
**Qur’anic Studies in al-Andalus: An Overview of the State of Research on qira‘at and tafsîr**

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This paper is an overview of the Andalusī production of qira‘at and tafsîr on the basis of the data provided by bio-bibliographical resources that have become recently available (‘Historia de los autores y transmisores Andalusíes/History of the Authors and Transmitters of al-Andalus’, or HATA and the *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*). It aims at providing an example of the wealth of information that such resources contain, while at the same time outlining the development of such genres in al-Andalus and offering a state-of-the-art assessment of the existing scholarship. Although I will mention studies developed in the Arab-Islamic world, my contribution will mostly focus on publications stemming from Western academia and will follow the model provided by previous scholars such as Dominique Urvoy, Jesús Zanón, and Juan Manuel Vízcaíno, whose studies will be referred to in full below.

The HATA online catalogue is a resource created within several research projects held by the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) that contains information on 5,007 Andalusí authors and transmitters and 13,730 works produced and transmitted in al-Andalus. The HATA catalogue was finished in 2014 within the project ‘Knowledge, Heresy and Political Culture in the Islamic West (Eighth–Fifteenth Centuries)’ (KOHEPOCU) led by Maribel Fierro, and it consists of a chronologically and thematically ordered list of works written and transmitted in al-Andalus between the second/eighth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. The information contained in HATA has been retrieved from more than 100 Arabic sources (including biographical and bibliographical dictionaries, i.e. *fahāris*).

*Biblioteca de al-Andalus* is an encyclopedia that includes 2,465 entries on Andalusī authors by a variety of scholars who specialise in al-Andalus. It was edited between 2004 and 2013 by Jorge Lirola and José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, founding members of the Ibn Ṭūfayl Foundation of Arabic Studies.

Another resource employed for the identification of Andalusī scholars in this article is the PUA database (‘Prosopografía de los Ulemas de al-Andalus’). This database was established at the Escuela de Estudios Árabes in Granada under the direction of María Luisa Ávila, and consists of about 11,600 entries containing basic biographical information of the Andalusī ʿulamāʾ and references to the bio-bibliographical dictionaries in which they are mentioned. As can be read in the introductory text of its website, the information has been extracted from Arab biographical dictionaries and organised in a database so that the researcher who works on these scholars can take advantage of the possibilities offered by digitised data processing.

**The Onset of Qur’anic Sciences in al-Andalus**

The development of the various Qur’anic sciences started shortly after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, when disagreements on the way of reading the Qur’an started to become evident. The third caliph, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (d. 35/655), tried to remedy these disagreements by promoting a canonical redaction of the Holy Text. In the first half of the fourth/tenth century, Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) recognised only seven variants attributed to seven readers of the second/eighth century and banned every other version. But this attempt did not stop the
circulation of other readings. As Nasser states in his book on The Transmission of the Variant Readings, ‘shortly after the promulgation of Ibn Mujāhid’s Kitāb al-Sab’ a, compilations on eight, ten, and beyond ten Readings started to appear more frequently’. The maximum number of accepted variants was fourteen, but Nasser explains that no Reading beyond the ten-Reading canon was accepted as canonical, and thus would be categorised under the shawādh dh Readings.

As Mahmud Ali Makki highlighted several decades ago in his book Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe, the Qur’anic textual variants (qirāʾāt) became known in al-Andalus—where al-Nāfi’ s textual variant became the authoritative version—by the end of the second/eighth century, as is corroborated by the number of transmissions by Andalusī scholars of this textual variant found in the section dedicated to the Qur’an and the Qur’anic sciences in HATA.

Several works of Qur’anic exegesis of the Meccan school were introduced in al-Andalus in the second/eighth century as well, such as the tafsīr of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 68/687), one of the ten Companions who are said to be exegetes, or the tafsīr attributed to Abū Sufyān Wakiʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ b. Maḥīf al-Ruʿāsī (d. 150/768). Ibn al-Jarrāḥ was a famous Iraqi traditionist born in Kufa, where his father was head of the bayt al-māl (the fiscal treasury of the Muslim state). He was educated in the Islamic sciences, mainly hadīth, and his tafsīr is one of the few works attributed to him. He had a remarkable influence on the early Andalusī scholars who became interested in Qur’anic exegesis after their studies and pilgrimage to Mecca, and his writings were transmitted in the third/ninth century by the Andalusī Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Aʿsā al-Maʾārīfī al-Qurṭūbī (d. 221–2/836–7).

The first two Andalusī authors of the early third/ninth century who composed works on Qur’anic sciences were Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malīk al-Sulamī Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/853) and Abū Mūsā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Hawwārī (d. after 238/852). Although Ibn Ḥabīb is known primarily for his legal works, his biographers attribute to him more than 1,000 books dedicated to different subjects among which Qur’anic sciences play an important role. He wrote several works dealing with the vocalisation of the Qur’an (iʿrāb), the rare words found in the Holy Text (gharīb al-Qurʾān), the statements abrogated by other verses’ statements (ʿilm al-nāṣikh waʿl-mansūkh), the meanings of the Qur’an (ʿilm al-maʾānī), and exegesis. Al-Hawwārī specialised in Qur’anic readings and composed a tafsīr, which was one of the first original works of Qur’anic exegesis in al-Andalus, but no copy of it has been found up to now.

These first efforts during this early period led to the great commentary of Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bāqī b. Makhla (d. 276/889), although this work has not been preserved and not much can be said about its structure and orientation. Ibn Makhla travelled twice to the eastern Islamic world, where he completed his studies and came into contact with the Ahl al-Hadīth in Iraq, including Aḥmād b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the eponym of the Ḥanafī school of law. He introduced into al-Andalus new ideas and texts coming from the Islamic East, seeking to establish the Qur’an and the sunna of the Prophet as the basis of Islamic law, in opposition to the religious and legal Andalusī doctrines based on the authoritative opinion (raʾy) of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) and his followers. During the Umayyad Caliphate in the fourth/tenth century, every type of Qur’anic science was already represented in al-Andalus, including those sciences devoted to study the spelling of the Qur’an (rasm), the orthoepy or rules for the correct recitation of the sacred text (tajwīd) and the precepts of the Qur’an (ahkām al-Qurʾān), a discipline closely related to jurisprudence (fiqh).

Makki’s aforementioned essay on Oriental contributions on Muslim Spain, which is focused on the Umayyad period,23 completes and complements what Lévi-Provençal stated in the section devoted to the intellectual life of his Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane,24 and for a long time has been the main resource for knowing the Andalusī production in different genres, including Qur’anic sciences. For the following Andalusī periods, we have at our disposal several volumes of Menéndez Pidal’s Historia de España devoted to al-Andalus and edited by María Jesús Viguera Molins. Among them, both the volume devoted to the Taifa kingdoms and the one for the Almoravid and Almohad periods include a specific chapter on intellectual activity—prepared respectively by Manuela Marín and Jesús Zanón—in which the development of the Qur’anic sciences in al-Andalus is carefully explained.25

Following the precedent set by Dominique Urvoy in several of his studies published during the 1970s,26 Zanón mainly takes into account the quantitative dimensions of the data collected from the biographical dictionary Kitāb al-Takmil li-Kitāb al-Ṣīla (‘Supplement to the Kitāb al-Ṣīla’) of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb Bakkār b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Quḍā’ī Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260).27 This work—as indicated by its title—completes the Kitāb al-Ṣīla fi ta’rīkh a immat al-Andalus (‘The Continuation of the “History of the Sages of al-Andalus”’’ composed by Abū-l-Qāsim Khalaf b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Anṣārī Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183),28 which is—at the same time—the continuation of the biographical dictionary compiled by Abū-l-Walīd ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Azīdī Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 404/1013),29 Ta’rīkh ulamā‘ al-Andalus (‘History of the ‘ulamā‘ of al-Andalus’). This perspective gives us some idea of the volume of Andalusī works on Qur’anic sciences produced in the Almoravid and the Almohad periods. Zanón documents 1,166 works written under the Almoravids and 1,023 under the Almohads and shows the following distribution according to the genres:

1) Qur’anic sciences: 285 of 1,166 works (24.4%) in the Almoravid period / 256 of 1,023 (25.02%) in the Almohad period.

2) Hadīth sciences: 158 of 1,166 works (13.55%) in the Almoravid period / 148 of 1,023 (14.47%) in the Almohad period.

3) Juridical sciences: 234 of 1,166 works (20.07%) in the Almoravid period / 159 of 1,023 (15.54%) in the Almohad period.

4) Philological sciences: 163 of 1,166 works (13.98%) in the Almoravid period / 163 of 1,023 (15.93%) in the Almohad period.

5) Belles-lettres: 252 of 1,166 works (21.61%) in the Almoravid period / 225 of 1,023 (21.99%) in the Almohad period.

6) Dogmatic theology: 11 of 1,166 works (0.94%) in the Almoravid period / 22 of 1,023 (2.15%) in the Almohad period.

7) History, biography and genealogy: 26 of 1,166 works (2.23%) in the Almoravid period / 19 of 1,023 (1.86%) in the Almohad period.

8) Mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture: 37 of 1,166 works (3.17%) in the Almoravid period / 31 of 1,023 (3.03%) in the Almohad period.

The greatest decrease from the Almoravid to the Almohad period reflected by this data is that of the literature dedicated to the juridical sciences and, according to Zanón, this indicates an
increasing preference during the Almohad period for the study of the sources of law (ḥadīth and Qur’an) and a decline of interest in the study of Mālikī legal doctrine, a trend that can already be seen in the ideas introduced by Bāqī b. Makhlad in the third/ninth century.

Further to this, the Fahrasa of Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Khayr al-Lamṭūnī al-Amawī Ibn Khayr al-Iṣbīlī (d. 575/1180) is extremely useful for defining the tendencies of intellectual production between the third/ninth and the sixth/twelfth centuries. This work is extensively studied by Juan Manuel Vizcaínó in his La Fahrasa de Ibn Jayr. According to Vizcaínó, Ibn Khayr documents 1,405 works with the following distribution according to genres:

- 500 works among the 1,405 (35.5%) deal with grammar, adab, and poetry.
- 279 (19.9%) of the 1,405 works deal with ḥadīth.
- 198 (14.1%) of the 1,405 works deal with asceticism.
- 133 (9.4%) of the 1,405 works deal with Qur’an.
- 277 (19.7%) of the 1,405 works deal with other genres, such as biographies (siyar) and genealogies (anṣāb), the basis of jurisprudence and theology (uṣūl al-fiqh and uṣūl al-dīn), Mālikī jurisprudence, beverages, division of inheritances, dream interpretation, fahāris, etc.

Therefore, 133 works among the 1,405 (9.4%) mentioned in the Fahrasa are related to the Qur’an and the Qur’anic sciences and about half of them are composed by Andalusī scholars. The number increases if we take into account that grammar is a discipline employed for the correct understanding of the Qur’an and, in some cases, it could be considered as another auxiliary science for the study of the Holy Text. 70 of these 133 works focus on qirāʾāt (52.6%). 38 of them are works on other types of Qur’anic sciences mainly devoted to linguistic issues (28.6%). 21 (15.8%) deal with faḍā’il al-Qurʾān (‘the excellences of the Qur’an’), the study of the reciters of the Qur’an (qurrāʾ), or with the discipline that studies the proverbs (amthāl) contained in the Holy Text. There are four other texts on diverse content (3%), such as a work on the recitation of the Qur’an in Ramadān.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, another useful source for the study of the intellectual production in al-Andalus is Biblioteca de al-Andalus. At the end of this encyclopedia, we can find a list of the 2,465 scholars included within it, and a preponderant professional profile assigned to each one of them. As a result, we get a picture of the most prolific occupations along the whole history of al-Andalus, from the second/eighth to the ninth/fifteenth centuries, which can be summarised as follows:

Poets: 583 of the 2,465 authors (23.66%)
Jurists: 353 of the 2,465 authors (14.32%)
Multifaceted scholars: 316 of the 2,465 authors (14.82%)
Experts in ḥadīth: 102 of the 2,465 authors (4.14%)
ʿUlamā’: 93 of the 2,465 authors (3.77%)
Secretaries: 89 of the 2,465 authors (3.61%)

Specialists in Qur’anic readings: 79 of the 2,465 authors (3.2%)

Exegetes: 8 of the 2,465 authors (0.32%)

Other activities: 842 of the 2,465 authors (34.16%)

As can be seen, the most practiced activity is poetry, given that 583 of the 2,465 authors are considered to be primarily poets. The least practiced activity is Qur’anic exegesis, which is represented by only eight authors, while specialists in Qur’anic readings amount to 79.

If we take a look on the PUA database, we can also find several different occupations related to the recitation and teaching of the Qur’an, a subject on which the PUA team has undertaken a study that is forthcoming. This study will complete and complement the results of Biblioteca de al-Andalus, since the number of ‘ulamāʾ is much more reduced in Biblioteca de al-Andalus (2,481) than in PUA.

Qirāʾāt

Among the diverse Qur’anic sciences, the field of Qur’anic readings constitutes the genre to which modern academic research has paid most attention, and there are several contributions dealing with this issue that are worthy of attention. One is an article by Rodríguez Mañas, ‘Las lecturas coránicas en al-Andalus’ (‘Qur’anic Readings in al-Andalus’), in which the author analyses 3,000 biographies of Andalusī scholars related to this field contained in Ibn al-Abbār’s Takhmila, the same work employed by Jesús Zanón for his study on the intellectual production of the Almoravid and Almohad periods.35 In this paper, Rodríguez Mañas points out the existence of two main schools of qirāʾāt in al-Andalus, one in Córdoba-Seville and the other in sharq al-Andalus (Denia, Xátiva, and Valencia).

Another important contribution related to Qur’anic readings can be found in an article by the aforementioned Juan Manuel Vizcaíno on the Qur’anic reciters (qurrāʾ al-Qurʾān).36 For this article, Vizcaíno compared two general biographical dictionaries specifically devoted to the Qur’anic reciters, the Kitāb Maʿrifat alqurrāʾ al-kibār (‘Dictionary of the Most Important Qur’an Reciters’) of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348)37 and the Kitāb Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrāʾ (‘The Final Word in Biographical Material on the Qur’an Teachers’) of Abūʾl-Khayr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429).38 After examining both sources, he prepared a list of biographical entries of the Andalusī scholars contained in them.

In the third contribution—entitled ‘Studies on the Transmission of Qur’anic Readings in al-Andalus’—Cristina de la Puente presents a complete survey of the publications on this issue.39 As de la Puente underlines, the majority of books and articles on textual variants of the Qur’an in al-Andalus have been elaborated by European researchers, mainly from Germany, and most of them deal with one of the most important scholars in this field who lived during the third/ninth century, Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿUmar al-Umawī al-Dānī (d. 444/1053),40 such as Angelika Neuwirth’s article published in 1986, ‘Koranlesung zwischen islamischem Ost und West’ (‘Qur’anic Readings Between the Islamic East and West’).41 Regarding the edition of al-Dānī’s production, in 1930 and 1932 respectively, Otto Pretzl issued two works composed by this author, the Kitāb al-Taysirī fī al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ (‘Book of the Easy Method for Learning the
Seven Readings)—one of the most famous works of al-Dānī—and the Kitāb al-Muqniʿ fi rasm masāḥif al-amsār (‘Book of Rules on the Orthography of the Qur’an’), on Qur’anic spelling and punctuation. After a period when this sort of edition had ceased to be produced, there was a renaissance in the 1990s, and the editing of the preserved texts of Abū Ṭāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Dānī was resumed, mainly in Arab countries.

Among al-Dānī’s edited texts we find also a work devoted to the recitation of the sacred text, al-Muktafā fī al-waṣf wa-l-iḥbīdā (‘The Basic Rules on [Recitational] Pausing and Restarting’), and three works on qirāʾāt: al-Taʿrīf fī ikhtilāf al-ruwāt ‘an Nāfī (‘The Explanation of the Difference of al-Nāfī’’s Transmission’), al-Ahruf al-sabʿa li-l-Qurʿān (‘The Seven Readings of the Qur’an’), and Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī al-qirāʾāt al-sabʿ al-mashhūra (‘Complete Clarification of the Famous Seven Readings’). In Biblioteca de al-Andalus, 73 different works on Qur’anic sciences are attributed to al-Dānī, but he also transmitted many works composed by other scholars. More than 160 manuscripts containing his works have been preserved.

Abū Ṭāhir al-Dānī was a very famous author in the eastern Islamic world, and his works have been studied by Ṭāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Dānī. More than 160 manuscripts containing his works have been preserved.

Tafsīr

Along with the qirāʾāt, tafsīr is the genre that has aroused the most interest among the researchers specialised in Qur’anic sciences. It is not always easy to distinguish between tafsīr and related genres such as aḥkām al-Qurʾān and maʿānnī or gharīb al-Qurʾān. This happens because different exegetes (mufassirūn) have different aims and purposes, and this is reflected in the importance that they attribute to different elements while analysing the Qur’anic text, such as history, grammar, semantics, law, theology, etc.

Walid Saleh, to whom we owe the recent study The Formation of the Classical Tafsīr Tradition, states that ‘we still lack a comprehensive history of qur’anic commentary’. In addition, he points out that the scholarship is mainly concerned with the early period to the detriment of the later, after the fourth/tenth century. Saleh remarks that relevant works of tafsīr might have remained as yet unedited, and that their study could change our assumptions about the whole genre. There have been several attempts to write histories of Qur’anic exegesis in Arabic, as Saleh reminds us, but the tafsīr literature presents many methodological problems, and the amount of works that still remain unedited and unstudied to this day makes it difficult to draw valid conclusions. The above-mentioned online databases allow us to handle a vast amount of information and locate those unattended works that could be studied by specialised scholars. In the last decade, however, plenty of ‘new’ material is being edited or published and, as Saleh remarks, several well-known scholars have devoted their efforts to the study of this genre; Norman Calder, Claude Gilliot, Jane McAuliffe, Andrew Rippin, and Uri Rubin among others. In addition, several scholars have paid particular attention to Qur’anic exegesis of Sūfī inspiration, such as Gerhard Böwering in his book on the exegetical work of the Sūfī Sahī al-
Regarding Qur'anic exegesis in al-Andalus, the studies that have been carried out are usually focused on specific authors and works. The most comprehensive study on Andalusī exegesis is Madrasat al-tafsīr fī al-Andalus (‘The School of Qur’anic Exegesis in al-Andalus’) by al-Mashīnī, while Amina González Costa’s paper on ‘Exégese y exegetas en al-Andalus’ also constitutes a pioneering attempt to offer an overview on the extant studies dealing with this subject, although it is not as wide-ranging as al-Mashīnī’s work.

Of all the Andalusī tafsīr works to be preserved, those considered to be the most relevant, for varying reasons, are those of Ibn Abī Zamanīn, Ibn ʿĀṭiyya, Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī, al-Qurtūbī, Ibn Barrajān, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī. The oldest Andalusī work on tafsīr which remains extant is that of Ibn Abī Zamanīn, which is actually a summarised version of the exegesis attributed to the Eastern scholar Yahyā b. Sallām (d. 200/815), Mukhtasār tafsīr Yahyā b. Sallām (‘Summary of the tafsīr of Yahyā b. Sallām’).

This Mukhtasār tafsīr Yahyā b. Sallām has been attributed to both father and son, the father being Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāb b. Muhammad b. Abī Zamanīn (d. 359/971), and the son Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāb b. Abī Zamanīn (d. 399/1008). In her article ‘Los Banū Abī Zamanīn’, María Arcas Campoy explains that Ibn Sallām transmitted his tafsīr to his own son and then it passed to his grandson, who transmitted it to Abū Muhammad’s teacher, Ibn Ḥasan. Then Abū Muhammad b. Abī Zamanīn transmitted it on to his eldest son, Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

Following the information extracted from the section devoted to Qur’ān and Qur’ānic studies of the HATA database, there are two manuscripts of this work. The first is held in the Qarawiyīn Library, and the other one is in the British Museum. The work has also been published in two volumes, edited by Muhammad Ḥasan Isma’īl and Ahmad Farīd al-Mazīdī. In addition, there is a partial edition of Sūrat Āl ʿImrān by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Madīmīgh and a partial translation into ajamiado in a manuscript of La Junta de Ampliación de Estudios in Madrid and several studies on these codices, such as the article by Nuria Martínez de Castilla, ‘The Transmission of Texts Among the Moriscos: Two Copies of the Abbreviate tafsīr of Ibn Abī Zamanīn’.

Chronologically, the next outstanding Andalusī author was Abūʾl-Ḥakam ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Lakhmī Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141), a Ṣūfī theologian who wrote two tafsīr works. His major exegetical work is his Tafsīr al-Qurʾān, also known as Tanbīḥ al-afhām and Kitāb al-ʿIrshād. It has been preserved in more than 20 manuscripts, most of them in Turkish libraries. There are single copies in Saudi Arabia (Maḥad al-Makhtūṭāt), Morocco (Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc, BNRM, in Rabat), and Germany (the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich). Two editions have been published; one based on the manuscript preserved in Munich, by Muḥammad al-ʿAdlūnī, and the other one by Ahmad Farīd al-Mazīdī.

Several scholars such as al-Qārī, José Bellver, and Amina González Costa have studied Ibn Barrajān’s life and work, but his minor exegetical work Kitāb ʿidāḥ al-ḥikma bi-aḥkām al-ʿibra (‘The Book of the Elucidation of Wisdom According to the Principles of the Cross-over’)
Ibn Barrajān’s works are said to be divided into two groups responding to the two stages in his life. In the first stage he was basically an expert in ḥadīth and Qur’an, but at around the age of forty he devoted his knowledge to a mystical worldview. Accordingly, the orientation of his writings changed and he started to describe himself as a ‘contemplator of God’s signs’. The Kitāb ʿIdāh al-ḥikma corresponds to this second stage and it is the reflection of a method and an approach particular to Ibn Barrajān. Taking its structure into account, this work is possibly the result of the lessons imparted by Ibn Barrajān to his students. The author selects certain Qur’anic verses at will and then he untangles their meaning. He usually passes over the verses of legal import, while he goes back to specific verses that inspire his interpretation. The editors of the text remark that these verses are focused on four themes, namely omnipotence, omnipresence, the origin of humanity, and the transformation of the earth on the Day of Arising. Another remarkable feature of this text is that Ibn Barrajān does not refer to any teacher of tafsīr nor does he cite, in general, any other commentary and, since he did not have a ‘pronounced sense of ownership over ideas’ the editors think that he probably wanted to keep concealed certain influences that were suspect at that time, like the treatise of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā. Besides this, Ibn Barrajān was interested in the Bible and his ʿIdāh includes plenty of Biblical references, mainly taken from the Gospel of Matthew and the book of Genesis. Apparently, and according to Böwering and Casewit, the Bible from which Ibn Barrajān took these references was a Mozarab translation from the Latin Vulgate. In the specific article that Casewit recently published on the Biblical influence in Ibn Barrajān’s works, he suggests that in Ibn Barrajān’s writings, the Bible enjoys the same degree of interpretive authority as Prophetic traditions; although both sources are to be assessed solely on the basis of their alignment with the Qur’an. Ibn Barrajān is the earliest exegete to employ the Bible for non-polemical purposes and his interest in the Biblical passages is also found in his major Qur’anic commentary, although it is more evident in his ʿIdāh.

Another relevant Andalusī contribution to the exegesis of the Qur’anic text is the tafsīr composed by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamān al-Muḥārībī al-Gharnāṭī al-Qādī, Abū Muhammad Ibn ʿAṭīyya (d. 541/1147). Jāmīʿ al-muḥārrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-waḥīfī fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-ʿazīz (‘The Abbreviated Compendium on the Exegesis of the Sacred Book’). This work, which became one of the most famous commentaries in North Africa, is a summary of the Qur’anic commentaries previous to Ibn ʿAṭīyya’s and a selection of the possible interpretations, as González Costa indicates. The majority of the around 66 preserved manuscripts of this work are fragmentary copies. 29 of these are preserved in Morocco in six different libraries, three in the National Museum of Antiquities in Algiers, four in Egypt (Dār al-Kutub), 20 in Turkey, and two in Spain, in addition to which single copies are held in al-Aqṣa mosque in Jerusalem, the Maktabat al-Awqāf in Tripoli (Libya), the National Library of Bulgaria in Sofia, the National Library of Russia in Saint Petersburg, the Berlin State Library, the Société Asiatique in Paris, and the Chester Beatty collection in Dublin. With regard to published editions, there are at least seven, most of which are partial because they are based in individual manuscripts. One chapter of this work has been translated into English from the Arabic by A. Jeffery in 1972. We also find multiple studies of Ibn ʿAṭīyya’s tafsīr, such as the article by Vincent Cornell entitled ‘ʿIlm al-Qurʾān in al-Andalus’, al-Dabbāgh’s ‘Minhāj Ibn ʿAṭīyya fī tafsīrīhi al-muḥārrar al-waḥīfī, and the thesis by Shāhī al-Asmārī on the additions made by Ibn ʿAṭīyya to
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Maʿāfīrī al-Ishbīlī al-Mālikī Ābu Bakr b. al-ʿArabī (d. 543/1148).101 One of the key figures in the history of Qur'anic exegesis, he was an expert in hadīth from Seville who, after his pilgrimage, studied in Baghdad under Ābū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) among others. He wrote books on a variety of subjects, including Qur'anic exegesis. Delfina Serrano has published a study on him and his work, Akhām al-Qurʾān. As anticipated by its title, this work is a legal commentary on the Qurʾān and, according to Serrano, one of the classical exponents of the genre, which aimed to demonstrate that the corpus of Islamic jurisprudence can be derived from the Qurʾān, including grammatical and historical elements as well as a basis of legal argumentation.102 Unlike other commentaries of a legal type, it is structured following the suras, instead of being divided into thematic chapters. There are thirteen preserved manuscripts of the Akhām al-Qurʾān, three in Morocco,103 six in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub), and single copies in the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul, Berlin, the India Office of the British Library, and the Monastery of El Escorial in Madrid.104 This work has been the object of five different editions.105 The only copy of Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī’s Anwār al-fajr fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān (‘Dawn Light Cast on the Exegesis of the Qurʾān’) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Générale du Protectorat français in Rabat, but it remains unedited.106

An Andalusī tafsīr which is regarded as a standard reference work nowadays throughout the entire Islamic world is that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdālāh Ābū Bakr b. Faḥr al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī Shams al-Dīn al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273).107 The Jāmiʿ li-ikhām al-Qurʾān (‘Compendium of Qur’anic Precepts’) is undoubtedly the most famous exegetical work to be produced in al-Andalus, probably due to its encyclopedic structure and the ease with which it can be consulted. The Qurʾān and the Summa are employed as the basis for the framework of legal analysis in al-Qurṭubī’s tafsīr.108 Like Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabī’s commentary, it is not structured according to thematic chapters, but according to the suras. Al-Qurṭubī’s tafsīr is present currently on many websites devoted to the study of the Qurʾān. 61 manuscripts of this work are 84 Journal of Qurʾanic Studies kept in Turkey,109 20 in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, 17 in El Escorial, 16 copies in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Russia (Saint Petersburg), 10 in the Chester Beatty collection, six in Morocco,110 six in Holland (in the University of Leiden), three in Syria,111 three in Germany, two in Saudi Arabia112 and India,113 and single copies are held in Djelfa, Hadramaut, the Ghazi Husrev-Bey Library in Sarajevo (partial), the Markaz Āḥmad Bābā in Timbuktu, and the Mingana Collection in the University of Birmingham.114 More than seven editions exist, one of them being partial.115 Al-Qurṭubī is another of the three authors in Cornell’s aforementioned article, ‘ʿIlm al-Qurʾān al-Andalus’, and we also find several publications in Arabic on this author and his tafsīr. We can find partial translations into English in The Qurʾān and its Interpreters, by Mahmoud M. Ayoub; Sufi Commentaries on the Qurʾān in Classical Islam, by Kristin Z. Sand, and Classical Islam, by Norman Calder, Jawid Mojaddedi, and Andrew Rippin. There is also a translation into Spanish by Zacariya Maza, Compendio del Tafsir del Corán.116

The exegetical works of Abū Jaʿfar Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafi al-Jayyānī al-Gharnāṭī b. al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308),117 are also among the most significant Andalusī Qurʾanic commentaries. Ibn al-Zubayr was a man of letters and historian who was especially keen on the Qurʾānic sciences. He composed two tafsīr works, the Milāk al-talwil fī funūn al-tafsīr (‘Fundaments of Interpretation in the Art of Exegesis’) and al-Burḥān fī tartīb suwar al-Qurʾān (‘The Proof concerning the Organisation of the Chapters of the Qurʾān’).
In his *Milāk al-ta’wil*, Ibn al-Zubayr was the first to write on the topic of the ‘science of similarities’ in the Qur’ān, in relation to which he established that no verse of the Qur’ān can be replaced by another similar verse, since each one is unique, and thus similar verses should not be seen as repetitions.\(^{118}\) Four manuscripts of this work have known to exist up to now. There is one preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc,\(^ {119}\) another in the Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie,\(^ {120}\) one in Cairo (in Dār al-Kutub),\(^ {121}\) and the last one in El Escorial.\(^ {122}\) There are also three editions.\(^ {123}\) Al-Su‘āyādī has published a book on this work, entitled *Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-Andalusī wa-minhājuhu fī Milāk al-ta’wil* (‘Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-Andalusī and his Method in the *Milāk al-ta’wil’*).\(^ {124}\)

Further to this, two manuscripts have been preserved of Ibn al-Zubayr’s minor work, *al-Burhān fī tartīb suwar al-Qur’ān*, in which he deals for the first time with the analogy or fitness of the suras (*al-tanāsīb or ‘ilm munāsabat al-Qur’ān*). One copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc\(^ {125}\) and the other one is in the Oriental public library in Bankipore.\(^ {126}\) Only one edition—based on the manuscript preserved in Rabat and prepared by Muḥammad Sha’bān—has been published.\(^ {127}\) The exegete Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480–1481) reproduced the text of Ibn al-Zubayr’s *Burhān in his Naẓm al-durār fī tanāsīb al-āy wa’l-suwar*. This fact proves that this work was known in the Islamic East more than a century after the death of his author, since al-Biqāʿī never travelled to al-Andalus.\(^ {128}\)

Finally, the most famous grammarian from al-Andalus who settled in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344),\(^ {129}\) wrote *al-Bahr al-muḥīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘azīm* (‘The Plentiful Ocean on the Exegesis of the Magnificent Qur’ān’). Abū Ḥayyān was famous because of his works on grammar, and he studied the Holy Text from the lexicological and grammatical point of view, analysing every single term. Subsequently, he focused on the rhetoric and eloquence of the Qur’ān, *al-nāsikh wa’l-mansūkh*, the fundamentals of law (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and the prophetic aspects found in the Text, and finally dealt with the reading variants in relation to their linguistic features. It has been considered to be the best Qur’ānic commentary of the lexicological and grammatical genre by specialists in the field. In *al-Bahr al-muḥīṭ*, al-Gharnāṭī mentions two commentaries as being the most important, Ibn ʿAtīya’s and al-Zamakhshārī’s, but he expresses in the texts his intent to correct and improve their content.\(^ {130}\) 28 manuscripts of *al-Bahr al-muḥīṭ* are kept in Turkey,\(^ {131}\) fifteen in Egypt (Dār al-Kutub in Cairo), two in Morocco,\(^ {132}\) two in Iraq,\(^ {133}\) two in Syria (Damascus),\(^ {134}\) two in the Netherlands (University of Leiden), two in the UK,\(^ {135}\) two in the National Library of Italy in Florence, and single copies are held in al-Maktaba al-Maḥmūdiyya in Medina and Yale University.\(^ {136}\) Other manuscripts are mentioned in Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*,\(^ {137}\) and two complete editions have been issued.\(^ {138}\) There are at least six studies on it, all of them in Arabic.\(^ {139}\)

Apart from the information on the extant manuscripts and their editions of the most famous Andalusī commentaries, the HATA catalogue can also provide us with other sorts of data in relation to Qur’ānic exegesis in al-Andalus. 1,398 of the Andalusī scholars included in HATA were involved in the study of Qur’ānic sciences, but only 220 of them composed or transmitted works of exegesis (15.8%). 80 among those 220 scholars composed at least one work dealing with *tafsīr* (5.73%); 58 of them wrote an original *tafsīr* (4.15%), while the other 22 are authors of commentaries on *tafsīrs* written by other scholars (1.57%). The remaining 140 scholars are not authors, but only transmitters of *tafsīr* composed by others (10%).
As it can be noted, the amount of Andalusī exegetes (scholars who wrote original works of *tafsīr*) numbered in HATA is 58 compared to the eight scholars included in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*. This is not surprising if we take into account that in BA, single professional profiles are attributed to the scholars in BA, and in consequence many of the authors of an original work of *tafsīr* might be included in other categories such as ‘experts in ḥadīth’, ‘specialists in Qur’anic readings’, ‘fuqahā’’, or ‘multifaceted scholars’.

Fig. 1. Data extracted from the HATA database (authors)

The total amount of works related to *tafsīr* included in the database is 290, and 215 of them (73.8%) are transmissions of 53 different works composed by other scholars. The most frequently found are:

1) *Tafsīr ʿAbd al-Razzāq*: 28 of the 214 transmissions (13.1%). ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Sanʿānī (d. 211/827) was a Yemeni scholar who specialised mainly in jurisprudence, ḥadīth, and exegesis. He studied with Maʿmar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), whose teachings are reflected in his *tafsīr*.\(^{140}\)

The works which were composed during the formative period of the exegetical science used to be very fragmentary, and some specialists argue that this feature could indicate a reconstruction by medieval scholars of these primitive texts from later works.\(^{141}\) Although ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s work also pertains to this formative period, its structure is more unified and, following what Rippin proposes in his article on *tafsīr* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ‘more likely to be authentic’.\(^{142}\) The first Andalusī scholar who transmitted this work was Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Thaʿlab al-Khusainī (d. 286/899)\(^{143}\) and the last one was al-Qādī ʿIyāḍ or ʿIyāḍ b. Musā (d. 544/1149),\(^{144}\) meaning that ʿAbd al-Razzāq’s *tafsīr* was transmitted in al-Andalus between the end of the third/ninth and the beginning of the sixth/twelfth centuries.

2) *Tafsīr Yahyā b. Sallām*: 21 of the 214 transmissions (9.8%). Yahyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī was a traditionist and exegete of the second/eighth century from Basra who spent a large part of his life in North Africa, where his *tafsīr* became well known. This work included short narratives, legal opinions, variant readings, and traditions,\(^{145}\) and its transmission in a summarised version by Ibn Abī Zamanīn made possible the diffusion of his teachings in al-Andalus as well. The earliest transmission of Ibn Sallām’s *tafsīr* we find is that of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Ṣadafī al-Shadhūnī (d. after 300/912)\(^{146}\) and the latest one is that by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī around the beginning of the eighth/fortieth century.

3) *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*: 14 of the 214 are transmissions of al-Ṭabarī’s work (6.5%), but three of them are actually transmissions of abridgements made by other Andalusī authors. Although Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) was also a faqīh and traditionist, he is known mainly because of his Qur’anic commentary, approached from the grammatical and lexicographical point of view and considered as ‘the *Tafsīr par excellence*’.\(^{147}\) The appearance of his *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ‘an taʾwil āy al-Qurʾān* (‘Clarification on the Interpretation of the Qur’an’) coincided with the classical period of *tafsīr*, the fourth/tenth century, which was a period of proliferation of exegetical works and transmission of the previous ‘reference texts’ in this field. Al-Ṭabarī’s *tafsīr* is said to be the first Sunnī exegetical corpus based upon traditions, but actually there were others before it, between the end of the second/eighth and the beginning of the third/ninth century, such as the two works mentioned above.\(^{148}\) Al-Ṭabarī’s work was transmitted in al-Andalus from the fourth/tenth to the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century.

4) *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*: 13 of the 214 works (6.1%) are transmissions of the *tafsīr* attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās. There are preserved manuscripts and editions of several transmissions\(^{149}\) which
allegedly contain this exegetical work, but it has not been proved that the attribution to Ibn ʿAbbās is correct. Ibn ʿAbbās’ work was transmitted in al-Andalus from the second/eighth to the seventh/thirteenth centuries. The bibliographic sources indicate that the earliest version of Ibn ʿAbbās’ tafsīr known in al-Andalus was transmitted by Muʿāwiya b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥudayr (d. 158/774 or 168/784) but, unfortunately, no copy has been preserved.

5) Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭiyya: thirteen authors transmitted the aforementioned tafsīr of the Andalusī Ibn ʿAṭiyya (6.1%). Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī was the author of the latest transmission preserved of this work. It is possible to find several summaries of it as well, such as the one written by al-Ruʿaynī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Washqī (d. c. 620/1223).

6) Tafsīr al-Naqqāsh: ten of the 214 transmissions (4.7%). There is very little information about Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Naqqāsh (d. 351/962) beyond his date of death. In their book entitled Classical Islam Mojaddedi and Rippin quote Ibn ʿAṭiyya who—in reference to his exegetical activity—said that al-Naqqāsh had to be frequently rectified. This work was transmitted in al-Andalus mainly during the fifth/eleventh century.

7) Tafsīr al-Zamakhshārī: seven of the 214 transmissions (3.3%). Abūl-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhshārī was a renowned grammarian from sixth/twelfth century Kharwarazm who specialised in theology and Qurʾanic exegesis. His work is known mainly for its Muʿtazilī theological perspective, but according to Rippin, its success is not due to the presence in the text of an overall theological argument, as demonstrated by the frequent use of this text within the madrasa context regardless of its theological perspective. Al-Zamakhshārī’s tafsīr is, among the most transmitted exegetical works in al-Andalus, the commentary that was transmitted by fewest scholars. The transmission of al-Zamakhshārī’s tafsīr by Ibn Futūḥ al-Uqaylī al-Gharnāṭī (d. 867/1463) is the latest version preserved.

In addition to the previous transmissions, we know that four Andalusī authors composed works combining the works of Ibn ʿAṭiyya and al-Zamakhshārī during the seventh/thirteenth century: Abūl-Kabīr b. Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī al-Mursī (d. 617/1220), Abū Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Isbīlī Ibn al-Kammād (d. 618/1221 or 619/1222), Abū al-Muḥammad al-Anṣāri al-Jayyānī al-Isbīlī (d. 663/1265), and Abūḥalīb al-Muḥammad al-ʿAshšāh al-Qurṭūbī al-Muḥādī (d. 736/1335), but none of these texts has been preserved.

These data show the fourth/tenth and the fifth/eleventh centuries as those during which more tafsīr transmission activity took place, while the most relevant Andalusī texts were composed from the sixth/twelfth century onwards. The two main tafsīr transmitters following the information retrieved from the HATA database are ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb b. Muḥṣin (d. 520/1126) and Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī for a later period. The former transmitted the works of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, Yahyā b. Sallām, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ʿAbbās, and al-Naqqāsh among many others, although he did not compose any original work. Abū Ḥayyān transmitted the Qurʾanic commentaries of Yahyā b. Sallām, Ibn ʿAṭiyya, and al-Zamakhshārī.

Among the 290 works related with tafsīr contained in HATA, about 75 are original works composed by Andalusī authors (26.2%) and not transmissions, some of them being commentaries or abridgements of other works. Around 30 of them, written by 25 different
scholars, have been preserved until now but around a half of them still remain unattended. That is the case with regard to the following works:

Fig. 2. Data extracted from the HATA database (the most transmitted works in al-Andalus)

1) Tafsīr gharīb al-Qur‘ān (‘Exegesis of the Rare Words in the Qur’an’) of ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Lubbāj al-Umawī al-Shanṭjālī (d. 436/1045), the only manuscript of which is preserved in the Spanish National Library in Madrid (BNE).  

2) Two of the works of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālīb b. Ḥammūsh al-Qaṣṣī al-Muqri’ī (d. 437/1045), his Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān and the Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā bulūgh al-nihāya fī ‘ilm maʿānī al-Qur‘ān wa-tafsīrīhī wa-anwāʿ ‘ulūmihi (‘Book of Guidance to Attaining the Final Word Concerning the Science of the Meanings of the Qur’an, its Exegesis, and the basic knowledge of its Sciences’). Makkī b. Abī Ṭālīb was a significant Andalusī author of the fifth/eleventh century in the field of Qur’anic studies. There are two manuscripts of the former work, one in the Spanish National Library and the other in Meknes, and the eight extant manuscripts of the Kitāb al-Hidāya are kept in five different Moroccan libraries, including also the Khizānat al-Jāmī’ al-Kabīr in Meknes. In 1975 al-Tuhāmī al-Rāfiʿi Hāshimī defended his thesis—a part of which is devoted to Makkī b. Abī Ṭālīb—entitled Las controversias de las lecturas coránicas en al-Andalus y Marruecos.


This text is an abridgement of a wider work composed also by him—the Kitāb al-Tafsīl al-jāmī’ li-ʿulūm al-tanzīl (‘Book of the Complete Description of the Sciences of the Revelation’) which has not been preserved. It is possible to find copies of Kitāb al-taḥṣīl in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc, Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, El Escorial in Madrid, the Institute of Oriental Studies in San Petersburg, and the Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn in Fez.

4) Tafsīr al-ʿulūm waʾl-maʿānī al-mustawdīʿa fī al-sabʿ al-mathānī (‘Exegesis of the Sciences and Meanings Devoted to the Seven Readings of the Qur’an’) by Ahmad b. Qāsim b. ʿĪsā al-Lakhmī al-Uqlīshī al-Andalusī (d. 410/1019). There is a manuscript copied in 627/1230 in al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya in Cairo. As in the case of Ibn Abī Zamanīn’s work, there are discrepancies concerning the authorship of the Tafsīr al-ʿulūm, since it is attributed in some instances to Ahmad b. Maʿadd b. ʿĪsā b. Wākiʿ Ibn al-Uqlīshī (d. c. 550/1155). Al-Zirīklī mentions al-Azhariyya’s manuscript in the entry of this latter author, plus another copy kept in al-Khizāna al-Malakiyīn in Rabat. However, the two extant editions of this exegetical work on the Sūrat al-Fātiha refer to Ahmad b. Maʿadd b. al-Uqlīshī.

5) Al-Īdāh waʾl-tabyīn li-mā ʿubhima min tafsīr al-kitāb al-mubīn (‘The Elucidation and Clarification of What is Equivocal of the Exegesis of the Revealed Book’) and a tafsīr of Sūrat Yūsuf, both attributed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd (or ʿUbayd) Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Suhaylī al-Khāṭib al-Malāqī (d. 581/1185). There is only one manuscript of al-Īdāh waʾl-tabyīn, preserved in the Berlin State Library, and the two extant manuscripts of his partial tafsīr are kept in Rabat, one in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc and the other in the Bibliothèque Générale.
6) Riyy al-zam‘ān fi tafsīr al-Qur‘ān (‘The Quenching of the Thirsty concerning Qur’ānic Exegesis’), attributed to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Faḍl al-Sulamī al-Mursī (d. 655/1257). There is a single manuscript of this text preserved in Timbuktu.185

7) Al-Tibyān fi ahkām al-Qur‘ān (‘Wisdom concerning the Precepts of the Qur’ān’) of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-ʿAlwāṣ al-Qurashī al-Dībājī (d. 679/1280 or 699/1300). This work is contained in a manuscript kept in the Yeni Cami mosque in Istanbul.187

8) There is a single and unedited copy of the tafsīr of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abīl-Muḥammad b. ‘Utbī (d. 782/1380) in Morocco.188


In addition, several unedited abridgements, commentaries or glosses elaborated by Andalusī scholars on exegetical works composed by others could also be added to the previous list:

1) The Ikhtīsār al-Kasḥ wa’l-bayān ‘an tāḥyīn al-Qur‘ān li’l-Tha‘labī (‘Summary of al-Tha‘labī’s “Exposition and Clarification of the Explanation of the Qur’ān”) by Muḥammad b. Abīṣūrī Randaqa (d. 520/1126). Abīṣūrī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tha‘labī (d. 427/1035) was a famous exegete and author of qīṣṣa al-anbiyā‘, but his tafsīr is still unpublished due to doubts about its reliability, on the basis that he employed sources considered as ‘untrustworthy within the tafsīr tradition’. Despite the current lack of interest in al-Tha‘labī’s tafsīr, it could be interesting to study the context in which Ibn Abī Randaqa decided to summarise this oriental work. We find two manuscripts of it in Cairo (in Dār al-Kutub).193

2) Lastly, there is an unedited copy of the glosses to al-Bayḍāwī’s tafsīr by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Balḍī/al-Balḍī al-Andalusī (n.d.) in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub), and two copies in Fez and Tetuan of (Bāḥ) al-Mukhtasār li-ahl al-bidāyah wa’l-nazār fi al-tafsīr (‘(Chapter of) the Summary for the People of the Expression and Contemplation of “The Exegesis”’), by Muḥammad b. Abīṣūrī al-Shāṭibī al-Barjī (d. 960/1553).198

The manuscripts that have been preserved of certain works written in al-Andalus give us only an idea of how widespread such works may have been, given that manuscripts have been destroyed along the history either intentionally199 or in accidental events. But combining both extant manuscripts and the references in secondary bibliography to the circulation of certain works in the Islamic world, an overview of the intellectual production and circulation of works dealing with specific genres can be established.

In relation to the circulation of exegetical works, it has been shown here that the most commented and transmitted works of tafsīr in al-Andalus were those of Abīd al-Razzāq, Yaḥyā b. Sallām, al-Tabarī, Ibn Abībās, Ibn Abī Ṭiyya, al-Naqḍāsh, and al-Zamakhshārī. An interesting fact in this respect is that Ibn Abī Ṭiyya’s Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar is the only one to be composed by an Andalusī. It was probably more famous than other Andalusī works because it was an abbreviated compendium of other writings on tafsīr, and it was also widespread in North Africa. It is surprising, however, that al-Qurṭubī’s tafsīr is not among the most transmitted exegetical works in al-Andalus. This is probably due to the emigration of its author to the
Eastern Islamic world and, at the same time, this must also be the reason why his work is still known nowadays. The main conclusion we can reach is that the renowned Andalusī works in the current Islamic world are those which were spread in the Islamic East during the Middle Ages, such as al-Qurṭubī’s work or al-Gharnāṭī’s al-Bahr al-muḥīf. In this regard, in several of his publications Louis Pouzet has analysed the impact of the Andalusī emigrant ’ulamā in the Islamic East during the Ayyubid and Mamlūk eras, many of whom were reciters of the Qur’an. It is also possible to trace the path of the Andalusī tafsīr in the current Islamic world through many reputed websites dealing with the study of the different Qur’anic sciences.

NOTES

1 A first version of this contribution was presented at the International Conference ‘Miradas cruzadas sobre el Corán en al-Andalus y el Magreb’ (Madrid, 2014), organized by Nuria Martínez de Castilla within the framework of the research project ‘Corana. Production and Transmission of the Qur’an in the Western Islamic World (12th–17th c.)’ she is heading.

2 This study was developed within the project ‘Manuscritos fechados en Al-Andalus: repertorio y análisis’ held by the CCHS–CSIC and led by Maribel Fierro.

3 It is an online resource in which a ‘full-text-search can be done, but the entities are not interrelated’. All the references from this website have been accessed on the 19th of May 2017. M. Fierro (dir.), ‘Historia de los autores y transmisores Andalusíes/History of the Authors and Transmitters of al-Andalus’ (HATA online catalogue), http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/historia-de-los-autores-y-transmisores-andalusies/-history-of-the-authors-and-transmitters-of-al-andalus (Madrid: CSIC, 2015).


5 See M. Bencheneb and Ch. Pellat, art. ‘Fahrasa’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.


7 M.L. Ávila (dir.), ‘Prosopografía de los Ulemas de al-Andalus’ (PUA database) <http://www.eea.csic.es/pua> (Granada: CSIC, 2006). All references from this website have been accessed on the 19th of May 2017.

8 The PUA database has been developed within the research projects ‘Prosopografía de ulemas de al-Andalus’ and the previous one ‘Diccionario biográfico de al-Andalus’, and it was conceived as a tool for people working on these projects, although limited access has been permitted to other researchers as well.


12 Nevertheless, Abū’l-Qāsim al-Hudhaḥī al-Maghībī (d. 465/1072) wrote a book on 50 readings entitled al-Kāmil which was criticised by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Jazarī (see Nasser, The Transmission of the Variant Readings, p. 64, n. 116).


13 I will return later to Ibn ‘Abbās when I speak about the most transmitted works in al-Andalus.


16 See PUA, id. 10205; HATA, I. Corán, p. 2 (no. 5).

17 See PUA, id. 5739; HATA, I. Corán, p. 3 (no. 7); M. Arcas Campoy and D. Serrano Niza, art. ‘Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ilbīrī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 3, pp. 219–227; Miklos Muranyi, art. ‘Abd al-Mālik Ibn Ḥabīb’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

18 See PUA, id. 4589; HATA, I. Corán, p. 3 (no. 8); J. Lirola Delgado, art. ‘al-Ḥawwārī Abū Musā’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, p. 146.


20 See Mariá Luisa Ávila, art. ‘Baqī b. Makhlad’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.


22 See Mariá Luisa Ávila, art. ‘Ibn al-Abbār’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.


25 ‘The name given in Muslim Spain to kinds of catalogues in which scholars enumerated, in one form or another, their masters and the subjects or works studied under their direction’, see Bencheneb and Pellat art. ‘Fahrasa’.

33 See R. Sellheim, art. ‘Faḍila’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.

34 Some of them were dedicated to several fields of knowledge, but they are defined by the one which they paid more attention to.


37 Caterina Bori, art. ‘al-Dhahabī’, Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd edn.


48 See Penelas, art. ‘al-Dānī’.

49 See HATA, I. Corán, p. 50 (no. 217).


53 Saleh (The Formation, p. 2) refers, for instance, to M. al-Dhahabī, al-Tafsīr wa‘l-mufassirūn (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1985).


59 M.I. al-Mashīnī, Madrasat at-tafsīr fī al-Andalus (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1986). His surname sometimes appears vocalised as Mushinnī or Mashinnī.


61 PUA, id. 5297; HATA, I. Corán, p. 15 (no. 71).


65 Ms. 820, Add. 19490.


Ms. Junta LI. See T. Losada, Estudios sobre Coranes aljamiados (T.D., Universidad de Barcelona, 1975), pp. 120–426. The manuscripts of La Junta are kept in the Tomás Navarro Tomás Library and they have been digitised by the Project Manuscript® of the CSIC.


In reference to the Turkish libraries, there are eleven copies preserved in six different collections of the Süleymaniye Library, and single copies in the Nūr ʿUthmaniyya Library and the CSIC.

Revue de l’Institut des Manuscrits Arabes/Majallat Ma’had al-Makhtūtāt al-ʿarabiyya 23:1 (1977), p. 17, no. 93. There is a microfilm of this manuscript in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub).

Ms. 242 kāf.


Mahmud Pasha, 3–4; Morat Molla, 35.

Böwering and Casevit, A Qurʾān Commentary, pp. 7–8.

Böwering and Casevit, A Qurʾān Commentary, p. 33.

Böwering and Casevit, A Qurʾān Commentary, p. 34.

Böwering and Casevit, A Qurʾān Commentary, p. 35.

Böwering and Casevit, A Qurʾān Commentary, p. 36.


González suggests that the exegetical work of Ibn ‘Atiyya was especially known in Ṣūfī circles and she refers to the translation into English by M. Fouad Aresmouk and M. Abdurahman Fitzgerald of al-Baḥr al-madīd, the Qur’anic commentary of the Moroccan Ṣūfī Aḥmad b. ‘Ajība (d. 1224/1809), who employed Ibn ‘Atiyya’s tafsīr. See González, ‘Exégesis y exegetas en al-Andalus’, p. 79, n. 25, and A. Ibn Ḥajība, The Immense Ocean (Louvいseville: Fons Vitae, 2009).

González, ‘Exégesis y exegetas en al-Andalus’, p. 79.

See the signatures and references in HATA, I. Corán, pp. 151–152 (no. 541.1).

Two in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc in Rabat; 21 in the Bibliothèque du Palais Royal in Rabat; one in the Khiznāt Ibn Yūsuf in Marrakesh; three in al-Qarawiyyīn Library in Fez; one in Tanghimalt; and one in the Library of the Great Mosque in Meknes.

Eight copies preserved in three different collections of the Śuleymaniye Library; three in Beyazıt Devlet Halk; three in Aya sofya Müzesi; and six in the Topkapı Palace Museum.

One in the Ateneu Barcelonès and the other one in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid).


103 Two in Fez (al-Qarawiyyīn) and another one in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (al-Kattānī collection).

104 See the references and signatures in HATA, I. Corán, p. 158 (no. 554.1).


106 1916 kāf.


108 See Andrew Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.

109 27 copies preserved in six different collections of the Süleymaniye Library; eleven in the Topkapi Palace Museum; eleven in the Nūr ʿUthmaniyya Library; seven in Beyazit; and single copies in Ayasofya Mûzesi, Köprülû Halk küttîphanesi, Kemanekeç Emir Hoca, Manisa, and Konya.

110 Three manuscripts in al-Qarawiyyīn and single copies in Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc, Khizānat Ibn Yūsuf in Marrakesh, and Miknās.

111 Single copies in Khizānat al-Ḥasanī and Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyya, both in Damascus and a third one in Aleppo.

112 Single copies in Maktabat ʿĀrif Hikmat in Medina and in King Faysal Foundation in Riyadh.

113 Four in Sayeedia Libray and several others in Maqalat Asafiyya Library, both in Hyderabad, and single manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library in Patna (Bankipore) and in Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Lucknow.

114 The references and signatures can be consulted in HATA, I. Corán, pp. 315–317 (no. 1198.4).

115 The most recent of these editions is al-Qurṭūbī, Tafsīr al-Qurṭūbī, aw, al-Jāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʿān, ed. al-Manhal FZLLC (Riyadh: Markaz al-Turāth li'l-Barmajiyyāt, 2013).


119 Ms 2073 kāf.

120 Ms 5356. There is a copy in the Maʿhad al-Makhtūtāt.


Twelve copies preserved in five different collections of the Süleymaniye Library; nine in the Ayasofya Müzesi; four in Beyazit; three in the Topkapi Place Museum and several other manuscripts in the Nūr ‘Uthmaniyya Library.

Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc and al-Qarawiyyīn.

One in Maktabat al-Awqāf in Mosul and the other in al-Maktaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya in Basra.


One of them in the John Rylands Library in Manchester and the other in the India Office of the British Library.

The references and signatures can be consulted in HATA, I. Corán, pp. 353–354 (no. 1317.2).


See Harald Motzki, art. ‘ʿAbd al-Razzāk al-Ṣānʿ anī’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd edn.

On this, see Rippin, ‘Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qurʾān’.

142 Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.

143 PUA, id. 9380; HATA, I. Corán, p. 6 (no. 20); M.L. Ávila, art. ‘al-Jušānī Abū ‘Abd Allāh’, Biblioteca de al-Andalus, vol. 6, pp. 442–446.

144 PUA, id. 7210; HATA, I. Corán, p. 162 (no. 558); D. Serrano, art. ‘’Iyāḍ Abū l-Faḍl’, Biblioteca de al-Andalus, vol. 6, pp. 404–434.


146 PUA, id. 10644; HATA, I. Corán, p. 7 (no. 30).

147 C.E. Bosworth, art. ‘al-Ṭabarī’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.

148 Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.


152 PUA, id. 10963; HATA, I. Corán, p. 1 (no. 1).


154 Calder, Mojaddedi, and Rippin, Classical Islam, p. 151.

155 Kees Versteegh, art. ‘al-Zamakhsharī’ in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn.

156 Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.

157 PUA, id. 4850; HATA, I. Corán, p. 268 (no. 998).

158 PUA, id. 5560; HATA, I. Corán, p. 269 (no. 1003).


183 Ms 9126.


187 Ms 37.

188 PUA, id. 9945; HATA, I. Corán, p. 366 (no. 1351); E. Navarro i Ortiz, art. ‘al-Ṭūrṭūšī Abū Bakr’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 500–531.


190 See Andrew Rippin, art. ‘al-Thaʿlabī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.


192 Ms Qarawiyyīn, 52.


194 HATA, I. Corán, p. 382 (no. 1399); Brockelmann, GAL, S II, 1016 (n. 28).

195 *Fihris al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya* (Cairo 2), 1, p. 45, no. 58.

196 As in the case of the burning of the library of al-Hakam II (r. 350–365/961–976) by al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002).

197 I would like to thank Omayra Herrero Soto for helping me to access some of the sources, and Maribel Fierro, Nuria Martínez de Castilla, and the reviewers for their advice.

For example, the *tafsīr* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī appears on websites such as mosshaf.com, where any information related to the Qur'an and the Qur'anic sciences can be found, <https://www.mosshaf.com/es/main>. Accessed February 27, 2015.