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The Legacy of Nurud'din Ar-Raniri as a Pioneer in Empowering the Malay Language in the Malay World

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ABSTRACT

Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, an Indian expatriate from Randir, Gujarat, serving as the Syeikhu al-Islam in the kingdom of Aceh in the 17th Century, undoubtedly played a pioneering role in empowering the use of the Malay language as the language of science and higher knowledge in the Malay world. The focus of the discussion in this paper is his magnum opus the *Bustan al-Salatin*, considered to be the largest Malay work in the field of political ethics. It comprises seven chapters and 60 clauses, and its contents ranges from varieties of subjects such as moral philosophy, political ethics, mysticism, and even traditional medicine. The paper will specifically discuss in brief the general content of the third chapter of the *Bustan al-Salatin* (MS UM 41), focusing on the use of the Malay language by the author. This is to illustrate the language competency of the author in using Malay expression precisely and appropriately, thus elevating Malay as the language of science and higher knowledge. Ar-Raniri has also written 14 other works in Malay that were widely read and used in many parts of the Malay world, thus elevating Malay as the language of higher knowledge, besides its status as the lingua franca of the region.

Keywords: Nurud'din ar-Raniri, Bustan al-Salatin, Malay language, language of science and higher knowledge, Malay scholars and intellectuals.

Introduction: The Background of *The Bustan Al-Salatin* and Nurud'din Ar-Raniri

The *Bustan al-Salatin* viewed from many aspects were considered to be the biggest work in the genre of political ethics in Malay traditional literature. It comprises seven chapters and 60 clauses, and its content ranges from varieties of subjects such as moral philosophy, political ethics, mysticism, and even traditional medicine.

The longest chapters were the second and the third chapters. The Second Chapter, Clause 11 described the history of the Islamic rulers in the East. The Second Chapter Clause 12 described the history of the Malay world comprising the origin of Sultan Iskandar Thani, the patrón of Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri who ordered him to write the *Bustan al-Salatin*. In this Clause, the *Sulalatus al-Salatin (Sejarah Melayu)* was referred to as the sources for the description of the origins of Sultan Iskandar Thani, i.e. from Sultan Iskandar Dzu'l-Qarnain to Seri Teri Buana in Bukit Siguntang.

Chapter 2, Clause 13 described the history of Aceh, beginning from the Lamri Kingdom and Sultan Mahkota Alam (15th Century) ending with the kingdom of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1641-1675) and two years of the reign of Sultanah Nuru'l-'Alam Safiatu'd-Din Syah (1641-1675M).

Clause 13 is the nucleus of Chapter 2 *Bustan al-Salatin* and in fact it can be said as the nucleus of the whole work, because Chapter 2 ended with the Clause 13 and Clause 13

ended with the last Sultan of Aceh namely Sultan Iskandar Thani whose description ended the line of the Sultan of Aceh described in *the Bustan al-Salatin*. It was Sultan Iskandar Thani who ordered Nuruddin to write the *Bustan al-Salatin*.

Another important work in the genre of political ethics in Malay traditional literature was the *Tajus al-Salatin*. Both these works, the *Tajus al-Salatin* and the *Bustan al-Salatin*, from the time of their writing attracted great interest amongst the people of the Malay Archipelago. The *Tajus al-Salatin* was translated into Javanese language and also translated into Acehnese language in the form of poems, while the fourth Chapter of the *Bustan al-Salatin* was translated into the Javanese language in the form of poems entitled *Sĕrat Nawawi* (Add. 12305. British Library).

The writer of the *Bustan al-Salatin*, Syeikh Nurud'din the son of Ali the son of Hasanji the son of Muhammad Hamid ar-Raniri was born in Randir, a town not far from Surat in Gujrat at the Malabar Coast of India. Most likely Syeikh Nurud'din was introduced to the Malay language since he was young. Concerning his arrival in Aceh, he mentioned it in *the Bustan al-Salatin*:

“The time of his (Nurud'din ar-Raniri's) arrival in Bandar Aceh Daru's-Salam was one thousand forty-seven after Hijrah (or 1637 C.E.), on the sixth day of the month of Muharram on Sunday. Thereafter on the seventh day of the month of Syawawl, a royal decree was instituted upon me of which I could not refuse... namely Sultan Iskandar Thani 'Alau'd-Din Mughayat Syah Johan Berdaulat ordered me to write a book in Jawi (Malay) language, comprising narratives of the denizens of the seven heavens and the seven earths, describing the affairs of all the kings in the past and in the later times... and for the purpose I make submission to God Almighty that this work will also be of benefits to all the Muslims, Amen O God of the world.”
(*Bustan Chapter I*, p. 3-4)

Statement of Problem

As mentioned above the *Bustan al-Salatin* by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, attracted wide attention from the people of the Malay Archipelago from the beginning of its writing. Copies of its works were distributed throughout the Malay Archipelago, and many parts of the work were translated into the Javanese language to cater for those who were not yet conversant in Malay during that period of time. Before he wrote the *Bustan al-Salatin*, ar-Raniri has already written three works when he first arrived in the Malay Peninsula, before coming to Aceh, namely the *Sirat al-Mastaqim* (a work on Jurisprudence), *Durrat al-Farā'idh bi Syarah al-'Aqā'id* (a Malay translation of the work by Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzānī the Mukhtasar al-'Aqā'id, (a work on kalam of al-Nasafi).

The writing of those works in Malay by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, an Indian, were very remarkable indeed, more so where the subject matters were on highly intellectual fields such as Islamic jurisprudence, kalam (theology) and Islamic political ethics. These writings also proved that the Malay language from this early date (1637 C.E.) was already capable of rendering subjects on highly intellectual contents, and also proved the fact that Malay was already widely distributed in the Malay Archipelago as a *lingua franca* as well as a language of higher knowledge and learning. In fact, the Malay language was already used as a *lingua franca* since the time of the Kingdom Srivijaya in Palembang in the 7th Century C.E, as proved by The Kota Kapur inscription dated 686 C.E., a Srivijaya Monument containing 60% old Malay words and 40% Sanskrit's words, (C.f. Hashim Musa, 2003: 35), and continued to be so during the times of the kingdoms of Temasek (14th Century), Malacca (15th Century), Aceh (16th Century), and Johore-Riau (17th-18th Century). During the Dutch and British colonial periods, however, the Dutch and English

languages dominated the official languages of communication, administration and higher learnings. However, after the independence (1946 in Indonesia, 1957 in Malaysia), Malay language gained ascendancy and dominated the whole region as the national language of Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei, as well as the language of education and communication.

The *Bustan*, though written in the kingdom of Aceh, was rendered in the Malay language in Jawi script, and not in Acehnese language. This proved the fact the people of Aceh have already mastered the Malay language as a language of learning and wider communication. And after the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese on 1511 and to the Dutch in 1641, Banda Aceh became the port of call of most Malay-Muslims traders not only from the Malay Archipelago but also from India, Persia, the Middle East and Turkey, avoiding the highly non-conducive trading environments in the colonial centres. Malay language became the *lingua franca* and the language of trades as well as the official language of the Malay kingdoms. However, in the *Bustan*, there were also Acehnese expressions used by ar-Raniri, as remarked by the late T. Iskandar. (T. Iskandar (unpublished). *Kajian Manuskrip Bustan al-Salatin karya Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri*. Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan).

Hence, the problems of the study can be rendered as follows:

- 1) What was the level of the mastery of higher Malay acquired by ar-Raniri as an expatriate and a foreign expert in Islamic knowledge,
- 2) How much was the influence of Acehnese language in the *Bustan*.

Objectives of The Study

The two problem statements above lead to the formulation of two following objectives of the study:

- 1) To determine the level of Malay language mastery by ar-Raniri,
- 2) To analyse and describe the influence and absorption of Acehnese language in the *Bustan*.

Literature Review

As mentioned above, the *Bustan al-Salatin* were considered to be the biggest work in the genre of political ethics in Malay traditional literature. It comprises seven chapters and 60 clauses, and its content ranges from varieties of subjects such as moral philosophy, political ethics, mysticism, and even traditional medicine. Many scholars were deeply impressed by the size and varieties of contents of the *Bustan*, and copies of different parts of the manuscripts were found scattered around the Archipelago, and proved to be quite problematical to gather the whole complete manuscripts.

According to T. Iskandar (*Kajian Bustan al-Salatin*, unpublished) most researchers focused their studies on Chapter 2, Clause 12. H. For example, Neubronner van der Tuuk, regarded Chapter 2, Clause 12 and Clause 13 (genealogies of the Kings of Malacca, Johore, Pahang and Aceh) as so important that he copied both two Clauses in 1855, from the versions of RAS Raffles Malay 42 with some variants from Raffles 8. Subsequently R. J. Wilkinson published in 1899 in Singapore the *Bustan al-Salatin* Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 in Jawi script in two volumes. Much later in 1971 Hoesein Djajadiningrat, in his studies on Acehnese history, had made use the Clause 13 of Chapter 2 found in the Leiden Code Or version. Only after the Second World War in the 20th Century, the interest to study the

Bustan was again rekindled beginning with the effort made by Voorhoeve, the Conservator of Eastern Manuscripts in the University of Leiden Library. Together with Drewes, Voorhoeve published a number of articles in the VKI, on the author of the *Bustan* as well as its contents.

In 1966 T. Iskandar edited Chapter 2 Clause 13, based on the version copied by van Der Tuuk from Raffles Malay 42, and had it published by the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kuala Lumpur. Meanwhile, Russel Jones edited Chapter 4 Clause 1 and it was published by the Dewan Bahasa in 1974. In 1979 Anne Grinter studied and made transliteration of Chapter 4 and presented it as a Ph.D. thesis to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

Hooykaas in his book *Over Maleise Literatuur* in 1937, have mentioned the two Malay political ethics works the *Tajus al-Salatin* and *Bustan al-Salatin*, in his Chapter 19 with the title *Twee Moslimse Exampelboeken als Vortenspiegel (Two Islamic Guide Books on the Mirror of Kings)*. On the other hand, Winstedt discussed both works in his chapter on Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and History.

Nunung Rodliyah edited Chapter 7, Clause 4, based on the Jakarta ML 310 version, and Khozin Affandi edited Chapter 6 based on Leiden Cod Or 1964 (1988). K.A. Steenbrink discussed the *Bustan* in his paper *On the Structure and Sources of the Bustanus Salatin* and presented it as *Proceedings of the 7th European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies* (1989). Shiraishi discussed on the Taman Ghairah by Sultan Iskandar Thani based on the transliteration of Chapter 2, Clause 13 published by the Dewan Bahasa (1966) and in 1998 had it published entitled *A Study of Bustanu's-Salatin (The Garden of Kings)*.

In 1998, Jelani Harun studied the *Bustan* and presented it a Ph.D. thesis at SOAS, London, entitled *Nuruddin Ar-Raniri's Bustanus Salatin: A Universal History and Adab Work from Seventeenth Century Aceh*. Later in 2001, he presented his studies on the *Bustan* at the Workshop on the studies of Malay Sultans with the title "*Bustanu's-Salatin: A Guide on the ethics of administration of the Malay Sultans*". Subsequently, he published a book in 2003 *Pemikiran Adab Ketatanegaraan Kesultanan Melayu (The Thought on the Political Ethics of the Malay Sultans)*, which contained many excerpts from Chapter 4 of the *Bustan*. He later published an article "*Bustan al-Salatin, 'The Garden of Kings': A Universal History and Adab Work from Seventeenth Century Aceh*" in the *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32 (2004). In this article, he made many quotations from Chapter 6, Clause 7 of the *Bustan*. In the same year, he made a transliteration of the Chapter 1 and 2, based on the RAS Raffles Mal. 8 and published it with the title *Bustan al-Salatin (Chapter One and Two) written by Nuruddin ar-Raniri* (2004).

Methodology of Research

The methodology of the study is based on library research in order to obtain all relevant published materials on the subject, and textual studies of the manuscript of the *Bustan al-Salatin*, as well its transliteration version by T. Iskandar in his yet to published work *Kajian Manuskrip Bustan al-Salatin karya Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri*. (mss.) Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan. Other texts on traditional Malay literature were also used to make contextual and co-textual studies with the object of the studies, the *Bustan al-Salatin*, especially works by Syeikh Abdul Samad Palembangi, Syeikh Daud al-Fathani and Muhammad Zin al-Fathani.

Analysis and Results of The Study: The Level of Malay Language Mastery of Syeikh Nurud'din Ar-Raniri in Bustan Al-Salatin

To study and analyse the level of Malay language mastery by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, focus of the study is the Chapter 3, Clause 1 of his *Bustan al-Salatin* entitled "Pada [menyatakan] menjadikan raja dan mengikut dia dengan segala syarat" (On the appointments of kings and their conditions). The tool to evaluate the mastery of language used by ar-Raniri is to analyse the appropriate use of terminologies and phrases that convey a highly complex and sophisticated meaning of a higher order knowledge. Below are statements of ar-Raniri on the subject (Chapter 3, Clause 1):

- 1) Nasihat: Sayogianya bagi segala raja-raja jangan ia segera menghukumkan barang suatu yang didengarnya daripada sembah orang daripada suatu warta. Takut siapa tahu ada jua membawa fitnah orang. Jikalau dihukumkan dengan yang demikian itu, tiada dengan periksyanya, jadi teraniayalah manusia daripada fitnah orang itu.
- 2) Nasihat: Sayogianya bagi segala hamba Allah menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah Ta'ala, dan dipohonkannya barang suatu yang dikehendaknya. Dan harap ia akan kemudahannya, nescaya diperolehnya jua adanya. Jangan ia dukacita kerana kesukaran. Bahawasanya beberapa kejahatan pada zahirnya, adalah kebajikan pada batinnya.
- 3) Nasihat: Sayogianya bagi segala raja minta pengajar daripada segala masyaikh seperti kelakuan Raja Harun ar-Rasyid, dan mengambil insaf akan dirinya daripada mendengar nasihat itu. Dan jangan ia lalai dengan dunia yang fana ini.
- 4) Nasihat: Wajib atas segala hamba Allah mengerjakan *amar bi'l-ma'ruf wa'n-nahi 'ana'l-munkar*. Dan tersangat wajibnya atas segala raja-raja dan segala orang yang berpenguasaan. Seperti firman Allah Ta'ala yang tersebut dalam Qur'an [3:104]:

Ertinya, "Hendaklah ada sepasukan daripada kamu membawai segala manusia kepada kebajikan, dan menyuruhkan mereka itu berbuat kebajikan dan melarangkan mereka itu daripada berbuat kejahatan. Dan mereka itulah sekaliannya berbahagia, dan luputlah ia daripada murka Allah".

- 5) Dan seperti sabda Nabi sallallahu `alaihi wa sallam:

Ertinya, "Barang siapa melihat daripada kamu akan yang berbuat kejahatan, iaitu yang meninggalkan pekerjaan fardhu atau mengerjakan yang haram, jikalau dosyanya kecil sekali pun, maka hendaklah menegahkan dia dengan tangannya. Maka jika tiada ia kuasa demikian itu, maka dengan lidahnya. Maka jika tiada kuasa ia demikian, maka {itu} dengan hatinya. Dan yang demikian itu tanda lemah iman jua".

Basing on the terminologies and phrases used in the sentences above, it is very clear that the Malay language used by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri is wholly very fluent and highly expressive, very appropriate with the level of knowledge and high subject matter being discussed. The use of the terminologies and phrases in the above sentences were very apt, and they precisely symbolized the meanings and nuances intended. For example, the following terminologies and phrases used (in bold), are very appropriate and precise indeed, expressing a higher form of meaning and knowledge:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) jangan ia segera menghukumkan | “he (the king) should not immediately pass a sentence ” |
| 2) sembah orang daripada suatu warta | “conveyed by someone from any news ” |
| 3) ada jua membawa fitnah orang | “it could be a slanderous act of someone ” |
| 4) jadi teraniayalah manusia | “thereby people will be victimised ” |
| 5) menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah Ta`ala | “ surrender himself to the will of God Almighty” |
| 6) harap ia akan kemudahannya , nescaya diperolehnya jua adanya | “ with hope of its benefits , it will bear fruits ultimately” |
| 7) Jangan ia dukacita kerana kesukaran | “do not be dejected by difficulties ” |
| 8) beberapa kejahatan pada zahirnya , adalah kebajikan pada batinnya | “some calamities seemingly harmful , but in reality, they maybe of benefits” |
| 9) mengambil insaf akan dirinya | “be penitent of his own self ” |
| 10) tersangat wajibnya atas segala raja-raja | “it is more incumbent upon all kings” |
| 11) membawai segala manusia kepada kebajikan | “guide all mankind towards goodness ” |

Even though the sentence structures used were rather cumbersome and longwinded by modern standard, they were actually representing the traditional classical Malay language of the Malay kitab genre. This pre-classical form of kitab genre was actually heavily influenced by Arabic sentence structures and it was then passed down to the later Malay-Islamic writers of the similar Malay-Islamic kitab genre such as Abdul Rauf al-Singkili, Abdul Samad al-Falimbani, Ahmad Muhammad Zain al-Fathani, Daud al-Fathani, and etc. As an example, quoted below are paragraphs taken from *Faridat al-Fara'id* a work by Syeikh Ahmad Muhammad Zain al-Fathani first printed in Mecca in 1313 A.H. or 1895 C.E., about 258 years after the writing of *Bustan al-Salatin*. These sentences are of a similar long-winded structures as found in the *Bustan al-Salatin* which actually resembled the Arabic sentence structures with profuse usages of prepositions such as ‘atas’ (on), ‘daripada’ (from), ‘pada’ (on), ‘bagi’ (for), ‘dengan’ (with), and the use of conjunction word ‘dan’ (and, Arabic ‘waw’) in the beginning of sentences, as well as the use of the term ‘barang’ (that/which, Arabic ‘syai’):

Dan atas Allah Ta`ala aku berpegang dan daripada limpah kurnianya aku menuntuti petambahan. Bermula ilmu tauhid itu ibarat daripada perhimpunan barang yang di`itiqadkan yang dibangsakan kepada agama, yang diambilkan daripada dalilnya yang diyakinkan. Dan dibicarakan ilmu ini pada zat Allah Ta`ala daripada sekira-kira barang yang wajib bagi-Nya, barang yang musatahil atas-Nya dan barang yang harus bagi-Nya. (*Faridat al-Fara'id*, 1313H (1895M): 3).

Maka wajib atas tiap-tiap mukallaf terimakan sekalian barang yang didatangkan dengan dia oleh Rasullullah sallallahu`alaihi wasallam daripada segala pekerjaan agama. Dan percayakan dengan sekalian barang yang me[ng]khabar ia dengan dia daripada sekalian yang ghaib-ghaib. *Faridat al-Fara'id*, 1313H (1895M): 22).

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Similarly, there is a profusion of Arabic loan words in the *Bustan al-Salatin* borrowed directly by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri to depict the borrowed Arabic/Islamic concepts not found in the Malay language. These concepts and their terms couching Islamic teaching were newly absorbed into the Malay culture together with the coming of Islam into the Malay society. These terms and concepts really enriched the Malay language and lifted it up as a language capable of expressing higher knowledge in the field of theology. Some of the terms and expressions are listed below:

fardu, wajib, haram, harus, makruh, dzalim, hukum, niat, sah, batal, adil, ni`mat, bala, barakah, hidayat, Rasul, nabi, aulia, muslim, kafir, mukallaf, aqil baligh, Amiru l'Mu'minin, taat, engkar.

However, Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, living in Aceh, was not spared from being influenced by Acehnese language and culture, and in the *Bustan al-Salatin* many Acehnese words and expressions were used. T. Iskandar has listed some of the Acehnese words as below:

antusan, Mal. utusan
budiadari, Mal. bidadari
bunga lawang, Ac bungong lawang, Mal. cengkih
entat atau hentat, Ac. euntat, Mal. hantar
jurung, Ac. jurōng, Mal. lorong
kuruk, Ac. kurōk, Mal. gali; menguruk telaga, menggali telaga
perenah, Ac. peureunah, Mal. pernah
perlan, Ac. peureulan, Mal. telan
persih, Ac. peureuséh, Mal. bersih
serekai, Ac. seureukè, Mal. tapis
taham; Ac. tham, Mal. tahan; menaham, Mal. menahan
tanah cempaga, Ac. tanoh ceumpaga, Mal. belerang
netiasa atau sentiasa, Mal. senantiasa
berbunyi-bunyi, Mal. secara bersembunyi
karunia, Ac. karōnya, Mal. kurnia
kelenggara, Mal. kelola, selenggara

The morphology of Malay-Acehnese structures in the *Bustan al-Salatin*, where affix ber- was used instead of affix meN- currently in use, and meN- was used in different forms, such as in words below:

berjamu, Mal. memperjamu
berjuang, Mal. memperjuangkan
memp perkain, Mal. menggunakan sebagai kain
menyuyikan, Mal. mempersunyi
mengediami, Mal. mendiami

Some of Malay archaic words are also found in the *Bustan al-Salatin*, such as:
bahtera, Mal. kapal, perahu
belumpai, Mal. belum lagi
berkenan, Mal. bersetuju dihati
kahawin, Mal. kahwin, nikah
pahuk, Mal. lembah
seranta, Mal. beritahu pada orang ramai, undangan

Sanskrit loan words were also found and they were retained as in the original features, such as:

dosya, dosa
gebala, gembala
manusyia, manusia
periksya, periksa
perkasya, perkasa
sentosya, sentosa
upama, umpama

Some Acehnese expressions were also found, such as:
membelah tasik, Ac. *plah neuheun*, Mal. mengeringkan tasik
sama tengah, Ac. *sama teungoh*, Mal. di tengah-tengah

Implication of The Study

Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, an Indian expatriate, as a Muslim scholar and writer on traditional Malay-Islamic kitab genre, succeeded in using Malay language fluently, comparable to any later native Malay-Islamic scholar-writers. In fact, it can be said that, he became one of the predecessors of this traditional Malay-Islamic kitab genre which was passed down to later Malay writers of the same genre. This classical form of kitab genre was actually heavily influenced by Arabic sentence structures and it was then passed down to the later Malay-Islamic writers of the similar Malay-Islamic kitab genre such as Abdul Rauf al-Singkili, Abdul Samad al-Falimbani, Ahmad Muhammad Zain al-Fathani, Daud al-Fathani, and etc., as found in these writers' works.

His position as the Chief of Islamic Affairs or Sheikhul Islam in Aceh under the patronage of Sultan Iskandar Thani, though within a short span of six years (1637-1643M), was used profitably, to write especially works that discredit and combat the *Wujudiyah* mystical teaching, which he considered to be a deviant sect or *zindiq*. At the same time, his numerous works in Malay that were widely distributed in the Malay Archipelago, indeed succeeded in raising the Malay language as the language of higher learning especially in the field of Islamic studies and teaching. His numerous works include the followings with Arabic titles but Malay contents:

- 1) *Şirāt al-Mustaqīm*
- 2) *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī'l-Taghrīb wa'l-Tarhīb*
- 3) *Bustān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwālīn wa'l-Ākhirīn*
- 4) *Akhbar al Ākhirah fī Ahwal al-Kiyāmah*
- 5) *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa'l-Raḥmān*
- 6) *Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān*
- 7) *Nubdhah fī Da'wa al-Dzill ma'a Şāhibihi*
- 8) *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kasyf al-Ma'lūm*
- 9) *Ma'al-Ḥayāt lī Ahl al-Mamāt*

- 10) *Ḥill al-Dzill*
- 11) *'Umdat al-I'tiqād*
- 12) *Syifa' al-Qulūb*
- 13) *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li Daf' al-Zindīq*
- 14) *Kifāyat al-Ṣalāt*
- 15) *Umdat al-I'tiqad*
- 16) *Hidāyat al-Imān bi Fadhl al-Mannān*
- 17) *Fath al-Mubīn 'ala'l-Mulḥidīn*
- 18) *Ṣawārim al-Ṣiddīq li Qaṭi' al-Zindīq*

Conclusion

In this paper, the discussion is focused on the *Bustan al-Salatin*, a work by Syeikh Nurud'din ar-Raniri, an Indian expatriate serving as Sheikhu'l Islam in the Kingdom of Aceh during the time of Sultan Iskandar Thani, in a short span of six years (1637-1643M). His position as the Sheikhu'l Islam was used profitably, to produce works that discredit and combat the *Wujudīyyah* mystical teaching, which he considered to be a deviant sect or *zindīq*. As an Islamic scholar-writer, he managed to write profusely in very fluent Malay, works that were of a very high standard that succeeded in raising the Malay language as the language of higher learning especially in the field of Islamic studies and teaching from the 17th Century onwards. The use of the terminologies and phrases in the text were very apt, and they precisely symbolized the meanings and nuances intended, expressing higher form of meaning and knowledge.

Even though the sentence structures he used were rather cumbersome and longwinded by modern standard, they were actually representing the traditional classical Malay language of the Malay kitab genre. This classical form of kitab genre was actually heavily influenced by Arabic sentence structures. This form of writing was then passed down to the later Malay-Islamic writers of the similar Malay-Islamic kitab genre.

However, his writings were not free from being influenced by the Acehnese culture where he was living, and as such many Acehnese words and expressions found their way in his writings. So too some Sanskrit terms were used, many still retaining their original sounds.

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