

THE TRAGEDY OF MANSUR AL HALLAJ'S EXECUTION IN 922 AD

Dedy Frianto¹, Anggi Giri Prawiyogi²,
Arga Adha Anwari³, Abdul Wahab Junaedi⁴
^{1,2} Universitas Buana Perjuangan Karawang,
^{2,3} UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung

dedyfrianto@ubpkarawang.ac.id, anggy.prawiyogi@ubpkarawang.ac.id,

argaadlha@gmail.com, 2023abdulwahab2023@gmail.com

This research analyzes the tragedy of the execution of Al-Hallaj, a controversial Sufi figure of the 9th century CE, through a historical approach to understand the social, theological, and political context behind the event. The research method used is the historical method, which includes four main stages: heuristics (source collection), verification (source criticism), interpretation, and historiography. Data were collected from primary sources such as Al-Hallaj's works (especially *Kitab al-Tawasin*) and historical accounts by authors such as Al-Baghdadi and Al-Jahiz, and analyzed along with secondary sources from modern research. The aim of this study is to examine the complex factors that led to Al-Hallaj's execution in 922 CE, by tracing the interaction between his Sufistic teachings - especially the concept of "Ana al-Haqq" - and the harsh response of the Abbasid religious authorities and political power. In addition, this study aims to uncover the symbolic significance of the tragedy in the development of Sufism and the tension between spiritual expression and religious orthodoxy. The results show that Al-Hallaj's tragedy was not merely a deviation from theological doctrine, but a reflection of the tension between radical personal spirituality and formalistic religious. Although considered heretical by fiqh scholars, Al-Hallaj is seen as a *syahid* by Sufi circles because of his courage to express inner truth. This study concludes that the tragedy of Al-Hallaj must be understood as a historical event that illustrates the clash between spiritual freedom and dogmatic control, as well as being a symbol of the struggle for essence in the history of Islamic thought. institutions. His teachings, which were open and critical of the establishment, made him a political and religious target.

Keywords: Sufism, Al Hallaj, Executions

INTRODUCTION

The third and fourth centuries were the golden age of Sufism, writes Abu Al-Wafa At-Taftazani, quoting his colleague Abu Al-Ala Afifi. During this period, Sufism followed other disciplines that had been codified independently. Sufis began to conceptualize a number of terms that were known among them, such as the following symbolic terms: *mawajid*, *kashf*, *dzauq*, *wara'*, *ma'rifah*, the idea of self-reflection, as well as some studies related to the heart.

In that period, Sufi luminaries were divided into two categories: one that continued to follow the conventional path such as Al-Muhasibi (243 AH), Al-Hakim At-Tirmidzi (285 AH), Al-Kharraz (277 AH), and Al-Juneid (297 AH). Second, the group that fell into the concept of *fana* and produced some Sufistic ecstatic statements such as Abu Yazid Al-Busthami (261 AH), Sari

As-Saqati (251 AH), and of course Al-Hallaj.¹ In addition, the golden age of Sufism also produced many Sufistic works as well as several historians of Sufism, such as Al-Qusyairi (408 AH), As-Siraj At-Thusi (378 AH), and Al-Kalabadzi (380 AH).²

Discussing Al-Hallaj is like being trapped in two different realms: reality and myth. We are dealing with a great figure and a follower of the Devil's path. Some people glorify and elevate him as a salik who reached the highest Sufi level, while others bury him in the depths of history because he is accused of polluting the purity of the face of Islam.

No one dared to seriously record the story of Al-Hallaj and his execution except a century after his tragic death. What a thrilling political situation shrouded by the fiqh and Sufi orders of the time, that the story is only accessible orally or fragmented in drawers and shelves of stacked history books.

French orientalist Lois Massignon has written more than 2,000 pages on al-Hallaj's biography, teachings, and his execution on the banks of Iraq's Tigris River. Prior to Massignon's research, al-Hallaj had already attracted the interest of European scholars. Given this, the great achievement of Massignon's endeavor is to present al-Hallaj in the context of Islamic mysticism, the tradition to which he actually belonged. The attention paid to him by modern Western scholars seems to have helped inspire a revival of interest in al-Hallaj's life story and his poetry among Arab writers as well, as most famously demonstrated by the poet Salah Abd al-Sabur's drama, or Tragedy of al-Hallaj.³ He notes that there were at least a few Muslim writers who documented the tragic story of al-Hallaj: Abu Bakr Ahmad Bin Tsabit Al-Khatib (463 AH), Ibn Bakuyah (426 AH) who heard directly from Al-Hallaj's son Hamad, as well as some who came after these two authors.⁴

Repeating the story of Al-Hallaj would be very tedious, especially for a writer who still lacks complete information about this figure. However, the desire of every writer to speak the language of their generation cannot be ignored. The social interactions and dynamics that surround Al-Hallaj's narrative as well as the psychological analysis of Sufism by delving into the Sufi consciousness itself would be new alternatives to introduce readers to this figure of ours.

At the very least, there is a response from Muslim scholars to clarify the hasty claims of

¹ Abu Al-Wafa At-Taftazani, *Madkhal Ila At-Tasawuf Al-Islami*, Dar Ats-Tsaqafah li An-Nasyr wa At-Tawzi', Kairo, pg. 90-91

² See at Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024.

³ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 76.

⁴ Louis Massignon, *The Passion of Hallaj*. United States of America : Princeton University Press, 1994. pg. 51.

orientalists who hid Al-Hallaj from the purpose of his profound Islamic consciousness since his teenage years. But also not to fall into the myth of Al-Hallaj as written by classical Muslim historians.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used is the historical research method. For primary sources, namely the book *al-Tawasin* by Al Hallaj. As for secondary sources, the author uses several books to help in the heuristic process, namely the work of Louis Massignon, *The Passion of Hallaj* and the work of Asep Achmad Hidayat, *History of Sufism and Tarekat (Search for Figures and Teachings)* and other books. Source criticism is carried out, namely with internal criticism, for this reason the author ensures that the book of *al-Tawasin* is the work of Al Hallaj. Interpretation, carried out by drawing conclusions from related sources from any factors so that Mansur Al Hallaj was executed by the Abbasid Dynasty. Historiography, written in the form of scientific journal articles as contained in this paper.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Short Biography of Al-Hallaj

The city of Bashrah at that time became a favorite place for Sufi wanderers from all over the country. Faces such as Sahl At-Tusturi (283 AH), Al-Harist Al-Muhasibi and Imam Al-Junaid became a magnet for thirsty travelers seeking a spiritual oasis amidst the hustle and bustle of the capital city of Baghdad. In 244 AH, a small village in southern Iran, Baidla', witnessed the birth of a baby boy named Al-Husein Bin Manshur Al-Hallaj. Like the teenagers of the village, little Al-Hallaj studied with a Quranic teacher in his village until he managed to memorize the Qur'an at a fairly young age, 12 years old. Al-Hallaj also studied Arabic grammar and basic Islamic sciences there.⁵

At the age of 16, Al-Hallaj was forced to move from his hometown to the city of Tustur because of his parents' business interests. In the city of Tustur he studied with a very popular Sufi master, Sahl At-Tusturi, for almost two years. Al-Hallaj's scientific and spiritual odyssey continued to the city of Bashrah. There he received the Sufi *khirqah* from two Sufi luminaries: Amr Al-Makki and Imam Al-Juneid. In Bashrah Al-Hallaj married a girl from the Al-Karanbey clan, who was said to be suspected by the Abbasid government authorities as a defector, a

⁵ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 67.

Zaidiyah Shiite. His father-in-law, Abu Ya'qub Al-Aqta', who was then an influential figure, came into conflict with his teacher, Amr Al-Makki. In one narration it is mentioned that Al-Hallaj was restless and complained to his master, Imam Al-Juneid. Al-Juneid only told him to be patient.⁶

For the first time, Al-Hallaj carried the burden of his spiritual distress to the holy land of Mecca. After a year in Mecca, he chose to return to Bashrah with a small group of followers to pick up his wife to take her home to Tustur. During his year in Tustur, Al-Hallaj managed to attract attention and increase the sympathy of the people. The clarity of his soul radiated the sharpness of his Sufistic messages, which became a unique attraction. Not only his words, but also his writings began to give color to the reflective study of Sufism at that time.⁷

Some Muslim scholars who opposed Sufism such as Ibn Al-Jauzi (592 AH) assumed that Al-Hallaj's journey to Transoxania and India after the Hajj pilgrimage was for the purpose of studying magic and black magic. So it is not surprising that upon his return, Al-Hallaj was able to attract a large following. This kind of argument becomes weak when reading Ibn Bakuyah's text. Like the journey of the Sufis, Hammad emphasized, Al-Hallaj only left Tustur on the guidance of Allah. It is unfortunate when an intellectual only sees the Sufis from the narrow perspective of fiqh. Condemnation and one-sided accusations will be difficult to avoid, so it is not wise to understand Sufism only from a rigid fiqh perspective.⁸

In Basrah, al-Hallaj married the daughter of Abu Yaqub Aqta al-Basri, a disciple of Junaidi al-Bagdadi. Abu Yaqub Aqta al-Basri came from a prominent Iranian family of scribes associated with Ahwaz. This was the only marriage entered into by al-Hallaj, which resulted in three sons and one daughter. It was one of his sons, named Hamd, who has contributed an account describing a quarrel between Hallaj and another disciple of Junaidi al-Bagdadi, namely Amr ibn Uthman al-Makki, who disapproved of the marriage. It is said that al-Hallaj is reported to have traveled to northern Baghdad, to settle the matter with Junaidi al-Bagdadi himself. There he received advice on patience from Junaidi al-Bagdadi, then he returned to his father-in-law's house in Basrah.⁹

Basrah was not a pretty place in that period, the Zanj War ravaged the area during 869-883 CE. The Zanj were black laborers imported from East Africa; many of them worked in Southern

⁶ Louis Massignon, *The Passion of Hallaj*. United States of America : Princeton University Press, 1994. pg. 62.

⁷ Muhammad Jalal Syaraf, *Al-Hallaj; Ats-Tsair Ar-Ruhi fi Al-Islam*, Muassasat Ats-Tsaqafah Al-Jami'iyah, Alexandria, 1970, pg. 13-20

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 67.

Iraq, as part of a reclamation project to rebuild abandoned canals and create sugarcane plantations. The land in the Tigris-Euphrates delta has become swampy, flood-prone and abandoned by migrating farmers. Black laborers have toiled in Southern Iraq for two centuries or more.¹⁰

The rebellion ended in 883 when Ali ibn Muhammad or Sahib al-Zanj was captured and beheaded. The remaining supporters of Ali ibn Muhammad were granted amnesty to prevent further trouble. One of the consequences was the end of the plantation scheme in Iraq. A large number of people were reported to have died in the Zanj war. The conflict devastated agricultural land in southern Iraq, resulting in a huge drop in treasury revenues. Some areas were hit by food shortages and famine. This adverse situation severely weakened the caliph's power. The Abbasiyah empire began to shrink, and finally reached a dramatic level in the following century.¹¹

Because of his critical attitude towards the Abbasid government and his family members on his wife's side having strong links with the Zanj group, al-Hallaj was often associated with the Zanj phenomenon by people who were displeased with al-Hallaj. His in-laws were themselves identified as a Karnabai Shi'a family, who ideologically approved of the Zanj rebellion. The young al-Hallaj's viewpoint was radical. It was from his youth when he demonstrated against the authority of the Caliph on behalf of the Zanj salt field workers who were subjected in southern Iraq to inhumane living conditions and forced labor, a position he repeated in the name of hunger. It may be that al-Hallaj's hanging was not because his teachings were considered deviant, but because of political and religious rivalries among Muslim orthodoxy and Sufis.¹²

The Zanj War ended in 883, the rebels were defeated and assimilated into the Abbasid army. The caliphate regained control of Basra. Al-Hallaj departed from the scene, making a pilgrimage to Makkah. In Makkah he vowed to stay for one year in the courtyard of the shrine in a state of fasting and complete silence. Upon his return to Basrah, al-Hallaj began to speak openly about his experiences and beliefs, as a result of which he was disowned by his father-in-law Abu Yakub Aqta and attacked by Makki.¹³

The point of realization for the majority of anti-tasawwuf intellectuals became clear when Al-

¹⁰ Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, (Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 46. On the Zanj rebellion, Alexandre Popovic, *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the 3rd/9th Century*, trans. Leon King (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener, 1999). Cf. M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation Vol. 2: A. D. 750-1055*, (Cambridge University Press, 1976).

¹¹ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 69.

¹² Ibid, pg. 70.

¹³ Ibid.

Hallaj made his second pilgrimage with 400 of his followers. Even more cruelly and far-fetchedly, Massignon, who dedicated almost half of his life to studying Al-Hallaj, also fell into the materialist paradigm of jurists like Ibn Al-Jauzi: Al-Hallaj no longer performed the Hajj according to Sunni doctrine but followed the rituals of the extreme Shia group Qaramithah.¹⁴ The accumulation of all this friction with the fiqh scholars and the politically oppressed rulers crystallized into an opinion that required Al-Hallaj to be brought to justice. It is always not easy to summon and indict an influential figure like Al-Hallaj who is supported by the proletariat, even Hamid who was governor of Bashrah at that time had to beg for fatwas from several fiqh experts until a fatwa for Al-Hallaj's execution appeared.

Key factors in the execution of Mansur Al Hallaj

So, what was the problem that made Al-Hallaj end up on the execution stake? Well, he was an ordinary person. Let us trace the origins of the tragedy. I will try to reconnect the profound relations of Al-Hallaj's transcendental consciousness, the oppressive socio-political situation, the rigid and textualist fiqh scholars, and the turmoil of the impressionable masses. In Sufi teachings, spiritual attainment that can reach the highest level can only be confirmed through the guidance of a murshid (tariqah teacher) except under certain conditions. Without this door, as Al-Ghazali recognized, it is very difficult to uncover the secrets of God's greatness. However, on a specific scale of ectage, a murshid only has the task of leading up to the door. Furthermore, Allah SWT. will take him to dance in His love or even cry so much because he is controlled by Khauf (fear of His punishment).¹⁵

In psychological research, the level of balance of the human soul does vary. The prophets are those who received the gift of balanced psychology more than others. In a hadith, it is mentioned that when God's revelation was revealed to Prophet Muhammad often his body would tremble, his forehead would break out in cold sweat, etc.: these were the physical effects of the opening of the divine veil. ¹⁶ However, due to the balance and psychological idiosyncrasies of the prophets, their physical expressions are not similar to those experienced by other people. Sufi doctrine also recognizes the terms Wajd, Sakr, Wushul (a kind of Sufi ecstasy), which is a sign that he is experiencing an unspeakable Sufistic experience. It is not caused by hallucinations due to lack of food and lack of rest as mocked by the psychology of

¹⁴ Louis Massignon, *The Passion of Hallaj*. United States of America : Princeton University Press, 1994. pg. 136.

¹⁵ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 91

¹⁶ HR. Al-Bukhari dari Siti Aisyah radliyallah anha, Dar Al-I'tisham, Kairo, h. 9

religion.¹⁷ Ibn Khaldun tried to find the logic in *Al-Muqaddimah*, that when a person's dhikr activity is getting stronger, his spiritual acumen will be sharpened. That is when the unveiling of the veil is very possible.¹⁸

Such powerful experiences are usually experienced by Sufis who have been consistent with the rituals taught by their murshid. Al-Hallaj was one of them. The intense radiance of God's light made him fall into a state of mortality several times. In the story, Al-Hallaj lost the entity of himself several times; only the entity of God incarnated in his consciousness. So that in his ecstatic statement he said *Ana Al-Haqq* "I am God". This kind of condition will usually be addressed wisely by scholars who understand the psychology and conditions of Sufis, while textualists will easily declare heresy.¹⁹

That's why Ibn Shuraih, a Shafiite mufti who lived during the time of Al-Hallaj, refused when asked for a fatwa by the authorities. Ibn Shuraih reasoned that the fatwa of "heresy" applies to those who do it consciously, not in a state of ecstasy as experienced by Al-Hallaj.²⁰ But politicians and rulers never read it in black and white. Uncertain political conditions with despotic policies implemented by rulers who lived comfortably with abundant wealth from booty or taxes, made the attitude and strategic position of Al-Hallaj, who was loved by the people of Bashrah, considered a scourge, both for the clerics who liked to curry favor with the government or even the government itself. All forms of provocations and conspiracies were carried out to throw Al-Hallaj into prison.²¹

The peak of Sufi ecstasy that later led them to make outlandish statements like Al-Hallaj became the easiest open door for slander and imprisonment. The symbolic language used by Sufis at that time became a double-edged knife: it could have a positive impact on hiding their spiritual experiences from ordinary people who did not understand. The downside was the birth of tendentious interpretations to discredit them. The ecstatic statements that come out of the mouths of mortal Sufis become the object of blind fatwas from fiqh scholars to be massively publicized. By being doused with political issues and the fact of Al-Hallaj's relationship with the opposition Zaidiyah Shia or Qaramithah extreme Shia made the embers of anger of the people of Bashrah even more intense. No wonder Mahmud Isma'il concluded that Al-Hallaj was

¹⁷ *Madkhal Ila At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami*, Abu Al-Wafa At-Taftazani, Dar Ats-Tsaqafah li An-Nasyr wa At-Tawzi, Cairo, pp. 10-11.

¹⁸ Ibnu Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah*, Maktabah Al-Usrah, Kairo, cet II, pg. 991-992

¹⁹ Qasim Muhammad Abbas, *Al-Hallaj; Al-A'mal Al-Kamilah*, Riyad El-Rayes, Libanon, 2002, cet I, h. 180

²⁰ Ali Anjab As-Sa'i Al-Baghdadi, *Akhbar Al-Hallaj*, Dar At-Thali'ah Al-Jadidah, Damaskus, 1997, cet II, h. 92

²¹ Asep Achmad Hidayat, *Sejarah Tasawuf dan Tarekat (Telusur Tokoh dan Ajarannya)*, Jakarta : Kencana, 2024. pg. 71.

not executed because of accusations of heresy but rather political factors.²²

At that time, the Abbasid dynasty was led by Al-Muqtadir Billah (320 AH) who was sworn in after the death of Al-Muktafi (295 AH), his brother. He was the youngest caliph in the history of the Abbasid dynasty. He was installed when he was 13 years old. With such a young age it was very easy to be provoked or even intimidated by his subordinate generals. Some historians even describe the caliphate as not being led by Al-Muqtadir. He was only used as a puppet by a group of empresses and court ladies.²³

Philip Hitti called him the last caliph to amass a vast fortune and collect jewelry in the history of the Abbasid dynasty. Al- Muqtadir did not even hesitate to confiscate the property of the founder of the richest shop in Baghdad and inherited Harun's famous red rubies. Meanwhile, the extreme Shiite group Qaramithah was getting stronger and stronger, tearing and eating away at the land of Abbasia. No doubt, arrests and the application of subversive laws were launched in the name of state security authorities.²⁴

Al-Hallaj, who happened to live in such a situation, was included in the list of massive arrests launched by the caliph. He was arrested after having previously escaped from the fatwa of Imam Daud Adz-Dzahiri, the founder of the Dzahiri school. But on the second arrest on the fatwa of Abu Amr Al- Hamadi, a mufti of the Maliki school, Al-Hallaj did not move. He was then thrown into prison before being executed in 309 AH in the presence of his favorite student, As-Syibli.²⁵

The accusation that Al-Hallaj had claimed to be a “god” with evidence of syatahat (ecstatic statements) became raw for anyone who delved into the consciousness of a Sufi. Hence, the figure of Ibn Suraih, as the mufti of the Shafi'i school at that time, openly refused to issue a fatwa. In addition, Abu Al-Wafa At- Taftazi captured the contradiction between Al-Hallaj's statements in eculibrium (normal) and when he was mortal. This data proves that the Islamic concept of Al-Ittihad (reincarnation) allegedly developed by Al-Hallaj is not as simple as understood in the Christian trinity dogma or Buddhism. Islam does not recognize the concept of manunggaling gusti kawulo, because logic cannot justify it: how can a new substance (human) merge into the preexisting substance (God).²⁶

²² Mahmud Ismail, *Sosiulujija Al-Fikr Al-Islami*, Muassasat Al-Intisyar Al-Arabi, Beirut, 2000, cet II, Vol III, h. 235

²³ Ibnu Khaldun, *Tarikh Ibnu Khaldun*, Dar Al-Fikr, Libanon, 2000, Vol III, h. 446-447

²⁴ Philip K. Hitti, *History of Arabs*, Serambi, Jakarta, 2010, cet II, h. 435

²⁵ Abu Al-Wafa At-Taftazani, *Op cit*, pg. 124

²⁶ Fakhruddin Ar-Razi, *Al-Mathalib Al-Aliyah*, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Beirut, 1987, cet I, Vol II, pg. 104

CONCLUSION

The tragedy of Mansur Al-Hallaj's execution is one of the most monumental events in Islamic intellectual history, reflecting the sharp clash between the spiritual freedom of a Sufi and the power of religious and political authorities. Al-Hallaj, with his controversial statement “Ana al-Haqq” (I am the Truth), did not intend to claim himself as God, but rather as a symbol of fana'-the disappearance of the individual ego in the presence of God. However, this statement was considered a form of insult to orthodox theology, especially by fiqh scholars oriented towards formal sharia.

Al-Hallaj's execution in 922 CE in Baghdad was driven not only by religious considerations, but also by the political interests of the Abbasid dynasty, which was facing internal pressures and social tensions at the time. Al-Hallaj's Sufistic teachings, which emphasized divine love, personal closeness to God, and criticism of religious formalities, were considered to endanger social stability and state authority.

Al-Hallaj's case symbolizes the classic conflict between esotericism and exotericism, between the inner dimension of religion full of spiritual experience and the outer dimension framed by law and power. In the view of many Sufis, Al-Hallaj was a martyr of spiritual truth, a sincere seeker of God who was punished for his sincerity in expressing his inner nature.

In conclusion, the tragedy of Al-Hallaj cannot be understood simply as a condemnation of heresy, but rather as a reflection of the complex dynamics between freedom of thought, spiritual expression and the control of orthodoxy in Islamic history. It serves as a lasting lesson about the risks of expressing inner truths in a public sphere controlled by religious and state power.

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