

LOUIS MASSIGNON

TRANSLATED BY HERBERT MASON

The Passion of al-Hallaj, Mystic and Martyr of Islam, Volume 4

Biography and Index



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LOUIS MASSIGNON

The Passion of al-Hallāj

*Mystic and Martyr
of Islam*

*Translated from the French with
a biographical foreword by*

HERBERT MASON

VOLUME 4

Bibliography and Index



BOLLINGEN SERIES XCVIII

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ABBREVIATIONS

In this list, as in the Index section, a number refers to an author and a letter refers to a specific work of that author found in the Hallājīan Bibliography of this volume.

A, a = Ahmad; Abū (in a proper name)
 'A = 'Abd (in a proper name)
 A. = Akhbār = 1695-v (unless there is a more precise reference)
 'AA = 'Abdallāh
 AB = Abū Bakr
 abbr. = abbreviation
Adab = 126-d
 AF = Abū'l-Faraj
 afp = ancien fonds persan
 aft = ancien fonds turc
Agh. = *Kitāb al-Aghānī* = 2122-a
 AH = Abū Hasan
 A.H. = anno hijri
 AJ = Abū Ja'far
 'Ajā'ib = 458-a
Akhb. = *Akhbār* = 1695-v (unless there is a more precise reference)
Akhb. Rādī = 126-c
 AM = Abū Muhammad
Amthāl = 2226-a
 AN = Abū Nūwās
An. trad. Gottw. = 2078-a
Anbā' = 2092-a
Ansāb = 350-a
Antākī = *JRASB*, 1856, *s.v.*
 Muhāsibī
 ap. = *apud* = cited in
 App. = appendix
 AQ = Abū Qāsīm
 'AQ = 'Ayn al-Qudāt, or 'Abd al-Qādīm
 'AQH = 308, 1082
 'AR = 'Abd al-Rahmān
 'Arīb = 370-n

'Arīb = 1650-a = 164-a
Asās = 385-e
 ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal
 Asc. = ascendant
Ash'arī = *Maqālāt* = 2021-a
Asia Major = 2206-a
 AT = Abū Tālib
 A.T. = AH Tawhīdī (178)
Athār (Bīrūnī) = 190-a
Athār (Qazwīnī) = 458-b
 Athīr = 420-a
Atrāk = 2125-b
 'Attār = 1101-c
 A'U = Abū 'Uthmān
 'AW = 'Abd al-Wahhāb
 'Awārif = 401-a
Awlād = 126-b
 AY = Abū Ya'qūb
 A'yād = 146-a
 -b-, b. = ibn; or, born
 B.N. = Banū N. (part of the name of a tribe)
Bad' = 150-a
Bahja = 502-a
 Bāk. = B. = Ibn Bākūyā = 191-a
 Baqlī, *Shath* = 1091-b; if there is a *recto* or *verso* indication, it refers to ms. Qādi 'Askar; if not, the reference is to ms. Shahīd 'Alī
 Baqlī, *Tafsīr* = ms. Berlin = 380-a; The Cawnpore edition is always alluded to by specific reference, either to verse or page
 Barb. Meyn. = 1625-b
Bayān = 165-a

Bidāya = 191-a
Bihār = 835-b
 BN = Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
 Bodl. = Bodleian Library (Oxford)
 Bq. = Baqlī = 380, 1091
 Brock. G. = 1652-a
 Brock. S. = 1652-b
BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London
BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London
 bt = bint
 Bt. = Battānī
Budd = 446-b
 Buht. = Buhturī = 2040
Buldān = 410-b
Bulūgh = 2013-a
Bustānī = 940-a

 cf. comp. = compare
 cit. = cited
 c.r. = critical review

 d. = died
 D = al-Dīn
 D. = Daylamī = 175
Daḡʿ = 370-k
Dalīl = 2247-a or 2233-a
Dāmigh = 2119-a
 Dederling = cf. 2009-a
Destan-i insān = 1388C-a
 Dh. = Dhahabī = 530-a
Dhamm = 1059-h
Dharīʿa = 276-b
DI = *Der Islam*
Dīb. = *Dībāj* = 576-a
Dīw = *Dīwān* = 1695-w (unless there is a more precise reference)
 DQ = Dhūʿl-Qamayn
Durar al-anwār = 760-a
Durar kāmīna = 632-c
DIʿ = *Dieu l'ivant*

E = *Essai* = 1695-p
East. Caliph. = 1661-c
 ed. = edition, editor
 Ef. or Eff. = Effendi
Enc. Isl., E. I. = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition
Enquête = 1695-cr
Er. Jb. = *Eranos Jahrbuch*
 Esc. = Escorial
Essai = 1695-p

 f. = folio
Farāj = 162-c
Farq = 201-a
Fat. (Ibn Taymīya) = 512-g
Fath Rabbānī = 341-g
Faysal = 280-n
Fihr. = *Fihrist* = 172-a
Filāha = 123A-a
Fīraq = 113-d
Firdaws = 2243-a
Fīsal = 241-a
FNN = *Fārs-nāma Nāsiri* = 2096-a
 Fonds Massignon = at the Collège de France
 Fr. = French
 Fr., Fragm. = Fragment
 Friedländer = 1693-a
Funūn = 261-c
Fusūl = 212-b
Fusūs = 421-d
Fut. = *Futūhāt* = 421-b

Ghalat = 170-f
Ghayba (Ibn Babawayh) = 160-c
Ghayba (Nuʿmānī) = 2176-a
Ghayba (Tūsī) = 242-a
Ghufrān = 212-a
 GOD = 1602-e
 Guyard = *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque de Paris*, vol. XXII
Guzīda = 1127-b

H = Hasan
Hajjāj = 2182-a
 Ham. = Hamadhānī
 Hanbal = Ibn Hanbal = 2098
Haqā'iq = 170-d and 1695-p
 Har. = Harawī = 1059
Hawādith = 2068-a
 Hawq. = Ibn Hawqal = 167-a
 Hazm = Ibn Hazm = 241-a
 Here, II = the present edition,
 Volume II, etc.
Hidāya = 139-b
Hik. = *Hikāyāt* = 330-a
Hikam = 1301-a
Hil. = *Hilya* = 2009-b
HOP = 1660-a
 Howell = 2087-a
Hudūd-i 'Alam = 1016-a
Huffāz = 530-h
 Hujw. = Hujwīrī = 1055
 Hy = Husayn

Ibdā' = 977A-a
 Ibn al-Dā'ī = 1081-a
 Ibn al-Farrā' = Farrā' = 2066-b
 Ibn Mālik = 2107-a
 Ibr = Ibrāhīm
IFAO = publication of the Institut
 Français d'Archéologie Orientale of
 Cairo
IFD = publication of the Institut
 Français of Damascus
IJ = *ijmā'*
Ihāta = 546-a
Ihti. ('Azzāwī) = 999-01-a
Ihti. (Tabarsī) = 315-a
Ihyā' = 280-a
Ikhw. = *Ikhwān al-safā'* = 2121-a
Iklīl = 2082-a
Ikmāl = 160-c
Imtā' = 178-e
 incl. = including
Insān = 601-c

Inst. = institute
 IO = Ind. Off. = India Office
'Iqd = 862-b
'Irfān = Shī'ite journal (Saida)
Is. = *Isnād* = 1695-ax (when it is a
 bibliographic reference)
Ishā'a = 2211-a
Isl. Cult. = *Islamic Culture*
 (Hyderabad, 1927—)
 Ism = Ismā'il
Ithāf = 862-a
I'tibār (anonymous) = 2002-a
I'tibār (Jurjānī) = 2130-a
I'tidāl = 530-d
I'tidāl = journal (Najaf)
I'tiqādāt = 160-a
'Iyād, Shifā' = 310-a
'Izz = Kinānī = 2017A-a

 J = Ja'far
Jalā = 941-a
Jam. = 190-e
Jamha = 2063-b
Jāmī = 1150-a
JAOS = *Journal of the American*
Oriental Society (New Haven)
JA = *JAP* = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
Jawāb = 512-i
Jawāhir = 370-d
Jawāhir (Khawwās) = 730-a
Jawāhir (Jazarī) = 2128-a
Jawāmi' = 170-c
Jazīra = 2083-a
 Jp = Jupiter
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*
Society (London)
JRASB = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*
Society of Bombay
Jurjānī = 2130-b

K. = *Kitāb*
Kāfi = 2141-a
Kal. = *Kalāb.* = *Kalābādhi* (143-a)

Kanz = 2168-a
Kashf (Hujwīri) = 1055-a, 1692-f
Kashf (Jawbārī) = 402-a
Kashf (Khalīfa) = 810-a
Kashkūl = 794-a
Kaw. = *Kawākīb* = 795-a
Kh. = *Ktb.* = *Khtb.* = *Khatīb* = 250-a
Khall. = 471-a
Khark. = 180-a
Khasībī = 139-a
Khulāsa = 720-b
Kibrīt = 741-b
Kilānī = *Jilānī* = 341-h
Köpr. = *Köprülü*
Kūfa = 2042-a
Kulliyāt = 1101-a, m
Kultus = 2221-a

L. = London
Landschaft = 2220-a
Latā'if (Rashid al-Dīn) = 504-b
Latā'if (Ibn Rajab) = 570-b
Lawāmi' = 259-a
Lawāqih = 741-f
LHP = 1673-a
Lisān = 632-b
L.M. = Louis Massignon
L.Or. = École des Langues Orientales
LS = Le Strange (1661-c)
Lughat-ī muran = 1087-a
Luma' = 142-a
Lun. = lunar

M = Muh. = Muhammad
Madārij = 535-a
Madkhal = 464-b
Mafātīh = 1145-d
majm., *majmū'* = compilation
Malatī = 2153-a
Māmuq. = *Māmuqānī* = 1237-a
Manhaj = 805-b
Manhal = 660-b

Mantiq = 380-b
Maqābir = 463-b
Maqātil = 2122-b
Maqdisī = 150-a
Mas. = *Masāri'* = 278-a
Masā'il = 446-b
mawāqif = 2130-b
Mc = Mercury
Mél. = *Mélanges*
Mél. Félix Grat = 1695-ax
Mhd = Muḥammād or Mahmūd
Mhs = Muḥassin
Minhaj (Subkī) = 801-a
Minhaj (Ibn Taymīya) = 512-k
Mir'āt = 440-a
Mirsad = 1107-a
Mishk. = *Mishkāt* = 280-e
Misk. = *Miskawayh* = 171-a
Mission = 1695-e
Ms = Mars
ms. = manuscript
ms. Alex. = Alexandria manuscript
ms. AS = Ayā Sūfiyā manuscript
ms. Berl. = Berlin manuscript
ms. BN = manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale
ms. Bodl. = Bodleian (Oxford) manuscript
ms. Br. Mus. = British Museum manuscript
ms. IO = India Office manuscript
ms. Köpr. = Köprülü manuscript
ms. L.M. = manuscript in Louis Massignon collection
ms. London Or. = London Oriental manuscript
ms. Nūri 'Uthm. = Nūri 'Uthmāniya manuscript
ms. Nus. = Nusayrī manuscript
ms. P. = Paris manuscript
ms. Q. = Qazan manuscript
ms. Sulaym. = Sulaymāniya manuscript
ms. Taym. = Taymūr manuscript

ms. Wel. = Welieddin manuscript

ms. Zāh. = Zāhirīya manuscript

Mubtahij = 2063-a

Muhad. = 421-a

Muhāsibī = cf. *Essai*

Mukhtār = 371-a

Mukhtasar = 463-c

Muntahā = 508-a

Muntazam = 370-a

Murūj = 134-a

Mushtabih = 530-i

Must. = Mustafā

Mustanhij = 354-a

Mustatraf = 2008-a

Muttaqī = 2168-a

Muwāfaqāt = 552-b

n. = note

Nafabāt = 1150-a

Nafh = 2157-b

Najdī = 976-a

Najj. = Ibn al-Najjār = 430

Nāma = nāme(h) (e.g., 1101)

Nasā'ih = 2166-b

Nasl = 2063-c

Nd = node (astronomy)

n.d. = no date

Nibrās = 419-a

Nishw. = Nishwār = 162-a

n.p. = no publisher, no place

NRF = *Nouvelle Revue Française*

Nujūm = 660-a

Nukāt = 1091-f

Nūr = 2199-a

Nūrī = 432

obs. = observation

OM = *Opera Minora* = 1695

opp. = opposed to or opposite of

Oxf. = Oxford

P. = Paris

P., 1st ed. = first edition of this work
(*Passion de Hallāj*)

Paralip. = *Paralipomena* or *Chronicles*
(book of the Bible)

Passion = cf. *P.*, 1st ed.

PD = *Parole donnée* = 1695

Pearson = J. D. Pearson, *Index*
Islamicus

Ped. = Pedersen = 1695-bw

Pers. = Persian

PG = *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne)

psnym. = pseudonym

Ps. = psalm (Bible)

publ. = publication

Q = Qāsim

Qalā'id = 740-a

Qam' = 690-e

Qāsimī Usūl = 2188-a

Qawl = 449-a

Qazw. = 458-a

QI = qiyās

Qissa = in *Akhbār*, 3rd ed.

QT = *Quatre Textes* (1695-f)

Qur. = Qur'an

in or on Qur. = commentaries by
Hallāj on the Qur'an, ap. *Essai*,
1695-p

Qush. = Q. = 231-a

Qūt. = 145-a

R = Rūzbehān

Radd = 960-a; 2098-c

Rasā'il = 446-c

Rawāshih = 805-a

Rawd = 579-a

Rc. = *Rec.* = *Recueil* = 1695-u

REI = *Revue des Études Islamiques*
(Paris)

REJ = *Revue des Études Juives* (Paris)

RHR = *Revue d'Histoire des Religions*
(Paris)

Ri'āya = 2166-a

Rihla = 390-a

Risāla (Kindī) = 2139-a

Risāla (Turtūshī) = 290-a

Riw. = *Riwāyāt*, translated in this ed., Ch. XIV (Vol. III) and ap. *Essai* (1695-u)
RMM = *Revue du Monde Musulman* (Paris)
Rom. = Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans
Rūh = 1356B-b
Rūh al-bayān = 2103-a

s.a. = sub anno
Sābi = 220-a
Sabziwārī = 2195-a
Sadāqa = 178-c
Sadr Shirāzī = 806-a
Saf. = *Safīna* = 852-a
Safadī = 540-a
Salmān Pāk = 1695-ao
Salmon = 1678-a
Salsabīl = 919-a
Salwa = 2063-d
Sam'ānī = 350-a
Sārī = 1347-c
Sārīm = 512-n
Sawānih = 281-c
Saydala = 190-d
Sh., *Sh. Tab.* = 741-a
Sh. = Shaykh
Shadd = 591-a
Shadharāt = 830-a
Shāhī = 138-a
Shahr. = *Shahrastānī* = 2210-a
Shakwā = 308-c (cf. 1808-b)
Shāmīl = 251-a
Shath. = *Shathīyāt* = 1091-b
Shifā' = 310-a (cf. 793-a)
Shush. = *Shushtarī* = 447
Sidq = 178-d
SIJ = *Sibt ibn al-Jawzī* (440)
Sīlat = 834-a
Simt = 815-a
Sīrat = 175-a
Sitzb. Bay. = *Sitzungsberichte Bayerische Akad. Wiss.*

s.n. = sub nomine
St = Saturn
Sta = 170-b (*Sulamī*, *Ta'rikh* extr. ap. 1695-1)
Stb = 170-a (*Sulamī*, *Tabaqāt*, extr. ap. 1695-v)
Stf = 170-d (*Sulamī*, *Haqā'* *iq al-tafsīr*, extr. ap. 1695-p)
Subh = 2186-a
Subkī = 542-a
Sul. = *Sulamī* = 170
Sul. = *Sulaymān*
Sul. Tab. = 170-a
Sul. Tafs. = 170-d
Sūli = 126
Sulūk = 2113-a
Supp. Pers. = Persian Supplement
Supp. T. = Turkish Supplement
s.v. = sub verbo
syn. = synonym

Ta'arruf = 143-a
Tab. = *Tabarī* (111-a)
Tab. = *Tabaqāt* = 170-a (unless there is a more precise reference)
Tab. 'Arīb = 164-a
Tab. Nussāk = 2018-a
Ta'bir = 842-e
Tabsīra = 1081-a
Tadhk. = 1101-c
Tafhīm = 190-c
Tafs. = *Tafsīr*
Taghr. = *Taghrib.* = 660-a
Tah. = *Tahānawī* = 853-a
Tahdhīb = 632-d
Takmila = 282-a
Tā'īya = 403-a
Tajārib = 171-a
Talbīs = 370-b
Tamhīdāt = 308-a
Tanbīh = 134-c
Tarq. = 474-a
Tar. = *Tarā'iq* = 1228-a (unless there is a more precise reference)

Ta'rikh = 170-b (unless there is a more precise reference)

Ta'rikh Dimishq. = 334-a

Tarjumān = 421-l

Tatfil = 250-c

Taym. = *Taymūr*

Taw. = *Tawāsīn* = 1695-j

Tawwābīn = 352-a

Thimār = 210-a

tr. = translation

Tūsī = *Tusy's List* = 242-a

'U = 'Umar

'UA = 'Ubaydallāh

Ud. = *Udabā'* = 410-a

'Ukbarī = Ibn Batta 'Ukbarī, *Sharh wa Ibāna*, ms. Zāh., *tawhīd* 66

'Uluw = 530-g

'Umda (Ibn 'Ināba) = 2100A-a

'Umda (Ibn Rashīq) = 2114-a

'Uqalā' = 180A-a

Ushshāq = 1157-a

Usūl (Sulamī) = 170-f

Usūl (Qasimī) = 2188-a

'Uthm. = 'Uthmān

'Uyūb = 170-g

'Uyūn (Ibn Shākir Kutubī) = 539-a

'Uyūn ('Arīb) = 1650-a

v. = verse

Wādih = 538-c

Waf. = *Wafayāt* = 471-a

Wahīd = 460-a

Wara' = 2098-b

Wüst. = Wüstenfeld = 1623

Yāq. = Yāqūt = 410-a

Yatima = 210-c

Yawāq = *Yawāqāt* = 741-g

Yazd. = Ibn Yazdānyār = 228

Yf = Yūsuf

Yh = Yahyā

Yq = Ya'qūb

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift Deutsche Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*

Zāh. = Zāhirīya, Damascus

Zahra = 102 (here, vol. I, ch. V, I, b)

Zak = Zakarīyā'

Zanjī = 125-a

OTHER SIGNS

> = via (For example, in a chain of transmission, *isnād*) or precedes logically

→ = up to

2° = 2nd ed.

≠ = logical non-identity

SYSTEM OF REFERENCES TO MANUSCRIPTS

The system of reference is based on two rules:¹

A) For all *general* works, which are cited only in passing, references are abbreviated according to symbols, the list of which is given above; normally² they refer to the corresponding notices in the classic manual of Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*.³

B) For *particular* works alluding to Hallāj (by name or anonymously), references are abbreviated, either according to symbols (list *supra*), or according to serial numbers; references, symbols of abbreviation, and serial numbers all refer to Bibliography, Chapter XV.⁴

The majority of sources cited are Islamic and in manuscript, for only since the beginning of my researches has the attention of orientalist been directed to the collection of texts that I had at my disposal to study. The name of each library has been simplified to that of the city in which it is located, when it is cited in Brockelmann's list, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, and the manuscript number refers to the *catalogue* numbering mentioned in Brockelmann's list.

As for manuscript sources which are not cited in Brockelmann's list and which we have used, the numbering will be given below.

Except where specially indicated, the abbreviation ms. refers to an *Arabic* manuscript source.

The footnotes refer, in particular, to [several of] the author's publications on Hallāj:

Hallāj, *Kitāb al-tawāsīn*, Arabic text published for the first time with the Persian version by Baqlī, the analysis of his Persian commentary, a

¹ It is essential to recall here the two rules of the first edition, for they have been used in their basic idea for the new edition. Needless to say, many of the sources used by the author before 1914 were then still in manuscript form. The reader may refer to the "Hallājian Bibliography" (Chapter XV) for an updating of these references.

² On rare occasions I give notices for works not mentioned in Brockelmann.

³ [To the first edition (2 vols., 1898-1902), the only one to appear up to 1914, have since been added a Supplement in 3 volumes, 1937-1942, and a second edition in 2 volumes, 1943-1949.]

⁴ (Note to the second edition.) [The numbers ascribed to references of the first edition have been preserved here. These references have been completed by insertions provided by the author.]

critical introduction, some observations, notes, and three indices, Paris, 1913: xxiv + 223 pages (1695-j).

Quatre Textes inédits relatifs à la biographie d'al-Hallāj, published with analyses, critical apparatus, notes and an index, Paris, 1914: iii + 38 + 76 pages. These four texts are the following: i. Ibn Zanji, *Dhikr Maqṭal al-Hallāj*; ii. Sulamī, *Ta'rikh al-Sūfiya* (extracts edited by Khatib); iii. Ibn Bākūyā, *Bidāyat Hāl al-Hallāj wa Nihāyatuhu*; iv. *Akhbār al-Hallāj* (anonymous collection dating from the end of the 4th/10th century) (1695-l).

[*Dīwān al-Hallāj*, Arabic poems attributed to Hallāj, edited, annotated and translated in *Quatre Textes*, IV, Paris, 1914. Second edition, with additions and corrections, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1931, pp. 1-158. Third edition, Geuthner, Paris, 1955, pp. 1-172 (reproduced from the second edition, p. 1-158, followed by *Recherches nouvelles sur le "Dīwān al-Hallāj" et sur ses sources*, extracted from *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul, 1953, pp. 159-172). It is to this third edition that references will be made here. An abridged version of the third edition (omitting the poems of doubtful attribution and all of the Arabic texts) appeared, with a foreword entitled "Perspective transhistorique sur la vie de Hallāj," in *Cahiers du Sud*, Paris, 1955, xlvii + 157 pages (1695-w).]

[*Akhbār al-Hallāj*, Arabic texts attributed to Hallāj, edited, annotated and translated in *Quatre Textes*, IV, Paris, 1914. Second edition, collection of prayers and exhortations by the martyr mystic of Islam Husayn Ibn Mansūr Hallāj, arranged about the year 360/971 by Nasrabadhī, published, annotated and translated by the author and Paul Kraus, "Au Calame," Paris, 1936, 112 + 141 pages. Third edition, reconstructed and completed, Vrin, Paris, 1957, 217 + 158 pages. References will be made here to this latter edition (1695-v).]

[*Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Geuthner, Paris, 1922, 302 + 104 pages. Second edition, Vrin, Paris, 1954, 453 pages, new edition reviewed and considerably enlarged (1695-p).]

[*Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, collected, classified, annotated and published by the author, Geuthner, Paris, 1929, x + 259 pages (1695-u).]

[*Opera Minora*, the author's articles and iconographical documents, collected, arranged and presented with a bibliography by Y. Moubarac, Dar al-Maaref, Beirut, 1963, Vol. I, 672 pages + 19 plates; Vol. II, 666 pages + 10 plates (18 articles on Hallāj reproduced pp. 1-342); Vol. III, 855 pages + 40 plates; Presses Universitaires, Paris, 1969.]

TABLE OF CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS
USED AND NOT CITED BY BROCKELMANN [IN 1902]

- London*. British Museum Supplement (Arabic mss. entered 1894-1912), by Ellis and Edwards, London, 1912 (and list of entries, deposition 1912).
- Leyden*. Cat. Codd. av. Lugd. Batav., by de Goeje and Th. Juynboll, Leyden, 1907.
- Batavia*. Batavia Arabic mss. Cat. Supp., by Van Ronkel, Batavia, 1913.
- Beirut*. Descriptive cat. of hist. mss. of the Bibl. Or. of Université St. Joseph, by Cheikho, ap. *Mél. Facult. Orient.* VI, 213, Beirut, 1913.
- Princeton*. A list of Arabic mss. in Princeton Univ. Libr., by Enno Littmann.
- Leipzig*. Verzeichn. der Arab. Hdss. . . . Univ. Biblioth., by Vollers and Brockelmann.
- Rome*. Cat. of the Arabic mss. in the Vatican, by Tisserant (in preparation).
- Former collections. The Landberg-Brill are in Leyden and Refâ'ija Fleischer in Leipzig.

In the Near East:

- Cairo*. Azhar (ms.)⁵ Cat. Muhammad 'Abduh. Book Cat. Ahmad Taymūr (*Muqtabas* publ., 1912).
- Jerusalem*. "Barnāmaj al-Maktabat al-Khālidiya," 1318/1900.
- Damascus*. Zāhirīya Cat., cf. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, *Makātib al-Shām*, Faggālab, 1902.
- Aleppo*. Ahmadiya Cat., Mewleviya (ms.) Cat., 'Ajjān al-Hadīd Cat.
- Mashhad* (Persia). Hadra Publ. Cat., ap. "Matla' al-Shams" of I'timād al-Saltana, Teheran, 1302, Vol. II, 469-501.
- Baghdad*. Mirjāniya (ms. cat.). Jāmi' al-Zand (ibid.), Alūsī collection.
- Istanbul*. Apart from the Ayā Sūfiyā, Yēni Jāmi' Catalogues: Köprülü, Nūrī 'Uthmāniya, Rāghib Pāshā, very incompletely used by Brockelmann: 'Umūmī (A.H. 1300), 'Ashir Effendi (1306). Laleli Jāmi' (1311). As'ad Effendi (n.d.). Fātih (n.d.). Bashīr Aghā (1303). Wālidī Jāmi' (1311). Dūgumli Bābā (1310), Khosrū Pāshā (n.d.). Muhammad Aghā (1310). Hamīdiya and Lālā Ismā'il (n.d.). Mahmūd Pāshā and Rostom Pāshā (1311). Mihrshāh Sultān (1310). Yahyā Effendi (1310). Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā (1279). Walī al-Dīn (1304, at Bayezid). 'Ātif Effendi (1310). Qādī 'Askar Mullā Murād

⁵ Cf. Horovitz, bib. no. 1691-a, II, 1-79.

and Dār al-Mathnawī (1311). Hakīm Ughlī 'Alī Pāshā (1311). Tchorlīlī 'Alī Pāshā (1303). 'Umūjah Husayn Pāshā (1310). Al-Hājj Sālim Aghā (1310). Hālat Effendi (1312). Sulaymaniya (n.d.) Shahīd 'Alī Pāshā (ms.). Tōpqaṭū (phot. ms. Zakī Pāshā). The two waqfs Walī al-Dīn Jār Allāh and 'Umūjah Husayn Pāshā, ap. 'Umūmī (not to be confused with the two libraries of the same name; mss. cat.). Faydiya (n.d. new Emirī collection). Shāh Zāde (n.d.) Salīmīya (n.d.). Qarah Mustafā (n.d.). I have not been able to consult the Ekmekji Zāde waqf.

Bankipore (near Patna). Khuda Bukhsh collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEX

XV

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. INTRODUCTION

a. *The Schema Followed*

The material given here represents a first attempt at a chronological bibliography of the written sources on Hallāj, his life, his works, and his teaching. The form used for each reference is based on a decimal classification, [in some instances] consisting of three parts: a number, a letter, and a number. For example, 1112-a-3. The first number refers to the author (those who wrote in several languages have several numbers: e.g., Baqlī 380 and 1091; 'Amilī 794 and 1177; Nūrī 808 and 1345); the letter that follows refers to the work; and the final number [in most cases omitted in this edition] refers to the line of the paragraph alluded to in the sequence of unnumbered folios.

Those references that we cannot definitely trace in the sources are given their number (in parentheses) and are explained afterwards. A certain number of references go back to quotations from the poetical works of Hallāj, in which no mention was made of his name.

We have included here all of the written documents, the *fatwās*, official pieces. We have deliberately omitted from this list of authors and ordinary *rāwīs*, the oral transmitters of a verbal document, except in the case where the early redaction of their testimony was authenticated as a common source of different written attestations. For example, Ibn al-Haddād (130).¹

¹ [In the present (French) edition, we have followed faithfully the plan adopted by the author in his first edition of Chapter XV in 1921.

Otherwise, the text of Section I has not been changed (except for the standardization of the transcription of Arabic words).]

[In the American edition, except for references to the Qur'ān, volume, chapter, page and folio numbers were removed from the bibliography, but retained when used in the footnotes of each volume. As in the text, accent marks have been omitted from place names.—H.M.]

[The references collected in Sections II to XI retain the classification and numbers given them by the author in 1921. In addition to the references of the first edition we include those given by the author in his contribution to *Mélanges Goldziher* (1695–bh) or made by him on

b. *Evaluation of Research Conducted*

1. The Collections Examined

The great majority of sources consulted and quoted are manuscripts. The research done in Europe, both directly by me in the oriental collections of the libraries of Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna, and through correspondence in those of Rome, Madrid, and Petersburg, should be thorough enough. In the East, my personal study of the oriental collections of the libraries of Cairo, the mosques of Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and especially Istanbul,² although carried out very extensively and with great difficulty, is hardly definitive, given the inadequacy of the stock lists and the number of "miscellanies" (*majmū'āt*) to be examined. The published catalogues show that little can be expected from the private libraries, even from the tekkēs of Konia and Brusa; the same can be said to apply to those of the Caucasus, Turkestan, India, and Malaysia. The Maghrib is also very poor from our point of view (Fez, Algiers, Tunis).³

In conclusion, the only manuscript collections in which one can reasonably expect to find important information are the sixty mosque libraries of Istanbul and those of the cities of Iran, whose books have unfortunately been plundered since 1913-1914, and broken up by collectors of miniatures.

2. Kinds of Works Consulted

In terms of language, *Arabic*, the theological language of Islam, has been used most in my research; *Persian* is next; the *Turkish* works have been the least studied. Al-Hallāj, it should be noted, is especially referred

the margins of his own personal copies, just as he has indicated them. We have also completed the references of authors *already classified* by other works of theirs, by adding titles listed in the *Ultima Hallagiana*—the handwritten lists of bibliographical references made by the author between 1951 and 1962. These latter references, which he was not able to put in their final form, are set [in brackets].

Finally, we have assembled in a new section XII references regarding authors *not classified* by Louis Massignon in sections II to XI. These references come either from the aforementioned *Ultima Hallagiana* or from the manuscript of this second edition (references that the author did not have time to copy from his notes at the bottom of the page). Some of these latter references are not quite complete. We felt obliged to keep those that we were unable to establish more precisely, when the information given might provide a guideline for research.]

² On three occasions, May 1909, May 1911, and May 1912. Oriental names given as mss. collections in the Bibliography without any other identification refer to Istanbul [note from the first edition].

³ One ms. of *Akhbār al-Hallāj* was mentioned to me by M. Cour as having been seen in Tlemcen.

to in the Turkish works as a subject of Persian poetry. *European* authors have been checked with care.

In terms of subjects, the list of historians, including general histories of the Caliphate, local histories, historical curiosities, collections of biographies, has been reexamined closely. Likewise that of the mystics, commentaries on the Qur'ān, mystical treatises, pious anecdotes, hagiographies, as well as that of the jurists, dogmatic treatises on the *usūl*, collections of rulings (*fatwās*), and heresiographies. In terms of literature, the anthologies that have given any verse by Hallāj⁴ are few in number. Popular stories have been richer.

3. Desiderata⁵

It may still be possible to rediscover some of the authentic works of Hallāj, particularly the *Kitāb al-sayhūr*, noted in the seventeenth century in Istanbul by Hajjī Khalīfa; and there should be some specific documents about his teaching to be brought to light from unedited collections of Sunnite and especially Imāmite Shī'ite jurisprudence that are preserved in Iran.

c. Previous Bibliographical Undertakings

There has been no specifically Hallājian bibliography undertaken until now.

In eastern languages, we find only the following:

In Arabic:

172-a. Ibn al-Nadīm *Fihrist* (I, 192): list of Hallāj's works.

440-a. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī. *Mir'āt al-zamān*, f. 71b: refers to 260-a, 167-a, 126-a, 151-a, 250-a, 370-a-c, 320-a.

512-e. Ibn Taymīya. *Kitāb (Kawākib XXVI-1)*: refers to 133-a, 250-a, 260-a, 370-a, 170-a.

812-a. Mu'min Jazā'irī. *Khizānat al-khayāl*: refers to 160-a, 242-a, 315-a, 179-a, 213-a, 511-a, 465-a, 586-a.

923-a. Bāqir Khūnsārī. *Rawdāt al-jannāt*, pp. 227, 234-237: refers to 471-a, 1112-a, 1177-a, 1175-a, 179-a, 160-a, 242-a-b, 511-a, 812-a, 590-a, 1161-a, 805-a, 794-a, 1127-b.

In Persian:

1175-a. Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī. *Majālis al-mu'minīn*: refers to 350-a, 1059-c, 1111-a, 511-a, 190-a (?), 1139-a.

⁴ Ms. Köpr 1620, ms. London DCXLIV.

⁵ The abbreviation "ms. 'Ajjān [*al-Hadīd*]" refers to a valuable library collection of Kazī-

1219-a. Bahbahānī. *Risāla Khayrātīya*: refers to 1150-a, 1081-a, 1129-a, 179-a, 1181-a, 242-a, 474-c, 1070-a, 1101-c-d.

In Western Languages:

After Erpenius (1501), editing *462-a, we find the following bibliographies (the **new sources*):

Pococke (1520-a): *281-a, *520-a, *471-a.

d'Herbelot (1540-a): *590-a, *810-a, *1152-b (1137-a), *1155-a, *1161-a, 462-a, *530-a.

Tholuck (1580-a), p. 69: *252-a, 520-a, *472-a (1540-a), (1561-a); *1101-c.

de Slane (1590-a), p. 426, n. 7; *541-a.

von Hammer (1602-a): *172-a, *660-a, *513-a.

Flügel (1610-a): 660-a, 520-a, 471-a, 252-a, 472-a.

Dozy (1161-a): *420-a, 520-a, *121-a, *167-a, 471-a, 1101-c.

von Kremer (1616-a): 420-a, *310-a, *503-a, *741-c, *241-a, *280-a, 472-a, 172-a.

Rieu (1622-a): 471-a, *741-a, *1150-a, *1175-a; *861-b; *1157-a; *1101-a.

Dugat (1626-a): 690-a, 471-a, *280-d.

de Goeje (1650-a): *164-a, *171-a, *291-a, 471-a, *282-a, *370-a, 660-a, 472-a, 172-a, 530-a.

Brockelmann (1652-a): 471-a, 420-a, 172-a, *330-a.

Schreiner (1653-a): Kremer (1616-a) + 172-a, *134-c, *190-a, *201-a, 741-a, *941-a.

Gibb (1660-a): *1311-a, *1321-a, *1341-a, *1361-a, *1362-a, *1366-a.

Browne (1673-a): *111-a, *1135-a (1650-a) = de Goeje, 1101-c, 330-a, *1262-a, *1111-a, 1150-a.

Friedländer (1693-a) (II, 115): 111-a, 471-a, 201-a, 172-a, 164-a, 252-a, *241-a, *1451-a, *1456-a; *160-a.

Massignon (1695-h), p. 248 n. 2: 170-b, *191-d, *260-a, 370-a, 441-b, 499-a, 1101-a, *1353-a. — p. 249 n. 1: 201-a, *140-a, *280-a-b-c-d-e, 310-a, *341-a, *380-a, 1091-a, *401-a, 1101-a-c, *1103-a, *421-c-d, 1107-a, *441-a-b, 1111-a, 1112-a, 471-a, *450-a, *480-a and note, *433-a, 502-a, *512-a-i, 522-a, **523-a, *531-a, 1129-a, *541-a, 581-a, 583-a, 1321-a, *664-a, *1159-a, 1141-a, *690-b, *710-a, *790-a, *793-a, *1177-a, 812-a, *811-a, 843-a, *862-a.⁶

meyn, which was dispersed by the war, and of which I had seen only the detailed descriptive catalogue, in Aleppo (1919).

⁶ [This list, assembled in 1921, was not published by the author. (Note from the second edition.)]

II. ARABIC AUTHORS

- 101 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān Makkī d. 291/903, Baghdad: mystic
a. *Rasā'il ilā Khūzistān* (around 284/897) (cit. 191-b)
- 102 Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Dāwūd Isfahānī d. 297/909, Baghdad: jurist: Zāhirite
a. *Fatwā (bitakfīr al-Hallāj)* (around 296/908) (text: 191-b, 201-a)
- 103 Abū'l-'Abbās Ahmad ibn Surayj d. 305/917, Baghdad: jurist: Shāfi'ite
a. *Fatwā (bi tawaqquf . . . hāl al-Hallāj)* (296/908) (cit. 471-a, 690-c, 201-a, 1091-b)
- 104 Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn Ahmad Rāsibī d. 301/914, Dur al-Rasibi: wālī of Sus
a. *Risāla [fī'l qabd 'alā al-Hallāj]* (301/913) (cit. 126-a, 164-a)
- 105 Abū 'Alī Hārūn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Awārījī Anbarī, b. 278/891, d. 344/955: mystic
a. *Kitāb fī makhārīq al-Hallāj wa hiyalihī* (written in 308/921) (cit. 125-a); excerpt 162-a (?)
- 106 Abū Ja'far Ahmad b. Ishāq ibn Buhlūl Tanūkhī, b. 231/845, d. 318/930, Baghdad: qādī of qādīs: Hanafite
a. *Fatwā* (around the beginning of 309/922) (text in 171-a)
b. *Fatwā* (around the middle of 309/922) (text in 162-a)
- 107 Abū 'Umar Muhammad b. Yūsuf Azdī, b. 243/857, d. 320/932, Baghdad: qādī: Mālikite
a. *Fatwā* (around the beginning of 309/922) (cf. 711-a)
b. *Fatwā* (around the middle of 309/922) (cf. 162-a)
c. *Fatwā (bi bāhat dam al-Hallāj)*, 18 *Dhū'l-Qa'da* 309/20 March 922; countersigned by Qādī Abū Husayn 'Umar b. Hasan Shaybānī ibn al-Ushnānī, b. 260/873 d. 339/950, (Zaydite) Shāfi'ite qādī; and 82 other authorities (330-a, 503-a, 499-a), text in 125-a, 370-a
- 108 Abū Muhammad Hāmid ibn al-'Abbās, b. 223/837, d. 311/923, Wasit: vizir
a. *Kitāb ilā al-Muqtadir bi'llāh* (18 *Dhū'l-Qa'da* 309 = 20 March 922), redacted by Ibn Zanjī (cit. 125-a)
b. *Ruq'a ilā Nasr al-Qushūrī (ibid.)*
c. *Kitāb ilā al-Muqtadir bi'llāh* (21 *Dhū'l-Qa'da* 309 = 23 March 922), *ibid.* (cf. 125-a, 162-a)
- 109 Abū'l-Fadl Ja'far-b-Ahmad Muqtadir bi'llāh, b. 282/895, d. 320/932: caliph

- a. *Kutub ilā Nasr al-Sāmānī* (twenty letters, 309/922), re-dacted by Ibn Zanjī (cit. 125-a. Cf. protocol in 220-a)
- b. *Tawqī' bi qatl al-Hallāj* (22 Dhū'l-Qa'da 309 = 24 March 922), *ibid.* (cit. 125-a, 162-a, cf. 126-a)
- 110 Abū'l-'Abbās Ahmad-b-Muhammad ibn 'Atā' Adamī, d. 309/922, Baghdad: traditionist
- a. *Tafsīr* on Qur'ān 3:188; 7:11, 97; 20:109; 53:43; 96:19 (in 170-d, 380-a, 531-a, 741-a)
- b. *Fatwā* (in 309/922), (cit. 170-b)
- c. [*Kitāb fī fatim al-Qur'ān* (in Baqlī, *Tafsīr*)]
- d. [*Kitāb 'awdi'l-sifāt* via *bad'ihā* (excerpt in Kalābādhi)]
- 111 Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarīr Tabarī, b. 224/838, d. 310/923, Baghdad: jurist: Shāfi'ite
- a. *Ta'rīkh (akhbār al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)*, until 302/914: III^e series, ed. de Goeje, IV (s.a. 301; except for addition on his death, which is missing in Berlin ms. 9414)⁷ [and Cairo ed.]
- b. [*Kitāb ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, ed. Schacht, Leyden, 1933]
- c. [*I'tiqād*, probably from 310 A.H., published in Bombay 1311 A.H., 15 pp. (excerpt Ibn Fadlallāh 'Umarī, *Masālik*. Very interesting; it quotes Ibn Hanbal)]
- 112 Abū Sahl Ismā'il-b-Ālī ibn Nawbakht, b. 237/851, d. 311/924: jurist: Imāmīte
- a. cf. 113-a
- 113 Abū-Muhammad al-Hasan-b-Mūsā Nawbakhtī, wrote after 290/902
- a. *Kitāb mujālasāt Abī Sahl* (= 112) *ma'a Abī 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī bi'l-Ahwāz* (title cited in *Tusy's List*, fragments in 120-a, 126-a, 162-a)
- b. *Radd 'alā ashāb al-tanāsukh wa'l-ghulāt* (lost, in *Tusy's List*, *Fihrist*) (fragments in 120-a)
- c. *al-Arā' wa'l-diyānāt* (lost) (source of 121-a)
- d. [*Kitāb firaq al-shī'a*, Istanbul, 1931]
- 114 Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh-b-Ahmad Ka'bī, d. 319/931: jurist: Hanafite; theologian: Mu'tazilite
- a. *'Uyūn al-mas'āl wa'l-jawābāt* (lost, cit. in *Fihrist*) (source of 201-a, probable source of the passage common to 121-a and 201-a, and of the passage common to 201-a and 190-a)⁸

⁷ The Persian and Turkish translations stopped at the year 295.

⁸ The question discussed here in Chapter XIII.

- 115 Abū Bakr Muhammad-b-Zakariyā Rāzī, d. 320/932: physician and philosopher, knew Hallāj (1055-a, 1101-c); he was supposed to have referred to him as a physician in his *al-Hāwī* (cf. 1471-a, 1546-a) (?)
- 116 Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Fath Mutawwaq, d. 320/932
a. *Manāqib al-wuzarā'* (from 265 to 319)—lost—(cited ap. *Fihrist*; cf. Wiener, *Islam*, iv)—[probable source of the fragment common to 172-a and 211-a]
- 117 Abū'l-Qāsim al-Husayn ibn Rawh Nawbakhtī, d. 328/939: 3rd *wakīl* of the Imāmites
a. *Tawqī' fī la'nat al-Hallāj wa'l-barā'a minhu* (cf. 315-a)
- 118 'Alī-b-'Abd al-Rahīm Qannād, *Riwāya* (bib. nos. 250, 540, 543); *Is.* 39; *Recueil*
- 119 Abū 'Abdallāh Ibrāhīm ibn 'Arafah Niftawayh, d. 323/934: grammarian and historian
a. *Ta'rikh* (cf. 576-a)
- 120 Abū'l-Husayn 'Ubayd Allāh-b-Ahmad ibn Abī Tāhir, historian, wrote before 320/932
a. *Kitāb Baghdād* (cit. *Fihrist*), excerpt in 172-a, 211-a; *Akhbār Mu'tadid* (= abbr. of 126-a)
- 121 Abū Zayd Ahmad ibn Sahl Balkhī, d. 322/934: vizir and geographer
a. *Suwar al-aqālīm* (written in two recensions, around 308/921 and around 319/931), reproduced in 135-a and 167-a
- 122 Abū'l-'Abbās Ahmad-b-Ja'far Rādī bi'llāh, b. 297/909, d. 329/940: caliph
a. *Risālat ilā Nasr al-Sāmānī* (322/933) (cf. 109-a), excerpt in 410-a
- 123 Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī-b-al-Husayn ibn Abī Būyeh (father of bib. no. 160) d. 328/939, Qumm: jurist: Imāmite
a. *Riwāyāt* (fragment in 191-a, 242-b)
- 123A Ibn Wahshīya, *Filāha nabatiya*, excerpt ap. bib. no. 214
- 124 Abū Bakr Ahmad-b-Mūsā ibn Mujāhid al-Tamīmī, b. 245/859, d. 324/935: *qārī'*; the probable unique source of
a. *Riwāya* on the saying "Anā'l-Haqq" uttered to al-Shibli (which he was supposed to have transmitted through Ibn Khālawayh to 150-a, and through Abū 'Alī al-Fasawī to 211-a)
- 125 Abū'l-Qāsim Ismā'il ibn Abi 'Abdallāh Muhammad Zanjī-b-Ismā'il Anbārī, wrote around 325/936 his "Memoirs" as a

- clerk of the *Mazālim* (cf. 220-a). Probably published ap. 127-a, used by 151-a, republished ap. 171-a, and via bib. no. 162, ap. 250-a, they contain
- a. *Dhikr akhbār al-Hallāj* . . . *ilā hīni maqtalihi*, account given of the trial of 309/922 (by the assistant clerk). Cf. 151-a, 171-a, 250-a, 282-a. Published ap. *Quatre Textes* (1695-l)
- 126 Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahyā Sūlī, d. 334/945, Basra: Im-āmite
- a. *Akhbār al-Muqtadir* (in *Kitāb al-awrāq*), reedited by 120-a ms. Azhar: published by Kratchkovsky (cf. 1724-a), fragment in 260-a (from which are derived 370-a, 440-a, 501-a, 530-a, 830-a), abridged in 164-a
 - b. [*Ash'ar awlād al-khulafā' wa akhbāruhum*, London, 1931]
 - c. [*Akhbār al-Rādī wa'l-Muttaqī*, London, 1945; Algiers, 1946]
 - d. [*Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo, 1922]
- 127 Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn 'Abdūs Jahshīyārī, d. 331/942: historian
- a. *Akhbār al-Muqtadir bi'llāh* ("fī ulūf min al-awrāq," according to 134-a), lost, fragment at beginning of 125-a (prologue) and in 220-a⁹
- 128 Abū Bakr¹⁰ Muhammad-b-Mūsā Wāsītī ibn al-Farghānī, d. 331/942; Merv: mystic
- a. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (lost, edited by Qāsim Sayyārī, source of 170-d)
 - b. *Hikam* (in 741-a and 1055-a, cf. 330-a)
 - c. *Hā' mīm al-qidam* (lost, cited 1091-a)
- 129 Abū 'Umāra (Abū Bakr, or Abū Mughīth) Muhammad-b-'Abdallāh Hāshimī al-Rabī'i, head of the Hallājīya of Ahwaz and Basra, after 309/922 (cf. 125-a, 162-a, 282-a)
- a. Edition of *Kitāb al-tawāsīn*. Cf. 1695-j
- 130 Abū Bakr Muhammad-b-Ahmad ibn al-Haddād Misrī, d. 345/956: qādī of qādis: Shāfi'ite
- a. *Riwayāt fī al-Hallāj* (common source of 170-a and 191-a)
- 131 Abū'l-Qāsim Fāris-b-Abī al-Fawāris 'Īsā Dīnawarī, d. around 340/951: mystic
- a. *Ta'līfāt fī madhhab al-Hallāj* (cited 230-a, 1150-a) lost (source of 143-a, 144-a, 170-a-d)

⁹ The question discussed ap. *Quatre textes*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰ Most likely identical to the following.

- b. [Edition of *Ash'ār wa munājāt al-H b. M*]
- 132 Abū Muhammad Ja'far ibn Nusayr Khuldī (Khālidī), d. 348/959, Baghdad: mystic
 a. *Hikāyāt al-mashā'ikh* (lost), excerpts (in 1059-a, 231-a, 250-a, cf. 140-a); *Recueil*
- 133 Abū Muhammad Ismā'il-b-'Alī Khutabī, d. 350/961: historian, *muhaddith*, master of Dāraqutnī, friend of Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid
 a. *Ta'rikh Baghdād* (lost), excerpt in 250-a
- 134 Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī-b-al-Husayn Mas'ūdī, d. 346/957, Fustat: historian: Mu'tazilite
 a. *Murūj al-dhahab* (written 336/947), Paris ed., 1861-1877
 b. *Maqālāt arbāb al-nihal wa ru'asā' al-milal* (lost, cited 134-c)
 c. *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* (written 345/956), de Goeje ed.; Fr. translation De Vaux
- 135 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm-b-Muhammad Istakhrī: geographer
 a. *Masālik al-mamālik* (reedition of 121-a), ms. Berlin 6032 = ms. Töpqapū 2820 = de Goeje ed., 1870
- 135A M-b-Farrukhān Dūrī, d. 359/969, *Hikāyāt*, ap. Khatīb; *Is.* 84
- 136 Abū Muhammad 'Abdallāh ibn Khudhyān Farghānī, d. before 370/980: historian; wrote in 336 A.H. (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*)
 a. *al-Mudhayyal* (following 111-a, after 302/914) (lost, excerpts in 164-a and 410-a)
- 137 Abū'l-Husayn 'Abdallāh-b-Mūsā Salāmī, d. 374/983, Bukhara (350-a): mystic, disciple of al-Shiblī
 a. *Ta'rikh* (lost; used by 170-d, on Qur'ān 26, and 231-a, 4:120)—excerpt in 660-a (? via 170-b); *I'tidāl*; Kh.; *Is.* 210
- 138 A-b-M-b 'Abd al-Jalīl Sijazī, wrote in 380 A.H. (= 358 Yazd.) the *Jāmī shāhī fī'l-mawālīd*, ms. L.M.
- 139 Hy-b-Hamdān Khasībī, d. 357/968, Aleppo
 a. *Dīwān*, ms. Manchester 452A
 b. [*Kitāb al-hidāya*; cf. Brock. S. I]
- 140 Abū Zur'a Ahmad-b-Muhammad al-Fadl Tabarī, d. after 353/964, Shiraz: mystic
 a. *Riwāyāt* (lost, common source of 170-a and 181-a)
- 141 Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Khafīf al-Dabbī, d. 371/980: theologian: Ash'arite; mystic: head of an order
 a. *Ta'rifāt* (works lost, excerpts in 1059-a, 191-a, 362-a)
 b. *Hikāyat ba'd al-fuqarā' 'an Ibn Khafīf* (ms. London 888; ms. Berlin 3492. The *Manāqib* quoted ap. Baqlī)

- 142 Abū Nasr 'Abdallāh-b-'Alī Sarrāj, d. 377/987: mystic
 a. *Kitāb al-luma'*, Nicholson ed.; ms. Ellis; ms. London Or. 7710; fragment edited by A. J. Arberry, 1947
 b. *Mihan al-sūfiya* (lost, cit. 634-a)
- 143 Abū Bakr Muhammad-b-Ishāq Kalābādī, d. 380/990: jurist: Hanafite; mystic: Fārisī
 a. *al-Ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-tasawwuf*: 1st recension of Suhrawardī Maqtūl (363-b): ms. Qādī 'Askar 1254—Oxford II; Cairo; 2nd recension, of al-Qunāwī (513-a): ms. Vienna 1888, Fātih 2661, Walī al-Dīn. Hallāj is designated in this work by the paraphrase *ba'd al-Kubarā'* [*fī kalām lahu*], except in two places, *in fine*, where he is called Abū al-Mughith; A. J. Arberry, Cairo, 1933 (with English translation) (identifications omitted)
 b. *al-Akhbār bi fawā'id al-akhyār*, ms. Fātih 697; ms. P. 5855
- 144 Abū'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Wāhid-b-Bakr Shīrāzī Warthānī, d. in Hijaz 372/981: traditionist
 a. *Ta'rikh al-sūfiya* (lost, cited ap. *Akhbār al-sālihīn*, ms. Anon., Cairo, Tas.) (source of 170-a)
 b. [*Ahādīth wa hikāyāt*]
- 145 Abū Tālib Muhammad Makkī, d. 380/990: theologian: Sālimī
 a. *Qūt al-qulūb*, printed Cairo, 1310 (cf. 1695-j), (cf. 280-a)
- 146 Maymūn Tabarānī, d. around 418 A.H.: Nusayrī
 a. *Majmū' al-a'yād*, ms. Nieger (= R. Strothmann ed., Berlin, 1944-46)
- 150 Mutahhar ibn Tāhir Maqdisī Bustī, polygraph, wrote in 355/966
 a. *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, ms. Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pāshā . . . , ms. Rostam Pāshā, Huart ed.¹¹ (text and translation); cf. *Is.* 124
 b. Unedited part, Huart copy
- 151 Thābit ibn Sinān al-Sābī, d. 366/976: historian
 a. *Ta'rikh* (years 295/907 to 360/970); fragment in 172-a (299 A.H.), 440-a (301 A.H.), and 440-a (309 A.H.) via 260-a (used 125-a)
- 160 Abū Ja'far Muhammad-b-'Alī ibn Babawayh al-Sadūq; d. 381/991: theologian: Imāmīte (= Ibn Babawayh)
 a. *I'tiqādāt al-Imāmiya*, ms. London Add. (published in part in 1693-a), see 174-a; cf. 1238

¹¹ According to Abū 'Abdallāh (= Ibn Khālawayh, d. 370/980; cf. 211-a, p. 559), pupil of Abū Bakr ibn Mujāhid and of Niftawayh (Subkī II, 213).

- b. *'Aqā'id* (distinct from *I'tiqādāt*)
 c. [*Ikmāl kamāl al-Dīn* . . . Brock. S. I]
- 162 Abū 'Alī Muhassin ibn 'Alī Tanūkhī, d. 384/994: jurist: Hanafite; wrote several accounts, drawn from the Mu'tazilite Ibn al-Azraq, nephew of Qādī Ibn Buhlūl, ap.
 a. *Nishwār al-mulhādara*, ms. P. 3482; Margoliouth ed., 1921; *Recueil*
 b. (Reedition of 125-a. Cf. 250-a)
 c. [*Kitāb al-faraj ba'd al-shidda*, Cairo, 1904, 1958] transmitted by his son Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī (b. Basra 365/975, d. 447/1055)
- 164 'Arīb ibn Sa'd Qurtubī, historian, wrote around 366/976
 a. *Silat ta'rikh Tabarī* (following 111-a, copied from 126-a) ms. Gotha 1554; de Goeje ed., 1897
- 165 Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn al-Tayyib Bāqillāni, d. 403/1012: theologian: Ash'arite; jurist: Mālikite
 a. *Kitāb fī 'ajz al-mu'tazila 'an tashbīh dalā'il al-nubūwa* (lost, excerpt in 201-a) (cf. Subkī) = *al-Bayān wa'l-farq*, ms. Tübingen 93 (cf. Winkler)
 b. Excerpt ap. 251-a, and Ibn Dihya, *Nibrās*, Azzawī ed., Baghdad, 1946
- 165A 'Alī Qazwīnī Sayqalī, *Surūr al-asrār* (Kh. VIII); *Is.* 216
- 167 Abū'l-Qāsim ibn Hawqal, geographer, wrote in 367/977
 a. *Masālik al-mamālik*, de Goeje ed. (cf. recension of 260-a, in 440-a, and 530-a)
 b. *Ibid.*, Persian translation, ms. Eton, translated into English by Ouseley (cf. 1561-a)
- 168 Muhammad-b-A-b-Ismā'il ibn Sam'un, d. 386/996, Baghdad: Hanabalite mystic
 a. *Hikam*, published by Abū al-Husayn 'Alī-b-'Umar al-Qazwīnī (b. 364/974, d. 442/1050); (fragment), cited in 241-a (cf. 1695-j)
- 170 Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad b. al-Husayn Sulamī, b. 330/941, d. 412/1021, Nishapur: mystic
 a. *Tabaqāt al-sūfiya*, ms. London Add. 18520, ms. Berlin 9972, ms. 'Ashir Effendi 677, ms. 'Umūmī 157. [Sharīeba ed. Cairo, 1953; Pedersen ed., Leiden, 1960]
 b. *Ta'rikh al-sūfiya* (lost, fragment in 250-a and 181-a), fragments published ap. *Quatre Textes*, (1695-l)¹²

¹² Written before 371/982; used in the *ta'rikh* of Hāfiz al-Hākīm Muhammad Ibn al-Bayyī' al-Dabbī, a historian critical of traditionists (cf. Sam'ānī, s.v. *Sulamī*; Subkī II, 68)