

**NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ'S CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC
HISTORY IN *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN*: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF BOOK I-BOOK IV**

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**INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
KUALA LUMPUR**

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**THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī was a renowned scholar of the 17th century Aceh in the era of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641 AD). His full name is Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin Ḥasanjī bin Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Rānirī al-Quraishi al-Shāfi’ī, originated from Rānir, Gujerat (henceforth Al-Rānirī). Al-Rānirī’s great contribution to the intellectual life in the Malay world has received considerable scholarly attention by scholars from the East and the West such as Van der Tuuk (1866), P. Voohoeve (1951), Braginsky (2004), Al-Attas (1966), Ahmad Daudy (1983) and Azyumardi Azra (2004). The majority of these scholars examine al-Rānirī’s biography and his contribution to the Muslim society through his remarkable works on *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*, but none of them truly concentrate on al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history. Al-Rānirī’s contribution to the field of history was no less profound. He was the first writer in the Malay-Indonesian World to initiate a new form of Malay historical writing and to introduce the concept of Islamic history in his historical work named *Bustān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwalīn wa al-Ākhirīn* (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) (cited hereafter *Bustān*). *Bustān*, consists of seven books with 60 chapters was written in Malay language using the *Jawi* writing. It is the best-known work of al-Rānirī on history, which is a combination of a universal history and a “mirror for rulers” of the seventeenth century Aceh. Therefore, this research endeavours to analyze al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*, from Book I-Book IV. It includes discussion on the purpose of writing, structure, contents, themes, sources and method of writing in *Bustān*. This research is a qualitative research that applies the techniques of documentation and interview 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 *Bustān* (Raffles Malay 8, Raffles Malay 42 and UM 41). The outcome of this research reveals that the structure, contents, sources, and themes in *Bustān* are the reflection of al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history.

ABSTRAK

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī adalah seorang ‘*ulamā*’ terkenal di Aceh pada abad ke-17 semasa zaman Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641 AD). Nama penuh beliau ialah Nūruddīn Muḥammad bin ‘Alī bin Ḥasanjī bin Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Rānīrī al-Quraishi al-Shāfi‘ī, berasal dari Rānir, Gujerat (selepas ini disebut Al-Rānīrī). Sumbangan hebat al-Rānīrī kepada kehidupan intelektual di dunia Melayu telah mendapat banyak perhatian ilmiah dari sarjana Timur dan barat seperti Van der Tuuk (1866), P. Voohoeve (1951), Braginsky (2004), Al-Attas (1966), Ahmad Daudy (1983) dan Azyumardi Azra (2004). Majoriti sarjana tersebut mengkaji biografi al-Rānīrī dan sumbangan beliau kepada masyarakat Islam melalui karya-karya agung beliau tentang *kalām* dan *taṣawwuf*, tetapi tiada seorang pun daripada mereka yang benar-benar mengkaji konsep sejarah Islam al-Rānīrī. Sumbangan al-Rānīrī dalam bidang sejarah tidak kurang hebatnya. Beliau merupakan penulis pertama di Alam Melayu yang memulakan satu bentuk baharu penulisan sejarah Melayu dan memperkenalkan konsep sejarah Islam dalam karya sejarahnya bertajuk *Bustān al-Salāṭīm fī Dhikr al-Awwalīm wa al-Akhirīm* (Taman Raja-Raja) (selepas ini disebut *Bustān*). *Bustān* yang terdiri daripada tujuh buah buku dengan 60 fasal ditulis di dalam bahasa Melayu menggunakan tulisan Jawi. Ia merupakan karya al-Rānīrī yang paling terkenal tentang sejarah, yang merupakan gabungan sejarah universal dan “*mirror for rulers*” (Cermin Raja-Raja) di Aceh pada abad ke-17. Oleh itu, penyelidikan ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konsep sejarah Islam al-Rānīrī dalam *Bustān* dari Buku I-Buku IV. Ia mengandungi perbincangan tentang tujuan penulisan, kandungan, tema, sumber dan kaedah penulisan dalam *Bustān*. Kajian ini merupakan kajian kualitatif yang menggunakan teknik dokumentasi dan temubual dalam pengumpulan data manakala pendekatan induktif kepada analisis kandungan telah digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Dokumen-dokumen utama yang digunakan ialah tiga versi manuskrip *Bustān* (Raffles Malay 8, Raffles Malay 42 dan UM 41). Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa struktur, kandungan, sumber dan tema di dalam *Bustān* merupakan refleksi kepada konsep sejarah Islam al-Rānīrī yang menyerlahkan *Bustān* sebagai sebuah karya sejarah Islam.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

%	Percent
&	And
AD	<i>Anno Domini</i> (in the year of the Lord)
AH	<i>Anno Hegirae</i> (in the year of the Hijra)
a.s.	<i>'Alayhi al-salām</i> (may peace be upon him)
<i>binti</i>	the daughter of
CE	Common Era
d.	Died
<i>doi</i>	digital object identifier
Ed.	Editor
Eds.	Editors
ed.	Edition
et al.	and others
Etc.	<i>et cetera</i> (and other things)
No.	Number
p.b.u.h.	Peace be upon him
pp.	Pages
r.a.	<i>raḍīya Allāhu 'anhu</i> (may Allah be pleased with him)
r.	Reigned from
Trans.	Translation
Vol.	Volume

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

(1) CONSONANT

ARABIC ALPHABET	ROMAN ALPHABET	ARABIC ALPHABET	ROMAN ALPHABET
ا, ء	a, ’	ط	ṭ
ب	B	ظ	ẓ
ت	T	ع	‘
ث	Th	غ	gh
ج	J	ف	f
ح	Ḥ	ق	q
خ	Kh	ك	k
د	D	ل	l
ذ	Dh	م	m
ر	R	ن	n
ز	Z	ه	h
س	S	و	w
ش	Sh	ي	y
ص	Ṣ	ة	h, t
ض	Ḍ		

(2) VOKAL

SHORT VOCAL		LONG VOCAL	
اَ	A	اِى	ā
اِ	I	يِ	ī
اُ	U	وِ	ū

DIPHTHONG			
اُو	Aw	اُو	Uww
اِي	Ay	يِي	iy / ī

Source: *Buku Panduan Penulisan Ilmiah Akademi Pengajian Islam* (3rd ed.) (2012). Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Islam Universiti Malaya.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The importance of history in Islam is revealed inside the Qur'ān in a considerable number of verses, for instances in *sūrah Yūsuf* (12):111, *sūrah al-Rūm* (30):9 and *sūrah Hūd* (11): 120.¹ The Qur'ān relates the stories of the creation of the universe, the history of the Prophets and the people of the past with the purpose of conveying the warnings as lessons of history and of bringing the mankind to the truth. It is from the Qur'ān that Muslim historians, especially throughout the first three centuries after Hijrah and continuing to the present day, obtain the concept of history.

The wide spread of Islam to many parts of the world, including the Malay World, had simultaneously introduced the Qur'ānic concept of history to the Malays. The largest work on history was written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068 AH/1658 AD) in the seventeenth century Aceh entitled “*Bustān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwalīn wa al-Akhirīn*” (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) (Raffles Malay 8 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*) (henceforth Raffles 8): 5; Manuscript Raffles Malay 42 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*) (henceforth Raffles 42): 3-5; Kuala Lumpur UM 41 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*) (henceforth UM 41): 4-5; R.O. Winstedt (henceforth Winstedt), 1940: 109; Raden Hoesein Djajadiningrat (cited hereafter Djajadiningrat), 1911: 136; C.A. Grinter

¹ Indeed, in their stories, there is a lesson for men of understanding. It (the Qur'ān) is not a forged statement but a confirmation of the Allah's existing Books [the Taurāt (Torah), the Injeel (Gospel) and other Scriptures of Allah] and a detailed explanation of everything and a guide and a Mercy for the people who believe (*sūrah Yūsuf* (12):111); Do they not travel in the land, and see what was the end of those before them? They were superior to them in strength, and they tilled the earth and populated it in greater numbers than these (pagans) have done, and there came to them their Messengers with clear proofs. Surely, Allah wronged them not, but they used to wrong themselves (*sūrah al-Rūm* (30):9); And all that We relate to you (O Muḥammad) of the news of the Messengers is in order that We may make strong and firm your heart thereby. And in this (chapter of the Qur'ān) has come to you the truth, as well as an admonition and a reminder for the believers (*sūrah Hūd* (11): 120). Refer to Dr. Muhammad Taqī'ud-Dīn Al-Hilāl & Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan (1417 H/1997M), *The Noble Qur 'an English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*, Madinah Munawwarah: King Fadh Complex for the Printing of The Holy Qur'ān.

(henceforth Grinter), 1979: 10; Jelani Harun (henceforth Jelani), 2009: 26 & 82) that will be the centre of discussion in this research.

Bustān is the longest text and the biggest book written in the history of traditional Malay literature (consists of seven books (Book I, II, III, IV, V, VI and VII with the total of 60 chapters and the largest work of al-Rānīrī (T. Iskandar, 1967: 52; Russell Jones (henceforth Jones), 1974: 2; Grinter, 1979: 12; Siti Hawa Salleh (henceforth Siti Hawa), 1992: xiv; Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (henceforth Yusoff), 1992: 235; Jelani, 1999b: 13; Amirul Hadi (cited hereafter Amirul), 2004: 5 & Jelani, 2009: 26-27). 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)) (T. Iskandar, 1967: 51-52 & Jelani, 2009: 47-53). Besides that, it is interesting to note that *Bustān* was written in Malay using the Jawi script by a non Malay author as Rānīrī belonged to Gujerat, India (Ahmad Daudy (henceforth Daudy), 1978:19; J. R. Bowen (henceforth Bowen), 1989: 683; Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: xxii & Jelani, 2009: 26 & 82).

Therefore, this chapter will describe the background of study (concerning al-Rānīrī and *Bustān*), the statement of problem, the objectives, the research questions, the scope, the significance of study and the structure of the research.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

According to Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas (henceforth al-Attas), “the advent of Islam in the Malay Archipelago was slow at first at the end of the 7th century and increasing in momentum by the 12th to the 16th centuries” (al-Attas, 2011: xvi & xvii). The coming of Islam gives vital impacts on the people in every aspect of life especially religion, language and knowledge as Islam brings the concept of *tawḥīd* (Unity of God/the Oneness of Allah) and emphasizes the importance of knowledge (Yadullah Kazmi, 1998: 198; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 201& 217; Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah (cited hereafter Abdul Rahman), 2006: 132-34; Mahayuddin Haji Yahaya (henceforth Mahayuddin), 2009: 294-95, Hussain Othman, 2009: 71; Muhidin Mulalić (cited hereafter Mulalić), 2012: 35 & Tatiana Denisova (henceforth Tatiana), 2012: 629).

The spirit of knowledge in Islam has resulted in the beginning of intellectualism and rationalism among the Malays (al-Attas, 1972: 20; Ismail Hamid, 1983: 47 & 230; Azmi Aziz & A.B. Shamsul, 2004: 343 & Abdul Hadi W.M. (henceforth Abdul Hadi), 2008: 40). Intellectual movement took place in centers of Islam such as Samudera-Pasai (679-803 AH/1280-1400 AD), Malacca (803-917 AH/1400-1511 AD), Aceh (917-1060 AH/1511-1650 AD) and Johore-Riau (1060-1215 AH/1650-1800 AD) (Ismail Hamid, 1983:18-22 & Hussain Othman, 2009: 71). These centers especially Malacca and Aceh became the leading centers for Islamic learning in the 15th -17th centuries and subsequently led to the rapid development of Islamic sciences (Winstedt, 1920a: 39; Ismail Hamid, 1983: 21 & Al-Attas, 1988: 33). As a result, prominent Malay scholars emerged particularly in Aceh during the 16th-17th century with their masterpieces on various disciplines of Islam such as *uṣūluddīn* (Islamic Theology), *fiqh* (Islamic

Jurisprudence), *ḥadīth* (Prophetic Tradition), *taṣawwuf* (Sūfīsm/Islamic Mysticism),² and history. Among the scholars are Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī (henceforth Ḥamzah),³ Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d.1040 AH/1630 AD) (henceforth Shams al-Dīn),⁴ Nur al-Dīn al-Rānirī (d. 1068 AH/1658 AD) and ‘Abd Ra’ūf b. ‘Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī or better known as ‘Abd Ra’ūf al-Singkīlī (d.1105/1693) (henceforth ‘Abd Ra’ūf) (Jelani, 2013: 121).⁵ The four were the pioneers of the ‘*ulamā*’⁶ tradition that played significant roles in the development of Islamic knowledge and Islamic institution in Aceh in the Malay world in the above-mentioned period (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 167).

The aforementioned scholars had produced lots of masterpieces such as *Asrār al-‘Arifīm* (The Secret of the Gnostic) and *Sharab al-‘Ashiqīm* (The Drink of Lover) by Ḥamzah (P.G. Riddell (henceforth Riddell), 2004: 126; Mohd. Taib Osman (henceforth Mohd. Taib), 2000: 213; Md. Salleh Yaapar, 2013:13 & Hermansyah, 2011: 20),

² *Taṣawwuf* comes from the Arabic word *ṣūfī*, and *ṣūfī* derives from the Arabic word *ṣūf*, meaning ‘wool’. Hence, *taṣawwuf* literally means ‘wearing wool,’ and *ṣūfī* is the ‘one who wears wool.’ (Tanvir Anjam, 2006: 221-25). Different definitions on *Sūfīsm* have been given by scholars. Murray Titus defines Sūfīsm as “an attitude of mind and heart toward God and the problems of life.” Spencer Trimingham defines mysticism as “a specific method of approach to reality by making use of intuitive and emotional spiritual faculties”, while A. J. Arberry refers *sūfīsm* as “the mystical movement within Islam, and a *Sūfī*, the one who associates himself with this movement, is an individual who is devoted to an inner quest for mystical union with his Creator.” (Tanvir Anjam, 2006: 227-28). Sūfīsm is also a teaching with the purpose of knowing and getting closer to God (Fadilah Jasmani, 2012: 540).

³ Ḥamzah was a prominent *sūfī*, ‘*ulamā*’ and greatest *sūfī* poet during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) (Martin Van Bruinessen (henceforth Bruinessen), 1994: 7; Ali Ahmad, Siti Hajar Che Man & Jelani Harun, 2005: 85; A.H. Johns, 2009: 148 & Hermansyah, 2011:18). The exact date of his death is controversial as been argued by scholars. Azyumardi Azra (henceforth Azra) (2004) mentions that according to C. Guillot & L. Kalus, Ḥamzah died in 933/1527 (Azra, 2004:171). On the other hand, G.W.J. Drewes (cited hereafter Drewes) & Brakel (1986) claimed that the death of Ḥamzah was in 998 AH/1590 AD, while some scholars believed that Ḥamzah lived around the second half of the 16th century until the beginning of the 17th century Aceh (Winstedt, 1958: 113; Drake Jane, 1989: 7; V.I. Braginsky (henceforth Braginsky), 1999: 136; Riddell, 2001: 105; Yusny Saby, 2005: 48 & Abdul Hadi, 2008, 41).

⁴ Shams al-Dīn (d.1040/1630) who was also known as Shams al-Din Pasai, was an eminent *sūfī*, ‘*ulamā*’ and *Shaykh al-Islām* at the court of Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD (Drewes, 1986: 54; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 168 & 213; Nur Ahmad Fadhil Lubis (henceforth Nur Ahmad), 2000, 69; Riddell, 2001:111; Amirul, 2004: 150; M. Hasbi Amiruddin, 2005:9; A.H. Johns, 2009:149; Mohamad Nasrin Mohamad Nasir (henceforth Mohamad Nasrin), 2010: 213; Md. Salleh Yaapar, 2013:15 & Hermansyah, 2014c: 3 & 6). Some scholars have the opinion that Shams al-Dīn was the student of Ḥamzah (Bruinessen, 1994: 6; Azra, 2000: 168; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 213; M. Hasbi Amiruddin, 2005:12; Harun Mat Piah, et al. (cited hereafter Harun), 2006: 471; Mohamad Nasrin, 2010: 214; R.M. Feener (cited hereafter Feener), 2011: 10 & Magdalena, 2014: 8). Besides *Jawhar* and *Mir’āt*, Shams al-Dīn also wrote *Risālah Baiyin Mulahazat al-Muwaḥidīn ‘alā al-Mulḥid fī zikrillāh* and *Nūr al-Daqā’iq* (the Light of subtleties) (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 213; Braginsky, 2004: 642 & Abdul Hadi, 2008: 48)

⁵ ‘Abd Ra’ūf (1024-1105 AH/1615-1693 AD) (A.H. Johns, 1955a: 55; Braginsky, 2004: 648; Azra, 2004:70 & Mohamad Nasrin, 2010: 213), also known as Tengku di- Kuala or Tgk Syiah Kuala (Sheikh of the mouth of the river) (B.J. Schrieke (cited hereafter Schrieke), 1957: 247; Djadjadiningrat, 1983: 57; Yahya Ismail, 1975: 94; Snouck C. Hurgronje (henceforth Hurgronje), 1985:16; M. Hasbi Amiruddin, 2005: 13; Ali Mohammad, 2009: 83 & Hermansyah, 2014e: 12), was one of the four renowned ‘*ulamās*’ in the seventeenth century Aceh during the rule of the Sultanah (queens) of Aceh, the Sultanah Tāj al-‘Ālam Ṣafiyatuddīn (r.1050- 1086 AH/ 1641-1675 AD), Sultanah Nūr al-‘Ālam Naqīyyat al-Dīn (r.1086-1089 AH/1675-1678 AD) and Sultanah Inayat Zakiyyat Al-Dīn (r.1089-1099 AH/1678-1688 AD) (Djadjadiningrat, 1911: 214; Riddell, 1996:101; Azra, 2004: 78; Yusny Saby, 2005: 39; Ali Mohammad, 2009: 85 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 60). According to A.H. Johns, “‘Abd al-Ra’ūf was a man of great learning and piety” (A.H. Johns, 1955a: 55). Besides *Mir’āt al-Ṭullāb* and *Daqā’iq al-Hurūf*, ‘Abd Ra’ūf also wrote *Tarjumān al-Mustaḥḥid* (The explanation of what brings great benefits) which is the first *tafsīr* (commentary) on the Qur’ān in Malay (A. Johns, 1955a: 56; A.H. Johns,1998:123; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 215; Azra, 2004: 80-83; Braginsky, 2004: 649-51; A.H. Johns, 2009: 149 & Hermansyah, 2014c: 11)

⁶ The term ‘*ulamā*’ refers to Muslim scholars/Religious scholars/ Men of religious learning (Azra, 2004: 1; Iik A. Mansurnoor, 2005: 9; Tanvir Anjum, 2006: 221; Abdul Hadi, 2008: 65 & Albert Hourani (henceforth Hourani), 2013: 115).

Jawhar al-Haqā'iq (Jewel of True Realities) and *Mir'āt al-Mu'minīn* (Comparative Mirror for Believers) by Shams al-Dīn (T. Iskandar, 2007: 17; Riddell, 2001: 111-14 & Harun, 2006: 470-71), *Bustān* by al-Rānirī (Jelani, 2009: 19-20), *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb fī Tashīl Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām al-Shar'īyyah li al-Malik al-Wahhāb* (concerning *fiqh Mu'āmalāt*) (henceforth *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb*) and *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* (Commentary on 'two pantheistic verses' of Ibn 'Arabī) by 'Abd Ra'ūf (Azra, 2004: 79-83). These Malay texts are extremely important as they were primary sources which reflected the culture and intellectuality of the Malays including history, politics, laws, etc. Hence, these masterworks are studied by both the Western and Eastern scholars which hitherto have been the primary sources for the study of Malay society.

The Malay World had produced great Malay scholars in the past in various fields including history. One of them is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, a renowned scholar of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD). His full name is Nūr al-Dīn ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥasanjī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Rānirī (Al-Attas, 1966: 12).⁷ Riddell says that al-Rānirī was born into a diaspora *Ḥaḍramī* family of Ḥamīd clan in Rānir in Gujerat, India (Riddell, 2001, 116). Al-Attas mentions that al-Rānirī's family had a close contact with Aceh where his uncle named Sheikh Muḥammad Jaylān ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd had come to Aceh in 988 AH/1580 AD and 991 AH/1583 AD to teach *manṭiq* (logic), *ilmu Bayān badī'* (rhetoric), ethics and *fiqh* (UM 41: 285; Raffles 8: 236; R.J. Wilkinson (henceforth Wilkinson), 1900: 123; Winstedt, 1920b: 153; Winstedt, 1958: 112; T. Iskandar, 1980: 220; Al-Attas, 1966: 12-13; A. Mukti Ali, 1970: 7; Grinter, 1979: 8; Amirul, 2004: 148; Azra, 2000:169; Azra, 2004: 55; Riddell, 2006: 45 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216).

⁷ According to Daudy, his full name is Nūruddīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Ḥasanjī bin Muḥammad Ḥamīd ar-Rāniry al-Quraishi al-Shāffī'iy (Daudy, 1983: 36).

The date of al-Rānirī's arrival to Aceh was clearly stated by his own statement in the *Bustān*, “*Tatkala ia sampai ke bandar Aceh Darussalam pada Hijrah seribu empat puluh tujuh tahun, pada enam haribulan Muharam, pada hari ahad.*” (Raffles 42: 3) (He arrived in Aceh Darussalam in the year 1047 AH on 6 Muharam, on Sunday/ May 31, 1637 AD). His arrival was during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1047-1051 AH/1637-1641 AD)⁸ and shortly after his arrival, al-Rānirī was appointed as *Shaykh al-Islām* (Muftī (chief jurist) and head of the ‘*ulamā* by the Sultan (Amirul, 1984: 259; Nur Ahmad, 2000: 69; Azra, 2004: 59; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 5; Amirul, 2004: 153 & 155; Sher Banu A. L. Khan (henceforth Sher Banu), 2012: 100 & Hermansyah, 2012, 36). In 1048/1638 al-Rānirī wrote a book on history at the behest of Sultan Iskandar Thani which he later named *Bustān* (Raffles 8: 3; Raffles 42: 3-4; UM 41: 4-5; Winstedt, 1920b: 82 & 151; Winstedt, 1940: 109; P.S.V. Ronkel (henceforth Ronkel), 1943: 461-80; Jelani, 2006: 315-17; Abdul Hadi, 2008: 66; Hermansyah, 2012: 39 & Braginsky, 2013: 371) and according to Jelani and Hermansyah, *Bustān* is a combination of a universal history and a “mirror for rulers”⁹ of the seventeenth Aceh (Jelani, 1999: 2 & Hermansyah, 2014c: 10).

Previous studies on al-Rānirī have been carried out extensively by scholars in the East and the West. Among the leading western scholars are Drewes, Winstedt, P. Voorhoeve (henceforth Voorhoeve), Jones, Van der Tuuk (henceforth Tuuk) and C.A.O.V Nieuwenhuijze (henceforth Nieuwenhuijze). While Malay scholars are represented by Al-Attas, T. Iskandar, Daudy and Jelani. Despite the fact that the

⁸Sultan Iskandar Thani was the son of Raja Ahmad Syah of Pahang and Puteri Bongsu Cendera Dewi. He was adopted by Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh and later succeeded the throne after the latter's death. Iskandar Thani was also known as Raja Mughal. Besides that, Iskandar Thani married Sultanah Tāj al-'Ālam Safiyatuddīn (r.1051-1086 AH/1641-1675 AD), the daughter of Sultan Iskandar Muda and thus, became Sultan Iskandar Muda so-in-law (Raffles 8:233 & Djajadiningrat, 1911: 183).

⁹*Ketatanegaraan* or Mirrors for Princes/mirrors for Rulers/didactic mirror is a specific genre under the genre of *adab*. According to Jelani, “*ketatanegaraan* is a work about the state and statecraft, concentrating on principles for the guidance for rulers in carrying out their duties.” (Jelani, 2009: 91). Besides that, the concept of justice becomes the basic theme in the work of Mirrors for Princes (Jelani, 2006, 310). Therefore, *Bustān* serves as a book of instruction purposely for kings and ministers in performing their duties (Braginsky, 1993: 55; Jelani, 2002: 22 & Jelani, 2006: 351). In fact, *Bustān* has plays a great role in history of the Malay-Indonesian World (T. Iskandar, 1964: 136).

majority of his outstanding works focus on *taṣawwuf* that will be examined shortly, there is a work of al-Rānirī on history written in the Malay language using the *Jawi* writing entitled *Bustān*. Al-Rānirī's *Bustān* had played a significant role in the history of the Malay-Indonesian World as a guideline for rulers especially in the 16th and 17th century Aceh. Indeed, it is very influential and widely used not only in the mentioned period but throughout the South-East Asia (Abdul Kadir bin Haji Muhammad (henceforth Abdul Kadir), 1966: 30-31). It consists of seven books and each book contains several chapters. The chapters are the creation of heaven and earth, Prophets and rulers, Just king and wise ministers, Ascetic rulers and pious saints, Unjust rulers and oppressive ministers, noble, generous persons and brave men and Intellect, medicine, physiognomy, women, *etc.* (UM 41; Raffles 8; Jelani, 2009: 26-27 & Jones, 1974: 2).

These distinguished works of al-Rānirī had led to their studies by western and eastern scholars till present which will be reviewed inside the literature review. With the above background, this research will give emphasis on al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history through his remarkable work of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*.

1.3 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

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 *taṣawwuf* and *kalām*. One of them is al-Rānirī who wrote at least 30 works on the mentioned subjects that caused him to be regarded as a *ṣūfī* writer. Al-Rānirī's life and works have received scholarly attention from prominent scholars of history such as Voorhoeve, Drewes, Ronkel, Winstedt, Braginsky, al-Attas and others. However, al-Rānirī's contribution to the

development of historiography in the Malay world and his role as a historian have never been discussed profoundly until now. In fact, al-Rānīrī is the first author in the Malay world to write on universal history through his remarkable work of *Bustān*, a great work on history in the seventeenth century Aceh (Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 119; Jelani, 2006: 323; Jelani, 2009: 161 & Hermansyah, 2014c: 10). Therefore, this research is intended to accentuate the role of al-Rānīrī as a historian and his contribution to the field of historiography in the Malay world. Besides that, this research also aimed at discussing on the contribution of al-Rānīrī in the intellectual life in the sixteenth - seventeenth century Aceh and the proper position of al-Rānīrī in the history of the development of traditional Malay literature.

The intellectual development that took place in the Malay World especially in Aceh after the coming of Islam has resulted in the writing of Malay-Islamic historical texts by Muslim scholars. There are many eminent works on history produced and copied in the 17th century Malay Archipelago, for examples, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (The Chronicle of the Rulers of Pasai)¹⁰, *Sejarah Melayu/Sulālat al-Salāṭīn* (The Malay Annals)¹¹ and *Hikayat Aceh* (The History of Aceh).¹² These historical works contain facts on the coming of Islam to the Malay world, the history of Aceh and the Malay kings. Besides that, there are two historical books in Malay language written in the

¹⁰ *Hikayat Raja Pasai* was the oldest Malay historical text in the Malay world (Winstedt, 1958: 127; Winstedt, 1966: 109; Amin Sweeney, 1967: 94; Ayatrohaedi, 1993: 2; Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, 2002: 108; Ali Ahmad, Siti Hajar Che Man & Jelani Harun, 2005: 17; Hussain Othman, 2009: 77 & Tatiana, 2011:7). It narrates the early history of Islamization in Sumatra and Pasai, the history of the kings of Pasai and the attack of Majapahit on Pasai. The exact date of this hikayat is unknown but it is probably written between the period of 1280-1400 (Tatiana, 2011: 7). Al-Attas mentions that *Hikayat Raja Pasai* was the work of the fourteen century (al-Attas, 2011: 2). On the other hand, Winstedt believed that this hikayat was written in the fifteenth century between the years 1350-1500 (Hermansyah, 2014c: 3).

¹¹ *Sejarah Melayu* is the second oldest Malay historical text and the most well-known Malay work on the history of Malacca from the 15th -16th century (Yusoff, 1992: 121; T. Iskandar, 2011: 39 & Tatiana, 2015: 18). The exact date and the author of *Sejarah Melayu* are unknown but some scholars believed that it was written by Tun Seri Lanang (Rogayah A. Hamid & Ety Zalita Zakaria, 2007: 59; T. Iskandar, 2011: 58 & Md. Salleh Yaapar, 2013: 4). *Sejarah Melayu* was written earlier than the 17th century but it was copied in 1612 (17th century). There were many versions of *Sejarah Melayu*. According to Winstedt, the Raffles MS. 18 version (dated 1021/1612), a 1536 copy is believed as the oldest one extant and the closest to the original version of *Sejarah Melayu* (Winstedt, 1940: 106-7; Yusoff, 1991a: 132 & Yusoff, 1992b: 5). The Raffles MS. 18 version was copied for Raffles and presently located at the Royal Asiatic Society London. For a detailed discussion concerning the different versions of the *Sejarah Melayu*, refer to R. Roolvink, 1967: 310-11.

¹² *Hikayat Aceh* is a tale about Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD), the famous king of the Sultanate of Aceh, written between the years 1606 -1636 AD during the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda (A.H. Johns, 1975: 44; T. Iskandar, 1967: 42; Yusoff, 1992: 211 & Tatiana, 2015: 20).

genre of “mirror for princes”: *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* (The Crown of Kings) (1603)¹³ and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (1638) that served as guidelines for Malay kings in their duties (T. Iskandar, 1966: 4; Raja Mohd. Afandi, 1974: 84; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 227; Jelani, 2002: 23; Abdullah Sani Usman, 2005: 44; Abdul Hadi, 2008: 44 & Jelani, 2009: 82).

Many scholars such as Grinter (1979), Yusoff (1992), Braginsky (1993), Harun (2006), Jelani (1999 & 2009), Siti Hawa (2002) and Zawiyah Yahya (2010) claimed that *Bustān* belonged to the genre of ‘*ketatanegaraan*’ (Mirror for Princes) (Yusoff, 1992: 223; Braginsky, 1993: 55; Jelani, 2006: 323; Harun, 2006: 16 & 557 & Zawiyah Yahya, 2010: 36). Their argument is that the contents of *Bustān* 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 *Bustān*. However, they believe that the historical element in *Bustān* 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. The concept of history in *Bustān* has never been studied profoundly that caused *Bustān* to be recognized as a work of *ketatanegaraan* rather than history.

Nevertheless, some scholars such as al-Attas and T. Iskandar state rightly that *Bustān* is a work of history. According to al-Attas, al-Rānīrī broke the tradition of Malay history writing as *Bustān* differed from the previous works on history in the aspects of content and writing technique (Yusoff, 1992: 234). Al-Rānīrī pioneered a

¹³ *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* was written by Bukhārī al-Jauhārī in 1012/1603 (Winstedt, 1920d: 37-38; Winstedt, 1958:114; Winstedt, 1961: 148; T. Iskandar, 1967: 38; Jihaty Abadi, Azran Rahman & Amida Abdulhamid, 1979:50; Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: xxii; Ali Ahmad, Siti Hajar Che Man & Jelani Harun, 2005:114-16 & A.T. Gallop (henceforth Gallop), et.al., 2015: 102). According to Jelani, it was written for Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah, the Sultan of Aceh who reigned from 994-1013 AH/1586-1604 AD (Jelani, 2006b: 95). *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* is the earliest work of Malay literature under the genre of ‘mirror for princes’ (Jelani, 2003: 48). It was written in Malay and contains 24 fasal (chapters) concerning the duties of kings and court officials and others (Raja Mohd. Afandi, 1974: 86; Jihaty Abadi, Azran Rahman & Amida Abdulhamid, 1979: 49; Jelani, 2009: 82 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 54) as well as the origin of man and his relationship with God (Khalid M. Hussain, 1992: xxiii).

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-Rānirī had pioneered a new form of Malay historical writing (Azra, 2004: 68). Besides that, al-Attas stated that *Bustān* comprises both the religious and historical values (Yusoff, 1992: 234). Furthermore, T. Iskandar firmly believed *Bustān* is a historical work and the historical value in *Bustān* takes more important role in *Bustān*. The date in *Bustān* is more reliable compared to other Malay manuscripts (T. Iskandar, 1964: 439 & T. Iskandar, 1967: 52).

Based on the above background, the researcher has the opinion that *Bustān* is a very important work of history, to be specific Islamic history. In the researcher's opinion, the historical element in *Bustān* does not only restrict to Book II but the whole books of *Bustān*. The argument is based on the structure and the analysis of al-Rānirī's purpose of writing *Bustān* that prove *Bustān* as a work of Islamic history. Book I and II of *Bustān* are obviously history as they narrate the creation of the universe and the history of the Prophets from the Prophet Ādam until the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.).

Meanwhile, Book III- Book IV (concerning just king and dignitary, pious kings and holy man, etc.) (T. Iskandar, 1967: 51) 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-Khattāb (the second caliph of the Pious Caliphate), Hārūn al-Rashīd (one of the prominent caliphs of the 'Abbasid caliphate) and Ibrāhīm b. Adham (a pious king and saint). The didactic element in Book III-Book VII of *Bustān* 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'ān narrate stories of the Prophets and people of the past with the purpose of guiding mankind to the truth.

In addition, the method of writing and periodization used by al-Rānīrī in *Bustān* is based on the Islamic tradition that was applied by early historians of Muslim historiography such as al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Athīr. According to Bowen, “the *Bustān* was strongly shaped by the Islamic historical tradition. It alone among works published in the Malay language of the period “exemplifies the realism, order and concern for the chronology characteristic of Islamic historiography.” (Bowen, 1989: 683). Therefore, this research attempts to demonstrate that *Bustān* is a work of Islamic history through discussions on the purpose of writing the *Bustān* by al-Rānīrī and the way al-Rānīrī formulates the concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

This study is carried out with the following objectives:

1. To analyze al-Rānīrī's contribution to the intellectual life and historical writing in the 16th - 17th century Aceh.
2. To evaluate the purpose of the writing of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* according to the textual analysis.
3. To formulate al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* based on the textual analysis.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the contribution of al-Rānirī to the intellectual life and historical writing in the 16th - 17th century Aceh?
2. Why *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* is regarded as the pioneer of a new form of Malay historical writing?
3. What are the structure and content in the textual analysis of *Bustān* that reflect al-Rānirī's purpose of writing of *Bustān*?
4. What are the sources and themes in the textual analysis of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* that reflect Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history?

1.6 DEFINITION OF THE TITLE

This research contains three keywords which are Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, the concept of Islamic history and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*. Al- Rānirī, in this research is referred to as a prominent Muslim scholar during the 17th century Aceh in the era of Sultan Iskandar Thani, a well-known king of Aceh as being mentioned in the background of this research. Al- Rānirī played a significant role in the development of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian World through his remarkable works that will be further discussed in chapter three under the title 'the biography and the works of Nūr al-Dīn al- Rānirī'.

The word concept means 'the building blocks of theory' (W. Lawrence Neuman (henceforth Neumen), 2014: 62). Concept also refers to a kind of unit in terms of which one thinks; a unit smaller than a judgement, proposition or theory, but one which necessarily enters into these (Muhammad Farooq Joubish & Muhammad Ashraf Khurram, 2011: 1374). Meanwhile, Islamic history generally refers to the period from

the first revelation received by the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) in 610 AD and his appointment as the Messenger of Allah until the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1342 AH/1924 AD.

Chronologically, Islamic history begins with the period of the Prophet Muhammad (610 (the year he received the revelation of the Qur'ān) - 632 AD) (Huge Kennedy (henceforth Kennedy), 2004: 30), succeeded by the *Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn* (the Rightly Guided Caliphate) consisting of four caliphs (Abū Bakr, 'Umar al-Khattāb, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib) (reigned from 11-40 AH/632-661 AD), the Umayyad Caliphate (reigned from 40-132 AH/661-750 AD) (the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (reigned from 132-656 AH/750-1258 AD) (Kennedy: 1981, 46; Majid Ali Khan, 1998:1; Richard C. Martin, 1996: 26; Wilferd Madelung, 1997: 308 & Kennedy, 2004: 50) until the Ottoman Caliphate (698-1342 AH/1299-1924 AD) (Musyrifah Sunanto, 2003: 240 & Mohamad Nurhakim, 2008: 197). In fact, these caliphates are mentioned by al-Ranīrī in *Bustān* as part of Islamic universal history.

However, in the context of this research, the concept of Islamic history does not refer to the timeline of Islamic history mentioned above, but it refers to the Qur'ānic concept of history. This idea comprises the purpose of history in Islam, the purpose of the stories of the Prophets and the people of the past in the Qur'ān, the purpose of writing history in Islam (Mazheruddin Siddiqi (henceforth Siddiqi), 1994: 51-58 & Mahayuddin, 1984: 10-15), the role of didactic element in Islamic history, and the content, structure, sources, theme and periodization in Islamic history.

Meanwhile, *Bustān* is a historical work written by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in the 17th century Aceh on the behest of Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050

AH/1636-1641 AD). It is the first work of history in the Malay World that introduces the concept of universal history and includes the history of the Malay king of Aceh as part of the universal history (Raffles 8; Raffles 42 & UM 41). It is very influential in the seventeenth century Aceh particularly among the kings since *Bustān* provides the guidance for the rulers in their duties as kings. The detail of *Bustān* is available in chapter four of this research.

1.7 SCOPE OF RESEARCH

The title of this research is Nūr al- Dīn al-Rānirī's Concept of Islamic History in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*: A Study of Book I to Book IV. Based on the title, this research limits its scope in two basic things as the following:

1.7.1 Subject

The subject of this study is the text of *Bustān*, concentrating only on Book I- IV and does not include Book V-Book VIII. This study is neither a translation nor a transliteration of the manuscripts of *Bustān*. Consequently, it will only discuss al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history from the content of the above mentioned text. Discussion will define al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* inclusive of the purpose of writing history, structure, themes and sources as well as the element of didactic in Islamic history.

1.7.2 Period / Time

The research focuses on the period of the 17th century Aceh during the reigns of Sultan Iskandar Muda (reigned from 1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD). It was under

Sultan Iskandar Thani's reign that al-Rānirī rendered his service. The era of the mentioned kings of Aceh witnesses a period of intellectual movement and progress as being stated in *Hikayat Aceh* (T. Iskandar, 2001: 231).

1.8 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

A good number of studies have been dedicated to the background of al-Rānirī and his masterpieces. Most of them are written by prominent scholars such as Tuuk (1866), Nieuwenhuijze (1948), Voorhoeve (1951, 1955, 1959), Drewes (1955), al-Attas (1966), T. Iskandar (1966, 1967, 1968), Daudy (1983), Azra (2004) and Jelani (1999, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2009) that will be discussed in the literature review. Their writings are very important and valuable but there was something missing in these brilliant works as most of them are only interested in the biography of al-Rānirī, the list of his works, his contribution to the field of *taṣawwuf* and *uṣūluddīn* as well as his refutation against *Waḥdat al-Wūjud/Wujūdiyyah* (The unity of being)¹⁴ (Azra, 2004: 104 & 116). On the other hand, discussion on al-Rānirī as a historian and his concept of history is completely overlooked except their mentioning of his work on history called *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*.

¹⁴ Voorhoeve, 1951: 353-68. *Wujūdiyyah* (the 'unity of existence' or 'unity of being' or oneness of existence) (Al-Attas, 1975: 17, A.H. Johns, 2009: 149, Jelani, 2009: 18; A.H. Johns, 2009: 149; Md. Salleh Yaapar, 2013: 15 & Hourani, 2013: 178) is a doctrine referred to as *Waḥdat al-Wūjud* philosophical interpretation of Ṣūfism. *Wujūdiyyah* became the mainstream of religious thought in the first half of the seventeenth century Aceh supported by the two prominent scholars of Aceh that were Ḥamzah al-Fanṣurī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī. According to Azra (2004), "the *Wujūdiyyah* explains the universe in terms of a series of neo-Platonic emanations and considers each of the emanations an aspect of God himself." (Azra, 2004: 53). This concept became very influential not only in Aceh but in many parts in the Malay Archipelago before the coming of al-Rānirī in 1047/1637. After the arrival of al-Rānirī and his appointment as the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the highest post after the Sultan of Aceh (Azra, 2004: 59) by Sultan Iskandar Thānī (r.1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD), he refuted and opposed the doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah* and accused its followers as being astray or heretic (Braginsky, 2004: 645-47; Drewes, 1986: 56 & Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah (henceforth Shaghir), 1985: 4-5). He launched his attack against *Wujūdiyyah* through his literary activities and consequently, conflict occurred between the followers of *Wujūdiyyah* with that of al-Rānirī. Subsequently, al-Rānirī issued a *fatwa* declaring the followers of *Wujūdiyyah* as unbelievers (*kaḥfirs*) and they could be sentenced to death if they failed to repent. The conflict reached its peak when a debate was organized at the court of the Sultan of Aceh which lasted for several days. Due to the failure of the followers of *Wujūdiyyah* to return to the genuine teaching of Islam, Sultan Iskandar Thānī ordered them to be killed and their books burned in front of the Banda Aceh mosque (Hurgronje, 1906: 13; Riddell, 1989: 112; T. Iskandar, 1966: 8-9; Ding Choo Ming (henceforth Ding), 1987: 425 & Azra, 2004: 64). A thorough and critical discussion on al-Rānirī and the *Wujūdiyyah* can be referred to in the writings of al-Attas entitled "*Rānirī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17 th Century Aceh* (1966)", "*Comments on the Re-Examination of al-Rānirī's Ḥujjat 'ul-Ṣiddīq: A Refutation* (1975)", "*The Mysticism of Ḥamza Fanṣurī* (1970)" & Djajadiningrat, 1911a: 186). And just to mention, the opposite of *Wujūdiyyah* is the concept of *Waḥdat al-Shuhūd* (empirical monism/unity of consciousness/Unity of witness) (Riddell, 2001: 71; Braginsky, 2004: 645 & Jelani, 2009: 18)

Concerning the life and works of al-Rānirī, Drewes (1955), Voorhoeve (1951) and Azra (2004) provide imperative and beneficial information to this research. Their works provide the background of al-Rānirī that later contributed to his intellectual life in Aceh as well as his role in the intellectual movement in Aceh. To begin with, Drewes (1955) in his article namely “*De Herkomst Van Nūruddīn Ar-Rānirī*” described the biography of al-Rānirī inclusive of his place of birth, his early education, his teacher and his coming to Aceh. Drewes believed that Rander, located in Gujerat was al-Rānirī’s place of origin. The most important thing stated by Drewes is al-Rānirī was of Arabic origin and not Indian (Drewes, 1955: 147) and his opinion is similar to many scholars mentioned above. As an eminent business city in the 16th century, Gujerat had attracted international populations including the Malays. Therefore, Drewes believed that it was from the Malays in Gujerat that al-Rānirī acquired the knowledge of Malay (Drewes, 1955:150 & T. Iskandar, 1967: 43).

Similar to Drewes, Azra too describes thoroughly the background of al-Rānirī but his concentration is more on the reformation of al-Rānirī through his works on *taṣawwuf*, *kalām* (theology), *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *ḥadīth* (Prophetic Tradition), history and comparative religion as well as his role in Malay-Indonesian World (Azra, 2004: 52-69). He concludes that Rānirī was the most important early *mujaddid* (renewer) in the 17th century Nusantara (Azra, 2004: 54).

Concerning al-Rānirī’s work, Nieuwenhuijze (1948), for instance, examines comprehensively on Rānirī’s perception on the doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah* and his struggle against the doctrine as well as his works to counter it which are *Ḥill al-Zīl*, *Syifat al-Qulūb* and *Tibyān fī Ma’rifat al-Adyān*. He also regards Rānirī as one of the most versatile Muslim scholars in the first half of the 17th century Aceh (Nieuwenhuijze,

1948: 337). Besides that, Voorhoeve in his article “*Van en over Nūruddīn ar-Rānirī*” evaluates several aspects such as the biographical facts and assumptions of al-Rānirī as well as the battle against the *Wujūdiyyah*. Voorhoeve mentions that the date of the arrival of al-Rānirī to Aceh is in 1047 AH/1637 AD based on al-Rānirī’s statement in *Bustān* and his assumption that al-Rānirī died in 1076 AH/1665 AD is based on the completion of his final literary work of *Jawāhir al-‘Ulūm fī Kasf al-Ma’lūm*, but the majority of scholars agreed with the year 1068 AH/1658 AD. Al-Rānirī’s life in Aceh is further discussed in this article based on several works of al-Rānirī which are *Tibyān fī Ma’rifat al-Adyān*, *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-daf’i’l-Zindīq*, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, *Durrat al-Farā’id bi Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id* and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tartīb*.

Thus, the works of Drewes, Voorhoeve, Nieuwenhuijze and Azra mentioned above mainly concentrated on the biography and the outstanding works of al-Rānirī but did not discuss his concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* and his contribution as a historiographer. Due to this reason, this research is carried out to fulfill the gap of al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history based on his notable work of *Bustān*.

Apart from the above mentioned works, the transliteration of *Bustān* has been done by Jones (1974), T. Iskandar (1966) and Siti Hawa (1992), etc. Jones offers a critical edition of the first part of *Fasal* (chapter) 1 of Book IV concerning the conduct of pious kings and the pious saints of God and specifically deals with Ibrahim Ibn Adham, a pious saint. On the other hand, T. Iskandar presents the background of Rānirī and Sultan Iskandar Thani as well as the transliteration of the thirteenth chapter of the second book regarding the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh. Similar to T. Iskandar, Siti Hawa too gives a transliteration of the thirteenth chapter of the second book of *Bustān* but her writing differs to that of Iskandar as she inserts the synopsis of the

mentioned chapter, its content analysis as well as the elements of history writing and intertextuality of the thirteenth chapter. The writings of Jones, T. Iskandar and Siti Hawa are imperative as they give details of the above mentioned chapter but are still missing Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history. Besides that, this research covers Book I - Book IV of *Bustān* while the mentioned works only discuss chapter 13 of Book II and chapter 1 of Book IV.

The major transliteration of *Bustān* was performed by Jelani (2004a & 2008) on the whole Book I-Book III. Besides the translations, Jelani (2009) also gives an exclusive description on different versions of *Bustān* located in different parts of the world and the content of *Bustān*. Jelani is the first contemporary writer concentrates on al-Rānīrī's concept of universal history and *adāb* literature in *Bustān*. Jelani's description of the concept of universal history is comprehensive but he overlooked the concept of *al-Akhīrah* (hereafter) which is the last stage of the concept of universal history from the Islamic perspective. Nevertheless, Jelani's writing gives countless contribution to this research in terms of the description of the content of *Bustān* and the concept of universal history as the manifestation of the divine plan.

Based on the description of the mentioned works, it is clear that there is a lack of discussion on Rānīrī's concept of history especially the concept of Islamic history as many scholars only give attention to his biography and works. Therefore, the significance of this research is as follows: First of all, it provides a critical analysis on the concept of history specifically the concept of Islamic history by al-Rānīrī in *Bustān* that have yet to be studied before. Second, this study also indicates the influence and role of Rānīrī in the Sultanate of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani as well as his contribution to the development of intellectual life in the sixteenth and

seventeenth century Aceh. Third, the outcome of this research will prove that *Bustān* is entirely a historical *kitāb* (book) that contains a comprehensive work on Islamic history that demonstrates Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF STUDY

This study is divided into six chapters excluding the conclusion as the following:

Chapter one is the introductory part of the research consisting of the background of the study, statement of problem, research questions, objectives of study, significance of research and structure of study which are the bases of this research.

Chapter two is the discussion on previous studies and literature review as well as the methodology of research. Literature review of this research is divided into three groups, intellectual movement in the 16th-17th Century Aceh, the life and works of al-Rānīrī and previous studies on *Bustān al-Salatin*. With regard to research methodology, the methods of document, library research and interviews are utilized for collecting data while the inductive method is the main method used in data analyzing.

Chapter three deals with al-Rānīrī's life and his intellectual contribution in the seventeenth century Aceh. Firstly, this chapter discusses the early history of Aceh and secondly, the intellectual movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Aceh during the reigns of Sultan Iskandar Muda and Sultan Iskandar Thani. Thirdly, this chapter also gives in detail the biography of al-Rānīrī and the evaluation of his 35 works that consist of various fields of Islamic sciences including history.

Chapter four elaborates the attribution and synopsis of the manuscript of *Bustān*. It includes the list and the description of the 35 manuscripts of *Bustān*, the comparison of the criteria of description and the significant contradistinction of the texts of *Bustān* (Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41). Last but not least, this chapter provides the synopsis and the the content of *Bustān*.

Chapter five discusses al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* which is the core argument of this thesis. It includes a thorough description on the purpose of writing the *Bustān* by al-Rānīrī, the structure and content, themes and sources in *Bustān* that are reflected in al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*.

Chapter six is the final part of the thesis is the conclusion containing the summary of al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history and the status of *Bustān* as a distinguished work on Islamic history of the 17th century Aceh.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter gives the background and the objectives of this research concerning Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. This chapter is the basis of the research as it provides the background of the topic inclusive of the statement of problems, the objectives, the research questions, the significance of research and the conceptual framework. Generally, *Bustān* is re garded as the work of the 'mirror for princes' instead of history due to the larger content of the didactic element compared to that of the historical element. Nevertheless, this research proves *Bustān* is a work of history, precisely Islamic history based on the structure and the purpose of writing the *Bustān* by al-Rānīrī and accordingly this reflects al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history.

CHAPTER 2 : LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Literature review and methodology of research are vital parts of a research as they determine the accuracy and the reliability of the data. According to Andrew S. Denney and Richard Tewksbury (2013), “a literature review is a comprehensive overview of prior research regarding a specific topic. The overview both shows the reader what is known about a topic, and what is not yet known, thereby setting up the rationale or need for a new investigation, which is what the actual study to which the literature review is attached seeks to do.” (Denney & Tewksbury, 2013: 218). Concerning methodology, M. I. Franklin (2013) (henceforth Franklin) who quoted from Sloman (1997) defines methodology as “a description of the methods or procedures used in some activities.” It also refers to, “an investigation of the aims, concepts, and principles of reasoning of some discipline, and its relationships between sub-disciplines.” (Franklin, 2013: 47). The above quotations explain the meaning, purpose and significance of literature review and research methodology and their importance in a research.

Therefore, this chapter discusses the literature review and previous studies as well as the methodology of research. Literature review and previous studies of this research focus on the main subject that is al-Rānirī and the manuscript of *Bustān al-Salāṭīm*. It is categorized into three parts; intellectual movement in the 16th-17th century Aceh, the life and works of al-Rānirī and previous studies on *Bustān*. Meanwhile,

explanation on the methodology of research encompasses the research design, data gathering techniques and the method of data analysis.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies on Rānīrī have been carried out widely by scholars in the East and the 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 Rānīrī's biography and his contribution to the Muslim society through his remarkable works on *kalām* and *taṣawwuf* (Azra, 2004: 3), but none of them truly concentrate on Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history. This is the significance and difference of this research to that of the previous studies. Literature review of this research is divided into three groups as the following.

2.2.1 Intellectual Movement in the 16th-17th Century Aceh

The history of the 16th-17th century Aceh has received considerable scholarly attention by Hurgronje (1906), Schrieke (1957), al-Attas (1966), Denys Lombard (henceforth Lombard) (1967), Hamka (1981), John Maxwell (henceforth Maxwell) (1982), Djadjadiningrat (1982), Daudy (1983), Takeshi Ito (henceforth T. Ito) (1984), Amirul (2004), Jelani (2004, 2005, 2008, 2008, 2009), etc. The intellectual movement of the 16th and 17th century Aceh is the basis of this research as al-Rānīrī's contribution to the development of Islamic sciences took place during the mentioned period. Discussion on the above mentioned subtitle comprises of the background of Aceh, the period of Sultan Iskandar Muda (reigned from 1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and

Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD), Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning and the contributions of notable Muslim scholars in the intellectual development in the mentioned period. It will elaborate the growth of intellectual movement through the works of the well-known scholars of Aceh namely Ḥamzah, Shams al-Dīn, ‘Abd Ra’ūf, and particularly al-Rānirī.

2.2.1.1 The Background of Aceh

As Aceh is the subject of this research, it is necessary to review selected studies on the background of Aceh before discussing the intellectual movement. Drewes & Voorhoeve (1958) published the *Adat Atjeh* in Jawi, one of the primary sources concerning the history of Aceh, provides the background of Aceh inclusive of its history, religion, administration and custom of the court.¹⁵ *Adat Atjeh* is divided into four main titles: 1) Regulations for Kings (*Perintah segala Raja-raja*) consisting of thirty one regulations for kings or *Sultan*; 2) Genealogy of the Kings of Aceh (*Silsilah Raja-Raja di Aceh*) starting from Sultan Juhan/Johan Syah (601 AH) until Sultan Syarif Saiful Alam (1235 AH) (Drewes & Voorhoeve, 1958: 35); 3) Religious and Court Ceremonials (*Adat Majlis Raja-Raja*); and 4) the administrative rules and practices at the port of the capital *Dar al-Salām* (*Dustur Adat Hasil Negeri dan segala kapal niaga*) (T.Ito, 1984: 2). A transliteration of *Adat Atjeh* to Malay language was done by Teungku Anzib Lamyong (1976) and Ramli Harun & Tjut Rahmah (1985).

Adat Atjeh has attracted many scholars to study the history of Aceh and its Sultanate as well to examine the period of the 16th -17th century Aceh. A great number of scholars have contributed to the history of Aceh, amongst them are William Marsden

¹⁵ *Adat Atjeh* in Jawi writing was taken from *Verhandelingen Van Het Koninklijk Voor Taal Land En Volkenkunde Deel XXIV* year 1958 belonging to the India Office Library London dated 3 December 1815. It is originated from W.E. Phillips who found it in Penang (*Pulau Pinang*) while he was a governor in the British Colonial until 1824 (Ramli Harun & Tjut Rahmah, 1985, 5).

(1811) (henceforth Marsden), Lombard (1986), Hurgronje (1906), E. M. Loeb (henceforth Loeb) (1972), Drewes & Voorhoeve (1958), Winstedt (1935), A. Mukti Ali (1970), Djadjadiningrat (1982), T.Ito (1984), Lombard (1986), Luthfi Auni (cited hereafter Luthfi) (1993) and Amirul (2003).

Marsden (1811) in his famous book 'the History of Sumatra' also gives a detailed background on Sumatra from the perspective of history, inhabitants, custom, belief, etc. As Aceh is part of Sumatra, Marsden provides a specific chapter on Aceh that can be divided into two parts: the background of Aceh (the capital of Aceh, the air and the inhabitants of Aceh, commerce, manufacturers, navigation, government, etc.) and the history of the kingdom of Aceh from the period of its being visited by Europeans (the first contact of Aceh was with the Portugese, then the Dutch and finally the British). This comprehensive work by Marsden undoubtedly is a very valuable material for the study of the background of Sumatra and from the context of the research, the state of Aceh.

In addition to Marsden, Hurgronje (1893-94) in his original work entitled *De Atjehers* (The Acehnese) describes a comprehensive history of Aceh that comprises of seven chapters describing the location and population of Aceh as well as the custom of the people of Aceh in the 19th century. According to T. Ito "De Atjehers is a monumental work on Aceh as well as one which first brought forward the importance of studying the *adat* law of the indigenous societies of the former Netherlands East India." (T.Ito, 1984: 3). In addition, Voorhoeve acknowledged the work of Hurgronje by saying that, "No written literature of an Indonesian people has been so brilliantly and completely described as that of the Acehnese in the north of Sumatra. This description was the work of Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje." (Voorhoeve, 1952: 335). The above

recognition by T.Ito and Voorhoeve signifies the contribution of Hurgronje in the study of Aceh although several criticism was raised by Lombart, Winstedt, T. Ito, etc. on the content of *De Atjehers*.

Even though the History of Sumatra and the *De Atjehers* do not concentrate on al-Rānirī, they are beneficial to this research as they do not only depict the background of Aceh and its sultanate but they also evince the form of government practised by the Acehnese. It includes the grand council of the nation, as well as the manufacturers and revenues of the country. This background is helpful in the beginning of the chapter three of this research as the political stability of Aceh in the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda and Sultan Iskandar Thani had led to the prosperity of Aceh and subsequently became the centre of Islamic learning.

2.2.1.2 The Era of Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and Sultan Iskandar Thani (r.1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD)

In discussing the kings of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani, *Hikayat Aceh*¹⁶ and *Bustān* are extremely precious as they are the indigenous sources or raw material on the mentioned kings. Previous studies on *Hikayat Aceh* were carried out by T. Iskandar (2001), Braginsky (2006), Tatiana (2011) and others. T. Iskandar provided a transliteration of *Hikayat Aceh* based on the Manuscript Cod.Or.1954 (available in Leiden University). Besides that, he added a long introduction that contains the history of the manuscripts of *Hikayat Aceh*, the historical background of Aceh and the synopsis

¹⁶ *Hikayat Aceh* is the third oldest Malay historical text after *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu* (Yusoff, 1992: 209). The mention of *Hikayat Aceh* first appeared in the writing of G.H. Wernldy, a Swiss who worked with the East Indian Company (*Syarikat Hindia Timur Belanda*) (*Ibid*: 209). It contains a tale about the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam and her famous king, Sultan Iskandar Muda (r.1015-1046/1607-1636). It narrates in length the life of Sultan Iskandar Muda from his birth, his childhood to the period of his reign as the Sultan of Aceh (T. Iskandar, 1967: 48-49 & T. Iskandar, 1980: 213-224 & Lombard, 1986: 222-30). Scholars such as T. Iskandar and Van de Linden believed that *Hikayat Aceh* was written during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (T. Iskandar, 1967: 42; T. Iskandar, 2001: xxxiii; Braginsky, 2006: 450). However, the exact date and author of this *hikayat* is still unknown (Siti Hawa, 2006: 35 & Jelani, 2009: 8). T. Iskandar nevertheless, assumed that *Hikayat Aceh* was written by Shams al-Din in the 17th century (T. Iskandar, 1967: 42; T. Iskandar, 1980: 221 & Braginsky, 2006: 451).

of the *Hikayat*. The work of T. Iskandar is useful for this research as it describes the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Besides that, the introduction by T. Iskandar is noteworthy as he described the early history of Aceh and some historical notes on the kingdom of Lamri, which was closely associated with Aceh based on the early sources such as the Chinese sources (*Ying-yai-sheng-lan* and *Hsing-c'a-sheng-lan*), *Chao yu-kua*, Tom Pires (henceforth Pires), Marco Polo and the Arabs geographers (Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912 AD), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 AD) and Buzurg b. Shahriyar (d. 1009 AD)). Meanwhile, Tatiana considered *Hikayat Aceh* as a very special and interesting tale as it represents a tradition of historical writing based on works in genres of Islamic literature from other countries (Tatiana, 2011: 9).

In addition, previous studies on the above mentioned kings were carried out by Marsden (1811), Arun Kumar Dasgupta (henceforth Dasgupta) (1962), A. Mukti Ali (1970), A. Hasjmy (1975), Lombart (1986), Zakaria Achmad (1972), A. Hasjmy (1975); T. Iskandar (1980, 2001 & 2011), Djajadiningrat (1982), Maxwell (1982), T.Ito (1984), Luthfi (1993), Rusdi Sufi (1995), Harry Kawilarang (2008), Muliadi Kurdi (2013), etc.

Marsden (1811) gives a long account on the history of the kingdom of Aceh from the period of its being visited by Europeans starting from the fall of Malacca in 1511 until the year 1805 especially the contact between Aceh and the Portugese. This account involves Kings of Aceh inclusive of the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda (reigned from 1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD). Concerning Sultan Iskandar Muda, Marsden suggests that his era was a remarkable one despite some weaknesses of the character of the Sultan. Marsden portrayed him as a great king where he gives a long description on the Sultan's success and achievement in the expansion of the state of Aceh and the flourishing of

trade in Aceh. This point is similar to that of *Bustān*. Similar to Marsden, Dasgupta (1962) also depicted Sultan Iskandar Muda as a great king and conqueror. Besides that, based on *Hikayat Aceh* and *Bustān*, Dasgupta also provides a detailed description of the prosperity and richness of the state of Aceh under the reign of the Sultan especially the flourishing trade in Aceh and the English and the Dutch trade in Aceh.

Djadjadingrat (1982) gives a background of the Sultanate of Aceh in which he discusses in detail the chronology of the history of Aceh starting from the early history of Aceh before 1607-1824 AD. The chronology started from the early history of Aceh to 1607 AD (Chapter 1), followed by his description on the history of Aceh from 1607-1699 AD (Chapter 2), and lastly the period of 1699-1824 AD (Chapter 3). This book of Djadjadingrat is useful and informative as it provides a chronology of the Sultanate of Aceh from Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah (reigned from 913-928 AH/1514-1521 AD) to Sultan Muhammad Syah (reigned from 1239-1252 AH/1824-1836 AD) including Sultan Iskandar Muda (reigned from 1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD). However, it lacks the discussion on al-Rānīri and *Bustān*.

Many scholars portrayed Sultan Iskandar Muda as a great ruler and conqueror (UM 41: 287; Marsden, 1811: 439-442; Wilkinson, 1900: 124; Riddell, 1989: 108; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969: 458-59; A. Mukti Ali, 1970: 6; A. Hasjmy, 1975: 44, Ali Muhammad, 1980: 4; Daudy, 1983: 23; Rusdi Sufi (1995), Mohd. Taib: 2000, 22; T. Iskandar, 2001: 256-81; Salina Zainol, 2005: 5-6; Yusny Saby, 2005: 34-39; Abdul Rahman, 2006: 84; Harry Kawilarang, 2008: 19 & Sher Banu, 2010: 34). He conquered Deli in 1021 AH/1612 AD, Johor (1022/1613), Bintan/Bentan (1023 AH/1614AD), Pahang (1026 AH/1618AD), Kedah (1029 AH/1620 AD), Taimas (1034AH/1625 AD)

(Raffles 8: 237-38; UM 41: 287; Djajadiningrat, 1911: 179-80; J. Kathirithamby-Wells; 1969: 458; Luthfi, 1993: 42 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 55). In addition, many of the scholars mentioned above regarded the era of both rulers as the golden age of the Sultanate of Aceh particularly in the age of Sultan Iskandar Muda by the reason that Aceh reached its zenith in this period with achievements in every aspects of lives such as trade and politics, religion as well as the growth of intellectual movement (Djajaningrat, 1911a: 142; Dasgupta, 1962: 120-55; Maxwell, 1982: 4; Luthfi, 1993: 1; M. Yahya Harun, 1995: 13-14; Yusny Saby, 2005: 34-35; Ardnt Graf (henceforth Graf), 2010: 3 & Feener, 2011: 7).

Lombard (1986) wrote a comprehensive work on the state of Aceh relating to the development of trade, culture, politics and others of Aceh and also on the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. In terms of the history of the Sultanate of Aceh, Lombard mentions that William Marsden was the first person to give the attention to the above subject as he was the one who brought the first manuscripts of Aceh to Europe and presented them to the Kings College Library (Lombard, 1986: 15).

Concerning the achievement of Aceh and Sultan Iskandar Muda, Lombard seems to disagree with Hurgronje as the latter belittles the achievement of Aceh and the role of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Hurgronje regarded Iskandar Muda as no more than an ordinary king and what was written of him was just a legend (Lombard, xiii & 20). In addition, Hurgronje portrayed Aceh as a backward state and its people were living in poverty. Hurgronje's statement was later supported by Edwin Loeb (Edwin Loeb, 1958: 224) and Winstedt (Lombard, 1986: 20). Nevertheless, Lombard believed that prosperity in Aceh that took place in the golden era of Sultan Iskandar Muda with

impressive achievements in economy, politics, and religion was a fact and not a legend as claimed by Hurgronje (Amirul, 2004: 8).

Besides Lombart, T. Ito also disagreed with Hurgronje and argued that the sources used by Hurgronje in *De Atjehers* regarding the history of Aceh, especially during the golden age, was merely based on the indigenous sources and had neglected the European sources. In fact, T. Ito claimed that, "the picture of 16th and 17th century Aceh presented by Hurgronje appears to be a rather skewed distorted one." (T. Ito, 1984: 4). Based on the above opinions on the work of Hurgronje (*De Atjehers*), the researcher agrees that there are some weaknesses in *De Atjehers* by Hurgronje, particularly in the description of the golden age of Aceh. However, it cannot be denied that *De Atjehers* has been a pioneer for the study of Achenese people.

The above previous studies on the history of Aceh and its sultanate mainly the era of Sultan Iskandar Muda (reigned from 1015-1046 AH/1607-1636 AD) and Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD) is imperative since it provides the background of Aceh during the mentioned kings that leads to development of the intellectual movement in the late 16th through 17th century. Intellectual movement in Aceh undeniably leads to the emergence of Muslim scholars and their renowned works on Malay literature including *Bustān*, which is the core of this research. Muslim scholars (*'ulamā'*) of Aceh in this aspect referred to Ḥamzah, Shams al-Dīn, al-Rānīrī and 'Abd Ra'ūf that will be mentioned in chapter three of this research.

Generally, the above studies on the history of Aceh are significant as they present facts and evaluations of different scholars to the history of Aceh particularly the Sultanate of Aceh prior and after the golden age of Aceh as well as the emergence of

intellectual movement in Aceh such as by Lombart, Voorhoeve and Drewes. Yet, their writings do not contain al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history. Thus, this research aims intentionally to analyze Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* which is the aspect that so far has been scholarly overlooked.

2.2.1.3 Aceh as the Centre of Islamic Learning in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century and the Contribution of Malay Scholars to the Development of Islamic knowledge

Intellectual movement in Aceh is inseparable with the arrival and dissemination of Islam to the Malay World because Islam was the main force that initiated the intellectual movement in the 16th-17th century Aceh. The history and theories of the coming of Islam to the Malay World and the process of Islamization has been discussed by many scholars. They are G.E. Marrison (1951) (henceforth Marrison), Schrieke (1957), S.Q. Fatimi (henceforth Fatimi) (1963), T.W. Arnold (1965), J.C. Van Leur (henceforth Van Leur) (1967), Drewes (1968), D.G.E. Hall (1968), Al-Attas (1969, 1972 & 2011), Zakaria Achmad (1972), A. Hasjmy (1981), Hamka (1963 & 1981), Ismail Hamid (1982), Maxwell (1982), M.B. Hooker (1983), Daudy (1983), Lombard (1985), H. Aboebakar Aceh (1985), J. Kathirithamby-Wells (1986), Riddell (2001), Harry Kawilarang (2008), Arbai'iyah Mohd Noor (2011), Tatiana (2013), Abdul Jalil Borham (2014), etc.

With regard to the arrival of Islam to Aceh, the exact date and the place of origin are still being debated by scholars due to the lack of sources. Although al-Attas did not state specifically the spread of Islam to Aceh, he believed that the date of the arrival of Islam to the Malay World took place at the end of the seventh century (Al-Attas, 2011: xviii). Besides that, based on the resolution of the theories of the Islamization of the

Malay World in a seminar held in Medan in 1963, Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil states that Islam entered Indonesia for the first time in the first century of Hijrah (7-8 CE) (Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil, 2014: 12).

In addition, Daudy and Luthfi stated that the introduction of Islam to Aceh began as early as the beginning of *Hijrah* (Daudy, 1983: 24) but a great number of conversions among the people of Aceh began to take place by the thirteenth century due to the role played by the Arab (Luthfi, 1993: 10). A. Hasjmy (1981) mentioned that Islam came to Aceh during the rule of the caliph ‘Uthmān al-‘Affān, the third caliph of the Khulafā’ al-Rashidīn. However, A. Hasjmy (1983) and Zainuddin (1957) evaluated the history of the coming of Islam to Aceh and concluded that it took place since the year 173/800 based on their reference to several early records of the history of Aceh (Hermansyah & Zulkhairi, 2014: 3).

Meanwhile, a few scholars such as Amirul, Maxwell and Luthfi suggested the date of the thirteenth century (Amirul, 2004, 33). Maxwell stated that by the thirteenth century, the Rulers in the northern and the eastern coastal of Aceh professed Islam as their religion (Maxwell, 1982, 3). Based on the above opinions, the researcher has the view that Islam comes to Aceh as early as the first year of *Hijrah* (seventh century) but the process of Islamization was strengthened in the thirteenth century.

The advent of Islam in Aceh has led to the birth of Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning and consequently the emergence of notable Muslim scholars in Aceh. A number of previous studies concerning Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning have been completed by scholars such as Schrieke (1957), Dasgupta (1962), Maxwell (1982), Lombard (1986), Luthfi (1993), Bruinessen (1994), Nur Ahmad (2000); Amirul (2004),

Farish A. Noor (2004), Anthony Reid (2006) (henceforth Reid), Riddell (2006), Abdul Rahman (2006), Harry Kawilarang (2008), Abdul Hadi (2008), Mustapha Keraan & Muhammed Haron, 2008, 102, Jelani (2009), Riddell, (2001), Feener (2011), Martin Müller (2014) and Hermansyah (2014). Many of these scholars agree that Aceh became a prominent Islamic learning centre and scholars from different parts of the world coming to teach Islam in Aceh. For example, Sheikh Ibn Hajar and Sheikh Muhammad Yamani (Raffles 8: 236).

The vital role of Aceh in Islamic learning caused it to be called the '*Serambi Mekah*' (verandah of Mecca/the front yard or gate to the Holy land) (Schrieke, 1957: 247; Hamka, 1981: 221; H. Amidhan & Abdul Gani SH, 1980: 24; Hamka, 1981: 221; Daudy, 1992: 4; Azra, 2004: 84 & Riddell, 2006: 46). Besides that, Schrieke, Yusoff and Riddell wrote that Aceh was not only a prominent centre of Islamic learning but also a gateway to Mecca for Southeast Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Schrieke, 1957: 247, Yusoff, 1992: 237 & Riddell, 2006: 46-48). The status of Aceh as the *serambi Mekah* is stated by al-Rānirī in *Bustān* where he wrote, "*Sesungguhnya lah negeri Aceh Darussalam in Serambi Mekah Allah yang Maha Mulia*" (Raffles 42: 272). (Indeed the state of Aceh Darussalam is Allah's verandah of Mecca). *Bustān* is the early account that provides information on the arrival of Muslim scholars such as Sheikh Abū Khair ibn Sheikh Ibn Hajar, Sheikh Muhammad Jaylān ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad from foreign countries that contributed to the development of Islamic learning in Aceh (Djajadningrat, 1911: 161; Raffles 8: 236, UM 41: 283-285, Wilkinson, 1900: 121-22; T. Iskandar, 1980: 219; Azra, 2000:169; Azra, 2004: 55-56 & Harun, 2006: 469).

Furthermore, Amirul and Riddell mentioned that Aceh was the centre of Islamic studies where Islamic scholars from other parts of the Muslim world came to teach

Islamic sciences in Aceh, including scholars like Mūḥāmmāḍ Azharī (a Meccan alim) and other scholars mentioned above (Amirul, 1984: 34 & Riddell, 2006: 48). Amirul also mentioned that the status of Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning was already established by the start of the seventeenth century. In addition, Maxwell also agreed that Aceh was a renowned centre of religious study where Indian, Persian and Arab scholars as well as the Malay scholars stayed and worked in Aceh (Maxwell, 1982: 3). Some scholars have the opinion that Aceh became the centre of Islamic learning with the establishment of different educational institutions (Luthfi, 1993: 34-36 & Abdul Rahman, 2006: 84). Therefore, based on the above opinions, it is clear that Aceh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries played a major role in the intellectual development and dissemination of Islamic knowledge, and subsequently, gained high reputation as a centre of scholarly excellence in Islamic learning.

The development of Islamic learning in Aceh and the development of intellectual movement have led to the emergence of excellent Malay scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Aceh. The contribution of the above *'ulamā* to the development of Islamic sciences in Aceh were studied by Nieuwenhuijze (1945), A. Johns (1953, 1955 & 1958), Tudjimah (1961), Al-Attas (1966, 1967 & 1970), Zakaria Achmad (1972), Yahya Ismail (1974), A.H. Johns (1975), Braginsky (1975, 1998 & 1999), Drewes (1976), Grinter (1979), A. Hasjmy (1986), Bruinessen (1994), L.Y. Andaya (2001) (henceforth Andaya), Bruinessen (1994), Azra (2004), Riddell (2004), Jelani (2004 & 2009), Abdul Hadi (2008), Feener (2011), Paul Warmser (henceforth Warmser) (2012), etc. This part of literature review will only give an introduction to the four *'ulamās* of Aceh - Ḥamzah, Shams al-Dīn, al-Rānirī and 'Abd Ra'ūf.

Concerning the background of the four mentioned scholars of Aceh, M. Yahya Harun (1995), Ismail Hamid (2000), Riddell (2001), Braginsky (2004), Yusny Saby (2005) and Feener (2011) give a list of prominent works of the four *'ulamās* of Aceh above-mentioned. Among their works are *Asrār al-Ārifīn*, *Mir'at al-Mu'minīn*, *Bustān* and *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb*. Besides that, Bruinessan (1994) and Andaya (2001) also discussed the life and the contribution of the four mentioned scholars in the development of Malay-Islamic literature in Aceh. In addition, Azra provides detailed information on the network of Malay-Indonesian *'ulamā* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that are 'Abd Ra'ūf, al-Rānīrī and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī. The work of Azra is very significant to this research as it gives comprehensive information on al-Rānīrī's biography and networks, al-Rānīrī's works and renewal and his role in Malay-Indonesian Islam. He concluded that al-Rānīrī played an important role in the development of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian world (Azra, 2004: 65). Therefore, many scholars agree that these scholars of Aceh contributed greatly to the development of Islamic learning in the seventeenth century Aceh.

To begin with, the life and works of Ḥamzah, the first and famous *ṣūfī* author and the greatest poet of Aceh (Bruinessan, 1994: 7 & A.H. Johns, 2009: 148) as well as a prolific poet (Riddell, 2004: 7) have received scholarly attention, principally from Winstedt (1920 & 1958), Drewes (1951), Braginsky (1975, 1998, 1999, 2004 & 2007), Al-Attas (1967&1970), Abdul Hadi (1984), Drewes & Brakel (1986), A. Hasjmy (1986), A. Johns (1990), Azra (2004), Riddell (2004) and Zulkefli Aini (2008). Braginsky refers Ḥamzah as the 'prominent Sumatran mystic and poet of the second half of the 16th and 17th century' (Braginsky, 1975: 407).

Many of these scholars discussed the biography and the works of Ḥamzah as well as his *ṣūfī* doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah*. Many of Ḥamzah's works were written in the form of *syair* (Malay poetry) and among the famous one were *shair perahu*, *shair Burung Pinggai* and *shair Sidang Fakir* (Raja Mohd. Affandi, 1974: 89, Ismail Hamid, 1983: 38 & Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 10-20). Mira Fauziah added to the list *Syair Dagang*, *Syair Ikan Tongkol* and *Syair Burung Pungguk* and provided some examples of poetry in *Syair Burung Pinggai*, *Syair perahu* and *Syair dagang* (Mira Fauziah, 2013: 299). Meanwhile, Drewes and Brakel translated, edited and commented on the poems of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. They gathered a great materials concerning Ḥamzah and based on these abundance of sources, they critically examined the life and the poems of Ḥamzah. Consequently, they corrected the errors concerning the life of Ḥamzah and included only the authentic poems of Ḥamzah (Drewes and Brakel, 1986: 1-285).

Concerning Ḥamzah's place of birth, several scholars came into an agreement that he was born in Barus (situated in the west coast of North Sumatra) based on Ḥamzah's statement in '*Syair Perahu*' that declared "*Ḥamzah ini asalnya Fanṣūrī*" (Ḥamzah came from Fanṣūr). Fanṣūrī or Fanṣūr is the Arabic name for Barus (Al-Attas, 1967: 42, Abdul Hadi, 1984, 15; Drewes, 1986: 54; Mira Fauziah, 2013: 291 & Magdalena, 2014: 5). However, al-Attas reasonably put in doubt the point provided by these scholars. Al-Attas gives new point that probably Ḥamzah was born in Shahr Nawī (Al-Attas, 1970: 3-4). Al-Attas provides a long discussion on the matter by referring to the Ḥamzah's '*Syair Perahu*' in which Ḥamzah stated that he came from Fanṣūr (*Ḥamzah ini asalnya Fanṣūrī*). Besides that, Hamzah also refers to himself as from Shahr Nawī, located in Siam (the verses concerning this matter in *Syair perahu* are: *Hamzah Shahr Nawī terlalu hapus, seperti kayu sekalian hangus...* (Ḥamzah of Shahr

Nawi is truly affected, like wood, all burnt to cinders) and “*Hamzah nin asalnya Fansuri, Mendapat wujud di Tanah Shahr Nawi.*” (Hamzah is originally from Fansur, He acquired his existence in the land of Shahr Nawi) (Al-Attas, 1970: 5-7). Both verses clearly indicate that Hamzah attached himself to two different places, Barus and Shahr Nawi. Although many scholars concur that Barus is Ḥamzah’s place of birth, but indeed, his place of birth is still in the matter of discussion and some special research has to be done concerning this matter. It can be concluded that Ḥamzah’s family origin is Barus but his place of birth is still unknown.

Besides his life and works, Ḥamzah cannot be separated from his role as a ṣūfī and his doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah*. This aspect has been discussed and explained especially by Winstedt (1920), Braginsky (1999 & 2004), al-Attas (1966 & 1970), Abdul Hadi (1984), Drewes (1986), Bruinessen (1994), Riddell (2001), Zulkefli Aini (2008), Syarifuddin (2010), Mira Fauziah (2014) and Magdalena (2014). While some scholars believed in Rānīrī’s charge of heresy against Ḥamzah, al-Attas (1966) challenged the authenticity of what has been reported concerning the teaching of Ḥamzah by providing a comprehensive critical analysis on the matter. Al-Attas believed that the report had distorted the real meaning of Ḥamzah’s saying and teaching (Al-Attas: 1966, v) and al-Rānīrī’s misunderstanding of Ḥamzah’s teaching. Concerning Ḥamzah’s teachers, there is lack of information given by scholars mentioned above. However, many of them agree that Ḥamzah was influenced by Ibn ‘Arabī, a prominent ṣūfī and poet (d.1240 AD). Besides that, Al-Attas stated that Ḥamzah was acquainted with the writings of al-Biṣṭāmī (d.874 AD), al-Baghdādī (d.910 AD), Al-Ghazālī (d.1111 AD) and others (Al-Attas, 1970: 14).

Apart from Ḥamzah, Ḥamzah's disciple named Shams al-Dīn, a mystic from Pasai (Al-Attas, 1966: 11), had attracted the attention of scholars. He was also one of the four prominent names that emerged in the intellectual history of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Aceh. Some of the previous studies on Shams al-Dīn were done by Hurgronje (1906), A. Johns (1953), Winstedt (1958), al-Attas (1966), Bruinessen (1994), Ismail Hamid (2000), Riddell (2001& 2006), Andaya (2001), Braginsky (2004), Harun (2006), A.H. Johns (2009), Mohamad Nasrin (2010) & Md. Salleh Yaapar (2013). Many of these scholars believed that Shams al-Dīn was the follower of Ḥamzah's *waḥdat al-Wujūd*.

Regarding Shams al-Dīn's masterpieces, Riddell, Braginsky, Ismail Hamid and Harun listed the prominent works of Shams al-Dīn such as *Mir'at al-Mu'minīn* (the Mirror of the Faithful), *Sharh Ruba'i Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī* (the Commentary on *Ruba'i* by Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī) and *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* (the Light of subtleties) (Riddell, 2001: 112, Braginsky, 2004: 643, Harun, 2006: 470 & Amat Juhari, 2008: 7).

Besides Shams al-Dīn's works, his *ṣūfī* doctrine concerning the seven grades of being (*martabat tujuh*)¹⁷ has received scholarly attention. According to Bruinessen (1994) who quoted from Nieuwenhuijze (1945), "Shams al-Dīn was the first Indonesian to expound the doctrine of the "seven stages" (*martabat tujuh*)." (Bruinessen, 1994: 7) Braginsky (2004), A.H. Johns (2009), Zulkefli Aini (2008) and Mohamad Nasrin (2010) elaborate on the seven stages of *martabat tujuh* from *Aḥadiyah* (absolute unity) to '*alam insān* (the perfect man) (A.H. Johns, 1975: 45; Braginsky, 2004: 643-44 & A. H. Johns,

¹⁷ According to Shams al-Dīn, the world ('*alam*) is the evidence of God's presence. This presence is the presence of God's divine names and attributes (Mohamad Nasrin, 2010, 219-20). Shams al-Dīn believed that there are seven levels of God's presence or *Martabat tujuh*/ the seven grades of beings. The seven stages start from *Aḥadiyah* (absolute/the essence of God), *Waḥdat* (the attributes of God), *Wāḥidiyat* (the names of God (the reality of man)), '*alam arwah* (the world of spirits), '*alam mithāl* (the world of ideas), '*alam ajsam* (the world of physical bodies) and ends with '*alam insān* (the world of man/Perfect man (*Insān kāmil*)). (Riddell, 2001:113; Braginsky, 2004: 643-44; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 51-55 & Mohamad Nasrin, 2010, 221-222). The perfect man is the highest level of *martabat tujuh* as it encompasses the six stages from *aḥadiyah* to *alam ajsam* and it is the 'God's most perfect mirror' (Mohamad Nasrin, 2010: 224). In order to achieve the perfect man, the seekers must accomplish all stages of *martabat tujuh* (Riddell, 2001: 113).

2009: 155-57). Besides that, Riddell (2001) discussed Shams al-Dīn's important work entitled *Mir'āt al-Mu'minīn* that also contained Shams al-Dīn's explanation on the system of *martabat tujuh* (Riddell, 2001:111-13). Furthermore, A. Johns (1955) in Shams al-Dīn's work entitled *Nūr al-Dakā'ik* and Mohamad Nasrin in *Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn fī 'Aqā'idat al-Muḥaqqiqīn* (one of the treaties by Shams al-Dīn) (A. Johns, 1955:138-39 & Mohamad Nasrin, 2010: 222) also discusses Shams al-Dīn's concept of the seven grades of beings. In addition to the list are Nieuwenhuijze (1948), Harun (2006), Jelani (2009), Mira Fauziah (2013) & Magdalena (2014).

Last but not least, 'Abd Ra'ūf, a Malay scholar and an Acehese *ṣūfī* from Sumatra was another distinguished scholar of Aceh after the period of al-Rānirī. Some of the works concerning 'Abd Ra'ūf was carried out by A. Johns (1955a & 1955b), A. H. Johns (1975, 1998), Ismail Hamid (2000), Azra (2004), Braginsky (2004), Riddell (2006), Amat Juhari (2008), Zulkefli Aini (2008) and Ali Mohammad (2009). These majority of these scholars describe 'Abd Ra'ūf's works and his role as a prominent '*ulamā*' of Aceh. For example, Ali Mohammad elaborates on the role of 'Abd Ra'ūf' in promoting Islamic civilization in Nusantara and he concludes that 'Abd Ra'ūf' played a big role in the development of Islamic civilization in the Malay world (Ali Mohammad, 2009: 90-94).

Concerning the life of 'Abd Ra'ūf, A.H. Johns, Azra, Riddell and Ali Mohammad discuss the background of Abd Ra'ūf and his journey in pursuing Islamic knowledge in Makkah, Madinah, Jeddah and others including the names of his teachers (A.H. Johns, 1975: 46-47; Riddell, 2006: 44-45 & Ali Mohammad, 2009: 83-84). Azra provides a comprehensive account on 'Abd Ra'ūf's biography, his Arabian network, his teaching and works. He believed that 'Abd Ra'ūf' was one of the significant *mujaddids*

(renewer) in the Malay Archipelago who played a vital role in stimulating Islamic renewal in the Malay-Indonesian world. Azra also described in detail ‘Abd Ra’ūf’s pursuit of knowledge in Arabia, Yemen, Jeddah, Makkah and Madinah. The Islamic knowledge he obtained from prominent intellectuals in those places later influenced his thought and intellectual character. Among his teachers are Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ja’mān (d. 1083/1672), Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Ja’mān (d. 1014-1096/1605-1658) and ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Qādir al-Ṭabarī (Azra, 2004: 70-73).

Regarding ‘Abd Ra’ūf’s works, A. Johns (1955), Ismail Hamid (2000), Braginsky (2004), Azra (2004), Zulkefli Aini (2008) and Amat Juhari (2008) list several books besides his prominent works of *Daqā’iq al-Ḥurūf* and *Mir’āt al-Ṭullāb*. Among his works are *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*, *Mawā’iz al-Badī’ah* (a book on ḥadīth literature), *Shams al-Ma’rifah* (a book on ṣūfism), *Hidāyah al-Bālighah* (a book written as guide for judges), and *‘Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīm* (the support of the needy) and *Kifāyat al-Muḥtājīm ilā Mashrab al-Muwahḥidīm al-Qā’ilīm bi waḥdat al-Wujūd* (the Sufficient for those in need) (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 215; Azra, 2004: 72-83; Braginsky, 2004: 648-49; Amat Juhari, 2008: 7).

The importance of having ideas on the scholars of Aceh is to explain the intellectual environment in Aceh and the existing *taṣawwuf* before the coming of al-Rānīrī as well as the reaction of al-Rānīrī towards the *taṣawwuf* of Ḥamzah that lead to the debate between *Waḥdatul wujūd* and *Waḥdatul shuhūd*. Alfian (1975) discusses the important role of ‘*ulamā*’ in the Acehenese society and he concluded that the ‘*ulamā*’ continued to play important roles in the society in different fields of life due to their capability to influence the society. In conclusion, the ‘*ulamās*’ of Aceh played an important role in the development and dissemination of Islamic knowledge not only in Aceh but also in the Malay Archipelago. Besides that, these ‘*ulamās*’ also contributed to

the Sultanate of Aceh in religious and political aspects as they were advisors to the kings of Aceh in addition to their posts as Qādīs.

2.2.1.4 The life and works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī

Brilliant works on the life and masterpieces on al-Rānirī were produced by Djadjadiningrat (1911), Winstedt (1920a, 1920b, 1961 & 1966), Ronkel, (1943), Nieuwenhuijze (1948), Drewes (1955 & 1986), Voorhoeve (1951, 1955 & 1959), T. Iskandar (1964 & 1966), al-Attas (1966 & 1986), Daudy (1978, 1983 & 1992), T. Ito (1978), Grinter (1979), Edwar Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto. (1995/1996), Ismail Hamid (2000), Riddell (2001), Ahmad Taufiq (2003), Azra (2004), Amirul (2004), Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman (2006), Aliza Elias (2007), Jamalluddin Hashim & Abdul Karim Ali (2008), Jelani (2009), Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud & Khalif Muammar (henceforth Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar) (2009), Iik A. Mansurnoor (2009), Feener (2011), Hermansyah (2012), Warmser (2012) and Kushimoto Hiroko (henceforth Hiroko) (2016). Chapter three will provide discussion on the life and works of al-Rānirī.

Regarding the life of al-Rānirī, majority of scholars mentioned above came to the conclusion that al-Rānirī was from Gujerat and his father was of Quraish origin, but there was no mention of al-Rānirī's mother. Al-Attas was the first scholar who suggested that al-Rānirī's mother was Malay based on his research and this suggestion was later used by Winstedt and T. Iskandar.

Concerning his works, many scholars list the number and the title of al-Rānirī's works (Nieuwenhuijze, Daudy, T. Iskandar, Azra, Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, Aliza Elias, Jamalluddin Hashim & Abdul Karim Ali and Voorhoeve) describes in detail al-Rānirī's biographical facts such as his origin, the date of his arrival to Aceh, his career in Aceh and his departure from Aceh. Voorhoeve (1955) also mentioned several works of al-Rānirī which are *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kasf al-Ma'lūm*, *Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān* and *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-daf'i'l-Zindīq*, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, *Durrat al-Farāid bi sharḥ al-'Aqāid*, *Hidayat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa'l-Tarhīb*, *Asrār al-Īnṣān fī ma'rifat al-rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān* and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*. *Bustān* was given special attention by Voorhoeve in which he describes in detail the manuscripts and location of Book I-VII. Besides Voorhoeve, Daudy and Azra also give detail elaboration on al-Rānirī's works.

Furthermore, Aliza Elias (2007) and Jamalluddin Hashim & Abdul Karim Ali (2008) concentrated specifically on al-Rānirī's *Kitāb Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*. However, their writings are beneficial to this research as they provide the information on the life of al-Rānirī. Similar information on the life and al-Rānirī's works were discussed by Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar (2009). Furthermore, Ahmad Taufiq (2003) discussed al-Rānirī's concept of eschatology in *Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah fī Alḥwāl al-Qiyāmah* concerning the concept of death, the sign of *qiyāmah*, the heaven and hell. In addition to Ahmad Taufiq, Kushimoto Hiroko (henceforth Hiroko) (2016) also analyzed Rānirī's concept of the Day of Judgement in *Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah*.

Last but not least, Hermansyah (2012) focused on al-Rānirī's works of *Tibyān Fī Ma'rifat Al-Adyān* where he gives the transliteration of this *kitāb* and al-Rānirī's accusation on the followers of *Wujūdiyyah* as heretic. Besides that, al-Attas, in his article entitled "Rānirī and the *Wujūdiyyah* of the 17th Century Aceh (1966)",

critically discusses al-Rānirī's refutation against Ḥamzah's teaching concerning the concept of *Wujūdiyyah*. There were many scholars who wrote on al-Raniri's refutation against *Wujūdiyyah* such as Drewes, al-Attas, Iik A. Mansurnoor, T. Iskandar and Ismail Hamid. These writings contribute to the research as these scholars discussed different works of al-Rānirī that accentuate al-Rānirī as a man whose scholarship has never been questioned.

In conclusion, the previous studies have succeeded to accentuate al-Rānirī's contribution to the development of Islamic knowledge in Aceh through his writings. However, none of them reveals al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. Thus, this research endeavours to evaluate al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in his remarkable work that is *Bustān*.

2.2.1.5 Previous Studies on *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

Specific studies on *Bustān* were carried out by a few scholars such as Wilkinson (1900), Winstedt (1920), Voorhoeve (1959), Jones (1974), Grinter (1979), Linehan, W. (henceforth Linehan) (1933), T. Iskandar (1966), Siti Hawa (1996), Jelani (1996, 1999, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, etc.) and Warmser (2012). Wilkinson (1900) was the first author to publish almost the complete chapters of Book II of *Bustān* that comprises 10 chapters from the total 13 chapters. T. Iskandar (1966) and Siti Hawa (1996) also published the Book II of *Bustān* but only on the thirteenth chapter concerning the Kings who ruled Aceh. They also give the background of al-Rānirī and Sultan Iskandar Thani as well as the summary of the thirteenth chapter. The writings of T. Iskandar and Siti Hawa are of great values since they have given transliteration on Book II, chapter 13 but are different from this research as the latter covers Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*.

Wilkinson's effort was taken further by Jelani who published the transliteration of the thirteen chapters of Book II that is based on the manuscript of Raffles 8. Jones (1974) in *Nūru'd-dīn ar-Rānīrī Bustānu's-Salāṭīn Bab IV Fasal 1* offers a short background of al-Rānīrī and a translation of the first part of *Fasal 1* which deals with Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham. Meanwhile, Grinter (1979) continued the transliteration of *Fasal II* of Book IV. An appreciation should be given to Grinter due to her effort of carrying out the transliteration of Book IV, *Fasal II* and it is the only work found on Book IV apart from that of Jones.

Another constant author pertaining of *Bustān* is Jelani (1996, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009), among his works are "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Bab Pertama Dan Kedua) Karangan Nūruddīn Ar-Rānīrī*" (2004), "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Bab Ketiga) Kisah Raja-Raja Yang Adil*" (2008) and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn: A Malay Mirror for Rulers* (2009). Apart from books, a number of articles were produced by Jelani such as "*Būstanus Salāṭīn: Konsep Sejarah Dunia dari Perspektif Historiografi Islam*" (1996) and "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn: Karya Sejarah Dunia (Universal History) Dalam Pensejarahan Melayu Tradisional*" (1999).

These brilliant works of Jelani are indeed significant to this research as they provide beneficial information on the text of *Bustān* as well as the full transliteration of Book I, II and III of *Bustān*. Besides that, Jelani provides a detailed background on al-Rānīrī, the different version of the manuscript and their sources, al-Rānīrī's concept of universal history as well as the *adāb* writing in *Bustān*. In addition, majority of Jelani's work discuss al-Rānīrī's concept of universal history as the manifestation of the Divine plan and this concept parallels the Islamic concept of history. However, there is something missing in Jelani's works. Jelani's emphasizes more on the didactic element

and on the explanation of concept and textual, but this research focuses on history and the textual analysis of *Bustān*. Besides that, Jelani's interpretation of al-Rānīrī's concept of divine plan is incomplete and he did not clarify the difference between the Islamic and western concept of universal history. Jelani's interpretation of al-Rānīrī's concept of universal history begins with the creation of the universe and ends with the Day of Resurrection (*Yawm al-Qiyāmah*). The latter will later determine the place of human either in heaven or hell. This interpretation is incomplete as al-Rānīrī's concept of universal history in *Bustān* does not end at the Day of Resurrection, instead to the stage where people will return to Allah, the creator. That is why in *Bustān* stressed on the didactic element with the purpose of guiding people the way to return to Allah.

Furthermore, Warmser (2012) adds a new light on his discussion on *Bustān* in his work. Warmser discusses al-Rānīrī's life and work, the structure and content of *Bustān*. Compared to previous authors who believed that *Bustān* was the original work of al-Rānīrī, Warmser claimed that the content of *Bustān* concerning the Malay world was done by other authors (M.C. Ricklefs, 2013: 184-86). The reason for his claim is that *Bustān* should be treated as an Arabic work and not as a Malay work because al-Rānīrī had utilized the Arabic sources and translated them into Malay. Besides that, the content of *Bustān* is largely concerning the Arab history, for examples the history of the Prophet Muhammad, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids compared to that of the Malay world that only concentrates on the history of the Kings of Pahang and Aceh. Therefore, al-Rānīrī's purpose of writing *Bustān* is to write from the Arab's view and not the Malays. Thus, Warmser concluded that the chapter concerning the Malay kings was written by other authors.

However, in the researcher's opinion, *Bustān* is indeed a Malay work as it was written upon the request of a Malay king (Sultan Iskandar Thani), written in Malay language with the purpose of serving the Malay society as *Bustān* had become a guideline not only to Malay Rulers but also to the Malay society in terms of the way they should act or behave in their way to the final destination (that is to return to Allah). It cannot be denied that *Bustān* refers to a considerable Arabic sources but it also uses prominent Malay sources that are *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* and *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* (T. Iskandar, 1964: 439; Ismail Hamid, 1983: 46 & Yusoff, 1992: 253). Besides that, the researcher believes that *Bustān* was written by al-Rānīrī as there is a consistent content in the structure of different manuscripts of *Bustān* (Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41).

In conclusion, previous studies on al-Rānīrī and his *Bustān* are useful and beneficial to this research. They will be carefully and critically studied in order to achieve the objectives of this research. However, the above studies do not discuss al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history, rather they focus more on the biography and the works of al-Rānīrī. Therefore, further research on *Bustān* has to be carried out in order to reveal the contribution of al-Rānīrī in the construction of the concept of Islamic history.

2.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to David Silverman (2010) (henceforth Silverman), 'Concept is an idea deriving from a given model.' (Silverman, 2010:103-4). Meanwhile, a conceptual framework is "a representation, either graphically or in narrative form, of the main concepts or variables and their presumed relationship with each other. It is usually best known as a diagram." (Keith F. Punch (henceforth Punch), 2014: 83). Based on

literature reviews and previous studies, below is the description on the conceptual framework of this research.

The figure 2.1 below denotes the conceptual framework of the research that is divided into two main components: the concept of Islamic history and the concept of Malay history. As this research tries to analyze al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*, the concept of Islamic history that is based on the concept of *tawḥīd* becomes the fundamental of the research. Discussion on this concept will refer to the tradition of Islamic historiography as it is based on the Qur'ānic concept of history. On the other hand, the Malay concept of history ought to be the second component of the conceptual framework due to the fact that *Bustān* belongs to the classical Malay literature and one of the Malay works on history in the seventeenth century of the Malay World. There is a very close connection between Islamic historiography and Malay historiography as the latter is part of the former. Below is the elaboration on both mentioned concepts:

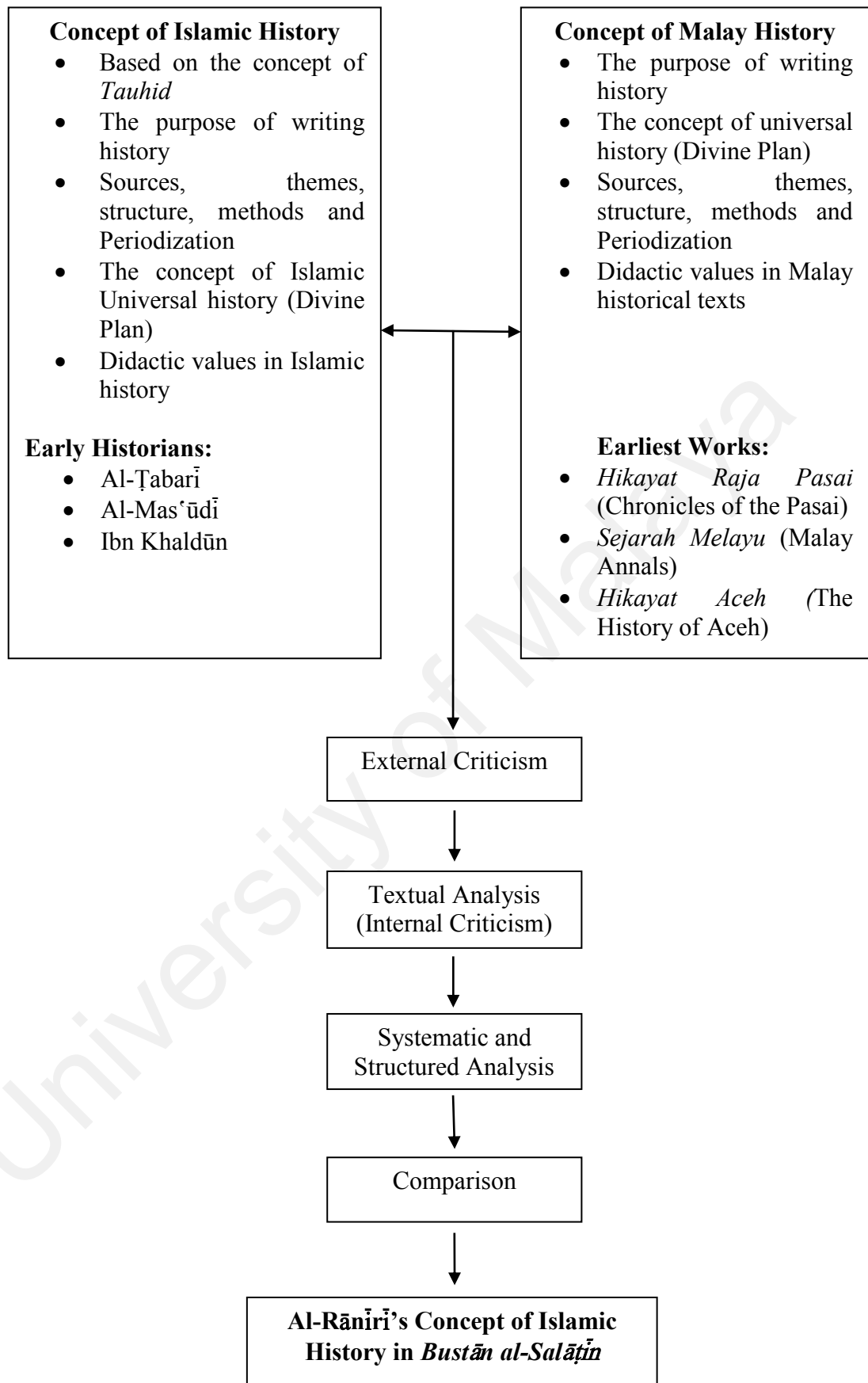


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework of Research

2.3.1 The Concept of Islamic History

As mentioned above, the concept Islamic history is the basic component of this research as it will determine al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. The discussion of this concept will circle around the Qur'ānic concept of history that is based on the concept of *tawhīd*. History according to the Qur'ān is functional in which it contains certain goal directed by religious values. Therefore, the concept of Islamic history involves the purpose of history in Islam, the purpose of the stories of the Prophets and the people of the past in the Qur'ān, the purpose of writing history in Islam, the didactic values in Islamic history and the sources, themes and periodization in writing Islamic history.

Discussion of the concept of Islamic history will be based on the Islamic historiography in which four historians of different period and their prominent works have been selected for the research. They are Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (224-310 AH/839-923 AD),¹⁸ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī (282-345 AH/895-956 AD)¹⁹ and Abū Zaid 'Abdul Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Khaldūn al-Ḥaḍramī (732-808 AH/1332-1406 AD)²⁰ (M. Kamil 'Ayad & M.S. Khan, 1978: 25-26; Wan Yahya Wan Ahmad, 1992: 71-73; Muhsin Mahdi, 2006: 27; Allen James

¹⁸ Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH/923 AD) was the 3 AH/9 AD century great historian born in Amul, Tabaristan. Besides being a historian, al-Ṭabarī was also a jurist and collector of *ḥadīth* (Seth Ward, 1990: 408). His masterpiece on history is *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*, a book on universal history begins from the creation of the universe and ends with the era of the 'Abbāsīd until the year 302 AH/915 AD (Mulalic, 2012: 175). *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* later becomes one of the important sources of Islamic history and according to Margoliouth, "Ṭabarī is the first great Muslim historian who dealt with the subject in a comprehensive and analytic method and formed a chronological sense of events." (Rasul, 1968: 24 & Mahayudin, 1984: 41).

¹⁹ Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī was the fourth century AH/tenth century AD historian, geographer and mathematician (Walled A. Al-Monaes, 1991: 396). His well-known work on history is *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir* (Meadow of Gold and Mines of Gems) (henceforth *Murūj al-Dhahab*) consists of the history of the creation of the world followed by a description on *Falak* (astronomy) and geography (Mahayudin, 1984: 51).

²⁰ 'Abd Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn al-Tūnisi al-Ḥaḍramī, the eight century AH/fourteen century AD historian and philosopher of history was born in Tunis (Fischel, Walter J., 1961: 109 & Farid Alatas, 2006: 783). Ibn Khaldūn renowned work is *Muqaddima fī 'ilm at-Ta'rīkh* (Introduction to the Science of History) or Prolegomena, an introduction to the first volume of his book entitled *Kitāb al-Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtadā' wa al-Khabar, fī Ayyām al-'Arab wa al-'Ajam wa al-Barbar, wa man 'Aṣarahu min dhawī al-Sultān al-Akhbar*, known as *Kitāb al-Ibar* (Rasul, 1968: 38; M. Kamil 'Ayad & M.S. Khan, 1978:1 & Mohammad Abdullah Enan, 2007: 116). Ibn Khaldūn in *al-Muqaddimah* introduced the method of historical criticism that involves the application of logic onto history (Fromherz, 2011: 116). According to Ahmed Elyas Hussein, "In his *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldun presented the methods and rules that would enable historians to test the authenticity of the historical sources and present their works in a scientific manner." (Ahmad Elyas Hussein, 2003: 10). Besides that, Ibn Khaldūn regarded history as not merely a collection of facts but a science to understand the causes of the rise and fall of states (Rasul, 1968: 36). Therefore, Ibn Khaldūn differed from his predecessor (historians) as he transformed history into a scientific field and thus, laid the foundation for the writing of scientific history.

Fromherz (henceforth Fromherz), 2011: 39-48 & 153-16, Mulalić, 2012: 164-200 & Hourani, 2013: 1& 53).

The period from the third to eight centuries of Hijrah witnessed several developments of the concept of Islamic history. Al-Ṭabarī was among the earliest Muslim historians to introduce the concept of universal history based on his work entitled '*Tā'rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*' (History of the Prophets and Kings). Al-Mas'ūdī later developed al-Ṭabarī's concept by combining history and geography (Franz Rosenthal (henceforth Rosenthal), 1968: 107 & Mohd. Yusof Ibrahim & Mahayuddin, 1988: 132) and later Ibn Khaldūn (14th century) pioneered the scientific method of human studies and the philosophy of history (M.G. Rasul (henceforth Rasul), 1968: 22-23, Muhsin Mahdi, 2006: 154 & Fromherz, 2011: 114-16).

2.3.2 The Concept of Malay History

The second component of this research is the concept of Malay history. This concept is related to the first concept as Malay history is part of Islamic history. Discussion on the concept of Malay history concentrates on the purpose of writing history, the concept of time, the concept of universal history and the didactic values in Malay history (Hussain Othman, 2009: 150). Three earliest Malay historical works are chosen for this research, namely, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Aceh*.

After the discussion on both concepts, the researcher will analyze the selected texts through the process of external criticism (in term of the structure) and internal criticism (textual analysis). Subsequently, systematic and structured analysis from these types of criticism will be compared to observe the influence of the concept of Islamic

history on the Malay concept of history. The mentioned influence certainly affects the writing of al-Raniri and thus directly leads to al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history in *Bustan*.

2.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Methodology can be categorized into the method of Collecting Data and the method of Data Analysis. Methodology is a theory of how knowledge building should ensure. Methodology is, "the bridge that brings our philosophical framework together with our methods practice." (Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber & Patricia Leavy (henceforth Hesse-Biber & Leavy), 2011: 13). Besides that, methodology is a general approach to studying research topics which relates theories to methods (Silverman, 2010: 121). Besides that, Deborah Levy (2006) who quoted from Crotty (1998) stated that methodology is, "the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes." (Deborah Levy, 2006: 376). Based on the above definitions, it can be concluded that methodology is a strategy of studying research topics that describes the methods of collecting data or explains the reason for choosing certain procedures or methods of collecting data.

Concerning research method, Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy (2011) who quoted from Sandra Harding (1987) stated that, "A research method is a technique for ... gathering evidence. One could reasonably argue that all evidence-gathering techniques fall into one of the three categories: listening to (or interrogating) informants, observing behaviour, or examining historical traces or records." (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 5). Research method also refers to particular methods techniques,

or tactics within the design of a larger ‘research strategy’ that allow researcher to collect data (Franklin, 2013: 51). Besides that, Punch (2014) states that, “qualitative research methods is a complex, changing and contested field - a site of multiple methodologies and research practices.” (Punch, 2014: 117). Based on the above quotations, it can be concluded that research methodology is a research contains the research design, methods and procedures of research. Thus, the following is a detailed elaboration on the research methodology of this research.

2.4.1 Research Design

This research is a qualitative research using the method of content analysis or in other words, qualitative content analysis. In collecting data, documents, library research and the technique of interview are utilized. Meanwhile, inductive approach to content analysis is applied to analyze data of this research.

Catherine A. Hansman (2015) who quoted from Marshall and Rossman (2011) defined qualitative research as, “a broad approach to the study of social phenomena ... various genres are naturalistic, interpretive, and increasingly critical, and they typically draw on multiple methods of inquiry (Catherine A. Hansman, 2015, 276). Besides that, Denzin & Lincoln (2011) define qualitative research as the following:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of presentations, including fieldnotes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 3).

In addition, Anabel Borja, et al., (2009) who quoted from Strauss and Corbin (1998) stated that, qualitative research is “any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification”. Its main goal is to collect data about the context in which events take place, that is to say, to discover the significant subjective aspects of the particular situation under study and to determine what the participants think.” (Anabel Borja, Isabel García Izquierdo & Vicent Montalt 2009: 64). From the above quotations, it can be summarized that qualitative research is a study of social phenomena with the purpose to understand and to describe the subject matter or a problem being studied in their natural settings using different methods of collecting data.

As mentioned above, this research is based on content analysis and also a textual statistical research. Franklin (2013) stated that, “content analysis has come to be identified with research that renders written, and in some cases visual material as countable-measure-content. This is understood to mean the words, phrases and images that compromise manifest contents what is visible to the seeing/reading eye; there is a message and that message is decipherable in a number of ways.” (Franklin, 2013: 217). Besides that, content analysis also refers to the systematic examination of written texts (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 232). Last but not least, Farooq Joubish, et al. stated that, “content analysis is considered a scholarly methodology in the humanities by which texts are studied as authorship, authenticity or meaning. It includes philology, hermeneutics and semiotics.” (Muhammad Farooq Joubish & Muhammad Ashraf Khurram, 2011: 1374-77).

The above definitions are given as background to this research which is qualitative in nature using the method of content analysis. This research focuses on the

studying of a historical text entitled *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* by al-Rānīrī. As one of the objectives of this research is to formulate al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*, therefore, the content, structure, purpose of writing and themes of *Bustān* are analyzed to achieve the mentioned objective. The finding of this research is a thorough description on al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. In addition to the usage of documents (Malay manuscripts and Malay letters), interviews and library research were also conducted in this research. Following is the discussion of the methods of data collection and data analyzing of this research:

2.4.2 Method of Data Collection

2.4.2.1 Documents

As this research is a content analysis, documents become the primary sources of this research, that is, in the form of manuscript, microfilm and letters obtained from several libraries in Malaysia and United Kingdom. In Malaysia, University of Malaya Library (UM), National Library of Malaysia (*Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia*), the International Islamic University Library (IIUM), the National University of Malaysia Library (UKM), and the National Archives of Malaysia (*Arkib Negara*) were visited. In the United Kingdom, the British Library, the library of Royal Asiatic Society, the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) London were utilized. The main document of this research is the manuscript of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* of different versions, written in Malay language using the Jawi script as the following. These versions are used in chapter three - chapter six of this research:

- a) Raffles Malay 8 (obtained from the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London) consists of four Books: Book I, II, IV and V.

- b) Raffles Malay 42 (obtained from the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London) consists of Book I, II, IV and V.
- c) Manuscript UM 41 (University of Malaya) (obtained from the University of Malaya) consists of Book I, II, III, IV and V.
- d) Microfilm MF 395 (obtained from the National University of Malaysia) consists of Book VII.
- e) Manuscript MSS 3059 (obtained from the National Library of Malaysia) consists of Book VII.

In addition to that, the manuscript of *Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu* (Raffles Malay 18), *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* (Raffles Malay 64), *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* (MSS144) and *Adat Atjeh* (MSS Malay B. 11) are also referred as they are among the references utilized by al-Rānīrī. Both manuscripts were also written in Jawi script.

Apart from the above Malay-Jawi manuscripts, published transliteration on *Tāj al-Salāṭīn*, *Adat Aceh* and some books of *Bustān* are used:

- a) Bukhari Al-Jauhari. (1992). *Tāj Us-Salāṭīn*. (Khalid M. Hussain, Ed.). Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- b) Drews, G.W.J. & Voorhoeve, P. (Eds.). (1958). *Adat Atjeh: Reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript in the India Office Library*. Martinus Nijhoff.
- c) Jelani Harun. (2004a). *Bustān al-Salāṭīn: Bab Pertama dan Kedua Karangan Nūruddīn Ar-Rānīrī*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- d) Jelani Harun. (2008a). *Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Bab Ketiga) Kisah Raja-Raja Yang Adil*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- e) Jones, Russell. (1974). *Nūru’ḍ-ḍīn ar-Rānīrī Bustānu’s-Salāṭīn Bab IV Fasal I*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

- f) Ramli Harun & Tjut Rahmah. (1985). *Adat Aceh*. Translit. Jakarta: Departement Pandidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- g) Siti Hawa Haji Salleh. (Ed.). (1992). *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- h) T. Iskandar. (1966). *Bustānu's-salāṭīn, Bab II, fasal 13*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- i) Wilkinson, R.J. (Ed.). (1900). *Kitāb Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Jawi)*. Vol. 2. Singapore: American Mission Press.

Besides manuscripts, several significant documents obtained from the British Library are used in this research as the following:

1. *Diplomasi Aceh: Sejumlah Surat dan Dokumen dari Raja-Raja Aceh yang tersimpan di koleksi Eropa dan Turki/ Letters and Documents from the Kings of Aceh held in European and Turkish collections:*
 - a) Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce Or.e.4 (*Surat izin berdagang yang diberikan Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah kepada Kapten Henry Middleton, 1602/Trading permit issued by Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah to Captain Henry Middleton, 1602*) (The original letter was published by the British Library in London in 1991 (Annabel Gallop & Bernard Arps, 1991: 36).
 - b) Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud Or.Rolls.b.1 (*Surat Sultan Iskandar Muda kepada Raja Inggeris James-I, 1615/ Letter from Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh to King James-1 of England, 1615*) (Concerning Trading Permit to the British in Aceh) (The original letter was published by the British Library in London in 1991 (Annabel Gallop & Bernard Arps, 1991: 34-35).

2. British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers Mss Eur D742/1 (Raffles Family Collection) (Translated in Ahmat Adam (1971)) (Contains 50 letters in Malay dated in 1810 and 1811, to Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles (henceforth Raffles)²¹ from the Rulers of Kedah, Perak, Riau, Lingga, Pontianak, Sambas, Banjarmasin, Jambi, Aceh, Cirebon, Palembang, Bali, Siak to Raffles). Below is the letters concerning the ruler of Aceh:
- a) Mss Eur D742/1, f 1 (Letter from Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Syah of Kedah to T.S. Raffles in Melaka, 20 April 1811).
 - b) Mss Eur D742/1, f 2 (Letter from Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Syah of Kedah to T.S. Raffles in Melaka, 20 April 1811).
 - c) Mss Eur D742/1, f 20 (Letter from Sultan Abdul Malik Mansur Syah, Yang Dipertuan of Perak, to T.S. Raffles in Melaka, 2 April 1811).
 - d) Mss Eur D742/1, ff 25-26 (Letter from the Yang Dipertuan Muda of Johor and Pahang to T.S. Raffles in Melaka, 26 April 1811).
 - e) Mss Eur D742/1, f 44 (Letter from Sultan Alauddin Johar al-Alam Syah of Aceh to T.S. Raffles in Melaka, 27 April 1811). (Raffles was bestowed with the title “*Seri Paduka Orang Kaya Berpedang Mas.*”).
 - f) Mss Eur D742/1, f 116 (Letter from Dato Seri Pekerma Raja of Siak to Raffles, 19 December 1810).
 - g) Mss Eur D742/1, f 118 (Letter from Yang Dipertuan Tua of Siak Seri Inderpura to Raffles, 29 March 1811).

²¹ Raffles (1781- 1826), the founder of Singapore in 1819 was born on 6 July 1781 (C.E. Wurtzburg, 1954:15). Raffles served the East India Company from 1795-1824 (J.A. Bethune Cook, 1918: 12). In 1805, Raffles was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Presidency Government of Penang and later secretary to the Penang Government from 1807-1810. In 1810, Raffles was appointed special Agent for the Malay States by Lord Minto (the Governor General). From 1811-1816, Raffles became the Lieutenant-Governor of Java and from 1818-1924 as Governor of Benkulen (Mss Eur D742, Mss Eur C842, Vlekke, 1965: 256-57; Loeb, 1972: 12; Lee Kam Hing, 1995: 141; Debbie Lee, 2004: 279; Lee Kam Hing, 2006: 87 & Martin Muller, 2014: 176). Raffles rendered his service to the British in the Southeast Asia for 18 years (Syed Muhd Khairudin al-Junied, 2005: 2).

- h) Mss Eur D742/1, f 148 (Letter from Temenggung Abdul Rahman of Johor in Singapore to Sir T.S. Raffles in Bengkulu, 23 August 1824).
- i) Mss Eur D742/1, f 176 (Letter from Sultan Alauddin Johar al-Alam Syah to Lord Minto, 3 Rabiulawal 1226H (27 April 1811) (A Letter in Portugese from Sultan Alauddin Johar al-Alam Syah (r.1795-1823), to Lord Minto, British Governor-General of Bengal. However, this letter never arrived to Lord Minto. Therefore, the Sultan wrote a letter to Raffles on the same day and attached a copy of his letter to Lord Minto mentioned above. The Sultan also requested the letter to be forwarded to Lord Minto (*Diplomasi Aceh: Sejumlah Surat dan Dokumen dari Raja-Raja Aceh yang tersimpan di koleksi Eropa dan Turki*, 2007: 38). (Translated in Mss Eur C842: 1971 (Ahmat bin Adam Papers), 1971:34-35).

3. British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers Mss Eur D742/2: 1809-1826 (Letters from William Marsden to Sir T.S. Raffles) (Contains 8 letters in which Marsden described to Raffles on matters of Malay culture, history and language):

- a) Mss Eur D742/2, ff 2-3v: 2 Jan 1809 (Letter from William Marsden in Wimpole Street to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.)
- b) Mss Eur D742/2, ff 4-5v: 2 Jan 1809 (Letter from Wiliam Marsden in Wimpole Street to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles)

- c) Mss Eur D742/2, ff 6-9v: Unspecified (Incomplete Letter from William Marsden)
 - d) Mss Eur D742/2, f 10v: 7 Jan 1809 (Letter from William Marsden to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles)
 - e) Mss Eur D742/2, f 11v:11 Apr 1810 (Letter from William Marsden in London to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles)
 - f) Mss Eur D742/2, f 12v: 11 Apr 1810 (Letter from William Marsden in London to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles)
 - g) Mss Eur D742/2, f 13v: 26 Oct 1824 (Letter from William Marsden at Edge Grove, Watford to Sir Thomas Stamford)
 - h) Mss Eur D742/2, ff 14 -15: 18 Mar 1826 (Letter from William Marsden in Queen Anne Street to Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles)
4. British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers Mss Eur C842: 1971 (Ahmat bin Adam Papers) (A descriptive Account of the Malay Letters sent to Thomas Stamford Raffles in Malacca in 1810 and 1811 by the Rulers of the Indigenous States of the Malay Archipelago). Letters from the Ruler of Kedah, Perak, Pemas, Riau, Lingga, Pontianak, Sambas, Banjarmasin, Jambi, Aceh, Cheribon, Palembang and Bali (Some of these letters were published by the British Library in London in 1991 (Annabel Gallop & Bernard Arps, 1991: 41-45).

Generally, the document of Mss Eur C842 is used in this research as it gives the description of Raffles's role in the Malay Archipelago. From all letters, the letter from the Ruler of Aceh is the main concentration of

this research (Letter of Sultan Alauddin Jauhar Alam Shah to Raffles (27 April 1811) as it describes the friendship between the ruler of Aceh and the British (Raffles).

5. British Library, India Office Records and Private Papers Mss Eur F148 (Raffles-Minto Collection: Papers Relating to the British occupation of Java 1808-14):
 - a) Mss Eur F148/22 (Letters from Mr. Raffles to Lord Minto: A General Report respecting Java and its dependencies, 1 May 1812)
 - b) Mss Eur F148/34 (Lord Minto's Letter to Mr. Raffles, 1811-1813)
 - c) Mss Eur F148/35 (Mr Raffles to Lord Minto after his departure from India, 1813-1814)
 - d) Mss Eur F148/37 (Mr Raffles to Lord Minto enclosing 3 Minutes on the office of Civil Commissioner of The Foreign Policy of Java towards the States of the Eastern Seas, 13 Feb 1814)
6. Add MS 45271: 1786-1794 (Raffles Papers, relating to Kedah), British Library.
7. Add MS 45273 (Raffles Paper: Complimentary addresses from the people of Java to Raffles on his retirement as Lieutenant-Governor in 1816), British Library.

Based on the mentioned documents obtained from the British Library, the MS Douce Or.e.4 and MS Laud Or.Rolls.b.1 are the most significant and related documents to the research as the events occurred in the Sultanate of Aceh in the early 17th century.

Both letters proved the existence of trade relation between the British and the Sultanate of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah (1588-1604) and Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). These documents are of great importance as they depict the condition and environment of Aceh at the time of al-Rānīrī's arrival to Aceh that later influenced his role in the intellectual development in Aceh.

Besides the above mentioned documents, the letters to Raffles (number 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7) mentioned above are among Raffles's collection of Malay letters which is the primary sources of this research. Although the Raffles and Marsden collections are beyond the scope of the research (16th-17th century Aceh) as they are dated in the 19th century Malay Archipelago, they are utilized in the research due to a reason. The reason is that the usage of these documents by the researcher is to trace back to the history of the manuscript of *Bustān* which is the main focus of the research. The manuscript of *Bustān* is named after Raffles (Raffles Malay 8 & Raffles 42) and is dated from 1807 to 1812, thus it indicates that both manuscripts are under the collection of Raffles.

In addition to Raffles 8 & Raffles 42, there are about 80 Raffles Malay manuscripts on various fields of the Malay Archipelago located in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London dated from 1750-1819 (Voorhoeve, 1963: 58-67) with most of them were written within the years 1811-1814. Among the Malay manuscripts are *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, *Sejarah Melayu*, *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, *Hikayat Kalīlah dan Daminah* and others. Moreover, this situation shows that Raffles was really a collector of Malay manuscripts and Malay letters that in turn is a reflection of his interest in the Malay Archipelago during his sojourn in the Malay Archipelago from 1805-1824.²²

²²Besides that, according to Vlekke, "Raffles's interest in Indonesian languages and customs was genuine. He devoted a great deal of his time and much of his correspondence to matters of purely ethnological interests." (Vlekke, 1965: 269).

In the researcher's opinion, Raffles's interest leads to his collection of Malay letters and Malay manuscripts in the Malay Archipelago. Among these letters are the letters from the indigenous rulers to Lord Minto, letters of Malay Rulers and Chiefs to Malay Agents and clerk working for Raffles, and letters addressed to the governor of Penang, Phillip Dundas and Andrew Bruce, and their letters to the Malay Rulers (Mss Eur C842 (Ahmat bin Adam Papers), 1971: xi). All these letters were taken by Raffles to England in 1816.

Besides that, Raffles's interest parallels to that of to the British's interest in the Malay region. As an official agent of the Governor-General with the Malay States (Martin Muller, 2014, 176), Raffles needs to provide information on all matters regarding the Malays to the East India Company. The information is very important to the East India Company due to its competition with the Dutch to maintain their influence in the Malay region. Raffles took the initiative to gather as much information on the Malay culture, history and language (Debbie Lee, 2004: 279). This is proven in the collection of letters from William Marsden to Raffles (Mss Eur D742/2: 1809-1826). Raffles did not only collect Malay manuscripts and letters but also order them to be copied (Yusoff, 1980: 5). According to Mohd. Taib, the activities of collecting and copying Malay manuscripts in the 19th century by the Dutch and the English scholars are due to their competition to uphold their influence in the Malay / Javanese region (Mohd. Taib, 2006: 2).

Raffles had professionally skilled Malay scribes and copyists to assist him in writing letters to the indigenous rulers. They were Ibrahim son of Kandu, a Tamil Muslim, Tambi Ahmad bin Nina Merikan, Ismail Lebai and Muhammad Latif (Amin

Sweeney, 2008: 291 & Ahmat Adam, 2009: 32-33). For example, Raffles ordered the copying of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Yahya Ismail, 1974: 101). The present *Hikayat Raja Pasai* was copied by a scribe of Raffles in Betawi in 1814 (Hermansyah, 2014b: 37). According to Munshi Abdullah in *Hikayat Abdullah*, Raffles's residence in Melaka had been the place for copying Malay manuscripts (*Hikayat Abdullah*, 1963: 72-73).²³ Raffles also hired copyists who possessed good and beautiful writing (Siti Hawa, 2002: 41). This proves Raffles's perseverance in collecting Malay manuscripts and Malay letters.

In addition, Mss Eur D742/1 (Raffles Family Collection contains 50 letters in Malay dated in 1810 and 1811 to Thomas Stamford Raffles from the Rulers of Kedah, Perak, Riau, Lingga, Pontianak, Sambas, Banjarmasin, Jambi, Aceh, Cirebon, Palembang, Bali and Siak) gives a background on the correspondence between Raffles and the Malay rulers. Concerning Aceh, Ahmat Adam stated that, "the letter of Aceh (Letter of Sultan Alauddin Jauhar Alam to Raffles (1811)) appear to make the opening of what proved to be Raffles's long involvement in Acehese affairs of Aceh which in fact continued until the conclusion of his treaty with the state in 1819." (Mss Eur C842: 1971 (Ahmat bin Adam Papers), 35). This correspondence was one of the ways that Raffles came to know about Aceh. In fact, Raffles had a good knowledge of the situation in Aceh, gathered during his years in Penang (1805-1810). According to Lee, "Raffles had followed events in Aceh since he arrived as secretary to the Penang Government in 1805 and he was familiar with with developments there." (Lee Kam Hing, 2006: 87). Raffles also knew about Aceh through access to council

²³ Abdullah Abdul Kadir Munshi (henceforth Munshi Abdullah) wrote, "*Dan lagi pula orang membawa kitab-kitab dan hikayat Melayu, entah beberapa ratus jenis, tiadalah aku teringat; hampir-hampir habis surat-surat Melayu daripada beberapa zaman, daripada harta nenek moyang, sekalian habis dijualan... kitab-kitab itu semuanya tulisan tangan...Maka adalah kitab-kitab itu sekalian kira-kira tiga ratus enam puluh, lain daripada jenis-jenis syair dan pantun dan ikat-ikatan dan sebagainya. Dan lagi lain pula dipinjamnya, disuruhnya salin, ada empat lima orang jurutulisnya yang menyalin sahaja.*" (Three hundred and sixty six handwritten *kitab* (books) and Malay *Hikayat* were copied and there were four-five copyists). (Munshi Abdullah, 1963: 72-73; Aliza Elias, 2012: 619 & Amin Sweeney, 2008: 293).

correspondence as well as through the British merchants in Penang and Malacca (Lee Kam Hing, 1995: 141).

Thus, the above mentioned documents (number 1-7) are important as it provides the background and activities of Raffles in the Malay Archipelago that from the researcher's opinion raised his interest to collect as many Malay letters and Malay manuscripts. In the context of Aceh, Raffles not only collect *Bustān* but also other Malay manuscripts related to Aceh namely *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* by Bukhārī al-Jauhārī, *Shifā' al-Qulūb* and *'Umdat al-I'tikād* by al-Rānīrī (Voorhoeve, 1963: 60, 62, 65 & 67). According to Voorhoeve, Raffles collected the majority of the Malay manuscripts during his service as the Governor-General in Jawa (1811-1816). With regard to *Bustān*, Raffles obtained two copies of it, one through a British resident in Pontianak in 1812 (Siti Hawa, 2002: 44). Last but not least, Abdullah Munshi wrote that Raffles kept a large number of Malay *kitāb* (books), *hikayat* and *sha'ir*. The latter brought with him three boxes containing three hundred Malay books and a large amount of unbounded manuscripts when he left Singapore to Europe (Abdullah Munshi, 1963b: 239). Therefore, it proves that Raffles was a keen collector of Malay manuscripts.

The significance of the aforementioned documents especially the manuscripts of *Bustan* lies in the fact that they are the primary sources of this research. These sources are used to analyze the contents of *Bustan* (Book I-Book IV) as the following:

1) Book 1 (The Creation of heaven and earth)

Book one will analyze the manuscripts of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. These versions are in *Jawi* writing and are different in contents in some parts of the manuscripts. Apart from that, this research also benefits from Jelani's "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

(*Bab Pertama dan Kedua*) *Karangan Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī*'. It contains the transliteration of Book I and Book II in Malay language which is entirely helpful for this research.

2) Book II (Prophets and Rulers)

Similar to Book I, Book II too refer to the manuscript of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. Besides that, Jelani Harun's "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Bab Pertama dan Kedua) Karangan Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī*" and T. Iskandar's book entitled "*Nūru'd-dīn ar-Rānīrī Bustānu's-Salāṭīn Bab II, Fasal 13*" are valuable sources for this research. T. Iskandar's work was published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in 1996 and it concentrates on chapter 2 *Fasal 13* using the manuscripts of Raffles Ms. No. 42 and Ms. No. 8 from the Royal Asiatic Society, London. In addition, Book II analyzes the version of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* by Siti Hawa published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in 1992. Similar to T. Iskandar, Siti Hawa discusses chapter 2 *Fasal 13* but with a different approach. Last but not least, the work of Wilkinson (1900) entitled *Kitāb Bustān al-Salāṭīn* in *Jawi* script, published in Singapore by the American Mission Press that discusses *Fasal 1 - Fasal 13* of chapter 2.

3) Book III (Just Kings and Wise Ministers)

The only available version of Book III is the UM 41 since it is the only version that contains the content of Book III. (Jelani, 2009: 45). Besides, Jelani Harun's book entitled "*Bustān al-Salāṭīn Bab Ketiga Kisah Raja-Raja Yang Adil*", published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in 2008, is of beneficial usage for this chapter since it consists of a complete translation of Book III in Malay language.

4) Book IV (Ascetic Rulers and Pious Saints)

Book IV examines the manuscripts of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. Other than the different copies of the manuscripts, secondary sources also provide useful information for analyzing this book. The only available works on book IV are only provided by Grinter in her Ph.D thesis in 1979 entitled “Book IV of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* by Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī: A Study from the Manuscripts of a 17th Century Malay Work Written in North Sumatera” and a book by Jones entitled “Nūru’d-dīn ar-Rānīrī *Bustānu’s-Salāṭīn* Bab IV Fasal 1” published in 1974 using the Raffles MS No. 8. Both Grinter and Jones give complete transliteration of book IV (consists of 2 Fasal) in Malay language in which Jones concentrates on *Fasal 1* and Grinter on *Fasal 2*.

2.4.2.2 Library Research

Library research involves the collecting of primary and secondary sources to create the literature review of the subject. Several libraries inside and outside Malaysia were used to achieve the above purpose specifically the National Library of Malaysia (PN), University of Malaya Library (UM), Library of the Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, the National University of Malaysia (UKM) and the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). Most of the secondary sources in term of books, journal articles, theses, etc. were obtained in the libraries in Malaysia which are listed in the last part of this research, i.e. inside the bibliography. Apart from that, lots of books were obtained from the website of the Museum of Aceh such as *Iskandar Muda Meukuta Alam*, *Pahlawan Nasional Sultan Iskandar Muda*, *Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī dan Nūruddīn Ar-Rānīrī*, *Adat Atjeh*, *Iskandar Muda Meukuta Alam*, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, *An Introduction to the government of Aceh's Sultanate*, *History of Sumatra*, etc.

In term of the primary sources, which are, the manuscripts of *Bustān*, several copies of the manuscript were obtained inside Malaysia. Generally, the manuscript of

Bustān al-Salāṭīn consists of seven books but a complete copy of the seven books is not available. The only university that supplies almost a complete copy of the manuscript of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (UM 41) is the University of Malaya library (Book I to Book V). In fact, University of Malaya is the only library that provides a copy of book III locally and internationally. Meanwhile, the National Library of Malaysia and Tun Seri Lanang Library in the National University of Malaysia only offer Book VII of *Bustān*. Tun Seri Lanang Library provides document concerning the sultanate of Aceh and the birth of Sultan Iskandar Muda (MS 15, f. 17v-18r).

Apart from the libraries in Malaysia, the British Library, The Royal Asiatic Society and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) library in London were used to collect other copies of the manuscripts of *Bustān* as well as the secondary sources. Gathering data in London, United Kingdom was carried out in November 2012 for about a month (2 November - 31 November 2012). The Royal Asiatic library provides precious documents which are Manuscripts Raffles Malay 8 and Raffles Malay 42 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*), Manuscript Raffles Malay 18 (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*) and Manuscript Raffles Malay 64 (*Tāj al-Salāṭīn*). Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 contain 4 Books (Book I, II, IV and V) but lack of Book III.

Furthermore, articles from the *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JSBRAS)* and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) (JRAS)* were gathered at The Royal Asiatic Society library. Among the articles referred to are, “The Genealogy of Malacca’s Kings from a Copy of the *Bustānu’s-Salāṭīn*” and “*Tāju’s-Salāṭīn*” (JSBRAS, No. 81, 1920), “*Bustān’s-Salāṭīn*: Its Date and Author” and “Malay Works known by Werndly in 1736 A.D.” (JSBRAS, No. 82, 1920) and “*Dakā’ik al-*

Huruf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel" (JRAS, 87 (1-2), 1955). Among the prolific authors of the above mentioned journals are Winstedt, Voorhoeve, A.H. John and E.U. Kratz.

Meanwhile, the British Library supplies documents from the Indian Office Record such as MSS EUR D742/1, f.44, MSS EUR D742/2: 1809-1826 and MSS EUR C842 as well as the most important secondary reference for the study that is a thesis entitled "Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī's *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*: A Universal History and Adab Work from Seventeenth Century Aceh" by Jelani Harun. In addition, significant theses relevant to the subject matter were found in the British library which are "An Analysis of the Earliest Arab Historical Writers (Ibn Ishaq, Al-Ṭabarī and Al-Balādhurī) by Mohammad Luqman (1981), Rule Behind The Silk Curtain: The Sultanahs of Aceh 1641-1699 by Sher Banu (2009) and Perspective and Method in Early Islamic Historiography: A Study of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* by Dona Sue Straley (1977).

Apart from theses, the British Library also provides articles from established journals related to the Malay world which are *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)*, Indonesian and the Malay World and the magazine of *Archipel* which are listed entirely inside the bibliography. Articles from leading scholars with regards to the history of the Malay world were obtained inside *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (BKI)*. They are Voorhoeve (1951), Drewes (1951), Djadjadiningrat (1911), Nieuwenhuijze (1948), R. Roolvink (1967), Braginsky (1975), Ian Proudfoot (2002), E.U. Kratz (2002), Jan Ver Der Putten (2003), etc.

Last but not least, the School of Oriental and African Studies library (SOAS) offers noteworthy primary sources for this research, which are, "Adat Atjeh by Drewes & Voorhoeve and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, vol.1-2 by Wilkinson. In addition, references in term

of articles were referred from SOAS's prominent Journal namely the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. For instances, "Al-Zuhrī: A Study on the Beginnings of History Writing in Islam, The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldūn's Political Theory and The Chronology of the "Maghazi"- A Textual Survey. Finally, a book by Jones that is "*Hikayat Sultan Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham: An Edition of an Anonymous Malay text with translation and notes*" which is applicable for the data analysis of Book IV of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* finalizes the researcher's library research at the SOAS library.

2.4.2.3 Interviews

Interview is one of the techniques or instruments of collecting data. According to Newman (2014), "Interview is a short-term, secondary social interaction between two strangers with the explicit purpose of one person obtaining specific information from the others." (Newman, 2014: 350). Besides that, Punch stated that, "Interview is the prominent data collection tool in qualitative research. It is a very good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality. It is also one of the most powerful ways we have of understanding others." (Punch, 2014: 144). The above definitions indicate the purpose and significant of interview in qualitative research. Therefore, in addition to documents, this research also utilized the technique of interview in data gathering.

This research used the face to face interviews that involves unstructured interview with open-ended questions. Unstructured interview is, "a flexible method of data collection, sometimes called the open-ended or in-depth interview... It is also used to explore people's interpretations and meanings of events and situations, and their symbolic and cultural significance." (Punch, 2014, 147 & 164). Therefore, this research

applied the unstructured interview as the interviewer determines to elicit views, opinions and experiences of the respondents pertaining textual analysis. In achieving the objective, open ended interviews were carried out where the interviewer enquired the respondents an open-ended questions on the research topic (in the context of this research, the characteristic and methods of analyzing text) and allowed them to demonstrate their opinions and perspective as well as to share their experiences.

In this research, interviews were conducted with experts in Malay-Manuscript studies, specifically on textual analysis. First, Vladimir Braginsky (Professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS)), who is an expert in Malay literature and textual analysis. This interview was carried out on 22 November 2012 in London. Second, Annabel Teh Gallop (Curator of the British Library, London), who is expert in the textual analysis of Malay Letters, on 17 November 2012 in London. Furthermore, interview was carried out with an expert from Aceh as *Bustān* originated from there. Interview was accomplished with Hermansyah (an expert in textual analysis of Aceh-Jawi Arab Manuscripts and also a Lecturer of Philology and Textual Analysis at the *Fakultas Adab, Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry (IAIN)* (State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh), on 31 July 2015 at Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia.

This research involves in-depth interviews with experts in text analysis with the purpose to coordinate, strengthen and complete the researcher's methodology of content analysis of *Bustān*. As there are many techniques of analyzing text, the researcher interviewed the above-mentioned respondents to enquire about their methodology of text analysis that encompasses their methods of analyzing text, the way they made their conclusions of the texts and others. In the researcher's opinion, this knowledge is the

basis to strengthen the researcher's methodology of analyzing the text of *Bustān*. This method is applied in chapter three to chapter six of this thesis.

2.4.3 Method of Data Analysis

As mentioned in the research design section, this research is a qualitative content analysis. As a qualitative research, an inductive approach or inductive mode of reasoning is the main approach utilized for analyzing data. However, the deductive reasoning and comparative methods are also used. As this research utilized the method of content analysis, the conventional approach to content analysis is used to analyze the text of *Bustān*. According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005), "...in conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data." (Hsiu-Fang-Hsieh & Sarah E. Shannon, 2005: 1277). Below are detailed explanations of the inductive, deductive and comparative approaches of data analysis of this research:

2.4.3.1 Inductive Analysis

Inductive approach is an approach begins with specific data out of which more general ideas or theories are generated (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011: 13). According to Franklin (2013), "Induction refers to the process of reasoning from specific observation to general principle or theory." In inductive reasoning, conclusions or general laws are drawn only after enough evidence - facts – has been assembled and analysed, from the ground up (Franklin, 2013, 233). Inductive analysis also refers to approaches that primarily used detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher (Thomas, 2006: 238). The following figure (Figure 2.2) indicates the inductive process of data analysis of this research and its description:

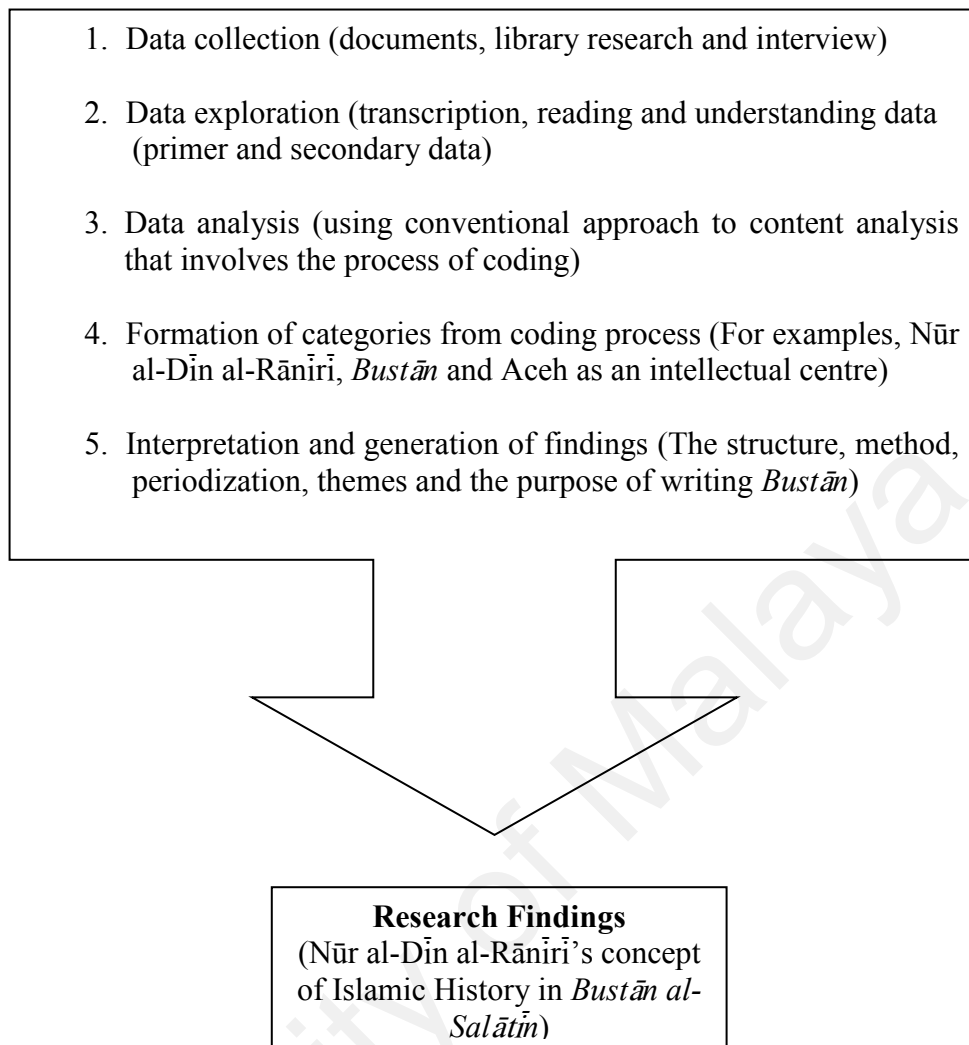


Figure 2.2: Inductive Process of Data Analysis

- A. Data Collection, preparation and exploration of data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 302-305)

This research collected data from documents, interviews and library research. The completion of data gathering is followed by the process of data preparation and data exploration. In data preparation, interviews were transcribed, documents and secondary sources were gathered and arranged. Description on interviews in this research is described in the following. Data exploration involves the process of recognition and understanding of the data through reading, listening, highlighting and reviewing as well

as the usage of memos (descriptive memo and quoting (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 314)). In the context of this research, raw materials i.e. the texts of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (UM 41, Raffles Malay 8 and Raffles Malay 42) would be printed, highlighted and reviewed. Besides the main text of this research (*Bustān*), several other primer texts were analyzed i.e. *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* (Manuscript Raffles Malay 64), *Adat Aceh* (T. Iskandar, 2001), *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and *Sulālat al-Salāṭīn* (Manuscript Raffles Malay 18). The process of data exploration is also applied for secondary sources i.e. books, journals, magazines, conference papers and others.

B. Transcription of recorded data (interviews)

Interviews were conducted with Braginsky, Annabel Teh Gallop and Hermansyah. These interviews were taped, listened and transcribed. As stated by Hesse-Bieber, “the process of transcription needs a careful and constant effort since it engages the deep process of listening, analysis and interpretation.” (Hesse-Bieber & Leavy, 2011: 304). Besides that, David Silverman quoted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984) state that, “the production of and use of transcripts are essentially ‘research activities’. They involve close, repeated listenings to recordings which often reveal previously unnoted recurring features of the organization of the talk.” (Silverman, 2010: 241). Transcripts of the above interviews were then printed out and read carefully to understand their contents. Subsequently, texts relate to the objectives of this research was highlighted and a keyword was given next to the highlighted text followed by a code created by the researcher.

C. Coding Process

Following the process of recognition and understanding the data is the process of coding. According to Rossman & Rallis (1998), “Coding is a process of organizing the material into “chunks” before bringing meaning to those chunks. It involves taking text data or pictures, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories, and labelling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant (called an in vivo term).” (Cresswell, 2014: 197-98). Besides that, a coding system is a set of instructions or rules describing how to observe and record content from text (Newman, 2014: 373).

The process of coding in this research begins during the proses of analyzing data (transcription of interviews, memos and the text segments) and initial codes were given to the data. Different codes are utilized for different texts and transcriptions. After all datas had been coded, the researcher examined all data and codes. Subsequently, some codes were combined and given a more focused coding. All data was analyzed into category and then the researcher compared each data with every other part. Below are the examples of the coding process of this research:

a) Page Coding (for interviews)

Every interviewee is refered to a specific code. In this research, these are the codes given to each interviewee, Braginsky (B), Gallop (G) and Hermansyah (H). After giving the codes, the transcriptions are numbered according to pages, for example (I/A-1). The researcher will take one example of coding from the transcription of Gallop’s interview. The word (I) represents interview, (G) for Gallop and (1) refers to the page of the transcription.

Example 1: Examples of Coding Process

*Tentang konsep sejarah, mungkin ada dua bidang yang perlu diperhatikan sebagai latar belakang. Yang satu dari segi sastera dan yang paling penting adalah tulisan-tulisan Profesor Braginsky. Dan buku-buku besar tentang Classical Malay literature. Ini sangat penting untuk menempatkan *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* dalam kerangka sastera melayu.*

(In term of the concept of history, there are two fields that should be taken into consideration. The first is from the aspect of literature and the main books on classical Malay literature. This is very important in positioning *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* in the framework of Malay literature).

Example 2: Examples of Coding Process

Karya-karya misalnya Dr Jones, Siti Hawa dan juga Jelani, mereka juga dengan cukup teliti membahaskan semua ini terutama Jelani yang mendaftarkan kesemua manuskrip yang sudah diketahui. Berdasarkan kajian Jelani setidak-tidaknya sekarang keseluruhan teks memang sudah diwakili manuskrip.

(The writings of Jones, Siti Hawa and Jelani have thoroughly debated this issue especially Jelani who had registered all known manuscripts. In Jelani's research, overall texts were represented by manuscripts).

b) Initial Codes

The above are the examples of transcription's coding, meanwhile, below are the examples of coding from selected texts of *Bustān* using initial codes that differ to that of the above:

Example 3: Initial Codes of Selected Excerpts

Excerpts	Initial Codes
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Excerpts	Initial Codes
<p><i>Maka adalah yang pertama segala anbia itu Nabi Allah Ādam ‘alayhi al-salām... Kata segala ulama, tatkala dikehendaki Āllah Subḥanahu wa Ta‘āla menjadikan Nabi Allah Ādam‘alayhi al-salām, maka ia berfirman seperti yang tersebut dalam Qur‘ān (Sūrah Ṣād: 71). [Ertinya]: Dan tatkala berfirman Tuhanmu pada segala malaikat ya Muḥammad, “Bahawanya Aku hendak menjadikan insan daripada tanah.” Iaitu berfirman Allah Ta‘āla kepada Jibrīl ‘alayhi al-salām, “Hai Jibrīl, pergilah engkau ke bumi, ambil olehmu tanah dari segala bumi, Aku hendak menjadikan suatu kejadian daripadanya.” (Raffles 8: 76; Raffles 42: 87 & UM 41:105)</i></p> <p>(The Prophet Ādam is the first prophet on earth and once Allah decides to create Ādam, He orders Jibrail, one of the angels, to take some soils from the earth).</p>	<p>Historical element (The History of Creation of the Prophet Ādam)</p>
<p><i>Kata Ibn ‘Abbās raḍiya Allahu‘anhuma, bahawa dijadikan Allah Ta‘āla Nabi Ādam ‘alayhi al-salām itu daripada tanah segala bumi. Kepalanya daripada tanah Ka‘bah dan dadanya daripada tanah Dahna dan belakangnya dan perutnya daripada Hindi, dan kedua tangannya daripada tanah Masyriq, dan kedua kakinya daripada tanah Maghrib. (Raffles 8: 77; Raffles 42: 89; UM 41: 107 & Jelani, 2004a, 102)</i></p> <p>(According to Ibn ‘Abbās, the Prophet Ādam was created from the clay of the entire earth. His head was from the clay of Ka‘bah, his chest from the clay of Dahna (an oasis), his back and stomach from Hindi, both of his hands from Masyrik and his legs from Maghrib)</p>	<p>Historical element (The greatness of Allah in the creation of the physical feature of the Prophet Ādam)</p>
<p><i>Syahdan tiada turun raja yang bernama khalifah dengan zalim dan tiada turun raja yang lain pada tiap-tiap negeri Islam dengan fasiq, hanya sanya turun makzul ia dengan zalim aniaya orang, tetapi jika ada ia sangat ijtihad pada memerintah hukum Allah dan Rasul-Nya dan sangat ia ijtihad pada memerintah hukum Allah dan Rasul-Nya dan sangat ia memberi nasihat akan rakyatnya, ...jika pada hal itu terlanjur pada berbuat aniaya sedikit, maka tiada makzul, tetapi wajib ia taubat dan minta ampun kepada Allah Ta‘āla. (UM 41: 300 & Jelani, 2008a, 11)</i></p> <p>(A caliph will be removed if he committed</p>	<p>Didactic element (characteristic of Just King)</p>

Excerpts	Initial Codes
<p>injustice to his people, but if a pious caliph unintentionally did small injustice whereas he implemented the law of Allah and give advice to his subjects, he will not be removed but rather he should repent to Allah)</p>	
<p><i>Kata sahibulhikayat: Ada pun sebab Sultan Ibrāhīm ibn Adham meninggalkan kerajaan dalam negeri Balkh itu; Sa-kali persetua pada suatu hari ia pergi berburu. Maka (lalu) sa-ekor pelandok dari hadapan-nya, maka di-ikut-nya akan pelandok itu. Maka ada-lah hal-nya dalam menchari pelandok juga, maka tiba-tiba di-dengar (nya) suatu suara ghaib demikian bunyi-nya “Hai Ibrāhīm, kerana kerja ini-kah engkau di-jadikan, atau karena kerja ini-kah engkau di-surohkan?” Demi di-dengar Ibrāhīm ibn Adham suara itu maka lalu ia turun dari atas kuda-nya. Maka bertemu ia dengan sa-orang ghubala kambing, maka lalu di-ambil-nya baju ghubala kambing itu; maka ia pun di-beri-kan segala pakaian-nya yang di-tuboh-nya dan segala pakaian-nya kuda-nya akan sghubala kaming itu. Maka ia pun memakai pakaian ghubala kambing itu, lalu ia berjalan kapada suatu surokan; maka jadi-lah jalan-nya saperti yang telah masyhur cheritera-nya. (Bustān al-Salāṭīn, Book IV) (Jones, 1974: 20)</i></p> <p>(This is the reason why Sultan Ibrāhīm ibn Adham abdicated his throne in Balkh: Once upon a time, he went hunting. Seeing a mousedeer passing in front of him, he pursued it. While he was looking for it, suddenly he heard the voice of an invisible caller saying “O Ibrāhīm, was it for this work that you were created, or was it this work that you were commanded to do?” Upon hearing this voice Ibrāhīm ibn Adham dismounted from his horse...He fell in with a goatherd; he took the goatherd’s coat, and gave to the goatherd the clothes he was wearing and the equipment of his horse. He put on the goatherd’s clothes, and he set off for a distant ravine. And there unsued what is described in the well known story). (Jones, 1974:20)</p>	<p>Didactic element (Ascetic Ruler-The Story of Ibrāhīm b. Adham)</p>

D. Creation of Categories/Themes

In the process of the creation of categories, the researcher identified categories from texts segments related to the objectives of the research. Each category bears their own codes and below is the categories of this research.

Example 4: List of Categories, Sub-topics and Codes

Categories	Sub-topics
Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Background of al-Rānirī (C1a) b) The works of al-Rānirī (C1b) c) The Concept of Islamic History (C1c)
<i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i> (C2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Manuscripts (C2a) b) Themes (C2b) c) Sources (C2c) d) Contents (C2d) e) Methods (C2e)
Malay Scholars of the Seventeenth Century Aceh (C3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Ḥamzah Faṅṣūrī (C3a) b) Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (C3b) c) ‘Abd Ra’ūf al-Singkīlī (C3c)
Aceh as An intellectual Centre (C4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning (C4a) b) Islamic sciences (C4b) c) Muslim Scholars (C4c)

Example 5: Selected Excerpt

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
(C1a) Background of al-Rānirī	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "...<i>Iaitu Sheikh Nūr al-Dīn anak 'Alī Ḥasanji anak Muḥammad, Ḥamīd bangsanya, Rānir negerinya, dan Shāfi'ī mazhabnya.</i>" (Raffles 8: 3, Raffles 42: 3 & UM 41: 3) (Al-Rānirī belongs to the clan of Ḥamīd, Rānir was his place of origin and Shāfi'ī was his <i>mazhab</i>) 2. "<i>Pengarang Kitāb Bustānu's-Salāṭīm ialah Sheikh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ḥamīd ar-Rānirī. Ia di-lahirkan dalam keluarga Quraish di Rānir atau Randir, suatu Bandar tidak berapa jauh dari Surat, Gujerat, India.</i>" (T. Iskandar, 1966: 2) (The author of <i>Bustānu's-Salāṭīm</i> is Sheikh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ḥamīd al-Rānirī, from a Quraishi family in Rānir, located in Gujerat). 3. "Rānirī's family had also kept contact with Aceh-his mother being apparently a Malay... Rānirī's family had always maintained close contact with Aceh (al-Attas, 1966: 12-13).
(C1b) The works of al- Rānirī	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "<i>Sebermula datanglah khabar itu ke negeri Aceh mengenai Sheikh 'Abdullāh membawa agama shari'at Nabi Muḥammad Rasūlullāh di dalam negeri Kedah dengan amat keras syaraknya. Maka Tuan Sheikh Nūr al-Dīn pun muafakat dengan raja negeri Aceh hendak mengantarkan Kitāb Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm serta dengan kitāb Bāb al-Nikāḥ. Maka titah Sultan Aceh, "Baik sangat, tuan, kita hantarkan kepada Sultan Muzalfal Shah negeri Kedah itu daripada kedua kitāb ini segala perkataan ibadat segala hamba Allah yang mengikut shari'at Nabi Muḥammad..."</i> (MS 134 <i>Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa (Kedah Annals)</i>) (Al-Rānirī with the consent of the King of Aceh decided to send <i>kitāb</i> (book) <i>Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm</i> and <i>Bāb al-Nikāḥ</i> to Sultan Muzalfal Shah of Kedah. These

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
	<p>books contain the entire teaching of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.))</p> <p>2. “Al-Rānirī was a prolific and erudite writer. According to various sources, he wrote no fewer than 29 works. But not all were written during his seven-year sojourn in Aceh. For instance, one of his most studied works, the <i>Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm</i>, was prepared at least partly before he came to Aceh. His works mainly deal with <i>taṣawwuf</i>, <i>kalām</i>, <i>fiqh</i>, <i>ḥadīth</i>, history and comparative religion.” (Azra, 2004: 62)</p>
<p>(C1c) Al-Rānirī’s Concept of Islamic history in <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i></p> <p>I. The Concept of <i>Tawḥīd</i></p> <p>II. The Concept of <i>Akhīrat</i> (Hereafter)</p>	<p>“<i>Al-Ḥamd lillāh al-ladhī lā ilāha illa huwa wa kāna fī al-Awwal wa lā shai’ ma’ahu. Segala puji bagi Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia, dan adalah Ia pada azal tiada sertanya... Ashhadu an lā ’ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lah, wa ashhadu anna Muḥammad ’abduhu wa rasūluh. Saksi aku bahawasanya tiada tuhan melainkan Allah, esa Ia, tiada sekutu bagi-Nya. Dan saksi aku bahawasanya Nabi Muḥammad itu hamba-Nya lagi pesuruh-Nya.</i>” (Raffles 8:1; Raffles 42:1; UM 41:1 & Jelani, 2004a: 2) (Al-Rānirī praised Allah and confirmed that there is no God except Allah and the Prophet Muḥammad as the Messenger of Allah)</p> <p>1. “..... yang tiada pernah dilihat oleh mata dan tiada pernah didengar oleh telinga dan tiada bergerak di dalam hati segala manusia. Dan [kata] segala ‘ulamā’ yaitulah bernama <i>Dār al-Akhīrati</i> dan ialah bernama <i>Ḥaḍartu</i> “Allah yang tiada kesudahan. Dan iaitulah yang dijadikan Allah Ta’āla dengan tangan KudratNya...” (Raffles</p>

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
	<p>8: 38; Raffles 42: 39; UM 41: 50 & Jelani, 2004a: 46) <i>(Dār al-Akhīrah</i> (the house of <i>Akhīrat</i>) is a permanent place after death. It contains anything beyond the vision, hearing and intuition of human being).</p> <p>2. “<i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang berjinak-jinakkan dengan segala ‘ulamā’ yang menunjuk jalan akhīrah.</i>” (UM 41: 369 & Jelani, 2008a: 79) (Kings should learn from the ‘<i>ulamā’</i> who guide the path to hereafter).</p>
Bustān al-Salām (C2)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
(C2c) Sources of <i>Bustan</i>	<p>1. “<i>Maka dijawabkan fakir daripada kitāb bahasa Arab yang berpegang seperti Kitāb ‘Ajā’ib al-Malakūt, dan Daqā’iq al-Haqā’iq, dan Mirṣād al-‘Ibād, dan daripada Tafsīr Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl al-Baghawīy, dan Tafsir Wāḥidiy, dan Rawdat al-Rayāhīn, dan Uns al-Munqaṭi‘īn...</i>” (Raffles 8: 4; Raffles 42: 4; UM 41: 5 & Jelani, 2004a: 3-4) (Nūr al-Dīn wrote <i>Bustān</i> based on the <i>Kitāb ‘Ajā’ib al-Malakūt, Daqā’iq al-Ḥaqā’iq, Mirṣād al-‘Ibād, Tafsīr Mu‘alim, al-Tanzīl al-Baghāwī, Tafsir Waḥidī, Rawdat al-Rayāhīn, Uns al-Munqaṭi‘īn, etc.</i>)</p> <p>2. “<i>Kata Ibn ‘Abbās raḍiya Allahu ‘anhu, bahawa Jibrīl ‘alayhi al-salām itu ada baginya enam sayap, maka tiap-tiap sayap itu seratus sayap.</i>” (Raffles 8: 22, Raffles 42: 25 & UM 41: 28) (According to Ibn ‘Abbās, the angel Jibrīl possesses six wings and one hundred wings are attached to each wing).</p>

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
(C2e) Methods	
I. Chronology	<p>“Al-Bāb li-Awwal dhikr khalq al-samawāt wa al-‘arḍ. Bermula bab yang pertama pada menyatakan kejadian bumi tujuh petala dan tujuh petala langit. Al-Bāb al-Thānīy fī dhakara al-‘Anbiyāt wa al-Salātīm wa thabbahu fuṣūl. Bermula bab yang kedua pada menyatakan segala anbia dan segala raja-raja, dan adalah dalamnya itu beberapa fasal. Al-Bāb al-Thālith fī Bayān al-Salātīm al-‘Ādilīm wa al-Wuzurā’ al-‘Āqilīm wa fīhi fuṣūl bab. Bermula bab yang ketiga pada menyatakan raja-raja yang adil dan wazir yang berakal, dan dalamnya itu enam fasal. Al-Bāb al-Rābi ‘ fī Bayān al-Salātīm al-Zāhidīm wa ‘Awliyā’ al-Ṣāliḥīm wa fīhi faṣlāny. Bermula bab yang keempat pada menyatakan segala raja-raja yang pertapa dan segala aulia yang soleh-soleh, dan dalamnya itu dua fasal. (Raffles 8: 4-5; Raffles 42: 5 & UM 41: 5-6)</p> <p>(The content of <i>Bustān</i> is written chronologically starting from the creation of earth and heaven (Book I), the story of the Prophets and Rulers (Book II), Just Kings and Wise ministers (Book III) and ends with Ascetic Rulers and Pious Saints (Book IV)).</p>
2. Title/subject	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Bermula fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang bertapa yang meninggalkan dunia pada zaman dahulu kala karena mengikut keredaan Allah Ta‘āla...” (Jones, 1974: 10) (The first part to discourse on the doings of Ascetic kings who forsook this world in olden times to carry out the wishes of Allah). 2. “Fasal inilah Suatu Fasal pada menyatakan Peri kejadian Nūr

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
	<p><i>Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam dan Barang yang takluk kepadanya.”</i> (Raffles 8, 5: Raffles 42: 6; UM 41: 7 & Jelani, 2004a: 5) (Chapter concerning the creation of the Light of Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and what appertains it).</p>
Malay Scholars of the Seventeenth Century Aceh (C3)	
(C3b) Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī	<p>“<i>Shahadan pada masa itulah wafat Sheīkh Shams al-Dīn ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Sumatrānī pada malam isnin, dua belas haribulan Rejab, pada Hijrah seribu tiga puluh sembilan tahun. Adalah sheīkh itu alim pada ilmu segala alim. Dan ialah yang termashyur alimnya pada ilmu taṣawwuf, dan beberapa kitāb yang ditaklikannya.”</i> (Raffles 8: 238; Raffles 42: 235 & UM 41: 287-88) (Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, a learned man in Islamic sciences, and renowned of his knowledge on <i>taṣawwuf</i>, died in the year A.H.1039).</p>
Aceh as An intellectual Centre (C4)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
(C4a) Aceh as the centre of Islamic learning	<p>1. “<i>Kemudian maka datang pula seorang pendeta dari benua Gujerat bernama Sheīkh Muḥammad Jaylān ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Ḥamīd nama kaumnya, Quraish bangsanya, Rānir nama negerinya, Shāfi’ī mazhabnya. Sheīkh itulah yang mengajarkan ilmu mantiq ma’āni dan ilmu Bayān badī’, dan ilmu Uṣūl dan ilmu fiqh dalam negeri Aceh Dar al-Salām.”</i> (Raffles 8: 236; Raffles 42: 233; UM 41: 285 & Wilkinson, 1900: 123) (A Ṣūfī named Sheīkh Muḥammad Jaylān ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad from Gujerat came to Aceh and taught <i>mantiq</i> (logic), <i>Bayān badī’</i>, (knowledge concerning the meaning of words in Qur’ān), <i>Uṣūl</i> and <i>fiqh</i>, etc.)</p>

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (C1)	
Codes	Selected Excerpts
	<p>2. “<i>Sesungguhnya negeri Aceh Darussalam ini serambi Mekah Allah yang Maha Mulia.</i>” (Raffles 42: 272). (Indeed the state of Aceh Darussalam is Allah’s verandah of Mecca)</p>

E. Interpretation and Generation of findings

The completion of the above processes of analyzing data (step A-D) leads to the process of interpretation and generating findings. In this research, the findings involve the structure, sources, themes, periodization, themes and the purpose of writing *Bustān* in the textual analysis of *Bustān* that reflects al- Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history. An example of the finding is concerning the structure of *Bustān* that generally contains the historical and didactic elements. But after a detailed process of analyzing data, it shows that both elements generate the elements of philosophy, astronomy, environment, etc. in the structure of *Bustān*. Consequently, this finding is the first and the new finding in the study of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*.

In conclusion, this inductive approach of analyzing data involves several steps in analyzing the primer data and secondary sources, focusing mainly on the content of different documents, manuscripts, books and journals. This analysis will be manifested in writing that contains the findings of this research.

2.4.3.2 Deductive Analysis

According to Franklin (2013), “Deduction indicates proceeding from general principle or theory to specific observation.” (Franklin, 2013: 233). Deductic analysis

refers to data analyses that set out to test whether data are consistent with prior assumptions, theories, or hypotheses identified or constructed by an investigator (Thomas, 2006, 238). Although inductive method of analyzing data is the major method utilized in this research, the process of analyzing data cannot be separated from the deductive analysis. The deductive method is used particularly in chapter five-chapter six of this research. Below is the explanation of the deductive approach of data analysis of this research (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011: 235):

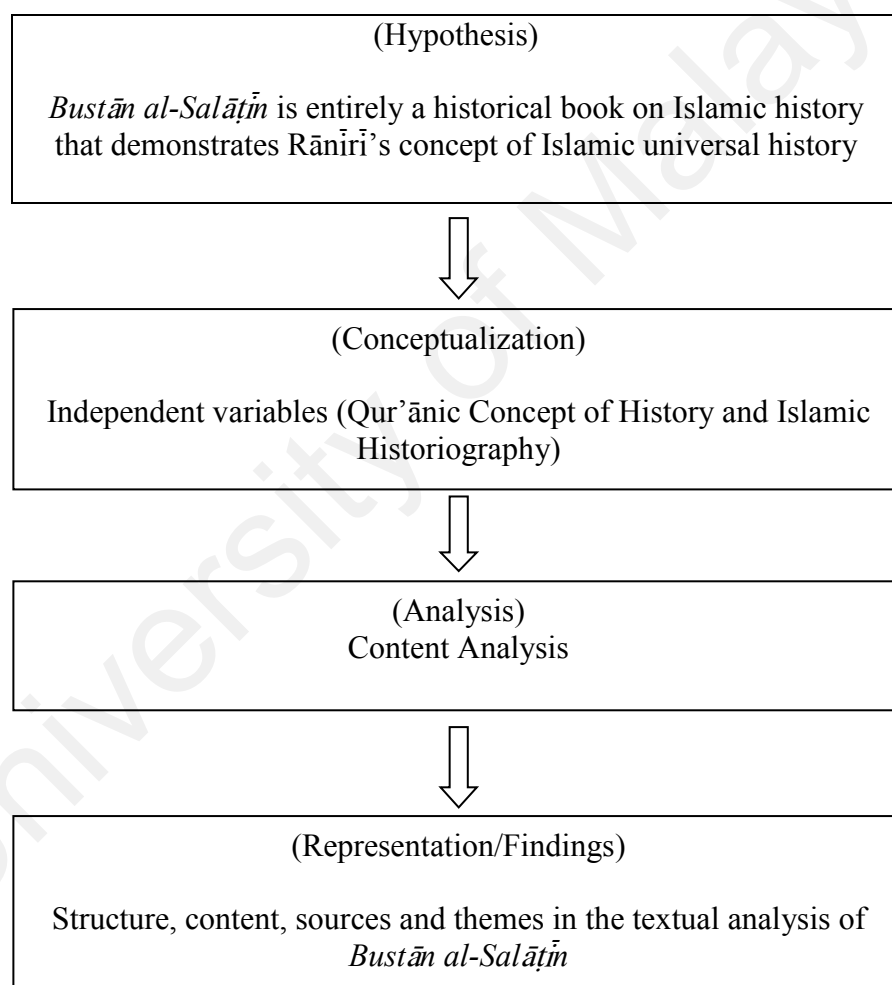


Figure 2.3: Deductive Process of Data Analysis

Figure 2.3 depicts the deductive process of this research. The main objective of this research is to formulate al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* based on the textual analysis. Therefore, deductive analysis begins with the hypothesis

(*Bustān al-Salāṭīn* is entirely a historical book on Islamic history). In order to prove the hypothesis, the process of conceptualization is carried out using the independent variables (Qur'ānic concept of history and Muslim historiography).

The Qur'ānic concept of history is the main variable because it is from the Qur'ān that Muslims learn the meaning of history, the purpose of studying history, the philosophy of history, the warnings and lessons from bygone history, the universal history and etc. Based on the idea of history from the Qur'ān, the early Muslim historians (from the first to third centuries of Hijrah) began to write history on various themes such as the biography of the prophets, *sīrah* of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), universal history, the creation of man and others. Consequently, Muslim historiography has been developed and specific methods of writing history were created such as the use of *isnād* (the chain of authorities by which a narrative can be traced to the original eye witness who narrated it) (Rasul, 1968: 6) and chronology.

Therefore, these two variables were utilized in this research in order to formulate al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. Subsequently, the text of *Bustān* is analyzed using the method of content analysis followed by the process of representations. At this stage, the the structure, content, sources, themes and periodization in the textual analysis of *Bustān* are analyzed which lead to the findings of this research.

2.4.3.3 Comparative Analysis

Comparative analysis is also used in this research to compare and contrast the content of similar texts in different versions of *Bustān*, for examples between Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and Manuscript of UM 41. Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 consist of four Books

(Book I, II, IV and V) while the Manuscript of UM 41 contains Book I - Book V. The purpose of the comparison is to identify the similarities and differences in the content and structure of the texts and accordingly, portray important titles and stories highlighted by al-Rānirī that demonstrate his concept of Islamic history. This method is largely used in chapter five concerning the structure of *Bustān*. As for Book III, comparison cannot be done with Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 because the only copy of Book III is UM 41. Therefore, all researchers in the field of Malay manuscript rely on UM 41 for Book III and they regarded it as the most complete and authoritative manuscript.

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Table 2.1: Comparative Contents on the Story of the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* from Book I of *Bustan*

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	UM 41
<p><i>Fasal kejadian Nūr Muḥammad</i> (Chapter concerning the creation of the Light of Muḥammad)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 11 pages. • Described the creation of <i>Nūr Muḥammad</i> (p.b.u.h.) from the light of Allah and that the universe was created from the light of <i>Nūr Muḥammad</i> (p. 6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 12 pages. • The content and wordings of Raffles 42 are almost similar to Raffles 8 but there are few additional sentences included, for example, related to the creation of the soul of plants (p. 8). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 15 pages. • Similar content and wordings to that of Raffles 8. However, some different words and additional sentences are taken from Raffles 42. For example, UM 41 and Raffles 42 provide a <i>ḥadīth</i> (Tradition) in Arabic concerning the position of Allah when He created all creatures (p. 7). This <i>ḥadīth</i> is not mentioned in Raffles 8.

Table 2.1: Continued

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	UM 41
<p><i>Fasal yang menyatakan tarikh raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Aceh Darussalam.</i> (Chapter concerning the History of the kings of Aceh)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 31 pages. • Narrated the chronology of the 14 kings of Aceh, including Sultan Iskandar Muda and Sultan Iskandar Thani. • Iskandar Muda was portrayed as a great king. He conquered the state of Duli, Johore, Bentan, Pahang and Kedah. • Sultan Iskandar Thani was described in length starting from his childhood (he was adopted by Sultan Iskandar Muda) until his death and how Aceh was in great prosperity under his reign. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 48 pages • Similar content and wordings to that of Raffles 8. • The longest narration on the history of the Kings of Aceh. • Contained many events that are described in length compared to Raffles 8. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contains 9 pages • Narrated the chronology of the 13 Kings of Aceh started from Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah-Sultan Iskandar Thani. • UM 41 ends at the story of the coronation of Sultan Iskandar Thani as the new King of Aceh after Sultan Iskandar Muda and the sudden prosperity of Aceh at the time of his inauguration.

Table 2.1 indicates examples of stories (the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* and the history of the Kings of Aceh) in *Bustān*. The chapter concerning *Nur Muḥammad* contains historical element as it mentions the history of the creation of the universe from the light of *Nūr Muḥammad*. Besides that, the chapter on the Kings of Aceh is obviously history as it contains narrations on the chronology of the Sultans of Aceh. The importance of this chapter/story for al-Rānirī is clearly seen as it is narrated in a large number of pages (9-48 pages). Besides that, this story is also imperative as very text of *Bustān* (Raffles 8, Raffles 42 & UM 41) contains similar stories and almost similar wordings to that of Raffles 8. Raffles 8 is chosen as the main text of the research as it is the earliest manuscript of *Bustān* dated 1807. Therefore, the above table demonstrates that history is the main structure of *Bustān*, and thus proved history is main concept or the basic theoretical element of al-Rānirī.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This research is a qualitative content analysis aims to reveal al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*. In order to achieve the aim, literature review and the methodology of research are applied in collecting and analyzing data. Literature review involves primary and secondary sources. The manuscript of *Bustān* as the primary source of this research is obtained from the British Library and the Royal Asiatic library in the United Kingdom. Besides document, the instrument of interview is also applied with experts of textual analysis in order to strengthen the textual analysis. In data analyzing, the inductive approach is generally used, but the deductive and comparative method of analysis are also applied. The text of *Bustān*, the transcription of interviews along with other documents and the secondary sources are analyzed using the method of content analysis.

CHAPTER 3 : AL-RĀNĪRĪ AS A HISTORIAN: HIS LIFE AND INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The fall of Malacca by the Portugese in 1511 led to the rise of Aceh as a leading centre of Islamic learning in the Malay Archipelago during the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Ismail Hamid, 1983: 21; Nur Ahmad, 2000: 68-69; Andaya, 2001: 36; Abdul Rahman, 2006: 83 & Feener, 2011: 8). This period also witnessed the golden age of Aceh in politics, trade, religion and intellectual life. Concerning intellectual development, Muslim scholars in Aceh played an important role in the development of Malay-Muslim literature. One of them is al-Rānīrī, who was a prolific writer in various fields of Islamic knowledge such as fiqh and *ḥadīth*. As mentioned in the earlier part of this research, *Bustān*, the largest work of al-Rānīrī was the first historical work in the Malay world that introduced the concept of universal history. *Bustān* became an important work of history and functioned as reference for Malay kings in carrying out their duties. *Bustān* later became very influential not only in the Aceh but also throughout the Malay world in seventeenth century. *Bustān* plays a significant role in the development of traditional Malay literature as it had influenced the later works of Malay historiography.

Therefore, this chapter discusses the history of Aceh and intellectual environment of Aceh in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the biography of al-Rānīrī and his intellectual contribution. In addition, it also provides a critical evaluation on the thirty five works of al-Rānīrī and the result shows that many of these works

contained historical elements and consequently, portrayed that history is the basic teaching of al-Rānīrī.

3.2 THE HISTORY AND INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT OF ACEH

3.2.1 The Early History of Aceh

Aceh is one of the provinces of Indonesia located in the northern part of the island of Sumatra (Farish A. Noor, 2004: 2679; Jelani, 2009: 1 & Sher Banu, 2010: 3). According to Dasgupta, Aceh is located at the north-western extremity of the island of Sumatra (Dasgupta, 1962:1). The early history of Aceh before 1500 (16th century) is unclear but it is generally accepted by scholars that there were several Islamic kingdoms emerged in Aceh such as Perlak (225-692 AH/840-1292 AD)²⁴, Samudra Pasai (433-930 AH/1042-1524 AD)²⁵, Daya (end 926 AH/1520 AD)²⁶, Pidie (end 927 AH/1521

²⁴ Perlak, located in the east of Aceh was one of the significant port cities in the North Sumatra and officially became the first Islamic kingdom in Sumatra in the year 225/840 (H. Amidhan & Abdul Gani SH, 1980: 23; M. Adnan Hanafiah, 1993: 116; Harry Kawilarang, 2008: 16; Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 27 & Paul Michel Munoz, 2015,196). Perlak was well-known among the Arabs or non-Arabs traders as it functioned as an important staging post for traders on their way to China (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 27). Besides that, Perlak is also famous for its pepper which consequently attracted traders from Arabia, Gujerat, Egypt and Persia (Schrieke, 1955: 43 & Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 33). Marco Polo in his own statement in 1292 A.D. stated that Perlak was visited by the Saracen (Muslim traders) who later had converted the people of Perlak to Islam (Ronald Latham, 1958: 214; Winstedt, 1961: 33; A. Mukti Ali, 1970: 6; Loeb, 1972: 9; Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 29; Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, 1980: 139; KH Saifuddin Zuhri, 1980: 212; Amirul, 1992: 11; Uka Tjandrasmita (henceforth Uka), 1993: 25 & Paul Michel Munoz, 2015,196). The Islamic kingdom of Perlak is mentioned 27 times in *Sejarah Melayu* and 22 times in the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*.

²⁵ Pasai is a port-town located in the northeastern coast of Sumatra and was a great and flourishing trading centre during the fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries (Amirul, 1992: 18 & Luthfi, 1993: 14). Besides that, Pasai was the most renowned port in Sumatra with its main products of pepper, silk, benzoin and gold (Pires, 1944: 143- 44 & Amirul, 1992: 12-14). Many merchants used to trade in Pasai such as Gujaratees, Turks, Kling, Arabs, Siamese and Bengalees (Pires, 1944: 142). Al-Attas claims that the first Islamic kingdom of Pasai was probably established in the 9th and the 10th centuries (Al-Attas, 2011: 8). This kingdom was later united with Samudra during the reign of Sultan Muhammad al-Malik al-Zahir (1289-1326) and consequently called Samudra Pasai (Amirul, 1992: 11). Concerning the Sultan of Malik al-Zahir, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah described him as a pious king who was fond of the '*ulamā*' (Husaini Ibrahim, 2014: 45; Besides that, the sultan also took part in Islamic discussions (Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, 1960: 618). In 1524, Samudra Pasai was conquered by Aceh (Qin Dashu & Yuan Jian, 2015: 151). Concerning the term Samudra (inclusive of the whole island of Sumatra), al-Attas claims that the name Samudra actually derives from two Malay words, '*Semut*' (ant) and '*raya*' (great) that are later combined became '*Semutra*' (i.e. Pasai). It is from the word '*Semutra*' that the island of Sumatra derives its name (al-Attas, 2011: 5-8). The term Samudra is pronounced Samudera in *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* and *Sulālatu Salāṭīn* while *Hikayat Aceh* pronounced Samutera (*Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*: 32, 36, 46; *Sulālatu Salāṭīn*: 38 & *Hikayat Aceh*: 36, 37 & 38). Samudra Pasai was visited by Marco Polo in 1292, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in 1345 and Pires around 1512-1515 (Ronald Latham, 1958: 214; Mukti Ali, 1970: 6; Muhammad Saleem Ahmad, 1980: 139-40; KH Saifuddin Zuhri, 1980: 204; Ismail Hamid, 1983: 19; Uka, 1993: 28; Hasan Muarif Ambary, 1993: 72-73; Mohd Jamil Mukmin, 2004: 110; Amirul, 2004: 14; Ross E. Dunn, 2005: 272 & Paul Michel Munoz, 2015,196). In 1524, Samudra Pasai was conquered by Aceh (Loeb, 1972: 218).

²⁶According to Amirul, Daya is located in the west coast of the northern part of Sumatra (Amirul, 2004: 20) while Ajidar gives detail on the location of Daya, that is at Lamno, Aceh Jaya (Ajidar, 2013: 43). Similar to other places in Sumatra, Daya was rich of silk and benzoin (Pires, 1944: 163). There is not much information about Daya provided by historians but it is generally agreed that Daya was conquered by Sultan Mughayat Syah of Aceh in 926/1520 and consequently be united with Aceh Darussalam.

AD)²⁷, Taimiang (580-965 AH/1184-1558 AD)²⁸, Lamuri (emerged in the 9th century-15th century)²⁹ and Aceh (601-916 AH/1205-1511 AD) (Amirul, 1992: 9-12; Luthfi, 1993:1; Abdul Rahman, 2006: 80-82 & 14; Harry Kawilarang, 2008: 16-17; Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 25; Qin Dashu & Yuan Jian, 2015: 152 & Paul Michel Munoz, 2015,196). Some of these kingdoms were mentioned by Pires in his *Suma Oriental*. In addition to that, he also gave some information on the kingdoms of Pedir (Pidie), Aru, Siak, Jambi, Barus, Indragiri, Palembang and others (Pires, 1944: 135-36).

The kingdom of Aceh (also known as the kingdom of Darussalam), one of the several Islamic kingdoms in Aceh mentioned above, existed from the beginning of the thirteenth century until the early sixteenth century. According to *Adat Atjeh*, in the 601/1205, Sultan Johan Syah, from the land above the wind³⁰, converted the state of Aceh *Dar al-Salām* into Islam and he subsequently settled at Kandang Aceh (MSS Malay B. 11 (*Adat Atjeh*): 31; Djajadiningrat, 1911:142-43; Dasgupta, 1962: 23; A. Mukti Ali, 1970: 6 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 46). Meanwhile, Abdul Rahman states that the Islamic kingdom of Aceh was established in 601/1205 by Johan Syah who came with the Hudan troops under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah Kan'an, a leader of Dayah Cot kala at Perlak (Abdul Rahman, 2006: 83).

²⁷ Pidie or Pedir is also located in the North of Sumatra. The date of its emergence is not clearly stated by many scholars due the lack of information. However, Ajidar states that the Islamic kingdom of Pidie emerged in the middle of the eighth century of *Hijrah* (Ajidar, 2013: 140). Similar to Perlak and Samudera Pasai, Pidie was also a famous and important entreport for pepper until the beginning of the 16th century (Pires, 1944: 139; Schrieke, 1955: 43, Daudy, 1983: 9 & 17; Lombard, 1986: 43-44 & Amirul, 1992: 19-20). Pires stated that Pedir which is located in the island of Sumatra was an important and rich trading place. Besides pepper, Pidie also produced white silk and benzoin (Pires, 1944: 139-140). Similar to Daya, Pidie was also conquered by Sultan Mughayat Syah of Aceh in 927 AH/1521 AD.

²⁸ Taimiang is situated in the east of Aceh and the founder of this kingdom was Meurah Gajah (580-599 AH/1184-1203 AD). There were twelve kings including Meurah Gajah who ruled Taimiang including Raja Sepala (599-609 AH/1203-1213 AD), Raja Muda Sedia (753-800 AH/1353-1380 AD) and Pendekar Sri Mengkuta (934-965 AH/1528-1558 AD) (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013:38-39).

²⁹ Dasgupta, 1962: 3; Amirul, 1992: 23 & T. Iskandar, 2001: lxvi. Lamuri is located in the north side of Daya which is also the place of the Islamic kingdom of Aceh (Amirul, 1992: 22 & Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 34). Meanwhile, T. Iskandar states that the capital of Lamuri was Krueng Rayal, located in the Straits of Malacca (T. Iskandar, 2001: lx). Lamuri was a famous place to foreign travelers and merchants as it was one of the most important ports in Southeast Asia (Amirul, 1992: 22-24). Besides that, Lamuri was rich of camphor, gold and brazil wood (Ronald Latham, 1958: 217; Dasgupta, 1962: 4 & Lombard, 1986: 40). The word Lamuri was pronounced differently in history. *Sulālatuṣ Salāṭīn* and *Hikayat Aceh* pronounced Lamri (*Hikayat Aceh*: 9). Ibn Khurdādhbih (844-848), Sulaymān (851) and al-Mas'ūdī called Rami, Rammi and Lamuri. In addition, Marco Polo (691 AH/1292 AD) called Lambri while Chao yu-kua (622/1225) stated Lan-wu-li. In addition, the Ming's chronicle mentioned *Lam-bu-li* (T. Iskandar, 2001: Iiii-Iv). Last but not least, the Chinese sources (*Ying-yai heng-lan*, *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* and *Hsi-yang Fankuo che*) pronounced Lan-po-li (Lombard, 1986: 42).

³⁰ The term 'above the wind' referred to those lands lying to the north, both to the west and the east, of the Malay heartland (P.J. Rivers, 2005: 1).

The Islamic kingdom of Aceh was ruled by ten sultans from the year 601-916 AH/1205-1511 AD (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 48). Based on the chronology of the sultans of Aceh given by the *Adat Aceh*, the first sultan of the Islamic kingdom of Aceh was Sultan Johan Syah (reigned from 601-631 AH/1205-1234 AD), followed by Sultan Riayat Syah (reigned from 631-665 AH/1234-1267 AD) and Sultan Mahmud Syah (reigned from 665-708 AH/1267-1309 AD) (MSS Malay B. 11 (*Adat Atjeh*): 31-32; Dasgupta, 1962: 23; Teungku Anzib Lamnyong, 1976: 15; Ali Muhammad, 1980: 2 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 46). The last sultan of this kingdom was Sultan Alauddin Syamsu Syah b. Raja Munawwar Syah (902-916 AH/1497-1511 AD) (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 48). The early kings of Aceh settled at Kandang Aceh which is located near Bandar Aceh *Dar al-Salām* (T. Iskandar, 2001: ix). Sultan Alauddin Syamsu Syah was succeeded by his son, Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah who was the founder of the Sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salām (Islamic Acehnese empire) (A. Hasjmy, 1977: 20 & Luthfi, 1993: 17) and who was also the first sultan of the sultanate. The Sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salām was in fact a continuation of the Islamic kingdom of Darussalam. It was during the reign of Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah that Aceh starts to gain its glory (Abdul Rahman, 2006: 83).

According to Djajadiningrat, Aceh before 1500 A.D. was an insignificant entity (Djajadiningrat, 1911: 20). Besides that, H.M. Bernard Vlekke (henceforth Vlekke) also stated that, “In the fifteenth century, Atjeh had been one of the less important districts in North Sumatra.” (Vlekke, 1965: 93). Previously, Aceh was identified with Lamuri due to its location in the district of Lamuri of Greater Aceh. Pires in his *Suma Oriental* mentioned ‘the land of Achin (Aceh) and Lambry (Lamuri) which indicates that both places were in the same state (Pires, 1944: 137 & Dasgupta, 1962: 4). Besides that, T. Iskandar also believes that Lamuri and Aceh were two different places but the name

Lamuri was later changed to Aceh (Amirul, 1992: 24 & Ajidar, 2013: 45).³¹ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Lamuri was absorbed by Aceh (Andaya: 2001: 34) and according to Daniel Perret (henceforth Perret), “Lamuri still appeared in the name of the kingdom of Aceh at the beginning of the sixteenth century.”(Perret, 2011: 28).

The emergence of Aceh is traced back to the end of the fifteenth century or early sixteenth century with the unification of Makota ‘Alam and Dar al-Kamal (Aceh) (Amirul, 2004: 12). Mahkota ‘Alam and Dar al-Kamal that were separated by a river were the original lands of Aceh (Amirul, 1992: 23 & Andaya, 2001: 36). According to T. Iskandar, Dar al-Kamal, situated across the Aceh River south of Makota ‘Alam was the name of Aceh at that time (Amirul, 1992: 23; T. Iskandar, 2001: lxi & T. Iskandar, 2011: 48). The term Aceh is mentioned 205 times in *Hikayat Aceh* (T. Iskandar, 2001: 28, 34, 55, 65). Meanwhile, the name Dar al-Kamal was mentioned twenty times in *Hikayat Aceh* (T. Iskandar, 2001: 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 33, 35 & 60) while Mahkota Alam fourteen times (T. Iskandar, 2001: 16, 18, 20, 74, 75, 79, 80 & 83).

Hikayat Aceh stated that Aceh was founded with the unification of two settlements that were Makota ‘Alam and Dar al-Kamal (T. Iskandar, 2001: lxxvii & 8-11; T. Iskandar, 2001: 16-21; Amirul, 1992: 26 & Perret, 2011: 27). The history of the amalgamation of Makota ‘Alam and Dar al-Kamal is narrated in length in *Hikayat Aceh*. In the fifteenth century, the king of Lamuri named Sultan Munawwar Syah who removed his palace to Makota ‘Alam. Meanwhile, Dar al-Kamal (Aceh) was ruled by Sultan Inayat Syah (T. Iskandar, 2001: 9 & Amirul, 2004: 16). The Lamuri kingdom formed a new rival for Aceh that later led to continuous wars between both kingdoms

³¹ Compared to Aceh, Lamuri was well-known among foreign travellers and traders because it was an important port-kingdom while Aceh was an inland kingdom (Amirul, 2004: 12). Besides that, Lamuri was considered by European travellers as the ancient country of Sumatra (Amirul, 2004: 24-25). Historically, the kingdom of Lamuri had established close contact with China since 1286. Lamuri sent envoys to China in 1286, 1411 and 1412 whilst in 1408/1409, Cheng Ho came to Lamuri as an envoy of the Chinese emperor (Dasgupta, 1962: 25; T. Iskandar, 2001: liv & Amirul, 2004: 12).

that last for decades. These wars came to an end during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Syah of Lamuri kingdom who succeeded to defeat Dar al-Kamal by deceit (T. Iskandar, 2001: 21).

According to *Hikayat Aceh*, Raja Muzaffar Syah offered the marriage of his son to the daughter of Sultan Inayat Syah. On the wedding day, the envoys of Raja Muzaffar Syah secretly brought weapons with them during the wedding procession with the intention of attacking Dar al-Kamal. Sultan Inayat Syah did not realize the trick and in fact, he welcomed the envoys. The envoys of Makota 'Alam then managed to crush and defeat the people of Dar al-Kamal as well as conquer the place (T. Iskandar, 2001: 18-21 & Djajadiningrat, 1911: 44). This defeat later leads to the unification of Makota Alam (Lamuri) and Dar al-Kamal (Aceh) under the reign of Syamsu Syah, the son of Sultan Munawwar Syah (Amirul, 2004: 12 & T.Ito, 1984: 11). According to T. Iskandar, "Only after the amalgamation of these two principalities does the name Aceh *Dar al-Salām* appear for the first time in the *Hikayat Aceh*." (T. Iskandar, 2011: 47).

3.2.2 The Rise of Aceh in the 16th and 17th Centuries

Historically, the province of Aceh once was the place of the great Islamic kingdom of Aceh Darussalam or the Aceh Sultanate (Hadi, 2008: 33 & M. Adnan Hanafiah, 1993: 122). The sultanate of Aceh came into existence after the fall of Malacca to the Portugese in 1511. Aceh later emerged as a strong and powerful state in Nusantara in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 45& Saiful Umam, 2013: 2). Studies on the early history of Aceh particularly the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries have received scholarly attention from scholars of the east and the west as mention in the literature review's section. The importance of the sixteenth

and the seventeenth centuries Aceh lies in the fact that Aceh was not only a great and an important political power in the Malay World but also a renowned and lucrative trading centre especially for pepper (Riddell, 2006:39 & Jelani, 2009: 1). The mentioned centuries also witnessed Aceh as a prominent cultural centre and significantly as a center of Muslim civilization in Southeast Asia (Hadi, 2008: 33). In addition, in these centuries Aceh played a vital role in the development and disseminate of Islam to the Malay Archipelago (Farish A. Noor, 2004: 2679). Consequently, Aceh became the pivotal centre of Islamic learning and intellectual activities to the extent that it is regarded as the '*serambi Mekkah*' of the East (Hamka, 1981:221; Abdullah Ishak, 1990: 118; Luthfi, 1993: 14; Azra, 2004: 84; Abdul Rahman, 2006: 84 & Riddell, 2006: 39).

The early history of the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam is unclear due to the existence of different versions and differences in the chronicles and Europeans notes (Djajadiningrat, 1982: 2-7, Lambard, 1986: 45; Amirul, 2004: 11; Riddell, 2006: 10 & Saiful Umam, 2013: 3). One of the examples is concerning the date of the emergence of the sultanate of Aceh. Scholars have different opinions regarding the matter. However, the establishment of the Sultanate is traced back to the end of the 15th and the early of the 16th centuries (Qin Dashu & Yuan Jian, 2015: 152). According to *Bustān*, the sultanate came into existence in the year 913/1507. However, T. Ito has the opinion that the Sultanate of Aceh begins as early as the later decades of the second half of the 15th century (T. Ito, 1984:1). On the other hand, A.Hasjmy, M.Yahya Harun, Harry Kawilarang and Ajidar Matsyah state the date as 12 *Dhu al-Qa'idah* 916 AH/1511 AD coincides with the fall of Malacca to the Portugese (A. Hasjmy, 1977: 14; M. Yahya Harun, 1995: 11; Harry Kawilarang, 2008: 17 & Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 49). Meanwhile, Hardi mentions the year 918 AH/1513 AD (Hardi, 1993:9) and Djajadiningrat believes it was in the year 920/1514 (Djajadiningrat, 1911: 152; J.

Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969: 455 & Andaya, 2001: 36). In addition, some consider the year 921 AH/1515 AD (M. Adnan Hanafiah, 1993: 122) and some agree with the year 922 AH/1516 AD (Dasgupta. 1962: 28; T. Iskandar, 1972: 3 & Luthfi, 1993:17).

Regardless of the differences on the mentioned dates, it can be concluded that many scholars agree that the Sultanate of Aceh (*Aceh Dārussalām*) emerged in the early sixteenth century with Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah ibn Sultan Syamsu Syah (913-928 AH/ 1514-1521 AD)³² as its founder (Djajadiningrat (1911), al-Attas, (1966); J.Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969: 454-55; T.Ito (1984), Luthfi (1993), Yahya Harun (1995), T. Iskandar (2011), Riddell (2006), Lombard (1986) & Saiful Umam (2013). Their agreement is based on al-Rānirī's statement in *Bustān* that Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah was the founder of Aceh *Darussalam* and he became the ruler in the year 913 AH/1507 AD (Raffles 8: 234; Raffles 42: 230 & UM 41: 282).

Besides that, al-Rānirī also stated that there was no *raja* (king) in Aceh *Darussalam* before Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah (Raffles 8: 234; Raffles 42: 230; UM 41: 282; Wilkinson, 1900:120; Dasgupta, 1962: 21 & Reid, 2006: 10). Voorhoeve believes that al-Rānirī's second statement does not mean that there was no king in Aceh before Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah but rather it means that the mentioned Sultan was the real founder of the empire of Aceh (Aceh Darussalam) (Dasgupta, 1962: 22; Lombard, 1986: 49; Amirul, 2004: 13 & Saiful Umam, 2013: 4). The Sultanate of Aceh reached its glory and became a very powerful state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Saiful umam, 2013:2).

³² There are various opinions among scholars concerning the date of Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah's death. Based on the date stated in *Bustan*, some believe it was in 928/1521 (Raffles 8: 235; Djajadiningrat, 1911: 20; M. Yahya Harun, 1995: 11 & Andaya, 2001: 36). Meanwhile, many of them estimate the year 936/1530 based on the date stated on the tombstone of Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah (Lombard, 1986: 49; Dasgupta, 1962: 27; Al-Attas, 1966:7; T. Iskandar, 1972: 3; Riddell, 2006: 39 & Ajidar, 2013: 50).

Before the establishment of Aceh *Dārussalām*, Aceh was one of the coastal states in North Sumatra and also a vassal state under Pidie (Djajadiningrat, 1911: 147; Dasgupta, 1962: 22; J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969: 455; Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 35; Harun Yahya, 1995: 11; Rusdi Sufi, 1995: 10; T. Ito, 1984:12 & Riddell, 2006: 39). In the year 1514/1515, Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah succeeded to liberate Aceh from the dominion of Pidie (J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 1969: 455; Abdul Rahman, 1989: 107; M. Adnan Hanafiah, 1993: 122 & Abdul Rahman, 2006: 83) and subsequently declared Aceh as an independent kingdom known as Aceh *Dārussalām* (Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 14; M. Yahya Harun, 1995: 11 & Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 49).³³ He then became the first sultan of the newly created kingdom (Amirul, 2004: 13). According to *Bustān*, Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah became the first king of Aceh *Dārussalām* and also the the first king to embrace and implement Islam (Raffles 8: 234; Raffles 42: 230; UM41: 282; Ali Muhammad, 1980: 2 & Djajaningrat, 1982: 12).

Hikayat Aceh is informative for this research as it narrates the prosperity of Aceh throughout the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda that had triggered the growth of intellectual movement during the mentioned era and consequently led to the emergence of al-Rānirī in the stage of Aceh. In the the researcher's opinion, *Hikayat Aceh* is significant as it narrates the background and the history of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the person who was responsible of bringing Sultan Iskandar Thani to the framework of Aceh as the latter was an adopted son of Sultan Iskandar Muda. And it was during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani that al-Rānirī appeared in the history of Aceh. The greatness of Iskandar Thani and the prosperity of its period are described by al-Rānirī in *Bustān*.

³³ Different dates were given by scholars on the declaration of Aceh as an independent state. Ajidar believes it is in 1511 AH/916 AD while Zakaria Achmad and Abdul Rahman have the opinions that it occurred in 927 AH/1520 AD (Ajidar Matsyah, 2013: 49 & Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 37; Abdul Rahman, 2006: 83).

Besides *Hikayat Aceh*, al-Rānirī in *Bustān* also narrates the greatness of the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda where he succeeded to conquer Johor, Pahang, Kedah and Taimas. Besides that, the Sultan was also portrayed as a pious and a kind king as he built the Mosque of *Bait al-Raḥmān*, ordered his subject to perform the five daily prayers and to fast during the fasting month which are compulsory in Islam. In addition to Sultan Iskandar Muda, *Bustān* also describes Sultan Iskandar Thani and the prosperity of Aceh at the time of his enthronement and the following period.

Before the rise of Aceh as prominent intellectual centre of Islam in the sixteenth century, the role was assumed by Malacca during the fiveteenth century (Winstedt, 1920a: 39; Ismail Hamid, 1983: 21; Al-Attas, 1988: 33; Feener, 2011: 8 & Riddell, 2011: 40). Malacca was an internationally well-known centre of Islamic studies in the Malay world. Malacca as the centre of Islam has attracted Muslim scholars to assemble and teach Islam in Malacca. Muslim scholars from the Middle East, Persian Gulf, India and other places came to Malacca such as Sayyid ‘Abdul ‘Azīz, Maulana Jalāl al-Dīn and Maulana Sadar Jahan (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*): 59; Yusoff, 1992: 234 & Mohd. Koharuddin Mohd. Balwi, 2004: 49).

The palace of Malacca became the centre of Islamic learning for the sultans and princes of the Malay Archipelago. The Rulers of Malacca such as Sultan Mansur Syah (1456-1477 AD) and Sultan Mahmud Syah (1488-1511 AD) were very much interested in *taṣawwuf* and therefore, the subject became the main subject taught in the palace (Ismail Hamid, 1983: 20). In fact, the kings of Malacca welcomed Muslim scholars worldwide to Malacca (J. Kathirithamby-Wells, 1968: 343 & Mohd Jamil Mukmin, 2004: 81).

The *Sejarah Melayu* mentions the ṣūfīs who came to Malacca to teach Islam, namely Maulana Abu Bakar, Maulana Yusuf and Maulana Sadar Jahan who became instructors to the kings of Malacca. For example, Sultan Mansur Syah studied under Maulana Abu Bakar (Raffles Malay 18 (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*): 98; Overback, 1933: 254; Amirul, 1992: 37 & Mohd Jamil Mukmin, 2004: 54).³⁴ Maulana Abu Bakar came to Malacca with the entitled *Kitāb Durr al-Manzūm* (a book on *taṣawuf*), written by Maulana Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, a holy man in Mecca (Overback, 1933: 254; Siti Hawa, 2002: 242 & Mohd. Koharuddin Mohd. Balwi, 2004: 49). Sultan Mahmud Syah and his son, Sultan Ahmad became the students of Maulana Sadar Jahan (Raffles Malay 18 (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*): 151 & 166 and Yusoff, 1992: 40).³⁵ Besides that, Sultan Mahmud Syah studied Islam under the instruction of Maulana Yusuf (Raffles Malay 18 (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*): 130; Yusoff, 1992: 40 & Mohd. Koharuddin Mohd. Balwi, 2004: 50).³⁶

The loss of Malacca to the Portugese in 1511 leads to the rise of Aceh as a new intellectual and spiritual centre of Islam in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Aceh became the centre of Islamic scholarship where intellectual development took place rapidly with the emergence of international and local scholars. *Bustān* narrates the coming of Sheīkh Ibn Ḥajar and Sheīkh Muḥammad Yamānī from Makkah during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Perak b. Sultan Ahmad (Raffles 8: 236). Besides that, there came Sheīkh Muḥammad Azharī from Makkah and Sheīkh Muḥammad Jaylān from Gujerat to teach Islamic knowledge especially concerning *taṣawwuf* (Raffles 8: 236 &

³⁴ “Setelah itu, Maulana Abu Bakar turun dari atas kapal membawa kitab *Durr Manzūm*. Setelah datang ke Melaka maka sangat dipermulia oleh Sultan Mansur Syah. Maka disuruhnya baginda arak lalu ke balai. Maka Sultan Mansur Syah pun berguru pada Maulana Abu Bakar.” (Maulana Abu Bakar who brought with him the *Kitāb Durr Manzūm* was treated with hospitality by Sultan Mansur Syah and the latter later studied Islam under the instruction of the former). Refer to Raffles Malay 18 (*Sulālat al-Salāṭīn /Sejarah Melayu*): 98.

³⁵ *Sejarah Melayu* narrates, “Arakian maka turun sebuah kapal dari Jeddah ke Melaka, dalam kapal itu ada seorang pendita. Maulana Sadar Jahan namanya, terlalu alim. Maka Sultan Mahmud Syah pun berguru padanya, dan anakanda baginda. Raja Ahmad pun disuruhkan baginda mengaji.” (A ṣūfī named Maulana Sadar Jahan, from Jeddah came to Malacca and taught Sultan Mahmud Syah and his son, Sultan Ahmad on Islam) (*Ibid.*: 152)

³⁶ “... Maka Maulana Yusuf segeralah keluar lalu Sultan Mahmud Syah dibawanya naik duduk. Maka Sultan Mahmud Syah pun mengajilah pada Maulana Yusuf.” (Maulana Yusuf came out and welcomed Sultan Mahmud Syah. Hence, Sultan Mahmud Syah studied Islam under the guidance of Maulana Yusuf).

Amirul, 1984: 34). Therefore, the knowledge of *taṣawwuf* has been introduced by these scholars and was rapidly spread and influenced the people of Aceh.

Apart from the international scholar, local scholars also played a major role in the intellectual development in Aceh the mentioned centuries. The four main scholars were Ḥamzah, Sham al-Dīn, Al-Rānīrī and ‘Abd Ra’uf which has been mentioned inside the part of literature review. Ḥamzah and Sham al-Dīn were ṣūfīs during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani, and they were the pioneered the doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah*, a ṣūfī doctrine. This doctrine became the main mainstream in Aceh and had succeeded to gain considerable followers. Therefore, this is the intellectual environment in Aceh before the coming of al-Rānīrī to Aceh. After the death of Iskandar Muda, his son in law named Iskandar Thani came to the throne. As previously mentioned, it was during Iskandar Thani’s rule that al-Rānīrī appeared in Aceh and later played an important role as the sultan’s advisor and a scholar who later became the opponent of *Wujūdiyyah* of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. It can be said that the intellectual environment in Aceh leads to the coming of al-Rānīrī and it is this environment that later influenced al-Rānīrī’s role in the intellectual development in Aceh.

3.3 THE BIOGRAPHY AND THE WORKS OF NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ (D. 1068 AH /1658 AD)

3.3.1 The Biography of Al-Rānīrī

Al-Rānīrī’s biographies are in fact have been written by numerous scholar of the east and the west. However, but still the researcher determines to write al-Rānīrī’s biography in length because the researcher believes that there are some new ideas that can be dug out concerning the biography of al-Rānīrī.

To begin with, al-Rānirī was a learned and renowned Islamic scholar of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thāni (reigned from 1047-1051 AH/1637-1641 AD) (T. Iskandar, 1964: 440; Jelani, 2004: 26 & Hermansyah, 2014e:15). He was also a ṣūfī, theologian, historian, Qādī and man of letters (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 172; Amirul, 2004: 153; Azra, 2004: 65 & M. Hasbi Amiruddin: 2005, 10). In addition to the list of scholars that have written on the the life of al-Rānirī that were mentioned in the literature review, there are others like Djajadiningrat (1911), Nieuwenhuijze (1948), Daudy (1978 &1983) and Azra (2004) and Jelani (2009). Pertaining to his complete name, in the introductory part of Book I of *Bustān*, al-Rānirī referred to himself as “*Sheikh Nūr al-Dīn anak ‘Alī Ḥasanjī anak Muḥammad, Ḥamīd nama bangsanya, Rānir nama negerinya, dan Shafī’i mazhabnya...*” (Nūr al-Dīn the son of ‘Alī Ḥasanjī, the son of Muḥammad, Ḥamīd was his clan, Rānir was the place he belonged to and Shāfi’ī was his *mazhab* (sect) (Raffles 8: 3; Raffles 42: 3 & UM 41: 3).

Based on the above statement, al-Attas refers to al-Rānirī as “Nūr al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥasanjī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Rānirī (al-Attas, 1966: 12). Meanwhile al-Azra refers to al-Rānirī as “Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasanjī al-Ḥamīd (or al-Ḥumayd) al-Shāfi’ī al-Ash‘arī al-Aydarūsī al-Rānirī” (Azra, 2004: 54). The term ‘Rānirī’ was added to his name due to his birthplace in Rānir, Gujerat (Jones, 1974: 1). Despite the general agreement among historians regarding the clan whom al-Rānirī belonged to (Ḥamīd), there is a different opinion from one of al-Rānirī’s students named Muḥammad ‘Alī or known as Megat Jati ibnu Amīr Sulaimān ibnu Sa‘īd Ja‘far Shadiq ibn ‘Abdullāh who is also a scholar of Aceh. According to Muḥammad ‘Alī, al-Rānirī belonged to the clan of *Bakri* instead of Ḥamīd (Shaghir, 2009: 190). However, this information might be doubtful as it is not supported by any source and is never

mentioned by any of the early historians, such as Drewes, Voorhoeve and Winstedt and even al-Attas.

Al-Rānirī's date of birth is unknown (Grinter, 1979: 8), but Azra and Amirul (2004) suggest that al-Rānirī was born towards the end of the sixteenth century (Azra, 2004: 54 & Amirul, 2004: 153). However, scholars concur that he was from Rānir (modern Rander), an old harbour on the Gujerat coast (Drewes, 1955: 137; Winstedt, 1958: 119; Al-Attas, 1966: 12; Shaghir, 2009: 190). Besides that, majority of scholars agreed that al-Rānirī's father was of Quraish origin (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; Drewes, 1955: 147; Al-Attas, 1966: 12; T. Iskandar, 1967: 4, Daudy, 1983: 36; Azra, 2004: 54 & Yusny Saby, 2005: 53). Al-Attas and Winstedt suggest that his mother was Malay (Winstedt, 1961:148 & Al-Attas, 1966: 12). Some scholars seem to agree with al-Attas's suggestion that al-Rānirī's mother was a Malay (T. Iskandar, 1967: 43; Zakaria Achmad, 1971: 118; Saghir, 1999: 2; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 2 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216). According to Riddell and Azra, al-Rānirī was born into a diaspora *Ḥaḍramī* family of Ḥamid clan in Rānir in Gujerat (Riddell, 2001: 116-17; Azra, 2004: 54 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216). Based on the lineage of his father, Drewes and T.Ito concluded that al-Rānirī was a Muslim scholar of Indo-Arab origin (Drewes, 1955: 150 & T.Ito, 1978,: 489-491). Meanwhile, Feener stated that al-Rānirī was a Gujerati Muslim of South Arabian descent (Feener, 2011: 10).

Despite the fact that al-Rānirī was born in Rānir, India and that his father was an Arab, he can be regarded as a Malay scholar (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 172 & Mira Fauziah, 2013: 294). According to Ismail Hamid, "Rānirī was generally regarded a Malay '*alim*' rather than Indian or Arab." The researcher totally agrees with the opinions of Ismail Hamid. In the researcher's opinion, al-Rānirī was indeed a Malay scholar because his

mother was a Malay, he possessed an excellent command in Malay that many of his works were written in Malay and that he contributed to the development of Malay literature and Islam in the Malay World. For example, Azra states that, “Al-Rānirī was even acclaimed as one of the first ‘*pujanggas*’ (men of letters) of Malay.” (Azra, 2004: 69). This statement is one of the evidences that show al-Rānirī’s contribution to the Malay world, and thus, deserves to be regarded as a Malay scholar. Detailed explanation on al-Rānirī works and contribution to the development of Islam in the Malay Archipelago will be discussed later in this chapter.

Al-Rānirī obtained his early education in Rānir and later continued his studies in Ḥaḍramawt (Riddell, 2001: 11: 7; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 3; Azra, 2004: 56-57 & Hiroko, 2016: 75). In the year 1030/1621, al-Rānirī went to Makkah and Madīnah in search for Islamic knowledge (Daudy, 1983: 34 & Hermansyah, 2012: 35) and had the opportunity to learn under Sayyid ‘Umar b. ‘Abdullāh Bā Syaibān al-Tarīmī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 1066/1656) who is also known as as Sayyid ‘Umar al-Aydarūs (Voorhoeve, 1951: 356; Drewes, 1955: 149; Voorhoeve, 1959: 91; T. Iskandar, 1964: 436-41; Azra, 2004: 56 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 223). Bā Syaibān soon became al-Rānirī’s well-known teacher (Drewes, 1955: 149; Winstedt, 1996: 100 & Shaghir, 1999: 190).

With regards al-Rānirī’s early contact with the Malay World, many scholars came into an agreement that the contact could be traced back to his paternal uncle, Sheīkh Muḥammad Jaylān who came to Aceh in 1580 and 1583 to teach logic, rhetoric, ethics and *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) (UM 41: 285; Raffles 8: 236; Wilkinson, 1900: 123; Al-Attas, 1966: 12-13; A. Mukti Ali, 1970: 7; Al-Attas, 1988: 33; T. Iskandar, 1980: 220, Amirul, 2004: 148; Riddell, 2006: 45 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 120). However, the researcher believes that al-Rānirī’s contact with

the Malay world has begun earlier than the above agreed date due to the idea that his mother was Malay as being suggested by al-Attas. Therefore, logically, al-Rānirī must have been somewhere in the Malay world when he was young. Therefore, it was not surprising that he has a great knowledge of the Malays and their culture when he arrived in Aceh. Besides that, al-Rānirī's uncle that is mentioned above had supplied him with a good knowledge concerning Malay culture and religious tradition (Azra, 2004, 57-58) as well the development of Islam in the Malay world (Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 120). This knowledge enabled al-Rānirī to make his journey to the Malay world and started his career in Aceh from 1637- 1644 AD (Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 133).

Concerning Malay language, al-Rānirī's works prove that he had an excellent command of Malay. Winstedt stated that al-Rānirī was fluent in Malay and that all of his Malay writings before 1637 (before his coming to Aceh) were in good Malay (Winstedt, 1958: 121 & Winstedt, 1996: 100). The works are *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (The Straight Path) (started in 1634 AD), *Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* (Precious Pearls on the Description of *Aqā'idah*) (written before 1635 AD) and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tartīb* (The Guide of Lover about happiness and fearful) (1635 AD/1636 AD) (Jelani, 2009: 19-20). The last two books were written by al-Rānirī while he was in Pahang (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153 & 156 & Yahya Ismail, 1974, 98). Meanwhile, T. Iskandar assumes that *Ṣirāṭ* was also written in Pahang besides *Durr al-Farā'id* and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb*, (T. Iskandar, 2011: 57).

Furthermore, Daudy mentioned that al-Rānirī's proficiency in Malay is evident in his *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (Daudy, 1983: 38). In addition, Jelani stated that:

“...the *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* was written before he arrived in Aceh in 1637, providing very clear evidence that Nūruddīn al-Rānirī already

had an excellent command of Malay. The text was written in a considerably high standard of Malay, manifesting the writer's long experience in using the language within the Malay communities.” (Jelani, 2009:17)

The above quotation and statements clearly show that al-Rānīrī had already possessed proficiency in Malay not only before he came to Aceh in 1637, but in fact before he went to Pahang, that enabled him to write Malay works above-mentioned. Moreover, Grinter mentioned that, “On his arrival in Aceh in 1637, he had clearly acquired a reasonable proficiency, sufficient to enable him to write in the language.” (Grinter, 1979: 8-9).

There are different opinions among scholars concerning how al-Rānīrī learnt Malay language. Some assumed that he learnt Malay from the Malay community in Gujerat³⁷ (Drewes, 1955: 137-159 & Mohd. Noh Abdul Jalil, 2014: 12) and some believed it was in Mecca (when he performed the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage) in 1621 AD) (Grinter, 1979: 8; T. Iskandar, 1966: 2; Riddell, 2001: 117; Harun, et.al. 2006: 444; Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 18). Last but not least, Grinter and T. Iskandar believed that al-Rānīrī learnt Malay from his Malay mother; this indicates their agreement with al-Attas's suggestion that al-Rānīrī mother was a Malay (Grinter, 1979: 8-9 & T. Iskandar, 1967: 43).

From the above opinions, the researcher tends to agree with the last suggestion that is al-Rānīrī learnt Malay language from his mother. In the researcher's opinion, al-Rānīrī already had a long experience with the Malay language that enabled him to write in high quality Malay. Therefore, it would not be improbable to conjecture that al-Rānīrī

³⁷The presence of the Malays in the Malabar regions was recorded by Ibn Baṭūṭah in his book entitled *Rihla* during his visit to Asia. His meeting with the Malays in Ormuz at the Malabar coast indicates the presence of the Malays in Malabar and Gujerat. Therefore, al-Rānīrī is said to have studied the Malay language and Islam during his early days in his hometown in Gujerat (Mohd. Noh Abdul Jalil, 2014: 12).

had learnt Malay from his mother and became familiar with the language. Besides that, the researcher is in agreement with al-Attas's statement that, "Assuming that he was in Gujerat learning Malay from the Malays there, it would still be hard to accept that his knowledge of the language he learned in that manner from traders, sailors and mercenary troops would suffice to equip him to challenge the Malay mystic who spoke court language and who, in the case of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, who was also an accomplished poet." (Al-Attas, 1996: 13). The same goes with the idea that al-Rānīrī learnt Malay in Mecca while performing the *hajj*. Logically, it is impossible that al-Rānīrī would be able to write in excellent Malay just by learning Malay within a very short time (while performing *hajj*). Alternatively, al-Attas suggests that al-Rānīrī acquired a good foundation of the Malay language when he was either in Aceh (before 1637 AD), Pahang or Malacca (Al-Attas, 1996: 13). Hence, the researcher believes that al-Rānīrī learnt Malay from his Malay mother during his childhood.

From an intellectual perspective, it was said that al-Rānīrī arrived in Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thāni in 1047 AH/1637 AD (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; Schrieke, 1957: 243; T.Ito, 1978: 489; Azra, 2004: 58-59, Grinter, 1979: 8; Suryadi, 2010: 124 & T. Iskandar, 2011, 57). According to Riddell, al-Rānīrī arrived in Aceh shortly after Iskandar Thani came to power (Riddell, 2006: 45). Although al-Rānīrī clearly stated in *Bustān* the date of his arrival in Aceh (May 31, 1637 AD), many scholars believe that al-Rānīrī was in the Malay Archipelago before 1637 AD. (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; Drewes, 1951: 357; Drewes, 1955: 150; T. Iskandar, 1964: 136-37; Daudy, 1983: 38; Winstedt, 1996: 100; Riddell, 2001: 117, Jelani, 2004c: 26; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216 & Suryadi, 2010: 129). The reason is indirectly mentioned above that many of al-Rānīrī's masterpieces written before 1638 were in Malay language that shows his good command of Malay. For example, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* and

Hidayat al-Habib fi al-Targhib wa al-Tarhib. Both of them were written in the Malay Archipelago before 1635 as mentioned previously. This indicates that al-Rānirī must have been in the Malay Archipelago earlier before 1637 to learn and master in Malay language that later enabled him to write proficiently in Malay.

According to Djajadningrat and T. Iskandar, al-Rānirī had been in Aceh under Sultan Iskandar Muda before 1637 AD (Djajadningrat, 1911: 186 & Djajadningrat, 1983: 55). However, al-Raniri left Aceh as Sultan Iskandar Muda was in favour of Shams al-Dīn, an *‘ulamā’* and the Prime Minister of Aceh at that time (Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216 & Ding, 2009: 21). He came to Aceh for the second time after the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda and the succession of Sultan Iskandar Thani (T. Iskandar, 1967: 43; Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 135; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 5 & Jelani, 2004c: 26). Daudy, Zulkefli Aini and Wan Mohd Nor & Khalif share the same opinion with that of Djajadningrat’s and believed that al-Rānirī came for the second time to Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani (Daudy, 1983: 39; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 218 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 125).

Since al-Rānirī was not welcomed by Sultan Iskandar Muda, it is believed that he had visited the Malay states before his second arrival in Aceh (Yahya Ismail, 1975: 98 & Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 134). Suryadi stated that al-Rānirī had been in the Malay states between 1621 and 1637 before he stayed in Aceh (Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216 & Suryadi, 2010: 129). Many scholars believed that al-Rānirī was in Pahang (one of the states in the Malay Peninsular and was also the colony of Aceh) before his arrival in Aceh in 1637 (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; Drewes, 1955: 150; Yahya Ismail, 1974: 98; Jihaty Abadi, Azran Rahman & Amida Abduhamid, 1979: 47; Tajuddin saman, 1993: 134; Al-Attas, 1996: 13; Winstedt, 1996: 100; Yusoff, 1992: 235; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003:

4; Abdul Hadi, 2008: 65; Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009:125; Suryadi, 2010, 129; T. Iskandar, 2011: 57 & Hermansyah, 2012: 37). According to Voorhoeve, al-Rānirī wrote *Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb* in Pahang and he brought with him these two writings when he arrived in Aceh in 1637 AD (Voorhoeve, 1955a: 153). Besides that, T. Iskandar believed that *Ṣirāṭ* was also written in Pahang (Jihaty Abadi, Azran Rahman & Amida Abduhamid, 1979: 47 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 57). Meanwhile, A. Hasjmy and Al-Attas suggests that al-Rānirī had been in Pahang or Malacca before 1637 (Al-Attas, 1996: 13 & Hermansyah, 2012: 37).

In addition, Abdul Hadi mentioned that al-Rānirī had stayed in Pahang and deepened his knowledge of the Malay language and literature until finally capable of writing books in Malay (Abdul Hadi, 2008: 65). Al-Rānirī also had the opportunity to read Malay literary works namely *Sejarah Melayu*, *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* and *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* (Alexander Romance) while he was in the Malay Peninsular (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; T. Iskandar, 1964: 437; T. Iskandar, 1966: 3; Yahya Ismail, 1975: 98 & Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 4). Al-Rānirī's capability in speaking and writing in Malay and his knowledge of the Malay history and the history of the genealogy of Pahang as was narrated in *Bustān* are the evidences that al-Rānirī was in Pahang before his arrival in Aceh in 1637 AD (Raffles 8: 221-235; Yahya Ismail, 1974, 98 & Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 35). Besides that, al-Rānirī had written more than 30 works and it is unlikely that he wrote all of them during his seven years of his tenure in Aceh.

Based on the mentioned opinions, the researcher believes that al-Rānirī had in fact come to Pahang, the place of the origin of Sultan Iskandar Thani, the king of Aceh after Sultan Iskandar Muda. This is due to the fact that soon after his arrival in Aceh, al-Rānirī was appointed to the highest post in the Sultanate of Aceh (the post of *Shaykh al-*

Islām). It is probably impossible that the sultan assigned a foreigner (al-Rānirī) to his court without having much information about the latter. Azra suggests that al-Rānirī had been known before by the Sultanate of Pahang (Azra, 2004, 58) while T. Iskandar, Ahmad Taufiq and Zulkefli Aini believed that al-Rānirī had a close link with the royal family of Pahang that he was easily appointed as of *Shaykh al-Islām* (Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 4; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 216 & T. Iskandar, 2011:58).

Shortly after his arrival in Aceh, al-Rānirī succeeded in gaining the patronage of the Sultan and was later appointed as *Shaykh al-Islām* (Amirul, 1984: 259; Drewes, 1986: 54; Riddell, 1989: 112; Azra, 2004: 59; Jelani, 1999a: 2; Amirul, 2004: 153 & 155, Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 120; Sher Banu, 2012: 100 & Hermansyah, 2014a: 43). According to Azra, among his duties are to advise the king in various matters, either religious or political (Azra, 2004: 59; Yusny Saby, 2005: 53 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 218). Besides the mentioned post, al-Rānirī too was a court historiographer as well as a prolific writer (Jelani, 2004c: 27 & Amirul, 2004: 153) and his remarkable works will be discussed in the following section.

In 1638, al-Rānirī was commanded by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a book on history which is later known as *Bustān*. Most scholars agree with the fact that *Bustān* was composed starting from 1638 AD, but the date of its completion is unknown. Grinter believes that *Bustān* was completed in 1640 while Jelani's estimation is in 1641 AD or 1642 AD. Voorhoeve, on the other hand, assumes that the writing was never completed (Voorhoeve, 1955: 153; Grinter, 1979: 11; Jelani, 2004c: 28 & Shaghir, 2009: 189). Nevertheless, Grinter believes that *Bustān* was written earlier before 1638 AD. The reason is that it is impossible that al-Rānirī wrote a large work like some sort of an encyclopedia (Ronkel, 1943: 461 & Braginsky (personal communication,

November 22, 2012) within the period of 3 years after he arrived in Aceh (1638 AD-1641 AD) (Grinter, 1979: 12). Besides that, Voorhoeve believed that al-Rānirī had collected the materials for writing *Bustān* long before he was commanded by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose the book (Voorhoeve, 1951: 360). Furthermore, Hermansyah also believed that *Bustān* was written before al-Raniri arrived in Aceh in 1637 (personal communication, July 31, 2015). The researcher seems to agree with Voorhoeve and Hermansyah that al-Rānirī has started writing *Bustān* before he came to Aceh. The reason is that *Bustān* contains history from the creation of the universe until the Malacca and Aceh Sultanate. It shows that *Bustān* contains of the theme of universal history of different timelines. Therefore, it is impossible for al-Rānirī to complete writing *Bustān* (contains seven chapters) in three years time eventhough al-Rānirī referred to early sources of Islamic history (mostly in Arabic) to compose the chapter concerning the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah. *Bustān* does not contain direct translation of Islamic history from earlier sources (primary sources). However, al-Raniri referred to many early Muslim historians such as al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām.

Al-Rānirī is the most influential ‘*ulamā*’ in the Malay World after Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn. He made a big contribution to the Sultanate of Aceh and the Acehnese society during his sojourn in Aceh. He played an active role as ‘*ulamā*’ as well as the counsel to the Sultan especially in religious matter. The most significant contribution of al-Rānirī was in strengthening Islam in the Malay World through his notable writings. For instance, al-Rānirī’s *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (written in 1634 AD) was the first book in Malay that clarified and taught the Malay society on Islamic beliefs and practices (Winstedt, 1961: 148; Azra, 2004: 67-68; Azmi Aziz & A.B. Shamsul, 2004: 344 & Harun, 2006: 394). According to Hiroko, “*Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* became the first standard

manual of *fiqh* in Malay.” (Hiroko, 2016: 77). Besides that, Muhammad Yusoff Hashim has the opinion that *Şirāṭ* was al-Rānīrī’s most well-known book compared to the rest of his works (Yusoff, 1992: 237). *Şirāṭ* became very influential inside the society in the seventeenth century Aceh. In fact, al-Rānīrī himself sent *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* along with *Bāb al-Nikah* to Kedah in 1050 AH/1640 AD (Djadjadingrat, 1911:187; Winstedt, 1920a: 39, Fadhlullah Jamil, 1980: 13; Shaghir, 1985: 23; Azra, 2004: 67 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 246).

Besides that, Henri Chambert-Loir mentions that after the composition of *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, Sultan Iskandar Thani immediately ordered al-Rānīrī to send a copy to the Sultan of Kedah (Winstedt, 1920a: 39; Henri Chambert-Loir, 2006: 373 & Jelani, 2009: 17). Hence, it has been claimed that al-Rānīrī had contributed to the process of Islamization of Kedah (Djadjadingrat, 1911a: 187, Al-Attas, 1986: 11 & Aliza Elias, 2007: 10). This proves the importance of *Şirāṭ* in the process of the development of Islam and the Muslims in the Malay World. In addition, Riddell states that *Şirāṭ* is still studied in Indonesian Islamic schools some 350 years after its composition (Riddell, 2001: 119). Furthermore, T. Iskandar mentions that *Şirāṭ* had been used as textbook in religious schools, and it has been copied several times in Singapore (T. Iskandar, 1967: 44 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 57). In the researchers’s opinion, *Şirāṭ* is still studied until the present in the Malay world and will be continuously studied in the future due to its significance and value as the first Malay book concerning the rules of Islamic ritual.

Moreover, al-Rānīrī gained high reputation and success under the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani as he was appointed to the post of *Şaykh al-Islām* and was trusted to write *Bustān*. In summary, al-Rānīrī was a distinguished scholar during the seventeenth century Aceh. Al-Rānīrī’s contribution to the development of Islamic sciences in the

Malay World is remarkable. He possessed a great knowledge in various Islamic sciences and mastered the language of Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Malay (Daudy, 1983: 60). Despite his success, al-Rānirī suddenly left Aceh in 1054 AH/1644 AD and returned to his birthplace, Rander (T. Iskandar, 1966: 10; Al-Attas, 1966: 13; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 6; Feener, 2011: 10; Jones, 1974: 1 & T.Ito, 1978: 489).

Scholars have different opinions regarding the reason of his abrupt departure. According to Braginsky and T.Ito, al-Rānirī left Aceh because of the arrival of a new scholar named Sayf al-Rijāl, a Minangkabau scholar (T.Ito, 1978: 491; Braginsky, 2004: 647- 648; Riddell, 2006: 45 & Jelani, 2008d: 3). Sayf al- al-Rijāl who had just returned from Surat, India was more moderate towards Ḥamzah's thought (Abdul Basith Junaidy, 2009: 555-56). According to Braginsky, Sayf al-Rijāl was a follower of *Wujūdiyyah*. Consequently, a prolonged debate took place between al-Rānirī and Sayf concerning *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and finally, it was the latter who succeeded to overcome the former (Braginsky, 2004: 647; T. Iskandar, 2011, 60 & Hiroko, 2016: 77). Al-Rānirī failed to obtain the support of the sultanah and Sayf al- al-Rijāl supported the followers of Shams al-Dīn (T. Ito, 1978: 491 Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 223). Therefore, al-Rānirī felt challenged and left Aceh (Abdul Basith Junaidy, 2009: 555). On the other hand, Jelani stated that al-Rānirī's abrupt return to India in 1644 AD when the polemic on *Wujūdiyyah* reached its climax in Aceh (Jelani, 1999a: 5). The researcher is inclined towards the opinion that al-Rānirī left Aceh abruptly due to the coming of Sayf al-Rijāl who was moderate to Ḥamzah's doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. Since al-Rānirī was against the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, endless debates occurred between him and Sayf al-Rijāl. Sayf later gained reputation among the people of Aceh and consequently, al-Raniri's position in Aceh is affected and this led to his abrupt departure from Aceh.

Furthermore, Riddell (2000) and Sher Banu state that al-Rānīrī was replaced by Sayf al-Rijal, a Minangkabau, as *Shaykh al-Islām* (Riddell, 2001: 118; Azra, 2004: 60; Sher Banu, 2012: 101 & Hermansyah, 2012, 45). Drewes has the opinion that al-Rānīrī was terminated from his post as *Shaykh al-Islām* in 1644 AD (Drewes, 1955: 151). Grinter, on the other hand, states that al-Rānīrī was expelled by Sultanah Safiatuddin Syah (reigned 1641 AD-1675 AD). Nevertheless, it is said that al-Rānīrī's departure was due to his dislike of Aceh being ruled by a woman that was Sultanah Safiatuddin (Daudy, 1978: 17, Jelani, 2004c: 26; Suryadi, 2010: 129 & T. Iskandar, 2011, 60). T. Iskandar refers to the story of the enmity between Hārūn al-Rashīd (the fifth 'Abbāsīd caliph) and the Byzantine that is narrated by al-Rānīrī' in Book II of *Bustān* (chapter 10 (the 'Abbāsīd Kings)) that reflected his disfavour of a woman ruler (T. Iskandar, 2011, 60).³⁸

In conclusion, regardless of the reasons of al-Rānīrī's departure from Aceh, it cannot be doubted that al-Rānīrī appeared as a distinguished and the most versatile scholar in the first half of the seventeenth century Aceh. Al-Rānīrī's contribution to the development of Islam in Aceh is apparent in his well-known works as being discussed previously (Zakaria Achmad, 1972: 122 & Raja Mohd. Affandi, 1974: 91). He left a long lasting legacy that could be seen in two aspects: his works and his contribution to the rising of scholars. *Bustān* for example, plays an enormous role in history of the Malay-Indonesian World (T. Iskandar, 1964: 136). In fact, it is very influential and widely used not only in the 17th till 19th century Aceh but throughout the South-East Asia (Abdul Kadir, 1996: 30-31).

³⁸ Al-Rānīrī wrote, "Bahawa surat ini daripada Sultan Taqfur yang kerajaan di negeri Rom, datang kepada Sultan Hārūn al-Rashīd...bahawa raja perempuan yang dahulu itu padaku seperti buah catur, dan dijadikan dirinya umpama bidak. Sebab itulah diberinya beberapa harta akan ufti Rom kerana perempuan itu lemah lagi kurang akal." (Raffles 8: 190) (This letter is from the King of Taqfur, the king of Rome to King Hārūn al-Rashīd...the previous female king to me is like chess and she made herself like a pawn. That is why she gave some properties of Rome as tribute because woman is weak and has with very little common sense." (T. Iskandar, 2011, 60).

According to T. Iskandar, “His (al-Rānirī) greatest achievement lies in the *Bustānus-Salāṭīn*, the greatest work of its kind in Malay literature.” (T. Iskandar, 1967: 44). Besides that, *Bustān* was widely read especially among the Malay rulers (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214). The great influence of *Bustān* on the Malay society in the mentioned period was proven through the existence of several copies of *Bustān* by a number of copyists (T. Iskandar, 1964: 438 & Jelani, 2002: 18). In addition, the author of *Hikayat Hang Tuah* (The Epic of Hang Tuah) had utilized the content of *Bustān* concerning the story of Hang Tuah’s voyage to Rome inside his writing of the great epic (Yahya Ismail, 1974: 99; T. Iskandar, 1964: 440 & Jelani, 2002: 26). Furthermore, *Bustān* became one of the sources used by Raja Ali Haji in the composition of *Tuḥfat al-Nafis* (The Precious Gift) in the 19th century (Jelani, 2009: 243 & Khalif Muammar A. Harris (henceforth Khalif Muammar), 2015: 22). Last but not least, al-Rānirī’s model of writing was followed by ‘Abd Ra’ūf and Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (1222-1227/1710-1812)³⁹ (Harun, 2006: 447 & Iik A. Mansurnoor, 2009: 231). Arshad al-Banjārī wrote his prominent book of *fiqh* titled *Sabīl al-Muhtadīm li Tafaqquh fī Amrī al-Dīn* (written in 1193 AH/1779 AD) (The Way of the Guided) based on al-Rānirī’s *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* (Mohd. Nor Ngah, 1983: 5, Mohd. Koharuddin Mohd. Balwi, 2004: 58; Harun, 2006: 447 & Ding, 2009: 20).

Moreover, the importance of *Bustān* and *Ṣirāṭ* is manifested by the existence of writings by later scholars. *Bustān* and *Ṣirāṭ* have been studied previously and continued to be analyzed till the present. For instances, studies by Aliza Elias’s Ph.D thesis (2007) entitled Rānirī’s *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm*: An Annotated Transliteration of the Text Together With A Preliminary Analysis on the Language and Its Significance to the History of the

³⁹ Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī was one of the best scholars in Kalimantan and an expert in *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*. He obtained his education from Makkah and Madinah. See Azra, 2004: 118. He wrote more than 40 *kitabs*/books such as *Risālah Qaul al-Mukhtaṣar* (completed in 1195 AH/1781 AD), *Kitāb Bāb an-Nikāh* (a book on marriage) (Amat Juhari, 2008: 7) and *Luṭṭah al-‘Ajlan fī al-Ḥāidhi wa al-Istiḥāḍah wa an-Nifas an-Nis-yān* (a book concerning *Ḥāidh* (menstruation), *Istiḥāḍah* (bleeding outside the month of monthly period/irregular bleeding) and *Nifas* (post-natal bleeding) (completed in 1192/1778) (Shaghir, 2009: 154).

Islamisation of the Malay World and Jamalluddin Hashim & Abdul Karim Ali (2008) entitled *Kitāb al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm oleh Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī: Satu sorotan*. Regarding *Bustān*, western scholars such as Drewes, Winstedt and Voorhoeve had devoted their energies in the study of *Bustān* while the eastern scholars are represented by T. Iskandar, Daudy, Djajadningrat, Siti Hawa and Jelani. The last publication on *Bustan* was by Paul Warmser entitled “*Le Bustān al-Salatīm de Nuruddin ar-Raniri: Réflexions sur le Rôle culturel d’un Étranger dans le Monde malais au XVIIe Siècle*” in 2012.

The legacy of al-Rānirī could be seen through the emergence of at least two scholars (al-Rānirī’s disciples). The first one is Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037-1111 AH/1627-1699 AD) (Azra, 2004: 66 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 225) or Sheīkh Yūsuf of Makassar or Shaykh Yūsuf Tajul Mankatsi/al-Maqasari al-Khalwati (Shaghir, 2009: 190). According to Shaghir and Mustapha Keraan & Muhammed Haron, Sheīkh Yūsuf Tajul had the chance to study under al-Rānirī in Aceh and he accepted the *bai’ah* (pledge of allegiance) of Qadriyyah *tariqah* (sufī order/brotherhood) from al-Rānirī (Mustapha Keraan & Muhammed Haron, 2008: 102; Shaghir, 2009: 190). In addition, Azra states that al-Maqassārī clearly acknowledged al-Rānirī as his teacher in his work titled “*Safinat al-Najāh*” in which he wrote “I take it from my Sheīkh and prop, the learned and prominent, the wise and inimitable, who possessed the sciences of *sharī’ah* and *ḥaqīqah*, exploring *ma’rifah* and *ṭarīqah*, my master and my teacher, Sheīkh Nūr al-Dīn b. Ḥasanji b. Muḥammad Ḥumayd al-Qurayshī al-Rānirī...” (Jelani, 2002: 24 & Azra, 2004: 89).

The second student of al-Rānirī was Shaykh Muḥammad Alī/Manshur known as Megat Sati b. Amir Sulaiman b. Sa’id Ja’far Shadiq b. ‘Abdullāh, a scholar from Aceh

who wrote “*Syarab al-‘Ārifīn li Ahlī al-Washilīm*” (Jelani, 2002: 24& Shaghir, 2009: 190). Besides that, Hermansyah claimed that there is another student of al-Rānirī named Fakih Hitam (personal communication, July 31, 2015). Furthermore, Zuber Usman (1966) stated that Tun Seri Lanang was also the student of al-Rānirī. He mentioned that Tun Seri Lanang learned Islamic knowledge from al-Rānirī when the former was captured and brought to Aceh during the defeat of Johor to Aceh in the year 1613 AD. On the other hand, al-Raniri learned Malay language from Tun Seri Lanang (Zuber Usman, 1966: & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 225). However, the reliability of this statement is uncertain as it not supported by any other historical sources.

From the above description, it can be concluded that al-Rānirī was not only an *ulamā*’ but also a distinguished scholar of Aceh who had made great efforts to spread Islam in the seventeenth century Aceh and the Malay World through his outstanding works. His valuable contribution to Islam continues until the present time through the studies of his compositions in different fields of research as mentioned above. Al-Rānirī’s contribution to the development of Islam in the Malay world is expressed by al-Attas as below:

“There can be no doubt that no man in the Malay world has contributed so much in the filed of Islamic knowledge and learning than al-Rānirī. From the perspective of Islamization, he plaed the greatest role in consolidating the religion among the Malays, and made a lasting contribution to the spiritual and intellectual quality of life.” (Al-Attas, 1986: 6 & Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 240).

In addition, “Al-Rānirī’s thought had a tremendous impact in the Malay world...he was the first writer in the region to clarify the distinction between the true and false interpretation of *ṣūfī* theosophy and metaphysics.” (Azmi Aziz & A.B. Shamsul, 2004: 344)

Furthermore, al-Rānirī's had made great contributions to the development of Islam and the Malay literature. T. Iskandar regarded al-Rānirī as a figure of classical Malay literature or scholar of Malay-Aceh literature (T. Iskandar, 1964: 436). Ismail Hamid stated that, "With regard to all of his intellectual and paxis tendencies, al-Rānirī was the first *alim* who sowed the seeds of Islamic scripturalism in the Malay world." (Ismail Hamid, 2000:173). In the year 1068 AH/1658 AD, al-Rānirī died in Ranir/Rander, Gujerat (Winstedt, 1958: 121; Voorhoeve, 1959: 90-91; al-Attas, 1986: 12; T. Iskandar, 1966: 10; Daudy, 1983: 47; Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 131; Azra, 2004: 62; Jelani,2009: 24 & Hermansyah, 2012: 46).

3.3.2 THE WORKS OF AL-RĀNĪRĪ

Al-Rānirī made a great contribution to the development of Islamic sciences in the Malay World. As a prolific writer in Malay and Arabic, al-Rānirī wrote 14 books within his short period in Aceh (1047-1054 AH/1637-1644 AD) and 13 of them in Malay language (T. Iskandar, 1964: 440, T. Iskandar, 1967: 44 & Andaya, 2001: 50). Al-Rānirī's works were mainly on *kalām* (Islamic theology) and *taṣawwuf*, nevertheless, he also wrote on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and history. If *Bustān* was al-Rānirī's biggest and largest work as well as the only single work of the classical Malay literature (Amirul, 2004: 5) under the genre of the history of the Islamic world and Islamic universal history, *Ṣirāṭ*, on the other hand, represents the first Malay book in the Malay World Malay pertaining *ṣalāt* (prayer), fasting, *zakāh* and *Ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah) (Ronkel, 1943: 461; Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153; Jihaty Abadi, Azran Rahman & Amida Abduhamid, 1979: 47). Most of his writings aimed at refuting the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* of Ḥamza and Shams al-Dīn (Riddell, 1989: 112; T. Iskandar, 1964: 440 & Reid, 2006: 45).

Al-Rānirī's works are in fact have been written by numerous scholar of the east and the west. However, but still the researcher determines to write al-Rānirī's works because the researcher believes that there are some new ideas that can be dug out concerning al- al-Rānirī's works. Concerning the number of al-Rānirī's masterpieces throughout his life, Voorhoeve listed 19 works of al-Rānirī, Daudy listed 29 works and Jelani, 25 works (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153-58; Daudy, 1983: 48-57 & Jelani, 2009: 19-21). This information was later used by Riddell (2001) and Azra (2004) in their writings on al-Raniri (Riddell, 2001: 118 & Azra, 2004: 62). On the other hand, Wan Shaghir Wan Abdullah, a prominent Malay manuscript collector and a prolific writer concerning the '*ulamā*' of Nusantara had stepped forward by giving the complete list of al-Rānirī's work consisting of 34 treatises that are listed in the following (Shaghir, 1991: 5-142). Besides that, an appreciation should be given to Shaghir who provides a detailed description on the contents of each works of al-Rānirī. Therefore, the researcher's evaluation on al-Rānirī's work is largely based on Shaghir's writing.

Based on the evaluation of the previous studies, the researcher lists 35 works of al-Rānirī as below. The main purpose of listing these works is to prove that al-Rānirī was a prolific writer that contributed greatly to the development of Islam in the Malay world through his remarkable works. Besides that, the research also determines to emphasize al-Rānirī's work on history that differs from that of the previous scholars. Many scholars such as Voorhoeve, Drewes, Winstedt and Jelani confine al-Rānirī's work on history to *Bustān*, but the researcher has different opinion that will be explained in the following.

Table 3.1: Thirty Five Works of al-Rānirī

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
<p><i>Taşawwuf</i> and <i>Kalām</i></p>	<p>1</p>	<p><i>Jawāhir al-‘Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma‘lūm</i> (the Jewel of knowledge for revelation of truth) (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214) (the writing started from 1052-1054 AH/1642-1644 AD) (Arabic & Malay)</p> <p>(Voorhoeve, 1955b: 157; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Riddell, 2001: 121, Jelani, 2009: 20 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 122)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The final <i>kitāb</i> composed by al-Rānirī in Aceh before his return to India. • Daudy believed that after the death of al-Rānirī, this book was completed by his student (Daudy, 1983: 54). However, Shaghir stated that <i>Jawāhir</i> was completed by al-Rānirī himself. This is based on the final part of <i>Jawāhir</i> where al-Rānirī mentioned that this book was completed on Sunday 1054 AH/1644 AD (Shaghir, 1991: 80). • A complete and detail book on <i>taşawwuf</i> ever produced by al-Rānirī. It consists of five chapters excluding the introduction and the conclusion (Voorhoeve, 1951: 355 & Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 28). • Debated on the concept of <i>wujūd</i> (ontology) (Daudy, 1983: 53). The source of this <i>Kitāb</i> is <i>Lawā'ih fī bayān ma'āni ‘urfaniya</i> by ‘Abd Raḥman Jāmī (d. 1492), a distinguished Persian ṣufī scholar from Khurāsān, Iran (Farah Fatima Golparvaran Shadchehr, 2008: 9).

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
	2	<p><i>Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīm</i> (the Obvious victory over heretics) (Braginsky, 2004: 647) (completed in 1068 AH/1657 AD) (Malay)</p> <p>(Voorhoeve, 1955b: 158; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 215 & Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written in Rānir after al-Rānirī’s return from Aceh (Daudy, 1983: 55 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 256). • Related the massacre of the followers of <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> and the books written by Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn were burnt at the mosque of Bayt al-Raḥmān (Azra, 2004: 62; Harun, 2006: 423 & Sher Banu, 2012: 101).
	3	<p><i>Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-daf’i al-Zindīq</i> (the Proof of the truthful for the refutation of the heretics) (Braginsky, 2004: 645) (1048-1051 AH/1638-1641 AD) (Malay)</p> <p>(Voorhoeve, 1955a: 1-27; Al-Attas 1966: 115-142; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 215; Riddell, 2001: 119; Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 256)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contained the ‘Aqīdah and <i>mazhab</i> in Islam as well as the refutation against the <i>Wujūdiyyah</i>. The purpose of this book is to prove the heresy of the <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> (Daudy, 1983: 54). • Al-Rānirī considered the heretical <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> similar to the Jews and Christians (Riddell, 2001: 125).
	4	<p><i>Laṭā’if al-Asrār</i> (the Subtleties of secrets) (Jelani, 2009: 20) (Arabic)</p> <p>(Voorhoeve, 1955b: 156; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214; Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 122)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerning <i>taṣawwuf</i> and this book was mentioned by al-Rānirī in his other books, <i>Tibyān</i> and <i>Jawāhir</i> (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 23 & Daudy, 1983: 51).
	5	<p><i>Syadzaru’l-Mazīd</i> (Daudy, 1983: 57; Shaghir, 1991: 134 & Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 25)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This book was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīm</i> but yet founded until present (Daudy, 1983, 57).

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
	6	<i>Nubdhah fī da'wā al-Zīl ma'a ṣāhibihi</i> (A Brief description on the shadow with its friend) (Jelani, 2009: 20) (1047-1051 AH/1637-1641 AD) (Arabic) (Voorhoeve, 1958: 121; Shaghir, 1991: 136; Riddell, 2001: 123 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 22)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concerning the heretical teaching of <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> depicted in the form of question and answer (Daudy, 1983: 51).
	7	<i>Ḥall al-Zīl</i> (Concerning the shadow) (Braginsky, 2004: 645) (1048-1054 AH/1638-1644 AD) (Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 159; Winstedt, 1996: 101 & Riddell, 2001: 123)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The continuation of the <i>Kitāb Nubdhah fī da'wā al-Zīl ma'a ṣāhibihi</i> (Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 28). Al-Rānirī's criticism against the <i>Wujūdiyyah</i>.
	8	<i>Al-Lama'ān fī Takfīr man Qāla bi Khalq al-Qur'ān</i> (The Bright light to accuse people who claimed the Qur'ān is created) (Jelani, 2009: 21) (Arabic) (Shaghir, 1991: 131 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif, Muammar, 2009: 124)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contained the protest of al-Rānirī towards the teaching of Ḥamzah that stated the Qur'ān is created (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 24 & Daudy, 1983: 55).
	9	<i>Shawārim al-Ṣiddīq li Qaṭ'i al-Zindīq</i> (The Sword of the saint against the <i>zindiqs</i>) (Jelani, 2009: 21) (Arabic) (Voorhoeve, 1969: 371 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was written against the teaching of <i>Wujūdiyyah</i>. This book was mentioned by al-Rānirī in <i>Faḥ al-Mubīn 'alā al-Mulḥidīm</i> (Daudy, 1983: 56 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 258).
	10	<i>Raḥīq al-Muḥammadiyyah fī Ṭarīq al-Ṣūfīyyah</i> (the Drink of the ummah of Muhammad on the way of the <i>ṣūfis</i>) (1067 AH/1657 AD) (Arabic) (Shaghir, 1991: 130; Muhammad Abdul Rauf,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The last book written by al-Rānirī before his death in 1658 (Daudy, 1983: 56). Written in Rānir after his return from Aceh but was not completed due to his death

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
		2001: 239 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124)	(Tajuddin Saman, 1993: 137 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124). It was completed by Salah al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh (Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 31).
	11	<i>‘Ain al-Jawād fī Bayān Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> (Voorhoeve, 1969: 371 & Daudy, 1983: 57)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīn</i> (Daudy, 1983: 57). • Perhaps the same title as <i>‘Ainul Wujūd fī bayān Widatil Wujūd’</i>. (Shaghir, 1991: 132).
	12	<i>‘Ain al-Wujūd fī Bayān Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> (Voorhoeve, 1969: 371 & Daudy, 1983: 57)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīn</i> (Shaghir, 1991: 132).
	13	<i>‘Awdhah al-Sabīl wa al-Dalīl laisa bāṭil al-Mulḥidīn Ta’wil</i> (Arabic) (Shaghir, 1991: 133 & Jamalluddin bin Hashim & Abdul Karim Ali, 2008: 201)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This book was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīn</i> (Daudy, 1983, 57).
	14	<i>‘Awdhah al-Sabīl wa al-Dalīl li Kalāmi al-Mulḥidin Ta’wil</i> (Arabic) (Shaghir, 1991: 133)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This book was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīn</i> (Daudy, 1983, 57).
	15	<i>Ma’al-Ḥayāt li ahl al-Mamāt</i> (the Water of life for the dead) (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214) (1048-1054 AH/1638-1644 AD) (Arabic & Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 157; Daudy, 1983: 53 & Shaghir, 1991, 51-56)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written by the request of Sultanah Safiatuddin, the queen of Aceh. The purpose of this book is to protest against the teaching of <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> that believed in the unity of the universe and God (Edward

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
			Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 23 & Daudy, 1983, 53).
	16	<i>Al-Fatḥ al-Wadūd fī Bayān Waḥdat al-Wujūd</i> (Malay) (Shaghir, 1991: 132 & Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This book was mentioned in the <i>Kitāb Fatḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīm</i> (Daudy, 1978: 26).
	17	<i>Asrār al-Insān fī Ma’rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān</i> (the Secrets of man (revealed through) the cognition of the spirit and the merciful) (Braginsky, 2004: 645) (1050-1054 AH/1640-1644 AD) (Arabic & Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 156; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214 & Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The composition began in the period of Sultan Iskandar Thani and completed under the Sultanah of Aceh, Sultan Safiatuddin (Voorhoeve, 1955: 156). A polemic treatise on the <i>rūḥ</i> (soul) (Daudy, 1983: 51).
	18	<i>Syifā al-Qulūb (the Healing of the hearts)</i> (Nieuwenhuijze, 1948: 341) (Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 161; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 215; Braginsky, 2004: 645 & Shaghir, 1991: 129)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contained the meaning of <i>syahādah</i> and the way of <i>ḍḥīkr</i> (zikr) to Allah (Daudy, 1983: 55). Refuted the incorrect interpretation of <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> concerning the formula of <i>Lā ilāha illa Allāh</i> (Al-Attas, 1966: 16).
	19	<i>Durr al-Farā’id bi Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id</i> (Precious pearls on the description of ‘ <i>Aqā’id</i>) (written before 1045 AH/1635 AD) (Jelani, 2009: 20) (Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153; T. Iskandar, 1967: 43; Daudy, 1978: 19; Shaghir, 1991: 5; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214 & Jelani, 2009: 20)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This book was written in Pahang (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357 & Mohd. Roshdi Nik Ahmad, 2011, 252). A book on ‘<i>Aqā’id</i> (Daudy, 1983: 48). A translation of the book entitled <i>Syarḥu’l-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafīyyah</i> by Imām Sa’duddin al-Taftāzāni (Winstedt, 1958: 120; Daudy,

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
			<p>1983: 48; Shaghir, 1991: 5 & Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 22).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This book was completed in 1040/1630 (Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 122).
	20	<i>'Alāqat Allāh bi al-'Ālam</i> (The Relationship of Allah and the 'alam (universe)) (Arabic & Malay) (Daudy, 1983: 57; Shaghir, 1991: 135 & Jelani, 2009: 21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A Translation of a book in Persian written by Sheikh Muḥammad ibn Faḍhlillāh al-Burhānpūri (Daudy, 1983: 57 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 260). The title of this book was given by Daudy (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 24). Explained that the relationship between Allah and the universe is actually a relationship of a creator and creations (Shaghir, 1991: 135).
	21	<i>'Aqā'id al-Ṣūfīyyat al-Muwaḥḥidīn min ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah</i> (Ṣūfīs 'aqīdah on the oneness of Allah) (Jelani, 2009: 21) (Arabic) (Daudy, 1983: 57; Shaghir, 1991: 135 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The title of this book was given by Daudy as al-Rānirī did not mention the title and the year it was written. Contained the 'aqīdah and the spiritual experiences of the ṣūfīs in the <i>dhikr 'Lā ilāha illa Allāh</i> (Daudy, 1983: 57).
	22	<i>Hidāyat al-Imān bi Faḍl al-Mana'an</i> (The Guidance of faith and the bounty of the benefactor) (Malay) (Jelani, 2009: 21) (Shaghir, 1991: 134)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explanation on <i>imān</i> (faith), Islam, <i>tawḥīd</i> and <i>ma'rifat</i> (wisdom) (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 24 & Daudy, 1983: 57).

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
	23	<p><i>‘Umdat al-‘Itiqād /Muhimmatul ‘Itiqād</i> (Articles of faith)</p> <p>(Voorhoeve, 1955b: 157; Daudy, 1983: 58; Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 123)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concerning belief/faith (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 23). Shaghir and Edwar assumed that <i>Umdat al-‘Itiqād and Muhimmatul ‘Itiqād</i> are two different works (Shaghir, 1991: 142 & Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 24). However, Voorhoeve stated that both titles refer to the same book (Daudy, 1983: 58). There’s an opinion that this book was not written by al-Rānirī but by ‘Abd Ra’ūf (Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 261).
	24	A Book without Title (Shaghir, 1991: 137)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consists of only 5 pages. Founded by Wan Shaghir in Terengganu, Malaysia in 1990.
Fiqh	25	<p><i>Şirāt al-Mustaqīm</i> (The Straight Path) (started in 1044 AH/1634 AD and completed in 1054 AH/1644 AD) (Malay)</p> <p>(Winstedt, 1920b: 152; Voorhoeve, 1955b: 156 & Daudy, 1978: 19; Grinter, 1979: 11; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214; Azra, 2004: 63 & Jelani, 2009: 19)</p> <p>Winstedt and Raja Mohd. Affandi stated that <i>Şirāt</i> was compiled by al-Rānirī in 1628, nine years before he reached Aceh (Winstedt, 1958: 120 & Raja Mohd. Affandi, 1974: 92)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was written before the coming of al-Rānirī to Aceh and it took the period of 10 years to complete the book (Shaghir, 1991: 115). Concerning the pillars of Islam. Pertaining <i>‘ibādah</i> (religious obligation) in Islam (ablution (wuḍū’), prayers (ṣalāt), fasting (ṣawm), alms (<i>zakāh</i>) ḥajj (pilgrimage), etc. (Azra, 2004: 63). Al-Rānirī’s sources of writing <i>Şirāt</i> were:

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <i>Minhāj al-Ṭalibīn</i> of al-Nawawī (Mohd. Nor Ngah, 1983: 5 & Azra 2004: 63) 2) <i>Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi sharḥ Minhāj al-Ṭullāb</i> of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (Azra 2004: 63) 3) <i>Hidāyat al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Mukhtaṣār Ibn Ḥajar</i> written by Imām Syihabuddīn Aḥmad Sheikh Ibn Ḥajar Makki (Azra 2004: 63 & Shaghir, 1991: 116) 4) <i>Kitāb al-Anwār of Ardābilī or Nihāyat al-Muḥtāj (ilā Sharḥ al-Mihājo</i> of al-Nawawī) (Azra, 2004: 63) 5) <i>Umdatul Salik</i> by Imām al-‘Ālim al-Faḍhīl Ibnu Naqīb (Shaghir, 1991: 116)
	26	<i>Tanbīhul ‘Awām fī Taḥqīqil Kalām fī Nawāfil</i> (Shaghir, 1991: 134)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pertaining to non-obligatory prayers in Islam.
	27	<i>Kaifiyat al-Ṣhalāt</i> or <i>Kifajat as-ṣhalāt</i> (The Ways to perform the ṣhalāt) (Malay) (Daudy, 1983: 56; Shaghir, 1991: 134 & Jelani, 2009: 21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excerpts from the book of <i>Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḥīm</i> (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 158; Daudy, 1983: 56; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 257 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124).
Ḥadīth	28	<i>Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb</i> (The Guide of lover about happiness and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The original title in Arabic is <i>Al-Fawāid Al-Bahiyah fī al-Aḥādīstīn</i>

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
		fearful) / <i>Al-Fawāid Al-Bahiyah fī al-Ahādīstin Nabawiyah</i> (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214 & Shaghir, 1991: 60) (1045 AH/1635 AD) (Arabic and Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153; T. , 1967: 43; Azra, 2004: 67 & Jelani, 2009: 20)	<p><i>Nabawiyah</i> (Wan Saghir, 1991, 60) and was written in Pahang (Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 248 & Mohd Roshdi Nik Ahmad, 2011: 252).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This book was a pioneer in <i>ḥadīth</i> in the Malay Archipelago (Azra, 2004: 67). • Contained 831 <i>ḥadīths</i> and quotations from the Qur'ānic verses (Mohd. Muhiden Abd. Rahman, 2006: 25).
	29	<i>Kitāb Ḥadīth Nabi</i> (Book of the Prophet's Tradition) (1636) (Malay) (Winstedt, 1920b: 152)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Translation of a book in Arabic entitled <i>Durrah al-Qarā'id Bashrah al-Faqā'id</i>.
History	30	<i>Bustān al-Ṣalatīm fī Dhikr al-Awwalīm wa al-Akhirīm</i> (1048-1051 AH/1638-1641 AD) (Malay) (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 153; Daudy, 1983: 49; Winstedt, 1996: 100; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214; Muhammad Abdul Rauf, 2001: 239; Azra, 2004: 68 & Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 249)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first work on universal history in the Malay World. Among the major sources of al-Rānirī are <i>Sejarah Melayu</i> (Azra, 2004: 69) and al-Ṭabarī (<i>Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk</i>). • <i>Bustān</i> is actually an encyclopedia of Islam containing various fields of knowledge (Ronkel, 1943: 461 & Braginsky (personal communication, November 22, 2012). • Detailed content of <i>Bustān</i> will be discussed specifically six of this research.
	31	<i>Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ</i> (The Beginning of the creation of the heavens and earth) (Malay)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Composed on the order of Sultan Iskandār Thani. • Part of <i>Bustān</i> (Daudy, 1983: 56 & Wan Mohd.

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
		(Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, 1910: 1-52; Winstedt, 1920b: 151; Mohd. Nor Ngah, 1983: 5; Shaghir, 1991: 109 & Hermansyah, 2012: 41)	<p>Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 124).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This book is the excerpts of the first book of <i>Bustān</i> (Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 259). However, according to Wan Saghir, this book is not part of <i>Bustān</i> as being claimed by scholars but indeed a book of its own (Shaghir, 1991: 110). • Contains the story of the creation of the universe based on the Qur'ān, ḥadīth and Ka'b b. Aḥbār.
	32	<i>Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyāmah</i> (The Account of the hereafter and the day of judgement) (henceforth <i>Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah</i>) (1052/1642) (Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written by the request of Sultanah Safiatuddin (Daudy, 1983, 52 & Hiroko, 2016: 77). • Contained seven chapters concerning the <i>Nūr Muḥammad</i>, the creation of Ādam, paradise, hell and the like (Daudy, 1983, 52 & Harun, 2006: 424). • The content of this book was taken from <i>Dakā'ik wa'l-hakāik</i> and <i>Durrat al-Fakhīrah min kashf' awwām al-'Akḥīrah</i> of Ghazālī, the <i>'Ajā'ib al-Malakut</i> of Shaikh ibn Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Abdillah al-K.sah and the <i>Bustān</i> of Abu'l-Layth (Voorhoeve, 1955b: 156 & Winstedt, 1966: 101).
	33	<i>Ayn al-'Ālam Qabl 'an Yukhlaq</i> (A writing concerning the earth before creation) (Malay) (Daudy, 1983: 54;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Rānirī only mentioned that he authored the book. But the name of this <i>kitāb</i>

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
		Shaghir, 1991: 133 and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 122)	<p>was not given; instead it was named by Daudy (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 23 & Daudy, 1983: 54).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concerning the universe before its creation.
	34	<p><i>Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain</i> (Alexander Romance)</p> <p>(T. Iskandar, 1967: 44) (Malay) (Winstedt, 1920a: 39; Voorhoeve, 1955b: 158; Shaghir, 1991: 142; Zulkefli Aini, 2008: 262 & Hermansyah, 2012: 41)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Edited from the Alexander Romance (T. Iskandar, 1967: 43). Some scholars believed <i>Qiṣah Iskandār Dhulqarnain</i> by al-Rānirī was part of <i>Bustān</i> but Wan Shaghir claimed that the former was a book of its own similar to <i>Kitāb Kaiḫiat al-Ṣhalāt</i> that was part of <i>Ṣirāt al-Mustaḳīm</i>. (Shaghir, 1991: 142).
	35	<p><i>Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān</i> (the 'Explanation of faiths) (henceforth <i>Tibyān</i>) (Braginsky, 2004: 645) (1052-1054 AH/1642-1644 AD) (Malay)</p> <p>(Winstedt, 1920b: 152; Ronkel, 1943: 462-63; Voorhoeve, 1955a: 1-128; Voorhoeve, 1955b: 156; Winstedt, 1996: 101; Ismail Hamid, 2000: 214; Riddell, 2001: 123; & Al-Attas, 1966: 15)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first work on comparative religion in the Malay world (Azra, 2004: 68). Written by the request of Sultanah Safiatuddin, the queen of Aceh (Ronkel, 1943: 462). Based on the famous work on comparative religion entitled <i>Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Niḥal</i> (The Book of Sects and Creeds) by al-Shahrastānī (Azra, 2004: 68). Contained the history of the creation of Ādam and his followers as well as the history of religions from the Prophet Ādam until the Prophet 'Īsā. Besides

SUBJECT	NO.	NAME OF KITAB	NOTES
			that, it also included the emergence of <i>mazhab</i> (sects) in Islam (Ronkel, 1943: 463-69; Voorhoeve, 1955a: 7 & Daudy, 1983: 52).

Sources: Voorhoeve, 1955a: 152-161, Daudy, 1978: 18-26, Shaghir, 1991: 5-142, Yusoff, 1992: 236-37, Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 22-25, Azra, 2004: 62-69, Braginsky, 2004: 645-47 & Harun, 2006: 420-24).

Table 3.1. shows the 35 works of al-Rānirī that cover the field of *taṣawwuf* and *kalām* (24 books), *fiqh* (3 books), history (6 books) and *ḥadīth* (2 books). Concerning the category of history, the researcher's list differs from that of the previous studies by aforementioned scholars. Many scholars believed that al-Rānirī's works on history are *Bustān* and *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ* but the researcher believed that there are six works of al-Rānirī on history. Table 3.1 shows that many of al-Rānirī's works are in the field of *taṣawwuf* that contain his refutation of the teaching of *Wujūdiyyah* (Winstedt, 1920b: 152 & Braginsky, 2004: 646). During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the *ṣūfī* doctrine of *waḥdat al-Wujūd* (*Wujūdiyyah*) taught by Ḥamzah became very influential in Aceh. In fact, *Wujūdiyyah* received the patronage of the sultan (Azra, 2004: 59). Al-Rānirī believed that the teaching of *Wujūdiyyah* was against the teaching of Islam. Therefore, shortly after al-Rānirī's arrival in Aceh in 1046 AH/1637 AD, he refuted the doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah* and launched an attack on its followers through his literary activities (Shaghir, 1985: 4-5; Iik A. Mansurnoor, 2009: 223; Feener, 2011, 10; T. Iskandar, 2011:58 & Hermansyah, 2012: 43). This is the reason why al-Rānirī's writings were mainly on *taṣawwuf*.

Besides that, al-Rānirī also contributed to the understanding of Islam among the societies not only in Aceh but also in the Malay World through his writings concerning *taṣawwuf*, theology and fiqh. In addition, the 19 books in Malay indicate that al-Rānirī had a very good command in Malay language even though he was non Malay. Parallel to al-Rānirī's purpose of writing that have been mentioned above, it is not surprising that almost all his works in Aceh were using Malay language in order that the people of Aceh would be able to understand Islam appropriately and apply it in their lives. In conclusion, it cannot be doubted that al-Rānirī was a prolific writer during his times and that he had devoted his energies to writing works not only to refute the *Wujūdiyyah* but simultaneously to disseminate Islamic knowledge and to lead the people to Allah through the genuine teaching of Islam.

3.3.2.1 Evaluation on the Works of Al-Rānirī

Generally, many scholars such as Voorhoeve, Winstedt, Daudy, Azra, and the like have listed the works of al-Rānirī and the summary of each book. Besides that, there are some writings that discussed al-Rānirī's work on *taṣawwuf* that contained his refutation of the *Wujūdiyyah*.⁴⁰ The researcher also gives a list of all al-Rānirī's works based on the lists given by the above scholars, but with a purpose. The researcher's purpose is not only limited to the summary of the works, but to evaluate the amount of historical content in al-Rānirī's works which indicates that history is the basic theoretical element of al-Rānirī and this will be discussed in the following.

⁴⁰ For example, articles entitled "*Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānirī als Bestrijder der Wugudiya*" by Nieuwenhuijze (1948), "*Lijst der geschriften van Raniri en apparatus criticus bij de tekst van twee verhandelingen*" by Voorhoeve (1955b), "Commentary on the Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī" by al-Attas (1986), "*Lata'if Al-Asrar Li-Ah Allah Al-Atyar Karangan Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānirī*" by Muhammad Zainiy Uthman (1988), "*Kerangka Komprehensif Pemikiran Melayu Abad ke-17 Masihi Berdasarkan Manuskrip Durr al-Fara'id Karangan Sheikh Nūrudīn al-Rānirī*" by Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar (2009) and "*Naskah Tibyān Fī Ma'rifat Al-Adyān: Interpretasi Aliran Sesat di Aceh Menurut Nūruddīn Ar-Rānirī*" by Hermansyah (2014a).

Many scholars recognized *Bustān* as al-Rānirī's work on history and discussion on this matter is available in their writings on *Bustān* such as by Winstedt, Voorhoeve and Jelani. Based on the content of *Bustān*, it cannot be doubted that it is indeed a work on history. Other works of al-Rānirī that deal with history are *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ* and *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain*. The first narrates the creation of the earth and the heaven while the latter relates the story of Iskandār Dhulqarnain, the great king of the past who conquered the world.

Some scholars such as Daudy (1983) and Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif (2009) regarded *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ* and *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* as parts of the book I of *Bustān*. However, Voorhoeve (1955b) who listed 19 works of al-Rānirī and one of them is a treatise on the creation of the world (no. 14 from the list) which in Arabic refers to *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ*. Therefore, it is clear that Voorhoeve regarded this treatise as a separate work of al-Rānirī. Besides that, Shaghir (1991) also stated that *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ* is a book of its own. Similar to *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ*, Winstedt (1920a) and Shaghir (1991) believed that *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* was also composed by al-Rānirī. Meanwhile T. Iskandar (1967) mentioned that *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* was edited by al-Rānirī from the Alexander Romance.

In addition to *Bustān*, *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ* and *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain*, the researcher is in the opinion that there are other three al-Rānirī's works that contain historical element: *Ayn al-'Ālam Qabl 'an Yukhlaq*, *Akhbār al-Akhīrah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyāmah* and *Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān* that will be explained below. Therefore, the researcher classified them under the the category of history as listed in table 3.1. Concerning *Ayn al-'Ālam Qabl 'an Yukhlaq*, this book is obviously

history as manifested in its title, the earth before the creation. Besides that, *Akhbār al-Akhīrah* also deals with history as it narrates the creation of Ādam, paradise, hell and others. Meanwhile, *Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al -Adyān* is recognized by aforementioned scholars in the east and the west as al-Rānīrī's sole work on comparative religion. However, based on the evaluation on the content of *Tibyān*, the researcher believed that it is in fact a work of history. The historical element is clearly shown in the detailed contents of *Akhbār al-Akhīrah* and *Tibyān* below:

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Table 3.2: The Contents of *Akhbār al-Akhīrah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyāmah* and *Tibyān fī Maʿrifat al-Adyān*

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
1	<p><i>Akhbār al-Akhīrah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyāmah</i> (Edwar Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 27-32; Harun, 2006: 424 & Hiroko, 2016: 80-83)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consists of seven chapters (Based on the manuscript of MSS2471(Hiroko, 2016: 78) • First chapter (The creation of <i>Nūr</i> Muḥammad) (pp. 5-10). • Second chapter (The creation of the Prophet Ādam and the story of Ādam and Siti Hawa in the heaven, they were thrown out from the heaven to the earth and how they met in Arafah) (pp. 10-26) • Third chapter (Concerning death and agony of death (<i>sakarāt al-Mawt</i>). Discussed the phases of facing the death and the role of the angels: Izrāʿil, Kirāman and Kātibīn also known as Raqib and Atid) (pp. 26-75) • Chapter four (The signs of <i>al-Qiyāmah</i> (The Day of Resurrection). Discussed the coming of <i>Imām Mahdī</i>, <i>dajjāl</i> (Antichrist), the Prophet ʿĪsā, <i>Yaʿjūj</i> and <i>Maʿjūj</i> (Gog and Magog), the people of Habshah (the Abyssinians) and the sun rises from the west) (pp. 75-105). • Chapter five (concerning <i>al-Qiyāmah</i> and consists of the narration of the beginning of the destruction of earth after the angel Isrāfīl blows the trumpet, the story of <i>liwāʾ al-Ḥamd</i> and others) (pp.105-198). • Chapter six (Concerning the hell and its dwellers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The creation of earth and heaven is described in the Qurʾān in many verses such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <i>Sūrah al-Aʿrāf</i> (7):54 (Indeed, your Lord is Allah, who created the heavens and earth in six days and then established Himself above the Throne.) 2) <i>Sūrah Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 10 (He placed therein (i.e. the earth) firm mountains from above it, and He blessed it, and measured therein its sustenance (for its dwellers) in four Days equal (i.e. all these four 'days' were equal in the length of time), for all those who ask (about its creation). • The creation of Ādam and Siti Hawa: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <i>Sūrah Ṣad</i> (38): 71-71 (Remember) when your Lord said to

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
		<p>(pp.199-224)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chapter seven (The nature of heaven and its dwellers) (pp. 224-251). 	<p>the angels: "Truly, I am going to create man from clay". So when I have fashioned him and breathed into him (his) soul created by Me, then you fall down prostrate to him.)</p> <p>2) <i>Sūrah al-Nisā'</i> (4): 1 (O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Ādam), and from him (Ādam) He created his wife [Hawwa (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women and fear Allah through Whom you demand your mutual (rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allah is Ever an All-Watcher over you.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The narration concerning the Hereafter <p>1) <i>Sūrah al-Kahf</i> (18): 99 (And on that Day [i.e. the Day <i>Ya'jūj</i> and <i>Ma'jūj</i> (Gog and Magog) will come</p>

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
			<p>out], We shall leave them to surge like waves on one another, and the Trumpet will be blown, and We shall collect them all together.)</p> <p>2) <i>Sūrah al-Zumar</i> (39): 67 (They made not a just estimate of Allah such as is due to Him. And on the Day of Resurrection the whole of the earth will be grasped by His Hand and the heavens will be rolled up in His Right Hand. Glorified is He, and High is He above all that they associate as partners with Him).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The narration concerning the Heaven and Hell <p>1) <i>Sūrah al-Kahf</i> (18): 107 (Verily! Those who believe (in the Oneness of Allah Islamic Monotheism) and do righteous deeds, shall have the Gardens of <i>al-Firdaus</i> (the Paradise) for their entertainment).</p> <p>2) <i>Sūrah al-Hijr</i> (15): 43-44 (And surely, Hell is the promised place for them all. It (Hell) has seven gates,</p>

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
			for each of those gates is a (special) class (of sinners) assigned).
2	<i>Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān</i> (Voorhoeve, 1955a: 1-128; Harun, 2006: 424 & Hermansyah, 2012: 67-162)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Described all religions from the Prophet Ādam until the Prophet 'Īsā. • Mentioned about the creation of the Prophet Ādam and his life in the heaven and on earth and the history of his descendants. • Contained the history of religion during the Prophet Idrīs, Nūḥ and Ismā'īl and the stories of the creation of statues resembling the five disciples of the Prophet Nūḥ. • The story of Iblīs who mislead the descendants • of the Prophet Idrīs from the religion of <i>tawḥīd</i>. • The narration on the big flood during the period of the Prophet Nūḥ. • The description of the race of 'Aṭfān and the emergence of the three groups of polytheism. • Narrated the history of the groups of <i>Ṭab'īyūn</i> and <i>Ṭabī'īyah</i>, <i>Ḥukamā Munajjim</i> (those who worship the seven stars), <i>Salawīyah</i> (those who worship <i>nur</i> and <i>Zhulmah</i>), <i>Majūsī</i>/Zoroastrianisme, <i>Mulḥid</i> (those who reject the existence of God), <i>Ḥukamā Falāsifah</i>, <i>Qibtīyah</i>, <i>Sūfīṭānīyah</i> and <i>Tanāsukhīyah</i>. • Described the ten groups of the <i>Ahlul kitāb</i> including the Jews and the Naṣāra (Christians) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The History of Religion during the Prophets Idrīs and Nūḥ: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <i>Sūrah Maryam</i> (19): 56-57 (And mention in the Book (the Qur'ān) Idrīs (Enoch). Verily! He was a man of truth, (and Prophet. And We raised him to a high station). 2) <i>Sūrah Hūd</i> (11):25-27 (And indeed We sent Nūḥ (Noah) to his people (and he said): "I have come to you as a plain warner. That you worship none but Allah, surely, I fear for you the torment of a painful Day. The chiefs of the disbelievers among his people said: "We see you but a man like ourselves, nor do we see any follow you but the meanest among us and they (too) followed you without thinking. And we do not see in you any merit above us, in fact we think you are liars).

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
		<p>and their stories.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Described the difference of all sects of the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The narration about the Jews and Naṣāra <p>1) <i>Sūrah al-Nisā'</i> (4): 46 (Among those who are Jews, there are some who displace words from (their) right places and say: "We hear your word (O Muḥammad) and disobey," and "Hear and let you (O Muḥammad) hear nothing." And <i>Ra'ina</i> with a twist of their tongues and as a mockery of the religion (Islam). And if only they had said: "We hear and obey", and "Do make us understand," it would have been better for them, and more proper, but Allah has cursed them for their disbelief, so they believe not except a few.</p> <p>2) <i>Sūrah al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 14-15 (And from those who call themselves Christians, We took their covenant, but they have abandoned a good part of the Message that was sent to them. So We planted amongst them enmity and</p>

NO.	BOOKS	CONTENT	HISTORICAL CONTENT OF THE QUR'ĀN
			<p>hatred till the Day of Resurrection (when they discarded Allah's Book, disobeyed Allah's Messengers and His Orders and transgressed beyond bounds in Allah's disobedience), and Allah will inform them of what they used to do. 'O people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians)! Now has come to you Our Messenger (Muḥammad) explaining to you much of that which you used to hide from the Scripture and passing over (i.e. leaving out without explaining) much. Indeed, there has come to you from Allah a light (Prophet Muḥammad) and a plain Book (this Qur'ān)'.</p>

Table 3.2 described the content of *Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah* and *Tibyān*. Based on the table, it clearly indicates that the content of both works contain many historical elements. For example, the stories of the creation of the earth and heaven, Ādam and Siti Hawa, the paradise and hell and the hereafter Besides that, *Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah* and *Tibyān* also narrate the stories concerning the Prophets in Islam, for instance, the Prophet Idrīs, Nūh and Ismā‘īl. These three Prophets and many other Prophets such as Hūd, Šāleh, Ibrāhīm and Luṭ are also mentioned in the Qur’ān. Last but not least, both works also relate the stories of the people of the past such as the people of ‘Ād, Thāmud, the Banī Isrā‘īl and others. These stories are parallel to the historical content of the Qur’ān as shown in Qur’ānic verses in the above-mentioned table. The content of both works is referred to the Qur’ān because the Qur’ān is the main source of history in Islam. The Qur’ān emphasizes the importance of history and that is proven through the existence of about 1000 verses concerning history (Mohd. Nasir Omar, 1986: 40). Therefore, based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that *Akḥbār al-Akḥīrah* and *Tibyān* are indeed the works of history.

Although many of al-Rānīrī’s works concern with *taṣawwuf* as clearly shown in table 3.1, he included the historical elements in some of them that will be explained below:

Table 3.3: Some Historical Content in Al-Rānīrī’s Works on *Taṣawwuf*

NO.	BOOKS	HISTORICAL ELEMENT
1	<i>Jawāhir al-‘Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma‘lūm</i> (Shaghir, 1991: 66)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The creation of the universe. • Concerning the Prophet Ādam and creation of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.).
2	<i>Fathḥ al-Mubīn ‘alā al-Mulḥidīn</i> (Daudy, 1983: 55)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The history of the massacre of the followers of <i>Wujūdīyyah</i> and the incident where the books written by Ḥamzah and

		Sham al-Dīn were burnt.
3	<i>Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān</i> (Edward Djamaris & Saksono Prijanto, 1995/1996: 32-39)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The story of the creation of human being from <i>Durrat al-Baida</i> (jewels). This story is similar to that of <i>Bustān</i>. • A long narration on the story of the creation of the Prophet Ādam similar to that of <i>Bustān</i>. • The creation of the rūḥ of the prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.). • The process of the creation of human from <i>nutfah</i>, <i>'alaqah</i>, <i>mudghah</i> until perfection.
4	<i>Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id</i> (Shaghir, 1991: 5-31 & Wan Mohd. Nor & Khalif Muammar, 2009: 128)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Mi'rāj</i> of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), the angels (Hārūt and Mārūt, and the physical of angels) • Described the signs of <i>al-Qiyāmah</i> (the coming of <i>dajjāl</i>, <i>Ya'jūj</i> and <i>Ma'jūj</i>, the appearance of fire from Yaman, etc.), the paradise and hell. • The story of <i>Imām Mahdī</i> and the Prophet 'Īsā killed the <i>dajjāl</i>. • The mentioning of the Caliphate of al-Rāshidīn (the Pious Caliphate).

Table 3.3 indicates the historical content of *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm*, *Fatḥ al-Mubīn 'alā al-Mulḥidīn*, *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān* and *Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id*. These books are generally about *taṣawwuf* but al-Rānīrī inserted some historical contents that depict the importance of history to al-Rānīrī and that history cannot be separated from *taṣawwuf*. The reason is that *taṣawwuf* guides human beings towards the way to seek the will of Allah and subsequently reach the final destination that is to return to Allah.

Besides that, it is clearly seen in the table 3.3 that the majority of the mentioned books contain similar historical stories that are concerning the creation of the earth, the Prophet Ādam, the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), the signs of *al-Qiyāmah*, the death, the hereafter, the hell and heaven. In fact, these stories are also written and largely

explained in the book of *Akhbār al-Akhīrah*. The repetition of similar historical stories mentioned above in at least eight works of al-Rānīrī (*Bustān*, *Akhbār al-Akhīrah*, *Tibyān*, *Bad' Khalqu al-Samāwāti wa al-'Arḍ*, *Ayn al-'Ālam Qabl 'an Yukhlaq*, *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*, *Asrār al-Insān* and *Durr al-Farā'id*) does not only indicate that these stories are of paramount importance in Islam but also simultaneously illuminate al-Rānīrī's purpose of writing these stories which is the reflection of al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history that will be explained in the following diagram:

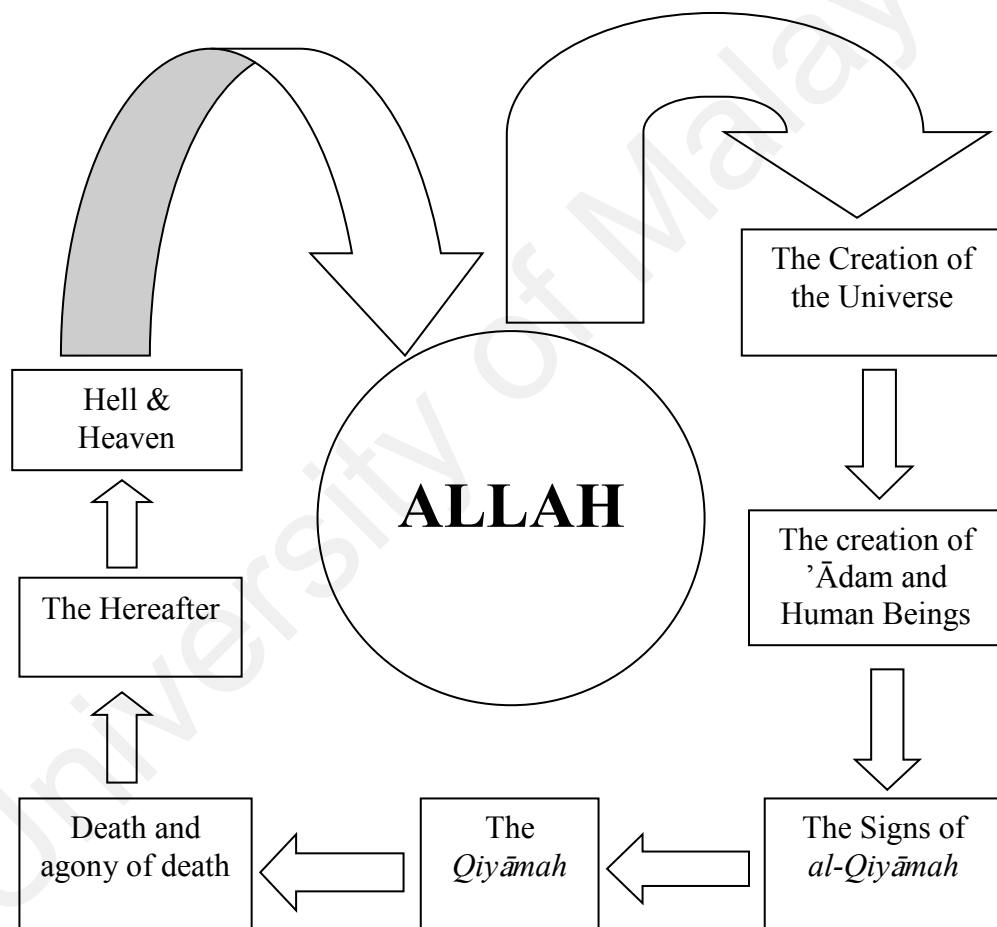


Figure 3.1: Al-Rānīrī's Concept of Islamic History

Figure 3.1 describes al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history that is based on the historical content in his above-mentioned books (the eight books). It begins with Allah as the creator followed by the creation of the Prophet Ādam, followed by the creation of

the human beings and their promise of *shahādah* (There is no God except Allah and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah) to Allah before they were born. This promise is narrated in Qur’ān that carries the meaning, “*And [mention] when your Lord took from the children of Ādam - from their loins - their descendants and made them testify of themselves, [saying to them], "Am I not your Lord?" They said, "Yes, we have testified." [This] - lest you should say on the day of Resurrection, "Indeed, we were of this unaware."* (Sūrah al-‘Arāf (7): 172).

Subsequently, mankind started their history on earth and played the role as the caliphs of Allah starting from the Prophets Ādam until the *al-Qiyāmah*. The belief in *al-Qiyāmah* is one of the basic articles of faith in Islam. Before the *al-Qiyāmah*, Allah gives some signs that are described by al-Rānirī in his works above-mentioned. The journey of human beings to the final destination that is to return to Allah comes to an end with their death. The circle continues with the hereafter (*al-Akhīrah*) that later determines the final place of human beings either in heaven or hell. The narrations of these facts are revealed by Allah in the Qur’ān as guidance for human beings the way they should lead their lives on earth. Based on the above explanation, it is apparent that al-Rānirī’s applied the concept of *tawḥīd* in history and thus becomes the concept of Islamic history.

In conclusion, al-Rānirī was a prolific writer who wrote at least 35 works in the fields of *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, *fiqh*, history and *ḥadīth*. Regardless of the scholars’ opinion that restricted al-Rānirī’s work of history to *Bustān*, the researcher believes that there are actually six historical works of al-Rānirī as above-mentioned. Besides that, based on the evaluation of the content of al-Rānirī’s remainder works, it can be concluded that many of his works on *taṣawwuf* and *kalām* contain historical element and thus shows

the importance of history in Islam and to al-Rānirī as well as a close link between history and other field of knowledge. Historical writing becomes part of the philosophy of knowledge and general knowledge. In Islam, history cannot be separated from the concept of history, the philosophy of history and the theological element. History in Islam is a divine plan begins from the creation of Ādam and continues until hereafter (*Yawm al-Akhīrah*). Therefore, the historical element in al-Rānirī's works represents his concept of Islamic history with the purpose to guide and to bring the people the way to return to Allah. Last but not least, many of al-Rānirī's works contain the idea of history and consequently reveal that history is the basic teaching of al-Rānirī.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The history of Aceh witnesses the development of Aceh from small coastal state into a strong Islamic empire and subsequently became the centre of trade and intellectual activities in the Malay Archipelago during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Aceh became a strong political and economics power under its sultans such as Sultan Ali Mughayat Shah, Sultan al-Kahhar and Sultan al-Mukammil. Aceh reached its glory during the reigns of Sultan Iskandar Muda and Sultan Iskandar Thani especially in politics, trade and scholarly activities. The stability, prosperity and success of Aceh have contributed to the tremendous intellectual activities. Many international scholars came to Aceh to teach Islamic sciences. One of them is al-Rānirī from Gujerat, India who later made a big intellectual contribution to Aceh in various field such as *taṣawwuf*, *kalām*, *fiqh*, and history. Al-Rānirī became the most influential person in the court of Sultan Iskandar Thani after his appointment as the *Shaykh al-Islām* by the latter. Apart becoming an advisor to Sultan Iskandar Thani, al-Rānirī was also a scholar who was active in writing. There are 35 works of al-Rānirī in different fields of Islam as

mentioned above. Based on the critical analysis on al-Rānirī's works, it can be concluded that historical elements are largely existed in many of these works which indicates that history is the basic teaching of al-Rānirī. In fact, *Bustān*, al-Rānirī's masterpieces of history proves to be the largest work in the history of traditional Malay literature.

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CHAPTER 4 : THE MANUSCRIPT OF *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN*:

ATTRIBUTION AND SYNOPSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Bustān, which consists of seven books with 1250 pages is the largest work of al-Rānīrī and in fact, the longest text in the history of traditional Malay literature (Siti Hawa Salleh, 1992, xiv & Jelani Harun. 1999a, 13). According to Jelani, the original manuscript of *Bustān* has gone missing, but several copies still survive till the present day (Jelani, 2009: 28-30). At present, there are 38 copies of *Bustān* located in different countries in the world. The largest amount of *Bustān* is available at the Leiden University Library, Netherlands (fourteen copies) followed by the Royal Asiatic Society, London (5 copies) and the National Library, Jakarta (5 copies). Among the significant manuscripts of *Bustān* are Raffles Malay 8, Raffles Malay 42 and UM 41.

Therefore, this chapter is a specific chapter on the manuscript of *Bustān* that comprises of its attribution and synopsis of the manuscript of *Bustān*. Among the topics discussed are the description of the three manuscripts of *Bustān* mentioned above, the comparison of the criteria of description and the synopsis of the content of *Bustān*. Concerning the content, this chapter will only describe the general content because the detailed analysis of the content of *Bustān* is discussed in chapter five of this research.

4.2 THE MANUSCRIPT OF *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN* (BOOK I-BOOK IV)

4.2.1 The Manuscript of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

Bustān consists of seven books and each book is divided into several chapters (*fasal*) that will be discussed later in the sub-topic of content in this chapter. According to Jelani, a complete manuscript of *Bustān* from Book I-Book VII is unavailable (Jelani, 2009: 28). Therefore, studies on the whole text of *Bustān* have to be carried out using different manuscripts. However, based on his research, Hermansyah stated that there is a complete manuscript of *Bustān* survived in Aceh under a personal collection (Hermansyah, personal communication, July 31, 2015). The only manuscript consisting of Book I-Book V belongs to the copy of the manuscript of UM 41, located at the library of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Indeed, UM 41 is the only manuscript of *Bustān* containing Book III and it can be said that every study that was carried out previously on Book III relied totally on the mentioned manuscript. Among other manuscripts in Malaysia containing Book VII are MSS 1076, MSS 3059 & MSS 4186 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*) located at the National Library (*Perpustakaan Negara*) and microfilm MF 395 (*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*) located at the library of the National University of Malaysia (UKM).

According to Jelani, there are at least 33 manuscripts of *Bustān* are known to exist: one in Aceh, two in Berlin, one in Brussels, one in Cape Town, one in Colombo, one in Frankfurt, three in Jakarta, two in Kuala Lumpur, thirteen in Leiden, five in London and three in Paris (Jelani, 2009: 28). In addition to Jelani's list, the researcher added another five manuscripts of *Bustān* that make the total of 38 manuscripts. The addition is in Jakarta (2) (KBG 420 Mal. and Jakarta Alg. Secretarie no. 67), Kuala Lumpur (2) MSS PNM 3059 MSS PNM 4186 and Leiden (1) Cod. Or. 3260b.

The following tables are the list and the description of the 38 manuscripts of *Bustān* that exist in different parts of the world that is based on the writings of Voorhoeve (1955) and Jelani (2009). The reason is that both authors especially Jelani provide almost a complete list and description on the manuscript of *Bustān*. Nevertheless, for the description of the two additional manuscripts in Kuala Lumpur, the researcher utilized the catalogue of the National Library of Malaysia published in 2006. Besides that, the researcher also refers to the latest catalogue on the Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain (Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop (2014) for the manuscripts of Raffles 8, Raffles 42, Raffles 17A, Raffles 70A and MS 36500.

Table 4.1: The Thirty Eight Manuscripts of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

PLACE	TOTAL NO.	REFERENCE NUMBER
Colombo	1	-
Aceh	1	-
Brussels	1	21514
Frankfurt	1	-
Cape Town	1	MSB.683, 1(2)
Berlin	2	Schoemann V. 7
		Schoemann V. 36
Paris	3	Mal.- Pol. 275
		Mal.-Pol. 28
		Mal.-Pol. 273
Kuala Lumpur	4	
University of Malaya		UM 41
Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia		MSS PNM 1076
		MSS PNM 3059
	MSS PNM 4186	
London	5	Raffles Malay 8
		Raffles Malay 42
		Raffles 17A
		Raffles 70A
		MS 36500
Jakarta	5	KBG Mal.286 (C & D)
		KBG 420 Mal.
		KBG ML. 422
		KBG Mal. 310
		Jakarta Alg. Secretarie no. 67

PLACE	TOTAL NO.	REFERENCE NUMBER
Leiden	14	Leiden Cod. Or. 5443
		Kl. 14
		Leiden Cod. Or. 1971
		Cod. Or. 1694
		Cod. Or. 1973
		Cod. Or. 1974
		Cod. Or. 3260b
		Cod. Or. 1918 (2)
		Cod. Or. 2199 (1)
		Cod. Or. 3234
		Kl. 67d
		Oph. 119/Cod. Or. 12240
		Cod. Or. 6673
		Cod. Or. 6719
OVERALL TOTAL	38	

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Table 4.2: Description on the Twelve Manuscripts of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-V)

NO.	MS	Place	Books & Chapters	Catalogue (C) /Reference (R)
1	-	Colombo	Book I	-
2	KBG Mal.286 (C & D)	Jakarta	Book IV & VIII	C: Ronkel, 1909: 76 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154 & Jelani, 2009: 30
3	KBG 420 Mal.	Jakarta	Book I	R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154
4	KBG ML. 422	Jakarta	Book II (Chapter 12 &13)	C: Ronkel, 1909: 77 R: Jelani, 2009: 34
5	Mal.- Pol. 275	Paris	Book IV	C: PNM, 1991:163 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154 & Jelani, 2009: 41
6	Raffles Malay 8	London (Royal Asiatic Society)	Book I, II, IV & V	C: Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop, 2014: 134
7	Raffles Malay 42	London (Royal Asiatic Society)	Book I, II, IV & V	C: Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop, 2014: 138)
8	Leiden Cod. Or. 1971	Leiden	Book II (13 chapters)	C: Juynboll, 1899: 216 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154 & Jelani, 2009: 35
9	Leiden Cod. Or. 5443	Leiden	Introductory part of Book I & Book II (Fasal 12 & 13)	C: Ronkel, 1921: 20 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154 & Jelani, 2009: 30
10	UM41	Kuala Lumpur (University Malaya Library)	Book I-V	C: Howard, 1966: 42 R: Jelani Harun, 2009: 34-35

NO.	MS	Place	Books & Chapters	Catalogue (C) /Reference (R)
11	Kl. 14	Leiden	Book V and Book II (Chapter 12 &13)	C: Ronkel, 1921: 18 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 37
12	Jakarta Alg. Secretarie no. 67	Jakarta	Book V	R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 154-155

Table 4.3: Description on the Twenty Six Manuscripts of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book VI-VII)

NO.	MS	Place	Book/ Chapters	Catalogue (C) /Reference (R)
14	MSS PNM 4186	Kuala Lumpur Kuala Lumpur (National Library of Malaysia (PNM))	Book VII	C: PNM, 2006: 31
15	Cod. Or. 1918 (2)	Leiden	Book VII	C: Juynboll, 1899: 220 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155
16	Cod. Or. 2199 (1)	Leiden	Book VII (Fasal 1-3)	C: Juynboll, 1899: 221 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155
17	Cod. Or. 3234 (1)	Leiden	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: Juynboll, 1899: 221 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155
18	Kl. 67d	Leiden	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: Ronkel, 1921: 19 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 38
19	Oph. 119/Cod. Or. 12240	Leiden	Book VII (4 fasal)	C: Ronkel, 1921: 20 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 38
20	Cod. Or. 6673	Leiden	Book VII (fasal 1-3) and few pages of fasal 4	C: Wan Ali, 1985:56 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 38
21	Cod. Or. 6719	Leiden	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: Wan Ali, 1985: 56 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 38
22	Raffles 17A	London (Royal Asiatic Society)	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop, 2014: 134
23	Raffles 70A	London (Royal Asiatic Society)	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop, 2014: 142

NO.	MS	Place	Book/ Chapters	Catalogue (C) /Reference (R)
24	MS 36500	London (School of Oriental and African Studies)	Book VII (4 fasals/ chapters)	C: Ricklefs, Voorhoeve & Gallop, 2014: 161
25	Mal.-Pol. 28	Paris	Book VII (ends in fasal 4)	C: PNM, 1991:1 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 41
26	Mal.-Pol. 273	Paris	Book VII (4 fasals)	C: PNM, 1991:160 R: Voorhoeve, 1955: 155 & Jelani, 2009: 41

4.2.2 Comparison of the Manuscripts of *Bustān al-Salāḥīn* (Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41)

This research concentrates on Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*, therefore, it utilizes three manuscripts of *Bustān*: Raffles Malay 8, Raffles Malay 42 and UM 41. There are two reasons why the mentioned manuscripts are chosen for this research. First, these manuscripts are clearly written and the physical conditions are generally good. Second, Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 are the most complete manuscripts that contain Book I, II, IV & V while UM 41 is the only existing manuscript that contained Book III. Therefore, in order to obtain complete chapters of Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*, these manuscripts are essential for this research. The number of chapters in these three manuscripts differs from each other. Raffles 8 contains 42 chapters, Raffles 42 with 41 chapters and UM 41 with 51 chapters. The purpose of having complete chapters of Book I-Book IV of *Bustān* is to strengthen the structure and content of *Bustān* in order to analyze the historical content of *Bustān* and subsequently, prove that *Bustān* is indeed a work of Islamic history.

Based on the above explanation, the following table is the detailed description and comparison of the manuscript of *Bustān*. The purpose of comparison is to justify the above-mentioned reason of why these three manuscripts are utilized for this research and also to accentuate their historical contents as well their significance in the studies of Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*.

Table 4.4: Comparison of the Criteria of Description of the Manuscripts of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
1	Collection	Royal Asiatic Society London	Royal Asiatic Society London	University of Malaya Library Kuala Lumpur
2	Author	Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī	Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī	Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī
3	Year of Completion	-	-	1231 AH/1816 AD (1637-1640 in p. 110)
4	Copyist	-	Datu Imam Nur	-
5	Length & Width	33 cm x 20.2 cm	29 cm x 19 cm	21 cm x 15.5 cm
6	Pages	367	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 440 (The total pages of the written text are 436. Another 4 pages are the introduction and the end). • The content of page 83-84 (the introductory part of Book II) is similar to page 85-86. In fact, the pages of 83-84 are upside down. • Page 113-114 occurred twice in this text. 	787

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
7	Number of lines per page	21	23-25	19
8	Writing/Language	Jawi (Malay)/the existence of “ <i>baris-baris bacaan</i> ” (vocalized text).	Jawi (Malay)/ non vocalized. The writing is smaller than Raffles 8 and is difficult to read.	Jawi (Malay)/non vocalized. The writing is bigger compared to Raffles 8 & Raffles 42.
9	Colour of ink	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black and red for some words. The words written in red were bigger than other words. • The beginning of the chapter and the Qur’ānic verse were written in red. • The words ‘adapun (concerning), <i>shahdan</i> (then/there upon), <i>kelakian</i> (then), <i>kata sahibulhikayat</i> (the story teller relates)’, Ibn ‘Abbās, <i>pertama</i> (first), <i>kedua</i> (second), <i>ketiga</i> (third) too were written in red. 	Black and red for some words.	Black

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
10	Paper	Eur. Paper. Whitish colour with hard paper cover	Eur. Paper. Whitish colour with hard paper cover.	Eur. Paper
11	Watermark	Binding page: "GS 1814" MS proper : "C & IH", "Beehive"	Binding page: Crown & G.R. Owner's mark: Pontiana Nov. 2d 1812 MS Proper: "Lilies"	-
12	Blank Page	Several pages at the beginning	-	-
13	Physical condition	Good, and clear and easily read.	Generally good but several pages are quite damaged and have small holes on page 355-57. Besides that, the writing on page 354 is very unclear and cannot be read.	Good, clear and easily read.
14	Decoration	-	The first two pages are decorated with an impressive illumination using golden, red, dark green and black colours.	-

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
15	Opening	<p>Praise to Allah:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Basmallah (Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm)</i> (In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful). • <i>Alhamdulillah al-Ladhī lā ilaha illa huwa wakāna fī al-awwal walā shai'a ma'ahu</i> (Praise be to Allah, there is no God except Him and nothing is equal to Him). • Allah created <i>Nur kekasihnya</i> (the light) in order to declare his divinity and that the Prophets were created from that light. • Al-Rānirī's testimony of the shahāda (<i>lā ilaha illa Allāh, Muḥammadur Rasūlullāh</i>). • The <i>selawat</i> (the prayer for the Prophet 	<p>Praise to Allah:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Basmallah (Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm)</i> (In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful). • <i>Alhamdulillah al-Ladhī lā ilaha illa huwa wakāna fī al-awwal walā shai'a ma'ahu</i> (Praise be to Allah, there is no God except Him and nothing is equal to Him). • Allah created <i>Nur kekasihnya</i> (light) in order to declare his divinity and that the Prophets were created from that light. • Al-Rānirī's testimony of the shahāda (<i>lā ilaha illa Allāh, Muḥammadur Rasūlullāh</i>). • The <i>selawat</i> (the prayer for the Prophet 	<p>Praise to Allah:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Basmallah (Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm)</i> (In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful). • <i>Alhamdulillah al-Ladhī lā ilaha illa huwa wakāna fī al-awwal walā shai'a ma'ahu</i> (Praise be to Allah, there is no God except Him and nothing is equal to Him). • Allah created <i>Nur kekasihnya</i> (light) in order to declare his divinity and that the Prophets were created from that light. • Al-Rānirī's testimony of the shahāda (<i>lā ilaha illa Allāh, Muḥammadur Rasūlullāh</i>).

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
15		<p>Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) as well as the <i>du'ā'</i> (prayer to Allah) for the companions of the Prophet.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The geneology of the author (Al-Rānirī). • Al-Rānirī was commanded by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a book that later known as <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i>. • General description on the contents and sources of each book of <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i> (Book I-Book VII). 	<p>Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) as well as the <i>du'ā'</i> (prayer to Allah) for the companions of the Prophet.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The geneology of the author (Al-Rānirī). • Al-Rānirī was commanded by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a book that later known as <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i>. • General description on the contents and sources of each book of <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i> (Book I-Book VII). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>selawat</i> (the prayer for the Pophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) as well as the <i>du'ā'</i> (prayer to Allah) for the companions of the Prophet. • The geneology of the author (Al-Rānirī). • Al-Rānirī was commanded by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a book that later known as <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i>. • General description on the contents and sources of each book of <i>Bustān al-Salāṭīn</i> (Book I-Book VII).

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
16	Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book I, II, IV and V • Contain 46 <i>fasals</i> <p>Book I : Complete 30 <i>fasals</i> (pp.1-75)</p> <p>Book II : Complete 13 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 75-265)</p> <p>Book IV : Complete 2 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 265-341)</p> <p>Book V : Contains only the introductory part of <i>fasal</i> 1 (concerning the conduct of the oppressive kings of former times), started from the stories of a Persian King named King Yazdujir, King of <i>Miṣr</i> (Egypt) until the story of Abdullāh Jauharī) (pp. 341-367).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book 1 and Book IV begin with the term 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book I, II, IV and V • Contain 41 <i>fasals</i> <p>Book I : Complete 30 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 1-82)</p> <p>Book II : 7 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 85-278)</p> <p>Book IV : Complete 2 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 279-364)</p> <p>Book V : Complete 2 <i>fasals</i> (365-436)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally, narration in Raffles 42 is shorter than Raffles 8. • The majority of the text (290 pages out of 440) was written in boxes/margin. • Book I and Book IV begin with the term <i>Bismillāh</i>. • Book II does not begin with <i>Bismillāh</i> but directly mentioned the introduction of the content of Book II. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book I,II, III, IV and V • Contain 51 <i>fasals</i> <p>Book I : Complete 30 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 1-103)</p> <p>Book II : 11 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 104-291)</p> <p>Book III : Complete 6 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 292-576)</p> <p>Book IV : Complete 2 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 577-689)</p> <p>Book V : Complete 2 <i>fasals</i> (pp. 690-787)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The only manuscript contains Book III. • The narration of some parts are shorter compared to Raffles 8. For example, concerning the ‘Abbāsīd kings (the tenth chapter of Book II). • Each book of UM 41 (Book I-Book V) has

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
		<p><i>Bismillāh.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Book II does not begin with <i>Bismillāh</i> but directly mentioned the introduction of the content of Book II. 		<p>the copist's colophon. All Book of <i>Bustān</i> excluding Book II begin with <i>Bismillāh</i>. Book II begins directly with the introduction of its content.</p>
17	Ending	<p>“Dan ada yang memukul dia maka Abdullah Jauhari pun mengherik dengan herik yang amat sangat daripada sangat kesakitannya kena pukul dalam itu tiada jua dilepaskan isterinya.” (Abdullah Jauhari was beaten and thus, he groaned due to the pain but still he did not release his wife).</p>	<p>“Maka berhentilah kepala itu di tepi medan dan tiadalah berhimpun kepala malaun itu dengan kepala mukmin yang dua orang itu.” (The head of the accursed did not gather with the heads of the two Muslim/believers).</p>	<p>“Maka berhenti kepala itu di tepi medan dan tiadalah berhimpun kepala malaun itu kepada kepala mukmin yang tiga orang itu.” (The head of the accursed did not gather with the heads of the three Muslim/believers).</p>

NO.	MS	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
18	Copyist's Colophon	<i>Setiada dilihatnya</i> (seen).	<i>Tamatlah sudah bab yang kelima ini. Tamat. Datu Imam Nur. Empunya kitab ini</i> (This is the end of the fifth chapter. Datu Imam Nur, the owner of this book).	<i>Tamat bab kelima pada hari Ahad dua puluh tujuh hari bulan safar akhir sanah 1231.</i> (Chapter five finished on Sunday, 27 Safar 1231/28 January 1816).

Sources: Raffles 8; Raffles 42; UM 41; Voorhoeve, 1963: 62; Jones, 1974: 5 & 6; Grinter, 1979: 76; Siti Hawa, 1992: xxxix; Jelani, 2004: xvii; Abdullah Sani Usman, 2005: 63; Jelani, 2009: 34 & 39

Table 4.4 indicates the comparison of the criteria of description of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. The information of the criteria from number 1-14 was done by Jelani, but the researcher adds new points to the criteria in number 9 (concerning the colour of ink) and 13 (physical condition) based on Raffles 8 and Raffles 42. In term of the colour of ink, the researcher adds the words that were written in red ink (*shahdan*, *kelakian* and *kata sahibulhikayat*, etc). Meanwhile, for the criterion of number 13, the researcher inserts the detail concerning pages that contained small holes, the page that is unclear and difficult to be read and the pages with similar content. In addition, the researcher adds another 4 criterion (no. 15-18): the opening, content, ending and the copyist's colophon. The purpose of adding the new criteria is to show the detailed of each manuscript in order to accentuate the structure of the manuscript of *Bustān*.

Based on the above table, the similarities of these manuscripts are generally concerning the exordium of writing, the paper, the colour of ink (black as the basic colour) and the structure of texts (contain the opening/introduction, content and the ending). For example, the introductory part of each manuscript contains similar structure and content as well as the majority of the wordings. It begins with the term *Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, followed by the praise to Allah and the *selawat* to the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h). Later, al-Rānīrī introduced himself and his genealogy, followed by Sultan Iskandar Thani's commandment to al-Rānīrī to compose a historical book. Last but not least, al-Rānīrī describes in general the content of every book of *Bustān* from Book I-Book VII. Meanwhile, the differences are concerning the redaction, the content and the copyist's colophon. The difference in content will be discussed in detail in this chapter. Below is the example of the significant contradistinction of the texts of *Bustān*:

Table 4.5: Significant Contradistinction of the Texts of *Bustān*

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
<p><i>Fasal yang ketigabelas pada menyatakan tarikh raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Aceh Darussalam</i> (Chapter thirteen, narrating the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh).</p>	<p><i>Demi ditilik Seri Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda akan Seri Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Shah, maka kelihatanlah cahaya segala tanda berbahagia pada mukanya dan segala sifat yang tiada terperi kepujiannya.</i> (Sultan Iskandar Muda observed Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Shah, and the light of all sign of happiness and all excellence attributes appeared on the latter's face).</p> <p><i>Shahdan Raja Iskandar Muda pun menitahkan orang berjaga-jaga dua kali tujuh seperti adat segala anak raja. Setelah itu maka mahligai yang bernama Peratna Sembah pun dihiasi oranglah dengan beberapa tirai dibaj yang berpakankan emas sepuluh mutu, dan daripada langit-langit zurban yang berpakankan emas, dan</i></p>	<p><i>Demi ditilik Raja Iskandar Muda akan Seri Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Shah, maka kelihatanlah cahaya segala tanda kebahagiaan pada mukanya dan segala sifat yang tiada terperi kepujiannya.</i> (Sultan Iskandar Muda observed Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Shah, and the light of all sign of happiness and all excellence attributes appeared on the latter's face).</p> <p><i>Shahdan Raja Iskandar Muda pun menitahkan orang berjaga-jaga dua kali tujuh seperti adat segala anak raja. Setelah itu maka mahligai yang bernama Peratna Sembah pun dihiasi oranglah dengan beberapa tirai dibaj yang berpakankan emas sepuluh mutu, dan daripada langit-langit zurban yang berpakankan emas, dan beberapa ulas tai 'u daripada zarzari</i></p>	<p><i>Demi ditilik Seri Sultan Raja Iskandar Muda akan paduka anakanda Iskandar Thani, maka kelihatanlah cahaya segala tanda kebahagiaan pada mukanya.</i> (Sultan Iskandar Muda observed his son, Iskandar Thani and the light of all sign of happiness appeared on the latter's face).</p>

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
	<p><i>beberapa ulas tai‘u daripada zarzari dan dewangga dan katifah ‘ainulbanāt, dan beberapa daripada payung emas yang bertahtakan yakut, dan zamrud, dan zabarjad, dan beberapa hamparan daripada perang madani yang berpakakankan kasab bumi... Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda kepada Mahkota Dilamcaya, “Panggil olehmu akan daku Sheīkh Shamsuddīn dan qāḍī Malik al-Adil, dan perdana menteri Orang kaya-kaya Maharaja seri Maharaja, dan Orang Kaya Maraja Lela Wangsa, dan Orang Kaya Laksamana, dan segala hulubalang yang besar-besar.” Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda, “Hai qāḍī al-Mālik al-‘Ādil, kamu nikahkanlah Sultan Bongsu dengan anakku Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri.” Maka qāḍī Malik al-‘Adil pun menikahkan di hadapan orang besar-besar itu. Setelah sudah nikah maka digelar Raja Iskandar Muda akan Sultan Bongsu</i></p>	<p><i>dan dewangga dan kaḥifah ‘ainulbanāt, dan beberapa daripada payung emas yang bertahtakan yakut, dan zamrud, dan zabarjad, dan beberapa hamparan daripada permaidani yang berpakakankan kasab bumi...Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda kepada Mahkota Dilamcaya, “Panggil olehmu akan daku Sheīkh Shamsuddīn dan qāḍī Malik al-Adil, dan perdana menteri Orang kaya-kaya Maharaja seri Maharaja, dan Orang kaya Lela Wangsa, dan Orang Kaya Laksamana, dan segala hulubalang yang besar-besar.” Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda, “Hai qāḍī al-Malik al-‘Ādil, kamu nikahkanlah Sultan Bongsu dengan anakku Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri.” Maka Qāḍī Malik al-‘Adil pun menikahkan di hadapan segala orang yang besar itu. Setelah sudah nikah maka digelar Raja Iskandar Muda akan Sultan Bongsu itu Sultan Hussein Shah.</i></p>	

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
	<p><i>itu Sultan Hussein Shah.</i></p> <p>(The King Iskandar Muda commanded his people to hold a royal festival. A castle named <i>Peratna Sembah</i> was decorated with decorations from gold, jacinth, chrysolite and emerald. Then, Sheikh Shamsuddīn and qāḍī al-<i>Mālik al-'Adil</i> (the chief qāḍī), <i>perdana menteri Orang kaya-kaya Maharaja seri Maharaja</i> (the prime Minister), <i>Orang Kaya Laksamana</i> (the police chief) and commanders were commanded to have an audience with the Royal Highness Raja Iskandar Muda. The king then ordered qāḍī āl-<i>Mālik al-'Adil</i> to marry his daughter named Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri off to Sultan Bongsu. After the marriage, Sultan Bongsu was given the title Sultan Hussein Shah)</p>	<p>(The King Iskandar Muda commanded his people to hold a royal festival. A castle named <i>Peratna Sembah</i> was decorated with decorations from gold, jacinth, chrysolite and emerald. Then, Sheikh Shamsuddīn and qāḍī al-<i>Mālik al-'Adil</i>, perdana menteri Orang kaya Maharaja Seri Maharaja, <i>Orang kaya Laksamana</i> and commanders were commanded to have an audience with the Royal Highness Raja Iskandar Muda. The king then ordered qāḍī āl-<i>Mālik al-'Adil</i> to marry his daughter named Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri off to Sultan Bongsu. After the marriage, Sultan Bongsu was given the title Sultan Hussein Shah)</p>	

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
	<p><i>Hatta berapa hari lamanya maka Raja Iskandar Muda pun geringlah lalu dititahkan memanggil Perdana Menteri dan segala hulubalang yang besar besar. Maka sekaliannya pun datanglah. Maka sabda Raja Iskandar, “Bahawa rasaku sekarang ini hampirlah aku kembali ke rahmatullah.” Demi didengar sekalian mereka itu sabda Raja Iskandar Muda demikian, maka sekaliannya mereka itu pun menangislah dengan tangis yang amat sangat, serta berdatang sembah, “Ya Tuanku Shah Alam, barang maklum diperhamba sekalian ngiring duli hadrat Shah Alam.” Maka sabda Raja Iskandar, “Jikalau kamu bersama-sama dengan aku, anakku Sultan Mughal</i></p>	<p><i>Hatta berapa hari lamanya maka Raja Iskandar Muda pun geringlah lalu dititahkan memanggil Perdana Menteri dan segala hulubalang yang besar besar. Maka sekaliannya pun datanglah. Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda, “Bahawa rasaku sekarang ini hampirlah aku kembali ke rahmatullah.” Demi didengar sekalian mereka itu sabda Raja Iskandar Muda demikian, maka sekalian mereka itu pun menangislah dengan tangis yang amat sangat, serta berdatang sembah, “Ya Tuanku Shah Alam, barang maklum diperhamba sekalian ngiring duli hadrat Shah Alam.” Maka sabda Raja Iskandar Muda, “Jikalau kamu bersama-sama dengan aku, anakku Sultan Mughal siapa melengkar akan dia? Setelah itu maka Raja Iskandar</i></p>	<p><i>Hatta berapa lamanya setelah itu, maka Sultan Iskandar Muda pun geringlah lalu kembalilah ke hadrat Allah Ta’āla pada hari sabtu waktu zuhur pada hijrah seratus empat puluh enam tahun. Dan adalah ia dalam kerajaan tiga puluh tahun tujuh bulan dua puluh empat hari, ialah bergelar Marhum Mahkota Alam. (pp. 289-290)</i> <i>(Sultan Iskandar Muda died on Saturday, at the time of zuhur in the year 146H. He ruled Aceh for thirty years, seven months and twenty four days, and was given the title Marhum Mahkota.)</i></p>

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
	<p><i>siapa melengkar akan dia? Setelah itu maka Raja Iskandar Muda pun kembali ke rahmatullah pada hari sabtu, waktu zuhur, pada hijrah seribu empat puluh enam tahun. Adalah ia dalam kerajaan tiga puluh tujuh tahun tujuh bulan, dua puluh empat hari, ialah bergelar Marhum Mahkota Alam. (pp. 239-245)</i></p> <p>(The King Iskandar Muda was sick and he commanded the Chief Minister and the army commander to have an audience with him. They came and king told them his feeling that he was about to die. Thus, they cried loudly and requested to be with him. But the King replied that they should accompany his son, Sultan Mughal. Sultan Iskandar Muda then died on Saturday, at the</p>	<p><i>Muda pun kembali ke rahmatullah pada hari sabtu, waktu zuhur, pada hijrah seribu empat puluh enam tahun. Adalah ia dalam kerajaan tiga puluh tujuh tahun tujuh bulan, dua puluh empat hari, ialah bergelar Marhum Mahkota Alam. (pp. 236-244)</i></p> <p>(The King Iskandar Muda was sick and he commanded the Chief Minister and the army commander to have an audience with him. They came and the king told them his feeling that he was about to die. Thus, they cried loudly and requested to be with him. But the King replied that they should accompany his son, Sultan Mughal. Sultan Iskandar Muda then died on Saturday, at the time of zuhur, in the</p>	

CHAPTER	RAFFLES MALAY 8	RAFFLES MALAY 42	KUALA LUMPUR UM 41
	time of zuhur, in the year 146H. He ruled Aceh for thirty seven years, seven months and twenty four days, and was given the title <i>Marhum Mahkota.</i>)	year 146H. He ruled Aceh for thirty seven years, seven months and twenty four days, and was given the title <i>Marhum Mahkota.</i>)	

Table 4.5 shows the significant contradistinction between the three mentioned manuscripts of *Bustān* concerning the chapter 13 of Book II of *Bustān* (The History of the Kings of Aceh). The example is regarding the story of the early life of Sultan Iskandar Thani, who was an adopted son of King Iskandar Muda of Aceh. From the table, it shows that Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 contain the complete and similar redaction and content while UM 41 does not have the middle part of the story (concerning the royal celebration celebrating the marriage of Sultan Iskandar Muda to Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri at the age of nine years old. When Iskandar Thani reached the age of ten, another grand celebration occurred in Aceh for forty days and forty nights for Sultan Iskandar Thani and Puteri Surya Alam Permaisuri. Besides that, the final part of UM 41 (the death of Sultan Iskandar Muda) is apparently shorter compared to Raffles 8 and Raffles 42. The UM 41 just stated the date of the death of King Iskandar Muda whereas Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 included the story when the king was on the deathbed. In addition, the period of the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda also differs in these texts in which Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 mentioned the period of thirty seven years whereas UM 41 stated thirty years.

Generally, the contradistinction does not affect the structure of the texts of *Bustān* because the main ideas are already narrated by the copyist in other part of the text. In term of the difference in word, this may be due to the copyist's carelessness while copying the main text or due to the repetition of similar words and sentences that cannot be avoided. For example, the copyist of UM 41 unintentionally missed the word seven when he described the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda for only thirty years. This is because of the repetition of the word seven for the year and month in the original manuscript (thirty seven years and seven months). However, the difference in UM 41 regarding the story of the royal celebrations somehow in the researcher's opinion is

purposely omitted by the copyist. This is because the missing section contains a long narration about the celebrations and thus, impossible is not noticed by the copyist. Due to the fact that the missing part concerns with the celebrations for Sultan Iskandar Thani and the request of Sultan Iskandar Muda to the Chief Minister and the army commander to accompany Sultan Iskandar Thani after his death, the researcher has the opinion that the copyist of UM 41 is not interested in emphasizing the significance of Sultan Iskandar Thani in the history of the Sultanate of Aceh. Therefore, missing narration in UM 41 concerning the mentioned events can be obtained from the Raffles 8 and Raffles 42, and this justifies the reason why these three manuscripts of *Bustān* become the main text of this research.

4.2.3 Publications on the Manuscript of *Bustān al-Salāḥīn*

The manuscript of *Bustān* had been published by a few scholars as stated below in accordance with the year of publication:

1. Wilkinson, R. J. (ed.). 1900. *Kitab Bustān al-Salāḥīn: Bab Yang Kedua (Jawi)*. Singapore.

This work by Wilkinson is the earliest work on *Bustān*, published between the years 1899-1900 in *Jawi* script without notes (Grinter, 1979: 9). From 13 chapters of Book II as described before, only 11 chapters are described by Wilkinson as the following. Chapters concerning the Prophets (chapter 1), the history of a state in Hindustan called Dihli (chapter 10 according to list in Raffles Malay 8) and relating the History of the Kings of Malacca and Pahang (chapter 12 according to list in Raffles Malay 8) is not narrated in this publication.

- 1) Chapter two (concerning the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Ādam) (pp. 1-26)
- 2) Chapter three (concerning the kings of Yunan/ Greece and Rome in former times) (pp. 26-29)
- 3) Chapter Four (concerning the kings who ruled Egypt) (pp. 29-31)
- 4) Chapter Five (concerning the kings who ruled Arabia) (pp. 31-35)
- 5) Chapter six (concerning the kings of Kindah that is in the Najd) (p. 35)
- 6) Chapter seven (concerning the kings of the Hijaz that is near Mecca) (pp. 35-37)
- 7) Chapter 8 (concerning the Birth of our Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry) (pp. 37-79)
- 8) Chapter 9 (concerning the Umayyad kings) (pp. 79-95)
- 9) Chapter 10 (concerning the Abbasid Kings) (pp. 95-120)
- 10) Chapter 11 (relating the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh) (pp. 120-128).

The above information apparently shows that the history concerning the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) and the kings who ruled in former times is narrated in length compared to the narration on the history of Aceh that is mentioned in only 9 pages. In fact, there is no mentioning of al-Rānirī in any way.

2. G. K. Niemann (1892), *Bloemlezing uit Maleische Geschriften II*, Koninklijk Instutuut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van

Nederlandsch-Indie ('s Gravenhage), Martinus Nijhog (T. Iskandar, 1966: 16).

This book is in *Jawi* script, contains Book II, chapter 13 concerning the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh, using the manuscript of Leiden Cod. Or. 5443.

3. Raden Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1916), "*De Stichting van het 'Goenongan' geheeten monument te Koetaradja*", Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (TBG), 556-557 (T. Iskandar, 1966: 17).

The text begins from page 42-48 of Leiden Cod. Or. 5443. It narrates a structure known as the '*Gunongan*' built by Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) during the golden age of Aceh. This narration is related to Book II, chapter 13 of *Bustān* (concerning the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh).

4. P.S.V. Ronkel (1920), "*Grafmonumenten op het Maleishe Schiereiland in een oud Maleish werk vermeld*", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* (BKI) 76, 166-169 (Ronkel, 1920: 162-171).

This article consists of 10 pages and the romanized text begins from pages 170-171. The source of the text is Leiden Cod. Or. 5443 (page 53-55). This article narrates an event that occurred during the era of Sultan Iskandar Thani. It describes the event where representatives of the King of Johore consist of the Paduka Raja and four commanders came to Aceh to pay homage to Sultan Iskandar Thani. They brought a letter and presents from the King of Johore. Sultan Iskandar Thani was very pleased with the letter and gave the representatives fine clothes.

Later, upon their return to Johore, Sultan Iskandar Thani presented them with abundance of presents comprising of several rings, buttons and earrings made of diamonds and others for the King of Johore. Later, Sultan Iskandar Thani commanded his Chief Minister, *Maharaja Seri Maharaja, Laksamana* and army commanders to get all prepared to go of to Pahang. Upon their departure, a man from Johore called Tuan Muhammad brought a piece of news to Sultan Iskandar Thani that the king of Johore had attacked Pahang.⁴¹ The king murdered the son of the king of Pahang while the king of Pahang fled to Patani. Consequently, Sultan Iskandar Thani commanded his ministers and *hulubalang* (commanders) to go to Pahang.

5. Raden Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1929), “*De Ceremonie van het “Poela batèë” op het graf van Sultan Iskandar II van Atjeh (1636-1641)*”, TBG 69, 112-13 (T. Iskandar, 1966, 17).

This article concentrates on page 47 of Leiden Cod. Or. 5443 and the text begins with the sentence “*Kata sahibulhikayat: Tatkala tujuh*” (According to historian) and ends with “*beberapa mega berarak perbuatan Daru’s-Salam* (clouds marched the act of *Daru’s-Salam*).

6. T. Iskandar 1966, T. Iskandar. (1966). *Bustānu’s-salāṭīn, Bab II, fasal 13*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

This book consists of 115 pages and the romanized text of Book II, chapter 13 begins from pages 31-74. The text was romanized from Leiden Cod. Or. 5443. It begins from the story of Sultan ‘Ali Mughayat Syah who was the first king of Aceh to embrace Islam and ends with the

⁴¹*Bustān* does not state the name of the Sultan of Johore but based on the genealogy of the Kings of Johore, the king who ruled Johore during the period of Sultan Iskandar Thani was Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III (r. 1623-1677) and that the Johor’s attack on Pahang occurred in the year 1639. See Wilkinson, 1932: 45-54.

narration on the coronation of Sultanah ‘Inayat Shah Zakiatuddin Shah Berdaulat as the new king of Aceh.

7. Jones, Russell. (1974). *Nūru’-d-dīn ar-Rānīrī Bustānu’s-Salāṭīm Bab IV Fasal I*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Compared to the rest of the mentioned authors whose works are on Book II, Jones is the first writer who puts in writing Book IV of *Bustān* (chapter 1, concerning the conduct of pious kings who forsook this world in former times to follow the wishes of God the Almighty). His concentration on this book is on the story of a king named Ibrāhim b. Adham and the romanized text begins from pages 10-39. Jones utilized five different manuscripts of *Bustān* in this publication: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41.

8. Siti Hawa Haji Salleh. (Ed.). (1992). *Bustān al-Salāṭīm*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Similar to T. Iskandar, Siti Hawa too discusses chapter 13 of Book II. The text was romanized from Leiden Cod. Or. 5443 and begins from pages 1-63.

9. Jelani Harun. (2004). *Bustān al-Salāṭīm: Bab Pertama dan Kedua Karangan Nūruddīn Ar-Rānīrī*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

After Siti Hawa’s publication on Book II of *Bustān* in 1992, there was quite a distance to the next publication by Jelani (2004). An appreciation goes to Jelani who made a great effort to romanize Book I and Book II of *Bustān*. Jelani’s work is of a valuable contribution to the present study as it is the first publication on Book I that have yet to be done by previous scholars and is the first complete Romanized text of

Book II (chapter 1-13). The Romanized text was based on the manuscript Raffles Malay 8.

10. Jelani Harun. (2008). *Bustān al-Salāṭīn (Bab Ketiga) Kisah Raja-Raja Yang Adil*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

This publication is the only romanized text on Book III of *Bustān* that is available till present and the source of the text is from a copied manuscript of UM 41. It consists of 349 pages with 285 pages of Romanized text narrating the first chapter until the last chapter (six) of Book III.

4.3 SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN*

Generally, *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* consists of seven books with 60 chapters (based on Raffles 8 and UM 41) that will be discussed shortly. Nevertheless, this research will only concentrate on Book I - Book IV (51 chapters). Meanwhile, the writings of Winstedt (1958), T. Iskandar (1967) and Jelani (2009) are some of the secondary sources utilized in this research because they are among the prominent scholars in the studies pertaining *Bustān* and their writings provide detail discussion on the content of *Bustān*.

4.3.1 Titles of the Books of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-Book IV)

- Book I : *Bab yang pertama pada menyatakan kejadian bumi tujuh petala dan tujuh petala langit. (The Creation of the seven layers of earth and the seven layers of heaven) (30 fasals)*
- Book II : *Bab yang kedua pada yang menyatakan segala anbia dan segala raja-raja. (History of the Prophets and Kings) (13 fasals)*

- Book III : *Bab yang ketiga pada menyatakan raja-raja yang adil dan wazir yang berakal. (History of Just kings and wise viziers) (6 fasals)*
- Book IV : *Bab yang keempat pada menyatakan segala raja-raja yang pertapa dan segala aulia yang soleh-soleh. (History of the pious kings and holy persons) (2 fasals)*
- Book V : *Bab yang kelima pada menyatakan kelakuan raja-raja yang zalim dan wazir yang aniaya. (History of unjust kings and unwise viziers) (2 fasals)*
- Book VI : *Bab yang keenam pada menyatakan orang yang sakhi yang mulia-mulia, dan segala orang yang berani yang besar-besar. (History of generous and noble men and heroes (2 fasals) (Winstedt, 1958: 120)*
- Book VII : *Bab yang ketujuh pada menyatakan akal dan ilmu, dan firasat, dan penyakit, dan ilmu tasyrih, dan ilmu tabib, dan segala sifat perempuan, dan setengah daripada hikayat yang indah-indah. (On Intelligence, prosopology (ability to foretell a man's future by looking at him), the art of healing, the character of women and and other wonderful stories) (5 fasals) (T. Iskandar, 1967: 52)*

4.3.2 Synopsis of the Content of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-Book IV)

This section only gives the synopsis of the content of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-Book IV). The detailed content of these books will be analyzed later in chapter five under the title of 'the structure and content of *Bustān*'. The description below is based on the three aforementioned manuscripts (Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41). The Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 only contain Book I, II and IV while UM 41 has a complete Book I-IV. Besides that, UM 41 is the only manuscript contains Book III of *Bustān*.

Therefore, in order to obtain complete 60 chapters of Book I-Book IV, these three manuscripts need to be utilized. (repetition)

The following description also provides a comparison of the contents of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. This comparison is made since these texts are the earliest and foremost manuscripts in the studies concerning *Bustān*. There are two purposes of why these manuscripts are compared. Firstly, to indicate that the content of *Bustān* are entirely history specifically Islamic history. Secondly, to show that 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 compared to Raffles 8 and UM 41 that do not contain several chapters of book II. The Raffles 8 has the largest chapters compared to Raffles 42 and UM 41. 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. Meanwhile, UM 41 only contains 50 chapters for the whole of book I, II, III and IV. Therefore, the Raffles 8 is the main manuscript used for this research. Below is the description of the general content of *Bustān*:

Table 4.6: 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.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
1	<i>Fasal kejadian Nūr Muḥammad</i> (Chapter concerning the creation of the Light of Muhammad)	√	1 -11 (11pages)	√	1- 12 (12 pages)	√	1-15 (15 pages)
2	<i>Fasal kejadian Lūḥmahfūz</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Preserved Tablet)	√	11-12 (2 pages)	√	12-13 (2 pages)	√	15-16 (2 pages)
3	<i>Fasal kejadian Kalam</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Pen)	√	12 (1 page)	√	13 (1 page)	√	16 (1 page)
4	<i>Fasal kejadian 'Arash</i> (Chapter on the creation of the throne)	√	12-17 (5 pages)	√	13-18 (5 pages)	√	16-22 (6 pages)
5	<i>Fasal kejadian Kursī</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Footstool)	√	17-18 (2 pages)	√	18-19 (2 pages)	√	22-23 (2 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
6	Fasal kejadian <i>Liwā' al-Ḥamd</i> (Chapter on the creation of the emblem of praise)	√	18-19 (2 pages)	√	19-20 (2 pages)	√	23-25 (2 pages)
7	<i>Fasal kejadian Malaikat</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Angels)	√	19- 26 (7 pages)	√	20-27 (7 pages)	√	25-33 (8 pages)
8	<i>Fasal kejadian Sidrat al-Muntahā</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Lotus Tree)	√	26 -27 (2 pages)	√	27- 28 (2 pages)	√	33-35 (2 pages)
9	<i>Fasal kejadian Jān/Jīm</i> (Chapter on the creation of Jān-the father of Jīm)	√	27- 29 (2 pages)	√	28-30 (2 pages)	√	35-37 (2 pages)
10	<i>Fasal bilangan segala 'Alīm</i> (Chapter enumerating the wise) (Jelani, 2009: 48)	√	29-30 (2 pages)	√	30- 31 (2 pages)	√	37-39 (2 pages)
11	<i>Fasal kejadian tujuh petala langit</i> (Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the heavens)	√	30-37 (7 pages)	√	31-39 (8 pages)	√	39-48 (9 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
12	<i>Fasal kejadian syurga</i> (Chapter on the creation of Paradise)	√	37-40 (3 pages)	√	39-41 (2 pages)	√	48-53 (5 pages)
13	<i>Fasal kejadian anak bidadari</i> (Chapter on the creation of Nymphs)	√	40-43 (3 pages)	√	41-45 (4 pages)	√	53-58 (5 pages)
14	<i>Fasal kejadian Baitul Ma'mūr</i> (Chapter on the creation of the House of Plenty-that is the original Ka'bah in heaven)	√	44 (1 page)	√	45-46 (2 pages)	√	58 (1 page)
15	<i>Fasal kejadian matahari, bulan dan bintang</i> (Chapter on the creation of the sun, moon and stars)	√	44-48 (4 pages)	√	Page 46-50 (4 pages)	√	58-64 (6 pages)
16	<i>Fasal kejadian kelodak tahi bintang</i> (Chapter on the creation of meteors)	√	48 (1 page)	√	50 (1 page)	√	64-65 (2 pages)
17	<i>Fasal kejadian awan</i> (Chapter on the creation the clouds)	√	48 (1 page)	√	51 (1 page)	√	65 (1 page)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
18	<i>Fasal kejadian air sejuk, air beku dan embun</i> (Chapter on the creation of cool water, ice and dew)	√	49 (1 page)	√	51 (1 page)	√	65 (1 page)
19	<i>Fasal kejadian kilat, halilintar dan guruh</i> (Chapter on the creation of lightning, thunderbolts and thunder)	√	49 (1 page)	√	51-52 (2 page)	√	66 (1 page)
20	<i>Fasal kejadian Bintang Raja</i> (Chapter on the creation of the heavenly bodies that are visible in the sky)	√	49-50 (2 pages)	√	52 (1 page)	√	66-67 (2 pages)
21	<i>Fasal kejadian tujuh petala bumi</i> (Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the earth)	√	50-54 (4 pages)	√	52-58 (6 pages)	√	67-74 (7 pages)
22	<i>Fasal kejadian Ka 'bah</i> (Chapter on the creation of the <i>Ka 'bah</i>)	√	54-59 (5 pages)	√	58-63 (5 pages)	√	74-81 (7 pages)
23	<i>Fasal kejadian Bukit Qāf</i> (Chapter on the creation of Mount Qāf)	√	59-60 (2 pages)	√	63-64 (2 pages)	√	81-82 (2 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
24	<i>Fasal kejadian yang menanggung bumi</i> (Chapter on the creation of that which supports the earth)	√	60-62 (2 pages)	√	64-67 (3 pages)	√	82-86 (4 pages)
25	<i>Fasal Kejadian gempa</i> (Chapter on the creation of earthquakes)	√	62-63 (2 pages)	√	67-68 (2 pages)	√	86 (1 page)
26	<i>Fasal kejadian neraka</i> (Chapter concerning the creation of hell)	√	63-64 (2 pages)	√	68-69 (2 pages)	√	86-87 (2 pages)
27	<i>Fasal kejadian kurrah bumi</i> (Chapter on the creation of the Globe)	√	64-65 (2 pages)	√	69-70 (2 pages)	√	88-89 (2 pages)
28	<i>Fasal bilangan segala laut dan sungai</i> (Chapter on the number of the oceans and rivers)	√	65 (1 page)	√	70 (1 page)	√	89 (1 page)
29	<i>Fasal menyatakan segala 'alam</i> (Chapter enumerating the lands) (Jelani, 2009: 49)	√	65-67 (2 pages)	√	70-73 (3 pages)	√	90-93 (3 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 1-75) (75 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 1-82) (82 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 1-103) (103 pages)
30	<i>Fasal menyatakan Iqlīm</i> (continent) (Chapter relating to the regions)	√	67-75 (8 pages)	√	73-82 (9 pages)	√	93-103 (10 pages)

Sources: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41

Symbol: √ Available

Table 4.7: 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 Ādam hingga sampai kepada Nabi kita Muḥammad Rasul Allah (ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi 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 Kiyaurmuthi hingga sampai kepada masa tuan kita Paduka Seri Sultan Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat ẓillullāhu fī al-‘Ālam* (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 Ādam to our Prophet Muḥammad (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 Kiyaurmuthi 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.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 85-278) (194 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 104-291) (188 pages)
1	<i>Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan tarikh segala anbia yang mursal dan anbia yang tidak mursal</i> (The first chapter concerning the history of the prophets).	√	75-97 (23 pages)	√	85-115 (33 pages)	√	104-138 (35 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 85-278) (194 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 104-291) (188 pages)
2	<i>Fasal yang kedua menyatakan segala raja-raja yang kerajaan pada zaman dahulukala kemudian daripada masa Nabi Allah Ādam 'alayhi al-salām</i> (Chapter two, the history of the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Ādam).	√	97-116 (20 pages)	√	115-139 (25 pages)	√	138-168 (31 pages)
3	<i>Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja di benua Yunan dan benua Rom pada zaman dahulukala</i> (Chapter three, the history of the kings of Yunan/ Greece and Rome in former times).	√	116-118 (3 pages)	√	139-141 (3 pages)	√	168-172 (5 pages)
4	<i>Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Mesir</i> (Chapter four, the history of the kings who ruled Egypt).	√	118-119 (2 pages)	x	x	√	172-174 (3 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 85-278) (194 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 104-291) (188 pages)
5	<i>Fasal yang kelima pada menyatakan hak ehwal raja-raja Arab (Chapter five, concerning the kings who ruled Arabia).</i>	√	120-122 (3 pages)	x	x	√	174-179 (6 pages)
6	<i>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)</i>	√	122 (1page)	x	x	√	179 (1 page)
7	<i>Fasal yang ketujuh pada menyatakan hal ehwal segala raja-raja di benua Hijāz iaitu hampir Mekah (Chapter seven, regarding the kings of Hijāz that is near Mecca).</i>	√	122-123(2 pages)	x	x	√	179 (1 page)
8	<i>Fasal yang kedualapan pada menyatakan hal ehwal kejadian Nabi kita Muḥammad Rasul Allah (ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam) dan pada menyatakan salsilah nasabnya (Chapter eight, regarding the Birth of our Prophet</i>	√	123-158 (36 pages)	x	x	√	180-232 (53 pages)

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 85-278) (194 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 104-291) (188 pages)
	Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry).						
9	<i>Fasal yang kesembilan pada menyatakan hal ehwal raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Syam daripada kaum Bani Umaiyyah</i> (Chapter nine, regarding the Umayyad Kings).	√	158-178 (21 pages)	√ ⁴²	142-157 (16 pages)	√	232-252 (21 pages)
10	<i>Fasal yang kesepuluh pada menyatakan hal ehwal raja-raja daripada kaum bani 'Abbās</i> (Chapter ten, regarding the 'Abbāsīd Kings).	√	178-216 (39 pages)	√	157-206 (50 pages)	√	252-282 (31 pages)

⁴² Raffles 42 does mention the words '*fasal yang kesembilan pada menyatakan hal ehwal raja-raja yang kerajaan di benua Syam daripada kaum Bani Umaiyyah.*' (Chapter nine, regarding the Umayyad Kings) but there are many stories concerning the Umayyad Kings. Therefore, it can be concluded that chapter nine is available in Raffles 42.

NO.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 75-265) (191 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 85-278) (194 pages)	UM 41	Pages (pp. 104-291) (188 pages)
11	<i>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</i> (Chapter eleven, concerning the history of the Kings of Dihli, a state in Hindustan).	√	216 - 221 (6 pages)	√	206 - 213 (8 pages)	x	x
12	<i>Fasal yang keduabelas pada menyatakan segala raja-raja di negeri Melaka dan Pahang</i> (Chapter twelve, relating the history of the Kings of Malacca and Pahang).	√	221-234 (14 pages)	√	214 - 230 (17 pages)	x	x
13	<i>Fasal yang ketigabelas pada menyatakan tarikh raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Aceh Darussalam</i> (Chapter thirteen, narrating the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh).	√	234-265 (32 pages)	√	230-278 (49 pages)	√	282 - 291 (10 pages)

Table 4.8: 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.	<p style="text-align: center;">UM 41 (CHAPTERS 1-6) (pp. 292 - 576) (285 pages)</p>
1	<p><i>Fasal yang pertama pada menjadikan raja dan mengikat dia dengan segala syarat</i> (Chapter one, concerning the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties). (pp. 292-306) (15 pages)</p>
2	<p><i>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</i> (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). (pp. 306-498) (193 pages)</p>
3	<p><i>Fasal yang ketiga pada menyatakan menjadikan kadi yang menghukumkan dengan hukum syarak</i> (Chapter three, concerning the appointment of Qāḍī (Judges) who will apply Muslim law). (pp. 498-505) (8 pages)</p>
4	<p><i>Fasal yang keempat pada menyatakan peri menjadikan wazir dan hulubalang serta dengan segala syarat mereka itu</i> (Chapter four concerning the appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties). (pp. 505-564) (60 pages)</p>
5	<p><i>Fasal kelima pada menyatakan peri utusan dan segala syarat mereka itu</i> (Chapter five, on envoys and their duties). (pp. 564-572) (9 pages)</p>

NO.	UM 41 (CHAPTERS 1-6) (pp. 292 - 576) (285 pages)
6	<i>Fasal keenam pada menyatakan peri katib dan segala perintahnya</i> (Chapter six, on scribes and their duties). (pp. 572-576) (5 pages)

Sources: UM 41 & Jelani, 2009: 51

Table 4.9: 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.	CHAPTERS	RAFFLES 8	Pages (pp. 265-341) (77 pages)	RAFFLES 42	Pages (pp. 279-364) (86 pages)	UM 41	Pages pp. 577-689) (113 pages)
1	<i>Fasal yang pertama pada menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang bertapa yang meninggalkan dunia pada zaman yang terdahulu kerana mengikut keredhaan Allah Ta'ala</i> (Chapter one, relating the conduct of pious kings in former times who renounced the world for the sake of Allah).	√	265 - 296 (32 pages)	√	279 - 314 (36 pages)	√	577 - 624 (48 pages)
2	<i>Fasal yang kedua pada menyatakan kelakuan segala aulia Allah yang dahulukala</i> (Chapter two, relating the conduct of the saints of Allah in the past).	√	296 - 341 (46 pages)	√	314 - 364 (51 pages)	√	624 - 689 (66 pages)

Sources: Sources: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41

Symbol: √ Available x Not available

Table 4.10: The Range of Pages per Chapter

No.	CHAPTERS	PAGES				
		1-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80-199
BOOK I						
1	Chapter concerning the creation of <i>Nūr Muḥammad</i>	11-15				
2	Chapter on the creation of the <i>Luḥmaḥfūz</i> / Preserved Tablet	2				
3	Chapter on the creation of the <i>Kalam</i> /Pen	1				
4	Chapter on the creation of the ' <i>Arash</i> / Throne	5-6				
5	Chapter on the creation of the <i>Kursī</i> /Footstool	2				
6	Chapter on the creation of <i>Liwā' al-Ḥamd</i> / the emblem of praise	2				
7	Chapter on the creation of the Angels	7-8				
8	Chapter on the creation of <i>Sidrat al-Muntahā</i>	2				
9	Chapter on the creation of Jān-the father of Jīn	2				
10	Chapter enumerating the /wise	2				
11	Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the heavens	7-9				
12	Chapter on the creation of Paradise	2-5				
13	Chapter on the creation of Nymphs	3-5				
14	Chapter on the creation of the House of <i>Baitul Ma'mūr</i> / House of Plenty-that is the original Ka'bah in heaven	1-2				
15	Chapter on the creation of the sun, moon and stars	4-6				
16	Chapter on the creation of meteors	1-2				
17	Chapter on the creation the clouds	1				
18	Chapter on the creation of cool water, ice and dew	1				
19	Chapter on the creation of lightning, thunderbolts and thunder	1-2				
20	Chapter on the creation of the heavenly bodies that are visible in the sky	1-2				
21	Chapter on the creation of the seven layers of the earth	4-7				
22	Chapter on the creation of the <i>Ka'bah</i>	5-7				

No.	CHAPTERS	PAGES			
23	Chapter on the creation of Mount Qāf	2			
24	Chapter on the creation of that which supports the earth	2-4			
25	Chapter on the creation of earthquakes	1-2			
26	Chapter concerning the creation of hell	2			
27	Chapter on the creation of the Globe	2			
28	Chapter on the number of the oceans and rivers	1			
29	Chapter enumerating the 'Ālam/ lands	2-3			
30	Chapter relating to the <i>Iqlīm</i> /region	8-10			
BOOK II					
31	The first chapter concerning the history of the Prophets		23-35		
32	Chapter two, the history of the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Ādam		20-31		
33	Chapter three, the history of the kings of Yunan/ Greece and Rome in former times	3-5			
34	Chapter four, the history of the kings who ruled Egypt	2-3			
35	Chapter five, concerning the kings who ruled Arabia	3-6			
36	Chapter six, regarding the kings of Kindah that is in the Najd	1			
37	Chapter seven, regarding the kings of Hijāz that is near Mecca	1-2			
38	Chapter eight, regarding the birth of our Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry		36-53		
39	Chapter nine, regarding the Umayyad Kings		16-21		
40	Chapter ten, regarding the 'Abbāsīd Kings			31-50	
41	Chapter eleven, concerning the history of the Kings of Dihli, a state in Hindustan	6-8			
42	Chapter twelve, relating the history of the Kings of Malacca	14-17			

No.	CHAPTERS	PAGES			
	and Pahang				
43	Chapter thirteen, narrating the history of the Kings who ruled Aceh	10-49			
BOOK III					
44	Chapter one, concerning the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties	15			
45	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	193			
46	Chapter three, concerning the appointment of Qāḍī (Judges) who will apply Muslim law	8			
47	Chapter four concerning the appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties			60	
48	Chapter five, on envoys and their duties	9			
49	Chapter six, on scribes and their duties	5			
BOOK IV					
50	Chapter one, relating the conduct of pious kings in former times who renounced the world for the sake of Allah		32-48		
51	Chapter two, relating the conduct of the saints of Allah in the past		46-66		

Table 4.11: Largest Chapters in Sequence (Book I-Book IV) (Above 30 pages)

No.	CHAPTERS	PAGES
1	The History of the kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Ādam	20-31 (31 pages)
2	The History of the Prophets	23-35 (35 pages)
3	The Conduct of pious kings in former times who renounced the world for the sake of Allah	32-48 (48 pages)
4	The History of the Kings who ruled Aceh	10-49 (49 pages)
5	The ‘Abbāsīd Kings	31-50 (50 pages)
6	The Birth of our Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry	36-53 (53 pages)
7	The Appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties	60 pages
8	The Conduct of the saints of Allah in the past	46-66 (66 pages)
9	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	193 pages

Source: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 & UM 41

Table 4.12: Shortest Chapters in Sequence (Book I-Book IV) (1-10 pages)

No.	CHAPTERS	PAGES
1	The creation of the <i>Kalam</i> /Pen	1page
2	The creation of the <i>Ba'it al Ma'mūr</i> / House of Plenty-that is the original Ka'bah in heaven	1 page
3	The creation the clouds	1 page
4	The creation of cool water, ice and dew	1 page
5	The number of the oceans and rivers	1 page
6	The kings of Kindah that is in the Najd	1 page
7	The creation of the <i>Lūḥmaḥfūz</i> / Preserved Tablet	2 pages
8	The creation of the <i>Liwā' al-Ḥamd</i> /emblem of praise	2 pages
9	The creation of the <i>Sidrat al-Muntahā</i> / Lotus Tree	2 pages
10	The creation of Jān-the father of Jīn	2 pages
11	Enumerating the ' <i>Alīm</i> / wise	2 pages
12	The creation of the seven layers of the heavens	2 pages
13	The creation of Mount Qāf	2 pages
14	The creation of Hell	2 pages
15	The creation of the Globe	2 pages
16	The creation of the heavenly bodies that are visible in the sky	2 pages
17	The creation of Earthquakes	2 pages
18	The kings of Hijāz that is near Mecca	2 pages
19	Enumerating the ' <i>Ālam</i> /lands	3 pages
20	The history of the kings who ruled Egypt	3 pages
21	The creation of that which supports the earth)	4 pages
22	The history of the kings of Yunan/ Greece and Rome in former times	5 pages
23	The scribes and their duties	5 pages
24	The kings who ruled Arabia	6 pages
25	The creation of the <i>Ka'bah</i>	7 pages
26	The history of the Kings of Dihli, a state in Hindustan	8 pages
27	The appointment of Qāḍī (Judges) who will apply Muslim law	8 pages
28	The envoys and their duties	9 pages
29	The <i>Iqlīm</i> /region	10 pages

Source: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 & UM 41

4.3.3 Evaluation on the General Content of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-Book IV)

As mentioned above, the following description and evaluation only give the background on the content of *Bustān*. The above tables (table 4.6- 4.9) demonstrate the comparison of the general contents of Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. Book I describes the creation of the heavens and earth starting from the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* (chapter 1) until the chapter concerning the *Iqlīm* (region) (chapter 30) (maximum of 103 pages). Book II narrates the history of the Prophets and kings starting from the history of Prophets until the Kings of Aceh that consists of 13 chapters (maximum of 187 pages). Book III relate to the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties, and the qualities required of wise viziers and their conducts that consists of six chapters (maximum of 285 pages). Last but not least Book IV describes the conduct of pious kings and pious saints of Allah that consists of 2 chapters (maximum of 113 pages).

The comparison shows that Raffles 8 consists of complete chapters of Book I-Book IV. For Book I, all manuscripts contain complete 30 chapters. Meanwhile, for Book II, the Raffles 42 does not narrate five (5) chapters that are the history of the Kings of Egypt, the Kings who ruled Arabia, the Kings of Najd, the Kings of Hijāz and the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.). On the other hand, UM 41 lacks the eleventh and the twelveth chapters concerning the history of the Kings of Dihli and the Kings of Malacca and Pahang. As for Book IV, all manuscripts consist of the complete 2 chapters. Therefore, the Raffles 8 becomes the basic text for data analyzing of this research (Book I, II & Book IV).

Based on the contents of *Bustān* described in tables 4.6 - 4.9, it is clear that the content can be divided into two elements - history and didactic. Book I and Book II demonstrate the historical element containing the concept of Islamic universal history starting from the creation of the universe and the Prophet Ādam (creation is part of history), followed by the history of the Prophets and the Kings of former times that ended at the history of the Kings of Aceh. Meanwhile, the Book III-Book IV narrates the history of the ancient kings, the caliphs of Islam and the ascetic and pious saint of Allah with didactic element. The following figure illustrates the historical and didactic contents of *Bustān*.

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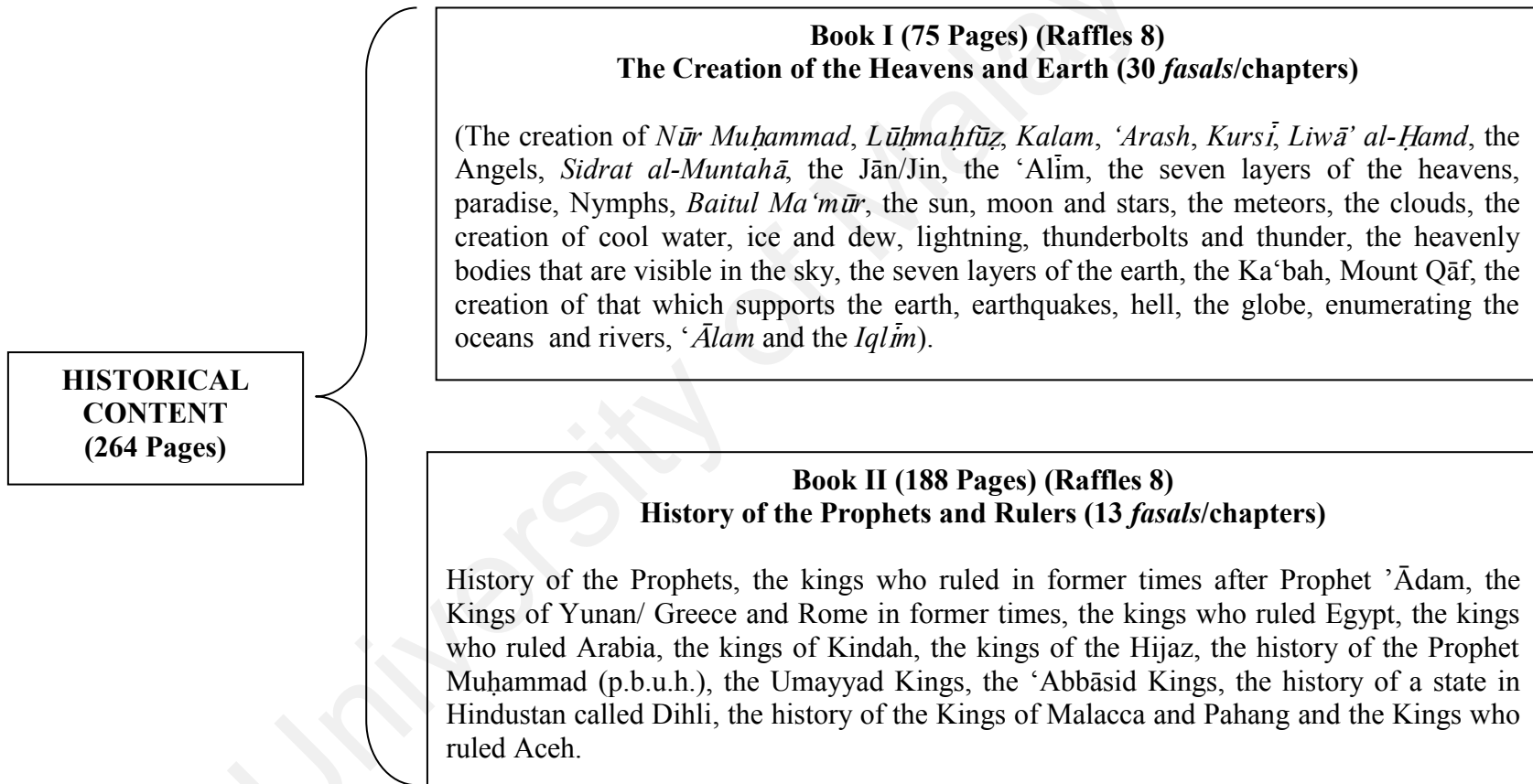


Figure 4.1: The Historical and Didactic Contents of *Bustān*

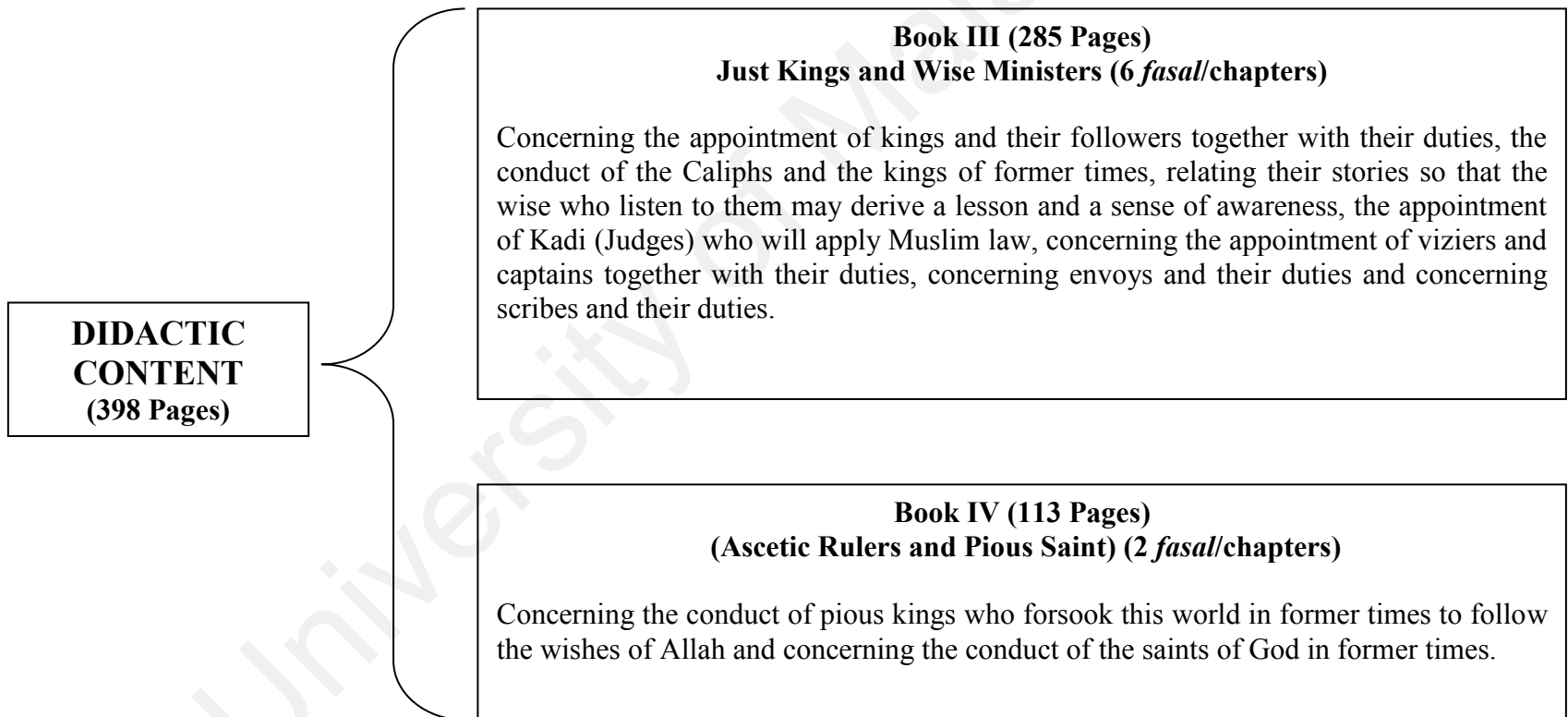


Figure 4.1: Continued

Sources: Raffles 8, UM 41 & Jelani Harun, 2009:51

Figure 4.1 indicates the historical and didactic contents of *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV). From the number of pages, it is obvious that the element of didactic (398 pages) in *Bustān* dominates the element of history (264 pages). Therefore, this point needs explanation of why al-Rānirī emphasized the element of didactic in his writing of *Bustān* and what is the relation between didactic and Islamic history. These points will be discussed and elaborated in detailed in chapter five.

In addition, table 4.10 indicates the range of pages per chapter of Book I-Book IV based on the Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. The purpose of giving this range is to show that the chapters with the largest range of pages that deal with history which is the reflection of al-Rānirī's concept of history in *Bustān*. Overall, the range of pages of Book I is 1-15 pages, Book II (1-53 pages), Book III (5-193 pages) and Book IV (32-66 pages). For Book I, all of the 30 chapters range from page 1 to 10 except the first chapter concerning the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* that consists of 15 pages. Meanwhile, the range of Book II indicates a big difference between the chapters as the least page is one while the largest page is 53 pages. The least page is concerning the Kings of Kindah (chapter six) and the largest is the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) (chapter eight).

Furthermore, Book III also shows a big gap in the range of pages as the least chapter consists of five pages (concerning scribes and their duties) and the largest concerns the conduct of the caliphs and the kings of former times (193 pages). Last but not least, Book IV has a balance range of pages for the complete two chapters with the gap of 34 pages. The story of the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad*, the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and the conduct of the caliphs and the kings of former times that contained the largest range of pages are obviously history and thus, prove that history is

the main idea of al-Rānīrī. This point will be further elaborated in the following chapter five.

Tables 4.11- 4.12 indicate the shortest and the largest chapter in Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*. There are 29 chapters that constitute the shortest narration and most of them (21 chapters) are from Book I (concerning the creation of the universe). Besides that, six (6) chapters are from Book II (the history of the Prophets) and three (3) from Book III (the conduct of the caliphs and the kings of former times). Meanwhile, there are nine (9) largest chapters in *Bustān*. Five (5) of them are from Book II, two (2) from Book III and the last (2) from Book IV as can be seen in the mentioned tables. The five chapters deal with history and the rest concerns with didactic element. Therefore, based on the shortest (21 chapters) and the largest (5 chapters) that related to history, it can be concluded that history is the basic teaching of al-Rānīrī.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Al-Rānīrī was a well-known scholar who played an important role in the intellectual life of the seventeenth century Aceh. His important work of history entitled *Bustān* is not only the largest work of history in the Malay world but also pioneered a new concept of history in Malay history writing. So far, the manuscripts of *Bustān* are located in different places of the world, such as in London, Netherlands and Paris. Meanwhile, the content of *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV) comprises the history of the beginning of the world (the creation of the universe), followed by the history of the Prophets, the history of past kings until the history of the kings of Pahang and Aceh. It also includes didactic element in the stories of just king and pious saints as guidance to mankind to live in accordance to the Islamic teaching.

**CHAPTER 5 : NUR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ'S CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC HISTORY
IN *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN* (BOOK I - BOOK IV): THE PURPOSE OF
WRITING, STRUCTURE, CONTENTS AND SOURCES**

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the climax of this research as it analyzes al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* that is based on the Qur'ānic concept of history. Islamic concept of history derives from Qur'ān as Qur'ān contains important characteristics on history and its relationship with human civilization through events and examples from people of the past. The Qur'ān describes history from the creation of the universe until the hereafter. The purpose why Allah describes the stories of the people of the past is to show mankind the right path and that people at the present time could take lessons (*'ibrah*) from their ancestors' experiences and their misdeeds.⁴³ Thus, this chapter analyzes and accentuates al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* through discussions on the purpose of writing, structure, content and sources.

5.2 THE PURPOSE OF WRITING *BUSTĀN* BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ

The writing of *Bustān* began in 1638 AD and its completion is yet unknown but it is said to be completed between 1640 AD-1642 AD while some scholars believed it was not completed (Winstedt, 1920b, 151-152; Voorhoeve, 1955, 152-161; Jelani, 2004a, 28). In the researcher's opinion, it is difficult to determine the date of the completion of writing *Bustān* by al-Rānīrī because based on the large contents of *Bustān*

⁴³ Refer to *sūrah Yūsuf* (12): 111. Allah says, "Indeed in their stories, there is a lesson for men of understanding. It (the Qur'ān) is not a forged statement but a confirmation of the Allah's existing Books [the Taurāt (Torah), the Injeel (Gospel) and other Scriptures of Allah] and a detailed explanation of everything and a guide and a Mercy for the people who believe."

(contain seven chapters with more than 1000 pages), it is not possible for al-Rānirī to complete it within the period of 3 years (1638-1641).

The history of the writing of *Bustān* begins after the coming of al-Rānirī to Aceh precisely on 6th Muharram 1047 AH (31 May 1637 AD) as he consequently being appointed *Shaykh al-Islām*, one of the highest posts in the Sultanate of Aceh by Sultan Iskandar Thani, the newly appointed king. He was subsequently ordered by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a historical text on 17th Shawwal 1047 AH (4 March 1638 AD). The instruction of the Sultan could be seen in the introductory part of Book I of *Bustān* as the following:

“Wa ba‘du dhalika, fī sab‘at ‘ashara min Shahr Syawāl. Dan kemudian dari itu pada tujuh hari bulan Syawal, maka dititahkan yang Maha Mulia fakir dengan titah yang tiada dapat tiada menjunjung dia sultan mu‘azam yang hafan lagi murah, yang pertama besar martabat izzatnya, iaitu Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayah Syah Johan Berdaulat zillu Allāh fī al-‘Ālami, lāzdāda dawlatuhu ayyāman mas‘ūdan wa ṭāla zillulāhu fī al-Afāqi. Sentiasa beroleh bahagiannya dan lanjut naungannya pada segala pihak negerinya, bahawa membahasakan suatu kitab dengan antara jawi padahal mengandung perkataan segala yang mendiami tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi. Wa sīrat al-Salāṭīn al-Awwalīn wa al-Ākhirīn. Dan menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang dahulu dan yang kemudian. Maka dijunjung fakir titah yang Maha Mulia serta singkat pengetahuannya lagi kurang fahamnya pada basa jawi, padahal berpegang ia kepada Tuhan yang menjadikan seru sekalian alam...Dan dinamai fakir kitab ini Bustān al-Salāṭīn, ertinya Kebun Segala Raja-Raja, dan menyatakan permulaan segala kejadian dan kesudahannya. Dan dijadikan fakir kitab ini tujuh babnya.”

(Raffles 8: 3-4)

(Al-Rānirī was ordered by Sultan Iskandar Thani to compose a book (*kitāb*) in the Malay language concerning the deeds of the denizens of the seven layers of the earth...To relate the deeds of kings of former times and later).

Based on the quotation, it is apparent that the purpose of writing *Bustān* was to obey the order of Sultan Iskandar Thani and this fact is accepted by most scholars such as Winstedt, Ronkel, Voorhoeve and the like. There is no doubt about the mentioned fact but the writer has the opinion that, simultaneously, al-Rānirī had his own aim on writing *Bustān*. The order of the Sultan to compose a book of history is clearly seen in the two words in the above quotation. The first is ‘*permulaan segala kejadian*’ (beginning of all creations) and the second is ‘*kesudahannya*’ (the ending). These words refer to history since the process of history starts with the beginning of the universe and later reaches its end.

In a larger point of view, the researcher believes that the main purpose of al-Rānirī in writing *Bustān* was not only to fulfill the request of Sultan Iskandar Thani but specifically to also write a book on Islamic history with didactic element. The intention to write a book on Islamic history could be seen in the introductory part of *Bustān* as the following:

*“Maka dijunjung fakir titah yang Maha Mulia serta singkat pengetahuannya lagi kurang fahamnya pada basa jawi, padahal berpegang ia kepada **Tuhan yang menjadikan seru sekalian alam...**”*

Basically, this quotation means that al-Rānirī obeyed Sultan Iskandar Thani’s command to write a book on Islamic history regardless of his limited knowledge and understanding of the *Jawi* language and he surrendered himself to God, the creator of the universe (***Tuhan yang menjadikan seru sekalian alam***). The word ‘*Tuhan*’ (God) according to al-Rānirī refers to ‘*Allah*’ as he stated in the following quotation:

“Subḥana al-ladhī tafarraba al-Uluhiyyah wa lā tudhiluhu wa yuftā al-khalqa ba’da khalqihī thumma ya’īduhu. Maha Suci Allah Yang Maha Tinggi/ ketuhanan-Nya dan tiada sekutu bagi-Nya, dan lagi akan difanakan-Nya segala makhluk, kemudian dijadikan-Nya,

maka dikembalikannya pula. Ashhadu an lā 'ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lah, wa ashhadu anna Muḥammad 'abduhu wa rasūluh. Saksi aku bahawasanya tiada tuhan melainkan Allah, esa Ia, tiada sekutu bagi-Nya. Dan saksi aku bahawasanya Nabi Muḥammad itu hamba-Nya lagi pesuruh-Nya."

(Raffles 8, Raffles 42 & UM 41)

The sentence "*Ashhadu an lā 'ilāha illā Allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lah, wa ashhadu anna Muḥammad 'abduhu wa rasūluh*". Saksi aku bahawasanya tiada tuhan melainkan Allah, Esa Ia, tiada sekutu bagi-Nya. Dan saksi aku bahawasanya Nabi Muḥammad itu hamba-Nya lagi pesuruh-Nya" means "There is no God except Allah and Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allah" which is known as *kalimat shahādah*. This *kalimah* refers to the concept of *tawḥīd* in Islam and this indirectly indicates that al-Rānirī aimed at writing Islamic history based on the concept of *tawḥīd*. This statement is an evidence of the historical content of *Bustān* (Book I-Book II) which is generally Islamic history in nature. It begins with the creation of the universe, the history of the Prophets, the history of the ancient kings who ruled in former times after Prophet Ādam until the kings of Aceh. These subjects parallel the contents of the Qur'ān that describe the creation of the earth and heaven, the hell, the angels, etc. An example of the Qur'ānic verse concerning the creation of the earth is, "*He it is Who created for you all that is on earth. Then he rose over (Istawā) towards the heaven and made them seven heavens and He is the All-Knower of everything.*" (*Sūrah al-Baqarah* (2): 29). In addition, the Qur'ān also narrates the story of the Prophets from Ādam to the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h).

The intention of al-Rānirī to write on Islamic history is strengthened and clearly shown in his statement in *Bustān* as below:

"Dan ditentukan fakir pada menyatakan kesudahannya segala hikayat itu dengan ayat Qur'ān yang mulia dan

dengan hadis yang sahih lagi patut dengan hikayat tersebut.” (Raffles 8: 4)

(Al-Rānirī decided to use appropriate Qur’ānic verses and *Ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ* (authentic *ḥadīth*) at the end of each stories).

Although my knowledge is limited and I have not much understanding of Malay, I obeyed his highness’ command and I rely on the Lord who created the universe). (C.A. Grinter, 1979, 10).

Al-Rānirī’s mentioned statement is evident with 167 Qur’ānic verses and 216 *ḥadīth* in *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV). Most of the Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth* are utilized mainly in Book III in order to strengthen al-Rānirī’s advice to the reader at the end of ever stories. Below are the examples of Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth* in *Bustān*:

First Example of Qur’ānic verse

Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil hendaklah ia mengambil ibarat daripada takluk Khid̄ir ‘alayhi al-salām akan segala raja-raja yang aniayanya dan menterinya, dan segala yang menolong dia. Seperti firman Allah Ta‘ālā yang tersebut di dalam Qur’ān (Hūd: 113):

وَلَا تَرْكَبُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فْتَمَسَّكُمْ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِّنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِن أَوْلِيَاءَ تُمْ لَا تُنصَرُونَ ﴿١١٣﴾

“And incline not toward those who do wrong, lest the Fire should touch you, and you have no protectors other than Allah, nor you would then be helped.” (*Sūrah Hūd* (11): 113)

(Raffles 8: 359 & Jelani, 2008: 70)

(Advice: Just kings should take lessons from the stories of the Prophet Khid̄ir on the unjust kings and their ministers. Allah mentions in the Qur’ān (*Hūd*: 113))

Second Example of Qur’ānic verse

Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang berpenguasaan memerangakan seperti perangai Hārūn al-Rashīd pada memaafkan kesalahan segala manusia supaya ia berbahagia dengan bahagia dunia dan akhirat.

Seperti firman Allah Ta'āla yang tersebut dalam Qur'ān (al-A'rāf: 199):

خُذِ الْعَفْوَ وَأْمُرْ بِالْعُرْفِ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْجَاهِلِينَ



“Show forgiveness, enjoin what is good, and turn away from the foolish.” (Surāh al-A'rāf: 199)

(Raffles 8: 416 & Jelani, 2008: 359)

(Advice: All the servants of Allah should follow the behaviour of Hārūn al-Rashīd who forgave the mistakes of all human in order to obtain happiness in this world and the next. Allah mentions in the Qur'ān (al-'Arāf: 199):

Example of Hadīth

Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah sentiasa menyebut mati dan hendaklah berbuat ibadat hingga datang maut ... Dan seperti sabda Nabi shallā Allāh 'alaiyhi wa sallam: Akthirū dhikra hādhimi al-ladhāti al-Mawt". Ertinya: Perbanyak oleh kamu daripada menyebut yang meruntuhkan segala cita rasa iaitu maut.

(Raffles 8: 392 & Jelani, 2008: 70)

(Advice: Every human being should always remember death and obey Allah until death. And the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) says: *Akthirū dhikra hādhimi al-ladhāti al-Mawt*. Meaning: Human should always remember death.)

Al-Rānīrī's purpose of including huge amounts of Qur'ānic verses and *hadīths* in *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV) is to emphasize that mankind should follow the order of Allah and the behaviour of the Prophet in their life in order to get the blessing of Allah. Al-Rānīrī wants to demonstrate that human deeds in this world will determine their life in the hereafter. Therefore, in order to obtain happiness in the hereafter, al-Rānīrī guides his reader the correct way to the final destination of human being that is to return to Allah through stories with didactic element. The above examples clearly indicate the didactic element that is to be just, to forgive people and to remember death. Thus, the

above explanation indicates al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history that purposely aims at the *Yawm al-Qiyāmah*.

Furthermore, the didactic element in *Bustān* was placed by al-Rānirī in Book III and Book IV with the total amount of 398 pages as mentioned in the earlier part of this article. He narrated the stories of the kings of ancient times as well as the history of the Islamic caliphates (the Pious Caliphate, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids) that ended with didactic element. Below are a few examples of the didactic element in Book III:

First Example

“Sekali peristiwa, pada suatu malam, Amirulmukminin ‘Umar ibn ‘Abdul ‘Azīz menyurat mengira-ngira ia hasil segala negeri yang takluk kepadanya. Tatkala itu datang seorang sahayanya laki hendak persembahkan suatu hajat daripada isi istananya. Maka sabda Amirulmukminin akan sahaya itu,” Padamkan olehmu dahulu pelita ini, maka engkau katakan hajat itu kepada aku kerana minyak pelita ini daripada khazanah segala Islam, tiada harus dipakaikan melainkan pada pekerjaan segala Islam jua.”

(One night, caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul ‘Azīz was counting the revenues of the states when a slave came to present the wish of the people inside the palace. So, the caliph ‘Umar ordered the slave to turn off the lamp before he proceed with his wish because the oil of the lamp is from the expanses of the Islamic treasury. Therefore, it should only be used for the works of Islam).

Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah khalifah yang terlalu adil lagi zahid, betapa ia takut akan Allah Ta‘āla pada memelihara akan hak segala Islam dan memenuh kehendak mereka itu...

(Raffles 8: 346 & Jelani, 2008, 309)

(Advice: Just kings should follow the behaviour of caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul ‘Azīz, the just and pious caliph who was afraid of Allah in taking care of the rights of Islam and fulfill their needs).

Second Example

“Kata sahibulhikayat, tatkala Sultan Ya’kub ibn al-Laith yang mashyur adilnya dan termakzur namanya dan tergeh bunyinya mengalahkan benua Kirman, benua Sistan...Setelah itu maka datang ia ke benua Iraq al-Maghrib hendak mengalahkan dia. Tatkala itu ada kerajaan benua Iraq Sultan Mutamad. Maka ia pun berkirimsurat kepada Sultan Ya’kub ibn Laith, demikian bunyinya: Hai Ya’kub, bahawasanya adalah engkau yang papa lagi daif, dari mana engkau ketahui memerintahkan kerajaan? ... Demi dibacanya surat itu, maka ia pun membalas jawabnya surat itu, demikian bunyinya: Hai Sultan Mu’tamad, ketahui olehmu bahawasanya yang menganugerahi kerajaan dan memerintahkan kerajaan itu iaitu Alah subḥanahu wa Ta’āla jua.”

(Sultan Ya’kub ibn al-Laith was a great and just king who defeated the states of Kirman and Sistan. Once the king of Iraq named Sultan Mutamad wrote a letter to Sultan Ya’kub and belittled the latter’s ability to rule his kingdom because of his poverty. Sultan Ya’kub then replied to Sultan Mutamad that, “It is Allah who bestows government and rule the government).

Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi raja-raja yang adil hendaklah ia mengetahui bahawa kerajaan itu bukan persukanya dan bukan memerintahkan akan kerajaannya itu melainkan daripada anugerah Allah Ta’āla jua, dan Ialah yang memerintahkan seru sekalian alam.

(Raffles 8: 442-443 & Jelani, 2008, 156-157)

(Advice: Just kings should know that their kingdoms do not belong to them and that their rules are gifts from Allah and Allah governs the whole universe).

The purpose of inserting the above excerpts is to prove the existence of didactic element in *Bustān*. Al-Rānīrī’s purposely inserted some advices to the caliphs in order to guide the readers to the way they should behave according to the teaching of Islam and that they would be able to apply lessons from history. This style of didactic writing was repeated in many parts of *Bustān*. The didactic element parallels the purpose of history in Islam as well as al-Rānīrī’s intention to write a book on Islamic history based on the concept of *tawḥīd*. Therefore, the didactic element is one of the characteristics in

Islamic history with the purpose to guide the kings (in the context of *Bustān*) to the right way to perform their duties) and in general as a guide to the people the way they should conduct their lives according to the teaching of Islam.

In conclusion, the researcher is certain that al-Rānirī's purpose of writing *Bustān* is not only to compose a book on history as commanded by his patron, but also to write a book on Islamic history with the didactic elements. Therefore, al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history is clear that is to warn the people of the consequences of disobeying Allah and to show the way to apply the lessons from history as well as to guide his reader the correct way to return to Allah, which is the last stage of the concept of Islamic universal history.

5.3 THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN* (BOOK I-BOOK IV)

5.3.1 THE STRUCTURE OF *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN*⁴⁴

The introductory part of Book I of *Bustān* as the following clearly indicates the structure of *Bustān*:

“...bahawa membahasakan suatu kitab dengan antara jawi padahal mengandung perkataan segala yang mendiami tujuh petala langit dan tujuh petala bumi. Wa sīratu’l-salāṭīn al-awwalīn wa al-akhirīn. Dan menyatakan kelakuan segala raja-raja yang dahulu dan yang kemudian.”

(To write a book in Jawi concerning the deeds of the denizens of the seven layers of the earth... To relate the deeds of kings of former times and later)

⁴⁴ Refer also to Norhayati Haji Hamzah, Arba'iyah Mohd Noor & Tatiana Denisova, 2014: 32-38.

The above quotation shows that al-Rānīrī divided his writing into two elements, history and didactic. The first contains the concept of the universal history (Book I-Book II) and the second is the didactic (Book III-Book IV) as shown in the following figure:

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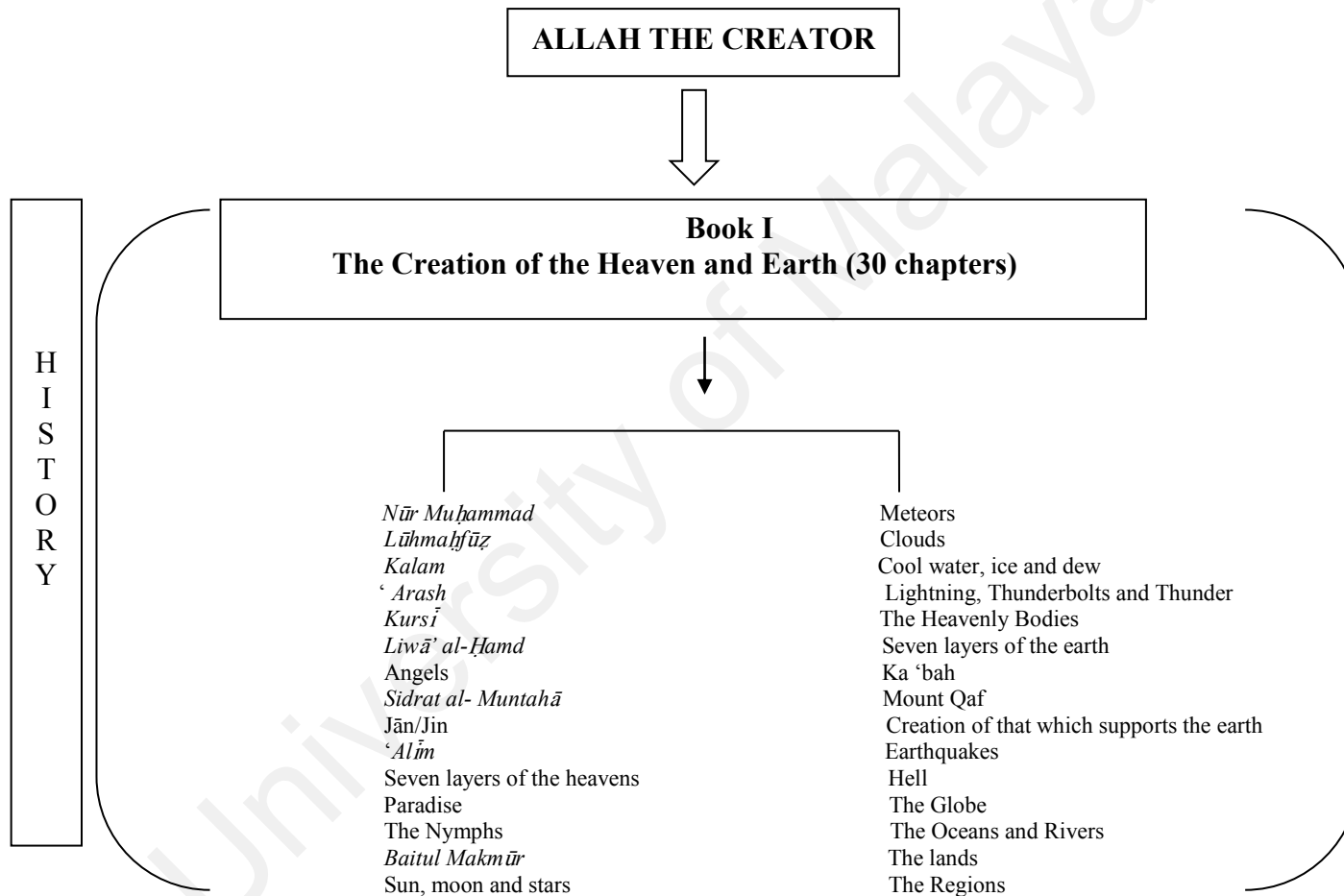


Figure 5.1: The Structure of Book I-Book IV of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

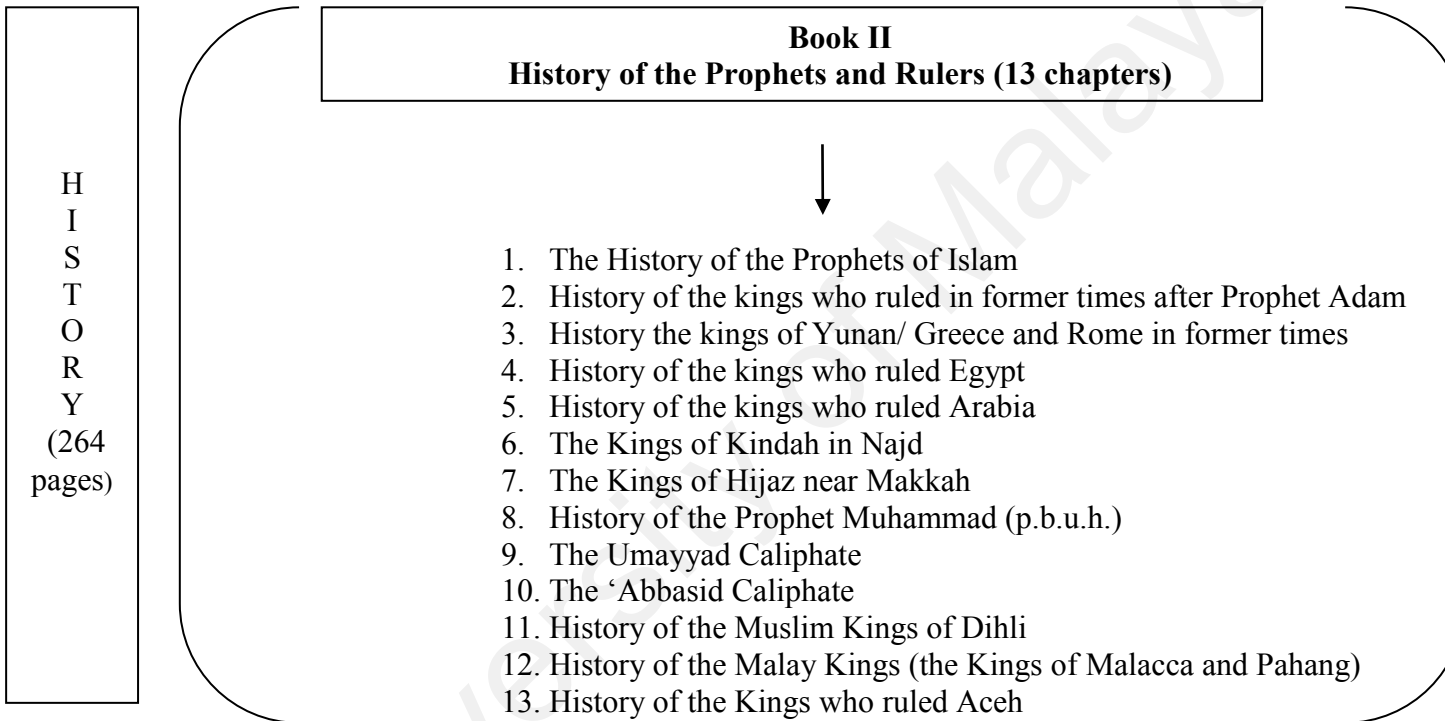


Figure 5.1: Continued

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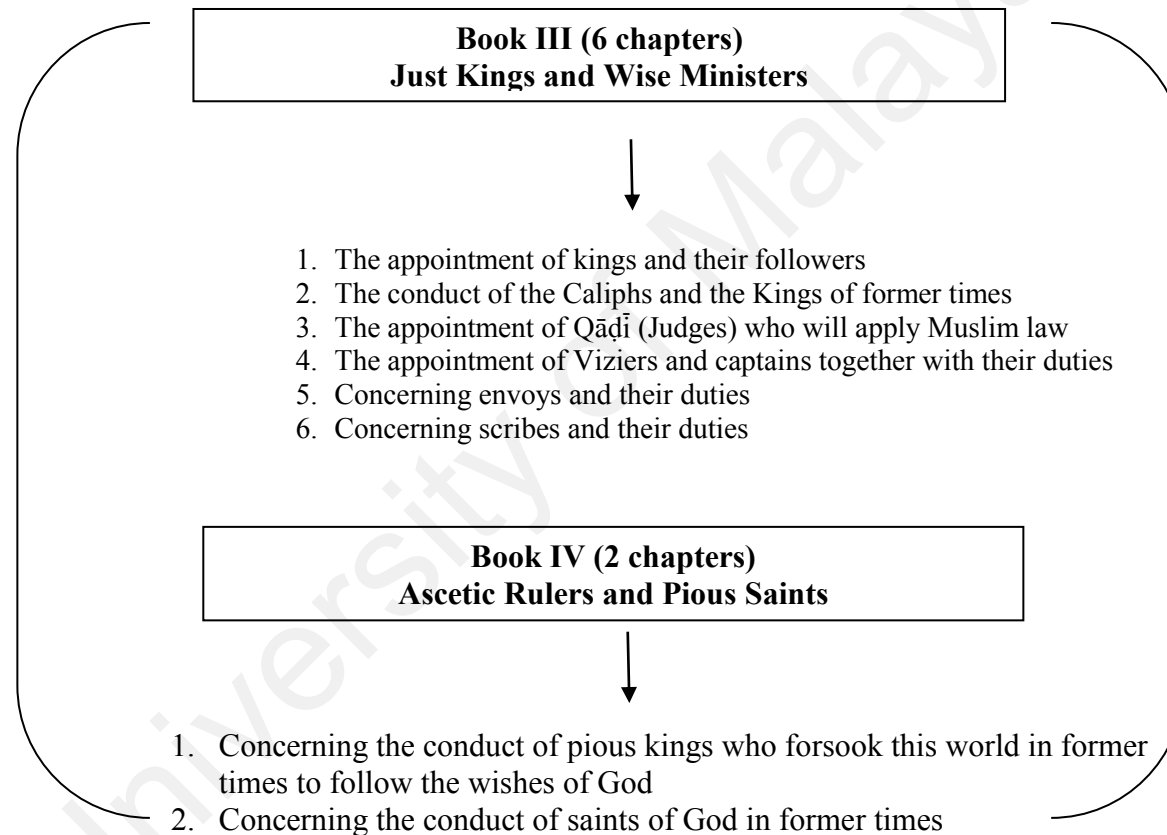


Figure 5.1: Continued

Source: Jelani Harun, *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, 2009

Figure 5.1 clearly shows the structure of *Bustān* (Book I - Book IV) which is divided into two elements - history and mirror for princes (didactic). Book I and Book II (the creation of the universe & the history of the Prophets and Rulers) represent the historical element while Book III - Book IV (Just Kings and Wise Ministers & Ascetic Rulers and Pious Saints) represent the didactic element. The historical element demonstrates the process of Islamic universal history that begins with the creation of the universe, the creation of Ādam, the first human being and stories of the Prophets of Islam (Idrīs, Nūḥ, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Ismā‘īl, Iṣḥāq, Ya‘qūb, Yūsuf, Ayyūb, Mūsā, ‘Īsā, etc.), followed by the history of the ancient kings of Persian and Arabs, the stories of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h) followed by the history of the Islamic caliphate (the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsids), the history of the caliphate of Islam in India and last but not least, the history of the Malay Kings (the Kings of Pahang and Aceh). It is not surprising for al-Rānirī to purposely include the Malay Kings as part of the universal history since *Bustān* was written on the request of his patron, Sultan Iskandar Thani. Therefore, it is the responsibility of al-Rānirī to glorify the mentioned king and the Sultanate of Aceh.

Book I contains 30 chapters (112 pages) concerning the creation of the universe starting with the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* (chapter 1) and ends with the chapter concerning the *Iqlīm* (regions). In the opinion of the author, the structure of Book 1 can be divided into two categories: the first is the creations related to the heaven, and the second, the earth. The first category describes fourteen chapters regarding the creations related to Allah (the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad*, *Lūhmaḥfūz*, *Kalam*, ‘*Arash*, *Kursī*, *Liwā’ al-Ḥamd*, angels, *Sidrat al-Muntahā*, the Jān, the wise, the paradise, the nymphs, *Baitul Ma’mūr*, the hell and the creation of that which supports the earth). On the other hand, the second category relates sixteen chapters concerning the creation of earth and

its content (the creation of the seven layers of the heavens, the seven layers of the earth, the sun, the moon and stars, the meteors, the clouds, cool water, ice and dew, lightning, thunderbolts and thunder, the heavenly bodies, the seven layers of the earth, the Ka‘bah, the Mount Qāf, the earthquakes, the globe, the oceans and rivers, the lands and the regions).

From all the creations mentioned, the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad*, the angels, the seven layers of the heavens, the paradise, the nymphs, the sun, moon and stars, the seven layers of the earth, the Ka‘bah and the *Iqlīm* (the regions) gained the great attention from the three texts and this directly indicates the importance of these events to al-Rānīrī. The creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* takes the largest contents and narrations amongst all creations (Raffles 8 (10 pages), Raffles 42 (11 pages) and UM 41 (14 pages)) due to the idea that *Nūr Muḥammad* is the first creation of Allah and it is the source of the creation of the universe and its contents.

Besides the chapter of *Nūr Muḥammad*, the chapter concerning the creation of the seven layers of the heavens too captured al- al-Rānīrī’s interest. From the author’s point of view, al-Rānīrī purposely described in depth the stories of the creation of the seven layers of the heavens and the earth not only to reveal the greatness of Allah who had created them in six days (Sunday to Friday) as mentioned in *sūrah al-Ḥadīd* (57): 4 and *sūrah Fuṣṣilat* (41): 11-12, but it is also to reveal that both creations (the heaven and earth) were created by Allah for human being in order for the latter to perform their roles as the caliphs of Allah on earth and at the end return to Allah by his will. This purpose is clearly mentioned in the Qur’ān and the way al-Rānīrī structured his *Bustān* reflects his concept of Islamic history that is based on the Qur’ān.

Al-Rānirī's writing concerning the creation of the universe parallels the creation of the universe mentioned in considerable verses inside the Qur'ān. For instances, *sūrah al-Baqara* (2): 22, 29 & 164 (concerning the creation of the heavens and earth), *surah al-Ra'd* (13):3, *sūrah al-Naḥl* (16): 14-15 and *sūrah al-Furqān* (25):53 (concerning the creation of oceans and rivers), *sūrah al-Raḥmān* (55): 46 and *sūrah al-Ḥadīd* (57): 21 (the creation of paradise) and *sūrah al-Saffat* (37): 5, *sūrah al-Nāḥl* (16): 16 and *sūrah al-Anbiya* (21): 33 (the creation of the sun, moon and stars). Therefore, it clearly indicates that al-Rānirī took the idea of the creation of the universe from the Qur'ān as he inserted a considerable number of Qur'ānic verses in Book I.

As the universe is created for mankind, al-Rānirī built the connection between the Book I and Book II by narrating the life of human being on earth starting from the history of Prophets until the history of the Kings of Aceh that consists of 13 chapters (the total of 188 pages). The longest chapters in this book are chapter 1 (the history of the Prophets), chapter 2 (the history of the kings who ruled in former time), chapter 8 (the history of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and his genealogy), chapter 9 (the history of the Umayyāds kings), chapter 10 (the history of the 'Abbāsīd Kings) and chapter 13 (the history of the Kings of Aceh). The researcher has the opinion that these chapters had been emphasized by al-Rānirī due to the idea that the history of mankind begins with the Prophet Ādam followed by other Prophets of Islām as been narrated in the Qur'ān. The narration of chapter 1 is inclusive of the Prophet Idrīs, Nūh, Mūsā, Ibrāhīm, Luṭ, 'Īsā, including the story of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.). The stories of the Prophets are narrated in the Qur'ān, for instances *sūrah* Yūnus (the Prophet Yūnus), *sūrah* Yūsuf (the Prophet Yūsuf), *sūrah* Hūd (the Prophet Hūd), *sūrah* Muḥammad (the Prophet Muḥammad) and others.

Continuing the history of the Prophets is the kings of former time from the descendants of the Prophet Ādam. The history of the King of Yunan became one of the significant chapters of Book II due to the characterization of Iskandār Dhulkarnain who was one of the Kings of Greece and a great figure in history. He was described as a great conqueror and a pious king and that his stories were mentioned in the Qur'ān in *Sūrah al-Kahf* (18): 83-98. Therefore, the excellent character of Iskandar had attracted the Muslim historians to portray their kings or rulers as the descendant of Iskandār Dhulqarnain. For example, al-Rānirī described Sultan Iskandar Thani as originated from the lineage of Iskandar Dhulqarnain with the main purpose to depict the greatness of the latter.

Meanwhile, as a Muslim scholar, al-Rānirī surely described the history of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) and his genealogy (chapter 8) as it is a vital subject in Islamic history. In addition, the importance of chapter 9 and 10 (history of the Kings of the Umayyād and the 'Abbāsids) lies in the fact that both chapters are the chronological content in Islamic history after the history of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and these periods especially the 'Abbāsids were the golden age of the Islamic civilization. Furthermore, the prophetic narratives and the history of the early Islamic caliphate were also narrated in the early sources of Islamic history such as *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* by Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *al-Kāmil Fī al-Tārīkh* by 'Izz al-Dīn ibn Athīr, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* by Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Raḥman b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣuyūtī, and others. Last but not least, al-Rānirī's emphasis on the history of the Kings of Aceh (chapter 13) is obvious as he included the chapter as part of the universal history by the reason that *Bustān* was indeed written for Sultan Iskandar Thani that was described before.

The second structure of *Bustān* is the didactic element that is placed in Book III and Book IV (the total of 398 pages). These books (Book II and Book IV) are related to Book I and Book II in which al-Rānīrī systematically arranged the events in chronology, starting from Allah as the Creator, created the universe (Book I) and this is followed by the creation of mankind and their history (Book II). These creations were subject to the *sharīʿat* and *adab* of Islam (Book III and Book IV) to ensure that human being lived in the path of Allah. Qurʾān does not only describe the creation of the world and the history of the Prophets and rulers (Book I-Book II of *Bustān*) but it also contains the element of didactic by describing stories of individuals either with good or bad characters (in *Bustān* 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 Mūsā and the Prophet ʿĪsā, Sheīkh Bilā al-Khawāṣ and Sheīkh ʿAbdul Raḥmān. The purpose of the stories concerning didacticism in Qurʾān is to teach or educate mankind on *adāb* so that they would take lessons from the past history and live in accordance to the Islamic teaching. This is clearly stated in *sūrah al-Rūm*, verse 9 that carries the meaning: “Have they not travelled in the land and seen the nature of the consequence for those who were before them? They were stronger than these in power, and they dug the earth and built upon it more than these have built. Messengers of their own came unto them with clear proofs (of Allah’s sovereignty). Surely Allah wronged them not, but they did wrong themselves.” and *sūrah Yūsuf*, verse 3, “We narrate unto thee (Muḥammad) the best of narratives in that We have inspired in thee this Qurʾān, though aforetime thou wast of the heedless”.

Al-Rānīrī was inspired by the didactic element in stories in the Qurʾān 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. *Bustān* relates stories of the wrong-doers and gives them chances to return to the right path. Al-Rānirī too took the idea of pious people from the Qurʾān when he narrated the story of an ascetic saint named Ibrāhīm b. Adhām 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 Luqmān al-Hakīm (*sūrah Luqmān* (31)): 13-19, Iskandār Dhulqarnain (*sūrah al-Kahf* (18)): 84-98 and the *Aṣḥābul Kahf* (the people of the cave/The seven sleepers) in *sūrah al-Kahf* (15): 9-26. The story of *Luqmān al-Hakīm* is a well-known story in the Muslim tradition regarding a wise man who guided his son on the concept of *tawḥīd* in Islam. Meanwhile, the *Aṣḥābul 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 that consequently proved *Bustān* as a work on Islamic history.

5.3.2 The Content of *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV)

The content of *Bustān* can be divided into two parts, history and didactic as shown in figure 5.1. Book I and Book II is obviously history as it deals with the creation and the history of the Prophets and kings. Meanwhile, Book III and Book IV contain the didactic or mirror for princes as they contain advices to kings and servants. However, the researcher believes that Book III-Book IV is in fact history because they contain considerable number of stories with didactic element. Below is the explanation of the researcher's point of view:

Table 5.1: The Historical Content in *Bustān*

BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	STORIES
I	1-30	1-75	The Creation of the seven layers of heavens and the seven layers of earth and everything relates to them
TOTAL	30 stories in Book I		
II	1-13	75-264	History of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah, relating some of their deeds and their longevity, from the time of the Prophet Ādam to our Prophet Muḥammad (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 Kiyaurmuthi to the time of our lord Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat (the shadow of God upon the earth)
TOTAL	13 stories in Book II		
III	1-6	292-576	Concerning the beginning of the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah, 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.
	1	296	A Commander and his armies
	1	298	Abū Dhar and the Prophet Muḥammad
	1	304	A Judge who was asked concerning the preferable quality of a king either strong or just
	2	305	Sheikh Arif Billah Imām Abū al-Qāsim al-Junid and his student
	2	305	The Prophet Sulaimān and an ant
	2	309	‘Umar al-Khattāb and an old woman in Madinah
	2	310	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a couple
	2	311	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a woman with her children
	2	314	The Envoy of the King of Rome and ‘Umar al-Khattāb
	2	315	‘Umar al-Khattāb and the Prophet Khīḍir a.s.
	2	317	‘Umar al-Khattāb and ‘Abdul Raḥmān b. ‘Awf
	2	319	‘Umar al-Khattāb patrolled the state of Madinah every night
	2	319	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a woman

2	321	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a blind woman
2	322	‘Umar al-Khattāb and ‘Abdullāh al-Masjid
2	328	‘Umar al-Khattāb and his armies at Nahawandi
2	329	‘Umar al-Khattāb and the people of Egypt (Misr)
2	330	‘Umar al-Khattāb and his son
2	331	‘Umar al-Khattāb with himself
2	332	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a beef
2	332	‘Umar al-Khattāb and Ka‘b b. Aḥbār
2	332	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a woman
2	334	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a boy in Madinah
2	335	‘Umar al-Khattāb and a woman
2	336	‘Umar al-Khattāb and his son, Abdullāh
2	338	Caliph Sulaiman b. ‘Abdul Malik b. Marwān and Sheīkh Abū Hazm
2	339	Caliph Sulaiman b. ‘Abdul Mālik b. Marwān and ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz
2	339	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and some people
2	339	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and Sheīkh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
2	340	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and Sheīkh Abū Ḥazm
2	340	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and Mu’nim
2	340	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and the Prophet Khīḍir
2	341	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and a physician
2	342	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and a man
2	343	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and a treasurer of Islam
2	344	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and his son, ‘Abdul Malik
2	345	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and an Arab tribe
2	346	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and his servant

2	346	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and his wife, Fāṭimah bint Sultan ‘Abdul Malik
2	347	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and the daughter of Sultan ‘Abdul Malik
2	348	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and a shepherd
2	349	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and a man
2	350	‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and ‘Abbās b. Rashīd
2	351	Sheikh ‘Abd Allāh b. Razāq and his martyr son
2	352	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheikh Sufyān al-Thawrī
2	360	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheikh Faḍīl b. ‘Iyād
2	371	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Imām Shāfi’ī
2	384	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his son, Aḥmad
2	386	Abū ‘Āmir al-Baṣrī and the son of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd
2	392	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheikh Syaḳīq
2	395	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Imām Mālik
2	397	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his vizier, Mahadī
2	398	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and a prisoner
2	400	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and a poor man
2	401	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and an imprisoned man/prisoner
2	402	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and ‘Ulyān al-Majnūn
2	405	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ibn Simak
2	407	The story of Sheikh Asmā‘i and a Bedouin
2	410	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheikh Imārī
2	412	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and a pious young man
2	415	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and his son

2	417	Caliph Ma'mūn b. Harun al-Rashid and Mubādan, a Majusi scholar
2	418	Caliph Ma'mūn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd and the grave of King Nūshīrwān
2	420	King of Harman, the son of King Nūshīrwān
2	420	Caliph Ma'mūn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd and a man
2	422	Caliph Ma'mūn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd and Faḍhil b. Sahal
2	423	Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abdul Mālik and Sheikh Awza'i
2	425	Imam Ḥanafī and a man named Ghailan
2	426	The Prophet Muḥammad with Abū Bakr and 'Umar
2	428	The Prophet Dāud and Jibrīl
2	428	King Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Syam and Egypt
2	432	King Ismā'īl Samani of Khurāsān and a scholar
2	432	King 'Abdullāh Ṭāhir of Khurāsān and two men named Sheikh Aḥmad Ḥarb and Sheikh Islām
2	435	King Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad Samani of Khurāsān
2	439	A King in ancient time
2	442	King Ya'qūb b. Laith
2	444	A Just king in Turkey
2	446	Sultan Marwān b. 'Abdul Malik and his vizier
2	447	Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawī and his servant, Ayaz Khan
2	449	Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and his vizier, Ḥasan Maimandī
2	455	Raja Nūshīrwān and his vizier, Dastūr
2	458	Raja Nūshīrwān and a young woman
2	461	Raja Nūshīrwān and his Minister, Abū Zur Jamhir
2	464	Raja Nūshīrwān and the Kings of Hindustan and Rome
2	466	Raja Nūshīrwān went hunting with his slave

	2	468	Raja Nūshīrwān and a <i>hajjām</i> (cupping practitioner)
	2	470	Raja Nūshīrwān and his two trusted headman
	2	471	Raja Nūshīrwān and his commander
	2	472	Raja Nūshīrwān and the Kings of China, Rome and Hindustan
	2	476	Raja Nūshīrwān and his <i>nadīm</i> (trusted man)
	2	477	Raja Nūshīrwān and menteri his soldiers
	2	480	Raja Nūshīrwān and his minister, Yunan
	3	497	Qādī Abū Yūsuf (Qādī of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd)
	3	499	Qādī ‘Abbās b. Mu‘āwiyah and Sheīkh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
	4	505	Raja Nūshīrwān and his son
	4	507	Abū Hurairah and his son
	4	508	The Prophet Muḥammad with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar
	4	508	Caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz and Sheīkh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
	4	510	The Prophet Muḥammad and ‘Abdul Raḥmān b. ‘Awf
	4	511	Caliph ‘Umar and Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī
	4	511	King Bahman and a Judge
	4	512	The son of King Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and his wazir, Manṣūr
	4	513	A King and his ministers
	4	514	A Man and the vizier of Sultan Sanjar in Iraq
	4	517	A Man and the King of Ajam
	4	518	A Man and his slave
	4	519	Yazdakir b. Sultan Shahriar
	4	521	A King in Arabia in former times and a man named Amin
	4	523	Sultan Manṣūr and Imarat b. Ḥamzah

4	524	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheīkh Aṣmā‘ī
4	524	A King and his <i>nadīm</i> (trusted man)
4	525	A King in Arabia and his slaves
4	526	Sheīkh Jalāl al-Dīn and a king
4	529	Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Sheīkh Simak
4	529	Sultan Hishām b. ‘Abdul Mālik and Sheīkh Abū Ḥazm
4	530	A King and his servant
4	533	The Prophet Yūsuf
4	533	King Nu‘mān b. Mazir of Arabia and his vizier, Ausa b. al-Ḥārith
4	537	The Prophet Muḥammad and a man
4	538	The King of Hindustan and his vizier
4	540	A King of Persia and a man
4	541	Sultan Abū Ja‘far and Sheīkh Mubārak b. Faḍīlat
4	542	A King in former times and a man
4	543	A King of ‘Ajam and his vizier
4	545	A Commander in Nasabur named Abū ‘Alī ‘Ilyās and a sheīkh named Abū ‘Alī Daqqāq
4	547	Sultan Ya‘qūb and Sultan Muḥammad of Khurāsān
4	552	Sultan of Arabia and his vizier
5	563	Sultan Ardasyir and <i>ḥukamā’</i>
5	564	Sultan Iskandār Dhulqarnain and Sultan Dara
5	566	Envoy of Malik and commander Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf
5	567	Luqmān al-Ḥakīm and his son
5	567	Sultan Khurāsān and the envoy of Sultan Qaimayun
5	569	The King of ‘Ajam and a man
6	570	The Prophet Yūsuf and the King of Egypt

	6	572	The Prophet Muḥammad and the King of Ḥabshah
TOTAL	136 stories in Book III		
IV	1	265	The Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and a man
	1	265	‘Abdullāh b. Mubāarak and a man
	1	266	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a crow
	1	267	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Muqaddasī
	1	268	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a sheikh
	1	269	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a mouse deer
	1	269	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a warrior champion
	1	270	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a man at the Ka‘bah
	1	270	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and Abū Ḥudhaifah r.a.
	1	271	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a drunken man
	1	272	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a drunken slave
	1	272	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a tiger
	1	272	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and the angel Jibrīl
	1	272	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a man
	1	274	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and his disciples
	1	274	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a handsome young man
	1	275	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and Bakiyah b. Walīd
	1	276	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and Sheikh Sahl b. Ibrāhīm
	1	276	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and his disciple
	1	276	Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a man
1	277	The Story of Iskandār Dhulqarnain	
1	278	The Story of King Abū’l-Fawāris Shah b. Suja	
1	279	The Story of a king and his palace	

	1	281	The Story of the King of Kundah in Yemen
	1	282	The Story of a king and his palace
	1	284	The Story of a king in Yemen
	1	286	The Story of the King of Kirman
	1	287	The Story of a Princess of Banī Isrā'il
	1	287	The Story of Sheīkh 'Abdullāh and a palace
	1	287	The Story of a king and a pious man
	1	291	The Story of Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān and a slave
	1	291	The Story of Iskandār Dhulqarnain and Jalinus Hakim
	1	292	The Story of Iskandār Dhulqarnain and people of a state
	1	294	The story of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and Abū Hurairah r.a.
	1	296	The Story of the Prophet 'Īsā and an old woman
	2	296	The story of Thawbān, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad
	2	297	The Story of Ibn Mas'ūd
	2	298	The Story of Abū al-Dardā'
	2	299	The Story of Sheīkh 'Abd al-Raḥmān
	2	301	The Story of Sheīkh Bilā al-Khawāṣ
	2	302	The Story of the Prophet Mūsā
	2	303	The Story of a pious man who performed <i>tawāf</i> (circumambulate) at the Ka'bah
	2	305	The Story of a young man with a princess
	2	306	The Story of the Prophet 'Īsā
	2	308	The Story of a woman and the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.)
	2	309	The Story of Sheīkh Faḍīl b. 'Iyād

	2	311	The Story of a Qādī in Merv, Khurāsān named Nūḥ b. Maryam
	2	313	The Story of a young merchant and his wife
	2	333	The Story of the Prophet ‘Īsā
TOTAL	49 Stories in Book IV		
TOTAL STORIES FROM BOOK I-BOOK IV: 228			

Table 5.1 demonstrates the historical content of Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*. Book I and Book II is obviously history as they narrate the creation of the universe and the history of the prophets and kings. As discussed before in the structure of *Bustān*, the second element in *Bustān* 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 as can be seen in the mentioned table. There are 185 historical stories in the Book III and Book IV and these stories are the reflection of al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history as majority of the stories were taken from the early period of Islam especially concerning the Umayyad and the ‘Abbāsīd 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 *Bustān* described above proves that *Bustān* is a historical work. Besides the fact that it contains historical and didactic elements, *Bustān* also follows the format of history as it begins with the mentioning of the purpose of writing *Bustān* 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 *Bustān*


reveals the importance of history to al-Rānirī and that history is the basis of al-Rānirī's thought.

5.4 THE SOURCES OF *BUSTĀN*

Bustān (Book I-Book IV) comprises of various types of information starting from the creation of the world until the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. The writing of al-Rānirī is divided into two categories, firstly, the historical element (the creation of the world and the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah and relating some of the deeds of kings in the past and their affairs as well as their longevity from the time of Sultan Kiyamurthi to the time of our lord Sultan Iskandar Thani Alauddin Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat. Secondly, the element of the mirror for princess (didactic elements). The historical element generally used the Islamic sources except for the history of the Sultan of Melaka, Pahang and Aceh that mainly based on the Malay local sources. Therefore, varieties of sources were utilized by al-Rānirī that consists of the primary and secondary sources. The researcher divides the sources used by al-Rānirī in *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV) into four categories, *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, reliable sources during the period of early Islam and books that will be discussed and evaluate in the following.

5.4.1 *Qur'ān*

Qur'ān as the main source of historical writing have been accepted by many Muslim historians such as al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Khaldūn (Al-Ṭabarī, 1961: 1, 2, 11, 14, 18, 20; Al-Mas'ūdī, 1973: 38, 39, 40, 67, 71, 88 & Ibn Khaldūn, 1961: 160, 173, 223, 253, 255).⁴⁵ *Qur'ān* is the major source of history as it is rich of historical

⁴⁵ For examples:  أَمْرٌ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ أَصْحَبَ الْكَهْفِ وَالرَّقِيمِ كَانُوا مِنْ آيَاتِنَا عَجَبًا (Sūrah al-Kahfi (18): 9) (Al-Ṭabarī, 1961: 1)

sources which contain stories of the people of the past, history and biographies of the Prophets and individuals (A.A. Duri, 1983: 20 & Mūlālīc, 2012: 166). Besides that, Qur'ān also contains the concept of Islamic universal history that describes the creation of the world, followed by the human civilization until the life after death where human beings return to Allah. In addition, it is from the Qur'ān that Muslims obtain the idea on the meaning of history, the purpose of studying history, the warnings and lessons from bygone history, the universal history and the like. Therefore, it cannot be denied that Qur'ān encourages human to study history and provides mankind with the incentive to study history (Rasul, 1968:2).

The Qur'ān gives valuable contribution to the development of the concept of history among Muslims. It is from the Qur'ān that Muslims obtain the idea on the meaning of history, the purpose of studying history, the warnings and lessons from the past history, the universal history and etc. In other words, the Qur'ān becomes the main source of history in Islam. The Qur'ān narrates the history of the creation of the universe, the people of the past, history of Prophethood and biography of Prophets and others. Besides that, the Qur'ān also narrates the stories of the past nations who disobeyed Allah and the punishments they suffered due to their attitudes. The purpose of these stories is to convey the truth of Islam as the religion of Allah and to convey the warnings from the lessons of history. Therefore, the purpose of history in Islam is to guide mankind to the right path and subsequently obtain the will of Allah. Due to that purpose, stories in Qur'ān often accompanied by didactic elements in order to show mankind the way to return to Allah.

﴿ وَالْقَلَمِ وَمَا يَسْطُرُونَ ﴾ (Sūrah al-Qalam (68): 1) (Al-Mas'ūdī, 1973: 160)

﴿ إِنَّا سَأَلْنَاكَ عَلَيَّكَ قَوْلًا نُّفِيًا ﴾ (Sūrah al-Muzzammil (73): 5) (Ibn Khaldūn, 1961: 160)

The above explanation indicates the importance of Qur'ān as the main source of history in Muslim historiography especially in the second century of Hijrah. Muslim historiography that begins in Arabia was later spread to many parts of the world, including the Malay world. Consequently, the Qur'ānic concept of history and the methodology of Muslim history writing were introduced to the Malays simultaneously with the coming of Islam. Al-Rānirī as one of the scholars in the Malay world was also influenced by the Islamic concept of history and methodology. This is clearly seen al-Rānirī's sources of writing *Bustān* that are the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and reliable scholars that will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Concerning the Qur'ān as one of al-Rānirī's sources in writing *Bustān*, below is the detailed elaboration on the Qur'ānic verses found in *Bustān*. The purpose of giving all the *sūrah* and verses used by al-Rānirī from Book I-Book IV is to indicate the importance of Qur'ān to al-Rānirī as the basic source of Islamic knowledge including Islamic history and importantly, Qur'ān is among the main source of al-Rānirī's writing. Therefore, al-Rānirī made Qur'ān as his frame of history that is evident with the utilization of 167 Qur'ānic verses in Book I - Book IV of *Bustān* that will be elaborated in the following. In the researcher's opinion, al-Rānirī's clear understanding of Islamic concept of history led him to make Qur'ān as one of his main sources for *Bustān*.

In addition, the utilization of Qur'ānic verses by al-Rānirī 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'ān narrates lots of stories of the Prophets such as the Prophet Ādam, Nūh, Mūsā, Ibrāhīm, 'Īsa and others. Based on the stories of the Prophets and messengers of Allah in the Qur'ān, al-Rānirī applied similar subjects inside *Bustān*. Prior to al-Rānirī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī

and Ibn Khaldūn described the stories of the Prophets in their historical works. Therefore, beside the Qur’ān as his main source, al-Rānirī also referred to the primary sources such as the works of al-Ṭabarī (*Ta’rīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*), Ibn Ishāq (*Sīrah Ibn Ishāq*) and Ibn Hishām (*Sīrah Ibn Hishām*) (Raffles 8: 87, 110 & 129). Below are some of the Qur’ānic verses in *Bustān* concerning to stories of the Prophets of Islam.

1) The Prophet Ādam

“Maka adalah yang pertama segala anbia itu Nabi Allah Ādam ‘alayhi al-salām. Kata segala ‘ulamā, tatkala dikehendaki Allah Subḥanahu wa Ta‘āla menjadikan Nabi Allah Ādam ‘alayhi al-salām, maka ia berfirman seperti yang tersebut dalam Qur’ān (Shad: 71):

إِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلٰئِكَةِ اِنِّيْ خَلِقُ بَشَرًا مِّنْ طِيْنٍ

[Ertinya]: Dan tatkala berfirman Tuhanmu pada segala malaikat, “Bahawanya Aku hendak menjadikan insan daripada tanah.”⁴⁶ Maka berfirman Allah Ta‘āla kepada Jibrīl, “Hai Jibrīl, pergilah engkau ke bumi, ambil olehmu tanah dari segala bumi, Aku hendak menjadikan suatu kejadian daripadanya.”

(UM 41: 105: Jelani Harun, 2004(a): 100)

(The Prophet Ādam was the first prophet on earth and once Allah decided to create Ādam, He ordered Jibrīl, one of the angels to take some soils from the earth but the earth was reluctant of Jibrail’s request).

2) The Prophet Nūḥ

“...Maka segala kaumnya pun sangatlah berbuat durhaka. Maka Nabi Nūḥ ‘alayhi al-salām pun berdatang sembah ke hadarat Allah Ta‘āla, seperti firman Allah Ta‘āla yang tersebut dalam Qur’ān (Nūḥ: 26):”

وَقَالَ نُوحٌ رَبِّ لَا تَذَرْنِيْ اَلَا رَاحِلًا مِّنَ الْكٰفِرِيْنَ)3

دَيَّارًا

[Ertinya]: Ya Tuhanku, janganlah Kautinggalkan seorang jua pun di bumi daripada mendiami rumah mereka itu.⁴⁷ Maka diperkenan Allah Ta‘āla pintanya Nabi Nūḥ ‘alayhi al-salām itu. Maka Nabi Allah Nūḥ pun dititahkan Allah

⁴⁶ The verse means, “[So mention] when your Lord said to the angels, “Indeed, I am going to create a human being from clay.”

⁴⁷ The verses means, “And Noah said: My Lord! Leave not one of the disbelievers in the land”.

Ta'āla berbuat sebuah bahtera. Setelah sudah maka dititahkan Allah Ta'āla Nabi Nūḥ menaikkan anaknya Sam dan Ham dan Yafit serta segala isterinya dan daripada tiap-tiap jenis [binatang] datang sujud ke dalam bahtera itu. Dan adalah naik ke dalam bahtera itu enam orang, dan pada satu riwayat dualapan puluh orang laki-laki. Dan adalah ditinggalkan Nabi Allah Nūḥ anaknya yang bernama Yam daripada sebab ia kafir.”
(UM 41:117-118; Jelani Harun, 2004 (a): 113)

(The people of the Prophet Nūḥ were extremely disobeyed Allah, therefore, the Prophet Nūḥ prayed to Allah to destroy every single of them. Allah then ordered him to build an ark and bring along his wives and every kind of animals into the ark. The son of the Prophet Nūḥ named Yam was left as he was an infidel).

Both examples show that al-Rānīrī selected verses of the Qur'ān in order to determine the accuracy of the facts of both Prophets. The utilization of Qur'ānic verses is repeated in many places in *Bustān*. Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Rānīrī relied on the genuine source of Islam that is the Qur'ān.

**Table 5.2: List of *Sūrah*s in *Bustān* (Book I-IV)
(Based on Book I, II & IV are based on Raffles Malay 8, Book III from UM 41)**

SOURCES	NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	VERSES	NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	VERSES
AL- QUR'ĀN	1	1	1	6	<i>Al-Şaff</i> (61): 8	2	1	4	13	<i>Al-Ḥaqqah</i> (69):17
	3	1	4	14	<i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 7	4	1	4	17	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 21
	5	1	5	17	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 255	6	1	7	19	<i>Al-Taḥrīm</i> (66): 6
	7	1	7	21	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 5-7	8	1	7	21	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53):13-18
	9	1	8	26	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 15-16	10	1	9	27	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 15
	11	1	9	27	<i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 50	12	1	11	31	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 47
	13	1	11	31	<i>Hud</i> (11): 7	14	1	11	31	<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 4
	15	1	11	31	<i>Yūnus</i> (10): 3	16	1	11	31	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 11-12
	17	1	11	32	<i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i> (79): 27-29	18	1	11	33	<i>Qāf</i> (50): 38
	19	1	11	34	<i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 3	20	1	12	37	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 46
	21	1	12	37	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 62	22	1	12	39	<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 21
	23	1	12	39	<i>Al-Kawthar</i> (108): 1	24	1	12	40	<i>Muḥammad</i> (47): 15
	25	1	13	40	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 72	26	1	13	40	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 56
	27	1	13	41	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 58	28	1	13	42	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 68
	29	1	13	42	<i>Al-Wāqi'ah</i> (56): 27-34	30	1	13	43	<i>Al-Wāqi'ah</i> (56): 35-37
	31	1	15	45	<i>Al-Şaffāt</i> (37): 5	32	1	15	45	<i>Al-Takwīr</i> (81): 1
	33	1	15	45	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 16	34	1	15	46	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21): 33
	35	1	16	48	<i>Al-Şaffāt</i> (7): 6-10	36	1	18	49	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 43
	37	1	21	50	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 12	38	1	21	50	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 9
	39	1	21	50	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 9-10	40	1	21	50	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 10
41	1	21	52	<i>Ṭāhā</i> (20): 105	42	1	22	59	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 172	
43	1	24	62	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 117	44	1	26	63	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 44	
45	1	27	65	<i>Al-Isrā'</i> (17): 70	46	1	27	65	<i>Al-Jāthiyah</i> (45): 12	

47	1	28	65	<i>Luqmān</i> (31): 27	48	1	29	66	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i> (74): 31
49	2	1	76	<i>Al-Mu'min /Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 78	50	2	1	76	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 71
51	2	1	78	<i>Al-Insān</i> (76): 1	52	2	1	79	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21): 37
53	2	1	84	<i>Nūḥ</i> (71): 26	54	2	1	84	<i>Al-Ṣāffāt</i> (37): 77
55	2	1	89	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 44	56	2	1	96	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 39
57	2	2	107	<i>Yāsīn</i> (36): 14	58	2	2	114	<i>Al-Rūm</i> (30): 1-4
59	2	8	139	<i>Al-Imrān</i> (3): 144	60	2	13	246	<i>Yūnus</i> (10): 14
61	2	13	246	<i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 165	62	3	1	290	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 59
63	3	1	293	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 103	64	3	1	297	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 44
65	3	1	300	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 30	66	3	1	301	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 26
67	3	1	302	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 55	68	3	2	305	<i>Hūd</i> (11): 120
69	3	2	308	<i>Al-Hujurāt</i> (49): 9	70	3	2	310	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 40
71	3	2	311	<i>Al-Hujurāt</i> (49): 12	72	3	2	311	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 189
73	3	2	311	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 27	74	3	2	313	<i>Al-Fatḥ</i> (48): 29
75	3	2	316	<i>Al-Hūd</i> (11): 113	76	3	2	320	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 19
77	3	2	321	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 2	78	3	2	336	<i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 16-17
79	3	2	342	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 63	80	3	2	348	<i>Al-Qaṣas</i> (28): 83
81	3	2	351	<i>Al-Aḥqāf</i> (46): 29-30	82	3	2	356	<i>Al-Ṣāffāt</i> (37): 22
83	3	2	359	<i>Hūd</i> (11): 113	84	3	2	367	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 56
85	3	2	369	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 43	86	3	2	369	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 159
87	3	2	372	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 55	88	3	2	373	<i>Al-Fāṭir</i> (35): 15
89	3	2	374	<i>Al-Hujurāt</i> (49): 6	90	3	2	375	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 89
91	3	2	375	<i>Hūd</i> (11): 1	92	3	2	377	<i>Ibrāhīm</i> (14): 4
93	3	2	380	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 40	94	3	2	396	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 43
95	3	2	397	<i>Al-Mujādalah</i> (58): 11	96	3	2	398	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 153
97	3	2	398	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 44	98	3	2	399	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 134
99	3	2	402	<i>Al-Sharḥ</i> (94): 6	100	3	2	404	<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 20

101	3	2	406	<i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i> (79): 40	102	3	2	407	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 20-21
103	3	2	407	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 22	104	3	2	408	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 23
105	3	2	409	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 44	106	3	2	412	<i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9): 82
107	3	2	413	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 104	108	3	2	416	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 199
109	3	2	421	<i>Al-Fāṭir</i> (35): 18	110	3	2	422	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42): 40
111	3	2	427	<i>Al-Takwīr</i> (81): 29	112	3	2	431	<i>Al-Hujurāt</i> (49): 10
113	3	2	434	<i>Al-Zumar</i> (39): 53	114	3	2	439	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 249
115	3	2	442	<i>Al-Insān</i> (76): 7	116	3	2	443	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 26
117	3	2	445	<i>Luqmān</i> (31): 33	118	3	2	446	<i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9): 38
119	3	2	469	<i>Al-Hujurāt</i> (49): 13	120	3	3	500	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21): 78-79
121	3	3	500	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 41	122	3	3	500	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 26
123	3	3	500	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 44	124	3	3	500	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 26
125	3	3	501	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 44	126	3	3	501	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 41
127	3	3	502	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 44	128	3	3	502	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 58
129	3	3	503	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 128	130	3	4	504	<i>Tāhā</i> (20): 29-35
131	3	4	504	<i>Tāhā</i> (20): 36-37	132	3	4	506	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 35
133	3	4	506	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 159	134	3	4	507	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42): 38
135	3	4	513	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 125	136	3	4	527	<i>Al-Qaṣas</i> (28): 77
137	3	4	528	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 7	138	3	4	532	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 146
139	3	4	532	<i>Al-Qaṣas</i> (28): 83	140	3	4	532	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 63
141	3	4	540	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 134	142	3	4	541	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 2
143	3	4	542	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42): 37	144	3	4	546	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 107
145	3	4	551	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 1	146	3	4	556	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 58
147	3	4	558	<i>Al-Qalam</i> (68): 10-13	148	3	4	558	<i>Al-Humazah</i> (104): 1
149	3	4	560	<i>Al-Anfāl</i> (8): 60	150	3	4	562	<i>Al-Isrā'</i> (17): 34
151	3	4	562	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 85	152	3	5	562	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 67
153	3	5	564	<i>Tāhā</i> (20): 44	154	3	6	570	<i>Al-Qalam</i> (68): 1
155	3	6	570	<i>Al-'Alaq</i> (96): 3-5	156	3	6	571	<i>Yusūf</i> (12): 55
157	3	6	572	<i>Al-Naml</i> (27): 29	158	4	1	577	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 50

159	4	1	275	<i>Al- 'Imrān</i> (3): 133	160	4	1	276	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 31
161	4	1	287	<i>Al- 'Imrān</i> (3): 185	162	4	1	287	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 152
163	4	1	287	<i>Al-Aḥzab</i> (33): 41	164	4	1	293	<i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 2
165	4	2	296	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 69	166	4	2	300	<i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 65
167	4	2	304	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 4					

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Table 5.3: Frequencies of *sūrah*s used in Book I-IV of *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

NO.	SURAH	FREQUENCY	NO.	SURAH	FREQUENCY
1	<i>Al-An'ām</i> (6)	1	2	<i>Al-Anfāl</i> (8)	1
3	<i>Yusūf</i> (12)	1	4	<i>Ibrāhīm</i> (14)	1
5	<i>Al-Naml</i> (27)	1	6	<i>Al-Rūm</i> (30)	1
7	<i>Al-Aḥzab</i> (33)	1	8	<i>Yāsīn</i> (36)	1
9	<i>Al-Jāthiyah</i> (45)	1	10	<i>Al-Aḥqāf</i> (46)	1
11	<i>Muḥammad</i> (47)	1	12	<i>Al-Fath</i> (48)	1
13	<i>Al-Mujādalah</i> (58)	1	14	<i>Al-Ṣaff</i> (61)	1
15	<i>Al-Taghabun</i> (64)	1	16	<i>Al-Taḥrīm</i> (66)	1
17	<i>Al-Ḥaqqah</i> (69)	1	18	<i>Nūh</i> (71)	1
19	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i> (74)	1	20	<i>Al-Sharḥ</i> (94)	1
21	<i>Al-'Alaq</i> (96)	1	22	<i>Al-Humazah</i> (104)	1
23	<i>Al-Kawthar</i> (108)	1	24	<i>Qāf</i> (50)	1
25	<i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9)	2	26	<i>Yūnus</i> (10)	2
27	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15)	2	28	<i>Al-Isrā'</i> (17)	2
29	<i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18)	2	30	<i>Luqmān</i> (31)	2
31	<i>Al-Fāṭir</i> (35)	2	32	<i>Al-Zumar</i> (39)	1
33	<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i> (56)	2	34	<i>Al-Mulk</i> (67)	2
35	<i>Al-Qalam</i> (68)	2	36	<i>Al-Insān</i> (76)	2
37	<i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i> (79)	2	38	<i>Al-Takwīr</i> (81)	2
39	<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21)	3	40	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25)	3
41	<i>Al-Qaṣas</i> (28)	3	42	<i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghāfir</i> (40)	3
43	<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42)	3	44	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53)	3
45	<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57)	3	46	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65)	3
47	<i>Ṭāhā</i> (20)	4	48	<i>Al-Ṣaffāt</i> (37): 5	4
49	<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41)	4	50	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7)	5
51	<i>Hūd</i> (11)	5	52	<i>Ṣad</i> (38)	5
53	<i>Al-Ḥujurāt</i> (49)	5	54	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4)	6
55	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24)	6	56	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51)	6
57	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55)	7	58	<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16)	7
59	<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5)	8	60	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2)	9
61	<i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3)	11			
TOTAL		61 <i>Sūrah</i>	167 verses		

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

Table 5.2 demonstrates the list of *sūrah*s and Qur'ānic verses in Book I-Book IV of *Bustān* and their frequencies. Based on the analysis of the content of *Bustān*, there are at least 61 *sūrah*s and 167 verses utilized by al-Rānirī. These high amounts of *sūrah* and

verses show al-Rānirī's reliance on the Qur'ān as one of his main sources. Book I (The Creation of the seven layers of heavens and the seven layers of earth and everything relates to them) contains 48 verses, Book II (concerning the beginning of the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah), 13 verses, Book III (concerning the beginning of the history of the Prophets and the messengers of Allah, 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), 96 verses and Book IV (concerning the conduct of pious kings and pious saints of Allah) with 10 verses. Book I and Book III contain the highest number of Qur'ānic verses that will be discussed below.

The 48 verses in Book I indicate that al-Rānirī regarded the creation of the universe is an important historical fact as it is the starting point of the concept of Islamic universal history. In fact, there are many verses in the Qur'ān deals with the creation of the earth and heaven.⁴⁸ Therefore, al-Rānirī selected 31 *sūrah*s (contain 48 verses) to strengthen his description on the creation of the universe. Among the 48 verses are concerning the creation of the 'Arash of Allah (*sūrah al-Ḥaqqah* (69):17), the angel (*sūrah al-Taḥrīm* (66): 6) and the seven layers of earth (*sūrah Al-Dhāriyāt* (51): 47; *sūrah Hūd* (11): 7; *sūrah Al-Ḥadīd* (57): 4; *sūrah Yūnus* (10): 3; *sūrah Fuṣṣilat* (41):11-12; *sūrah Al-Nāzi'āt* (79): 27-29 & *sūrah Qāf*(50): 38). Examples of the verses are:

وَتَحْمِلُ عَرْشَ رَبِّكَ فَوْقَهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ ثَمَنِيَّةٌ

“And there will bear the Throne of your Lord above them, that Day, eight [of them].” (Sūrah al-Ḥaqqah (69):17)

⁴⁸ For instances, *sūrah al-Sajdah* (32): 4; *al-Kahfī* (18): 51; *al-Baqarah* (2): 29; *al-Nāzi'āt* (79): 29 & *al-Anbiyā'* (21): 30 (the creation of the heavens and earth), *sūrah Fuṣṣilat* (41): 9-12; *al-Anbiyā'* (21):31; *al-Naḥl* (16): 51 & *al-Naba* (78) : 7 (the creation of mountains), *sūrah al-Furqān* (25): 61; *al-An'ām* (6): 97; *al-Mulk* (67): 5 & *al-Saffāt* (37): 6 (the creation of stars), *sūrah al-Ḥijr* (15) : 26, *al-Sajdah* (32): 7; *al-Nisā'* (4): 1 & *al-Zumar* (39): 6 (the creation of man).

يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا قُورًا أَنفُسِكُمْ وَأَهْلِيكُمْ نَارًا وَقُودُهَا النَّاسُ وَالْحِجَارَةُ عَلَيْهَا مَلَائِكَةٌ
 غِلَظٌ شِدَادٌ لَا يَعْصُونَ اللَّهَ مَا أَمَرَهُمْ وَيَفْعَلُونَ مَا يُؤْمَرُونَ ﴿٦﴾

“O you who have believed, protect yourselves and your families from a Fire whose fuel is people and stones, over which are [appointed] angels, harsh and severe; they do not disobey Allah in what He commands them but do what they are commanded.” (Sūrah al-Taḥrīm (66): 6)

هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ فِي سِتَّةِ أَيَّامٍ وَمَا يَعْرُجُ فِيهَا ﴿٤﴾

“It is He who created the heavens and earth in six days.” (Sūrah Al-Ḥadīd (57): 4)

Table 5.3 shows the frequencies of *sūrahs* in Book 1-Book IV of *Bustān*. *Sūrah al-‘Imrān* occupies the highest amount of *sūrah* utilized in *Bustān* (11 verses), followed by *sūrah Al-Mā’idah* (9 verses), *sūrah Al-Baqarah* (9 verses), *sūrah Al-Naḥl* (8 verses) and *sūrah Al-Raḥmān* (7 verses). The significance of qur’ānic verses is apparent in al-Rānīrī’s elaboration on the stories that contain didactic element in Book III. Majority of the mentioned *sūrah* were used by al-Rānīrī in Book III, for examples, *sūrah Al-Mā’idah* (9 verses), *sūrah al-‘Imrān* (6 verses out of 11), *sūrah Al-Baqarah* (6 verses out of 9) and *sūrah Al-Naḥl* (6 verses out of 8). In order to understand al-Rānīrī’s purpose of using the highest frequency of *sūrah* in Book III, there is a need to understand the meanings of these *verses* as below:

Table 5.4: Meaning of the Verses of *Sūrah Al-Mā'idah* in Book III

<i>Sūrah Al-Mā'idah</i> (5)	Verses	Meaning
	1	<p>يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَوْفُوا بِالْعُقُودِ ﴿١﴾</p> <p>“O you who have believed, fulfill [all] contracts.”</p>
	2 (twice)	<p>وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ ۖ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ ﴿٢﴾</p> <p>“... And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression.”</p>
	44 (five times)	<p>فَلَا تَخْشَوُا النَّاسَ وَاخْشَوْنِي وَلَا تَشْتَرُوا بِآيَاتِي ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا ۚ وَمَنْ لَّمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ ﴿٤٤﴾</p> <p>“So do not fear the people but fear Me, and do not exchange My verses for a small price. And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed - then it is those who are the disbelievers.”</p>
	67	<p>يَأْتِيهَا الرُّسُولُ يَلْعَلُ مَا أَنزَلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ ۗ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ ﴿٦٧﴾</p> <p>“O Messenger, announce that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, and if you do not, then you have not conveyed His message. And Allah will protect you from the people.”</p>
Ideas of these verses		Fear Allah and accept the revelation of Allah as well as enjoining good and forbidding evil.

Table 5.5: Meaning of the Verses of *Sūrah al-‘Imrān* in Book III

<i>Sūrah al-‘Imrān</i> (3)	Verses	Meaning
	26	<p>قُلِ ٱللَّهُمَّ مَلِكُ ٱلْمَلِكِ تُوْتِي ٱلْمَلِكِ مَن تَشَآءُ ﴿٢٦﴾</p> <p>“Say, "O Allah, Owner of Sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will.”</p>
	103	<p>وَٱعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ ٱللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا ۗ ﴿١٠٣﴾</p> <p>“And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided.”</p>
	104	<p>وَلَتَكُنَّ مِّنكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِٱلْعُرْفِ وَيُنهَوْنَ عَنِ ٱلْمُنكَرِ ۗ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ ٱلْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴿١٠٤﴾</p>

		“And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful.”
	134	<p>الَّذِينَ يُنْفِقُونَ فِي السَّرَّاءِ وَالضَّرَّاءِ وَالْكَبِيمِ الْغَيْظِ وَالْعَافِينَ عَنِ النَّاسِ وَاللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ ﴿١٣٤﴾</p> <p>... and who restrain anger and who pardon the people - and Allah loves the doers of good.</p>
	159 (twice)	<p>وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ ﴿١٥٩﴾</p> <p>“...and consult them in the matter. And when you have decided, then rely upon Allah.”</p>
Ideas of these verses		Didactic element: Muslims must be united, enjoining right and forbidding wrong, restrain anger and forgive others.

Table 5.6: Meaning of the verses of *Sūrah Al-Baqarah* in Book III

<i>Sūrah Al-Baqarah</i> (2)	Verses	Meaning
	30	<p>وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً ﴿٣٠﴾</p> <p>“And [mention, O Muḥammad], when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed, I will make upon the earth a successive authority."</p>
	41 (twice)	<p>وَلَا تَشْتَرُوا بِآيَاتِي ثَمَنًا قَلِيلًا ﴿٤١﴾</p> <p>“And do not exchange My signs for a small price, and fear [only] Me.”</p>
	189	<p>وَأْتُوا الْبُيُوتَ مِنْ أَبْوَابِهَا ﴿١٨٩﴾</p> <p>“... And enter houses from their doors.”</p>
	153	<p>إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ ﴿١٥٣﴾</p> <p>Indeed, Allah is with the patient.</p>
	249	<p>كَمْ مِنْ فِئَةٍ قَلِيلَةٍ غَلَبَتْ فِئَةً كَثِيرَةً بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ ﴿٢٤٩﴾</p> <p>“...But those who were certain that they would meet Allah said, "How many a small company has overcome a large company by permission of Allah. And Allah is with the patient."</p>
Ideas of these verses		Allah is the most powerful who created mankind as caliph of Allah on earth and therefore, mankind should fear Allah as to Him human beings will return.

Table 5.7: Meaning of the Verses of *Sūrah Al-Naḥl* in Book III

<i>Sūrah Al-Naḥl</i> (16)	Verses	Meaning
	43 (twice)	فَسْأَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٤٣﴾ So ask the people of the message if you do not know.
	89	وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ تِبْيَانًا لِّكُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً وَبُشْرَىٰ لِّلْمُسْلِمِينَ ﴿٨٩﴾ And We have sent down to you the Book as clarification for all things and as guidance and mercy and good tidings for the Muslims.
	107	ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ أَشْتَحِبُّوا الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا عَلَى الْآخِرَةِ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ ﴿١٠٧﴾ That is because they preferred the worldly life over the Hereafter and that Allah does not guide the disbelieving people.
	125	ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحُكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ ﴿١٢٥﴾ Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction.
	128	إِنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا وَالَّذِينَ هُمْ مُحْسِنُونَ ﴿١٢٨﴾ Indeed, Allah is with those who fear Him and those who are doers of good.
Ideas of these verses		Didactic element: Fear Allah and follow the teaching of Qur'ān, inquire knowledge from knowledgeable people, invite people to the way of Allah with wisdom, perform good deeds and preferred the hereafter.

Tables 5.4 - 5.7 demonstrate the meaning of the selected verses from *sūrahs al-Baqarah*, *al-‘Imrān*, *al-Mā'idah* and *al-Naḥl*. Based on the meanings of the verses of the mentioned *sūrahs*, it can be concluded that Allah is the most powerful and that mankind should fear Allah and follow His revelations. The obligation to fear Allah has been repeated for five times in *sūrah al-Mā'idah* and been mentioned once in *sūrah al-Naḥl*. Thus, the above *sūrah* and verses parallel to al-Rānirī's concept of *tauḥīd* in *Bustān* that has been previously discussed.

Besides that, almost every *sūrah*s mentioned above contain didactic element and for this reason they are applied in Book III of *Bustān* as Book III is the specific chapter of *Bustān* concerning didactic. Didactic is the principle of understanding Islamic history as the main purpose of history in Islam is to remind humanity of the misdeed of the past nations and that they should take *‘ibrah* (lesson) from the past in order to live in accordance to the will of Allah. Therefore, al-Rānīrī in Book III provides advice to his reader to submit themselves to Allah and he tries to remind and guide his reader the correct way to the *Yawm al-Akhīrah* where mankind will return to Allah.

In achieving his purpose of writing *Bustān* that has been discussed earlier in this chapter, al-Rānīrī narrates lots of didactic stories such the stories of the Prophet Sulaiman, caliph al-Ma’mūn and King Nūshīrwān supported by relevant Qur’ānic verses (Raffles 8: 306; 421 & 456). The verses in table 5.4 - 5.7 significantly contain didactic element that guide mankind to good deeds such as enjoining right and forbidding wrong, invite people to the way of Allah with wisdom, be patient, restrain anger, forgive others, do good deeds and preferred the hereafter rather than the worldly life. Besides that, these verses also indicate that morality is fundamental in Islam and that morality is the framework of Islamic history as been emphasized by al-Rānīrī in *Bustān*. For example, the concept of justice where al-Rānīrī advised the kings to be just in his descriptions on just kings such as the stories of ‘Umar al-Khattāb, Hārūn al-Rashīd and ‘Umar b. ‘Abdul Azīz (Raffles 8: 309-337; 339-351 & 352-417).

In conclusion, Qur’ān is one of the main sources used by al-Rānīrī in writing *Bustān*. The Qur’ānic verses from Book I-Book IV convey al-Rānīrī’s concept of Islamic history in which history is the manifestation of divine plan where Allah is the only God and the creator of the universe, therefore, submission to Allah is the main

purpose of history in Islam. In *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV), al-Rānirī begins with the description of the creation of the universe and mankind, the history of mankind on earth and ends with didactic stories that guide people the way to submit themselves to Allah. All these subjects were described in the Qur’ān and al-Rānirī include them in *Bustān* along with relevant Qur’ānic verses. Therefore, based on the above explanation, it is apparent that al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* parallels to the content and purpose of Qur’ān that clearly indicate that *Bustān* is indeed a book of Islamic history.

5.4.2 *Ḥadīth* (Tradition of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.))

Besides Qur’ān, *ḥadīth* was another historical source that al-Rānirī relied on due to the fact that *ḥadīth* served as the main source of Islamic history. Besides that, *ḥadīth* contains many historical descriptions concerning the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) and his companions. The usage of *ḥadīth* in historical writing was utilized by early Muslim historians such as ‘Urwah b. al-Zubair b. al-Awwām⁴⁹, Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī⁵⁰, al-Balādhurī⁵¹, al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas‘ūdī and Ibn Khaldun. For example, al-Ṭabarī used a lot of *ḥadīth* in *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* (al-Ṭabarī, 1961: 19, 20, 124, 128, 132, 148, 217, 236, 286, 291, 298, 623, 633, etc.). He included *ḥadīth* in his description for example, concerning the revelation to the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.), the biography of the Prophet and his life as well as the *maghāzī* (the military expedition of the Prophet). Similar to al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas‘ūdī also used many *ḥadīth* in *Murūj al-Dhahab* for instance, concerning the *Khulafā al-Rāshidīn* and the caliphate of Ḥasan b.

⁴⁹ ‘Urwah b. al-Zubair b. al-Awwām (d. 94 AH/724 AD) is a prominent scholar of *ḥadīth*, jurist and historian. He was the pioneer of Muslim historiography and was among the earliest Muslim historians who wrote on *ṣīrah* (biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.)) and *maghāzī* (Nisar Ahmed Faruqi, 1979: 224; A.A. Duri, 1983: 25, Arba’iyah Mohd Noor, 2002: 182 & Mulalic, 2012: 65).

⁵⁰ His full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ‘Ubaidullāh b. ‘Abdullāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124 AH/741 AD) (Muhd. Yusof Ibrahim & Mahayuddin, 1988: 120 & Azra, 2002: 34). Similar to ‘Urwah, al-Zuhrī is also a well known scholar of *ḥadīth* and among the earliest and famous writers of *maghāzī* (Rasul, 1968: 13). His well-known work is *al-Maghāzī* that contains the history of the prophets starting from the Prophet ‘Ādam until the period of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) (Muhd. Yusof Ibrahim & Mahayuddin, 1988: 122 & Arba’iyah Mohd Noor, 2002: 185).

⁵¹ Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir al-Balādhurī (d.279 AH/892 AD) known as al-Balādhurī was one of the greatest Muslim historians in the third century of Hijra (Rasul, 1968: 23 & Mulalic, 2012: 119). His prominent works on history are *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Conquests of the Provinces) and *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Genealogies of the Notables) (A.A. Duri, 1983: 61). *Futūḥ al-Buldān* contains the *maghāzī* of the Prophet and the description on the opening of Syria, the Jazira, Armenia, Egypt, Iraq and others to Islam (Rasul, 1968: 22 & Mulalic, 2012: 122). Meanwhile, according to al-Dūrī, “*Ansāb al-Ashrāf* is a general work on Islamic history within a genealogical framework.” (A.A. Duri, 1983: 62).

‘Alī r.a. (al-Mas‘ūdī, 1973: 73, 150, 263, 294, 322, 344, 363, 422, 427, etc.). Last but not least, Ibn Khaldūn in *al-Muqaddimah* also utilized *ḥadīth* in many parts of his work (Ibn Khaldūn, 1961: 159, 160, 162,165, 175, 217, 235, 237, 249, 338, etc.). For example, in Chapter III (On dynasties, royal authority, the caliphate, government ranks, and all that goes with these things) (Rosenthal, 1967: 123, 127, 153 & 177). Therefore, al-Rānirī was influenced by the historical methodology of the early Muslim historians mentioned above which is clearly illustrated in his selection of the number of *ḥadīth* in *Bustān* that will be discussed in the following.

Table 5.8: Number of *Ḥadīth* in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn* (Book I-IV)

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>ḤADĪTH</i>	NO.	BOOK	FASAL	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>ḤADĪTH</i>
1	1	1	12	27	1	27	-
2	1	2	-	28	1	28	-
3	1	3	-	29	1	29	2
4	1	4	1	30	1	30	1
5	1	5	-	31	2	1	2
6	1	6	2	32	2	2	-
7	1	7	-	33	2	3	-
8	1	8	2	34	2	4	-
9	1	9	-	35	2	5	-
10	1	10	-	36	2	6	-
11	1	11	3	37	2	7	-
12	1	12	1	38	2	8	6
13	1	13	4	39	2	9	-
14	1	14	-	40	2	10	1
15	1	15	-	41	2	11	-
16	1	16	-	42	2	12	-
17	1	17	-	43	2	13	2
18	1	18	-	44	3	1	23
19	1	19	1	45	3	2	64
20	1	20	1	46	3	3	9
21	1	21	2	47	3	4	43
22	1	22	5	48	3	5	1
23	1	23	1	49	3	6	3
24	1	24	-	50	4	1	12
25	1	25	-	51	4	2	12
26	1	26	-				
TOTAL			216 <i>ḤADĪTH</i>				

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

Table 5.8 demonstrates the number of *ḥadīth* used by al-Rānirī in *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV) that is 216 *ḥadīth*. The big number of *ḥadīth* apparently indicates al-Rānirī's reliance on *ḥadīth* which is the second source of Islam and *ḥadīth* was closely related to the discipline of Islamic history. Based on the table, Book I consists of 38 *ḥadīth*, Book II with 11 *ḥadīth*, Book III contain 143 *ḥadīth* and Book IV with 24 *ḥadīth*. Book III occupies the highest amount of *ḥadīth* followed by Book I. The importance of *ḥadīth* is evident in al-Rānirī's elaboration on didactic element in Book III that will be discussed in the following. For Book I, majority of *ḥadīth* were utilized in *fasal* 1 (the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* (the Light of Muḥammad) (12 *ḥadīth*) followed by *fasal* 22 (Chapter on the creation of the *Ka'bah*) (5 *ḥadīth*) and *fasal* 13 (Chapter on the creation of Nymphs) (4 *ḥadīth*). For instance, *ḥadīth* concerning the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* and the *Ka'bah*:

Dan seperti hadis yang diceriterakan oleh Jābir raḍīya Allahu 'anhu: Inna Allāh khalaqa rūḥ al-Anbiy ṣallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam, min dhātihī wa khalaqa al-'Ālim bi asarihi min rūḥ Muḥammad Nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam. Ertinya: Bahawasanya Allah Ta'āla menjadikan nyawa Muḥammad daripada cahaya kudrat Zat-Nya, ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam dan dijadikan sekalian alam ini daripada nyawa Muḥammad.

(Raffles 8: 6)

(According to Jābir r.a., Allah created the soul of the Prophet Muḥammad from His (Allah) Essence dan the universe is created from this soul).

Kata Ibn 'Abbās raḍīya Allahu 'anhuma, tatkala diturunkan Allah Ta'āla Nabi Ādam ke bumi, maka firman Allah akan dia, demikian bunyinya: Hai Ādam, perbuat olehmu suatu rumah istana Aku. Maka Nabi Allah Ādam pun berbuat Ka'bah Allah. Setelah itu maka Nabi Allah Ādam pun rindu akan syurga, maka diturunkan Allah Ta'āla dari dalam syurga Ḥajar al-Aswad, lalu didakapnya supaya berjinak-jinakan ia dengan dia, seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam: Nazala Ḥajar al-Aswad min al-Jannah wahuwa ashad bayadan min al-laban fasawwadathu khaṭyā banī Ādam, wama ṣā'aqati ahl al-Shirk wa lawlā dhalika mā

massahu dhu'ahati ila bari. Ertinya: Turun Hajar al-Aswad itu dari syurga itu dari dalam syurga, dan ada iaitu tersangat putih daripada air susu, dan jadi hitam ia kerana dosa segala manusia dan kerana dikucup segala kafir akan dia, dan jikalau tiada demikian itu nescaya sembuh segala orang yag berpenyakit.

(Raffles 8: 56)

(According to Ibn 'Abbās r.a., Allah commanded the Prophet Ādam to build for Allah a palace. Consequently, the Prophet Ādam built Allah's *Ka'bah*. When the Prophet Ādam missed the paradise, Allah sent to him *Hajar al-Aswad* from heaven. The *Hajar al-Aswad* was whiter than milk, it became black due to the sin of mankind and also because disbelievers' kiss. If not because of that, all sickness will be recovered).

Meanwhile, *fasal* 8 of Book II (regarding the Birth of our Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah, may God bless him and grant him peace, and his ancestry) shows the highest number of *ḥadīth* (6 *ḥadīth*) used by al-Rānirī. The reason is that the Prophet Muḥammad (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 *sīrah*, *maghāzī* and *ḥadīth*. Therefore, *ḥadīth* becomes the second main source of Islamic history besides the Qur'ān. Al-Rānirī's awareness on the importance of *ḥadīth* in Islamic history encouraged him to include many *ḥadīth* in *Bustān*. Al-Rānirī used *ḥadīth* for reporting the Prophet's sickness:

Dan pada hijrah itu (Hijrah kesebelas), Nabi ṣallā Allah 'alayhi wa sallam sakit pada hari kedua lapan hari bulan safar...Maka tatkala sangatlah Nabi Allah sakit, maka tiada dapat Nabi Allah sembahyang berjemaah. Kelakian maka sabda Nabi Allah kepada segala sahabat, demikian bunyinya, Murrū Abā Bakri falyuṣalli bi al-Nās. Ertinya: Suruh kamu akan Abu Bakar jadi imam segala manusia... Hatta maka sakit Nabi Allah pun bertambah-tambahlah. Arakian maka sabda Nabi Allah ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam, Atūnī bidawātin wa qirṭās aktubu lakum kitābān lā

takhtalifū ba‘dahu. Ertinya: Berilah oleh kamu akan daku dakwat dan kertas, aku surati akan dikau dengan surat supaya jangan kamu berbantah-bantah kemudiannya.

(Raffles 8: 135)

(In the year eleven of Hijrah, the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) fell sick to the extent that he could not lead the prayer. Therefore, the Prophet asked Abū Bakar to lead the prayer. Later, when the Prophet’s illness became worse, he asked his companions to bring for him ink and paper to enable him to write a letter for them so that they will not argue later on).

In addition, for Book III, *fasals* 1 (23 *ḥadīth*), *fasals* 2 (64 *ḥadīth*) and *fasal* 4 (39 *ḥadīth*) contain the highest number of *ḥadīth* compared to the rest of the chapters with the total number of 126 out of 137. Chapter 1 deals with the appointment of kings and their followers together with their duties (23 *ḥadīth*), *fasal* 2 is about the conduct of the Caliphs and the kings of former times (64 *ḥadīth*) & *fasal* 4 concerning the appointment of viziers and captains together with their duties (39 *ḥadīth*). As mentioned before, al-Rānirī determines to guide his reader the correct way to Allah. Therefore, he emphasized on didactic element in *Bustān*. As chapter III concerns with the concerns the conduct of the caliphs and just kings including their duties, and also the qualities required of wise viziers and their conducts, al-Rānirī strengthened his description on didactic with many *ḥadīth*. That is the reason why Book III has the highest amount of *ḥadīth*. Below is the example of *ḥadīth* in the mentioned chapter of Book III:

Fasal 1

*Kata Ānas ibn Mālik raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu, ia mendengar daripada Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: Isma‘ū wa aṭī‘ū walaw ta‘mara ‘alaykum ‘abdun ḥabshīyyan. Ertinya: Dengar oleh kamu kata raja kamu dan ikut oleh kamu akan dia jikalau ada ia sahaya Ḥabsyī sekalipun.*⁵²
(UM 41: 292)

(Ānas ibn Mālik raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu heard the Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: Listen to your king and follow him even if he was a Ḥabsyī⁵³).

⁵² *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 9, Book 89, no. 256.

⁵³ Ḥabsyī refers to the Abyssinian or the Euthiopian (J M. Cowan, 1994: 181).

*Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: ‘Alā al-amara al-Muslim al-Sam‘u wa al-Ṭā‘ah fīmā ahabba au kariha illā an yu‘mara bima‘siyatin, fain amira bi ma‘siyatin falā sam‘a walā ṭā‘ah. Ertinya: Fardu atas segala orang yang Islam mendengar kata rajanya dan berbuat bakti akan dia serta mengikut barang suruhannya, pada barang kesukaan atau kebajikan, melainkan jika disuruhnya berbuat derhaka kepada Allah Ta‘āla, maka jangan didengarkan dan jangan ia mengikut suruhnya.*⁵⁴ (UM 41: 296)

(The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: It is obligatory for Muslims to obey their kings and to serve them on their needs and well-being except for disobedience to Allah).

Fasal 2

*Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: Al-Muslim akhū al-Muslim lā yaẓlimuhu wa lā yuslimuhu wa man kāna fī ḥājati akhīhi kāna Allāhu fī ḥājatihi. Ertinya: Yang Islam itu saudara samanya Islam, maka jangan kamu aniaya akan dia dan jangan kamu binasakan akan dia. Maka barangsiapa meluluskan kehendak saudaranya adalah Allah Ta‘āla meluluskan kehendaknya.*⁵⁵ (UM 41: 346)

(The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: Muslims are brothers in Islam, therefore, they should not oppress and destroy each other. Those who fulfill the need of his brother, Allah will fulfill his need).

Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: Kāda al-Ḥalīm an yakūna bunyan. Ertinya: Yang menahan marah itu terhampir-hampir jua ia kepada martabat Nabi. (UM 41: 417)

(The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: The rank of those whose refrain from anger is close to the rank of the Prophet).

Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: An al-Mulūk al-‘Ādalah la ta’kulu al-‘Arḍ ajsādahum. Ertinya: Bahawasanya segala raja-raja yang adil itu tiada dimakan bumi tubuh mereka itu. (UM 41: 418)

(The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: The remains of just kings were imperishable.)

Fasal 3

Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam: Mā min qaum ya‘malū fahum bi al-ma‘āsi, thumma yaqdirū ‘alā an yughfiru thumma la yughfiru li aṣbābihim Allāh bi

⁵⁴ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 9, Book 89, no. 258.

⁵⁵ *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, Book 43, no. 622. A ḥadīth narrated by ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Umar r.a.

'iqābatin ilayhim. Ertinya: Tiada jua suatu kaum diperbuat dalam mereka itu perbuatan derhaka maka kuasa mereka itu, maka tiada ditegahkannya mereka itu, maka hampir diturunkan Allah Ta'āla atas mereka itu seksa-Nya dahulu daripada mati mereka itu. (UM 41: 511)

(The Prophet (p.b.u.h.) says: Those nations who commit misdeed and they do not use their power to forbid it, Allah nearly bring down His punishment on them before they died).

Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam: Raksu al-'Akl ba'da lika yāna bāsiru mudrāti al-Nās wa ahl ma'rufuhum ahl al-'Urūna fī al-Ukhrati wa lan bihalika amru ba'da masyūran. Ertinya: Kepala akal itu kesan daripada membawa iman akan Allah iaitu sabar serta membiarkan daripada kejahatan orang akan dia. Dan segala orang yang berbuat kebajikan dalam dunia itu mereka itulah orang yang pilihan dalam akhirat. Dan sekali tiada binasa manusia kemudian daripada saat ... (UM 41: 538)

(The 'aql (thought) is the result of *īmān* (faith) that is patient to vices caused by others. Those who perform good deeds in this world were the selected people in the *Yawm al-Akhirah*).

Seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam: Yā man 'abdān hā' Allāh wa aṭā' mawāliyah illā adkhuluhu Allāh al-Jannah. Ertinya: Barangsiapa hamba yang berbuat bakti ia akan Allah Ta'āla dan akan tuannya, nescaya dimasukkan Allah akan dia syurga. (UM 41: 543)

(Those who serve Allah and their master, Allah will place them in paradise).

Dan seperti sabda Nabi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam: Al-Ghībā ashaddu min al-Zinā. Ertinya: Yang mengumpat tersangat dosanya daripada zina.⁵⁶ (UM 41: 558)

(Backbitting is of greater sin than adultery)

5.4.3 Figures and Muslim Scholars during the Period of Early Islam

Besides the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, al-Rānirī also made reference to Muslim scholars and figures during the early period of Islam that will be elaborated below:

⁵⁶ *Ḥadīth* reported by Ibn Abī Ad-Dunya and al-Bayhaqi.

Table 5.9: Summary of Frequencies of Figures and Muslim Scholars referred by al-Rānirī in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*

NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY
1	Jābir r.a.	1	2	Ṣāhib al-Manzumi	1	3	Ja'far b. Muaz	1
4	Mubsyirah b. 'Aribah	1	5	Qādi b. Lyadh	1	6	<i>Suatu Riwayat Muslim</i>	1
7	Muḥammad b. Munkadir	1	8	Anas b. Munabbih	1	9	Ja'far b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq	1
10	<i>Seperti ceritera di dalam ḥadīth</i>	1	11	<i>Ahlul-tafsīr</i>	1	12	<i>Kata 'ulamā' yang ariffin⁵⁷</i>	1
13	Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Musayyab	1	14	Sheikh Abū Ḥamid b. Abī ar-Rābi' r.a.	1	15	Ṣāhibu Rawd al-Manāzir	1
16	Sheikh Sa'īd al-Maghribī	1	17	'Umar b. Azīz Mu'tarin r.a.	1	18	<i>Suatu riwayat Ibn Yafit</i>	1
19	Ibn Hishām r.a.	1	20	<i>Kata setengah ahlul-tārīkh</i>	1	21	<i>Segala ahlul-tārīkh</i>	1
22	Ibn Ishāq	1	23	<i>Kata segala 'ulamā' Ḥanafī</i>	1	24	<i>Kata setengah ulama Ḥanafī</i>	1
25	Kata Sultan Mamad al-Dīn	1	26	<i>Ahlu-Muqarabīn</i>	1	27	Abū Dhar r.a.	1
28	Bahram Gur al-Hakim	1	29	Arsatalis Hakim	1	30	<i>Kata setengah sahabat Rasulullah (s.a.w.)</i>	1
31	Sheikh Mu'az	1	32	Zaid b. Muslim r.a.	1	33	'Abdul Raḥmān b. 'Awf	1
34	Zubair r.a.	1	35	Ṭalhaḥ al-Khair	1	36	'Uthmān b. 'Affān	1
37	Mu'āwiyah	1	38	Hujjāj b. 'Abdullāh	1	39	'Umar b. Bakr al-	

NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY
				al-Tamimī			Tamimī	
40	‘Umar al-Bakri	1	41	Anas b. Jalīl	1	42	Ibn Sa‘īd	1
43	Mālik b. Dinār	1	44	Abū Khālīd	1	45	Khālīd b. Raba’i	1
46	‘Abbās b. Rashīd	1	47	Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī	1	48	Abū Ja‘far al-Baghdādī	1
49	Mun’im	1	50	Ibn Mash‘uwat r.a.	1	51	Sheikh Abū Ayyūb	1
52	Sāhibulhikāyat <i>Minhāj al-‘ummāl</i>	1	53	Kata ‘Alī Mutaqqi	1	54	The Prophet Dāniāl a.s.	1
55	<i>Ṣāhib Durr al-Qarār</i>	1	56	<i>Kata yang arif</i>	1	57	<i>Pada suatu riwayat yang mashyur</i>	1
58	<i>Pada suatu riwayat hadisnya</i>	1	59	<i>Pada suatu riwayat pada negeri Babil</i>	1	60	<i>Pada suatu riwayat Tulus</i>	1
61	Sakhr b. ‘Umar r.a.	1	62	Imām Shāfi‘ī dan segala ‘ulamā’ (all Islamic scholars)(r.a.)	1	63	Bakiyah b. Walīd	1
64	Abū Bakar b. Abū al-Dunia	1	65	Abū al-Ḥassan al-Ahwāzī	1	66	Ibn Mas‘ūd r.a.	1
67	Imām Khushairī r.a.	1	68	Sheikh Bilā al-Khawāṣ	1	69	Kata Firdaus	1
70	Abū Walīd b. Mughīrah	1	71	Na’im b. ‘Abdullāh	1	72	Abū ‘Umar	1
73	<i>Kata Qādī Abū ‘Umar</i>	1	74	Mālik b. Nuwairah	1	75	<i>Kata Aminah</i>	1
76	<i>Kata kebanyakan segala manusia</i>	1	77	<i>Kata segala sahabat Ansari</i>	1	78	<i>Kata sekalian Quraish</i>	1
79	Amir Ḥusain	1	80	Ḥusain b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj	1	81	Kata Bendahara Paduka Raja	1

NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY
							(Paduka Bendahara said)	
82	Qādī Mubādan	1	83	Raja Harman	1	84	Nabi Dā'ud	1
85	Sheikh Āhmad Ḥarb	1	86	Sheikh Muḥammad Islām	1	87	Sultan Marwān	1
88	Ḥasan Maimandī	1	89	Abū Zur Jamhir	1	90	'Abbās b. Mu'āwiyah	1
91	Sheikh Mubārak b. Fadhilat	1	92	<i>Sepertikata orang yang budiman</i>	1	93	<i>Kata Nabi Allāh Yūsuf</i>	1
94	<i>Kata Nalnyas Hakim</i>	1	95	Sheikh al-'Arif Abū Madan	1	96	Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muqaddasi	1
97	Abū al-Dardā' r.a.	1	98	Qatādāh r.a.	2	99	Luqmān al-Ḥakīm	2
100	Aflatun al-Hakim	2	101	'Umar b. al-'Āṣ r.a.	2	102	Qādī Abū Yūsuf	2
103	<i>Kata segala 'ulamā'</i>	2	104	Abū Ḥudhaifah r.a.	2	105	Qādī Baidawī r.a.	2
106	Khālid b. Walīd	2	107	Imām Nawāwī r.a.	2	108	<i>Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī</i>	2
109	Jalinus Hakim	2	110	Mun'im b. Idrīs Aḥbāri	2	111	The Prophet Khidīr a.s.	2
112	Sultan Kobad	2	113	Muqātil	2	114	Mahadī	2
115	<i>Kata segala ḥukamā'</i>	2	116	Ibn Ḥazm	2	117	Mujāhid	3
118	Anas b. Mālik	3	119	Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal	3	120	<i>Kata Ahl al-Tawārīkh</i>	3
121	Sheikh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī	3	122	Abū Musā al-Ash'arī	3	123	Abū Hurairah r.a.	3
124	'Ibād al-Ṭalaqānī	3	125	<i>Kata Rāwī</i>	3	126	Sultan Sulaimān b. Mālik b. Marwān	3
127	Ḍahhāk	3	128	Imām Ghazālī	3	129	Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr	

NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY
130	<i>Kata 'ulamā'</i>	3	131	Raja Kastasab	3	132	Sheikh Sufyān al-Thawrī	3
133	Dastūr	3	134	Ibrāhīm Hājib	3	135	<i>Kata segala 'ulamā'</i>	4
136	'Abdullāh b. 'Umar al-Khattāb	4	137	Sufyān b. Uyaynah r.a.	4	138	Sultan al-Siffāh (Saffāh)	
139	<i>Suatu riwayat ḥadīth</i> ⁵⁸	4	140	<i>Ahlul Muḥaddithīn</i>	4	141	'Abd al-Razāq b. Ḥamam	4
142	Sheikh Shaqīq	4	143	Imām Mālik	4	144	Sheikh 'Ulyān al-Majnūn	4
145	Imām Ḥanafī r.a.	4	146	Sultan 'Abdullah Tahir	4	147	Ayaz Khas	4
148	'Abdullāh b. Mubārak	4	149	Sheikh Dzu'l Nun Miṣrī	4	150	Baraqat al-Ḥākim	5
151	Rābah b. Ubaidah	5	152	Raja Ardasir	5	153	<i>Pada suatu riwayat hadis</i>	5
154	Ibn Simāk	5	155	<i>Kata setengah 'ulamā'</i>	5	156	Hishām b. 'Abdul Malik	5
157	Iskandār Dhulqarnain	5	158	Kiyaumurthi	6	159	Siti 'Ā'ishah r.a.	6
160	Muḥammad b. Simaki	6	161	<i>Kata setengah Ḥukamā'</i>	6	162	Sultan Ismā'il b. Aḥmad Samani	6
163	Raja Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb	6	164	<i>Kata 'Arif</i>	7	165	Sheikh Asmā'ī	7
166	<i>Ahlul Mufassirīn</i>	7	167	<i>Sabda Raja Khurāsān</i>	7	168	<i>Kata yang empunya tarikh</i>	8
169	<i>Kata Ḥukamā'</i>	8	170	Sheikh Imārī r.a.	8	171	Sheikh Awza'ī	8
172	Sultan Ya'qub	8	173	Fadhīl b. al-Rabī'	10	174	<i>Kata ahlutarikh</i>	11

NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY	NO.	SCHOLARS	FREQUENCY
175	Wahb b. Munabbih	11	176	Ma'mūn al-Rashīd	11	177	Abū Amīr al-Baṣrī	12
178	Sheikh 'Abd Allāh Yāfi'ī r.a.	12	179	Sheikh Faḍhīl b. 'Iyāḍh r.a.	13	180	Yunan	15
181	Alī b. Abī Ṭālib r.a	16	182	Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī	16	183	Sabda Nabi (s.a.w.)	18
184	Ka'b b. Ahbar	18	185	'Umar b. Abdul Azīz	21	186	<i>Kata setengah</i>	22
187	Imām Shāfi'ī	24	188	Ibn 'Abbās r.a.	31	189	Raja Nūshīrwān	37
190	'Umar al-Khattāb	39	191	Ibrāhīm b. Adham r.a.	41	192	<i>Yang empunya cerita</i>	47
193	<i>Pada suatu riwayat</i>	77	194	Hārūn al-Rashīd	106	195	<i>Kata sahibulhikayat</i>	114

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

Notes:

Mufassirīn are the commentators on the *Qur'ān* (Grinter, 1979:265).

Pada suatu riwayat means 'in a report or narration'.

Kata setengah 'ulamā' means 'according to some Islamic scholars'.

Suatu riwayat ḥadīth refers to 'a narration of *ḥadīth* (tradition)'.

Kata setengah means 'some say'.

Kata 'ulamā' means 'the Islamic scholars say'.

Satu ceritera di dalam ḥadīth means 'one story in *ḥadīth*'.

Ahlulfaṣīr means 'the people of exegesis.'

Kata 'ulamā' yang ariffin means 'the wise Islamic scholars say'.

Kata yang empunya ceritera refers to 'the storyteller relates'.

Kata segala 'ulamā' means 'all Islamic scholars say'.

Ahlulṭārīkh means historians (Grinter, 1979:265).

Kata setengah ahlulṭarikh refers to 'some historians say'.

Kata segala 'ulamā' Ḥanafī (All 'ulamā' Ḥanafī say).

Kata setengah 'ulamā' Ḥanafī (Some 'ulamā' Ḥanafī say).

Sahibulhikayat means the 'the storyteller' (Grinter, 1979: 264).

Kata yang empunya tarikh means 'the storyteller relates'.

Muqarabīn means the nearest one to Allah.

Hukamā' means the legal experts (Grinter, 1979: 265).

Kata setengah sahabat Rasulullah (p.b.u.h.) means 'Some of the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad say'.

Rāwī is the narrators of *ḥadīth* (Nor Shahriza Abdul Karim and Norzelatun Rodhiah Hazmi, 2005: 54).

Kata arif means 'the wise say'.

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Table 5.10: Among the Reliable Scholars referred by al-Rānirī in Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*

No.	Companions of the Prophet (<i>Ṣahāba</i>)		<i>Ṭābi'in</i>	No.	Historians		Muslim Scholars
1	‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar al-Khattāb	1	Abū Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Musayyab	1	Ibn Ishāq	1	Imām Shāfi‘ī
2	Abū al-Dardā’ a.	2	Ḍahhāk	2	Ibn Hishām	2	Abū Amīr al-Baṣrī
3	Abū Dhar r.a.	3	Ka‘b b. Aḥbār	3	Al-Ṭabarī	3	Sheikh Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
4	Abū Hurairah r.a.	4	Muḥammad b. Munkadir	4	Mun‘im	4	Sheikh Fadhīl b. ‘Iyādh r.a.
5	Abū Ḥudhaifah r.a.	5	Sufyān b. Uyaynah r.a.	5	<i>Kata Ahl al-Tawārīkh</i>	5	Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal
6	Abū Musā r.a.	6	Wahb b. Munabbih	6	<i>Kata ahlutarikh</i>	6	Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī
7	Ibn Mas‘ūd r.a.	7	‘Abd al-Razāq b. Ḥamam	7	<i>Kata setengah ahlutarikh</i>	7	Imām Ghazālī
8	Zubāir r.a.			8	<i>Segala ahlutarikh</i>	8	Imām Khusairī
11	Ibn ‘Abbās r.a.					9	Imām Nawāwī
12	Ibn Mas‘ūd r.a.					10	Ibn Ḥazm
14	Jābir r.a.					11	Mālik b. Dinār
15	‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib					12	Muqātil
16	Qatādāh r.a.					13	Sheikh ‘Abd Allāh Yāfi‘ī r.a.
17	Sakhr b. ‘Umar r.a.					14	Sheikh Sa‘īd al-Maghribī
18	Sheikh Mu‘āz					15	Sheikh Shaqīq
19	Siti ‘Āishah r.a.					16	Sheikh Sufyān al-Thawrī
20	‘Umar al-Khattāb r.a.					17	Ḥusain b. Manṣūr Ḥallāj
21	Zaid b. Muslim r.a.					18	‘Abdullāh b. Mubārak
22	‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ r.a.					19	<i>Kata setengah Ḥukamā</i>

No.	Companions of the Prophet (<i>Ṣahāba</i>)		<i>Ṭābi‘in</i>	No.	Historians		Muslim Scholars
						20	<i>Kata Ḥukamā’</i>
						21	<i>Ahlul Muḥaddithīn</i>
						22	<i>Ahlul Mufassirīn</i>
						23	Abū ‘Alī Daqqāq

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

Table 5.9 and 5.10 indicate the list of scholars referred by al-Rānirī in his writing of *Bustān*. Based on these tables, it shows that al-Rānirī referred to at least 198 scholars from different period. Table 5.9 illustrates that the highest references of al-Rānirī were from the ‘*Kata sahibulhikayat*’ (the storyteller) (114 times), ‘Hārūn al-Rashīd’ (106 times), ‘*Pada suatu riwayat*’ (77 times) and ‘*Yang empunya ceritera*’ (47 times). Although al-Rānirī referred many times to ‘*Kata sahibulhikayat*’, ‘*Pada suatu riwayat*’ and ‘*Yang empunya ceritera*’ (the total of 238 times) which does not mention the specific names of the storyteller, it does not mean that *Bustān* is not reliable history work because there are many reliable scholars were referred by al-Rānirī in his writing of *Bustān* that is clearly seen in table 5.10. For example, ‘Umar al-Khattāb was mentioned in *Bustān* for at least 39 times, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (16 times), Ibn ‘Abbas (31 times), Abū Hurairah r.a. (3 times) and Siti ‘Āishah r.a. (6 times). The reference to the companions of the Prophet has been used by early Muslim historians that are al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas‘ūdī and Ibn Khaldūn. Among the companions referred by al-Ṭabarī were Qatādāh r.a, Siti ‘Āishah r.a., Abdul Razzāq, Wahb b. Munabbih and Sa‘id b. Musayyab (al-Ṭabarī, 1961: 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 22 & 298). Al-Mas‘ūdī referes to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn ‘Abbās, Abū Hurairah, Siti ‘Ā’ishah r.a and Sa‘id b. Musayyab (al-Mas‘ūdī, 1973: 42, 278, 283, 284, 321 & 423). Besides that, Ibn Khaldūn refers to Siti ‘Āishah r.a, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Umar al-Khattāb and Khālid b. al-Walīd (Ibn Khaldun, 1961: 160, 278 & 407).

Based on the Table 5.10, it is apparent that al-Rānirī referred to many reliable scholars that is divided into four categories; companion of the Prophet, *Tābi‘in*, historians and Muslim scholars. The most authentic sources came from the companion of the Prophet which is 22 in number. Among them were Abū al-Dardā’ r.a., Abū Hurairah r.a., Ibn ‘Abbās r.a., Jābir r.a., ‘Umar al-Khattāb r.a. and Siti ‘Āishah 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 *ṭābi'in* is mentioned 42 times. Besides that, reference to Muslim scholars mentioned in table 5.10 is more than 50 times. Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Rānirī refers to many authentic sources as mentioned above in his writing of *Bustān*. The usage of these sources, which were important sources in Islam apparently reflects al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. Although there are some references on storyteller mentioned above, but the reliable sources utilized by al-Rānirī had overcome the reference to *sahibulhikayat*.

5.4.4. Works

In the introductory part of Book I of *Bustān*, al-Rānirī gives a list of books he referred to write *Bustān* (Book I-Book IV) (Raffles 8: 4, Raffles 42: 4, Jelani, 2004a: xxxii-xxxiv & T. Iskandar, 2011, 58) as below: transliteration dan terjemah dlm inggeris

1. *'Ajāib al-Malakūt*⁵⁹
2. *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq*⁶⁰
3. *Mirṣād al-'Ibād*⁶¹
4. *Tafsīr Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl al-Baghāwī*⁶²
5. *Tafsīr al-Wāhidī*⁶³
6. *Rawḍat al-Rayāḥin*⁶⁴
7. *Uns al-Munqaṭi'n*⁶⁵
8. *Rawḍat al-Manāzir*⁶⁶
9. *Durr al-Qarār*⁶⁷
10. *Nuzḥat al-Akhyār fī Muḥasin al-Akḥbār*⁶⁸

⁵⁹ *'Ajāib al-Malakūt* was by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Abdullāh al-Kisā'ī in the eleventh century. Some scholars agree that al-Raniri referred to the book of *'Ajāib al-Malakūt* (Mohd nor Ngah, 1983: 3 & Jelani, 1999b:

⁶⁰ The exact author of this book is uncertain. According to Grinter, it was written by Imam al-Ghazālī while T. Iskandar stated Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ghazal (known as Sibṭ al-Maridini) as its author (Grinter, 1979: 267 & T. Iskandar, 2011: 58).

⁶¹ This book was written by a Persian named Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (known as daya) (d.654 AH/1256 AD).

⁶² Written by a Persian named Abū Muḥammad al-Hussain b. Mas'ūd al-Farra al-Baghawī (d. 511 AH/1117 AD).

⁶³ Written by Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāhidī (d.468 AH/1075 AD).

⁶⁴ Witten by 'Abdullāh b. Asad al-Yafi'ī (d.768 AH/1367 AD).

⁶⁵ The full title of this book is *Kitāb Uns al-Munqaṭi'n wa al-Riyāḍ al-Sālikīn* and written by Abū Sinan al-Mawsili (d.630 AH/1233 AD).

⁶⁶ Written by Ibn shihna (d.815 AH/1412 AD).

⁶⁷ Written by Ibn Zafar (d.565 AH/1169 AD).

11. *Jawāmi 'i al-Kalām*⁶⁹
12. *Durrat al-Farawī*⁷⁰
13. *Qiṣah al-Anbiyā*⁷¹
14. *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (*Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*)⁷²
15. *Sīrah Ibn Ishāq*⁷³
16. *Sīrah Ibn Hishām*⁷⁴

Meanwhile, concerning the history of Malacca, Pahang and Aceh (Fasal 13 of Book II), several local sources were utilized by al-Rānirī. Many scholars such as Gallop, Azra, Ahmad Taufiq, Arba'iyah, Andaya, Riddell and T. Iskandar have the view that al-Rānirī referred to *Sejarah Melayu* and *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* in writing the above-mentioned history (Gallop, 2007: 24; Azra, 2004, 69; Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 4; Arbaiyah, 2002, 118; Andaya, 2001: 50; Riddell, 2001, 117 & T. Iskandar, 1967: 53). Meanwhile, Linehan and Jelani state that al-Rānirī depend mainly on *Sejarah Melayu* when he wrote on the genealogy of the Malay kings (Linehan, 1933:144 & Jelani, 2002, 17).

Voorhoeve, T. Iskandar and Jelani mentioned that al-Rānirī had known *Sejarah Melayu* and its author, Tun Seri Lanang during his stay in the Malay Peninsular (Voorhoeve, 1951: 357; T. Iskandar, 1966: 6 & Jelani, 2004c: 26). In addition, Ismail

⁶⁸ Written by Muḥammad b. Ḥassan al-Nawajī (d.859 AH/1455 AD).

⁶⁹ Written by 'Ali Muttaqī al-Burhanpuri (d.977 AH/1569 AD).

⁷⁰ Written by al-Farawī (d.532 AH/1137 AD) (T. Iskandar, 2011: 58).

⁷¹ Means 'Stories of the Prophets'. It was written by *Muḥammad al-Kisā'ī* (Zulkefli aini, 2008: 268).

⁷² *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk* (The History of the Prophets and Kings), a historical book on universal history was written by Abū Ja'far b. Muḥammad Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (known as al-Ṭabarī) (d.310 AH/922 AD) in the third century /tenth century (Raffles Malay 8: 107 & 110 and Azra, 2004: 68). This book begins with creation of the world followed by the history of the Prophets and the kings of ancient times until the year 302 AH/915AD (during the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate) (Rosenthal, 1968: 71 & Mulalic, 2012: 173-175).

⁷³ According to Mulalic, the term *sīrah* means 'a way of life specifically to the biography of the Prophet.' (Mulalic, 2012: 73). *Sīrah Ibn Ishāq* (the original title is *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (A Book on the military campaign of the Prophet)) was the oldest book on *sīrah* and was written by the second century historian named Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār (d.151 AH/761 AD) (A.A. Duri, 1983: 24 & 33 and Azra, 2002: 36).

⁷⁴ *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* is also concerning the biography of the Prophet. It was written by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mālik bin Hishām or Ibn Hishām (d.218 AH/813 AD). Ibn Hishām's *sīrah* is the revised edition of the *Sīrah Ibn Ishāq* in which the former made some corrections on false reports in the first part of Ibn Ishāq's book, deleted the fabricated poems as well as added his own comments to the *Sīrah Ibn Ishāq* (Rasul, 1968: 19 & Mulalic, 2012: 80).

Hamid has the opinion that al-Rānirī was inspired by *Tāj al-Salātīn* and *Bustān al-Salātīn* obtains its name from *Tāj al-Salātīn* (Ismail Hamid, 1983: 46). Last but not least, some scholars also stated that *Hikayat Iskandār Dhulqarnain* is another source of al-Rānirī concerning the history of Malacca, Pahang and Aceh (T. Iskandar, 1966: 3 & Ahmad Taufiq, 2003: 4).

Concerning *Sejarah Melayu*, al-Rānirī in the introduction of chapter twelfth of Book II of *Bustān* stated, “*Kata Paduka Raja yang mengarang kitab Sulālat al-Salātīn, ia menengar daripada bapanya, ia menengar daripada neneknya dan datuknya, tatkala pada Hijrah Nabi Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam seribu dua puluh asa, pada bulan Rabiuaawal, hari ahad, ia mengarang hikayat pada menyatakan peraturan segala raja-raja yang kerajaan di negeri Melaka dan Johor, dan Pahang...*” (According to Paduka Raja who composed the Book of *Sulālat al-Salātīn*, he heard from his father, he heard from his grandmother and grandfather, in the year 1021 AH, he composed a tale on the regulation of the kings of Malacca, Johor and Pahang) (Raffles 8: 221 & Muhammad Haji Salleh, 1997: 3-4). This statement clearly indicates that al-Rānirī refers to *Kitāb Sulālat al-Salātīn* or *Sejarah Melayu*) concerning the history of the Kings of Malacca and Pahang. Meanwhile, Paduka Raja in the text refers to Tun Seri Lanang, the author of *Sejarah Melayu*.

Besides making *Sejarah Melayu* as reference, al-Rānirī also copied the introductory part of *Sejarah Melayu* and put it inside *Bustān* as the following:

SEJARAH MELAYU	BUSTĀN
<i>Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm</i> <i>Al-Ḥamd lillāh rabbi al-‘Ālamīn al-ladhi lā ilāha huwa wa kāna fī al-Awwal wa la shai’ ma’ahu.</i> Segala puji bagi Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia, dan adalah Ia pada	<i>Bismillāhi raḥmān al-Raḥīm</i> <i>Al-Ḥamd lillāh rabbi al-‘Ālamīn al-ladhi lā ilāha huwa wa kāna fī al-Awwal wa la shai’ ma’ahu.</i> Segala puji bagi Allah yang tiada Tuhan hanya Ia,

SEJARAH MELAYU	BUSTĀN
<p>azal tiada serta-Nya. <i>Wa huwa al-'Ibādi al-Samādi muḍabbiruhu biyadihi thumma khalqu al-Khalā'iq wa la ḥajatu lahu.</i> Dan ialah Tuhan yang abadi lagi sentiasa ada-Nya, dan tiada suatu jua pun kemudian. Dijadikan-Nya segala makhluk, dan tiada hajat bagi-Nya. <i>Wa lammā 'arāda aẓhara rubūbiyatihī fa khalqa al-Nūr ḥabībīhi wa min dhalika al-Nūr khalaqa al-'Anbiyā' wa rafa'a ruḥbatuhu.</i> Maka tatkala Ia hendak menyatakan ketuhanan-Nya, maka dijadikan-Nya nūr kekasih-Nya, dan daripada nūr itulah dijadikan segala anbiyā' dan diperangkat-Nya martabat-Nya. <i>Wastafa minhum 'Ādam lī yuẓhira nūrahu, falidhalika sajada al-Malā'ikah kulluhum lahu.</i> Daripada anbiyā' itu Nabi Allah Ādam, supaya menyatakan Nūr kekasih-Nya; maka dari kerana itulah sujud sekalian malaikat akan dia. <i>Wa akhrajahu min al-Jannah kāna fīhi ḥikmatihī wa tafadhdhala 'alayhi bi ruḥbati al-'Ulyā fasara khalīfah.</i> Dan dikeluarkan-Nya ia dari dalam syurga, adalah dalamnya hikmat-Nya, dan dianugerahi-Nya akan dia martabat yang tinggi, maka jadilah ia akan khalifah-Nya di bumi. <i>Subḥāna al-ladhī tafarrada bi al-'Uluhiyah wa kāna lahu wa yufnī al-Khalā'iq ba'da khalqihī thumma yu'īduhu.</i> Maha suci bagi Allah yang tinggi ketuhanan-Nya dan tiada sekutu bagi-Nya, dan lagi akan difanakan-Nya segala makhluk, kemudian dijadikan-Nya; maka dikembalikan-Nya pula. <i>Ashhadu an lā 'ilāha illā Allāh wa ashhadu anna Muḥammad 'abduhu wa rasūluh.</i> Naik saksi aku bahawasanya tiada Tuhan hanya Allah, esa Ia, tiada sekutu bagi-Nya. Bahawa Nabi Muḥammad itu hamba-Nya, lagi pesuruh-Nya. <i>Allāhumma ṣallā wa sallam 'alā saydinā ṣahibī liwā'i al-Ḥamdi wa maqāmi al-Maḥmūdī wa 'alā ālihi wa 'aṣḥābihi al-Fā'izīn biyadihi al-Malakah wa lina'il al-Maqṣudi.</i> Ya Tuhanku, anugerahi kiranya rahmat dan sejahtera akan penghulu kami Muḥammad, yang mempunyai liwā' al-Ḥamd, dan yang mempunyai syafaat dan rahmat Allah, dan salawat atas segala sahabatnya yang berbahagia, dengan membanyakkan</p>	<p>dan adalah Ia pada azal tiada serta-Nya. <i>Wa huwa al-'Ibādi al-Samādi muḍabbiruhu biyadihi thumma khalqu al-Khalā'iq wa la ḥajatu lahu.</i> Dan ialah Tuhan yang abadi lagi sentiasa ada-Nya, dan tiada suatu jua pun kemudian-Nya, maka dijadikan-Nya segala makhluk dan tiada dihajati bagi-Nya. <i>Wa lammā 'arāda aẓhara rubūbiyatihī fa khalqa al-Nūr ḥabībīhi wa min dhalika al-Nūr khalaqa al-'Anbiyā' wa rafa'a ruḥbatuhu.</i> Maka tatkala Ia hendak menyatakan ketuhanan-Nya, maka dijadikan-Nya nūr kekasih-Nya, dan daripada nūr itulah dijadikan segala anbiyā' dan dipertinggikan martabatnya. <i>Wastafa minhum 'Ādam lī yuẓhira nūrahu, falidhalika sajada al-Malā'ikah kulluhum lahu.</i> Dan dipilih-Nya daripada anbiyā' itu Nabi Allah Ādam a.s. supaya menyatakan Nūr kekasih-Nya, maka dari kerana itulah sujud segala malaikat akan dia. <i>Wa akhrajahu min al-Jannah kāna fīhi ḥikmatihī wa tafadhdhala 'alayhi bi ruḥbati al-'Ulyā fasara khalīfah.</i> Dan dikeluarkannya dari dalam syurga, maka adalah dalamnya hikmat-Nya, dan dianugerahi-Nya akan dia martabat yang tinggi, maka jadilah ia akan khalifah-Nya di bumi. <i>Subḥāna al-ladhī tafarrada bi al-'Uluhiyah wa kāna lahu wa yufnī al-Khalā'iq ba'da khalqihī thumma yu'īduhu.</i> Maha suci Allah Yang Maha Tinggi ketuhanan-Nya dan tiada sekutu bagi-Nya, dan lagi akan difanakan-Nya segala makhluk, kemudian dijadikan-Nya, maka dikembalikannya pula. <i>Ashhadu an lā 'ilāha illā Allāh wa ashhadu anna Muḥammad 'abduhu wa rasūluh.</i> Saksi aku bahawasanya tiada Tuhan melainkan Allah, esa Ia, tiada sekutu bagi-Nya. Dan saksi aku bahawasanya Nabi Muḥammad itu hamba-Nya lagi pesuruh-Nya. <i>Allāhumma ṣallā wa sallam 'alā saydinā ṣahibī liwā'i al-Ḥamdi wa maqāmi al-Maḥmūdī wa 'alā ālihi wa 'aṣḥābihi al-Fā'izīn biyadihi</i></p>

<i>SEJARAH MELAYU</i>	<i>BUSTĀN</i>
<p>sehabis-habis kuasanya pada menghasilkan maksudnya, iaitu pada keredhaan Allah Ta ‘āla (A. Samad Ahmad, 2003: 1-2).</p> <p>(Summary of content: Praise be to Allah, there is no God except Him and Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Once Allah wants to reveal His divinity, He created a <i>Nūr</i> (light) and it is from this light that Prophets were created. O Allah, bless our Muḥammad and the people of Muḥammad.)</p>	<p><i>al-Malakah wa lina’il al-Maqṣudi</i>. Ya Tuhanku, nugerahi kiranya rahmat dan sejahtera akan Penghulu kami Muḥammad yang mempunyai <i>liwā’ al-Ḥamd</i>, dan yang mempunyai syafaat, dan rahmatullah, dan salamnya atas segala sahabatnya yang berbahagia, dengan membedakan sehabis-habis kuasanya pada menghasilkan maksudnya dan iaitu keredhaan Allah Ta ‘āla (Raffles 8: 1-2).</p> <p>(Summary of content: Praise be to Allah, there is no God except Him and Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. Once Allah wants to reveal His divinity, He created a <i>Nūr</i> (light) and it is from this light that Prophets were created. O Allah, bless our Muḥammad and the people of Muḥammad.)</p>

The above quotations are almost similar except for certain words and phrases. Due to the fact that *Sejarah Melayu* is among the oldest Malay historical text written, there is no doubt that it becomes a reference for later historians, including al-Rānirī. Besides that, since al-Rānirī had read *Sejarah Melayu* as been suggested by some scholars mentioned above, it is not surprising that he took the introductory part as his introduction to *Bustān*. This is because the introduction of *Sejarah Melayu* clearly stated the praise to Allah and the greatness of Allah, therefore, this content is closely related with the al-Rānirī’s purpose to write a book on Islamic history based on the concept of *tawḥīd* which has been discussed before. Although al-Rānirī took the introductory part of *Sejarah Melayu*, but this does not affect the quality of *Bustān* and al-Rānirī’s status as a great historian because there are other numerous sources, primary and secondary that were referred by al-Rānirī such as the Qur’ān, *ḥadīth*, reliable figures,

historical books and others that formed the composition of *Bustān*. Besides *Sejarah Melayu*, al-Rānirī also referred to other written historical sources that existed until his time such as *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (*Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*), *Sīrah Ibn Isḥāq*, *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* and *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Raffles 8: 110 & 129). Therefore, al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history is firm because *Bustān* is written based on established written sources as mentioned above. It indicates that al-Rānirī's method of determining the truth of his writing is by referring to the related existing written sources.

5.5 THEMES IN *BUSTĀN AL-SALĀṬĪN*

Based on al-Raniri's purpose of writing, structure, content and sources of *Bustān* discussed before, it can be said that Islamic history based on the concept of *tawḥīd* is the main theme of *Bustān*. This main theme gives rise to the sub-themes which is the reflection of the concept of Islamic history that will be elaborated in the following. These sub-themes are the creation of the universe and the concept of didactic/instruction. All these themes are closely related to the concept of Islamic history as Islamic history begins with the creation of the universe until the *Yawm al-Akhīrah*.

Concerning the theme of the creation of the universe, Al-Rānirī in *Bustān* narrated the creation of the universe and the creation of the first man that is Ādam and his descendant (Book I) that is based on the narrations in the Qur'ān. Following the creation is the history of human being on earth who played an important role as the representatives of Allah. This role aims at the submission of mankind to Allah that parallels to the concept of *tawḥīd* in Islam. In order to enable human being to fulfill their role as the representative of Allah, they are given the Qur'ān as guidance to the way they should submit themselves to Allah. Consequently, the didactic element exists

in the stories in the Qur'an starting from the creation of Ādam followed by the history of the Prophets and the people of the past. Therefore, the creation and the didactic is link to each other in Islamic history as didactic is the principle in understanding Islamic history. Thus, al-Rānirī in *Bustān* purposely created the mentioned themes with the purpose to guide mankind the way to return to Allah by His will by describing in detail the creation of the universe and the didactic element. Below is the discussion on the themes in *Bustān*:

5.5.1 The Theme of the Creation of the Universe

The theme of creation of the universe that occupies the whole of Book I of *Bustān* (contains 30 chapters) is part of the process of history. Al-Rānirī in *Bustān* describes the creation of the universe starting from the creation of *Nūr Muḥammad* until the creation of the region. In order to support his description, al-Rānirī utilized 47 verses of the Qur'an as in the following:

Table 5.11: The Number of Verses in *Bustān* and *Qur'ān* Concerning the Creation of the Universe

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>QUR'ĀN</i>
1	1 (The creation of <i>Nūr Muḥammad</i>)	1	<i>Al-Ṣaff</i> (61): 8	<i>Al-Nisā'</i> (4): 64
				<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 15
				<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 35
				<i>Al-Aḥzab</i> (33): 45-46
				<i>Al-Shūrā</i> (42): 51-53
2	4 (The creation of the 'Arasy/ Throne)	3	<i>Al-Ḥaqqah</i> (69):17 <i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 7 <i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 21	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2):29
				<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 54
				<i>Yūnus</i> (10): 3
				<i>Hūd</i> (11): 7
				<i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13): 2
				<i>Tāhā</i> (20): 5
				<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 59
				<i>Al-Sajdah</i> (32): 4
				<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 11
<i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 4				
3	5 (The creation of <i>Kursī'</i> Footstool)	1	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 255	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 255
4	7 (The creation of the Angels)	3	<i>Al-Taḥrīm</i> (66): 6 <i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 5-7 <i>Al-Najm</i> (53):13-18	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 30
				<i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 61
				<i>Al-Anfāl</i> (8): 9
				<i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 28
				<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21): 19-20
				<i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 22
<i>Al-Aḥzab</i> (33): 56				

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'ĀN
				<i>Al-Fāṭir</i> (35): 1 <i>Al-Nabā'</i> (78): 38 <i>Al-Fajr</i> (89): 22
5	8 (The creation of <i>Sidrat al-Muntaha</i>)	1	<i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 15-16	<i>Al-Saba'</i> (34): 16 <i>Al-Najm</i> (53): 14 <i>Al-Wāqi'ah</i> (56): 28
6	9 (The creation of Jān-the father of Jin)	2	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 15 <i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 50	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 26-27 <i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 39 <i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 74 <i>Al-Jinn</i> (72): 1-6 <i>Al-Nās</i> (114): 6
7	11(The creation of the seven layers of the heavens)	8	<i>Al-Dhāriyāt</i> (51): 47 <i>Hud</i> (11): 7 <i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 4 <i>Yūnus</i> (10): 3 <i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 11-12 <i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i> (79): 27-29 <i>Qāf</i> (50): 38 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 3	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 117 <i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 73 <i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 54 <i>Yūnus</i> (10): 3 <i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 51 <i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21):30 <i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 59 <i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 64 <i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 12
8	12 (The creation of Paradise)	5	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 46 <i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 62 <i>Al-Ḥadīd</i> (57): 21 <i>Al-Kawthar</i> (108): 1 <i>Muḥammad</i> (47): 15	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 24-25 <i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 15 <i>Al-'Imrān</i> (3): 133 <i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9): 72 <i>Al-Bayyinah</i> (98): 8

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'ĀN
9	13 (The creation of Nymphs)	6	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 72	<i>Al-Ṣāffāt</i> (37): 48-49
			<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 56	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 52
			<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 58	<i>Al-Dukhān</i> (44): 54
			<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 68	<i>Al-Ṭhūr</i> (52): 20
			<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i> (56): 27-34	<i>Al-Raḥmān</i> (55): 70
			<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i> (56): 35-37	<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i> (56): 22-23
10	15 (The creation of the Sun, moon and stars)	4	<i>Al-Ṣāffāt</i> (37): 5	<i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 96
			<i>Al-Takwīr</i> (81): 1	<i>Yūnus</i> (10): 5
			<i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 16	<i>Ibrāhīm</i> (14): 33
			<i>Al-Anbiyā'</i> (21): 33	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 61
11	16 (The creation of Meteors)	1	<i>Al-Ṣāffāt</i> (7): 6-10	<i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 97
				<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 16
				<i>Al-Wāqī'ah</i> (56): 75-76
				<i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 5
			<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 61	
12	18 (The creation of cool water, ice and dew)	1	<i>Al-Nūr</i> (24): 43	<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 42
				<i>Ṣad</i> (38): 57
				<i>Al-Qamar</i> (54): 12
13	21 (The creation of the seven layers of the earth)	4	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 12	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29
			<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 9	<i>Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 64
			<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 9-10	<i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 12
			<i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 10	<i>Al-Nāzi'āt</i> (79): 30-31
			<i>Ṭāhā</i> (20): 105	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 54
14	22 (The creation of the <i>Ka'bah</i>)	1	<i>Al-A'rāf</i> (7): 172	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 127
				<i>Al-Mā'idah</i> (5): 97
				<i>Al-Anfāl</i> (8): 35

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTĀN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'ĀN
				<i>Ibrahim</i> (14): 37 <i>Al-Hajj</i> (22): 26
15	24 (The creation of that which supports the earth)	1	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 117	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 117
16	26 (The creation of Hell)	1	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 44	<i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 43 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 6 <i>Al-Ma'ārij</i> (70): 15 <i>Al-Inshiqāq</i> (84): 12 <i>Al-Humazah</i> (104): 5-6
17	27 (The creation of the Globe)	2	<i>Al-Isrā'</i> (17): 70 <i>Al-Jāthiyah</i> (45): 12	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 22 <i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13): 3 <i>Al-Naḥl</i> (16): 14-15 <i>Al-Ghāfir</i> (40): 64 <i>Fuṣṣilat</i> (41): 10
18	28 (The number of the oceans and rivers)	1	<i>Luqmān</i> (31): 27	<i>Al-Furqān</i> (25): 53 <i>Al-Naml</i> (27): 61 <i>Al-Fāṭir</i> (35): 12 <i>Al-Jāthiyah</i> (45): 12 <i>Al-Rahmān</i> (55): 19-20
19	29 (Enumerating the 'Ālam/ lands)	1	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i> (74): 31	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 22 <i>Al-An'ām</i> (6): 32 <i>Al-Ḥijr</i> (15): 27 <i>Al-Ṭalāq</i> (65): 12

Table 5.11 illustrates the 47 verses in Book I concerning the creation of the universe and the examples of the verses concerning the subjects in the Qur'ān. The usage of 47 verses from the Qur'ān indicates that importance of the theme of the creation that is purposely written by al-Rānirī in *Bustān*. From the 19 creations (No. 1-19), the creation of the seven layers of the heavens, the creation of Nymphs, the creation of paradise and the creation of the sun, moon and stars receive the attention of al-Rānirī as the subjects utilized the highest Qur'ānic verses. This due to the reason that the Qur'an itself contains many verses concerning the subjects especially related to the creation of the seven layers of the heavens such as in *sūrah Yūnus* (10): 3, *Fuṣṣilat* (41): 11-12, *Al-Dhāriyāt* (51): 47, *Al-Mulk* (67): 3 and *Al-Nāzi'āt* (79): 27-29.

5.5.2 The Theme of Didactic

As didactic element is elaborated in detail in the Qur'ān through the stories of the Prophets and the people of the past, didactic becomes one of the main themes in Islamic history as the Islamic history is in fact the Qur'ānic history. Therefore, al-Raniri elaborates in length oncerning didactic in Book III and Book IV of *Bustān*. Below is the statistic of the didactic stories in Book III and Book IV. The purpose of giving statistical figure is to show that al-Rānirī emphasizes on didactic element and this is reflected in his long elaboration on didactic in *Bustān*.

Table 5.12: Number of Advices in Book III of *Bustān*

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
1	3	2	306	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja menahan dirinya daripada aniaya.</i> (All kings should refrain themselves from persecution)
2	3	2	308	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala perbuatan raja-raja mengerjakan segala pekerjaan dalam kerajaannya itu dengan kebajikan dan mengadatkan dengan adat yang baik supaya tinggal adatnya itu hingga datang hari kiamat, dan jangan ia berbuat aniaya dan mengadatkan dengan kejahatan.</i> (Kings should carry out their duties with virtue and forbids evil)
3	3	2	310	<i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja melakukan kelakuannya seperti Amirulmukminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu supaya diperolehinya pusaka khalifah adil daripada Amirulmukminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu, dan ialah yang terlebih baik daripada segala manusia dan diperolehinya pahala ganda-berganda yang tiada terkira-kira banyaknya.</i> (All kings should follow the behaviour of ‘Umar al-Khattāb, the Just caliph)
4	3	2	313	<i>Nasihat: Seyogia bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan insaf dan manfaat akan segala rakyatnya yang fakir miskin supaya diperolehinya bahagia dalam dunia dan dalam akhirat, ialah yang beroleh perangai daripada perangai Amirulmukminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu.</i> (All kings should benefit all its poor people in order to gain happiness in this world and the hereafter)
5	3	2	315	<i>Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah hal Amirulmukminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu, betapa merendahkan dirinya daripada melihat kebesaran Allah Ta‘āla dan melelahkan dirinya kerana memelihara segala hamba Allah dan menenguhkan syarat Nabi ṣallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam.</i> (Just kings ought to follow the excellent behaviour of caliph ‘Umar al-Khattāb who was humble and devoted himself to protect other people)

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
6	3	2	316	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil hendaklah ia mengambil ibarat daripada takluk Khīḍīr ‘alayhi al-salām akan segala raja-raja yang anianya dan menterianya, dan segala yang menolong dia.</i></p> <p>(Just kings should take a lesson from the story of the Prophet Khīḍīr of all unjust kings and their ministers and all his helpers)</p>
7	3	2	318	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja menasihatkan rakyatnya seperti nasihat Amirulmukminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu supaya lepas ia daripada bahaya akhirat dan jika tiada demikian maka ialah kena bahaya pada hari kiamat.</i></p> <p>(All kings must advise his people like the advice of caliph ‘Umar)</p>
8	3	2	320	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah memelihara hak isterinya.</i></p> <p>(Servants of Allah should protect the right of his wife)</p>
9	3	2	321	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang ada kuasa melangkarakan segala hamba Allah yang daif supaya dipelihara Allah subḥānahu wa Ta‘āla akan dia daripada segala bahaya Hari kiamat.</i></p> <p>(Servants of Allah who were in power should help the needy)</p>
10	3	2	335	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah mengasihani atas segala yang bernyawa supaya dikasihi Allah Ta‘āla akan dia.</i></p> <p>(All servants of Allah should have mercy on other creatures of Allah)</p>
11	3	2	336	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya hai segala raja yang adil, mengambil ibaratlah daripada hikayat ini betapa hal Amirulminin ‘Umar raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu yang terlebih adil daripada segala abid, dan terlebih zahid daripada segala zahid dalam demikian pun kena hisab jua kira-kira dua belas tahun lamanya, istimewa segala raja-raja yang lain, betapa pula halnya.</i></p> <p>(Just kings should take a lesson from this story and follow the behaviour of caliph ‘Umar who was just and pious)</p>
12	3	2	346	<p><i>Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah khalifah yang terlalu adil lagi zahid,</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<p><i>betapa ia takut akan Allah Ta'āla pada memelihara akan hak segala Islam dan memenuh kehendak meeka itu.</i></p> <p>(Righteous kings should listen to the just and pious caliph who was afraid of Allah in preserving and fulfilling the rights of all Muslims)</p>
13	3	2	349	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang menghukumkan dengan hukum yang adil supaya sentosa segala isi negeri daripada segala bahaya dan ia pun beroleh pahalah yang penghabis.</i></p> <p>(All kings should give fair punishment in order to create peace on earth from all dangers and he was rewarded by God)</p>
14	3	2	359	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengikut hal Raja Hārūn al-Rashīd betapa insafnya dan menahankan dirinya pada mengabulkan nasihat yang besar-besar serta dengan tangisnya dan merendahkan dirinya dan mengambil ibarat ia dengan nasihat ini. Hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja yang mengerjakan seperti pekerjaan Hārūn al-Rashīd itu supaya gemilangan namanya daripada nama raja-raja yang adil seperti termasyhur Raja Hārūn al-Rashīd. Dan jangan ia mengerjakan seperti raja-raja yang aniaya.</i></p> <p>(All kings should follow the behaviour of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who was humble and well-known of his justice)</p>
15	3	2	360	<p><i>Seyogianya segala yang budiman membicarakan firman Allah Ta'āla dan sabda Nabi kita shallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam ini dengan mengambil ibarat dan insaf supaya jangan ia menyesal pada hari kiamat yang tiada berguna menyesalnya itu.</i></p> <p>(Wise men should take warning from this story in order that they will not regret it on the day of judgement)</p>
16	3	2	368	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang berjinak-jinakkan dengan segala 'ulamā' yang menunjuk jalan akhirat.</i></p> <p>(All kings should learn from the 'ulamā' who guided men to the hereafter)</p>
17	3	2	382	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja jangan ia segera menghukumkan barang suatu yang didengarnya daripada sembah orang daripada suatu wara takut siapa tahu ada jua membawa fitnah orang. Jikalau dihukumkan dengan yang</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<i>demikian itu tiada dengan periksanya, jadi teraniayalah manusia daripada fitnah orang itu.</i> (All kings should carry out an investigation carefully before giving a punishment in order to avoid maltreatment)
18	3	2	392	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah sentiasa menyebut mati dan hendaklah ia berbuat ibadat hingga datang maut.</i> (Servants of Allah should always remember death and perform worship to Allah until death)
19	3	2	396	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan pekerjaan seperti kelakuan Raja Hārūn al-Rashīd pada menyatakan ilmu dan menendengarkan dia, sungguhpun ia menghinakan dirinya kepada orang alim, padahal segala raja-raja yang dalam dunia pada masanya, hulubalang dia, dan dari kerana pekerjaan dia pada memuliakan ilmu, jadi masyhur namanya Yawm al-Qiyāmah.</i> (All kings should follow the conduct of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who was keen on seeking knowledge from pious people)
20	3	2	397	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja menyuruhkan segala wazirnya yang damping kepadanya berajar ilmu supaya jangan sekalian mereka itu bebal dan hendaklah diketahui segala hamba Allah martabat ilmu.</i> (All kings should command his vizier to seek knowledge, and all servants of Allah should realize the dignity of knowledge)
21	3	2	399	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan seperti pekerjaan Raja Hārūn al-Rashīd ini supaya terbilang namanya segala raja-raja yang adil dan hendaklah ia bersegera mengampun seorang yang kaya dan jangan ia amarah tatkala sembah seorang yang dimurkai yang muafakat dengan syarak Allah.</i> (All kings must follow the conduct of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd)
22	3	2	401	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah Ta'āla dan dipohonkannya barang suatu yang dikehendaki dan harap ia akan kemudahan, nescaya diperolehinya jua. Dan janganlah ia dukacita kerana kesukaran, bahawasanya beberapa kejahatan pada zahirnya adalah kebajikan pada</i>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<p><i>batinnya dan beberapa kebajikan pada zahirnya adalah kebajikan pada batinnya, dan beberapa kebajikan pada zahirnya adalah kejahatan pada batinnya sanya. Hai hamba Allah, engkaulah bebal akan pekerjaan yang kesudahan.</i> (Servants of Allah should submit themselves to Allah and always believed in Allah)</p>
23	3	2	404	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja minta pengajar daripada segala mashāikh seperti kelakuan Raja Hārūn al-Rashīd dan mengambil insaf akan dirinya daripada mendengar nasihat itu, dan jangan ia lalai dengan dunia yang fana ini.</i> (All kings should learn from the 'ulamā' as been practised by caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd)</p>
24	3	2	409	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah tukus dan ikhlas kepada Allah Ta'āla supaya diperolehnya martabat aulia Allah Ta'āla.</i> (All servants of Allah should be sincere to Allah)</p>
25	3	2	409	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja jangan ia menghukumkan lain daripada hukum Allah.</i> (All kings should carry out punishment based on the law of Allah)</p>
26	3	2	411	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah apabila ia mendengar suatu nasihat daripada segala 'ulama' dan mashāikh, hendaklah ia mengambil ibarat dan insaf serta ia menyucurkan air matanya.</i> (A servant of Allah should listen to the advice of the 'ulamā')</p>
27	3	2	413	<p><i>Nasihat: Wajib atas segala hamba Allah mengerjakan amar bil ma'rūf wal nahī al-munkar dan tersangat wajibnya atas segala raja-raja dan segala orang yang berpenguasa.</i> (All servants of Allah should perform good and forbid evil)</p>
28	3	2	416	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah yang berpenguasaan memerangkaikan seperti perangai Hārūn al-Rashīd pada memaafkan kesalahan segala manusia supaya ia berbahagia dengan dunia dan akhirat.</i> (A servants of Allah should forgive the sins of all human beings as been practised by caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd)</p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
29	3	2	420	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah memelihara namanya daripada tukas dan cerca segala manusia, istimewa pula segala raja-raja dan segala orang besar-besar, memelihara namanya daripada demikian itu dan jangan ia mengerjakan suatu pekerjaan yang datang kepadanya tukas.</i></p> <p>(A servant of Allah should protect himself from committing accusation against other people)</p>
30	3	2	421	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja memaafkan segala kesalahan orang yang berdosa kepadanya supaya ia beroleh pahala yang tiada terkira ia.</i></p> <p>(All kings should forgive those who are guilty towards him so that he obtains reward from Allah)</p>
31	3	2	422	<p><i>Nasihat: Tiada dapat bagi segala raja-raja yang adil lagi bijaksana membicarakan sekalian hikayat ini supaya mengambil untung yang bahagia pada masa kerajaannya dan menginsafkan antara segala yang teraniayanya daripada segala yang menganiayai, dan menampaikekan kehendak hamba Allah, dari kerana bahawasanya segala cakrawala itu tiada tetap dengan segala tempat kitarannya, kerana bahawa kerajaan itu tiada dapat dihadap akan kekalnya. Dan bahawasanya qada' Allah itu tiada dapat menolak segala bala tentera dan segala harta. Dan apabila hilanglah kerajaan dan lenyaplah segala harta dan cerai-berailah segala bala tentera maka tiadalah memberi manfaat menyesal jua sanya.</i></p> <p>(All kings should perform his duties, be just and advise his people)</p>
32	3	2	430	<p><i>Nasihat: Hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja mengetahui pahala kebesaran martabat adilnya.</i></p> <p>(All kings should realize the greatness of justice)</p>
33	3	2	431	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang berpenguasa, merendahkan dirinya dan berbaik segala hati hamba Allah dan memenuhi segala hajat mereka itu.</i></p> <p>(All servants of Allah should fulfill the rights of all people)</p>
34	3	2	434	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang dianugerahi akan dia martabat kemuliaan, merendahkan dirinya kerana Allah tatkala ia</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<p><i>mintalah nasihat akan yang menghilangkan dosanya kepada seseorang hamba Allah Ta'āla, nescaya adalah anugerah ampun kepada Allah Ta'āla dosanya itu.</i></p> <p>(All servants of Allah should be humble for the sake of Allah when he asks for advice and Allah will forgive his sin)</p>
35	3	2	436	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan pekerjaan adil supaya terpelihara ia daripada sekalian bahaya dan diteguhkan Allah Ta'āla kerajaannya.</i></p> <p>(All kings should perform justice)</p>
36	3	2	433	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil hendaklah ia mengetahui bahawa kerajaan itu bukan persukanya dan bukan ia memerintahkan akan kerajaannya itu melainkan daripada anugerah Allah Ta'āla jua, dan ialah yang memerintahkan seru sekalian alam.</i></p> <p>(All kings should realize that their kingdom or rule belonged to Allah)</p>
37	3	2	445	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang berpenguasa mengambil ibarat daripada mendengar dua hikayat ini. Dan jangan ia berbuat aniaya dan takbur serta maghrur akan kebesaran dunia yang fana ini. Bahaya takbur dan maghrur akan itu kesudahannya binasanya dan tinggal jua nama kejahatan padanya.</i></p> <p>(Ruler should not be arrogant and should not commit oppression)</p>
38	3	2	456	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil yang mengambil ibarat daripada mendengarkan hikayat segala raja-raja yang adil yang Islam pada zaman yang telah lalu itu. Adalah segala mereka itu mengempukan dunia maka diperolehi mereka itulah barang yang dikehendakinya, tiada lagi tinggal daripada mereka itu melainkan nama kebajikan jua yang tersebut pada lidah hamba Allah sampai kepada Yawm al-Akhīrah. Adapun segala raja-raja yang aniaya pun terbit namanya kejahatan mereka itu pun atas lidah manusia sampai kepada Yawm al-Qiyāmah.</i></p> <p>(All kings should take lesson from the stories of just kings in the past)</p>
39	3	2	458	<p><i>Nasihat: Hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja pada mengerjakan segala pekerjaan yang adil atas</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<i>segala isi negerinya supaya jadi mashurlah pada segala negeri nama adilnya.</i> (All kings must perform justice to his people)
40	3	2	460	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang mengerjakan pekerjaan yang adil supaya mashyur pada segala negeri namanya yang adil itu.</i> (Just kings are well known of their justice)
41	3	2	461	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil meniatkan berbuat kebajikan akan rakyatnya supaya makmur segala negerinya dan sentosa segala rakyatnya lagi diperolehinya nama kebajikan dalam dunia dan bahagia dalam akhirat dari kerana bahawasanya Allah Ta'āla tiada menilik sesuatu melainkan kepada niat jua.</i> (Just kings should have the intention to perform virtues to his people and that they can live peacefully)
42	3	2	464	<i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil mengambil ibarat dan insaf pada mendengarkan hikayat ini dan jangan lalai daripada mengambil khabar segala hamba Allah yang teraniaya daripada yang menganiayai dan memenuhi kehendak segala hamba Allah supaya dipenuhi Allah Ta'āla segala kehendaknya.</i> (All just kings should take lessons from this story and fulfill the rights of other servants of Allah)
43	3	2	467	<i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil mengambil ibarat dan insaf daripada mendengar hikayat ini. Dengarlah hal Raja Nūshīrwān Adil lagi dalam agama kafirnya, betapa ia memeliharakan dirinya dan segala hamba sahayanya daripada berbuat aniaya. Dan dicelanya akan segala raja-raja yang mengadakan aniaya itu.</i> (Just kings should listen to the story of King Nūshīrwān Adil, a just king eventhough he was not a Muslim)
44	3	2	469	<i>Nasihat: Hai hamba Allah, ketahui oleh kamu bahawasanya yang terlebih besar dan yang terlebih mulia kepada Allah Ta'āla itu barang siapa daripadanya yang takut akan Dia. Maka diperbuatnyalah amal yang salih.</i> (The greatest and the most honourable to Allah are those who fear Allah and perform good deeds)

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
45	3	2	476	<p><i>Nasihat: Dengarlah segala yang budiman, hikayat segala raja-raja yang adil dan insaf, betapa disayang Nabi shallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam akan maut Raja Nūshīrwān yang kafir akan adilnya. Istimewa pula akan raja Islam yang mengikut syariat Muḥammad ḥabīb Allāh shallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam.</i></p> <p>(All wise men should listen to the story of King Nūshīrwān Adil who was a very just king)</p>
46	3	2	478	<p><i>Nasihat: Maka lihatlah hai segala raja-raja yang adil hal pekerjaan Raja Nūshīrwān padahal ia kafir tiada dia menghendaki pahala pada hari kiamat tetapi dikehendaknya nama dalam dunia jua. Istimewa pula segala raja-raja Islam yang adil, jikalau dikerjakan seperti pekerjaan Nusyirwan nescaya Allah subḥanahu wa Ta‘āla dipersampaikan segala hajat mereka itu daripada nama yang besar, dan ditetapkan Allah Ta‘āla kerajaan mereka itu, dan balas di akhirat dengan pahala yang tiada terkira-kira.</i></p> <p>(Just kings must listen to the story of King Nūshīrwān Adil and follow his conduct)</p>
47	3	4	507	<p><i>Nasihat: Kata Abū Hurairah raḍīya Allahu ‘anhu akan anaknya, “Hai anakku, jangan pertamata-tama engkau menyatakan mesyuarat akan taulan, dan hubaya bicaramu pendek, yakni dengan pekerjaan jua, serta perlahan pada membicarakan suatu pekerjaan. Bahawasanya Allah subḥanahu wa Ta‘āla menitahkan Nabi-Nya shallā Allāh ‘alayhi wa sallam bermesyuarat serta dengan segala sahabat yang kurang budi bicara daripadanya.</i></p> <p>(Abū Hurairah advised his son to conduct <i>shūrā</i>)</p>
48	3	4	518	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah janganlah ia mendakwa dirinya lain daripada bangsa dirinya kerana bahawasanya pekerjaan yang demikian itu amat besar bahayanya.</i></p> <p>(All servants of Allah should not claim his name other than his race because that is a very dangerous work)</p>
49	3	4	527	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah yang dapat menyampaikan segala hajat dan kesukaran segala hamba Allah yang tiada penguasa menyampaikan hajatnya kepada segala raja-raja, maka hendaklah ia menyampaikan dia, dan hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja makbulkan sembahnya serta meluluskan hajat hamba Allah</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				<i>itu, supaya diperoleh pahala yang besar.</i> (A servant of Allah who are able to deliver the request and difficulty of other people should deliver it to the king)
50	3	4	532	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala wazir dan hulubalang, bahawa jangan ia maghrur akan dirinya kerana diperbesar segala raja-raja akan dia kerana yang membesarkan diri itu akibatnya amat jahat, Lihatlah hal iblis 'alahi laknat betapa kesudahannya, dan adalah merendahkan diri itu amat sangat faedahnya, seperti hal Nabi Allah Ādam'alayhi al-salām, sebab itulah dijadikan Allah Ta'āla akan dia khalifah dalam kaum ini.</i> (All viziers and commanders should not be arrogant)
51	3	4	542	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja hendaklah ia memadamkan amarahnya akan seorang yang dimurkainya, maka disuruhnya bunuh dengan tiada sepatut hukum syarak. Istimewa pula apabila ia mendengar firman Allah Ta'āla atau sabda Nabi shallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam, maka ditahaninya dirinya daripada membunuh itu.</i> (All kings must extinguish his anger against the one who cause him furious and refrain himself from the act of killing)
52	3	4	543	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala sahaya berbuat baktilah ia akan tuhan yang Hakiki dan akan tuhan yang majuzi supaya ia beroleh bahagia dalam dunia dan akhirat.</i> (All servants should serve God/Allah so that he can obtain happiness in this world and hereafter)
53	3	4	546	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala mukmin yang percaya akan Allah dan Rasul-Nya, jangan ia mengasih dan menghimpunkan dunia.</i> (Those who believe in Allah and His messengers should not love and inclined towards the world)
54	3	4	551	<i>Nasihat: Syurganya bagi menteri dan hulubalang sungguhkan setianya dengan raja.</i> (Paradise is for the ministers and commanders who were loyal their kings)
TOTAL				54 ADVICES IN BOOK III

Table 5.13: Number of advices in Book IV of *Bustān*

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
1	4	1 (Story 9)	287	<i>Dan nasihat seyogyanya maka segala raja-raja yang magrur dalam kerajaannya: Lihatlah olehmu hal segala raja-raja yang dahulu kala, betapa mereka itu meninggalkan kerajaannya tiada ada sertanya melainkan amalnya yang adil atau aniaya jua, maka jangan ia lena dalam kerajaannya.</i> (All kings should learn from the behaviour of just kings in the past)
2	4	1 (Story 10)	287	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Hendaklah diperbanyak menyebut nama Allah Ta'āla supaya jadi ia daripada orang yang berjinak-jinakkan dengan dia.</i> (All servants of Allah should always remember Allah)
3	4	1 (Story 12)	291	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah mengerjakan segala pekerjaan dalam dunia kerana akhirat.</i> (All servants of Allah should perform their duties on earth for the sake of hereafter)
4	4	1 (Story 13)	292	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah yang percaya akan hari akhirat. Hendaklah ia sentiasa menyebut mati.</i> (Servants of Allah who believe in the hereafter must always remember death)
6	4	2 (Story 21)	302	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Menyebut-nyebut dan mencita-cita pada segala ketika dan masa akan Allah Ta'āla supaya dijadikannya akan dia daripada segala arif. Noktah.</i> (Servants of Allah should always remember Allah)
7	4	2 (story 22)	303	My advice for servants of God is: They should fear their Lord in joy and difficulty and should give thanks for their Lord's pleasure. Trust and have patience when afflictions strike and trust in your Lord so that He may deliver you from the dangers of this world and the next.
8	4	2 (Story 23)	306	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah mengambil ibarat pada menengarkan hikayat ini dan menahan dirinya daripada berbuat derhaka akan Tuhannya.</i>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (ADVICES)
				(Servants of Allah should keep themselves from disobeying Allah)
9	4	2 (Story 24)	306	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya (bagi) segala yang budiman: Bahawa jangan ia cenderung dan lalai kepada mengasihi dunia yang fana ini.</i> (Wise people should not inclined to love this temporary world)
10	4	2 (Story 26)	309	<i>Maka (nasihat) seyogyanya bagi segala mukmin yang ghāfil: Jangan ia lalai dengan hawa nafsu dunia dalam umur ketika ini, bahawasanya Tuhanmu itu sentiasa memandang dengan shafaat kepadamu. Hai Kirabin, maka betapa engkau sentiasa memalingkan mukamu daripada Hadirat-Nya? Maka hendaklah kau cari ubat penyakit hatimu, mudah-mudahan dianugerahi Allah akan dikau.</i> (My advice to believers who are inattentive is: They should not neglect the passions of the world in this short life, for your Lord is always watching over you with sympathy. Distressed people, why do you always turn your face from His presence? Seek a remedy for your suffering and may God grant it to you (Grinter, 1973: 143)).
11	4	2 (Story 28)	313	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala perempuan yang budiman: Bahwa mengambil insaf dan ibarat daripada menengarkan hikayat ini. Dan meneguhkan setianya pada suaminya hubaya-hubaya jangan ia berbuat khianat akan dia supaya diperoleh kesempurnaan iman lagi dianugerahi Allah Ta'āla akan dia martabat aulia Allah.</i> (Wise women must take lessons from this story and become loyal to their husband)
TOTAL				11 ADVICES IN BOOK IV

Table 5.12 and table 5.13 list the number of al-Rānirī's advices to his reader through the stories of kings and caliph. Book III contain 54 advices and book IV with 11 advices that make the total of 65 advices. Most of al-Rānirī's advices are related to obey and fear Allah and perform justice as can be seen in both tables. Advice is the

important part in didactic elements and didactic is the principle of understanding Islamic history. Therefore, the advices of al-Raniri to the kings and servants of Allah is a didactic element that is parallel to the Qur'anic concept of Islamic history. Al-Rānirī in *Bustān* narrates the stories of caliphs in Islam that were 'Umar al-Khattāb, Hārūn al-Rashīd and 'Umar b.'Abd Azīz who are well-known figures in Islamic history for their piousness and justice. Stories of caliphs in Islam and kings in the past are parts of Islamic history that proves *Bustān* contains the elements of Islamic history. Al-Rānirī's purpose of giving these stories is not only to convey the good deeds of the people of the past but also to give his advices to the reader and guide them the way they should behave in seeking the blessing of Allah. In other words, al-Rānirī intends to show this reader the way to submit themselves to Allah and this is parallel to his purpose of writing *Bustān* that have been discussed before. Although Book II-Book IV of *Bustān* contains didactic element, majority of the element is manifested in the stories of the past, for example during the period of the Khulafā al-Rāshidīn and the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Therefore, the researcher emphasizes that Book III and Book IV is a historical book that contain didactic element, and thus, *Bustān* is in fact a book of Islamic history.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Al-Rānirī's purpose of writing *Bustān*, the structure and content of *Bustān*, the sources and the themes are the reflection of al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history which is based on the concept of *tawhīd*. The contents of *Bustān* 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 *ḥadīth* that reflects the concept of *tawhīd*. Last but not least, the themes of the creation of the universe and didactic theme are obviously basic element of Islamic history.

CHAPTER 6 : CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This research studies Nūr al-Dīn's al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*. This is a qualitative research that uses the method of content analysis that analyzes the manuscript of '*Bustān al-Salāṭīn*.' Three versions of the manuscript of *Bustān* are utilized that are Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41. Raffles 8 and Raffles 42 are obtained from the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London while UM 41 is from the University Malaya Library. Chapter one to chapter four discussed in detail the statement of problem, the objectives, the methodology, the literature review of this research as well as the biography and works of al-Rānīrī. Detailed elaboration is given to the life and intellectual contribution of al-Rānīrī as well as on the manuscript of *Bustān*. Meanwhile, the main objective concerning al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* is discussed in chapter five. Therefore, this chapter is the conclusion of this research and it will summarize the research and present the findings of this research.

6.2 FINDINGS

Aceh during the sixteenth century had emerged as a leading and an outstanding centre of Islamic learning in the Malay world. Muslim scholars from many places in the world, for example from Makkah and Gujerat, assembled in Aceh. Consequently, a rapid intellectual development occurred in Aceh where different subjects of Islamic sciences were taught and discussed in Aceh related to *uṣuluddīn*, *fiqh*, Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *taṣawwuf* and others. This intellectual development later leads to the emergence of

prominent Malay scholars in Aceh such as Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and Abd Ra'ūf b. 'Alī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī. The centre of discussion of this research is Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, an outstanding Muslim scholar from Rānīr, Gujerat who had made a great contribution to the development and dissemination of Islamic knowledge in Aceh during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani (reigned from 1046-1050 AH/1636-1641 AD).

Al-Rānīrī was originated from Rānīr who obtained his early education in his birthplace and later further his studies in Haramain. The intellectual development in Aceh had attracted al-Rānīrī and thus, in the year 1047 AH/1637 AD, al-Rānīrī arrived in Aceh and started his career as the *Shaykh al-Islam* at the court of Sultan Iskandar Thani. Simultaneously, al-Rānīrī continued his writing of various fields of Islam especially on *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*. Besides that, al-Rānīrī also wrote on *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and history. During his brief stay in Aceh (1637-1644 AD), al-Rānīrī had written 14 books, the majority of them are in Malay language, in different fields of Islamic sciences. Among his outstanding works are *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm* and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb*. Al-Rānīrī's intellectual contribution is evident in his 35 works in different subjects of Islamic knowledge. His work on *fiqh* namely *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* is one of his biggest contributions to the Malay society especially in Aceh. This is due to the reason that *Ṣirāṭ* was the first book on *fiqh* that contains basic teaching on *'ibādah* in Islam. Based on his intellectual works, it is no doubt that al-Rānīrī was well-known as a Muslim scholar, however his role as a historian does not receive high attention from scholars. In fact, his work on history entitled *Bustān al-Ṣalat fī Dhikr al-Awwalīm wa al-Akhirīm* is the largest work ever written in the Malay traditional literature. Therefore, this research highlights al-Rānīrī's

historical work mentioned above, specifically concerning the concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*.

Bustān is one of the earliest books on history written in the Malay world after *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and *Sejarah Melayu*. *Bustān* comprises of seven books with 60 chapters concerning history and didactic. Many scholars such as Braginsky, Winstedt, Daudy and Jelani considered *Bustān* as a work of Mirror for Princes (*Ketatanegaraan*) rather than history. This is due to the content of *Bustān* that contains advices to the rulers in their role. However, the researcher has proven that *Bustān* is a historical text based on the textual analysis of the text. Besides that, there is another work on mirror for princes in the Malay world before *Bustān* that is *Tāj al-Salāḥ* written by Bukhārī al-Jauharī in 1603 (*Bustān* was written in 1638).

However, the researcher believes that *Bustān* is in fact a book of history, specifically Islamic history and not a work of mirror for princes although it contains element of mirror for princes. The reason is based on the analysis on the text of *Bustān* that shows the content of *Bustān* is entirely history. Based on the content of *Bustān*, it shows that *Bustān* contains various types of knowledge such as history, mirror for princes, medicine, women, etc. However, the content of *Bustān* is predominantly history as it covered six books out of the seven books of *Bustān*. Besides that, not only that mirror for princes that cannot be separated from history, but also other types of knowledge. This is because there are different types of knowledge in history such as philosophy, politics, economic, etc. Therefore, based on the analysis of the content of *Bustān*, the researcher has proven that *Bustān* is a work of Islamic history.

As mentioned above, *Bustān* is a work of Islamic history and in this research, therefore the researcher determines to formulate al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. The researcher stresses that al-Rānīrī's concept of history is basically Islamic history based on the analysis of the text. The first argument is concerning al-Rānīrī's purpose of writing *Bustān*. Although many scholars came to an agreement that *Bustān* was written on the behest of Sultan Iskandar Thani. There is no doubt to the point but the researcher emphasizes that al-Rānīrī's purpose of writing *Bustān* is not only to fulfill the request of the Sultan but importantly, to write a book on Islamic history based on the concept of *tawḥīd*. This is evident in the content of *Bustān* that contains considerable number of stories concerning the creation of the universe, the history of the Prophets and human on earth and the pious saints of Allah. These stories portray the deeds and the misdeed of the people of the past. The purpose of these stories is to provide lesson and guidance for human being the way they should act in this world in accordance with the law of Allah. Therefore, al-Rānīrī took stories from the Qur'ān as Qur'ān is the main source of Islamic history. In fact, the Qur'an contains many stories concerning the past nations and the stories of the Prophet. Thus, the researcher re-emphasizes that al-Rānīrī's purpose of writing *Bustān* is to guide his readers the proper way to return to Allah, which is the final destination of every human being.

Al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history that is based on the concept of *tawḥīd* is reflected in the content and structure of *Bustān*, its purpose of writing, its sources and themes. The content and structure of *Bustān* is created by al-Rānīrī to reflect his concept of history. History begins with the creation. All that happens in history is the reflection of God's view which is explained in Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. So, history according to al-Rānīrī is a lesson to mankind on how to live the life perfectly and how to reach the final destination that is to return to Allah. That is why al-Rānīrī's writing contains didactic

elements. Book I-Book II of *Bustān* is obviously history as it contains the history of the creation of the universe (Book I) such as the creation of Ādam, the seven earths and heavens, the creation of *arash*, *kursī*, the moon, stars and others. Book II contains the history of the Prophets in Islam until the Prophet Muḥammad, followed by the history of the caliphates in Islam until the history of the Sultanate of Aceh. This type of history writing is generally known as ‘universal history’ and this is the achievement of al-Rānirī in the Malay historiography as he was the first historian in the Malay world who wrote on universal history. Subject on universal history has been written by Muslim scholars in the third century of *Hijrah* such as al-Balādhuri, al-Ṭabarī and al-Mas‘ūdī. Besides that, it should be highlighted that al-Rānirī incorporates the history of the Malay kings inside the world history, which is also a new method of writing in the Malay historiography. Meanwhile, the second structure of *Bustān* is concerning didactic (Book III-Book IV). Although the contents of Book III-Book IV concern didactic, it has to be asserted that didactic is the principle of understanding Islamic history. Indeed, the Qur’ān is full of stories with didactic element. Therefore, the researcher emphasizes that Book III-IV of *Bustān* as history as there are 185 stories in these two books.

In addition, al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history in *Bustān* is reflected in the use of a big amount of Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth*. This is evident in the use of 167 of verses from the Qur’ān and 216 *ḥadīth* in Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*. These references parallel al-Rānirī’s statement in the introductory part of *Bustān*, that is to write *Bustān* using the reference of Qur’ān and *Ḥadīth* (Raffles 8: 3-5). The Qur’ān and the authentic and basic sources in the the writing of Islamic history. Therefore, based on the use of a large number of Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth*, the researcher emphasizes that *Bustān* is a book on Islamic history and al-Rānirī’s concept of Islamic history is the concept of *tawḥīd*.

Besides utilizing Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth*, al-Rānirī also made references and referred to the quotation from to the companion of the Prophet Muḥammad (p.b.u.h.) such as 'Umar al-Khattāb, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Abū Dhar, Ibn 'Abbās and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Ṭābi'in* for example Ḍahhāk and Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Musayyab, Muslim scholars and historians (Al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām). The sources utilized by al-Rānirī show how al-Rānirī exposed the universality of history. Universality of references used in writing *Bustān* clearly indicate that al-Rānirī was exposed to different types of authentic sources of Islamic history during his time and consequently proves *Bustān* as a trustworthy historical work. Therefore, the researcher stresses that al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history is manifested in different kinds of references used in writing *Bustān*.

In conclusion, *Bustān* is essentially a work of Islamic history as shown by its structure, content, themes, sources and based on the analysis of the purpose of writing. The structure of *Bustān* shows that this text is history as it describes the history of the creation of the universe and the history of the prophets and the people of the past as well as stories in a didactic form supported by significant verses of the Qur'ān. Besides that, the didactic element in *Bustān* consists of the stories of the caliphs in Islamic history and the pious saints of Allah. The stories are in fact history and therefore indicate the existence of history in the didactic element of *Bustān*.

In addition, the didactic element in *Bustān* parallels the purpose of history in Islam that is to bring mankind to Allah. Through this element, al-Rānirī was trying to warn the people of the consequences of disobeying Allah as well as to show the way to apply the lessons from history. In other words, al-Rānirī through *Bustān* wanted to bring people to Allah, which is the last stage of the concept of Islamic universal history.

Moreover, history is the common structure of *Bustān* as it takes at least 80 percent from the whole content. Moreover, the usage of Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth* and the themes in *Bustān* also reflected al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history. Hence, the researcher re-emphasizes that al-Rānirī's text structure, content, sources, themes and the purpose of writing *Bustān* prove that history is the basic theoretical element of al-Rānirī and therefore, the Book I-Book IV of *Bustān* are a distinguished work of Islamic history in the 17th century Aceh.

6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Bustān is one of the important Malay-Islamic historical texts in the Malay Archipelago during the seventeenth century. *Bustān* is a sort of huge encyclopedia as it consists of seven books comprises of different fields of knowledge. This research explores al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history in Book I-Book IV of *Bustān* and it is the first research of its kind. Studies on al-Rānirī's concept of universal history have been discussed by some scholar aforementioned but his concept of Islamic history has never been done before. Therefore, the findings of this research are significant to the field of Islamic history in the Malay Archipelago. As this research only focuses on Book I-Book IV of *Bustān*, further research can be carried out by future researchers concerning al-Rānirī's concept of Islamic history. Below are the suggestions for future studies of *Bustān*:

- 1) For the time being, there are only four books of *Bustān* that were published by several authors mentioned in the section of literature review. Therefore, future research can be carried out to make transliteration and publication of another three books of *Bustān* (Book V, VI and VII).

- 2) Future research can concentrate on al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history of Book v, vi and vii. Besides that, studies can also be done on enlarging al-Rānīrī's concept of Islamic history in Book I-Book IV.
- 3) This research does not have the opportunity to explore the original manuscript of *Bustān* in Aceh. The manuscripts referred are the copies from different copyist available in the British library, the Royal Asiatic Society Library and the library of the University of Malaya. One of the interviewee informed the researcher that there is a copy of *Bustān* consists of Book I-Book VII in Aceh. Therefore, it is suggested for future studies to explore this copy because it is the only copy that consists of the seven books of *Bustān*.
- 4) Future researcher can conduct further research on Book III (it is stated that UM 41 is the only complete copy of Book III of *Bustān*) concerning the number of collection, content, physical condition and the like. Besides that, comparison can also be done between Book III of UM 41 with the other manuscript or collection of Book III of *Bustān*.
- 5) Future researcher is suggested to apply research grant and collaborate with international researchers and collectors of Malay-Islamic manuscript of Aceh to carry out further research concerning *Bustān* as well as to exchange views and experiences.
- 6) Students in the field of Islamic history should be exposed to *Bustān* as it is a prominent historical text that contains the element of Islamic history. Therefore, detailed discussion concerning *Bustān* can be included in some subjects offered by the Department of Islamic History and Civilization, University of Malaya and also by other history departments in some other Malaysian universities.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This research provides new findings concerning al-Rānirī as a historians and his concept of Islamic history in *Bustān*. Previously, al-Rānirī's role as a historian has not been discussed in detail as he was more known as a ṣūfī rather than historian. The findings of the research show that *Bustān* is a book on Islamic history which is a new finding on subject concerning al-Rānirī as a historian. Last but not least, hopefully the outcome of this research will benefit the future researcher and that they could give new contribution concerning al-Rānirī.

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