

HISTORICAL AND DIDACTIC THEMES IN *BUSTAN AL-SALATIN* BY NUR AL-DIN AL-RANIRI: A STUDY BASED ON BOOK I-BOOK IV

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Abstract

Bustan al-Salatin fi Dhikr al-Awwalin wa al-Akhirin (The Garden of the Kings on the Recollection of the Past and Present) (henceforth *Bustan*) is a work of Islamic history written by Nur al-Din al-Raniri (cited hereafter al-Raniri) in the seventeenth century Aceh. It consists of seven books with the total of 60 chapters. The structure of *Bustan* was divided into two; history and didactic. The historical part began with the creation of the universe until the history of the Prophets and Rulers. Meanwhile, the didactic element contained stories of the caliphs in Islamic history and the pious saints of Allah. Both structures were the manifestation of al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history that is based on the concept of tawhid in Islam. Al-Raniri's concept of Islamic history leads to the emergence of several historical themes in *Bustan* which was largely influenced by the historical themes in the Qur'an. Therefore, this article endeavours to analyze the historical themes in Book I-Book IV of *Bustan*. It employed a qualitative research approach that applies the technique of documentation in collecting data while inductive approach to content analysis was utilized for data analysis. The main document used was the manuscript of *Bustan al-Salatin* (Raffles Malay 8). The finding reveals that there are many historical themes in *Bustan* such as the creation of the universe, history of the Prophets in Islam and didactic theme.

Keywords: Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatin*, Classical Malay Literature, Islamic History, Historical Themes

Introduction

Nur al-Din al-Raniri was a distinguished scholar and historian of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thani (1636-1641).¹ Al-Raniri made a great contribution to the development of Islamic sciences in the Malay World which is proven by his significant works on various fields of Islam especially on *kalam*, *tasawwuf*, *fiqh* as well as history.² His work on Islamic history entitled *Bustan al-Salatin fi Dhikr al-Awwalin wa al-Akhirin*, was an important and remarkable masterpiece as well as the greatest of its kind in the Malay world written in 1638. *Bustan* differs from the previous historical works in the Malay Archipelago in terms of content and technique as al-Raniri pioneered the concept of universal history where he narrates chronologically the universal history and incorporates the Malay kings into the universal history.³ Therefore, with the concept, a new form of historical writing emerged in the seventeenth century Malay historiography that clearly reveals al-Raniri's contribution to the field of history, precisely Islamic history.

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¹ Al-Raniri was born into a diaspora Hadhrami family of Hamid clan in Ranir in Gujerat. Based on his own statement in Book I of *Bustan*, al-Raniri referred to himself as "Syeikh Nuruddin anak 'Ali Hasanji anak Muhammad, Hamid nama bangsanya, Ranir nama negerinya, dan Syafi'i mazhabnya..." (Nuruddin the son of 'Ali Hasanji, the son of Muhammad, Hamid was his clan, Ranir was the place he belonged to and Shafi'i was his *mazhab* (sect). Refer to Raffles Malay 8 (*Bustan al-Salatin*), p. 3; Raffles 42 (*Bustan al-Salatin*), p. 3 and UM 41, p. 3. Al-Raniri's date of birth is unknown, but Azra and Amirul (2004) suggest that al-Raniri was born towards the end of the sixteenth century. C.A. Grinter (1979), Book IV of the *Bustan us-Salatin* by Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: A Study from the Manuscripts of a 17th Century Malay Work Written in North Sumatra, Doctoral thesis, University of London, United Kingdom, p. 8; Azyumardi Azra (2004), *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, Australia: Allen & Unwin, p. 54; Amirul Hadi (2004), *Islam and State in Sumatra*, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, p. 153.

² T. Iskandar (1964, October), Nuruddin ar-Raniri Pengarang Abad ke-17. *Dewan Bahasa*, p. 440; T. Iskandar (1967), "Three Malay Historical Writings in the First Half of the 17th Century," *Journal of the Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 40, No. 2, p. 44 & Andaya, L. Y. (2001), "Aceh's Contribution to Standards of Malayness," *Archipel*, Vol. 61, p. 50.

³ Azra (2004), *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, p. 227- 228; Muhammad Yusoff Hashim (1992), *Pensejarahan Melayu: Kajian Tentang Tradisi Melayu Nusantara*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka & Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, p. 234; Jelani Harun (2009), *Bustan Al-Salatin: The Garden of Kings: A Malay Mirror for Rulers*, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, pp. 19-21; Hermansyah (2014), "Naskah Tabyan Fi Ma'rifat Al-Adyan: Interpretasi Aliran Sesat di Aceh Menurut Nuruddin Ar-Raniry," *Jurnal Jumantera*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 41-60.

Bustan is not only the largest work on Islamic history but also the longest text written in the history of traditional Malay literature with 1250 pages.⁴ It consists of seven books with 60 chapters. The contents of *Bustan* encompass of historical and didactic elements which are evident in Book I-Book IV. Book I-Book II emphasize the historical element with the total page of 264. Meanwhile, the didactic element is elaborated in Book III and Book IV with 398 pages.⁵ Based on the pages, it shows that the didactic element dominates the historical element. However, this does not affect the status of the *Bustan* as a work of Islamic history. This is due to the fact that didactic element cannot be separated from Islamic history as didacticism is the principle in the understanding of Islamic history. Based on the analysis of the contents of Book I-Book IV, it clearly shows al-Raniri's abilities to includes many themes related to universal history and simultaneously Islamic history in *Bustan* which will be discussed thoroughly in the following.

Historical Themes in *Bustan Al-Salatin*

Based on al-Raniri's purpose of writing, structure, content and sources of *Bustan*, it can be said that Islamic history based on the concept of *tawhid* which is the basic concept of *Bustan*.⁶ 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 didactic theme. These sub-themes are closely related to the concept of Islamic history as Islamic history begins with the creation of the universe until the *Yawm al-Akhirah* (the hereafter).

Concerning the theme of the creation of the universe, Al-Raniri in *Bustan* narrated the creation of the universe and the creation of the first man that is Adam and his descendant (Book I) that is based on the narrations in the Qur'an. 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 *tawhid* in Islam. In order to enable human being to fulfill their role as the representative of Allah, they are given the Qur'an 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 Adam followed by the history of the Prophets and the people of the past. Therefore, the creation and the didactic is link to each other as didactic is the principle in understanding Islamic history. Thus, al-Raniri in *Bustan* 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 *Bustan*:

The Theme of the Creation of the Universe

The theme of creation of the universe that occupies the whole of Book I of *Bustan* (contains 30 chapters) is part of the process of history. Al-Raniri in *Bustan* describes the creation of the universe starting from the creation of *Nur Muhammad* until the creation of the region. This includes the creation of *Lohmahfuz*, *Kursi*, *Sidrat al-Muntaha*, seven layers of the heavens, the moon and stars, the oceans and others. From all the creations, the creation of the seven layers of the heavens and the creation of the earth were described in depth by al-Raniri. As Qur'an is one of al-Raniri's sources in writing *Bustan*, al-Raniri took the theme of the creation of the universe from the Qur'an. There are many surahs in the Qur'an describing the creation such as *surah al-Anbiya* (21), *al-Furqan* (25) and *al-Rahman* (55). For instance, the creation of the seven layers of the heavens is mentioned in surah *al-Baqarah* (2), *al-An'am* (6), *al-Kahfi* (18) and *Al-A'raf* (7). An example of the verse related to this is described in the Qur'an in surah *al-Baqarah* (2):

هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ لَكُمْ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا ثُمَّ أَسْتَوَىٰ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ فَسَوَّاهُنَّ سَبْعَ سَمَاوَاتٍ وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ (٢٩)
"It is He who created for you all of that which is on the earth. Then He directed Himself to the heaven, [His being above all creation], and made them seven heavens, and He is Knowing of all things." (2:29)

⁴ Siti Hawa Salleh (1992), *Bustan al-Salatin*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. xiv; Jelani Harun (1999a), "*Bustan Al-Salatin*: Karya Sejarah Dunia (*Universal History*) dalam Pensejarahan Melayu Tradisional," *Jurnal Ilmu Kemanusiaan*, Vol. 6, 13.

⁵ Raffles 8; UM 41; Jelani Harun (2009), *Bustan Al-Salatin: The Garden of Kings*, p. 51.

Another example is concerning the creation of the Angel which is mentioned in surah *al-Fatir* (35) as below:

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ فَاطِرِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ جَاعِلِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ رُسُلًا أُولِي أجنحةٍ مثنى وثلاث ورباع يزيد في الخلق ما يشاء إن الله على كل شيء قدير (١)

“All praise is [due] to Allah, Creator of the heavens and the earth, [who] made the angels messengers having wings, two or three or four. He increases in creation what He wills. Indeed, Allah is over all things competent.” (35:1)

Due to the fact that history in Islam is in fact Qur’anic history, al-Raniri relied mainly on Qur’an as his vital source in writing *Bustan* including its themes. There is a considerable amount of Qur’anic verses related to the creation of the universe as clearly listed in Table 1. However, al-Raniri only utilized 47 verses in order to support his description on the creation of the universe as listed in the following Table 1. The purpose of listing all the Qur’anic verses is to emphasize that *Bustan* contains many historical themes that derives from the historical themes in the Qur’an, and subsequently that prove it as a book of history Islamic history. There are a number of historical themes in *Bustan*, but this article will only elaborate two historical themes; the creation of the universe and didactic.

Table 1. The Number of Verses in *Bustan and Qur'an* Concerning the Creation of the Universe

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'AN
1	1 (The creation of <i>Nur Muhammad</i>)	1	<i>Al-Saff</i> (61): 8	<i>Al-Nisa'</i> (4): 64 <i>Al-Ma'idah</i> (5): 15 <i>Al-Nur</i> (24): 35 <i>Al-Ahzab</i> (33): 45-46 <i>Al-Shura</i> (42): 51-53
2	4 (The creation of the ' <i>Arasy</i> / Throne)	3	<i>Al-Haqqah</i> (69):17 <i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghafir</i> (40): 7 <i>Al-Hijr</i> (15): 21	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2):29 <i>Al-A'raf</i> (7): 54 <i>Yunus</i> (10): 3 <i>Hud</i> (11): 7 <i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13): 2 <i>Taha</i> (20): 5 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 59 <i>Al-Sajdah</i> (32): 4 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 11 <i>Al-Hadid</i> (57): 4
3	5 (The creation of <i>Kursi</i> / Footstool)	1	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 255	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 255

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'AN
4	7 (The creation of the Angels)	3	<i>Al-Tahrim</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-Baqarah</i> (2): 285 <i>Al-An'am</i> (6): 61 <i>Al-Anfal</i> (8): 9 <i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 28 <i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 50 <i>Al-Anbiya'</i> (21): 19-20 <i>Al-Ahzab</i> (33): 56 <i>Al-Fatir</i> (35): 1 Qaf (50): 17 <i>Al-Naba'</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-Waqi'ah</i> (56): 28
6	9 (The creation of Jan-the father of Jin)	2	<i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 15 <i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 50	<i>Al-Hijr</i> (15): 26-27 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 39 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 74 <i>Al-Jinn</i> (72): 1-6 <i>Al-Nas</i> (114): 6
7	11 (The creation of the seven layers of the heavens)	8	<i>Al-Dhariyat</i> (51): 47 <i>Hud</i> (11): 7 <i>Al-Hadid</i> (57): 4 <i>Yunus</i> (10): 3 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 11-12 <i>Al-Nazi'at</i> (79): 27-29 Qaf (50): 38 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 3	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 117 <i>Al-An'am</i> (6): 73 <i>Al-A'raf</i> (7): 54 <i>Yunus</i> (10): 3 <i>Al-Kahfi</i> (18): 51 <i>Al-Anbiya'</i> (21):30 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 59 <i>Al-Mu'min/Al-Ghafir</i> (40): 64 <i>Al-Talaq</i> (65): 12

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN BUSTAN	VERSES IN BUSTAN	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'AN
8	12 (The creation of Paradise)	5	<i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 46 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 62 <i>Al-Hadid</i> (57): 21 <i>Al-Kawthar</i> (108): 1 <i>Muhammad</i> (47): 15	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 24-25 <i>Al-Imran</i> (3): 15 <i>Al-Imran</i> (3): 133 <i>Al-Tawbah</i> (9): 72 <i>Al-Bayyinah</i> (98): 8
9	13 (The creation of Nymphs)	6	<i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 72 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 56 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 58 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 68 <i>Al-Waqi'ah</i> (56): 27-34 <i>Al-Waqi'ah</i> (56): 35-37	<i>Al-Saffat</i> (37): 48-49 <i>Sad</i> (38): 52 <i>Al-Dukhan</i> (44): 54 <i>Al-Thur</i> (52): 20 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 70 <i>Al-Waqi'ah</i> (56): 22-23
10	15 (The creation of the Sun, moon and stars)	4	<i>Al-Saffat</i> (37): 5 <i>Al-Takwir</i> (81): 1 <i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 16 <i>Al-Anbiya'</i> (21): 33	<i>Al-An'am</i> (6): 96 <i>Yunus</i> (10): 5 <i>Ibrahim</i> (14): 33 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 61
11	16 (The creation of Meteors)	1	<i>Al-Saffat</i> (7): 6-10	<i>Al-An'am</i> (6):97 <i>Al-Hijr</i> (15): 16 <i>Al-Waqi'ah</i> (56): 75-76 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 5 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 61
12	18 (The creation of cool water, ice and dew)	1	<i>Al-Nur</i> (24): 43	<i>Sad</i> (38): 42 <i>Sad</i> (38): 57 <i>Al-Qamar</i> (54): 12
13	21 (The creation of the seven layers of the earth)	4	<i>Al-Talaq</i> (65): 12 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 9 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 9-10 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 10 <i>Taha</i> (20): 105	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Al-Ghafir</i> (40): 64 <i>Al-Talaq</i> (65): 12 <i>Al-Nazi'at</i> (79): 30-31 <i>Al-A'raf</i> (7): 54

NO.	FASALS/CHAPTERS	NO. OF VERSE/VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	VERSES IN <i>BUSTAN</i>	EXAMPLES OF VERSE/VERSES IN QUR'AN
14	22 (The creation of the <i>Ka'bah</i>)	1	<i>Al-A'raf</i> (7): 172	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 127 <i>Al-Ma'idah</i> (5): 97 <i>Al-Anfal</i> (8): 35 <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-Hijr</i> (15): 44	<i>Al-Hijr</i> (15): 43 <i>Al-Mulk</i> (67): 6 <i>Al-Ma'arij</i> (70): 15 <i>Al-Inshiqaq</i> (84): 12 <i>Al-Humazah</i> (104): 5-6
17	27 (The creation of the Globe)	2	<i>Al-Isra'</i> (17): 70 <i>Al-Jathiyah</i> (45): 12	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 22 <i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Al-Ra'd</i> (13): 3 <i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 14-15 <i>Al-Ghafir</i> (40): 64 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 10
18	28 (The number of the oceans and rivers)	1	<i>Luqman</i> (31): 27	<i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 53 <i>Al-Naml</i> (27): 61 <i>Al-Fatir</i> (35): 12 <i>Al-Jathiyah</i> (45): 12 <i>Al-Rahman</i> (55): 19-20
19	29 (Enumerating the ' <i>Alam</i> / lands)	1	<i>Al-Muddaththir</i> (74): 31	<i>Al-Baqarah</i> (2): 22 <i>Al-An'am</i> (6): 32 <i>Al-Hijr</i> (15): 27 <i>Al-Talaq</i> (65): 12

Sources: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41

Table 1 indicates the 47 verses in Book I concerning the creation of the universe and the examples of the verses concerning the subjects in the Qur'an. The usage of 47 verses from the Qur'an indicates that importance of the theme of the creation that is purposely written by al-Raniri in *Bustan*. From the 19 creations (No. 1-19), the creation of the creation of the seven layers of the heavens, the creation of Nymphs and the creation of paradise receive the attention of al-Raniri as the subjects utilized the highest number of Qur'anic verses with 8, 6 and 5 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 *surah Yunus* (10): 3, *Fussilat* (41): 11-12, *Al-Dhariyat* (51): 47, *Al-Mulk* (67): 3 and *Al-Nazi 'at* (79): 27-29. Meanwhile, the creation of Nymphs is mentioned in *surahs Al-Saffat* (37): 48-49, *Sad* (38): 52, *Al-Dukhan* (44): 54 and *Al-Thur* (52): 20. Below is an example of a verse concerning the the creation of the Nymphs in *surah al-Rahman* (55) and concerning the paradise which has been mentioned in *surah al-Baqarah* (2).

فِيهِنَّ خَيْرَاتٌ حِسَانٌ (٧٠)

“In them are good and beautiful women” (55:70)

وَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ أَنَّ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ كُلَّمَا رُزِقُوا مِنْهَا مِنْ ثَمَرَةٍ رَزَقُوا قَالُوا هَذَا الَّذِي رُزِقْنَا مِنْ قَبْلُ وَأَنُؤُا بِهٖ مُنْسَبِينَ لَهُمْ فِيهَا أزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ وَهُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ (٢٥)

“And give good tidings to those who believe and do righteous deeds that they will have gardens [in Paradise] beneath which rivers flow. Whenever they are provided with a provision of fruit therefrom, they will say, "This is what we were provided with before." And it is given to them in likeness. And they will have therein purified spouses, and they will abide therein eternally.” (2:25)

Table 1 also reveals that al-Raniri in *Bustan* describes many topics under the historical theme of creation of the universe that include the creation of *Nur Muhammad*, *Arasy* (Throne), Sun, moon and stars, the globe as well as the oceans and rivers. Al-Raniri mainly referred to Qur'an in describing the creation of the universe, but he also relied his sources on early Muslim historian that is al-Tabari.⁷ The historical theme of the creation of the universe was also one of Al-Tabari's major theme in his masterpiece in history entitled “*Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*” (The History of the Prophets and Kings), written during the third century of Hijrah. In this masterpiece, al-Tabari describes the creations of the heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the sky and the mountain and others as listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Qur'anic verses concerning the Creation of the Universe in *Kitab Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa Al-Muluk* by Al-Tabari

NO.	TITLE OF CREATION	QUR'ANIC VERSES IN <i>KITAB TA'RIKH AL-RUSUL WA AL-MULUK</i>
1	The creation of the heaven and earth	<i>Baqarah</i> (2): 29 <i>Hud</i> (11): 7 <i>Al-Anbiya'</i> (21):30 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 59 <i>Sajdah</i> (32): 4 <i>Qaf</i> (50): 38 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 9-12 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 14 <i>Al-Nazi 'at</i> (79): 27-28 <i>Al-Nazi 'at</i> (79): 30

⁷Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 310 AH/923 AD) was the 3 AH/9 AD century great historian born in Amul, Tabaristan. Besides being a historian, al-Tabari was also a jurist and collector of *hadith* (Seth Ward, 1990: 408). His masterpiece on history is *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*, a book on universal history begins from the creation of the universe and ends with the era of the 'Abbasid until the year 302 AH/915 AD (Mulalic, 2012: 175). *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* later becomes one of the important sources of Islamic history and according to Margoliouth, “Tabari is the first great Muslim historian who dealt with the subject in a comprehensive and analytic method and formed a chronological sense of events.” See M.G. Rasul (1968), *The Origin and Development of Muslim Historiography*, Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, p. 24.

2	The creation of the sun and the moon	<i>Yunus</i> (10): 5 <i>Ibrahim</i> (14): 33 <i>Yasin</i> (36): 38 <i>Al-Takwir</i> (81): 1
3	The creation of the sky and the mountain	<i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 15 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 10 <i>Al-Thur</i> (52): 10 <i>Al-Nazi 'at</i> (79): 32 <i>Al-Ghasiyah</i> (88): 18-20
4	The cration of Paradise	<i>Maryam</i> (19):63
5	The creation of Qalam	<i>Al-Qalam</i> (68):1
6	The creation of the 'Arasy/ Throne	<i>Hud</i> (11): 7 34 <i>Al-Furqan</i> (25): 59 <i>Sajdah</i> (32): 4
7	The creation of Angels	<i>Baqarah</i> (2): 210 <i>Fussilat</i> (41): 14
8	The creation of Water	<i>Al-Nazi 'at</i> (79): 31 <i>Al-Anbiya</i> (21): 30
9	The creation of Day and night	<i>Al-Isra'</i> (17): 12 <i>Al-Nazi 'at</i> (79): 29
10	The creation of Rivers	<i>Al-Nahl</i> (16): 15
11	The creation of Stars	<i>Al-Takwir</i> (81):1

Source: Al-Tabari, Abi Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir (1967), *Tarikh al-Rusul wa-al-Muluk*, Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim (*tahqiq*), Vol. 1, Misr: Dar al-Ma'arif.

Table 2 lists different creations under the historical theme of the creation of the universe written by al-Tabari in *Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk*. Based on the table, al-Tabari describes 11 creations that include the creations of 'Arasy, angels and water. Al-Tabari supports his description of each creations with 27 verses from the Qur'an. For example, the creation of the heaven and the earth utilized the highest number of Qur'anic verses, that is, 10 verses. Meanwhile the second highest Qur'anic verses are used by al-Tabari in the description of the creation of the sky and the mountain (5 verses). Al-Tabari's style of writing about the creation of the universe has been followed by al-Raniri in writing *Bustan*. Al-Tabari's historical theme on the creation of the universe has been referred by al-Raniri in his writing on a similar theme in *Bustan*. In fact, al-Raniri utilized similar Qur'anic verses that were used by al-Tabari in his description of the creation of the heaven and the creation of the Sun, moon and stars. For example, al-Raniri referred to surah *Fussilat* (41): 9-12, surah *Hud* (11): 7, *Al-Nazi 'at* (79): 27-29 and surah *Qaf* (50): 38, that are listed in Table 1 and Table 2. Below is the example of surah *Fussilat* (41): 9-10:

قُلْ أَيْنَ كُمْ لَتَكْفُرُونَ بِالَّذِي خَلَقَ الْأَرْضَ فِي يَوْمَيْنِ وَتَجْعَلُونَ لَهُ أُنْدَادًا ذَلِكَ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ وَجَعَلَ فِيهَا رُوسِيَ مِنْ فَوْقِهَا وَبَرَكَ فِيهَا وَقَدَّرَ فِيهَا أَقْوَامًا فِي أَرْبَعَةِ أَيَّامٍ سَوَاءً لِّلْسَانَلِينَ . (٩-١٠)

“Say, "Do you indeed disbelieve in He who created the earth in two days and attribute to Him equals? That is the Lord of the worlds. And He placed on the earth firmly set mountains over its surface, and He blessed it and determined therein its [creatures'] sustenance in four days without distinction - for [the information] of those who ask.” (41:9-10)

Therefore, it can be concluded that al-Tabari's *Kitab Tarikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* is one of al-Raniri's sources in writing *Bustan* especially concerning the historical theme of the creation of the universe. This theme in Al-Raniri's *Bustan* and al-Tabari's *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Muluk* is parallel to the historical theme in Qur'an that signifies the importance the theme of the creation of the universe. In the author's point of view, al-Raniri purposely inserted this theme in *Bustan* to show the greatness of Allah, the creator of the universe and that human beings must worship and submit themselves to Allah. This is in accordance with the concept of *tawhid* which is the fundamental of *Bustan*. Besides that, al-Raniri intended to emphasize that human beings will return to Allah in their final destination and therefore, they should take lessons from history and apply it in their lives in order to seek the blessing of Allah in this world and hereafter.

The Theme of Didactic

As didactic element is elaborated in detail in the Qur'an through the stories of the Prophets and the people of the past, didactic becomes one of the main themes in Islamic history. Didactic in *Bustan* is in the form of advices given by al-Raniri to caliphs, kings and viziers the right way to perform their duties according to the teaching of Islam through stories of the caliphs of the early period of Islam such as during the rule of Umar al-Khattab (the second caliph of *Khulafa' al-Rashidun*) and Harun al-Rashid (the fifth caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate). Indirectly, from these advices, al-Raniri intended to guide the readers the right way they should conduct their lives according to the teaching of Islam. This style of didactic writing was repeated in many parts of *Bustan* especially in Book III and Book IV. The didactic element in *Bustan* parallels the purpose of history in Islam and the content of the Qur'an. Among al-Raniri's advices to the leaders are to fear Allah, to carry out justice, the help the needy and to seek knowledge. Below are some excerpts from Book III of *Bustan* on al-Raniri's advices.

Advice 1

Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah khalifah yang terlalu adil lagi zahid, betapa ia takut akan Allah Ta'ala pada memelihara akan hak segala Islam dan memenuhi kehendak mereka itu. (Book III, Chapter 2: 346)

(My advice: O Just kings, listen to the caliph who is very fair and pious, how he fears Allah Ta'ala in preserving the rights of Muslims and fulfilling their wishes)

Advice 2

Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang berpenguasa, merendahkan dirinya dan berbaik segala hati hamba Allah dan memenuhi segala hajat mereka itu. (Book III, Chapter 2:431)

(My advice: Servants of Allah who possessed power, to humble himself and to treat others well as well as to fulfill their wishes).

Advice 3

Nasihat: Seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah mengambil ibarat pada menengarkan hikayat ini dan menahan dirinya daripada berbuat derhaka akan Tuhannya. (Book IV, Chapter 2: 306)

(My advice for servants of Allah to take lessons to this story and refrain themselves from disobeying Allah)

Due to the importance of didactic in Qur'an, al-Raniri purposely created didactic theme in *Bustan*. He elaborates in length concerning didactic in Book III and Book IV of *Bustan* especially through stories of caliphs Umar and Harun al-Rashid. Below is the statistics of the advices in didactic stories in Book III and Book IV. The purpose of giving statistical figure is to show that al-Raniri emphasizes on didactic element and this is reflected in his long elaboration on stories contain didactic element in *Bustan*.

Table 3. Number of Advices in Book III of *Bustan*

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
1	3	2	306	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja menahan dirinya daripada aniaya.</i> (My advice: All kings should refrain themselves from committing 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</i>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<p><i>baik supaya tinggal adatnya itu hingga datang hari kiamat, dan jangan ia berbuat aniaya dan mengadakan dengan kejahatan.</i> (My advice: All kings should carry out their duties with virtue and refrain from committing evil)</p>
3	3	2	310	<p><i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja melakukan kelakuannya seperti Amirulmukminin 'Umar radiya Allahu 'anhu supaya diperolehinya pusaka khalifah adil daripada Amirulmukminin 'Umar radiya Allahu 'anhu, dan ialah yang terlebih baik daripada segala manusia dan diperolehinya pahala ganda-berganda yang tiada terkira-kira banyaknya.</i> (My advice: All kings should follow the behaviour of 'Umar al-Khattab, the Just caliph, who is the best of all mankind and he earned countless double rewards)</p>
4	3	2	313	<p><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 radiya Allahu 'anhu.</i> (My advice: All kings should help their poor subjects in order to gain happiness in this world and the hereafter, they obtained the behavior from caliph 'Umar radiya Allahu' anhu)</p>
5	3	2	315	<p><i>Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah hal Amirulmukminin 'Umar radiya Allahu 'anhu, betapa merendahkan dirinya daripada melihat kebesaran Allah Ta'ala dan melelahkan dirinya kerana memelihara segala hamba Allah dan menenguhkan syarat Nabi sallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam.</i> (My advice: O Just kings, listen to Amirulmukminin 'Umar radiya Allahu' anhu, who humbled himself from seeing the greatness of Allah Ta'ala and working hard to take care of servants of Allah and to strengthen the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad).</p>
6	3	2	316	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil hendaklah ia mengambil ibarat daripada takluk Khidir 'alayhi al-salam akan segala raja-raja yang aniayanya dan menterinya, dan segala yang menolong dia.</i> (My advice: All just kings should take lesson from the story of the Prophet Khidir of all unjust kings and their ministers, and all who assist them)</p>
7	3	2	318	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja menasihatkan rakyatnya seperti nasihat Amirulmukminin 'Umar radiya Allahu 'anhu supaya lepas ia daripada bahaya akhirat dan jika tiada demikian maka ialah kena bahaya pada hari kiamat.</i> (My advice: All kings should advise their people like the advice of caliph 'Umar so that he will escape the danger of hereafter)</p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
8	3	2	320	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah memelihara hak isterinya.</i> (My advice: Servants of Allah should protect the right of their wives)
9	3	2	321	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang ada kuasa melangkarakan segala hamba Allah yang daif supaya dipelihara Allah subhanahu wa Ta'ala akan dia daripada segala bahaya Hari kiamat.</i> (My advice: To servants of Allah who possessed power, they must help the needy in order that Allah will protect them from the danger <i>Yaum al-Qiyamah</i>)
10	3	2	335	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah mengasihani atas segala yang bernyawa supaya dikasihi Allah Ta'ala akan dia.</i> (My advice: Servants of Allah should have mercy on all creatures so that he will be loved by Allah)
11	3	2	336	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya hai segala raja yang adil, mengambil ibaratlah daripada hikayat ini betapa hal Amirulminin 'Umar radiya 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> (My advice: Just kings should take a lessons from this story, how caliph 'Umar who is more fair than all pious men, was tested by Allah for twelve years, then how about all other kings?)
12	3	2	346	<i>Nasihat: Hai segala raja-raja yang adil, dengarlah khalifah yang terlalu adil lagi zahid, betapa ia takut akan Allah Ta'ala pada memelihara akan hak segala Islam dan memenuhi kehendak mereka itu.</i> (My advice: O Just kings, listen to the caliph who is very fair and pious, how he fears Allah <i>Ta'ala</i> in preserving the rights of Muslims and fulfilling their wishes)
13	3	2	349	<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> (My advice: All kings should command fair punishment in order that the people live peacefully and they themselves obtain rewards from Allah)
14	3	2	359	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengikut hal Raja Harun al-Rashid betapa insafnya dan menahankan dirinya pada mengabaikan 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 Harun al-Rashid itu supaya gemilangan namanya daripada nama raja-raja yang</i>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<i>adil seperti termasyhur Raja Harun al-Rashid. Dan jangan ia mengerjakan seperti raja-raja yang aniaya.</i> (My advice: All kings should follow the behavior of caliph Harun al-Rashid, who refrain himself from fulfilling great advice, humbled himself and took lesson from this advice. All kings should follow the attitude of Harun al-Rashid so that their names become well known as fair kings like Harun al-Rashid).
15	3	2	360	<i>Seyogianya segala yang budiman membicarakan firman Allah Ta'ala dan sabda Nabi kita salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam ini dengan mengambil ibarat dan insaf supaya jangan ia menyesal pada hari kiamat yang tiada berguna menyesalnya itu.</i> (Learned men who speak the words of Allah Ta'ala and the words of our Prophet <i>salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam</i> to take lessons so that he will not regret on the Day of Judgment)
16	3	2	368	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang berjinak-jinakkan dengan segala 'ulama' yang menunjuk jalan akhirat.</i> (My advice: All kings should learn from 'ulama' who show them the path of hereafter)
17	3	2	382	<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 demikian itu tiada dengan periksanya, jadi teraniayalah manusia daripada fitnah orang itu.</i> (My advice: All kings should not immediately carry out punishment to something he heard from others, fearful it might be a slander. If they did that without investigation, the man is persecuted due to the slander)
18	3	2	392	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah sentiasa menyebut mati dan hendaklah ia berbuat ibadat hingga datang maut.</i> (My advice: Servant of Allah should always remember death and worship Allah until death)
19	3	2	396	<i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan pekerjaan seperti kelakuan Raja Harun al-Rashid pada menyatakan ilmu dan mendengarkan 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-Qiyamah.</i> (My advice: All kings should follow the conduct of caliph Harun al-Rashid in seeking knowledge, who humbled himself to the pious, and from his attitude of honouring knowledge, his name was well known in hereafter).

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
20	3	2	397	<p><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></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should command their viziers to seek knowledge, and all servants of Allah should know the rank of knowledge)</p>
21	3	2	399	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja mengerjakan seperti pekerjaan Raja Harun al-Rashid 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></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should follow the conduct of the caliph Harun al-Rashid so that their names are well known as just kings, they should forgive a rich man and do not be angry with the words of those who obey Allah).</p>
22	3	2	401	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allah Ta'ala 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 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></p> <p>(My advice: 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 mashaikh seperti kelakuan Raja Harun al-Rashid dan mengambil insaf akan dirinya daripada mendengar nasihat itu, dan jangan ia lalai dengan dunia yang fana ini.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should learn from <i>mashaikh</i> such as the conduct of King Harun al-Rashid who took lesson from that advice, and he should not be lost to wordly matters)</p>
24	3	2	409	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah tulus dan ikhlas kepada Allah Ta'ala supaya diperolehnya martabat aulia Allah Ta'ala.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All servants of Allah should be sincere to Allah Ta'ala in order to obtain the rank of holy men of Allah Ta'ala)</p>
25	3	2	409	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja jangan ia menghukumkan lain daripada hukum Allah.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should not punish other than the law of Allah)</p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
26	3	2	411	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah apabila ia mendengar suatu nasihat daripada segala ulama dan mashaikh, hendaklah ia mengambil ibarat dan insaf serta ia menyucurkan air matanya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: A servant of Allah when he hears the advice of <i>ulama</i> and <i>mashaikh</i>, he should take lesson from the advice)</p>
27	3	2	413	<p><i>Nasihat: Wajib atas segala hamba Allah mengerjakan amar bil ma'ruf wal nahi al-munkar dan tersangat wajibnya atas segala raja-raja dan segala orang yang berpenguasa.</i></p> <p>(My advice: It is compulsory for servants of Allah to perform <i>amar bil ma'ruf wal nahi al-munkar</i> (commanding the good and forbidding the evil) and it is obliged to all the kings and rulers)</p>
28	3	2	416	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi hamba Allah yang berpenguasaan memerangkaikan seperti perangai Harun al-Rashid pada memaafkan kesalahan segala manusia supaya ia berbahagia dengan dunia dan akhirat.</i></p> <p>(My advice: A servant of Allah who possessed power should behave like Harun al-Rashid in forgiving the sins of mankind so that he can be happy in this world and hereafter)</p>
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>(My advice: A servant of Allah should protect his name from slandering and insulting others, especially the kings and the great ones, to protect their names from doing the above)</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>(My advice: All kings should forgive the sins of those who committed sins against him, so that he may receive the countless reward)</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 menampaikehendak 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 menolakkan segala bala tentera dan segala harta. Dan apabila hilanglah</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<p><i>kerajaan dan lenyaplah segala harta dan cerai-berailah segala bala tentera maka tiadalah memberi manfaat menyesal jua sanya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All just and wise kings who read this story to take benefit of the happiness during their rule and to take lesson from between the oppressed and the oppressor, and to fulfill the need a servant of Allah, because the universe is not permanent of its place of cycle, because the kingdom is not everlasting. And because the <i>qada</i> (destiny) of Allah cannot reject all armies and properties. And when the kingdom collapse and all the properties are gone, and the soldiers are split up, then there is no benefit except regret)</p>
32	3	2	430	<p><i>Nasihat: Hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja mengetahui pahala kebesaran martabat adilnya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should know the great rewards for 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>(My advice: Servants of Allah who possessed power, to humble himself and to treat others well as well as to fulfill their wishes)</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 minta nasihat akan yang menghilangkan dosanya kepada seseorang hamba Allah Ta'ala, nescaya adalah anugerah ampun kepada Allah Ta'ala dosanya itu.</i></p> <p>(My advice: Servants of Allah should be humble for the sake of Allah when he seeks 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'ala kerajaannya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should carry out fair works so that they will be protected from all danger and strengthened by Allah Ta'ala his kingdom)</p>
36	3	2	443	<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'ala jua, dan Ia-lah yang memerintahkan seru sekalian alam.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All just kings should realize that their kingdoms are not theirs and they do not rule their kingdoms except by the grace of Allah Ta'ala, and Allah is the one who govern the universe)</p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
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 binasa asanya dan tinggal jua nama kejahatan padanya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: Servants of Allah who possessed power should take lesson from these two stories. And they should not commit oppression, do not be arrogant and proud of the greatness of this temporary world. Arrogant and proud will end with destruction and only leaving evil names to them)</p>
38	3	2	456	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil yang adil 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-Qiyamat. Adapun segala raja-raja yang aniaya pun terbit namanya kejahatan mereka itu pun atas lidah manusia sampai kepada Yawm al-Qiyamat.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All just kings to take lesson from the stories of all just kings of Islam in the past. They ruled the world then they obtained what they desired, and nothing remained of them except the name of the goodness which is mentioned on the tongue of the servant of Allah until <i>Yawm al-Qiyamah</i> (Day of Resurrection). As for the unjust kings, their names will also be mentioned by human until <i>Yawm al-Qiyamah</i>.)</p>
39	3	2	458	<p><i>Nasihat: Hendaklah bagi segala raja-raja pada mengerjakan segala pekerjaan yang adil atas segala isi negerinya supaya jadi mayshurlah pada segala negeri nama adilnya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All kings should perform justice to all in their countries so that their names will be well known to all countries of their justice)</p>
40	3	2	460	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang mengerjakan pekerjaan yang adil supaya masyhur pada segala negeri namanya yang adil itu.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All the kings who have committed fair works should be known to all countries of their justice)</p>
41	3	2	461	<p><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'ala tiada menilik sesuatu melainkan kepada niat jua.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All Just kings should intend to perform good deeds to their people in order that their countries</p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				will be prosper and their people live peacefully. And they attain good names in the world and obtain happiness in the hereafter because Allah Ta'ala does not count something except their intention)
42	3	2	464	<p><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'ala segala kehendaknya.</i></p> <p>(It is important for all the just kings to take lessons from this story and should concern of the persecuted servants of Allah and fulfill the wishes of all the servants of Allah in order that Allah fulfill their wishes)</p>
43	3	2	467	<p><i>Seyogianya bagi segala raja-raja yang adil mengambil ibarat dan insaf daripada mendengar hikayat ini. Dengarlah hal Raja Nusyirwan 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></p> <p>(All the just kings to take lessons upon hearing this story. Listen to story of King Nusyirwan Adil who was an unbeliever, how he protected himself and his servants from doing persecution. And he criticized at all the kings who practised persecution)</p>
44	3	2	469	<p><i>Nasihat: Hai hamba Allah, ketahui oleh kamu bahawasanya yang terlebih besar dan yang terlebih mulia kepada Allah Ta'ala itu barang siapa daripadanya yang takut akan Dia, maka diperbuatnyalah amal yang salih.</i></p> <p>(My advice: O servant of Allah, you should know that the greater and the most noble to Allah Ta'ala are those who fear Him. Thus, he performs good deeds)</p>
45	3	2	476	<p><i>Nasihat: Dengarlah segala yang budiman, hikayat segala raja-raja yang adil dan insaf, betapa disayang Nabi salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam akan maut Raja Nusyirwan yang kafir akan adilnya. Istimewa pula akan raja Islam yang mengikut syariat Muhammad habib Allah salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All the learned ones, listen to to the story of all just kings, how the Prophet salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam loved King Nusyirwan who is an unbeliever, but a just king. Especially for the Islamic king who follow the shari'a of the Prophet Muhammad salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam)</p>
46	3	2	478	<p><i>Nasihat: Maka lihatlah hai segala raja-raja yang adil hal pekerjaan Raja Nusyirwan 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</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<p><i>seperti pekerjaan Nusyirwan, nescaya Allah subhanahu wa Ta'ala dipersampaikan segala hajat mereka itu daripada nama yang besar, dan ditetapkan Allah Ta'ala kerajaan mereka itu, dan balas di akhirat dengan pahala yang tiada terkira-kira.</i></p> <p>(My advice: All just kings, look at the work of King Nusyirwan, though he was an unbeliever who does not desire a reward on the Day of Resurrection but he wants a name in the world. Especially for the just Islamic kings, if they performed their works like King Nusyirwan, then Allah <i>subhanahu wa Ta'ala</i> fulfills all their intentions, strengthens their kingdoms, and they will be rewarded in the hereafter with countless reward)</p>
47	3	4	507	<p><i>Nasihat: Kata Abu Hurairah radiya Allahu 'anhu akan anaknya, "Hai anakku, jangan pertama-tama engkau menyatakan mesyuarat akan taulan, dan hubaya bicaramu pendek, yakni dengan pekerjaan jua, serta perlahan pada membicarakan suatu pekerjaan. Bahawasanya Allah subhanahu wa Ta'ala menitahkan Nabi-Nya salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam bermesyuarat serta dengan segala sahabat yang kurang budi bicara daripadanya.</i></p> <p>(My advice: Abu Hurairah radiya Allahu 'anhu advised his son to conduct syura. Allah commanded the Prophet salla Allah 'alayhi wa sallam to conduct a meeting with all his companions)</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>(My advice: servants of Allah should not claim his name other than his race because for such a job it is very dangerous)</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 itu, supaya diperoleh pahala yang besar.</i></p> <p>(My advice: A servant of God who can convey all the wishes and difficulties of the servants of Allah who do not have power to convey their wishes to the kings, so he should convey to the kings, and let the kings grant his worship and fulfill the wish of the servant of God)</p>
50	3	4	532	<p><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 Adam 'alayhissalam,</i></p>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<p><i>sebab itulah dijadikan Allah Ta'ala akan dia khalifah dalam kaum ini.</i> (My advice: All viziers and commanders should not be arrogant of themselves for being magnified by his kings because the effect is very bad like the ending of iblis. Being humble is of great benefit like the Prophet Allah Adam 'alayhissalam, that's the reason Allah Ta'ala appoint him as caliph of this race)</p>
51	3	4	542	<p><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'ala atau sabda Nabi salla Allah 'alayhi wasallam, maka ditahaninya dirinya daripada membunuh itu.</i> (My advice: All kings must extinguish his anger against those who cause them wrathful, so he ordered them to be executed without based on the law of sharia. Especially when they listen to the words of Allah Ta'ala or the words of the Prophet <i>salla Allāh 'alayhi wasallam</i>, they then refrain themselves from killing it)</p>
52	3	4	543	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala sahaya berbuat baktilah ia akan tuhan yang Hakiki dan akan tuhan yang majazi supaya ia beroleh bahagia dalam dunia dan akhirat.</i> (My advice: All servants should serve God so that he can obtain happiness in this world and hereafter)</p>
53	3	4	546	<p><i>Nasihat: Seyogianya bagi segala mukmin yang percaya akan Allah dan Rasul-Nya, jangan ia mengasih dan menghimpunkan dunia.</i> (My advice: For all believers who believe in Allah and His Messenger, they should not love and inclined towards the world)</p>
54	3	4	551	<p><i>Nasihat: Syurganya bagi menteri dan hulubalang sungguhkan setianya dengan raja.</i> (My advice: Paradise is for ministers and commanders who are loyal their kings)</p>
TOTAL				54 ADVICES IN BOOK III

Sources: Raffles 8, Raffles 42 (*Bustan al-Salatin*) and UM 41 (*Bustan al-Salatin*)

Table 3 indicates the list of 54 al-Raniri's advices to kings and leaders as well as servants of Allah through 136 stories that contain didactic element that is presented in the stories of Prophets and kings in the past as well as caliphs in Islam. In term of the stories of Prophets, al-Raniri narrates the story of Prophets Sulaiman, Daud, Yusuf and Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). For example, the story of the Prophet Ibrahim in chapter 2 that described the conversation between the Prophet Sulaiman and an ant. An ant was angry when Prophet Sulaiman threw it away from his chest. Subsequently, the ant said to Prophet Sulaiman, "Do you not know that both of us were the servants of Allah and I was the one who ate the fungus and I was the one who destroyed bones. And will be raised by Allah on the day of judgement

before Allah, who will really examine the oppressed from all the oppressors.”⁸ Upon hearing the words of the ant, the Prophet Sulaiman fainted. From this story, al-Raniri advised all kings to refrain themselves from persecution in which he wrote, “*Nasihah: Seyogianya bagi segala raja menahan dirinya daripada aniaya.*” Al-Raniri’s purpose of narrating this story is to emphasize the importance of being justice to all creatures of Allah including animals. And also, all kings and rulers are accountable of their actions in this world in front of Allah in the Day of Judgement.

Besides the stories of Prophets, al-Raniri also include the stories of past kings include the King of Harman, King Malik al-Salih Ayyub, King ‘Abdullah Tahir and Iskandar Dhulqarnain. Besides that, al-Raniri in *Bustan* also describes the stories of caliphs in Islamic history especially on ‘Umar al-Khattab (the second caliph of *Khulafa’ al-Rashidun*) (21 stories), ‘Umar bin ‘Abd ‘Aziz (the eighth Umayyad caliph) (17 stories) and Harun al-Rashid (the fifth ‘Abbasid caliph) (22 stories).⁹ The mentioned caliphs are well known figures in Islamic history for their pious and fair characters. Among the stories of ‘Umar al-Khattab were concerning the ‘Umar and an old woman in Madinah, ‘Umar the Prophet Khidir a.s., ‘Umar and a blind woman as well as ‘Umar and his son, Abdullah. The story of ‘Umar and a blind woman narrates ‘Umar al-Khattab walked around Madinah at night and entered a house and later to another house to help and fulfil the needs of the poor. Through this story, al-Raniri gave his advice, “*Nasihah: Seyogianya bagi segala hamba Allah yang ada kuasa melangkarakan segala hamba Allah yang daif supaya dipeliharakan Allah subhanahu wa Ta’ala akan dia daripada segala bahaya Hari kiamat.*” (My advice for servants of Allah who possess power: They must help the needy in order that Allah will protect them from the danger of *Yaum al-Qiyamah*).¹⁰

Based on the analysis of 136 stories narrated by al-Raniri in *Bustan* Book III, al-Raniri gave many advices to kings, rulers, viziers and servants of Allah. Generally, al-Raniri’s advices can be summarized into 29 as below. These advices are specifically directed to three different groups: kings and rulers, servants of Allah and believers.

- 1) Kings should carry out their duties with virtue and forbids evil
- 2) Kings must be just and carry out justice
- 3) Kings should refrain themselves from committing persecution
- 4) Kings should give punishment based on the law of Allah
- 5) Kings should give fair punishment in order to create peace on earth
- 6) Kings must extinguish his anger and refrain himself from the act of killing
- 7) Kings must advise his people like the advice of caliph ‘Umar to his subject
- 8) Kings must seek knowledge from *ulama’* and pious people
- 9) Kings should forgive those who are guilty towards him
- 10) Kings should fulfill the need of his people especially the needy
- 11) Kings should realize that their kingdom or rule belonged to Allah
- 12) Ruler should not be arrogant and should not commit oppression
- 13) All viziers and commanders should not be arrogant
- 14) Paradise is for the ministers and commanders who were loyal their kings
- 15) Servants of Allah who are in power should help the needy
- 16) Servants of Allah should have mercy on other creatures of Allah
- 17) Servants of Allah should always remember death and worship Allah until death
- 18) Servants of Allah should submit themselves to Allah and always believe in Allah
- 19) Servants of Allah should be sincere to Allah
- 20) Servants of Allah should perform good and forbid evil
- 21) Servants of Allah who possessed power should fulfill the wishes of all people
- 22) Servants of Allah should be humble for the sake of Allah when they seek for advice and Allah will forgive their sins
- 23) Servants of Allah should serve Allah to obtain happiness in this world and hereafter
- 24) Servants of Allah should protect the right of their wives
- 25) Servants of Allah should listen to the advice of the *‘ulama*
- 26) Servants of Allah should forgive the sins of mankind as been practised by caliph Harun al-Rashid

⁸ Raffles 8, 306.

⁹ Raffles 8, Raffles 42 and UM 41.

¹⁰ Raffles 8, 321.

- 27) A servant of Allah should protect himself from committing accusation against other people
- 28) Those who believe in Allah and His messengers should not love and inclined towards the world
- 29) The greatest and the most honourable person to Allah are those who fear Allah and perform good deeds.

Based on the list of the 29 advices, it shows that advices for servants of Allah are very much emphasized by al-Raniri. For example, servants of Allah should submit themselves to Allah, to fear and to worship Allah as well as to be sincere to Allah. Most advices circle around Allah, the creator and the most Merciful. This is in accordance to the concept of *tahwid* (Oneness of Allah) in *Bustan* which is the basic framework purposely created by al-Raniri. By these advices, al-Raniri try to teach and guide his readers the way to achieve the blessing of Allah in this world and hereafter and that their life in this world should be directed to please Allah and consequently, attain His blessing. Meanwhile, the most important al-Raniri's advice to kings is to be just and apply justice which is the among the basic requirements of a king in Islam. There are many stories in *Bustan* Book III that emphasize on justice such as the stories of 'Umar al-Khattab and the King of Rome's envoy, 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz and his servant, caliph Harun al-Rashid and a prisoner and caliph Ma'mun b. Harun al-Rashid and Fadhil b. Sahal. Apart from Book III, Book IV of *Bustan* also contain a number of al-Raniri's advices as below:

Table 4. Number of advices in Book IV of *Bustan*

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
1	4	1 (Story 9)	287	<i>Dan nasihat seyogyanya maka segala raja-raja yang maghrur 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> (My advice for all arrogant kings in their kingdoms: Listen to the story of the kings in the past, how they left their kingdoms without anything except their just good deeds or evil deeds, therefore, they should be responsible to their kingdoms)
2	4	1 (Story 10)	287	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Hendaklah diperbanyak menyebut nama Allah Ta'ala supaya jadi ia daripada orang yang berjinak-jinakkan dengan dia.</i> (My advice for servants of Allah should always remember Allah so that he will be among those who are close to Allah)
3	4	1 (Story 12)	291	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah mengerjakan segala pekerjaan dalam dunia kerana akhirat.</i> (My advice for servants of Allah to carry out their actions in the world 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> (My advice to the servants of God who believe in the day of judgement is: May they always remember death) (Grinter: 1973: 213)
6	4	2 (Story 21)	302	<i>Nasihat seyogyanya bagi segala hamba Allah: Menyebut-nyebut dan mencita-cita pada segala ketika</i>

NO.	BOOK	FASAL	PAGE	DIDACTIC (IN THE FORM OF ADVICES)
				<i>dan masa akan Allah Ta'ala supaya dijadiakannya akan dia daripada segala arif. Noktah.</i> (My advice to servants of God is: At every moment and time remember and think of God most High so that He may place you amongst the wise) (Grinter: 1973: 224)
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) (Grinter, 1973: 143)
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> (My advice for servants of Allah to take lessons from this story and refrain 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> (My advice for all the wise: He should not be inclined to love this temporary world)
10	4	2 (Story 26)	309	<i>Maka (nasihat) seyogyanya bagi segala mukmin yang ghafil: 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'ala akan dia martabat aulia Allah.</i> (My advice to wise women: They should take lessons from this story. And put their loyalty to their husbands and do not betray them. By doing this, they will obtain the perfection of faith and will be rewarded by Allah the level of saints of Allah)
TOTAL				11 ADVICES IN BOOK IV

Table 4 indicates the list of 11 al-Raniri's advices mainly to servants of Allah through 49 stories presented in the stories of Prophets of Allah and pious individual as well kings in the past. Most of the stories in Book IV narrates the story of Ibrahim b. Adham (c. 718-782 A.D.), a king of Balkh who had abandoned his throne to become an ascetic and devoted his life to Allah. For examples, the stories of Ibrahim b. Adham and a crow, Ibrahim b. Adham and a mouse deer as well as Ibrahim b. Adham and the angel Jibril. The story of Ibrahim b. Adham and a crow relates the story of Ibrahim who once went out hunting. He later stopped to have some food when suddenly a crow appeared and stole his bread. Ibrahim then followed the crow until he reached a hill. Subsequently, he ascended the hill in pursuit of the crow and surprisingly, he found a man lying on the hill bound with ropes. The man told Ibrahim that he was captured by Bedouin who then seized all his properties and abandoned him. And it was that crow that came and feed him with bread daily for seven days. Upon hearing the man, Ibrahim released the man from his bonds. From this event, Ibrahim realized his misdeeds of neglecting his responsibilities as a king and later repented to Allah.¹¹ Meanwhile, stories of the Prophets of Allah describe the stories of Prophets Musa, Isa and Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). The longest story in Book IV of *Bustan* is concerning a young merchant and his loyal wife named Husnan that is narrated by al-Raniri in about 20 pages. From this story, al-Raniri tried to emphasize the vital of being loyal to husband and that he advised wise women must not betray their husbands.

Al-Raniri's advices in Book IV are mainly to servants of Allah that can be summarized as the following:

- 1) Servants of Allah must obey Allah
- 2) Servants of Allah should trust Allah and have patience with any test from Allah
- 3) Servants of Allah should always remember Allah
- 4) Servants of Allah should fear Allah and be thankful to Him.
- 5) Servants of Allah must always remember death
- 6) Servants of Allah to carry out their actions in the world for the sake of hereafter.

The mentioned advices for servants of Allah are similar to that of al-Raniri's advices to servants of Allah in Book III where they should submit themselves to Allah, to fear and to worship Allah as well as to remember Allah at all times. The similarity of these advices clearly indicates al-Raniri's emphasis on the responsibilities of mankind to Allah. Besides that, al-Raniri tried to guide the readers of *Bustan* the right way to live in this world in order to please Allah and that he intended to tell the readers that their life in this world is indeed a journey to the final destination that is to meet Allah.

In conclusion, table 2 and table 3 list the number of al-Raniri's advices to his reader through the stories of kings, caliphs and individuals in the past. Stories of caliphs in Islam and kings in the past are parts of Islamic history that proves *Bustan* contains the elements of Islamic history. Al-Raniri in *Bustan* narrates the stories of caliphs in Islam that were 'Umar al-Khattab, Harun al-Rashid and 'Umar b.' Abd Aziz who are well-known figures in Islamic history for their pious and justice. Book III contain 54 advices and book IV with 11 advices that make the total of 65 advices. Al-Raniri's advices to the kings and servants of Allah is a didactic element that is parallel to the Qur'anic concept of history. The outstanding number of al-Raniri's advices show that didactic element is very important in Islamic history. The significance of didactic is also manifested in al-Qur'an where Allah narrates many stories of the past with the purpose to guide mankind to the right path. Most of al-Raniri's advices in *Bustan* are related to obey and to fear Allah as well as to perform justice. Al-Raniri'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.

Conclusion

Bustan as a book of Islamic history contain many historical stories that can be divided into several themes. Book I-Book II contain the history of the creation of the world followed by the history of the Prophets and Kings. Book II-Book IV of *Bustan* contains didactic element which is manifested in the stories of kings, caliphs of Islam and saints of Allah in the past. The huge amount of historical contents of Book III-Book IV of *Bustan* lead to emergence of two main historical themes that are the creation of the world and didacticism. The theme of creation of the world was narrated in length by al-Raniri in

¹¹ Jones, Russell (2004), *Nuru'ddin ar-Raniri Bustanu's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal 1*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp. 16-17.

Book I starting from the creation of *Nur Muhammad* until enumerating the 'Alam/ lands. In writing this theme, al-Raniri included 47 Qur'anic verses to support his descriptions of each creation. Meanwhile, the theme of didactic is largely and clearly seen in Book III-Book IV of *Bustan* which is manifested in the stories of the past, for example during the period of the Prophets of Allah, Khulafa al-Rashidin, the Umayyad Caliphate and the 'Abbasid Caliphate. These stories are indeed parts of Islamic history that proves *Bustan* contains the elements of Islamic history. The importance of didactic to al-Raniri is proven in his 185 stories in Book II-Book IV that contain didactic element. Didactic theme is demonstrated through al-Raniri's 65 advices to kings and servants of Allah. As *tawhid* is the main concept of *Bustan* that is purposely created by al-Raniri, every theme in Book I-Book IV is written parallel to this concept including didactic. Al-Raniri's purpose of narrating 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-Raniri intends to show his readers the way to submit themselves to Allah, simultaneously to fulfill their responsibilities as caliphs (vicegerents of Allah) on earth. In other words, al-Raniri attempts to guide his readers the right way to return to Allah. In conclusion, the existence of historical themes in *Bustan* Book I-Book IV prove that al-Raniri emphasized on history precisely Islamic history. The themes of the creation of the universe and didactic theme are largely elaborated in *Bustan* that parallel to the themes inside the Qur'an.

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