

## Qur’anic Studies in al-Andalus: An Overview of the State of Research on *qirā’āt* and *tafsīr*

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This paper is an overview of the Andalusī production of *qirā’āt* and *tafsīr* 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*).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 Vizcaíno, 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 Andalusī authors and transmitters and 13,730 works produced and transmitted in al-Andalus.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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*<sup>5</sup>).

*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.<sup>6</sup> It was edited between 2004 and 2013 by Jorge Lirola and José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, founding members of the Ibn Ṭufayl 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’).<sup>7</sup> 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 ‘*ulamā*’ 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.<sup>8</sup>

### *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, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (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)<sup>9</sup> recognised only seven variants attributed to seven readers of the second/eighth century and banned every other version.<sup>10</sup> But this attempt did not stop the

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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’.<sup>11</sup> 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* Readings.<sup>12</sup>

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*,<sup>13</sup> the Qur’anic textual variants (*qirā’āt*) 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 ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās (d. 68/687),<sup>14</sup> one of the ten Companions who are said to be exegetes, or the *tafsīr* attributed to Abū Sufyān Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāh b. Malīh al-Ru‘āsī (d. 150/768).<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Jarrāh 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).<sup>16</sup> He was educated in the Islamic sciences, mainly *ḥadīth*, 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 ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Isā al-A‘ṣā al-Ma‘āfirī al-Qurṭubī (d. 221–2/836–7).<sup>17</sup>

The first two Andalusī authors of the early third/ninth century who composed works on Qur’anic sciences were Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik al-Sulamī Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>18</sup> (d. 238/853) and Abū Mūsā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mūsā al-Hawwārī<sup>19</sup> (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 (*i‘rāb*), the rare words found in the Holy Text (*gharīb al-Qur’ān*), the statements abrogated by other verses’ statements (*‘ilm al-nāsikh wa’l-mansūkh*), the meanings of the Qur’an (*‘ilm al-ma‘ānī*), 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.<sup>20</sup>

These first efforts during this early period led to the great commentary of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bāqī b. Makhḥad (d. 276/889);<sup>21</sup> although this work has not been preserved and not much can be said about its structure and orientation. Ibn Makhḥad travelled twice to the eastern Islamic world, where he completed his studies and came into contact with the Ahl al-Ḥadīth in Iraq, including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), the eponym of the Ḥanbalī 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 (*ra’y*) of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/796) and his followers.<sup>22</sup> 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 (*aḥkām al-Qur’ān*), a discipline closely related to jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

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Makki’s aforementioned essay on Oriental contributions on Muslim Spain, which is focused on the Umayyad period,<sup>23</sup> completes and complements what Lévi-Provençal stated in the section devoted to the intellectual life of his *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane*,<sup>24</sup> 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 Jesus Zanón—in which the development of the Qur’anic sciences in al-Andalus is carefully explained.<sup>25</sup>

Following the precedent set by Dominique Urvoy in several of his studies published during the 1970s,<sup>26</sup> Zanón mainly takes into account the quantitative dimensions of the data collected from the biographical dictionary *Kitāb al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-Šila* (‘Supplement to the *Kitāb al-Šila*’) of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Quḏā’ī Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260).<sup>27</sup> This work—as indicated by its title—completes the *Kitāb al-Šila fī 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),<sup>28</sup> which is—at the same time—the continuation of the biographical dictionary compiled by Abū’l-Walīd ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Azdī Ibn al-Faradī (d. 404/1013),<sup>29</sup> *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) *Ḥadīth* 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

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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 *Fahrassa* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khayr al-Lamtūnī al-Amawī Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1180) is extremely useful for defining the tendencies of intellectual production between the third/ninth and the sixth/twelfth centuries.<sup>30</sup> This work is extensively studied by Juan Manuel Vizcaíno in his *La Fahrassa de Ibn Jayr*.<sup>31</sup>

According to Vizcaíno, 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*,<sup>32</sup> etc.

Therefore, 133 works among the 1,405 (9.4%) mentioned in the *Fahrassa* 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 *qirā’āt* (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-Qur’ān* (‘the excellences of the Qur’an’),<sup>33</sup> the study of the reciters of the Qur’an (*qurrā’*), 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 Ramaḍān.

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<sup>34</sup> 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%)

‘*Ulamā*’: 93 of the 2,465 authors (3.77%)

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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 ‘*ulamā*’ is much more reduced in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* (2,481) than in PUA.

### *Qirā’āt*

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 *Takmīla*, the same work employed by Jesús Zanón for his study on the intellectual production of the Almoravid and Almohad periods.<sup>35</sup> In this paper, Rodríguez Mañas points out the existence of two main schools of *qirā’āt* 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 readers (*qurrā’ al-Qur’ān*).<sup>36</sup> For this article, Vizcaíno compared two general biographical dictionaries specifically devoted to the Qur’anic reciters, the *Kitāb Ma’rifat alqurrā’ al-kibār* (‘Dictionary of the Most Important Qur’an Reciters’) of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfi’ī al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348)<sup>37</sup> and the *Kitāb Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaqāt al-qurrā’* (‘The Final Word in Biographical Material on the Qur’an Teachers’) of Abū’l-Khayr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429).<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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 ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa’īd b. ‘Umar al-Umawī al-Dānī (d. 444/1053),<sup>40</sup> such as Angelika Neuwirth’s article published in 1986, ‘Koranlesung zwischen islamischem Ost und West’ (‘Qur’anic Readings Between the Islamic East and West’).<sup>41</sup> 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-Taysīr fī al-qirā’āt al-sab’* (‘Book of the Easy Method for Learning the

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Seven Readings)<sup>42</sup>—one of the most famous works of al-Dānī—and the *Kitāb al-Muqni‘ fī rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār* (‘Book of Rules on the Orthography of the Qur’an’), on Qur’anic spelling and punctuation.<sup>43</sup> 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 ‘Amr 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-waqf wa’l-ibtidā’* (‘The Basic Rules on [Recitational] Pausing and Restarting’)<sup>44</sup> and three works on *qirā’āt*: *al-Ta’rīf fī ikhtilāf al-ruwāt ‘an Nāfi’* (‘The Explanation of the Difference of al-Nāfi’s Transmission’),<sup>45</sup> *al-Aḥruf al-sab‘a li’l-Qur’ān* (‘The Seven Readings of the Qur’an’),<sup>46</sup> and *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī al-qirā’āt al-sab‘ al-mashhūra* (‘Complete Clarification of the Famous Seven Readings’).<sup>47</sup> In *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, 73 different works on Qur’anic sciences are attributed to al-Dānī,<sup>48</sup> but he also transmitted many works composed by other scholars. More than 160 manuscripts containing his works have been preserved.<sup>49</sup>

Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī was a very famous author in the eastern Islamic world, and his works have been studied by ‘ulamā’ living in different regions of the Islamic world due to the role played by Abū’l-Qāsim Ibn Fīrruh b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad al-Ru‘aynī al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194).<sup>50</sup> He was an Andalusī scholar who wrote the *Lāmiyya* or *al-Shāṭibiyya al-kubrā* (letter L-rhymed poem), a versification of al-Dānī’s *Taysīr fī al-qirā’āt al-sab‘*, which became widespread throughout the Islamic East when this author travelled from al-Andalus to Syria, indirectly introducing al-Dānī’s work. Currently both texts are known throughout the whole Islamic world, as is demonstrated by the fact that manuscripts of both are found in almost every library that holds Arabic manuscripts.

### *Tafsīr*

Along with the *qirā’āt*, *tafsīr* is the genre that has aroused the most interest among the researchers specialised in Qur’anic sciences.<sup>51</sup> It is not always easy to distinguish between *tafsīr* and related genres such as *aḥkām al-Qur’ān* and *ma‘ānī* or *gharīb al-Qur’ān*. This happens because different exegetes (*mufasssīrūn*) 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 quranic commentary’.<sup>52</sup> 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,<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup> In addition, several scholars have paid particular attention to Qur’anic exegesis of Ṣūfī inspiration, such as Gerhard Böwering in his book on the exegetical work of the Ṣūfī Sahl al-

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Tustarī (d. 283/896);<sup>55</sup> Paul Nwyia, who in 1970 published his *Exégèse coranique et langue mystique*;<sup>56</sup> Denis Gril, with his articles ‘La lecture supérieure du Coran’ and ‘L’interprétation par transposition symbolique’ devoted to Ibn Barraġān,<sup>57</sup> and Kristin Sand, whose book *Sufī Commentaries on the Qur’an in Classical Islam* was published in 2008.<sup>58</sup>

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-Mashinī,<sup>59</sup> while Amina González Costa’s paper on ‘Exégesis y exegetas en al-Andalus’ also constitutes a pioneering attempt to offer an overview on the extant studies dealing with this subject,<sup>60</sup> although it is not as wide-ranging as al-Mashinī’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 ‘Aṭīyya, Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī, al-Qurṭubī, Ibn Barraġān, 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 Yaḥyā b. Sallām (d. 200/815), *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Yaḥyā b. Sallām* (‘Summary of the *tafsīr* of Yaḥyā b. Sallām’).

This *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Yaḥyā b. Sallām* has been attributed to both father and son, the father being Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Zamanīn (d. 359/971),<sup>61</sup> and the son Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā b. Abī Zamanīn (d. 399/1008).<sup>62</sup> 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 Muḥammad’s teacher, Ibn Ḥasan. Then Abū Muḥammad b. Abī Zamanīn transmitted it on to his eldest son, Abū ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>63</sup>

Following the information extracted from the section devoted to Qur’an and Qur’anic studies of the HATA database, there are two manuscripts of this work. The first is held in the Qarawiyyīn Library<sup>64</sup> and the other one is in the British Museum.<sup>65</sup> The work has also been published in two volumes, edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan Isma‘īl and Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī.<sup>66</sup> In addition, there is a partial edition of *Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān* by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Madīmīgh<sup>67</sup> and a partial translation into *aljamiado* in a manuscript of La Junta de Ampliación de Estudios in Madrid<sup>68</sup> 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’.<sup>69</sup>

Chronologically, the next outstanding Andalusī author was Abū’l-Ḥakam ‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī Ibn Barraġān (d. 536/1141),<sup>70</sup> a Ṣūfī theologian who wrote two *tafsīr* works. His major exegetical work is his *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, also known as *Tanbīh al-afḥām* and *Kitāb al-Irshād*. It has been preserved in more than 20 manuscripts, most of them in Turkish libraries.<sup>71</sup> There are single copies in Saudi Arabia (Ma‘had al-Makḥṭūṭāt),<sup>72</sup> Morocco (Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc, BNRM, in Rabat),<sup>73</sup> and Germany (the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich).<sup>74</sup> Two editions have been published; one based on the manuscript preserved in Munich, by Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī,<sup>75</sup> and the other one by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī.<sup>76</sup>

Several scholars such as al-Qārī, José Bellver, and Amina González Costa have studied Ibn Barraġān’s life and work,<sup>77</sup> but his minor exegetical work *Kitāb idāḥ al-ḥikma bi-ahkām al-‘ibra* (‘The Book of the Elucidation of Wisdom According to the Principles of the Cross-over’)

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remained unattended until the publication of the edition prepared by Gerhard Böwering and Yousef Casewit from two manuscripts copied within less than 80 years after the author’s death<sup>78</sup> and kept in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.<sup>79</sup>

Ibn Barrajan’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’.<sup>80</sup> The *Kitāb Ḍāḥ al-ḥikma* corresponds to this second stage and it is the reflection of a method and an approach particular to Ibn Barrajan. Taking its structure into account, this work is possibly the result of the lessons imparted by Ibn Barrajan to his students. The author selects certain Qur’anic verses at will and then he untangles their meaning.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> Another remarkable feature of this text is that Ibn Barrajan does not refer to any teacher of *tafsir* 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*.<sup>83</sup> Besides this, Ibn Barrajan was interested in the Bible and his *Ḍāḥ* 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 Barrajan took these references was a Mozarab translation from the Latin Vulgate.<sup>84</sup> In the specific article that Casewit recently published on the Biblical influence in Ibn Barrajan’s works, he suggests that in Ibn Barrajan’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.<sup>85</sup> Ibn Barrajan 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 *Ḍāḥ*.<sup>86</sup>

Another relevant Andalusī contribution to the exegesis of the Qur’anic text is the *tafsir* composed by ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Muḥāribī al-Gharnāṭī al-Qāḍī, Abū Muḥammad Ibn ‘Aṭīyya (d. 541/1147),<sup>87</sup> *Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsir al-kitāb al-‘azīz* (‘The Abbreviated Compendium on the Exegesis of the Sacred Book’). This work, which became one of the most famous commentaries in North Africa,<sup>88</sup> is a summary of the Qur’anic commentaries previous to Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’s and a selection of the possible interpretations, as González Costa indicates.<sup>89</sup> The majority of the around 66 preserved manuscripts of this work are fragmentary copies.<sup>90</sup> 29 of these are preserved in Morocco in six different libraries,<sup>91</sup> three in the National Museum of Antiquities in Algiers, four in Egypt (Dār al-Kutub), 20 in Turkey,<sup>92</sup> and two in Spain,<sup>93</sup> in addition to which single copies are held in al-Aqsa 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.<sup>94</sup> One chapter of this work has been translated into English<sup>95</sup> from the Arabic by A. Jeffery in 1972.<sup>96</sup> We also find multiple studies of Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’s *tafsir*, such as the article by Vincent Cornell entitled ‘‘Ilm al-Qur’ān in al-Andalus’’,<sup>97</sup> al-Dabbāgh’s ‘Minḥāj Ibn ‘Aṭīyya fī tafsirihi al-muḥarrar al-wajīz’,<sup>98</sup> and the thesis by Shā’i‘ al-Asmarī on the additions made by Ibn ‘Aṭīyya to



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al-Ṭabarī’s *tafsīr*, defended in Saudi Arabia in 1996,<sup>99</sup> apart from the references to it in general works like al-Mashīnī’s.<sup>100</sup>

Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma‘āfirī al-Ishbīlī al-Mālikī Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī (d. 543/1148)<sup>101</sup> was an expert in *ḥadīth* from Seville who, after his pilgrimage, studied in Baghdad under Abū Hāmid 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, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*. As anticipated by its title, this work is a legal commentary on the Qur’an 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 in the first instance from the Qur’an, including grammatical and historical elements as well as a basis of legal argumentation.<sup>102</sup> 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 *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, three in Morocco,<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> This work has been the object of five different editions.<sup>105</sup> The only copy of Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī’s *Anwār al-fajr fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (‘Dawn Light Cast on the Exegesis of the Qur’an’) is preserved in the Bibliothèque Générale du Protectorat français in Rabat, but it remains unedited.<sup>106</sup>

An Andalusī *tafsīr* which is regarded as a standard reference work nowadays throughout the entire Islamic world is that of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Farḥ al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī Shams al-Dīn al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273).<sup>107</sup> The *Jāmi‘ li-aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (‘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 Qur’an and the *sunna* are employed as the basis for the framework of legal analysis in al-Qurṭubī’s *tafsīr*.<sup>108</sup> Like Abū Bakr b. al-‘Arabī’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 Qur’an. 61 manuscripts of this work are 84 *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* kept in Turkey,<sup>109</sup> 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,<sup>110</sup> six in Holland (in the University of Leiden), three in Syria,<sup>111</sup> three in Germany, two in Saudi Arabia<sup>112</sup> and India,<sup>113</sup> and single copies are held in Djelfa, Hadramaut, the Ghazi Husrev-Bey Library in Sarajevo (partial), the Markaz Aḥmad Bābā in Timbuktu, and the Mingana Collection in the University of Birmingham.<sup>114</sup> More than seven editions exist, one of them being partial.<sup>115</sup> Al-Qurṭubī is another of the three authors in Cornell’s aforementioned article, ‘‘Ilm al-Qur’ān in 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 Qur’an and its Interpreters*, by Mahmoud M. Ayoub; *Sufi Commentaries on the Qur’an 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*.<sup>116</sup>

The exegetical works of Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī al-Jayyānī al-Gharnāṭī b. al-Zubayr (d. 708/1308),<sup>117</sup> are also among the most significant Andalusī Qur’anic commentaries. Ibn al-Zubayr was a man of letters and historian who was especially keen on the Qur’anic sciences. He composed two *tafsīr* works, the *Milāk al-ta’wīl fī funūn al-tafsīr* (‘Fundamentals of Interpretation in the Art of Exegesis’) and *al-Burḥān fī tartīb suwar al-Qur’ān* (‘The Proof concerning the Organisation of the Chapters of the Qur’an’).

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In his *Milāk al-ta’wīl*, Ibn al-Zubayr was the first to write on the topic of the ‘science of similarities’ in the Qur’an, in relation to which he established that no verse of the Qur’an can be replaced by another similar verse, since each one is unique, and thus similar verses should not be seen as repetitions.<sup>118</sup> Four manuscripts of this work have known to exist up to now. There is one preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc,<sup>119</sup> another in the Bibliothèque nationale de Tunisie,<sup>120</sup> one in Cairo (in Dār al-Kutub),<sup>121</sup> and the last one in El Escorial.<sup>122</sup> There are also three editions.<sup>123</sup> Al-Su‘aydī has published a book on this work, entitled *Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-Andalusī wa-minhājuhu fī Milāk al-ta’wīl* (‘Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-Andalusī and his Method in the *Milāk al-ta’wīl*’).<sup>124</sup>

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-tanāsib* or *‘ilm munāsabat al-Qur’ān*). One copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc<sup>125</sup> and the other one is in the Oriental public library in Bankipore.<sup>126</sup> Only one edition—based on the manuscript preserved in Rabat and prepared by Muḥammad Sha‘bānī—has been published.<sup>127</sup> The exegete Ibrāhīm b. ‘Umar al-Biqā‘ī (d. 885/1480–1481) reproduced the text of Ibn al-Zubayr’s *Burhān in his Nazm al-durar fī tanāsib 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-Biqā‘ī never travelled to al-Andalus.<sup>128</sup>

Finally, the most famous grammarian from al-Andalus who settled in Egypt, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. Ḥayyān Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344),<sup>129</sup> wrote *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm* (‘The Plentiful Ocean on the Exegesis of the Magnificent Qur’an’). 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’an, *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’anic commentary of the lexicological and grammatical genre by specialists in the field. In *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, al-Gharnāṭī mentions two commentaries as being the most important, Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’s and al-Zamakhsharī’s, but he expresses in the texts his intent to correct and improve their content.<sup>130</sup> 28 manuscripts of *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* are kept in Turkey,<sup>131</sup> fifteen in Egypt (Dār al-Kutub in Cairo), two in Morocco,<sup>132</sup> two in Iraq,<sup>133</sup> two in Syria (Damascus),<sup>134</sup> two in the Netherlands (University of Leiden), two in the UK,<sup>135</sup> two in the National Library of Italy in Florence, and single copies are held in al-Maktaba al-Maḥmūdiyya in Medina and Yale University.<sup>136</sup> Other manuscripts are mentioned in Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*,<sup>137</sup> and two complete editions have been issued.<sup>138</sup> There are at least six studies on it, all of them in Arabic.<sup>139</sup>

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’anic exegesis in al-Andalus. 1,398 of the Andalusī scholars included in HATA were involved in the study of Qur’anic 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 *tafsīrs* 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 ‘Abd al-Razzāq*: 28 of the 214 transmissions (13.1%). ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī (d. 211/827) was a Yemeni scholar who specialised mainly in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, and exegesis. He studied with Ma‘mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770), whose teachings are reflected in his *tafsīr*.<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> Although ‘Abd 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’.<sup>142</sup> The first Andalusī scholar who transmitted this work was Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Tha‘laba al-Khushanī (d. 286/899)<sup>143</sup> and the last one was al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ or ‘Iyāḍ b. Musā (d. 544/1149),<sup>144</sup> meaning that ‘Abd 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 Yaḥyā b. Sallām*: 21 of the 214 transmissions (9.8%). Yaḥyā 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,<sup>145</sup> 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-Ṣadaḥ al-Shadhūnī (d. after 300/912)<sup>146</sup> and the latest one is that by Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī around the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth 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 Ja‘far 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*’.<sup>147</sup> The appearance of his *Jāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āy al-Qur’ān* (‘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.<sup>148</sup> Al-Ṭabarī’s work was transmitted in al-Andalus from the fourth/tenth to the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century.

4) *Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*: 13 of the 214 works (6.1%) are transmissions of the *tafsīr* attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās. There are preserved manuscripts and editions of several transmissions<sup>149</sup> which

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allegedly contain this exegetical work, but it has not been proved that the attribution to Ibn ‘Abbās is correct.<sup>150</sup> The question of the existence of this work—an issue into which I will not enter here—has been widely debated, along with the authenticity of other exegetical works, by scholars such as Herbert Berg, Claude Guillot, Isaiah Goldfield, Harald Motzki, and Andrew Rippin.<sup>151</sup> Ibn ‘Abbās’ 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 ‘Abbās’ *tafsīr* known in al-Andalus was transmitted by Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥudayr (d. 158/774 or 168/784)<sup>152</sup> but, unfortunately, no copy has been preserved.

5) *Tafsīr Ibn ‘Atīyya*: thirteen authors transmitted the aforementioned *tafsīr* of the Andalusī Ibn ‘Atīyya (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-Ru‘aynī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Washqī (d. c. 620/1223).<sup>153</sup>

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 Mojaddedī* and Rippin quote Ibn ‘Atīyya who—in reference to his exegetical activity—said that al-Naqqāsh had to be frequently rectified.<sup>154</sup> This work was transmitted in al-Andalus mainly during the fifth/eleventh century.

7) *Tafsīr al-Zamakhshārī*: seven of the 214 transmissions (3.3%). Abū’l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhshārī was a renowned grammarian from sixth/twelfth century Khwarazm who specialised in theology and Qur’anic exegesis.<sup>155</sup> His work is known mainly for its Mu‘tazilī 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.<sup>156</sup> 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 ‘Atīyya and al-Zamakhshārī during the seventh/thirteenth century: ‘Abd al-Kabīr b. Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī al-Mursī (d. 617/1220),<sup>157</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ishbīlī Ibn al-Kammād (d. 618/1221 or 619/1222),<sup>158</sup> ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣarī al-Jayyānī al-Ishbīlī (d. 663/1265),<sup>159</sup> and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ashshāb al-Qurṭubī al-Murādī Ibn Ṭalḥa (d. 736/1335),<sup>160</sup> 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 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Attāb b. Muḥsin (d. 520/1126)<sup>161</sup> and Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī for a later period. The former transmitted the works of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Yaḥyā b. Sallām, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ‘Abbās, and al-Naqqāsh among many others, although he did not compose any original work. Abū Ḥayyān transmitted the Qur’anic commentaries of Yaḥyā b. Sallām, Ibn ‘Atīyya, 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 ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Lubbāj al-Umawī al-Shantjālī (d. 436/1045),<sup>162</sup> the only manuscript of which is preserved in the Spanish National Library in Madrid (BNE).<sup>163</sup>

2) Two of the works of Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib b. Ḥammūsh al-Qaysī al-Muqri’ (d. 437/1045),<sup>164</sup> his *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* and *the Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā bulūgh al-nihāya fī ‘ilm ma‘ānī al-Qur’ān wa-tafsīrihi wa-anwā’ 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 Ṭālib 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<sup>165</sup> and the other in Meknes,<sup>166</sup> and the eight extant manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Hidāya* are kept in five different Moroccan libraries, including also the *Khizānat al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr* in Meknes.<sup>167</sup> In 1975 al-Tuhāmī al-Rājī Ḥāshimī defended his thesis—a part of which is devoted to Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib—entitled *Las controversias de las lecturas coránicas en al-Andalus y Marruecos*.<sup>168</sup>

3) *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl fī mukhtaṣar al-Taḥṣīl* (‘Compendium on the Abridgement of the Taḥṣīl’) of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Abī al-‘Abbās al-Mahdawī (d. c. 440–449/1048–1058’).<sup>169</sup> This text is an abridgement of a wider work composed also by him—the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl al-jāmi‘ li-‘ulūm 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,<sup>170</sup> Dār al-Kutub in Cairo,<sup>171</sup> El Escorial in Madrid,<sup>172</sup> the Institute of Oriental Studies in San Petersburg,<sup>173</sup> and the *Khizānat al-Qarawīyyīn* in Fez.<sup>174</sup>

4) *Tafsīr al-‘ulūm wa’l-ma‘ānī al-mustawdi‘a fī al-sab‘ al-mathānī* (‘Exegesis of the Sciences and Meanings Devoted to the Seven Readings of the Qur’an’) by Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. ‘Isā al-Lakhmī al-Uqlīshī al-Andalusī (d. 410/1019).<sup>175</sup> There is a manuscript copied in 627/1230 in al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya in Cairo.<sup>176</sup> As in the case of Ibn Abī Zamanīn’s work, there are discrepancies concerning the authorship of the *Tafsīr al-‘ulūm*, since it is attributed in some instances to Aḥmad b. Ma‘add b. ‘Isā b. Wakīl Ibn al-Uqlīshī (d. c. 550/1155).<sup>177</sup> Al-Ziriklī mentions al-Azhariyya’s manuscript in the entry of this latter author, plus another copy kept in al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya in Rabat.<sup>178</sup> However, the two extant editions of this exegetical work on the *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* refer to Aḥmad b. Ma‘add b. al-Uqlīshī.<sup>179</sup>

5) *Al-Īdāḥ wa’l-tabyīn li-mā ubhima 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 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd (or ‘Ubayd) Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Suhaylī al-Khath‘amī al-Mālaqī (d. 581/1185).<sup>180</sup> There is only one manuscript of *al-Īdāḥ wa’l-tabyīn*, preserved in the Berlin State Library,<sup>181</sup> and the two extant manuscripts of his partial *tafsīr* are kept in Rabat, one in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc<sup>182</sup> and the other in the Bibliothèque Générale.<sup>183</sup>

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6) *Riyy al-ḡam’ān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (‘The Quenching of the Thirsty concerning Qur’anic Exegesis’), attributed to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Faḍl al-Sulamī al-Mursī (d. 655/1257).<sup>184</sup> There is a single manuscript of this text preserved in Timbuktu.<sup>185</sup>

7) *Al-Tibyān fī aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (‘Wisdom concerning the Precepts of the Qur’an’) of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Aḥwaṣ al-Qurashī al-Dībājī (d. 679/1280 or 699/1300).<sup>186</sup> This work is contained in a manuscript kept in the Yeni Cami mosque in Istanbul.<sup>187</sup>

8) There is a single and unedited copy of the *tafsīr* of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Awsī/al-‘Ansī (d. 782/1380) in Morocco.<sup>188</sup>

9) Finally, the *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* of Ibn Abī al-Rabī‘ ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-‘Uthmānī al-Ishbīlī (d. 688/1289)<sup>189</sup> was partially edited by ‘Alī b. Sulṭān al-Ḥakīmī between 1989 and 1993 and more recently by Ṣāliḥa bt. Rāshid.<sup>190</sup>

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 *Ikhtisār al-Kashf wa’l-bayān ‘an tabyīn al-Qur’ān li’l-Tha’labī* (‘Summary of al-Tha’labī’s “Exposition and Clarification of the Explanation of the Qur’an”’) by Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Ṭurṭushī b. Abī Randaqa (d. 520/1126).<sup>191</sup> Abū Ishāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tha’labī (d. 427/1035) was a famous exegete and author of *qīṣaṣ 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*’.<sup>192</sup> 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).<sup>193</sup>

2) Lastly, there is an unedited copy of the glosses to al-Bayḍāwī’s *tafsīr* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Balīdī/al-Bulayḍī al-Andalusī (n.d.)<sup>194</sup> in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub),<sup>195</sup> and two copies in Fez<sup>196</sup> and Tetuan<sup>197</sup> of (*Bāb*) *al-Mukhtaṣar li-ahl al-bidāya wa’l-nazar fī al-tafsīr* (‘(Chapter of) the Summary for the People of the Expression and Contemplation of “The Exegesis”’), by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shāṭibī al-Barjī (d. 960/1553).<sup>198</sup>

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 intentionally<sup>199</sup> 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 ‘Abd al-Razzāq, Yaḥyā b. Sallām, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, al-Naqqāsh, and al-Zamakhshārī. An interesting fact in this respect is that Ibn ‘Aṭīyya’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.<sup>200</sup> 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

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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-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*. 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.<sup>201</sup> 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.<sup>202</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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-transmittersof-al-andalus> (Madrid: CSIC, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Advanced Research Grant of the European Research Council, < <http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/> >.

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

<sup>6</sup> Biblioteca de al-Andalus: enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí, J. Lirola and J. M. Puerta Vílchez (eds.), (7 vols. Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2004–2013).

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> J. Robson, art. ‘Ibn Mudjāhid’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>10</sup> These seven readers were Ibn ‘Āmir of Damascus (d. 118/736), Ibn Kathīr of Mecca (d. 120/738), ‘Āṣim of Kufa (d. 128/745), Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’ (d. 154/771), Hamza of Kufa (d. 156/773), al-Nāfi‘ of Medina (d. 169/785), and al-Kisā’ī of Kufa (d. 189/805). On this topic see S.H. Nasser, ‘Revisiting Ibn Mujāhid’s Position on the Seven Canonical Readings: Ibn ‘Āmir’s problematic reading of kun fa-yakūna’, *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 17:1 (2015), pp. 85–113.

<sup>11</sup> S.H. Nasser, *The Transmission of the Variant Readings of the Qur’ān: The Problem of Tawātur and the Emergence of Shawādh* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Abū’l-Qāsim al-Hudhalī 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).

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<sup>13</sup> M.A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana: y su influencia en la formación de la cultura hispano-árabe* (Madrid: Impr. del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos, 1968), p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> I will return later to Ibn ‘Abbās when I speak about the most transmitted works in al-Andalus.

<sup>15</sup> See R.G. Khoury, art. ‘Wakī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>16</sup> R. le Tourneau, C. Cahen, N.J. Coulson, and B. Lewis, art. ‘Bayt al-māl’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>17</sup> See PUA, id. 10205; HATA, I. Corán, p. 2 (no. 5).

<sup>18</sup> See PUA, id. 5739; HATA, I. Corán, p. 3 (no. 7); M. Arcas Campoy and D. Serrano Niza, art. ‘Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ilbīrī, ‘Abd al-Malik’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 3, pp. 219–227; Miklos Muranyi, art. ‘‘Abd al-Mālik Ibn Ḥabīb’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> Makki, *Ensayo*, p. 85.

<sup>21</sup> PUA, id. 2672; HATA, I. Corán, p. 5 (no. 15); Doc., art. ‘Ibn Majlad Bāqī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 4, p. 756.

<sup>22</sup> See Mariá Luisa Ávila, art. ‘Baqī b. Makhlad’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>23</sup> Makki, *Ensayo*.

<sup>24</sup> É. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l’Espagne musulmane: De la conquête à la chute du Califat de Cordoue (710–1031 J.C.)* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Impr. de l’Institut français, 1944).

<sup>25</sup> M. Marín, ‘La actividad intelectual’ in M.J. Viguera Molins (ed.), *Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal. Los reinos de Taifas, Al-Andalus en el siglo XI* (65 vols. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1994), vol. 8:1, pp. 305–364, and J. Zanón, ‘La actividad intelectual: las ramas del saber. Centros y métodos del conocimiento’ in Viguera Molins (ed.), *Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal. Almorávides y Almohades, siglos XI al XIII. El retroceso territorial de Al-Andalus* (65 vols. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1998), vol. 8:2, pp. 551–586.

<sup>26</sup> D. Urvoy, ‘Une étude sociologique des mouvements religieux dans l’Espagne musulmane de la chute du califat au milieu du XIIIe siècle’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 8 (1972), pp. 223–293; D. Urvoy, ‘La vie intellectuelle et spirituelle dans les Baléares musulmanes’, *Al-Andalus* 37 (1972), pp. 87–132.

<sup>27</sup> Mariá Luisa Ávila, art. ‘Ibn al-Abbār’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>28</sup> M. Bencheneb and A. Huici Miranda, art. ‘Ibn Bashkuwāl’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>29</sup> Mariá Luisa Ávila, art. ‘Ibn al-Faraḍī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Pellat, art. ‘Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>31</sup> J.M. Vizcaino, ‘La Fahrassa de Ibn Jayr (m. 575/1180)’ in M. Marín (ed.), *Estudios Onomástico-Bibliográficos de al-Andalus* 12 (Madrid: CSIC, 2002), pp. 463–504.

<sup>32</sup> ‘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. ‘Fahrassa’.



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<sup>33</sup> See R. Sellheim, art. ‘Faḍīla’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

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

<sup>35</sup> F. Rodríguez Mañas, ‘Las lecturas coránicas en al-Andalus (ss. V/XI–VII/XIII) a través de la Takmila de Ibn al-Abbar’ in Miguel de Epalza and Jesús Hugueta (eds.), *Ibn al-Abbār, polític i escriptor àrab valencià (1199–1260)* (Valencia: Generalitat, 1990), pp. 223–236.

<sup>36</sup> J.M. Vizcaíno, ‘Lectores del Corán en al-Andalus: andalusíes en dos diccionarios biográficos de qurrā’ in M. Marín (ed.), *Estudios Onomástico-Bibliográficos de al-Andalus* 6 (Madrid: CSIC, 1994), pp. 463–504.

<sup>37</sup> Caterina Bori, art. ‘al-Dhahabī’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>38</sup> M. Ben Cheneb, art. ‘Ibn al-Djazarī’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>39</sup> C. de la Puente, ‘Studies on the Transmission of Qur’anic Readings (qirā’āt) in al-Andalus’, *Asian Research Trends* 6 (2011), pp. 51–63.

<sup>40</sup> PUA, id. 6156; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 51–63 (no. 217); J.M. Vizcaíno and M. Fakhri, art. ‘Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, p. 242; Mayte Penelas, art. ‘al-Dānī’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>41</sup> A. Neuwirth, ‘Koranlesung zwischen islamischem Ost und West’ in Adel Sidarus (ed.), *Islāo e arabismo na Península Iberica. Actas do XI Congresso da União Europeia de Arabistas e Islamólogos* (Evora: Univ. de Evora, 1986), pp. 305–316.

<sup>42</sup> al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Taysīr fī al-qirā’āt al-sab’*, ed. O. Pretzl (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2005). It was published for the first time in Istanbul in 1930.

<sup>43</sup> al-Dānī, *Kitāb al-Muqni ‘ fī rasm maṣāḥif al-amṣār ma’a Kitāb al-Naqf*, ed. O. Pretzl (Leipzig–Istanbul: Staatsdruckerei, 1932).

<sup>44</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Muktafā fī al-waqf wa’l-ibtidā’*, ed. Muḥyī’l-Dīn Ramaḍān (Amman: Dār al-‘Ammār, 2001).

<sup>45</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Ta’rīf fī ikhtilāf al-ruwāt ‘an Nāfi’*, ed. al-Tuhāmī al-Rājī al-Hāshimī (Morocco: Maṭba‘at Faḍāla, 1982).

<sup>46</sup> al-Dānī, *al-Aḥruf al-sab’a li’l-Qur’ān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Muḥaymin Ṭaḥḥān (Jedda: Dār al-Manāra, 1997).

<sup>47</sup> al-Dānī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī al-qirā’āt al-sab’ al-mashhūra*, ed. ‘Abd al-Muḥaymin Ṭaḥḥān, Ṭaḥa Tawfīq, Sāmī Ibrāhīm, and Khalīd al-Ghāmīdī (4 vols. Sharjah: Jāmi‘at al-Shāriqa, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> See Penelas, art. ‘al-Dānī’.

<sup>49</sup> See HATA, I. Corán, p. 50 (no. 217).

<sup>50</sup> PUA, id. 7550; HATA, I. Corán, p. 208 (no. 756); M. Marín, art. ‘Ibn Fīrūh al-Ru‘aynī al-Qāsim’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 3, pp. 172–176.

<sup>51</sup> See V. Cornell, ‘‘Ilm al-Qur’ān in al-Andalus: the tafsīr muḥarrar in the Works of Three Authors’, *Jusūr: The UCLA Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 2 (1986), pp. 72–76.

<sup>52</sup> Walid Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical tafsīr. The Qur’ān Commentary of al-Tha’labī (d. 427/1035)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 2.

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<sup>53</sup> Saleh (*The Formation*, p. 2) refers, for instance, to M. al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa’l-mufasssīrūn* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1985).

<sup>54</sup> N. Calder, ‘Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kaṭīr: Problems in the Description of a Genre, Illustrated with Reference to the Story of Abraham’ in G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader Shareef (eds), *Approaches to the Qur’ān* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 100–140; C. Guilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie en Islam. L’exégèse coranique de Tabari* (Paris: Vrin, 1990); C. Guilliot, ‘The Beginnings of Qur’ānic Exegesis’ in A. Rippin (ed.), *The Qur’an. Formative Interpretation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1–27, at pp. 9–10; J. McAuliffe, *Qur’anic Christians: An Analysis of Classical and Modern Exegesis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); A. Rippin, ‘The Present Status of tafsīr Studies’, *Muslim World* 72 (1982), pp. 224–238; A. Rippin, ‘Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qur’ān and the Problem of Early tafsīr Texts’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1985), pp. 22–43; A. Rippin, ‘The Function of Asbāb al-Nuzūl Qur’anic Exegesis: A Bibliographical and Terminological Survey’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51 (1988), pp. 1–20; A. Rippin, ‘Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās and Criteria for Dating Early tafsīr Texts’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), pp. 38–83; U. Rubin, ‘Quran and Tafsir: The Case of ‘an yadin’, *Der Islam* 70 (1993), pp. 133–144; U. Rubin, ‘Exegesis and Hadith: The Case of the Seven Mathani’ in G.R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader Shareef (eds), *Approaches to the Qur’ān* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 141–156.

<sup>55</sup> G. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur’anic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980).

<sup>56</sup> P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langue mystique: nouvel essai sur le lexique technique des mystiques musulmans* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs, Imprimerie Catholique, 1970).

<sup>57</sup> D. Gril, ‘La lecture supérieure du Coran selon ibn Barrağān’, *Arabica* 47:3 (2000), pp. 510–522; D. Gril, ‘L’interprétation par transposition symbolique (i’tibār), selon Ibn Qur’anic Studies in al-Andalus 95 Barrağān et Ibn ‘Arabī’ in B. Aladdin (ed.), *Symbolisme et herméneutique dans la pensée d’Ibn ‘Arabī* (Damascus: IFPO, 2007), pp. 147–161.

<sup>58</sup> Kristen Zahra Sands, *Sufi Commentaries on the Qur’an in Classical Islam* (London: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>59</sup> M.I. al-Mashinī, *Madrasat al-tafsīr fī al-Andalus* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1986). His surname sometimes appears vocalised as Mushinnī or Mashinnī.

<sup>60</sup> A. González, ‘Exégèse y exegetas en al-Andalus’ in M.M. Delgado and G. López (eds), *Conocer al-Andalus, perspectivas desde el siglo XXI* (Sevilla: Alfar, 2010), pp. 77–95.

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

<sup>62</sup> PUA, id. 9633; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 24–25 (no. 123); M. Arcas, art. ‘Ibn Abī Zamanayn, Abū ‘Abd Allāh’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 757–761.

<sup>63</sup> M. Arcas, ‘Los Banū Abī Zamanīn’, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, Sección Árabe–Islam* 40–41 (1991–1992), pp. 11–20, at p. 13.

<sup>64</sup> Maroc. Ministère de l’Education Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports, *Liste des manuscrits arabes précieux, exposés à la Bibliothèque de l’Université Quaraouyine à Fès, à l’occasion du onzième centenaire de la fondation de cette université / Qā’ima li-nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya al-ma’rūda fī maktabat Jāmi‘at al-Qarawīyyīn bi-Fās bi-munāsabat murūr mi‘at wa-alf sana ‘alā ta’sīs hādhi-hi al-jāmi‘a* (Rabat: Maṭba‘a Najma, 1960), p. 9, no. 16 = 40/34 lām.

<sup>65</sup> Ms. 820, Add. 19490.

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Abī Zamanīn, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Yaḥyā b. Sallām*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Isma‘īl and Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003).

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<sup>67</sup> Ibn Abī Zamanīn, *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr Yahyā b. Sallām (Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān)*, ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Madīmīgh (Riyadh: University al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd, [n.d.]).

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> N. Martínez de Castilla, ‘La transmisión de textos entre los moriscos: dos copias del tafsīr abreviado de Ibn Abī Zamanīn’, *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 26 (2015), pp. 147–161.

<sup>70</sup> PUA, id. 4663; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 136–137 (no. 494); A. González, art. ‘Ibn Barraḡān, Abū l-Ḥakam (abuelo)’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 524–538.

<sup>71</sup> 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 ‘Uthmaniyya Library in Istanbul, Konya, and Bursa. We can also find copies of this work in Saudi Arabia (Ma‘had al-Makhṭūṭāt), Morocco (Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc) and Germany (the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich). See the complete references to the preserved manuscripts in HATA, I. Corán, p. 137 (no. 494.3).

<sup>72</sup> *Revue de l’Institut des Manuscrits Arabes/Majallat Ma‘had al-makhṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya* 23:1 (1977), p. 17, no. 93. There is a microfilm of this manuscript in Cairo (Dār al-Kutub).

<sup>73</sup> Ms. 242 kāf.

<sup>74</sup> BSB-Hss Cod. Arab. 83.

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Barraḡān, *al-Tafsīr al-Ṣūfī li’l-Qur’ān aw ‘Tanbīh al-afḡām ilā tadabbur al-Kitāb al-Ḥakīm wa-ta‘arruf al-āyāt wa’l-naba’ al-‘azīm*, ed. Muḥammad al-‘Adlūnī (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 2011).

<sup>76</sup> Ibn Barraḡān, *Tafsīr Ibn Barraḡān: Tanbīh al-afḡām ilā tadabbur al-Kitāb al-Ḥakīm wa-ta‘arruf al-ayāt wa’l-naba’ al-‘azīm*, ed. Aḡmad Faṛīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2013).

<sup>77</sup> Al-Qārī, ‘Ibn Barraḡān al-Andalusī wa-juhūdihī fī al-tafsīr al-Ṣūfī wa-‘ilm al-kalām’, *Majallat Jāmi‘at Dimashq li’l-‘ulūm al-iqtiṣādiyya wa’l-qānūniyya* 23:1 (2007), pp. 363–424; J. Bellver, ‘Ibn Barraḡān and Ibn ‘Arabī on the Prediction of the Capture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 by Saladin’, *Arabica* 61:3–4 (2014), pp. 252–286; J. Bellver, “‘Al-Ghazali of al-Andalus”, Ibn Barraḡān, Mahdism, and the Emergence of Learned Sufism on the Iberian Peninsula’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 133:4 (2013), pp. 659–681; A. González, ‘Un ejemplo de la hermenéutica sufi del corán en al-Andalus: El comentario coránico Iḡāḡ al-ḡikma de Ibn Barraḡān (m. 536/1141) de Sevilla’ in A. González and G. López (eds), *Historia del sufismo en al-Andalus* (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2009), pp. 41–65.

<sup>78</sup> G. Böwering and Y. Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary by Ibn Barraḡān of Seville (d. 536/1141): Iḡāḡ al-ḡikma bi-ahkām al-‘ibra (Wisdom Deciphered, the Unseen Discovered)*, Texts and Studies on the Qur’ān, 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 1–48, at pp. 30–32.

<sup>79</sup> Mahmud Pasha, 3–4; Morat Molla, 35.

<sup>80</sup> Böwering and Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary*, pp. 7–8.

<sup>81</sup> Böwering and Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary*, p. 33.

<sup>82</sup> Böwering and Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary*, p. 34.

<sup>83</sup> Böwering and Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary*, p. 35.

<sup>84</sup> Böwering and Casewit, *A Qur’ān Commentary*, p. 36.

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<sup>85</sup> See Yosef Casewit, ‘A Muslim Scholar of the Bible: Prooftexts from Genesis and Matthew in the Qur’an Commentary of Ibn Barrajān of Seville (d. 536/1141)’, *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 18:1 (2016), pp. 1–48, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup> Casewit, ‘A Muslim Scholar of the Bible’, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> PUA, id. 4197; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 150–153 (no. 541); R. el Hour, art. ‘Ibn ‘Aṭīyya al-Muḥāribī, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Gālib’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 409–414.

<sup>88</sup> González suggests that the exegetical work of Ibn ‘Aṭīyya 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 ‘Aṭīyya’s *tafsīr*. See González, ‘Exégesis y exegetas en al-Andalus’, p. 79, n. 25, and A. Ibn ‘Ajība, *The Immense Ocean* (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2009).

<sup>89</sup> González, ‘Exégesis y exegetas en al-Andalus’, p. 79.

<sup>90</sup> See the signatures and references in HATA, I. Corán, pp. 151–152 (no. 541.1).

<sup>91</sup> Two in the Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc in Rabat; 21 in the Bibliothèque du Palais Royal in Rabat; one in the Khizānat Ibn Yūsuf in Marrakesh; three in al-Qarawīyyīn Library in Fez; one in Tanghimalt; and one in the Library of the Great Mosque in Meknes.

<sup>92</sup> Eight copies preserved in three different collections of the Süleymaniye Library; three in Beyazit Devlet Halk; three in Ayasofya Müzesi; and six in the Topkapi Palace Museum.

<sup>93</sup> One in the Ateneu Barcelonès and the other one in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid).

<sup>94</sup> The most complete is that edited by al-Majlis al-‘Ilmī bi-Fās. See Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, *Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-‘azīz* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa’l-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1991). The most recent is Ibn ‘Aṭīyya, *Jāmi‘ al-muḥarrar al-ṣaḥīḥ al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-kitāb al-‘azīz* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2002).

<sup>95</sup> N. Calder, J. Mojaddedi, and A. Rippin (eds), *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature* (London–New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 80–82.

<sup>96</sup> A. Jeffery, *Two Muqaddimas to the Qur’anic Sciences: the Muqaddima to the Kitāb al-Mabānī and the Muqaddima of Ibn ‘Aṭīyya to his Tafsīr* (Cairo: Printed for the Brothers al-Khaniji, Booksellers and Publishers, 1972), pp. 273–275.

<sup>97</sup> V. Cornell, ‘‘Ilm al-Qur’ān in al-Andalus, the tafsīr muḥarrar in the works of three authors’, *Jusūr: The UCLA Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 2 (1986), pp. 63–81, at pp. 72–76.

<sup>98</sup> ‘U. al-Dabbāgh, ‘Minhāj Ibn ‘Aṭīyya fī tafsīrihi al-muḥarrar al-wajīz’, *Da‘wat al-ḥaqq* 315 (1995), pp. 15–23, and 318 (1996), pp. 50–56.

<sup>99</sup> Sh. al-Asmarī, *Istidrākāt Ibn ‘Aṭīyya fī al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz ‘alā al-Ṭabarī fī Jāmi‘ al-bayān: ‘ard wa-dirāsa* (Medina: al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya, 2006–2007).

<sup>100</sup> M.I. al-Mashīnī, *Ibn al-‘Arabī al-Mālikī al-Isbīlī wa-tafsīruhu Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Beirut–Amman: Dār al-Jil, Dār ‘Ammār, 1991), pp. 95–97.

<sup>101</sup> PUA, id. 9681; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 157–60 (no. 554); P. Cano Ávila and A. García-Sanjuán, art. ‘Ibn ‘Arabī al-Ma‘āfirī, Abū Bakr’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 129–138.

<sup>102</sup> D. Serrano, ‘El Corán como fuente de legislación islámica: Abu Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī y su obra Aḥkām al-Qur’ān’ in M. Hernando de Larramendi and S. Peña Martín (eds), *El Corán ayer y hoy: Perspectivas*

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*actuales sobre el islam. Estudios en honor del Profesor Julio Cortés* (Córdoba: Berenice, 2008), pp. 260–261.

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

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

<sup>105</sup> The most recent edition is Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 2004).

<sup>106</sup> 1916 kāf.

<sup>107</sup> PUA, id. 8082; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 315–317 (no. 1198); Editorial Board, art. ‘Ibn Farḥ al-Qurṭubī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 3, pp. 113–116; R. Arnádez, art. ‘al-Ḳurṭubī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>108</sup> See Andrew Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>109</sup> 27 copies preserved in six different collections of the Süleymaniye Library; eleven in the Topkapi Palace Museum; eleven in the Nūr ‘Uthmaniyya Library; seven in Beyazit; and single copies in Ayasofya Müzesi, Köprülü Halk kütüphanesi, Kemankeç Emir Hoca, Manisa, and Konya.

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

<sup>111</sup> Single copies in Khizānat al-Ḥasanī and Majma‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabiyya, both in Damascus and a third one in Aleppo.

<sup>112</sup> Single copies in Maktabat ‘Ārif Ḥikmat in Medina and in King Fayṣal Foundation in Riyadh.

<sup>113</sup> 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-‘Ulamā’ in Lucknow.

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

<sup>115</sup> The most recent of these editions is al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī, aw, al-Jāmi‘ li-aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, ed. al-Manhal FZLLC (Riyadh: Markaz al-Turāth li’l-Barmajjiyyāt, 2013).

<sup>116</sup> Z. Maza, *Compendio del Tafsir del Corán ‘al-Qurtubi’* (Granada: Comunidad Musulmana Española de la Mezquita del Temor de Allah, 2005–2013).

<sup>117</sup> PUA, id. 705; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 337–9 (no. 1276); J. Lirola and E. Navarro i Ortiz, art. ‘Ibn al-Zubayr, Abū Ŷa‘far’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 6, pp. 327–339.

<sup>118</sup> Lirola and Navarro i Ortiz, art. ‘Ibn al-Zubayr’, p. 335; Z. bin Haji Mohd Yusoff and R. Ahmed Elgebaly, ‘The Genesis and Development of the “Science of Similarities” in the Qur’ān’, *Centre of Quranic Research International Journal* 2:1 (2012), pp. 49–62, at p. 50.

<sup>119</sup> Ms 2073 kāf.

<sup>120</sup> Ms 5356. There is a copy in the Ma‘had al-Makḥṭūṭāt.

<sup>121</sup> *Fihris al-kutub al-mawjūda bi-Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya li-ghāyat sanat 1932 (Cairo 2)* (8 vols. Cairo: Maṭba‘a Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1924–1942), vol. 1, p. 63, no. 57.

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<sup>122</sup> H. Derenbourg and Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de l’Escriual. III: Théologie, géographie, histoire* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1928), p. 7, no. 1273/1.

<sup>123</sup> The most recent is Ibn al-Zubayr, *Milāk al-ta’wīl: al-qāṭi’ bi-dhawī al-ilhād wa’l-ta’īl fī tawjīh al-mutashābih al-lafz min āy al-Tanzīl*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ghanī Muḥammad ‘Alī Fāsī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2006).

<sup>124</sup> Y. ‘A. al-Su‘aydī, *Ibn al-Zubayr al-Thaqafī al-Andalusī wa-minhājūhu fī Milāk al-ta’wīl* (Minya: University of al-Minya, 1998).

<sup>125</sup> Ms 701.

<sup>126</sup> Ms XVIII/2.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr, *al-Burhān fī tartīb suwar al-Qur’ān*, ed. Muḥammad Sha’bānī (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa’l-Shu’ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1990).

<sup>128</sup> Lirola and Navarro i Ortiz, art. ‘Ibn al-Zubayr’, p. 334.

<sup>129</sup> PUA, id. 10790; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 352–358 (no. 1317); J.M. Puerta, art. ‘Abū Ḥayyān al-Garnāṭī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 361–396.

<sup>130</sup> Puerta, art. ‘Abū Ḥayyān al-Garnāṭī’, pp. 377–380.

<sup>131</sup> 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.

<sup>132</sup> Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc and al-Qarawiyyīn.

<sup>133</sup> One in Maktabat al-Awqāf in Mosul and the other in al-Maktaba al-‘Abbāsiyya in Basra.

<sup>134</sup> Single copies in Khizānat al-Ḥasanī and Majma‘ al-Lugha al-‘Arabiyya.

<sup>135</sup> One of them in the John Rylands Library in Manchester and the other in the India Office of the British Library.

<sup>136</sup> The references and signatures can be consulted in HATA, I. Corán, pp. 353–354 (no. 1317.2).

<sup>137</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Supplements (3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1937), vol. 2, p. 136.

<sup>138</sup> The most recent is al-Gharnāṭī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘azīm* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2001).

<sup>139</sup> S.I. Sayyid, *Irāb al-Qur’ān fī tafsīr Abī Ḥayyān* (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma‘rifa al-Jāmi‘iyya, 1989); S.I. Sayyid, *Shawāhid Abī Ḥayyān fī tafsīrihi* (Alexandria: Dār al-Ma‘rifa al-Jāmi‘iyya, 1989); M.A. Khāṭir, *Wujūh al-isnād wa’l-i‘rāb fī al-qirā’āt al-manqūla fī tafsīr Abī Ḥayyān al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (Cairo: n.p., 1990); Q.M. Ṣāliḥ, *al-Zāhira al-naḥwiyya bayna al-Zamaksharī wa-Abī Ḥayyān: masā’il min al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (Amman: Qāsim Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, 1991); H.M.D. Jannān, *Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī: minhājūhu al-tafsīrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1993); M.A. Khāṭir, *al-Qirā’at al-Qur’aniyya fī al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ* (Mecca: al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya, 1995).

<sup>140</sup> See Harald Motzki, art. ‘‘Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan‘anī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>141</sup> On this, see Rippin, ‘Al-Zuhrī, naskh al-Qur’ān’.

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<sup>142</sup> Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.

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

<sup>144</sup> 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.

<sup>145</sup> See A. Geissinger, *Gender and Muslim Constructions of Exegetical Authority: A Rereading of the Classical Genre of Qur’ān Commentary*, *Islamic History and Civilization*, 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 97–103.

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

<sup>147</sup> C.E. Bosworth, art. ‘al-Ṭabarī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>148</sup> Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.

<sup>149</sup> See C. Gilliot, art. ‘‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edn.

<sup>150</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (2 vols. Weimar: Felber, 1898–1902), vol. 1, p. 190; *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur. Supplementband* (3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1937–1942), Supplement I, p. 331; Gilliot, art. ‘‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās’.

<sup>151</sup> H. Berg, *The Development of Exegesis in Early Islam: The Authenticity of Muslim Literature from the Formative Period* (Cornwall: Curzon, 2000); H. Berg, ‘Ibn ‘Abbās in ‘Abbasid-era Tafsīr’ in J.E. Montgomery (ed.), *Abbasid Studies: Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), pp. 129–146; H. Berg, ‘The Isnād and the Production of Cultural Memory: Ibn ‘Abbās as a Case of Study’, *Numen* 58:2 (2011), pp. 259–283; C. Gilliot, ‘Portrait “mythique” d’Ibn ‘Abbās’, *Arabica* 32 (1985), pp. 127–184; I. Goldfeld, ‘The Tafsīr of ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abbās’ in C. Turner (ed.), *The Koran: Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies, Translation and Exegesis* (4 vols. London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), vol. 4, pp. 237–247; H. Motzki, ‘Dating the So-called Tafsīr ibn ‘Abbās: Some Additional Remarks’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006), pp. 147–163; A. Rippin, ‘Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās and Criteria for Dating Early tafsīr Texts’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994), pp. 38–83.

<sup>152</sup> PUA, id. 10963; HATA, I. Corán, p. 1 (no. 1).

<sup>153</sup> PUA, id. 7869; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 271–272 (no. 1017); Doc. art. ‘al-Waṣqī Muḥammad’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 615–616.

<sup>154</sup> Calder, Mojaddedi, and Rippin, *Classical Islam*, p. 151.

<sup>155</sup> Kees Versteegh, art. ‘al-Zamakhsharī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>156</sup> Rippin, art. ‘Tafsīr’.

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

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

<sup>159</sup> PUA, id. 6833; HATA, I. Corán, p. 312 (no. 1182); J. Haremska, art. ‘al-Ŷayyānī al-Anṣārī’ Abū l-Ḥasan’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 636–637.

<sup>160</sup> PUA, id. 1570; HATA, I. Corán, p. 349 (no. 1308); J. Haremska, art. ‘al-‘Aṣṣāb Abū l-‘Abbās’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 111–112.

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<sup>161</sup> PUA, id. 4549; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 120–3 (no. 443); C. de la Puente, art. ‘Ibn ‘Attāb Abū Muḥammad’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 2, pp. 430–432.

<sup>162</sup> PUA, id. 5141; HATA, I. Corán, p. 40 (no. 202); J. Fórneas and A. Rodríguez, art. ‘Ibn Lubbāy Abū Muḥammad’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 4, pp. 31–32.

<sup>163</sup> F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1889), p. 21, no. XLV.

<sup>164</sup> PUA, id. 11024; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 40–9 (no. 204); J.M. Vizcaíno, art. ‘Ibn Abī Ṭālib, Makkī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 734–741.

<sup>165</sup> Guillén Robles, *Catálogo*, p. 34, no. LXIX.

<sup>166</sup> Ms 99.

<sup>167</sup> Two copies in the BR in Rabat; single copies in the BG; Meknes and Tamakrut. See the complete references in HATA, I. Corán, p. 41 (no. 204.5).

<sup>168</sup> T. al-Rājī Hāshimī, *Las controversias de las lecturas coránicas en al-Andalus y Marruecos* (Rabat: University of Rabat, 1975).

<sup>169</sup> PUA, id. 1419; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 66–67 (no. 227); Doc., art. ‘al-Mahdawī, Abū l-‘Abbās’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 6, pp. 481–482.

<sup>170</sup> Ms 89 *qāf*.

<sup>171</sup> Ms 78–79 *tafsīr*.

<sup>172</sup> The information on the manuscripts preserved in El Escorial can be found in Derenborug, *Les manuscrits arabes de l’Escorial*, III, pp. 6–7, no. 1272.

<sup>173</sup> Ms C 2045.

<sup>174</sup> Ms 42.

<sup>175</sup> PUA, id. 1495; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 31–32 (no. 163); Doc., art. ‘al-Uqlīshī Abū l-Abbās’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 583–584.

<sup>176</sup> See al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām: qāmus tarāḡim* (8 vols. Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm li’l-Malāyīn, 2002), vol. 1, p. 197.

<sup>177</sup> For more information on this scholar see PUA, id. 1999; HATA, I. Corán, p. 167 (no. 581); Doc., art. ‘Ibn al-Uqlīshī, Abū l-Abbās’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 5, pp. 531–535.

<sup>178</sup> See al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vol. 1, p. 259.

<sup>179</sup> Ibn al-Uqlīshī, *Tafsīr al-‘ulūm wa’l-ma‘ānī al-mustawdi‘a fī al-sab‘ al-mathānī li- Abī’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ma‘add b. ‘Isā b. Wakīl al-Andalusī, tafsīr al-Fātiḥa*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ṣāliḥ al-‘Ubayd al-Sulamī (Riyadh: al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya, 1988); Ibn al-Uqlīshī, *Tafsīr al-Fātiḥa al-musammā Tafsīr al-‘ulūm wa’l-ma‘ānī al-mustawdi‘a fī al-sab‘ al-mathānī*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Jundī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2010).

<sup>180</sup> PUA, id. 4403; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 196–199 (no. 710); J.P. Arias, art. ‘al-Suhaylī Abū l-Qāsim’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 378–382.

<sup>181</sup> Ms 721.

<sup>182</sup> Ms 1427 *dāl*.



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<sup>183</sup> Ms 9126.

<sup>184</sup> PUA, id. 9661; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 305–306 (no. 1160); A. Carmona González, art. ‘Ibn Abī al-Faḍl al-Sulamī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 686–689.

<sup>185</sup> ‘A.M. al-‘Abbās (ed.), *Fihris makḥṭūṭāt Markaz Aḥmad Bābā li’l-wathā’iq wa’l-buḥūth al-ta’rīkhiyya fī Tumbuktū / Handlist of Manuscripts in the Centre de Documentation et de Recherches Historiques Ahmed Baba, Timbuktu* (5 vols. London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1996), vol. 2, p. 178, no. 1968.

<sup>186</sup> HATA, I. Corán, pp. 320–321 (no. 1208); J.M. Fórneas and A. Rodríguez, art. ‘Ibn Abī al-Aḥwaṣ al-Quraṣī’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 675–676.

<sup>187</sup> Ms 37.

<sup>188</sup> PUA, id. 9945; HATA, I. Corán, p. 366 (no. 1351); E. Navarro i Ortiz, art. ‘al-Balansī Abū ‘Abd Allāh’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 164–169.

<sup>189</sup> PUA, id. 5994; HATA, I. Corán, p. 324 (no. 1220); J.M. Fórneas and A. Rodríguez, ‘Ibn Abī al-Rabī‘ al-Isbīlī Abū l-Ḥusayn’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 1, pp. 707–711.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Abī al-Rabī‘, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, ed. Ṣāliḥa bt. Rāshid (Riyadh: University al-Imām Muḥammad b. Sa‘ūd, 2010).

<sup>191</sup> PUA, id. 10651; HATA, I. Corán, pp. 123–124 (no. 447); M. Fierro, ‘al-Ṭurṭūṣī Abū Bakr’, *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, vol. 7, pp. 500–531.

<sup>192</sup> See Andrew Rippin, art. ‘al-Tha‘labī’ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn.

<sup>193</sup> A. Shabīnī and M. ‘A. Biblāwī (eds), *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-maḥfūza bi’l-kutubkhāna al-khidīwiyya: al-kā’ina bi-Sarāy Darb al-Jamāmīz bi-Miṣr al-maḥrūsa al-mu‘azziyya* (Cairo 1) (7 vols. Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Shaykh ‘Uthmān ‘Abd al-Rāziq, 1893), vol. 1, p. 209; *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiyya* (Cairo 2), vol. 1, p. 61, no. 240.

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

<sup>195</sup> *Fihris al-kutub al-‘arabiyya* (Cairo 2), 1, p. 45, no. 58.

<sup>196</sup> Ms Qarawiyyīn, 52.

<sup>197</sup> ‘U. al-Dabbāgh, ‘Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn wa-dawruhu al-ijābī fī ḥifẓ al-turāth al-makḥṭūṭ’, *Manuscripts arabes en Occident Musulman. État des collections et perspectives de la recherche* (Casablanca: Mu‘assasat al-Malik ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Su‘ūd li’l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya wa’l-‘Ulūm al-Insāniyya, 1990), pp. 49–76, at p. 55.

<sup>198</sup> HATA, I. Corán, pp. 380–381 (no. 1389).

<sup>199</sup> As in the case of the burning of the library of al-Ḥakam II (r. 350–365/961–976) by al-Manṣūr (d. 392/1002).

<sup>200</sup> 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.

<sup>201</sup> L. Pouzet, ‘Un type d’échange culturel interméditerranéen au Moyen Age: les lecteurs du Coran entre l’Andalousie et le Machreq’, in *Proceedings of the 12th conference of the Union Européenne D’Arabisants et D’Islamisants* (Malaga: Union Européenne d’Arabisants et d’Islamisants, 1986), pp. 657–78, at p. 657.

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<sup>202</sup> For example, the *tafsīr* of Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī appears on websites such as [mosshaf.com](http://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.