas and 'Ali b. Abi Talib, the *Tabi'in* for example Dahhak and Abu Muhammad Sa'id b. Musayyab, Muslim scholars and historians (Al-Tabari, Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Hisham). The sources utilized by al-Raniri show how al-Raniri exposed the universality of history. Universality of references used in writing *Bustan* clearly indicates that al-Raniri was exposed to different types of authentic sources of Islamic history during his time and consequently proves *Bustan* as a trustworthy historical work. Therefore, the researcher stresses that al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history is manifested in different kinds of references used in writing *Bustan*. In other words, the researcher re-emphasizes that al-Raniri's text structure, content, sources and the purpose of writing *Bustan* prove that history is the basic theoretical element of al-Raniri and therefore, the Book I-Book IV of *Bustan* are a distinguished work of Islamic history in the 17th century Aceh.

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