

“ON THE WAY OF TRUTH”:
IBN ḤAZM’S *ṬAWQ AL-ḤAMĀMAH*
AND THE EPISTEMOLOGY OF LOVE

JALAL ABD ALGHANI

Department of Arabic Language and Literature, University of Haifa
199 Aba Khoushy Ave., Mount Carmel, Haifa, Israel
e-mail: jabdalgl@univ.haifa.ac.il

Ibn Ḥazm’s (d. 456/1064) *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is a *sui generis* work in the history of mediaeval Arabic culture. Modern scholarship on Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ṭawq* proceeds along three lines: (1) editing and translating the *Ṭawq*; (2) explicating the *Ṭawq* and enquiring into its originality; and (3) looking into the *Ṭawq* from a comparative perspective. I intend, however, to pursue further the question of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*’s uniqueness, and I would also suggest a new reading of the text based on the exposition of its epistemology. My main proposition is that the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*’s idiosyncracies rest on Ibn Ḥazm’s endeavour to advance an epistemic justification of the concept of love. Ibn Ḥazm stresses that writing on love is beyond any fictional narrative. He underlines the idea that entering into the phenomena of love should adhere to *al-ḥaqīqah* (the truth) and should avoid any kind of flawed explorations. To arrive at an understanding of the work through the angle of *al-ḥaqīqah*, Ibn Ḥazm further contends that writing on love should be based on three key principles: (i) testimony; (ii) observation; (iii) and knowledge stored in memory. These principles are behind the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*’s epistemology that renders any writing on love not merely a fictional narrative but a textual attempt to depict the actual human experience. By deploying the principles of epistemology to investigate love, Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* not only modifies the existing genre of writing on love and lovers but also considers some aspects of this emotion that had hitherto evaded literary and scholarly treatment. This paper will explore Ibn Ḥazm’s perspective on the ways of writing on love and manifest his epistemological approach in exploring the essence of this emotion as well as its causes and symptoms.

Key words: mediaeval Arabic theory of love, Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, epistemology, al-Jāhiz, Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī.

Ibn Ḥazm’s (d. 456/1064) *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* (hereafter the *Ṭawq*) is a *sui generis* work in the history of mediaeval Arabic culture. The first edition of this treatise, completed by Dmitrii Konstantinovich Pétrof, appeared in 1914 but it still continues to attract the interest of many scholars of various disciplines. Modern scholarship on the *Ṭawq* proceeds along three particular lines: first, editing and translating the text of

the *Ṭawq*;¹ second, explicating the *Ṭawq* and investigating its originality and *raison d'être*;² and lastly looking into the *Ṭawq* from a comparative perspective, exploring its place in the culture of Western courtly love and the tradition of the Provençal troubadours.³

All these scholarly attainments have validated the legacy of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* in mediaeval studies. In this paper, however, I intend to pursue further the question of the uniqueness of the *Ṭawq* for it still needs to be discussed; and I would also suggest, further, a new reading of the text based on the exposition of its epistemological foundation. Previous studies on this treatise deploy what I call the content-oriented account of the peculiarity of Ibn Ḥazm's work.⁴ Their arguments mainly revolve around the subject of the *Ṭawq* and compare its content with material in earlier works. Resulting from such accounts there is a diversity of opinions on the character of the *Ṭawq*. García Gómez, for example, believes that despite a reference in the *Ṭawq* to the *Kitāb al-Zahrah* of Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (d. 294/909), the author with whom many scholars compare Ibn Ḥazm, and, further, the coincidence of the emotional tendencies between those two men, the *Ṭawq* owes nothing to the *Kitāb al-Zahrah*. García Gómez presumes that the quality for which Ibn Ḥazm deserves to be admired is his endeavour to Hispanise or Westernise the Arabic theory of love prevailing in the East (Gómez 1951, pp. 309–330). Lois A. Giffen, speaking of “the appeal of the *Ṭawq*”, asserts that “the special attractiveness of the *Ṭawq* is due to the fact that it is an exception to

¹ Given the fact that the available text of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is based on a single manuscript, an abridgement of the original text left by Ibn Ḥazm, it has been redacted more than twenty-one times since the publication of Pétrof (1914); some of these publications are scholarly volumes which strive to offer their readers a more correct text, while some are considered less erudite publications. Perhaps the last edition to date of Ibn Ḥazm's work is *Mukhtaṣar Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah wa-Zill al-Ghamāmah fī al-Ulfah wal-Ullāf*, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Turkumānī (see Ibn Ḥazm 2002). The editing of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, moreover, was accompanied by its translation into several languages. The first translation was introduced by A. R. Nykl (1931). The last translation of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is perhaps *El collar de la paloma: el collar de la tórtola y la sombra de la nube*, translated by Jaime Sánchez Ratia (see Ibn Ḥazm 2009).

² Consult the following studies: Lévi-Provençal (1950, pp. 335–375); Abel (1955, pp. 220–222); Martínez (1987, pp. 1–47); Pinilla (1990); Giffen (1992, pp. 420–442); Ormsby (2000, pp. 237–251); Jalāl al-ʿAdhm (2002); Būqarra (2003, pp. 22–31); Behzadi (2003, pp. 108–115); ʿAbd Allāh Idrīs (2007, pp. 11–48). Other studies enquire into the proximity of the *Ṭawq* to the classical Arabic tradition of love, or point out the distance between it and other prevailing works. See Gómez (1941, pp. 65–72; 1951, pp. 309–330); Ismāʿīl (2005). Again other studies scrutinise, furthermore, certain topics discussed in the *Ṭawq* such as issues of gender referring to the sociological status of Andalusian women or other topics such as homosexuality and Ibn Ḥazm's views on the concept of beauty. See Fuentes (1964, pp. 161–178); Turki (1978, pp. 25–82); Castro (1995, pp. 143–150); Benaïssa (1999, pp. 3–18); Adang (2003a, pp. 5–31; 2003b, pp. 111–145). Another one extends to a palaeographic study on the manuscript of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* and the deciphering of its text. See Benaïssa (1997, pp. 7–21).

³ Expounding on the origin of sentimental courtly love and exploring its basic properties, scholars intended to outline the parallels between *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* and other Western works. See, for example, the study of Benaïm de Lasry (1981, pp. 129–143). This scholar compares *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* and the 15th-century author Diego de San Pedro's two works *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda* and *Cárcel de amor*. See also Arié (1985, pp. 75–89).

⁴ See note no. 2.

the tradition. [Ibn Ḥazm] quite deliberately and in defiance of the practice of the time chose to illustrate his analyses of the phenomena with colourful anecdotes about himself and his fellow Andalusians, [...] It was this difference which made the book a historical and social document" (Giffen 1992, p. 422). In another comment, Giffen states that "had [Ibn Ḥazm] followed the practice of earlier authors on love and other *udabā'*, he would not have neglected to quote the famous poets and re-hash the lore of famous lovers" (Giffen 1992, p. 423). Maḥmūd Ismā'īl, furthermore, contends that *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is simply a literary representation of the views of Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī and alleges, moreover, that the contribution of Ibn Ḥazm is limited to transforming the concepts of Ibn Dāwūd into an exquisite poetic form. He concludes that the great value of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is confined to this poetic effort (Ismā'īl 2005, p. 70). In view of these diverse assessments and ambivalent attitudes, the question of the peculiarity of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* still needs to be researched and discussed.

The Modus Operandi of the Study

Despite the comprehensiveness of earlier studies on the *Ṭawq* and their valuable contribution to our understanding of this important text by Ibn Ḥazm, they overlooked the epistemological foundation of this work. My main proposition is that the individuality of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* rests on Ibn Ḥazm's endeavours to advance an epistemic justification of the concept of love. By deploying the principles of epistemology to investigate this emotion, Ibn Ḥazm's *Ṭawq* not only modifies the existing genre of writing on love and lovers, but also considers some aspects of human love that had hitherto evaded mediaeval literary and scholarly treatment. This article will explore Ibn Ḥazm's perspective on the way of writing on this topic and manifest his epistemological approach to explore love's essence, causes and symptoms. What I propose to do in the following sections can be outlined as follows:

1. The first section of the paper, "Ibn Ḥazm and his Epistemology of Love", focuses on the introduction of the *Ṭawq*. As will be shown, the main concern of Ibn Ḥazm was to discuss in the preface to his work the correlation between the act of writing and the endeavour to scrutinise love's essence, causes and symptoms. He reflects mainly on the preferable way to write about love. Considering love as "the central experience of life", as Theodore Zeldin (1995, p. 81) maintains, Ibn Ḥazm expressed his aversion to the prevalent way of writing on this issue which depended mainly on literary tradition, and set forth his epistemological approach to explicate love and its affairs. Ibn Ḥazm's notion of the epistemology of love is uncommon in the genre of the theoretical writing on love in mediaeval Arabic culture. A close reading of the introduction of the *Ṭawq* will be presented by examining the main concepts of his epistemology of love and explicating some epistemological terms deployed in the *Ṭawq* which have been disregarded by researchers, terms such as *al-ḥaqīqah* (the truth), *mushāhadah* (observation), *ḥifẓ* (memory) as well as cultural terms such as *a'rāb* (Bedouin) and *akhbār* (literary accounts).

2. Looking into the applicability of Ibn Ḥazm's approach, I will examine whether or not Ibn Ḥazm had applied his epistemology of love, presented in his preface, to expound on the subject of his work. My views on this question will be schematised in a detailed table under the title "The Epistemological Basis of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*", followed by comments.

3. Finally, in the last section "An Epistemologically Justified Love", a selected chapter of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, entitled "On Union" (*al-waṣl*) will be analysed and compared with some earlier works on love, works which preceded the treatise of Ibn Ḥazm. I will conclude my study with some comments.

1. Ibn Ḥazm and His Epistemology of Love

The overall reading of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s introduction reveals Ibn Ḥazm's engagement with his intended work confined to exploring love and its essence, causes and symptoms. His speculation oscillates between a strong tendency to adhere to an acceptable method of writing on this issue and a disposition to depart from traditional precedents for the perception of this emotion and exploring its nature. The writing process of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* arises from these two impulses, hence I will elaborate on them. These impulses, moreover, are the central pillars of the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s text. I will open my analysis with the second disposition, i.e. that of departing from the traditional ways of writing on love.

Ibn Ḥazm concludes the *Ṭawq*'s introduction with the statement that he would dispense with the anecdotes of the *ʿarāb* and the forerunners (*al-mutaqaddimīn*); and defends his preference by stating that "their way (*sabīluhum*) is different from our way (*sabīlunā*); and, moreover, there are certain copious anecdotes (*al-akhbār*) about them". "My way" he cogently maintains, emphasising the principle of originality, "is not to lean on [or enervate] the other's mount, and not to adorn myself with borrowed finery". This declaration alludes concisely to the earlier predicament confronting the author while he reflects upon creating his intended work. His statement, furthermore, epitomises his awareness of the literary tradition of love and its affairs, and evinces his anxiety regarding the influence of earlier authors on himself and his disposition not to imitate them;⁵ and, lastly, he points to a desirable self-actualisation to create

⁵ Though I am using here Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence*, I do not intend to load my argument with any psychological exposition, nor to read Ibn Ḥazm through Bloom's theory as he has thoroughly scrutinised the manifestation of the poet's discontent with the burden of tradition. I would like, however, to point out Bloom's definition regarding what is meant by influence. He states: "'Influence' is a metaphor, one that implicates a matrix of relationships – imagistic, temporal, spiritual, psychological – all of them ultimately defensive in their nature. What matters most ... is that the anxiety of influence comes out of a complex act of strong misreading, a creative interpretation that I call 'poetic misprision'. What writers may experience as anxiety, and what their works are compelled to manifest, are the *consequence* of poetic misprision, rather than *cause* of it. The strong misreading comes first; there must be a profound act of reading that is a kind of falling in love with a literary work. That reading is likely to be idiosyncratic, and it is almost certain to be ambivalent, though the ambivalence may be veiled. Without Keats's reading of Shakespeare, Milton,

his own work. The denotation *akhbār al-aʿrāb* used here is replete with cultural references to an abundant literary tradition of love stories which pervaded mediaeval Arabic literature.⁶ The appellation “*aʿrāb*”, more specifically, is a taxonomic concept referring in certain classical Arabic writings to certain political and sociocultural aspects.⁷ Within the literary sphere in particular, *aʿrāb* is comprehensively applied to designate certain literary texts of a typical aesthetic essence, history, thematic and generic features. Thus, this appellation was used by some mediaeval authors to point out the love poetry of the Umayyad poets as it corresponded to the poems of their counterpart, the ʿAbbasid poets.⁸ Al-Jāhiz (d. 255/868), for example, in one of his epistles, *Kitāb Mufākharat al-Jawārī wal-Ghilmān* [The *Rangstreit* between the ‘partisan’ of slave girls and the ‘partisan’ of slave boys],⁹ presents a literary debate between the partisan of the *jawārī* and the partisan of the *ghilmān* on the superiority of each group over the other. The place of the *jawārī* and *ghilmān* in Arabic love poetry and their manifested depictions was a controversial issue that involved the two opponents:

The partisan of the slave girls (*ṣāhib al-Jawārī*) has said: We have never heard about a lover whom a love for a slave boy has slain. We, however, are able to enumerate certain poets, especially those of the first Islamic

and Wordsworth, we could not have Keats’s odes and sonnets and his two *Hyperions*” (see: Bloom 1997, p. xxiii). Bloom, moreover, stresses that “... great writing is always at work strongly (or weakly) misreading previous writing” (ibidem, p. xix) and, further, “poetic history ... is held to be indistinguishable from poetic influence, since strong poets make that history by misreading one another, so as to clear imaginative space for themselves” (ibidem, p. 5). Considering Ibn Ḥazm’s declaration through Bloom’s proposition would reveal how much Ibn Ḥazm intended to deviate from the literary paradigm of the *aʿrāb* anecdotes which were shaped and reshaped by certain authors and deployed within anthologies and *adab* encyclopaedias, and would further highlight his endeavours to create his own work.

⁶ Maḥmūd b. Salmān al-Ḥalabī, in his *Kitāb Manāzil al-Aḥbāb wa-Manāzih al-Albāb*, refers to a book entitled *Akhbār al-Aʿrāb* by a certain author named Qudāmāh. Apparently, this book compiles love stories of the Umayyad poets. Al-Ḥalabī repeatedly quotes some stories presented in Qudāmāh’s book (see al-Ḥalabī 2000, pp. 246–295).

⁷ The taxonomic *aʿrābī* (pl. *aʿrāb*) and its derivatives *taʿarrub* and *aʿrābiyya* allude in the first Islamic eras to a low social status. They were implanted to designate ignorance, impoliteness and even delinquency as well as punishment. In this regard, see Athamina (1987, pp. 5–25). See also Leder (2004a, pp. 72–104; 2005, pp. 401–419).

⁸ Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī, for example, in his preface to the fourth section of Abū Nuwās’s *Dīwān* dealing with love poems for his female beloved makes the following statement: “*wa-hādha al-bāb – aʿnī bāb al-muʿannathāt – qad aktharʹ Abū Nuwās al-qawl fihī wa-aḥsan fī akthar mā taʿāṭāh minḥ. wa-huwa fī al-tashbīb bil-nisāʹ araqqʹ min ʿumar b. Abī rabīʿa al-Makhzūmīyyʹ wal-Aḥwaṣ wa-min Kuthayyir wa-Jamīl wa-aḍrābihim min mutaghazzilāʹ al-aʿrāb*” (see Abū Nuwās 1982, Vol. 4, p. 1). Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 295/908), moreover, speaks, in his “*Ṭapaqāt al-Shuʿarāʹ*”, of the ʿAbbasid poet, Ibn Mayyāda, and states that his love poetry is characterised by some features of the style of the *aʿrāb* love poetry: “*jayyid al-ghazal wa-namaṭuhʹ namaṭʹ al-aʿrāb al-fuṣaḥāʹ*” (Ibn al-Muʿtazz 1968, p. 108).

⁹ Jāhiz’s epistle, the *Kitāb Mufākharat al-Jawārī wal-Ghilmān*, is one of the earlier classical Arabic works dealing with issues of gender from different aspects. On this topic see Rosenthal (1997, pp. 24–54). See also Algazi – Drory (2000, pp. 1255–1282); Rowson (2008, pp. 193–204).

eras, such as Jamīl b. Maʿmar whom the love for Buthayna has killed, and Kuthayyir whom the love for ʿAzza has put to death, and ʿUrwa whom the love for ʿAfrāʾ has dispatched, and the Majnūn of ʿĀmir tribe who was infatuated with Laylā, and Qays b. Dharrīḥ whom Lubnā has killed, and ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAjlān whom Hind has put to death, and al-Ghamr b. Ḍarār whom Jumīl has dispatched. There are those whom we have named but those whom we have not referred to are more. The partisan of the slave boys (*ṣāhib al-ghilmān*) has said: Would Kuthayyir and Jamīl and ʿUrwa and their counterparts whom you have named look at some of our servants of those who were purchased for a large sum of money and are endowed with beauty, goodly stature, clear skin; they would disregard Buthayna and ʿAzza and ʿAfrāʾ and slight them. You have remonstrated with us and invoked crude and harsh *ʿarāb* who were fed on misery and distress and were raised within these conditions. These poets are not familiar with the luxury and pleasures of life. They dwell in the desolate deserts and recoil from people as the wild animals do and, further, they feed on the hedgehog and the dabb lizard and break the colocynth, the bitter-apple. Were every poet of them to exert himself, he would cry over the ruins and describe the woman and compare her to the oryx and the gazelle though every woman is more beautiful than these animals. He would liken her to the snake and call her *shawhā* (the ugly) and *jarbāʾ* (the mangy) in order to ward off an eye that would afflict her, according to his beliefs. The *udabāʾ* (littérateurs)¹⁰ and the *ẓu-rafāʾ* (the refined persons)¹¹, however, have spoken of the slave boys and excelled at their doing. They have adeptly described them and given preference to them over the slave girls earnestly or amusingly.¹²

Through the afore-mentioned comments, Al-Jāhīz enumerates some of the pre-eminent Umayyad love poets such as Jamīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿmar (d. 82/701), Kuthayyir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān known as Kuthayyir ʿAzzah (d. 105/723), Qays Lubnā. The memoirs of these poets were the basis for many love stories, to which Ibn Ḥazm refers as *akhbār al-ʿarāb* and desists from deploying them in his monograph which was circulated widely in mediaeval *adab* works and compilations of love theory.¹³

¹⁰ On the social and literary status of the *Kātib* in mediaeval Islam, see Carter (1971, pp. 42–55); van Berkel (2000, pp. 79–87); Bosworth (1998, pp. 698–699).

¹¹ On *al-Zurafāʾ* and their role in ʿAbbasid culture and society see Ghazi (1959, pp. 39–71); Enderwitz (1989, pp. 125–142); Montgomery (2002, p. 460); Szombathy (2006, pp. 101–119).

¹² See al-Jāhīz (1965, pp. 104–105), the translation is mine.

¹³ The *Kitāb al-Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Warrāq (d. 385/995) provides a detailed bibliographical account which attests to the circulation of love stories of the Umayyad poets in the ʿAbbāsīd period. In the eighth article of his *al-Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm enumerates names of certain pre-Islamic and Islamic poets-lovers and the forty-one works of love stories compiled for their memoirs (*asmāʾ al-ʿushshāq al-ladhīnā ʿashiqū fī al-jāhiliyya wal-Islām wa-ullifʿa fī akhbārihim kutub*). He states, further, that these works were compiled by people such as ʿĪsā b. Dāb or Dāb, Sharqī b. al-Qutāmī (d. 150/767), Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣāʿib al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), Haytham b. ʿAdī al-Ṭāʿī (d. 209/824) and others, who are all authors of the 2nd/8th century and were

Examining some examples of these stories would reveal, as Stefan Leder's work clearly shows, some prevailing features such as the idealisation of love and lovers, abstinence, faithfulness, firmly imposed customary limitations, the impracticability of any transmutation of love into a natural and sensual relationship, the consolidation of reality and myth; and, lastly, death from love and the fatal destiny of lovers (Leder 2004b, pp. 163–187).¹⁴ Together with the generic paradigm of the adopted literary *khavar*

knowledgeable of the Arab history and traditionalists. The titles of love stories of the Umayyad poets which Ibn al-Nadīm mentions are “Kitāb ‘Amr b. ‘Ajlān wa-Hind”; “Kitāb Jamīl wa-Buthayna”; “Kitāb Kuthayyir wa-‘Azzah”; “Kitāb Qays wa-Lubnā”; “Kitāb Majnūn wa-Laylā”; “Kitāb al-‘Amr! b. Dārār wa-Jum!”; among others. See Ibn al-Nadīm (1988, p. 365). Other compilations of a typical literary style such as the *Kitāb al-Amālī* of the philologist, Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī (d. 356/967) encompasses some traditional love stories and poems by Umayyad poets. The author sets forth, for example, the story of ‘Urwa b. Ḥizām (d. around 30/650) with his cousin ‘Afrā and an anecdote on Kuthayyir ‘Azzah and Jamīl b. Ma‘mar. See Abū ‘Alī al-Qālī (1906, pp. 159–164, 227–228). Ibn Qutayba ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Dīnawarī (d. 276/889) includes in the last volume dedicated to women of his *‘Uyūn al-Akhhbār* some stories of certain Umayyad lovers and poems of Umayyad love poets such as Qays b. Dharīḥ, Ibn al-Tathriyya. See Ibn Qutayba (1963, Vol. 4, pp. 128–147). Moreover, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. 356/967) *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is still the chief source of love stories of Umayyad poets. This literary encyclopaedia embraces numerous anecdotes of Umayyad love poets and their beloved women. See for instance the story of Majnūn of the tribe of ‘Āmir (*Majnūn Banī ‘Āmir*), *Al-Aghānī*, edited by ‘Abd ‘Alī Mihannā (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1992, Vol. 2, pp. 95–164); Jamīl b. Ma‘mar and Buthayna *Al-Aghānī*, edited by Samīr Jābir (Vol. 8, pp. 3–88). On the concept of love in Jamīl b. Ma‘mar’s poetry, see Jagonak (2008). Yazīd b. al-Tathriyya and Waḥshiyya *Al-Aghānī* (Vol. 8, pp. 165–194); Kuthayyir b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān and ‘Azza, idem, edited by ‘Abd ‘Alī Mahannā (Vol. 9, pp. 30–50); Qays b. Dharīḥ and Lubnā, idem, Vol. 9, pp. 210–260; Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman and Rawḍa, idem, Vol. 9, pp. 222–256; Mālik b. al-Ṣamṣāma and Janūb idem, edited by Samīr Jābir (Vol. 22, pp. 81–84); Bayhas b. Ṣuhayb and Ṣafrā (Vol. 22, pp. 140–146); al-Quḥayf b. Ḥumayyir and Kharqā idem, edited by ‘Abd ‘Alī Mahannā and Samīr Jābir (Vol. 24, pp. 77–84); ‘Urwa b. Ḥizām and ‘Afrā idem (pp. 123–138). Abū l-Faraj’s *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is rightly considered to be the central compendium of love anecdotes of the Umayyad poets in mediaeval Arabic literature. Through this magnificent encyclopaedia, Abū l-Faraj encapsulates the form and content of certain Umayyad love anecdotes as they came to his knowledge. A comprehensive study on Abū l-Faraj’s engagement with *akhhbār* (anecdotes) see Kilpatrick (2003, pp. 89–127). The deployment of *akhhbār al-‘ushshāq* (the anecdotes of lovers) became a literary convention employed by later mediaeval Arabic compilations for clarifying certain issues related to love and its essence and symptoms. Dā‘ūd b. ‘Umar al-Darīr al-Anṭakī (d. 1008/1599), for example, in his *Tazyīn al-Aṣwāq bi-Taḥṣīl (Tartīb) Ashwāq al-‘Ushshāq*, assembles from earlier sources *akhhbār, nawādir* and *mufaḥḥāt* for the explication of certain topics of love and lovers. He accounts for the inclusion of these literary genres throughout his book for they relieve the soul of tiredness and prepare it for the acquisition of knowledge: “*wajab is‘āfuḥā bil-mufaḥḥāt al-anīq wal-akhhbār al-laṭīfa al-rashīqa, liṭanṣaḥ min ‘iqāl al-ta‘ab wa-tastarīḥ, fata‘ūd ilā al-maṭlūb minhā min kol al-waṣab wal-naṣab, wa-dhalika huwa al-‘ulūm al-adabiyyah, kal-tawārīkh wal-akhhbār, wa-laṭā‘if al-ḥikayāt wal-ash‘ār*” (Dā‘ūd b. ‘Umar 2002, p. 24). In another comment, Anṭakī underlines the relatedness of *akhhbār* and poems to the genre of writing on love and lovers: “*bi-maḥāsin al-akhhbār wa-laṭā‘if al-ash‘ār allatī hiya bi-hādha al-fann a‘laq min al-jawāb bi-ahl al-hawā*” (idem, p. 25). His *Tazyīn al-Aṣwāq* is typified by the literary dimension in addition to the philosophical and medical ones.

¹⁴ See also ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibrāhīm (1987). On the narrative techniques and the aesthetics of mediaeval Arabic love stories, consult the following studies: Khan (1999, pp. 50–65; 2000, pp. 238–253); Ishay (2003, pp. 151–165); Jacobi (2004, pp. 137–148); Beaumont (2005, pp. 55–68);

identified with its endeavour to melt away reality,¹⁵ all the aforementioned traits create the literary model of the *aʿrāb* love stories, a model which supports the subjectivity of love, vows of chastity and self renunciation through the efficacy of fictional narrative.

Ibn Ḥazm, moreover, is mindful of the whole corpus of *aʿrāb*'s love stories that appertain artistically to the described model. He is, however, annoyed at the wide popularity of these stories taken merely as an articulation of love and the sole medium of explicating love affairs, pointing out that the particular *akhbār* which he had examined is impossible, yet commenting on his statement about these *akhbār* is conceivable.¹⁶ Releasing himself from the burden of the *aʿrāb*'s corpus, Ibn Ḥazm avers that "their way (*sabīlulum*) is different from our way (*sabīlunā*)". His statement alludes to a complicated process of assessment that opens with the learning of a certain tradition, assimilating and criticising it, comparing it with the current trend, then reaching a final evaluation. His judgement that the *aʿrāb*'s way of love diverges from *our* way (whether the possessive form of "we" denotes Ibn Ḥazm himself or refers to a much wider group engaging with a particular cultural and sociological context), represents this process of evaluation. This statement speaks of a discrepancy between Ibn Ḥazm's contemplation of love and the way in which love is perceived and represented by the *aʿrāb* milieu. His words *sabīlulum* (their way) and *sabīlunā* (our or my way), however, are significant and were thus interpreted in various ways. Stefan Leder, consulting studies by Renate Jacobi (1971), Tahir Labib Djedidi (1974), Salma Khadra Jayyusi (1999) and Thomas Bauer (1998), expounds on the *raison d'être* of the ʿUdhri love which epitomises, in modern scholarship, the *aʿrāb*'s love. He states that "the ʿUdhri ghazal is seen as an expression of criticism of social norms and as referring to an individualistic perspective, [...] this attitude remains, as the expression of suffering shows, influenced by burning anxiety and uneasiness caused by a new situation, engendering the loss of importance of traditional tribal society" (Leder 2004b, pp. 170–171).¹⁷ Here, Leder claims that social alteration and distressing frustration are the principal inspirations for the *aʿrāb* to hold their *own* concepts of love as their

Balda-Tillier (2012, pp. 186–214). On the topic of death and love see Manzalaoui (1979); Gruendler (2004, pp. 189–236).

¹⁵ On this point, see Stefan Leder's investigation into the legend of Majnūn Laylā: Leder (1995, pp. 17–34). Expounding on the vagaries of the love stories, Leder states that the narratives of Majnūn do not vividly represent the countenances of reality. These stories, as he alleges, produce different images, and conceivably contrasting, of the same episode. Moreover, these stories tend to consult the same sources and impulses for different and unrelated episodes. The chain of transmitters, too, who relate these stories does not validly refer to reality for the lack of eyewitnesses and failings in testimonies (ibidem, p. 18).

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥazm mentions that he read some of *akhbār al-aʿrāb* without referring to his consulted source: "I have read in some *akhbār al-aʿrāb* that their women would not convince themselves of and trust the love of a man who adored them until he would declare his love and promulgate their praises. I could not perceive the meaning of that [doing], yet they were renowned for their continence. What a continence for a woman that her utmost wish and happiness is promulgation" (Ibn Ḥazm 1987, p. 152).

¹⁷ For a thorough engagement with this issue consult Skarżyńska-Bocheńska (2006, pp. 133–144); Khan (2008, pp. 139–153).

way to protest against a harsh reality. Introducing his edition of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, Iḥsān ʿAbbās maintains, moreover, that Ibn Ḥazm intended to present a vivid articulation of an Andalusian expression of love (Ibn Ḥazm 1987, Vol. 1, p. 42). Together with these two explications of Leder and ʿAbbās, I incline to the view that Ibn Ḥazm speaks of an adopted way of writing on love that deviates from the valid literary discourse. His tendency to abstain from deploying the whole corpus of *aʿrāb* love stories detaches his work from the mode of literary anthologies and creates a “deviation” from the prevailing forms of writing on love which rest on the literary tradition to explicate love matters.

The peculiarity of this work rests not only on the particular subject, namely love, which Ibn Ḥazm thoroughly scrutinises, but also on the epistemological approach which he has adopted to convey the principal discourse of his epistle. In his introduction, Ibn Ḥazm cogently writes on his perspective on the assignment of writing on love. His assessments raise the question of the compatibility between writing as an action and the realistic articulation of love's essence, causes and symptoms. He specifically maintains that writing on love is beyond any fictional narrative. Addressing his anonymous friend who asked him to compose a work which explicates the question of love, Ibn Ḥazm stresses the idea that entering into the occurrences of love should adhere to *al-ḥaqīqah* (the truth) and avoid any kind of flawed explorations such as those excessive descriptions of the signs and symptoms of that emotion which occur in certain literary anthologies devoted to love and its affairs. Ibn Ḥazm's point of view, therefore, underlines the significant difference between writing on love as he sees it and the traditional fictional stories of the *aʿrāb* which were incorporated into other mediaeval Arabic compilations on love.¹⁸ Disapproving of the trend for the literary anthologies, Ibn Ḥazm asserts in the epilogue of his epistle that:

I have declined to set forth in this epistle matters which poets have presented and spoke of extensively, whether approaching them in general or dealing with each one separately in different chapters and explicating them attentively, such as an extravagant depiction of leanness and likening tears to rain and claiming that they quench the thirst of the travellers, and stating that they never sleep nor eat at all. There is no truth in these matters but they are false and have no foundation (*illā annahā ašhyāʾst lā ḥaqīqatst laḥā wa-kadhib^{un} lā wajh^a laḥ^u*) (Ibn Ḥazm 1987, p. 307).

The strict adherence to *al-ḥaqīqah* still insists on the mood of Ibn Ḥazm. In another paragraph he stresses that “I have confined my epistle to the presupposed facts. Other than these facts never they would be existent (*wa-innamā iqtasart^u fī risālatī ʿlā al-ḥaqāʾiq al-maʿlūmah allatī lā yumkin^u wujūd^u siwāhā ašl^{am}*)” (Ibn Ḥazm 1987, pp. 307–308). Gravitating towards *al-ḥaqīqah* (the truth) and deploying *barāhīn* (de-

¹⁸ Most of the mediaeval Arabic sources on love rely on *akhbār* and love stories to speak of love and its affairs. See, for example, Kharāʾiḥī Muhammad b. Jaʿfar (2010); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī (2003); Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1973); Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī (1989); al-Ḥalabī (2000); Ḥāfiẓ Mughaltāy (1997); Ibn Abī Ḥajalah al-Tilmsānī (1987); Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Sarrāj (1958); Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī (1972); Ibn al-Bakkā al-Balkhī (2008).

monstrative proofs) to justify knowledge are two important factors in Ibn Ḥazm's theological and juridical scholarship. There are few modern studies which appear to deal with this aspect of his intellectual qualities. Josep Puig Montada, for example, expounds on Ibn Ḥazm's perception of reason and reasoning as developed in his theological enquiries. One of the points that Montada has made is Ibn Ḥazm's endeavours to establish a theory of knowledge based on intuitive knowledge and immediate sense perception. He set forth an important statement proposed by Ibn Ḥazm in his *al-Iḥkām li-Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* which epitomises Ibn Ḥazm's epistemological conviction: "There is no way to scientific knowledge but by these two directions: the one is what intuitive knowledge by the mind and immediate perception by the senses cause us [to know], the other is the premises that go back to intuitive knowledge and direct perception." Thus Ibn Ḥazm contends that "the world is temporally created, that it has one Creator who is eternal, that prophecy is true, that the prophecy of Muhammad is genuine, we know that all this is true only by means of demonstrative proofs (*burhān*) based on the senses and on the necessity of reason" (see Montada 2001, pp. 165–185).¹⁹ Using facts derived from real experiences to explicate statements and justify them is not confined to *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* but extends to other works of Ibn Ḥazm, such as *al-Taqrīb li-Ḥudūd al-Manṭiq wa-Madkhaluh*, which Ibn Ḥazm, as Anwar G. Chenje has pointed out, wrote intending to simplify the science of logic by "using a new vocabulary and examples derived from the religious law and every day experience" (see Chenje 1984, pp. 57–72). Commenting on the impact of logic on Ibn Ḥazm's rationality, Chenje also states that "logic appears to permeate most of his works in that he often prefers to use the Aristotelian syllogism over the dialectical method of arguments and counter-arguments of the theologians. This tendency appears early in his works, indicating that the *Taqrīb* was composed at an early stage of his career, probably by the time he composed his literary masterpiece, the *Ṭawq*, and his literary anthology, the *Faḍl al-Andalus*, both of which were probably written between 1025 and 1030" (Chenje 1984, p. 64).²⁰

The concept of *al-ḥaqīqah*, basically, is the organising principle in which *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* originated to advance the pursuit of human knowledge of love. To arrive at this knowledge through the prism of *al-ḥaqīqah*, Ibn Ḥazm contends, further, that writing on love should be based on three main principles: (i) testimony (*wa-ḥaddathanī biḥⁱ al-thiqāt^u min ahlⁱ zamānī* [what the reliable people of my time have told me]); (ii) observation (*mā shāhadath^u ḥaḍratī wa-adrakath^u ʿināyatī* [I ought to refer to what I have witnessed and what my awareness has perceived]) and (iii) memory knowledge (*ḥayth^u intahā ḥifdhī wa-saʿat^u bāʿī* [my remembrance and the strength of my perspicacity have got to what I may recall]).²¹ These principles are behind *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s epistemology that renders any writing on love not a merely fictional narrative but a truly textual maintenance of an actual human experience of this emotion.

¹⁹ See also Arnaldez (1956, Vol. 1, pp. 111–121).

²⁰ On reason, truth and the epistemological basis of Ibn Ḥazm's thought, see also Hourani (1979, pp. 142–164); Zuʿbī (1996); ʿAlī Aḥmad al-Dīrī (2007, pp. 29–86).

²¹ Ibn Ḥazm refers to these main principles in the preface of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* which is fully translated in this study, see pp. 55–58.

With this epistemological postulation adopted to justify his enquiries into love, Ibn Ḥazm deploys a variety of denotations in almost every chapter to epitomise the aforementioned three epistemological principles. On the level of testimony, Ibn Ḥazm elicits facts from certain informants, men and women, who were acquainted with other persons experiencing the *affaire d'amour* and its complexities. He points out in each related account that he has been told particular facts by specific persons (*ḥaddathanī*, *ḥaddathatnī*, *ukhbirt^u*). Claiming that he will advance a truly credible explanation of love, Ibn Ḥazm stresses constantly that his information comes from reliable sources and dependable informants.²² On the level of observation, Ibn Ḥazm adduces facts about love and its vicissitudes which befell certain persons that he witnessed. In this case, he is himself the informant who is acquainted with persons whom love has affected and observes their afflictions arising from this experience. Ibn Ḥazm's observations range between conversation, intimacy and familiarity with certain lovers (*a'lam*, *a'rif*, *adrī*, *ahdī*) and attentiveness and witnessing their love affairs (*ra'ayt 'iyān^{an}*, *shāhad^u*). At the level of memory knowledge, Ibn Ḥazm expresses his feelings where he evokes memories of his own youth and tells, moreover, of his involvement with love and its complexities. Thus, Ibn Ḥazm recounts what befell (*'araḍ^d*) him in love or what he had experienced himself, (*jarrabnāh^u*) including some unhappy incidents.

Moreover, the materials derived from testimony, observation and memory knowledge are all authentic and peculiar to Ibn Ḥazm for they are accounts of actual experiences of real persons who were involved in love. They were his contemporaries: some were his friends and acquaintances and some he knew about from other persons. What is presented through memory, testimony and observation is a documentation of real occurrences of love which happened in Ibn Ḥazm's time. This documentation was the source of Ibn Ḥazm's epistemological research on love as opposed to the literary *akhbār* which circulated in many literary sources. Aiming to advance an explicit discourse on love, Ibn Ḥazm opens his discussion in each chapter with an explanatory inference²³ followed by him setting out some facts presented through the framework of testimony, observation and memory knowledge which serves as an explication and justification for the explanation. Moreover, he explains this by making a connection between the explanatory inference and the facts presented through the

²² “*ḥaddathanī ṣāḥibunā Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq ‘an **thiqat^u** akhbarah^u”* (Ibn Ḥazm 1987, p. 120); “*wa-laqaḍ ḥaddathatnī imrr^{at} **athiq^u** bihā*” (ibidem, pp. 187, 208, 297); “*walaqaḍ ḥaddathanī **thiqat^u** min ikhwānī jalīl^u min ahlⁱ albuyutā*” (ibidem, p. 188); “*walaqaḍ ḥaddathanī Abū al-sariyyⁱ ‘Ammār^u ibn Ziyād ṣāḥibunā ‘amman **yathiq^u** bih^u*” (ibidem, p. 257); “*walaqaḍ akhbarānī **thiqat^u** ṣadq^u min ikhwānī min ahl al-tamāmī fī al-ṣiḥhⁱ wal-kalāmⁱ wal-ma‘rifatⁱ wadhū ṣalābatⁱ fī dīnīhⁱ*” (ibidem, p. 270); “*walaqaḍ ḥaddathanī **thiqat^u** min ikhwānī*” (ibidem, p. 297); “*ḥaddathanī Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḍā ‘an rijāl^u min Banī Marwān **thiqat^u***” (ibidem, p. 298).

²³ Here I am using a philosophical term derived from epistemology. As Jonathan Vogel puts it, “explanatory inference” denotes that “inference to the best explanation is the procedure of choosing the hypothesis or theory that best explains the available data. The factors that make one explanation better than another may include depth, comprehensiveness, simplicity and unifying power” (see Vogel 1998, Vol. 3, pp. 766–769).

three epistemological principles. As they are deployed to justify and explicate some points related to love, he uses the facts derived from testimony, observation and memory knowledge to refute false statements of which he disapproves. What is presented here is Ibn Ḥazm's *modus operandi* deployed to speak of love "pursuant to the way of truth" taken as his intended purpose as an author writing on love. This *modus operandi* is applicable, as the table below demonstrates, to every chapter of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*. A more detailed description of Ibn Ḥazm's method is presented in the last section of this paper where a chapter on *al-waṣl* is taken as an exemplar and delineated and analysed more thoroughly.

2. The Epistemological Basis of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*

Chapter	Testimony	Observation	Memory
On the Signs of Love (<i>bāb ʿalāmāt al-ḥubb</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On Falling in Love whilst Sleeping (<i>bāb man aḥabb^a fī al-nawm</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On Falling in Love through a Depiction (<i>bāb man aḥabb^a bil-waṣf</i>)	✗	✗	✓
On Falling in Love at First Sight (<i>bāb man aḥabb^a min naẓratⁱⁿ wāḥidatⁱⁿ</i>)	✓	✓	✗
On Falling in Love after a Long Relationship (<i>bāb man lā yuḥibb^u illā ma^c al-muṭāwalah</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On Being Infatuated with Certain Attributes and thereafter not Approving Other Opposing One (<i>bāb man aḥabb^a ṣīfat^{an} lam yastahsin baʿdahā ghayrahā mim mā yukhālīfuhā</i>)	✗	✓	✓
On Allusion (<i>bāb al-taʿrīd bil-qawl</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On Gesturing by Eye (<i>bāb al-ishārah bil-ʿayn</i>)	✗	✗	✗
On Correspondence (<i>bāb al-murāsalah</i>)	✓	✓	✗
On the Messenger (<i>bāb al-safīr</i>)	✗	✓	✓
On Concealing the Secret (<i>bāb ṭayy al-sirr</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On Divulging the Secret (<i>bāb al-idhāʿah</i>)	✓	✓	✗

On Obedience (<i>bāb al-ṭāʿah</i>)	✓	✓	✗
On Disobedience (<i>bāb al-mukhālafah</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On the Reproacher (<i>bāb al-ʿādhil</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On the Helpful Friends (<i>bāb al-musāʿid min al-ikhwān</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On the Spy (<i>bāb al-raqīb</i>)	✗	✓	✗
On the Slandorous Person (<i>bāb al-wāshī</i>)	✗	✗	✗
On Union (<i>bāb al-waṣl</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On Leaving (<i>bāb al-hajr</i>)	✗	✓	✓
On Fidelity (<i>bāb al-wafāʾ</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On Perfidy (<i>bāb al-ghadr</i>)	✓	✗	✗
On Separation (<i>bāb al-bayn</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On Contentment (<i>bāb al-qunūʿ</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On Feebleness (<i>bāb al-ḍanāʾ</i>)	✓	✓	✗
On Solace (<i>bāb al-suluww</i>)	✗	✗	✓
On Death (<i>bāb al-mawt</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On the Repulsion of Sin (<i>bāb qubḥ al-maʿṣiya</i>)	✓	✓	✓
On the Virtue of Continence (<i>bāb faḍl al-taʿaffuf</i>)	✓	✗	✓

Examining Ibn Ḥazm's *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* will reveal a particular method for writing a text which scrutinises love and its essence, causes and symptoms. The distinctive features of this method are represented by the recurrence of the three epistemological principles: testimony, observation and memory knowledge. The presence of these principles, as the table above shows, signifies the applicability of Ibn Ḥazm's epistemological approach in almost in every chapter of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* to every aspect of love. The currency of these principles, moreover, comprises the organising precept of this work, namely *al-ḥaqīqah*, and points to Ibn Ḥazm's endeavours to advance the pursuit of human knowledge of love based not on fictional narrative but on testimony, observation and memory knowledge of persons experiencing love in the way of truth. It is worth mentioning that Ibn Ḥazm does not give preference to one particular epistemological principle over the other, though observation, as seen from the table, is comparatively prevalent in his approach. Observation is perceived by Ibn Ḥazm as a cardinal principle of generating valid premises (see Zuʿbī 1996,

p. 91).²⁴ During his observations, Ibn Ḥazm witnesses love experiences of certain persons; on memory knowledge, however, he relates simply his own personal intimate experiences. To arrive at a meticulous and much validated argument on love, moreover, he correlates testimony with observation and memory by asserting that he depends on reliable informants. Ibn Ḥazm thus offers a coherent and concrete explanation of “love’s essence, significances, causes and symptoms and what occurs through love and what is affected by it pursuant to the way of truth”.

3. An Epistemologically Justified Love

The recurrent presence of these principles in almost every chapter of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, as the foregoing table presents, denotes the applicability of Ibn Ḥazm’s epistemological approach to explicate love and its affairs. Because of this feature as well as the impossibility of dealing with all chapters of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* within the limits of this study, I have chosen to explore one single chapter which examines *al-waṣl* or the union between the beloved persons to exemplify Ibn Ḥazm’s way of writing on love. This chapter consists of some evidence proceeding from testimony, observation and memory knowledge as well as additional premises which are derived from and based on this evidence. Ibn Ḥazm opens his discussion with some inferences related to *al-waṣl* – they are all drawn from his observations, experiences or testimonies of his contemporaries. These inferences are the quintessence of Ibn Ḥazm’s reflection on this topic.

Ibn Ḥazm contends that *al-waṣl* is an exalted fortune, high rank, a renewed life and splendid mercy from God, it is happiness with no troubles, the attainment of all wishes; it is one that affects the soul and endows it with positive values. Lastly, Ibn Ḥazm holds that *al-waṣl* is enigmatic and is beyond any explication. Relying on these inferences, Ibn Ḥazm proceeds to appraise some topics related to *al-waṣl*, namely assignations, the continuation of *al-waṣl*, the comportment of lovers, and the stealthy *waṣl*. Based on evidence derived from his observations, Ibn Ḥazm contends, for example, that one of the pleasant meanings of *al-waṣl* is assignations. He then speaks of two kinds of anticipated assignation. The first is the promise of the lover to visit his or her beloved. The second is waiting for the promise of the lover to visit his or her beloved. Finally, Ibn Ḥazm concludes that the onset of *al-waṣl* and the beginning of

²⁴ Commenting on the epistemological foundations of the scholarly writings of the Arabic scientists and philosophers, Dimitri Gutas noticed that observation was a “method of gaining certain knowledge in the applied sciences, as well as in the applied aspects of theoretical sciences” of mediaeval Arabic science (see Gutas 2002, p. 279). R. Arnaldez has observed that “Ibn Ḥazm confronted all these inconstancies of man and society as a man passionately convinced of the truth, and all his researches led towards a truth supported by incontrovertible evidence with incontestable proofs. ... he displays a great power of observation, which is apparent especially in the choice of examples drawn from his personal experience or from enquiries which he has made himself” (see Arnaldez 1971, p. 792). By these comments, I do not propose, however, that *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* merges into the rest of Ibn Ḥazm’s works, but am inclined to point out that all his works are the products of a *mentalité* that seeks to attain validated knowledge.

the approval and closeness to the beloved all afflict the heart with pain. Using facts which were obtained from testimonies of his contemporaries, Ibn Ḥazm decides that the furtive *waṣl* by which spies are deceived and lovers are reticent about it before the other people present, actions such as esoteric laughing, little coughs, twisting the hands, touching the sides of the other and pinching hands and legs – this sort of *waṣl*, Ibn Ḥazm confirms, has a pleasant impact on the soul.

Given his disengagement from the restraints of the tradition on the way of writing on love, and adopting, furthermore, the epistemological justification of this emotion, Ibn Ḥazm succeeded in revealing some elements, such as the lover's compassion for his or her beloved. I will conclude my discussion here with this point as explored by Ibn Ḥazm in *al-waṣl* chapter. He noticed that the occurrences of *al-waṣl* contain the lover's intent to sympathise with the beloved during their union and affirmed, moreover, that he has observed this inclination repeatedly (*wa-laḡd shāḡadt min ḡā-dḡa al-ma'na kathīran*). He perceives this compassion as a touching sight, one that arouses feelings of tenderness, especially if the love is concealed, i.e. not revealed to others. From this solicitude comes the lover's endeavour to vindicate his beloved's anger or actions. Seeking to validate his findings, Ibn Ḥazm uses his observations and a testimony of a certain reliable woman. He first comments on a young man and woman who love each other. Ibn Ḥazm relates how those lovers adopt a stratagem to kiss each other when they are disturbed by other persons attending their place. They are inclined to sleep while a large cushion comes between them. As their heads come together behind the cushion they kiss each other without anyone noticing that they are pretending to be asleep. Ibn Ḥazm's second observation describes the faithfulness of an Andalusian woman who is the daughter of Ibn Burtāl Zakariyā ibn Yaḡyā al-Tamīmī and her compassion for her husband, Yaḡyā ibn Muḡammad, who meets his death. Ibn Ḥazm recounts how this woman was overcome with grief and decided to stay with her husband overnight making it the covenant of their last union. He affirms, moreover, that sorrow afflicted her until she met her end. On the level of testimony, Ibn Ḥazm consults a certain woman, whom he recognises as trustworthy, about lovers' compassion. She informed Ibn Ḥazm of two young persons who adored each other passionately. She witnessed their attendance at an assembly of joy and singing. While the young man was holding a knife cutting fruit, he cut his finger slightly. Blood then poured out. The young woman, who was wearing a precious golden diaphanous garment, rent her gown, tearing from it a piece of cloth and bound up his finger. Concluding his comments, Ibn Ḥazm deems lovers' compassion an indispensable obligation and a conducted ordinance for they selflessly offer their soul to the beloved. Ibn Ḥazm's observations, the woman's testimony and the premise of lovers' compassion are inextricably interwoven. Together with his reliance on trustworthy persons and the use of perceptive observations, this synthesis is what makes Ibn Ḥazm's discourse a more solid, cohesive and thorough discussion of love and its affairs. Together with the epistemological foundation of the *Ṭawq*, synthesis, solidness and cohesiveness are three structural qualities that distinguish Ibn Ḥazm's work from other Arabic writings on love.

Mediaeval Arabic writings on the theory of love constitute what Lois Anita Giffen has described in her *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs* as a "genre, a

tradition of writing on the subject of profane love – human, earthly love, its nature, causes, and vicissitudes” (Giffen 1972, p. v). She refers to these works as a substantially coherent group and underlines that “there were genetic relationships between these works which justified – indeed required – their study as a group. Their authors appear to have been clearly aware of themselves as contributors to a distinct literature on the subject. They speak of some of their predecessors, cite them, take material from them, or attack them” (ibidem, p. xiii). Giffen, moreover, asserts that “the particular nature of these works requires that we gain an idea of their overall development as a group and their individual variety before we can understand the value or interest of any one particular work. [...] We must see how much is familiar in a work and how much is different in content, treatment, and viewpoint. Then some works can be seen as isolated or unique in certain respects, while at the same time showing the marks of the developing tradition, or some points of connection with it” (ibidem, p. xvii). Giffen is credited with setting the boundaries of the scholarship of mediaeval Arabic love theory and looking at the works representing this tradition in the framework of genre and genetic relationships. She advances a constructive suggestion for dealing with the writings of mediaeval Arabic love theory. Her comments represent the main questions which confront the student of this field of research. Together with her comments, two further points should be noted in this regard. Firstly, these works comply with no single method of writing on love nor do they adopt a particular way of arrangement of the materials used pertaining to love. Each mediaeval author employs a different way of approaching his subject and is motivated by different impulses for writing his book. Secondly, although the theme of these genetic relationships between the works of Arabic love theory and their common interest is love, any comparison of these works to point out the similarities or differences between them in content, treatment and viewpoint would be a somewhat laborious process. However, such a survey is worth carrying out for it would demonstrate that mediaeval Arabic love theory is not invariable and is not troubled by duplication and lack of regeneration. Such a theory practises self-examination and a constant review of its concepts.

Ibn Ḥazm’s *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* was preceded by three major works dealing with love and its affairs in mediaeval Arabic culture, namely Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd’s (d. 294/909) *Kitāb al-Zahra* (Ibn Dāwūd 1985),²⁵ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Washshā’s (d. 325/937) *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* (Washshā 1965),²⁶ and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kharāʾiṭī’s (d. 327/939) *Kitāb Iʿtilāl al-Qulūb* (Kharāʾiṭī 2010).²⁷ Though these works share a common interest, they differ from one another in their form. The *Kitāb al-Zahra* of Ibn Dāwūd is an example of mediaeval Arabic culture that perfectly typifies the tendency of literary anthologies of love. This work is primarily an anthol-

²⁵ On Ibn Dāwūd, see J. C. Vadet: Ibn Dāwūd. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, electronic version.

²⁶ On al-Washshā, see W. Raven: al-Washshā. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, electronic version. Al-Washshā’s work was translated into Spanish and French, see Washshā (1990; 2004).

²⁷ On al-Kharāʾiṭī, see “al-Kharāʾiṭī”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, electronic version.

ogy of poems arranged according to topics pertaining to love affairs and their symptoms. At the outset of his anthology, Ibn Dāwūd assigns the literary cast to his work. He announces that *Kitāb al-Zahra* comprises one hundred chapters and that each chapter contains one hundred verses. He states, further, that this work is designated for *ahl al-ādāb* (the litterateurs) (see Ibn Dāwūd 1985, pp. 39–42). This trait of *Kitāb al-Zahra* drew the attention of a later writer on love theory called Maḥmūd b. Salmān al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1324) who perceived this work as an anthology of poetry. Speaking of Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ḥalabī states that “he is the composer of *Kitāb al-Zahra* of the compilations of poetry [*muṣannif kitāb al-zahrah fī al-majāmi‘ al-shi‘riyyah*]” (see al-Ḥalabī 2000, p. 76). The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* of al-Washshā, however, is a companion to the ordinances of civility, the codes of manliness and the principles of refinement which typify the society of *al-ẓurafāʾ* or the refined people in the Abbasid culture. Al-Washshā, moreover, expounds on several topics such as friendship and the vilification of the slave girls (*dhamm al-qiyān*). He delineates, furthermore, the social mores and conduct of *al-ẓurafāʾ* describing their clothes, footwear, rings, perfumes, food and drink, talking about items which made *al-ẓurafāʾ* become pessimistic, their favourite presents and correspondence, describing some inscriptions of poetry or aphorisms regarding their clothes or certain objects. Love, as perceived by al-Washshā, is compatible with *al-ẓarf*, hence he devotes some chapters of his book to dealing with this theme speaking, for example, of the signs of love, the vicissitudes of the lovers, the martyrs of love, and continence. Al-Kharāʾiṭī's *Kitāb Iṭilāl al-Qulūb*, however, is a compendium of Ḥadīth traditions, *akhbār* or anecdotes and selected poems of Umayyad and Abbasid poets. This book represents, according to Giffen, “the beginning of a subtype of the work on the theory of profane love, which has as its dominant theme an ethical or religious concern lest the soul be overpowered by *hawā* (understood usually in the sense of evil ‘desires’ or ‘lust’) or *ishq*, passionate love” (Giffen 1972, p. 75). To explore love, its nature, causes, and vicissitudes, the aforementioned works consult, as suggested by Giffen, Quranic verses, traditions, classical poetry, *akhbār*, lexicographical and philological informations and opinions of philosophers and physicians.²⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, however, virtually separates his book from these sources and based his writing on accounts of actual experiences of real persons involved in love and the *affaires d'amour*. By his epistemology of love, Ibn Ḥazm moved the story of love from the limits of the textual traditions to the documentation of real occurrences of love, visual proofs of its vicissitudes, immediate sensory perception of its affairs. His own experiences and those of his contemporaries became the scripture of love. Love, according to Ibn Ḥazm, is what we are as human beings while we confront our intimacy, closeness, jealousy, anxiety, fear, sickness and death. The work of Ibn Ḥazm, moreover, reveals how life is immersed in love. Using these peculiarities, he was able to modify the existing genre of writing on love and to add a new dimension to the mediaeval Arabic theory of this topic.

²⁸ See her analysis of “the elements or raw materials of the Arabic theory of profane love” (Giffen 1972, pp. 53–66).

Ibn Ḥazm's contribution to love theory is not confined to this perception of love but also includes his endeavours to reveal the truth of some aspects of human love. To illustrate how Ibn Ḥazm attained his purpose, I will present an example from the chapter of *al-waṣl* or the union between the beloveds. Ibn Dāwūd,²⁹ al-Washshā,³⁰ and al-Kharā'iṭī³¹ all agree that the persistence of *al-waṣl* engenders weariness between the lovers and devours love. Ibn Ḥazm cogently demolishes such an erroneous statement. Relying on his own personal experiences,³² Ibn Ḥazm stresses that "the more the lovers augment their union with the beloved, the more they are heightening their attachment to her or him".³³ This example shows the perseverance of Ibn Ḥazm in demolishing mistaken ideas pertaining to love and affirming the more valid ones pursuant to "the way of truth".

Conclusion

In his seminal *An Intimate History of Humanity*, Theodore Zeldin (1995, p. 80) wrote on Ibn Ḥazm's perturbation and his recourse to writing on love to escape from his apprehensiveness; he commented that *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* "was the climax of a life in which everything had gone wrong for him; he complains of having been exiled, betrayed, oppressed, robbed, driven to despair, waiting for the further blows of destiny". Muslim Spain, he believed, was "self-destructing". One of his solutions was a new attitude to love. "[...] But what was most original about Ibn Ḥazm was his conviction that love mattered above all because it could be much more than a tranquilliser or private consolation. He wanted to make love the central experience of life in a new way" (Zeldin 1995, p. 81). To discern Ibn Ḥazm's "new way" is what prompted me to write this study. Zeldin's assessment of Ibn Ḥazm's sense of desolation speaks of an anxiety for transmutation, liberation from distress, finding answers to unresolved questions, trying to remove the darkness from his sight and a craving for the truth.

Zeldin, then, perceives Ibn Ḥazm's writing on love as achieving the end of this endless anxiety. Writing on love, as perceived by Ibn Ḥazm and expressed in the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s introduction, was a departure from the prevalent customs of writing on this topic. His writing – intended in the first place as an exposition of love's

²⁹ Ibn Dāwūd (1985, Vol. 1, p. 116): "وَعَلَى أَنَّ الْحَزْمَ لِمَنْ سُوِّجَ بِالْوَصَالِ، أَلَّا يُزِيلَ نَفْسَهُ كُلَّ الْإِزْمَالِ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ رُبَّمَا دَعَا الْمُخَيَّبُ إِلَى الْمَلَالِ، وَإِنْ كَانَ مُقِيمًا عَلَى رِعَايَةِ الْخَالِ".

³⁰ Washshā (1965, p. 45): "وَأَمَّا طَوْلُ الزِّيَارَةِ، فَقَدْ يَجِبُ عَلَى أَهْلِ الصَّدَاقَةِ تَرْكُ الْمَدَامَةِ عَلَيْهَا، وَكَثْرَةُ الْجَنُوحِ إِلَيْهَا، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ يُخْلِقُ الْحُبَّ، وَيُذْهِلُ الصَّبْرَ، وَيُضْجِرُ الْمَزْوَرَ، وَيُعِدُّ السَّرُورَ، وَيُوقِعُ النَّبْلَ، وَيَبْدِي الْمَلَلَ".

³¹ Kharā'iṭī (2010, pp. 297–310): "بَابُ تَجَنُّبِ الْإِفْضَاءِ إِلَى الْأَحْبَابِ مَخَافَةَ الْمَلَلِ وَالْإِعْرَاضِ".

³² Ibn Ḥazm (1987, Vol 1, p. 184): "وَعَنِّي أَخْبَرَكَ أَنِّي مَا رَوَيْتُ قَطُّ مِنْ مَاءِ الْوَصْلِ وَلَا زَادَنِي إِلَّا ظَمًا، وَهَذَا حَكْمٌ مِنْ تَدَاوَى بَدَائِهِ وَإِنْ رَفَعَهُ عَنْهُ شَيْئًا مَا. وَلَقَدْ بَلَغْتُ مِنَ التَّمَكُّنِ بِمَنْ أَحَبُّ أَبْعَدَ الْغَايَاتِ الَّتِي لَا يَجِدُ الْإِنْسَانُ وَرَاءَهَا مَرْمًى فَمَا وَجَدْتَنِي إِلَّا مُسْتَزِيدًا، وَلَقَدْ طَالَ بِي ذَلِكَ فَمَا أَحْسَسْتُ بِسَامَةٍ وَلَا رَهَقْتَنِي فِتْرَةٌ. وَقَدْ ضَمَنِي مَجْلِسٌ مَعَ بَعْضٍ مِنْ كُنْتُ أَحَبُّ فَلَمْ أَجَلْ خَاطِرِي فِي فَنٍّ مِنْ فَنُونِ الْوَصْلِ إِلَّا وَجَدْتُهُ مُقَصِّرًا عَنْ مَرَادِي، وَغَيْرَ شَافٍ وَجْدِي وَلَا قَاضٍ لِبَانَةِ مِنْ لِبَانَاتِي، وَوَجَدْتَنِي كَلِمًا أَزْدَدْتُ دَنُؤًا أَزْدَدْتُ وَلَوْعًا، وَقَدَحْتُ زَنَادُ الشُّوقِ نَارَ الْوَجْدِ بَيْنَ ضُلُوعِي".

³³ Ibn Ḥazm (1987, p. 184): [*wa-min al-nās man yaqūl: inn^a dawām al-waṣl yūdi bil-ḥub, wa-hadha ḥajj^{um} min al-qawl, innamā dhalik^a li-ahlⁱ al-malal, bal kullamā zād^a waṣl^{um} zād^a itti-ṣāl^{um}*].

essence, causes and symptoms – could not be derived from fictitious narratives, excessive poetic depictions and literary *akhbār*, but stems mainly from ocular proofs and an immediate sense perception of the occurrences of love. Ibn Ḥazm's writing gravitates towards the significance of truth derived from real experiences – not fictional claims. The power of such writing could not be circumscribed by the medium of literature, for it sometimes goes beyond the act of writing itself. This writing, moreover, is principally an endeavour intended to deepen our understanding of some experiences of love such as intimacy, closeness, jealousy, anxiety, fear, sickness and death and, moreover, to reveal other aspects which have not yet been revealed. A writing of this kind should comply, as Ibn Ḥazm constantly stresses, with *al-ḥaqīqah*, the truth, and should be based, then, on some epistemic justification.

Intending to write about love through the domain of truth, Ibn Ḥazm derives his thoughts from his own experiences and those of his friends and other contemporaries. In *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, people's lives and experiences became the scripture of love and its affairs. Ibn Ḥazm's writing is turned, then, into a sensitive recording of experiences of love and its affairs; a rich vein of observations, testimonies and memoirs; a hoard of confessions, hope and distress. Writing to *explicate* love thoroughly not to *give guidance* on the art of love,³⁴ Ibn Ḥazm delves into the reality of love; explores its symptoms and ascertains the facts related to it; he examines his sources and compares the results; he then deduces some theoretical inferences from the facts arising from the supply of the three epistemological principles, namely memories, observations and testimonies which function as an explication and justification for these inferences.

Appendix

The Introduction of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*³⁵ In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate to Him We Pray for Succour

Abū Muḥammad, may God forgive him, said: The most preferable deed to commence with is to praise God, the Great and Almighty, of what He is worth, and to call for God's blessing and peace be particularly upon Muḥammad, His servant and messen-

³⁴ Here, I am at variance with Arberry's deceptive labelling *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* as "a treatise on the art and practice of Arab love". This proposed subtitle is inconsistent with *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s content and perspective (see Ibn Ḥazm 1953). Given the way that Ibn Ḥazm deploys his personal experiences and those of his contemporaries to epistemologically justify love, we cannot consider *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* as *livre de confession* as Rachel Arié has viewed it (Arié 1985, p. 75).

³⁵ The translation of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s introduction is mine. It is based on reading the first two folios of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*'s single manuscript, Or. 927 – Oriental collections of Leiden University Library, and are edited and presented here with certain emendations. Thinking about these emendations will point out the need to translate once again *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* consonant with Ibn Ḥazm's mood of writing on love.

ger, and generally upon all His prophets. May God preserve us from hesitancy and not burden us with more than we can bear; and ordain for us of His graceful support a leading guide to obey Him, and accord to us, of His assistance, good manners which distract us from disobeying Him; and may he not entrust us to the frailty of our resolves and the weakness of our strengths, and the fragility of our bodies, and the confusion of our thoughts, and the vileness of our choice, and the deficiency of our discernment, and the depravity of our desires – Your letter has come to me from Almeria to my residence in the vicinity of Jativa telling about the good fortune of your state of what gladdens me, and I have praised God, the Great and Almighty, for this and wished for its persistence and increase. Afterwards you came to me, in person, despite the long distance of the way, and the remoteness of the abodes, and the distance of the place of visiting, and the lengthiness of the distance, and the extremity of the road. Given these conditions, a yearning person might be comforted, and a reminiscent one would be made to forget save for that who cleaves to the cord of faithfulness just as you who hold the old bonds and the definite friendships, and the right to the days of youthfulness, and attachment to the childhood; and his friendship is wholly for the sake of God, be He exalted. God had confirmed these meanings in ourselves of what we praise Him and thank. The meanings of your letter are more expanded than what I am conversant with your other letters. Afterwards, you have revealed to me, by your arrival, your intent and apprised me of your belief. This is a trait with which you are still endowed, of sharing with me your pleasant and painful experiences and your confidence and your honesty. The sincere friendship, which I bear twofold, drives you. I honestly requite your friendship. To this meaning I have referred to in a long poem speaking to ‘Ubayd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Mughīra b. Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-Nāṣir, may God have mercy upon him, who was my friend:

I bear love towards you without a blemish
 Some of the men’s friendships are a mirage;
 I am truthful to you in every good advice
 On my depth are carvings and inscriptions of your friendship;
 If, on my soul, there is other than you I would tear him out
 And a skin hiding him would be shredded;
 My only intended wish is your friendship
 Save for that friendship I would not refer to you
 If I have held it then Earth wholly and the creatures
 Are dust and people of the lands are flies.

Moreover, you have entrusted to me with writing an epistle on love’s essence, its meanings, causes and symptoms and what occurs through love and what is affected by it pursuant to the way of truth without any augmentation and confusion but to adduce what is presented to me accordingly and depending on its occurrence whence my remembrance and the strength of my perspicacity have got to what I may recall. I have thereupon hastened to accede to your demand. Unless granting to you I would not undertake it for it is an idle thing to do. Given the shortness of our lives, what is worthiest is to spend our time on what we hope for the vastness of the grave and the

attainment of the fairest resort of the afterworld. The Qāḍī Ḥamām b. Aḥmad has said to me, related to Yahyā b. Mālik b. ʿĀʾidh, a tradition which he ascribed to Abū al-Dardāʾ who said: “Rest the souls by certain jocular things to relieve them of grave things.” Of the words of the righteous of the early Muslims who said: “He who has not excelled in *futuwwa* would not excel in the *qirāʾa* [the recitation of the *Qurʾān*].”³⁶ A certain tradition relates that: “Rest the souls since they corrode just as iron rusts.” Given what you have entrusted me with, I ought to refer to what I have observed and witnessed and what my awareness has perceived and what the reliable people of my time have told me. Pardon me for not mentioning names for they are abominable to reveal; or we keep an amiable friend and honourable man. Suffice it to name one who would not be harmed or making mention of his name would not afflict us with shame either for it is commonly known, and concealing it or intending not to reveal it would not avail; or to whom we have referred has approved the exposure of his account and has denied reporting it slightly. I will adduce in my epistle certain poems which I have composed on what I have witnessed and thus you, or one who may pore over them, shall not reprove me for I have followed the way of someone who specifically narrates the speech on himself. This is the mode of those who are endowed with composing poetry. My friends, furthermore, have put pressure upon me saying what came over them pursuant to their ways and modes. Suffice it to say that I mention to you what has affected me of what is akin to what I have followed and ascribed it to myself. Moreover, I have conformed on my book with your bounds and confined to what I have observed or to what is transmitted by the reliable people and proved to be true. Pardon me for omitting the anecdotes of the *aʿrāb* and the forerunners for their way is different from our way; and, moreover, there are abundant anecdotes about them. My way is not to lean on [or enervate] the other’s mount,³⁷ and not to adorn

³⁶ Pétrof, Fārūq Saʿd, Muḥammad ʿArafa and Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafi and Saʿd al-Faqqī read يتقوى (*yataqawwā*) instead of يتقرا (*yataqarrā*) (p. 53). This tradition is attributed in certain mediaeval compilations to Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), see for example: ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd (1985, Vol. 2, *ḥadīth* no. 1911) “من لم يتقن لم يحسن يتقرا”; Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī (1961, Vol. 1, p. 510), “من لم يحسن يتقنى لم يحسن يتقرا”. Al-Makkī’s account is identical to Ibn Ḥazm’s. Al-Makkī, moreover, incorporates al-Thawrī’s tradition within a chapter dealing with the attributes of the *zāhid* (ascetic) and exploring the advantages of asceticism. He set forth al-Thawrī’s tradition and appended to it his explanation and said: “أي من لم يعرف أحكام التقى فيقوم بها حتى يستحق وصف فتى لم يحكم أوصاف التقى حتى يوصف بأنه قاريء [That who would not know the regulations of *al-taḥāṭṭ* and carry them out so that he would be merited the virtue of *fatā* he would not excel in the qualifications of *al-taḥāṭṭ* (the recitation of the *Qurʾān*) so that he would be designated as *qārī* (the *Qurʾān* reciter).]”. The translations of Arberry and Emilio García Gómez are misleading: “The man who has never known how to comport himself as a cavalier will never know how to be truly godfearing” (Ibn Ḥazm 1953, p. 17); “Quien no sepa echar alguna vez una cana al aire, no será buen santo” (Ibn Ḥazm 1967, p. 91). Max Weisweiler, however, was able to grasp the word *yataḥāṭṭ* as derived from the term *futuwwa* and translated it as “ritterlich” (meaning ‘chivalrous’), but failed to understand the rest of the tradition: “Wer nicht recht ritterlich ist, wird auch nicht recht fromm sein können” (Ibn Ḥazm 1942, p. 14).

³⁷ Ibn Ḥazm’s expression uses the following words “*wa-mā madhhabī an unḍī maṭīyyat si-wāy*”, translated literally: “It is not my way to lean on [or enervate] the other’s mount.” Ibn Ḥazm underlines here the creativity of his work *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* and his self-reliance on composing its compound chapters. By this statement, Ibn Ḥazm implies that he would not exhaust the tradition and

myself with a borrowed finery. God's succour and forgiveness are ever there to seek and there is no god but Him.

References

- Abel, Armand (1955): Spain: Internal Division. In: von Grunebaum, Gustav E. (ed.): *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 207–230.
- Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (1906): *Kitāb al-Amālī*. Cairo, al-Maṭbaʿah al-Kubrā al-Amīriyyah.
- Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (1992): *Al-Aghānī*, edited by ʿAbd ʿAlī Mihannā. Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya.
- Abū Nuwās (1982): *Der Dīwān des Abū Nuwās*, edited by Gregor Schoeler. Wiesbaden, Orient Institut Beirut–Klaus Schwarz Verlag.
- Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭīyya al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī (1961): *Qūt al-Qulūb fī Muʿāmalat al-Maḥbūb*. Cairo, Maktabat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.
- Adang, Camilla (2003a): Ibn Ḥazm on Homosexuality: A Case Study of Zāhiri Legal Methodology. *Al-Qanṭara* Vol. 24, pp. 5–31.
- Adang, Camilla (2003b): Love between Men in *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*. In: de la Puente, Cristina (ed.): *Identidades Marginales*. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, pp. 111–145.
- Algazi, Gadi–Drory, Rina (2000): L'amour à la cour des Abbassides: un code de compétence sociale. *Annales* Vol. 55, pp. 1255–1282.
- Arié, R. (1985): Ibn Ḥazm et l'amour courtois. *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* Vol. 40, pp. 75–89.
- Arnaldez, R. (1956): La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue. *Mélanges L. Massignon* Vol. 1, pp. 111–121.
- Arnaldez, R. (1971): Ibn Ḥazm. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. 3, p. 792.
- Athamina, Khalil (1987): *ʿArāb and Muḥājirūn in the Environment of Amṣār*. *Studia Islamica* Vol. 66, pp. 5–25.
- ʿAbd Allāh Idrīs, Najma (2007): «Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma» li-Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī: Khīṭāb fī al-ʿAdab am Khīṭāb fī al-Thaqāfa. *Al-Majallah al-ʿArabiyya lil-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyya* Vol. 100, pp. 11–48.
- ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibrāhīm (1987): *Qaṣaṣ al-ʿUshshāq al-Nathriyya fī al-ʿAṣr al-Umawīy*. Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif.
- ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī (2003): *Rawḍat al-Qulūb wa-Nuzhat al-Muḥibb wal-Maḥbūb*, edited by George Kanazi. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- ʿAlī Aḥmad al-Dīrī (2007): *Ṭawq al-Khīṭāb: Dirāsah fī Dhāhiriyyat Ibn Ḥazm*. Beirut, al-Muʿassasah al-ʿArabiyyah lil-Dirasāt wal-Nashar.
- ʿAlī ibn al-Jaʿd (1985): *Musnad Ibn al-Jaʿd*, edited by ʿAbd al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Hādī. Kuwait, Maktabat al-Falāḥ.

is moved by a persistent preference for resuming the writing on love and its affairs. Certain translations, however, seem to be in this case not so much equivalent to Ibn Ḥazm's expression. Arberry, for example, proposed the following translation: "It is not my practice to wear out anybody's riding-beast but my own" (see Ibn Ḥazm 1953, p. 18). Emilio García Gómez suggested the following: "... per no acostumbro a fatigar más cabalgadura que la mía" (see Ibn Ḥazm 1967, p. 92). Max Weisweiler, however, suggested a more equivalent translation: "Ausserdem schinde ich grundsätzlich kein Reittier, das einem anderen gehört, ..." (see Ibn Ḥazm 1942, p. 15).

- Balda-Tillier, Monica (2012): La prose amoureuse Arabo-Islamique: de l'Isnād traditionnel aux sources livresques. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* Vol. 12, pp. 186–214.
- Bauer, Thomas (1998): *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Beaumont, Daniel (2005): *Min Jumlat al-Jamādāt*: The Inanimate in Fictional and *Adab* Narrative. In: Kennedy, Philip F. (ed.): *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 55–68.
- Behzadi, Lale (2003): Die Poetischen Ambitionen des Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī. In: Behzadi, Lale (ed.): *Gelehrte Dichter, Dichtende Gelehrte*. Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, pp. 108–115.
- Benaïm de Lasry, Anita (1981): A Comparison of “Courtly Love” in the Sentimental Fiction of Medieval Spain and of Muslim Spain. *Al-Qanṭara* Vol. 2, pp. 129–143.
- Benaïssa, Abdallah (1999): Contribution à une vision historique, sociologique et littéraire de la femme Arabo-Andalouse et Judéo-Espagnole du XI^e siècle au fil de l'épître « *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma* » d'Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue. *Études Maghrebines* Vol. 10, pp. 3–18.
- Benaïssa, Abdallah (1997): Vers une nouvelle interprétation paléographique du manuscrit *Ṭawq al-Ḥamama* du théologien Andalou Ibn Hazm (994–1063). *Études Maghrebines* Vols 5–6, pp. 7–21.
- Bloom, Harold (1997): *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Bosworth, C. E. (1998): Secretaries. In: Meisami, Julie Scott–Starkey, Paul (eds): *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature*. London, Routledge, pp. 698–699.
- Būqarra, Nu'mān (2003): Fī Sīmyā' al-Naṣṣ al-Qadīm: Qirā'a fī Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma li-Ibn Ḥazm. *Al-Mawqif al-Adabī* Vol. 38, pp. 22–31.
- Carter, M. (1971): The *Kātib* in Fact and Fiction. *Abr-Nahrain* Vol. 11, pp. 42–55.
- Castro, Antonio Arjona (1995): La infancia y la sexualidad de Ibn Ḥazm. *Al-Andalus Magreb: Estudios Arabes e Islámicos* Vol. 3, pp. 143–150.
- Chenje, G. (1984): Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova on Logic. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 104, pp. 57–72.
- Dā'ūd al-Anṭākī (1972): *Tazyīn al-Aswāq fī Akhbār al-ʿUshshāq*. Beirut, Dār Ḥamad wa-Muḥyū.
- Dā'ūd b. ʿUmar al-Ḍarīr Anṭākī (2002): *Tazyīn al-Aswāq bi-Tafṣīl (Tarīb) Ashwāq al-ʿUshshāq*, edited by Ayman ʿAbd al-Jābir al-Buḥayrī. Cairo, Dār al-Bayān al-ʿArabī.
- Djedidi, Tahir Labib (1974): *La poésie amoureuse des Arabes. Le cas des ʿUdhrite*. Alger, Société Nationale d'Édition et de Diffusion.
- Enderwitz, S. (1989): Du Fatā au Zarīf, ou comment on se distingue? *Arabica* Vol. 36, pp. 125–142.
- Fuentes, Joaquín Lomba (1964): La beauté objective chez Ibn Ḥazm. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* Vol. 7, pp. 1–18.
- Ghazi, Mhammed Ferid (1959): Un groupe social: ‘les raffinés’ (Zurafāʾ). *Studia Islamica* Vol. 11, pp. 39–71.
- Giffen, Lois Anita (1972): *Theory of Profane Love among the Arabs: The Development of the Genre*. London, University of London Press.
- Giffen, Lois A. (1992): Ibn Ḥazm and the *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāma*. In: Jayyusi, Salma Khadra (ed.): *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, pp. 420–442.
- Gómez, García (1941): El «*Tawq*» y el «*Diwan al-Sabab*». *Al-Andalus* Vol. 6, pp. 65–72.
- Gómez, García (1951): El «*Kitāb al-Muwashsha*» y el «*Tawq*». *Al-Andalus* Vol. 16, pp. 309–330.
- Gruendler, Beatrice (2004): “Pardon Those Who Love Passionately”: A Theologian’s Endorsement of *Shahādat al-ʿIshq*. In: Pannewick, Friederike (ed.): *Martyrdom in Literature*. Wiesbaden, Reichert, pp. 189–236.

- Gutas, Dimitri (2002): Certainty, Doubt, Error: Comments on the Epistemological Foundations of Medieval Arabic Science. *Early Science and Medicine* Vol. 7, pp. 276–289.
- Ḥāfiẓ Mughaltāy (1997): *al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn fī Dhikr man Ustushhid min al-Muḥibbīn*. Beirut, Muʿassasat al-Intishār al-ʿArabī.
- al-Ḥalabī, Maḥmūd b. Salmān (2000): *Kitāb Manāzil al-Aḥbāb wa-Manāzih al-Albāb*, edited by Muḥammad al-Dībājī. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir.
- Hourani, George F. (1979): Reason and Revelation in Ibn Ḥazm's Ethical Thought. In: Morewedge, P. (ed.): *Islamic Philosophical Theology*. Albany, State University of New York Press, pp. 142–164.
- Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī, Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī (1989): *Al-Maṣūn fī Sirr al-Hawā al-Maknūn*. Cairo, Dār al-ʿArab lil-Bustānī.
- Ibn Abī Ḥajalah al-Tilmsānī (1987): *Dīwān al-Ṣabābah*. Alexandria, Munshaʿat al-Maʿārif.
- Ibn al-Bakkā al-Balkhī (2008): *The Ghawānī al-Ashwāq fī Maʿānī al-ʿUshshāq*, edited and introduced by George Kanazi. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Ibn Dāwūd (1985): *Kitāb al-Zahra*, edited by Ibrāhīm al-Sāmurrāʿī. Al-Zarqqa, Maktabat al-Manār.
- Ibn Ḥazm (1942): *Halsband der Taube über die Liebe und die Liebenden von Abū-Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn-Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, translated by Max Weisweiler. Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- Ibn Ḥazm (1953): *The Ring of the Dove*, translated by A. J. Arberry. London, Luzac & Company.
- Ibn Ḥazm (1967): *El collar de la paloma: tratado sobre el amor y los amantes de Ibn Hazm de Córdoba*, translated by Emilio García Gómez. Madrid, Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones.
- Ibn Ḥazm (1987): *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās. Beirut, al-Muʿassasah al-ʿArabiyyah lil-Dirasāt wal-Nashr.
- Ibn Ḥazm (2002): *Mukhtaṣar Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah wa-Ẓill al-Ghamāmah fī al-Ulfah wal-Ullāf*, edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Turkmānī. Beirut, Dār Ibn Ḥazm.
- Ibn Ḥazm (2009): *El collar de la paloma: el collar de la tórtola y la sombra de la nube*, translated by Jaime Sánchez Ratia. Madrid, Hiperión.
- Ibn al-Muʿtazz (1968): *Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿrā*, edited by ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj. Cairo, Dār al-Maʿārif.
- Ibn al-Nadīm (1988): *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, edited by Riḍā Tajaddud. Beirut, Dār al-Masīra.
- Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (1973): *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, edited by Ṣābir Yūsuf. Cairo, Maktabat al-Jāmiʿah.
- Ibn Qutayba (1963): *ʿUyūn al-Akḥbār*. Cairo, al-Muʿassasa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma lil-Taʿlīf wal-Tarjama wal-Tibāʿa wal-Nashr.
- Ishay, Haviva (2003): Hebrew Poetry in Light of Medieval Arabic Love Prose: Intertextuality as a Cultural and Textual Bridge. In: Szyska, Christian – Pannewick, Friederike (eds): *Crossings and Passages in Genre and Culture*. Wiesbaden, Reicher Verlag, pp. 151–165.
- Ismāʿīl, Maḥmūd (2005): *Al-Ḥubb bayn Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī wa-Ibn Dāūd al-Isfahānī: Hal Iqtabas al-Awwal min al-Thānī*. Cairo, Ruʿya lil-Nashr wal-Tawẓīʿ.
- Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Sarrāj (1958): *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq*. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir.
- Jacobi, Renate (1971): *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaside*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Jacobi, Renate (2004): The ʿUdhra: Love and Death in the Umayyad Period. In: Pannewick, Friederike (ed.): *Martyrdom in Literature*. Wiesbaden, Reicher Verlag, pp. 137–148.
- Jagonak, Martin (2008): *Das Bild der Liebe im Werk des Dichters Ḡamil ibn Maʿmar*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- al-Jāhīz (1965): *Rasāʾil*, edited by ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn. Cairo, Maktabat al-Khānjī.

- Jalāl al-ʿAdhm, Ṣādiq (2002): *Fī al-Ḥubb wal-Ḥubb al-ʿUdhri*. Damascus, Dār al-Madā lil-Thaqāfa wal-Nashr.
- Jayyusi, Salma Khadra (1999): Umayyad Poetry. In: Beeston, F. L. (ed.): *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Khan, Ruqayya Yasmine (1999): Substitution and Sacrifice in the Classical Love Story of al-Muraqqish al-Akbar. *History of Religions* Vol. 39, pp. 50–65.
- Khan, Ruqayya Yasmine (2000): On the Significance of Secrecy in the Medieval Arabic Romance. *Journal of Arabic Literature* Vol. 31, pp. 238–253.
- Khan, Ruqayya Yasmine (2008): Pastoralism and the “Wild Man” in an Early Arabic Romance. *Middle Eastern Literatures* Vol. 11, pp. 139–153.
- Kharāʾiṭī Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar (2010): *Itilāl al-Qulūb*, edited by Ḥamdī al-Damardāsh. Mecca, Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz.
- Kilpatrick, Hilary (2003): *Making the Great Book of Songs: Compilation and the Author's Craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's Kitāb al-Aghānī*. London, Routledge Curzon.
- Leder, Stefan (1995): Akhbār al-Majnūn al-Qadīma, Nashʾātuḥā wa-Shakluḥā al-Qaṣaʿī: al-Baḥṭh ʿan Maṣādir Ibn Qutayba. *Majallat Majmaʿ al-Lughā al-ʿArabiyya fī Dimashq* 70, pp. 17–34.
- Leder, Stefan (2004a): Nomadische Lebensformen und ihre Wahrnehmung im Spiegel der arabischen Terminologie. *Die Welt des Orients* Vol. 34, pp. 72–104.
- Leder, Stefan (2004b): The ʿUdhri Narrative in Arabic Literature. In: Pannewick, Friederike (ed.): *Martyrdom in Literature: Visions of Death and Meaningful Suffering in Europe and the Middle East from Antiquity to Modernity*. Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, pp. 163–187.
- Leder, Stefan (2005): Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples – A Misleading Dichotomy? Bedouin and Bedouinism in the Arab Past. In: Leder, Stefan (ed.): *Shifts and Drifts in Nomad-Sedentary Relations*. Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, pp. 401–410.
- Lévi-Provençal, É. (1950): En relisant « Le collier de la colombe ». *Al-Andalus* Vol. 15, pp. 335–375.
- Manzalaoui, M. A. (1979): Tragic Ends of Lovers: Medieval Islam and the Latin West. In: Shaffer, Elinor (ed.): *Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 37–52.
- Martinez, Gabriel (1987): L'amour-trace ! Réflexions sur le « Collier de la Colombe ». *Arabica* Vol. 34, pp. 1–47.
- Montada, Josep Puig (2001): Reason and Reasoning in Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova. *Studia Islamica* Vol. 92, pp. 165–185.
- Montgomery, J. E. (2002): Zārīf. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. 11, p. 460.
- Nykl, A. R. (trans.) (1931): *A Book Containing the Risāla Known as The Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers*. Paris, P. Geuthner.
- Ormsby, Eric (2000): Ibn Ḥazm. In: Menocal, María Rosa–Scheindlin, Raymond P.–Sells, Michael (eds): *The Literature of al-Andalus*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 737–751.
- Pétrof, D. (1914): *Ṭawq-al-Ḥamāma*. Leiden, E. J. Brill.
- Pinilla, Ramón Mujica (1990): *El collar de la paloma del alma: amor sagrado y amor profano en la enseñanza de Ibn Hazm y de Ibn Arabi*. Madrid, Hiperión.
- Raven, W.: al-Waṣṣhā. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Leiden, Brill.
- Rosenthal, Franz (1997): Male and Female: Described and Compared. In: Wright, J. W. Jr.–Rowson, Everett K. (eds): *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*. New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 24–54.
- Rowson, Everett K. (2008): The Traffic in Boys: Slavery and Homoerotic Liaisons in Elite ʿAbbāsī Society. *Middle Eastern Literatures* Vol. 11, pp. 193–204.

- Skarżyńska-Bocheńska, Krystyna (2006): Qays et Lubnā. Victoire de l'amour sur l'autorité du père et de la tribu. In: Michalak-Pikulska, B. – Pikulski, A. (eds): *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam*. Leuven, Peeters Publishers, pp. 133–144.
- Szombathy, Zoltán (2006): On Wit and Elegance: The Arabic Concept of *Zarf*. In: Michalak-Pikulska, B. – Pikulski, A. (eds): *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam*. Leuven, Peeters Publishers, pp. 101–119.
- Turki, Abdel Magid (1978): Femmes privilégiées et privilèges féminins dans le système théologique et juridique d'Ibn Ḥazm. *Studia Islamica* Vol. 47, pp. 25–82.
- Vadet, J. C.: Ibn Dāwūd. In: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, Leiden, Brill.
- Van Berkel, Maaïke (2000): The Development of the *Kātib*'s Social and Cultural Position: A Critical Review of the Present State of Research. In: Ostle, Robin (ed.): *Marginal Voices in Literature and Society: Individual and Society in the Mediterranean Muslim World*. Strasbourg, Fondation Européenne de la Science, pp. 79–87.
- Vogel, Jonathan (1998): Inference to the Best Explanation. In: Craig, Edward (ed.): *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. London, Routledge, Vol. 4, pp. 766–769.
- Washshā', Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yaḥyā (1965): *Al-Muwashshā'*. Beirut, Dār Ṣādir.
- Washshā', Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Yaḥyā (1990): *El Libro del Brocado*, translated by Teresa Garulo. Madrid, Alfaguara.
- Washshā', Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Yahya (2004): *Le livre de brocart (al-Kitāb al-Muwashshā') ou la société raffinée de Bagdad au X^e siècle*, translated by Siham Bouhlal. Paris, Gallimard.
- Zeldin, Theodore (1995): *An Intimate History of Humanity*. New York, Harper Collins Publishers.
- Zu'bī, Anwar Khālīd (1996): *Dhāhiriyyat Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī: Nadhariyyat al-Ma'rifah wa-Manāhij al-Baḥth*. Amman, International Institute of Islamic Thought.