Ibn Hazm: an Islamic Source of Courtly Love

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to explore the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin of courtly love, discuss and define its characteristic features, and ultimately suggest that the eleventh century discourse on love, *Tawq al-Hamāmah* (*The Ring of the Dove*) written in 1022 by Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi, functioned as a major influence in the formation of courtly love, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. For over a century and a half, scholars have suggested that this unique code of behavior was codified in *The Art of Courtly Love*, a treatise on love written by Andreas Capellanus. These scholars submit that Andreas received his inspiration not only from the troubadours but also classical authors such as Ovid; however, few advocate links to Arab Spain. In this study, I will further the notion that many differentiating elements of courtly love originated from the Hispano-Arabic tradition, as epitomized by Ibn Hazm and *The Ring of the Dove.* A trivial amount of research exists on the Hispano-Arabic foundation of courtly love, most of which has been discredited or is no longer accepted by the scholarly community.

Throughout the course of this study, I will explore the hypothesis that Ibn Hazm, his treatise on love, his worldview, and the culture and society in which he lived had a lasting and significant impact on courtly love. The combination of Ibn Hazm and the Islamic ideological contribution collectively provided direct and indirect inspiration and is evident in Peninsular examples of courtly love literature. Based on the parallels identified in this study, textual analyses of Spanish works, and explorations of various genres, I will determine that Ibn Hazm's treatise on love provided a noteworthy influence on the literary convention that developed into the distinctive code of behavior for lovers known as courtly love.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Presentation of the Current State of the Question

1.1 Brief History of Courtly Love Scholarship

During the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a peculiar literary and social code of behavior emerged from European love lyrics, a unique set of rules of conduct for lovers that appeared to obey faithfully a distinct set of guidelines.[1] This phenomenon existed in a diversity of forms with distinguishing characteristics and unique literary features, although it was not formally classified and acknowledged as *courtly love* until the nineteenth century. More than a century after the set of literary features that characterize courtly love were identified, the origin of this medieval code of behavior remains uncertain. While certain theories regarding the origin of courtly love have been accepted by an overwhelming majority of academics, less recognized theories exist, one of which will be explored in this present study.

While academics and medievalists generally accept the notion that the concept of courtly love originated in southern France,[2] in particular in the province of Languedoc, where it took form in the verses of the troubadours, these scholars have been unable to establish a single literary source of courtly love. The inability to pinpoint a single literary foundation is attributed to the fact that the verses of the troubadours found their inspiration in a variety of literary sources, which complicates the question of origin even more. In his article describing the nature

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[1] The issue of the real-world practice of courtly love apart from literature is controversial. For more information about the dichotomy between courtly love as a literary convention and a social practice, see: Benton, John F. "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center", *Speculum*, 36:4 (1961). 551-91. This issue will be discussed in chapter two, in which this present study will prove that Ibn Hazm's representation of love is based upon personal observations and represent the customs of al Andalus (Ibn Hazm 18), whereas Andreas and his contemporaries wrote with moralistic, humoristic and even ironic intentions (Benton 590) in order to "hold the attention of their audience" (590), thus implying a fictional, literary convention not based on observations at court.

[2] For more information on the hypothesis indicating the lyrics of the troubadours as one of the main sources of inspiration for the literary convention of courtly love, see: Rougemont, Denis de. *Love in the Western World*. Trans. Montgomery Belgion. New York: Pantheon-Random House, 1956.

of the medieval literary practice, “Courtly Love and Courtliness”, Alexander Denomy addresses the complexity and ambiguous beginnings of courtly love: “scholars have found models and sources for the metrical form and the genres of poetry of the troubadours in Arabic verse, in Medieval Latin poetry, [and] in the liturgical texts of the Church” (44-45). He concludes that the diversity of extant sources complicates the issue, which leaves “unsolved the origins of the very kernel of courtly love” (45). This present study will explore some of these theories, after discussing and defining the traditional features of courtly love, and ultimately suggest that Ibn Hazm’s eleventh century discourse on love, *The Ring of the Dove*,[3] functioned as a major influence in the formation of the courtly love literary tradition, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula.

Above and beyond the matter of ambiguous origins, a consensus does not exist regarding the features of courtly love and the genres in which it is found. In order to simplify this issue, I will evaluate first the categorizations of genre of the tradition and follow with a discussion of the variety of scholarly accounts regarding its characteristics. Denomy provides a detailed categorization the five genres in which the convention is found, all of which can be traced to unique origins: “The fruits of generations and centuries of scholarly studies have produced theories that have been grouped conveniently under five main headings: ballad, liturgical, Classical Latin, Mediaeval Latin, and Arabic” (Denomy 45). The wide variety of extent forms of the tradition indicates that the onset of courtly love is indeterminate and emanated from multiple sources. For the purpose of this study, the aggregate view is that the literary model of courtly love derived from diverse origins. Denomy, in discussing the unsolved question of origin, agrees that “courtly love is a synthesis of borrowings and adaptations made from several sources (45)”

[3] The original title in Arabic is طوق الحمامة or *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*; *El collar de la paloma* in Spanish; two English translations exist: *The Ring of the Dove* and *The Dove’s Neckring*.

and "that the troubadours expressed in their lyrics a concept of love that is a union of diverse elements of varied origins" (45). Denomy's interpretation accepts the Occitan codification of courtly love (the hypothesis highlighting troubadour poetry as one of the principal foundations of the courtly love convention) while permitting an assortment of possible literary and cultural influences.

1.2 Defining Courtly Love

Before reviewing the historical and literary origins of courtly love, it is imperative to explore the variability of definitions regarding the literary convention. I will begin with a discussion of investigations of the best known scholars in the field of courtly love, Gaston Paris, Alfred Jeanroy, and C.S. Lewis, and I will consider lesser-known scholars as well. Later, the conclusions of several prominent Peninsularists regarding the influence, formation, and definition of courtly love as related to the Spanish literary tradition will be outlined. Although during the height of courtly love, the late Middle Ages, many of its literary components are partially evident in an assortment of works, including farces;[4] though, in this study largely the generalized model of courtly love will be analyzed, that is to say, cases that are unquestionably representative of the literary convention.

The lyrics of the troubadours have been explored for centuries, although Gaston Paris first classified their unique behavior as courtly love ("amour courtois") in an essay published in 1883, more than five hundred years after the beginning of the literary convention. Paris analyzed Chrétien de Troyes' work, *The Knight of the Cart*[5] by categorizing and evaluating the unique style of love and actions of its characters as a new type of love, that is, courtly love. From that

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[4] Many works exhibit some but not all features of courtly love and are not considered to belong to the tradition, such as *la Celestina*, an example in parody. It along with other works will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

[5] The original French title is *Le chevalier de la charrette*.

point, many medieval literary works have been reclassified as prototypical models of courtly love. In his description of the protagonists' behavior, Paris suggests that four significant and indispensable traits form the medieval concept, all of which are still considered essential features of courtly love. The four characteristics identified by Paris are as follows. First, courtly love must be illegitimate and furtive. The second trait suggests that, due to the nature of love's illegitimacy, the lover is always inferior. The third characteristic implies that the lover will complete any task necessary in order to earn the love of his beloved. Lastly, love is an art, a science, and a virtue that has its own rules, similar to chivalry or courtesy (Paris 518-19).[6] Paris' grouping of essential traits remains effective in the classification of courtly love. Although more detailed and modern studies exist and additional traits are now considered to be significant, scholars routinely look to Paris' representation as a litmus test for identifying the tradition of courtly love.

Alfred Jeanroy, a French scholar and contemporary of Paris, dedicated his career to analyzing the lyrics of the troubadours. His research never attempted to define or classify the troubadours' verses within a literary category; he endeavored to study and preserve thousands of verses by concentrating on the structure and other technical and formal elements of troubadour poetry. Although Jeanroy devoted little time to the origin of courtly love, he indirectly mentioned the influence of Ovid's treatise on love: "The love of the troubadours owes nothing to the Cupid of antiquity, which they knew through Ovid, […] what was left was a peculiarity of the

[6] The original French version reads as follows: Les principaux caractères de l'amour ainsi entendu sont les suivants: 1º Il est illégitime, furtif. […] 2º A cause de cela, l'amante est toujours devant la femme dans une position inférieure, dans une timidité que rien ne rassure, dans un perpétuel tremblement, bien qu'il soit d'ailleurs en toutes rencontres le plus hardi des guerriers. […] 3º Pour être digne de la tendresse qu'il souhaite ou qu'il a déjà obtenue, il accomplit toutes les prouesses imaginables […] 4º l'amour est un art, une science, une vertu, qui a ses règles tout comme la chevalerie ou la courtoisie. (Paris 518-19)

Provençal grammar" (my translation) (54).[7] Many scholars point to classic models of love, such as the code of lovers written by Ovid in the first century, *The Art of Love*,[8] as a thematic and stylistic source of courtly love, which will be discussed later in this study.

Medieval specialists have written abundantly about courtly love and have established a well-defined understanding of the literary convention, although most do not enter into the question of its origin. Joseph Bédier, in his book, *Les Fêtes de mai et les commencemens de la poésie lyrique au Moyen Âge*, defines courtly love in a particularly simple form. According to Bédier, it is "a cult for a good purpose that is founded on the infinite disproportion of merit in desire, similar to Christian love" (my translation) (Bédier 28).[9] John Wilcox offers a concise definition of courtly love in his article, "Defining Courtly Love", an essay concerned exclusively with the formation of a concise definition of the medieval literary construct. In an attempt to explain concisely the literary phenomenon, Wilcox states that "courtly love has three essential elements: the worship of woman, doctrinaire free love, and sublimation chivalric-through activity" (322). This simplification of traits broadens the spectrum of what can considered to belong to the cataloging of courtly love models. In other words, Wilcox's description allows a greater level of subjectivity and, as a result, accepts more literary patterns of love as examples of courtly love literature.

The work of Paris and Jeanroy is vital in understanding a multifaceted phenomenon; however, the seminal study to understand the great literary and social influence of courtly love is found in a book written in 1936 by C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval*

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[7] The original version in French reads: L'amour des troubadours ne doit rien au Cupidon des Anciens, qu'ils connaissaient pourtant, grâce à Ovide, […] ce qui tient au reste simplement a une particularité de la grammaire provençale" (Jeanroy 54).

[8] Ovid's work is also referred to as *Ars Amatoria, Arte de Amar* or *Ars Amandi*

[9] The original version in French reads: "un culte qui s'adresse à un objet excellent et se fonde, comme l'amour chrétien, sur l'infinie disproportion de mérite au désir" (Bédier 28).

Tradition. Lewis proposes that courtly love is "a highly specialized sort, whose characteristics may be enumerated as Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and Religion of Love" (2). His explanation of courtly love insinuates that the code of amorous behavior articulated by the troubadours formed one of the few changes in human sensitivity that is known in world history: "Real changes in human sentiment are very rare [...] but I believe that they do occur and that [the influence of courtly love] is one of them" (Lewis 11). Lewis' understanding of the value of love, according to the troubadour tradition, is the usefulness and positive function of its presence. Lewis explains this transformation of the nature of love by describing the love of ancient times as an emotion represented, in literary form, more as a liability or a disadvantage for lovers; love and its presence run the risk of bringing down empires. Lewis continues to support his idea of courtly love as an innovative style of love that can produce happiness by further contrasting the model of love of the classical period as an affection that "seldom rises above the levels of merry sensuality or domestic comfort, except to be treated as a tragic madness, [...] which plunges otherwise sane people (usually women) into crime and disgrace" (4), a concept that is evident in many Greek tragedies. Lewis discusses the origins and influences of courtly love as well, concluding that "scholars have so far failed to find an origin for the content of Provençal love poetry. Celtic, Byzantine, and Arabic influenced events have been suspected, but it has not been made clear that these, if granted, could account for the results we see" (11). Bearing in mind this assortment of origin hypotheses, Lewis discusses the notion that one of the many influences in the formation of courtly love is the Ovidian tradition, although he notes that several weaknesses may effortlessly discredit the suggestion that Ovid and his works served as a major source.

This study will focus on the overarching definition of the literary convention of courtly love described by Denomy in *The Heresy of Courtly Love*. Denomy simplifies the novelty of the literary phenomenon by identifying three unique yet essential traits: first, "the ennobling force of human love" (20), which is to say that the lover is made better or more noble (socially, spiritually, and morally) by his action of loving his beloved; second, "elevation of the beloved to a place of superiority above the lover" (20), an idea that insinuates the higher social or moral order of the beloved; and third, "the conception of love as ever unsatiated, ever increasing desire" (20), which is the concept often described as a quest for unattainable love, a blessed suffering for love's sake. Along with an abridged portrayal of courtly love, Denomy's work underscores the idea that the promotion of courtly love in literature endorses a lifestyle that contrasts with the Christian moral code, a theme that will be explored later in the study when discussing the idea of religious hegemony in the Peninsula and the suppression of non-Christian works.

1.3 Courtly Love According to Peninsularist Scholars

In order to better understand the variety of opinions concerning the literary structure and characterization of courtly love, an assessment of the views of specialists in Peninsular literature is necessary. Alan Deyermond, a leading scholar of Spanish medieval literature, postulates nine traits commonly found in works considered to display elements of courtly love in the Middle Ages in the region that is now known as Spain. His description of shared attributes of the tradition was not written in order to question the research of his French, English, or German colleagues, but to provide a detailed interpretation based on the corpus of courtly works in the Peninsula. The first trait, according to Deyermond, suggests the courteous nature of love, which by definition, requires an elevated level of nobility both for men and women, not only when

considering their family ancestry, but also their behavior. Love, possessing a power over the lover, prompts virtuous comportment; others, according to Deyermond, see the beloved as admirable, due to the steadfast love from the lover. The engendering of virtue is the second trait of courtly love in the Peninsula. The third feature suggests that marriage is not the goal, and this particular type of love is almost always one that involves adultery. The objective of the lover, in many cases, can be one of sexual motivation, with or without of the vows of marriage. This variety of love, Deyermond continues, is one of frustration, one that will never end in success for the lover or the beloved. The sixth trait is that courtly love is tragic due to its fatal consequences. The mixing of religious and sexual metaphors is the seventh quality of courtly love. The inferiority of the lover to the beloved is the penultimate trait, and the final feature of courtly love in the Peninsula is its clandestine nature, that is to say, the lover generally attempts to hide his love from others around him (Deyermond 43). The paradigm based on these nine traits serves as a template to identify works considered to belong to the literary tradition of courtly love in Spanish and other European Literatures. Deyermond, like many of his contemporaries, attributes the foundation of the concept of courtly love directly to the work of Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*. At the same time, Deyermond proposes that the brand of love and amorous habits found in the exposition of love by Andreas[10] is dissimilar to what the troubadours in France describe in their love poetry.[11] Deyermond cites the influence of Andreas as only one of many sources, along with Galician-Portuguese lyric tradition, such as the *Cantigas de amor*, among other literary sources.

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[10] Andreas Capellanus is also referred to as Andreas the Chaplain or simply Andreas given that Capellanus (or the Chaplain) is his profession, not his surname.

[11] See: A. D. Deyermond, "The Text-Book Mishandled: Andreas Capellanus and the opening scene of *la Celestina*", N, XLV, 1961, pages 218-221.

Otis Green, a contemporary of Deyermond, discusses courtly love in great detail in *Spain and the Western Tradition* by accepting that it is a unique literary construct derived from the troubadour tradition; he defines it as follows: "Courtly love [is] a love of *penas*, of 'blessed suffering', of non-attainment, of have-and-have-not, a love of impossibility, an *amour lointain*" (Green 75). His description does not provide any new information, but proposes a stipulation that we must consider: "as long as [courtly love] maintains itself on this level, as long as it continues to be 'pure' (hearts and minds only) and resists the transition to *amor mixtus* (hearts and bodies), it is simply an exultation in suffering *a vivir desviviéndose*" (Green 75).[12] Without an attempt to create a single definition, as had other scholars before him, Green provides textual examples of protagonists who represent the literary tradition: "[Courtly love] is the love of the troubadour for his lady, of Petrarch for Laura, of Garcilaso de la Vega for Isabel Freyre, of Quevedo for Lisi, of Amadis for Oriana, of Calisto for Melibea, of Don Quixote for Dulcinea del Toboso" (Green 75). Green's conception equates the style of the troubadours to the love of the other mentioned protagonists, which demonstrates the robust literary tradition of courtly love in the Iberian Peninsula.

1.4 Theories of Origin of Courtly Love

The generally accepted theory is that the code of behavior found in the poetry of the troubadours derives from *The Art of Courtly Love*, a work which received its inspiration not only from the troubadours but also classical authors such as Ovid. In this study, I will explore the theory that courtly love derives from the Hispano-Arabic tradition, which was well known in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when Ramón Menéndez Pidal hypothesized a connection between Hispano-Arabic poetry and courtly love, an idea that later lost prominence

[12] This concept, "suffering a *vivir desviviéndose*," will be developed in subsequent chapters as it may tie courtly love to tendencies such as Spanish mysticism, for example.

as Roger Boase explains: "The Hispano-Arabic theory of origin at first gained currency amongst literary historians, but in the latter half of the [nineteenth] century it was no longer advocated" (Boase 26). Various scholars have identified connections between the literary production of al-Andalus and the fictional ritual of courtly love. For example, Boase references seven distinct alternate theories of origin, all of which will be discussed below, although only one of the seven theories points to a foundation in the literature of Arab Spain. Extensive research exists on the Hispano-Arabic foundation of courtly love; nevertheless, most has been discredited or is no longer accepted by the scholarly community.

Roger Boase explores the question of origin in detail by analyzing research dedicated to the non-traditional origins of courtly love. Starting with the aforementioned Hispano-Arabic source, he asserts the connection to Arab literature as follows: "courtly love was either imported into the south of France from Muslim Spain, or was strongly influenced by the culture, poetry and philosophy of the Arabs" (Boase 62). His argument relies on the presence of three parallels: "first, there are stylistic elements; secondly, there are common themes and motifs; thirdly, there are analogies between the concepts of love in both lyrical traditions" (64). This theory is usually not accepted due to lack of evidence of translations of Arabic poetry into Latin or another language in medieval times, although the discovery of the *kharchas*[13] in the mid-twentieth century complicates the issue, which will be discussed in detail in the third chapter of this study. Boase indicates six additional theories of origin, all of which are not connected to al Andalus, but will be cited briefly in order to demonstrate the abundant variety of possible beginnings of the convention. Boase continues his discussion of other theories by suggesting the second possible theory of origin "was a product of the interaction of Christianity and a primitive

[13] A *jarcha* or *kharja* is a poetic fragment or final refrain found at the end of a *muwashshah*, which is lyrical work common in al-Andalus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. *Kharchas* were written in *romance*, an early version of Spanish, while the body of the work was composed in Arabic or Hebrew.

Germanic/Celtic/Pictish matriarchy, which ensured the survival of pre-Christian sexual *mores* and veneration for women amongst the European aristocracy" (75). The third suggests that "courtly love grew out of the Cathar or Albigensian heresy, either as an actual vehicle for chatharist doctrines or as an indirect expression of Cathar sentiments" (77). The fourth is based on a neo-platonic theory: "courtly love was fostered by Neo-Platonism, which conceived of the soul as a substance, divine in origin, yearning to be liberated from the prison of matter created in order to ascend to the First Principle, the source of beauty and goodness" (81). The fifth theory comes from the idea that "the mysticism of St. Bernard and the cult of the Virgin Mary introduced in the ideas and sentiments of troubadour poetry, and contributed to the birth of courtly love" (83). The sixth theory of origin "evolved out of the traditions and ritual folk dance songs of Europe, particularly associated those with the rites of spring, or it was an actual survival of the cult of Cybele or pay Maia, the Great Mother of the Gods" (86). The seventh and final theory Boase suggests that "courtly love may be explained by certain sociological factors operating within the feudal environment of the twelfth-century Europe, chief of which was the rapid promotion of new men into the ranks of the nobility" (89). Each of these distinctive theories provides specific information for further research. This present study will emphasize the notion that Ibn Hazm's text, in agreement with Boase's first mentioned theory of origin, the Hispano-Arabic theory, provides concrete textual evidence of an assortment of distinctive traits of love along with unique patterns of behavior by those in love. These traits and patterns, all of which will be analyzed in subsequent chapters, provide an additional source for courtly love, a source not explained by the works of Ovid or other works of Western/Christian writers. Specifically, Ibn Hazm's representation of Arab love in al-Andalus provides added

stimuli for the initial stages of courtly love, a literary exploit becoming fully evident in thirteenth-century European literature.

Jesús Menéndez Peláez examines the philosophical and ideological origins of courtly love and divides them into two preferences: one based on Christian thought and the other in Islamic beliefs. He begins with the "Hispano-Arabic trend: that is, attempts to explain the birth of Provencal lyric poetry through Arab or Hispano-Arabic poetry" (my translation) (Menéndez Paláez 138).[14] The second trend is the "Christian tendency, under which title one would have to include all the theories that relate courtly love with a certain core of Christian culture" (my translation) (138).[15] A variety of scholars, such as J. Ribera y Tarrrajó, A.R. Nykl, and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, have indicated that the presence of the *zajal*[16] in both regions provides tangible evidence of an existing channel between the two cultures in question. This genre simultaneously emerged in both Muslim and Christian works,[17] thus verifying the collaboration of poets among cultures. In modern scholarship, the existence of the *zajal* does not prove the Hispano-Arabic theory of courtly love, although it verifies the possibility of scholarly interaction between the two regions while validating the claim that the Provençal codification of courtly love received inspiration from the neighboring Arab communities. Before the discovery of the *zajal*, it was

[14] The original Spanish text reads: "tendencia hispanoarábiga: es decir, trata de explicar el nacimiento de la lírica provenzal a través de la poesía árabe o hispanoárabe" (Menéndez Paláez 138).

[15] The Spanish text reads: "tendencia cristiana, bajo cuyo título habría que colocar todas aquellas teorías que emparentan el amor cortés con determinados núcleos de la cultura cristiana" (Menéndez Paláez 138)

[16] According to Hayder, in the term zajal describes a strophic form entirely in the vernacular idiom, which bears a close structural relationship to that of the muwashshaḥa, a strophic poem attributed to al-Andalus consisting of several divisions with particular rhyme schemes that differ from author to author and ending with a kharja, a concluding bayt (or verse), mostly in colloquial diction, often expressing a love theme. (Hayder 190)

[17] It has been noted that many Provençal poets used a similar variation of the *zajal* in their works. Menéndez Pidal mentions Rudel, Marcabrú, Peire Vidal, Cercamón, and Peire Cardenal and Provençal poets who incorporated poetic elements comparable to the *zajal.* (Menéndez Pidal 29)

believed that the two cultures had little or no written communication, due to language and cultural barriers.

A text undoubtedly associated with courtly love is the aforementioned treatise by Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love,* a work, based on the love poems of the troubadours in the south of France during the twelfth century, that endeavors to provide a guide for lovers at court. In his treatise on love Andreas proposes thirty-one rules of love, whose purpose and function have been discussed for centuries. The following are only a few of the problematic topics identified by scholars in their considerations of the aforementioned rules: Were the rules of love written to guide the public in the art of love? Where the rules written ironically to mock life at court, perhaps with a didactic function? Joan Ferrante blends both options in her study of the implications and intentions of Andreas' text: "Most of us now agree that Andreas Capellanus's *De arte honeste amandi* was not meant to be, and should not be read as, a serious description of a love system, but even as a satire it would not have been effective if some people did not take its object seriously" (686). Regardless of whether it depicts actual practices, Andreas' work is important for the manner by which it codifies courtly love. Without his work, the poetic art of the troubadours and the convention of courtly love might not be known today. Ovidian influences and the verses of the troubadours are merged into Andreas' treatise, and the influence of Andreas Capellanus on the foundation of what is now considered courtly love should not be disputed given that the use and study of his text in the courts of France (and other kingdoms of Europe) have been well documented.

Apart from the lesser-known theories that Boase describes, the most widely accepted theory, as mentioned previously, is that the codification of courtly love occurs in the work of Andreas, who had been inspired by the works of Ovid. John Jay Parry explores the Ovidian

tradition in the introduction of the English translation of Andreas' text: "for all practical purposes we may say that the origin of courtly love is to be found in the writings of the poet Ovid" (4). C.S. Lewis agrees with this source of inspiration: "the most characteristic of the ancient writers on love, and certainly the most influential in the Middle Ages, is Ovid" (5). Parry attempts to explain the conception of courtly love as sensual due to the influence of Ovid on the works of the troubadours: "Love as Ovid conceived it is frankly sensual" (4), which is a type of love known as carnal love, *amour mixtus*, or *amor loco*; it contrasts with pure love, *amour purus*, *fin amour*, or *amor bueno*. The key difference is the presence or absence of a sexual relationship, and, as will be explored in later chapters, the sensual facet of courtly love, traditionally, has been attributed to Ovid. In this study, a link between Ibn Hazm's text and sensual love will be established, which will provide further evidence of the Hispano-Arabic origin of courtly love and Ibn Hazm's role in its development.

Considering that many look to Ovid as a literary source and influence on Andreas' work and, consequently, on the literary tradition of courtly love, an abridged review of Ovid's guide for lovers is in order. According to Ovid, love does not involve matrimony as an objective; in fact, many times it involves extramarital activity. Ovid considers the act of loving and seeking a lover as warfare; lovers are comparable to warriors in a figurative battle for love. Ovid, in his treatise on love, *Ars amatoria* (*The Art of Love*), proposes deception of the adored in order to win over the object of love. He also suggests that the lover experience many adversities and accomplish any action necessary to win the love of his lady. Lastly, as a result of attempting to obtain love from the beloved, the lover must become pale, a notion apparent in Andreas' treatise on more than one occasion. Additionally, the lover finds himself "lying awake all night" (Ovid 127), another by-product of loving, which "wears down the body of lovers" (127). If the

aforementioned actions are found to be ineffective, the lover must elicit jealousy in the beloved by pretending to be in love with another woman (114-15). By analyzing the Ovidian features of love, a strong connection to the traits of Andreas' lover is evident; however, the problematic element in this connection concerns the question of availability of Ovid's work in the Middle Ages. While Ovid's works were not well known in Muslim Europe, Asia, and Africa, they were well known and frequently studied in medieval Christian cultures. For example, many Spanish writers, including Juan Ruiz in *Libro de buen amor*, exhibit noticeably Ovidian-inspired themes.[18] The influence of Ovid is distinguishable in the works of troubadours; consequently, it is assumed that Ovid's influence accounts for at least a portion of the numerous sources of courtly love. Other indispensable traits common to troubadour poetry (and courtly love), however, are not attributed to Ovid, such as the idealization of love, the elevation of the beloved, and the ennobling character of love (Guyer 226). The notion that Ovid's works provide only a fractional inspiration, opens the door for additional credible sources, and, as will be explored in this study, Ibn Hazm's work fills these gaps by providing textual evidence of ideas and concepts of courtly love not explained by the treatises of love written by Ovid or by other Christian/Western sources.

Modern scholars agree that the Ovid's *Ars amatoria* is partially responsible for providing inspiration to the troubadours: from where does the additional inspiration emanate? Parry suggests, while discussing the origins of the tradition of courtly love, that another stimulus may be found in Hispano-Arabic culture: "the most reasonable [secondary source] seems to be that the troubadours were influenced by the culture of Moslem Spain, where many of [the elements of courtly love] can be found before they appear among the Christians" (7). The following section

[18] Américo Castro implies that Juan Ruiz borrows and adapts many themes from Ovid, among others, in his writing of *Libro de buen amor*. (Castro 395).

will introduce concisely this hypothesis, which will be explored in detail in the second chapter of this study.

Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi, a Hispano-Arab poet born in Cordova in 994, wrote of the practice of love among the Arabs, a unique brand of love. Scholars have analyzed Ibn Hazm's work for decades, most of whom explicitly reject the notion that his work played an influential role in the development of courtly love. For example, John J. Parry suggests that Ibn Hazm's "concept of love [. . .] is in its main aspects very different from Ovid's and more resembles that of Plato" (9), suggesting a model of love for one's fellow man, a brotherly sort of love, which bears a stark contrast to the sensual model described by Ovid. Alfred Jeanroy, a prominent nineteenth century French scholar, mentions the Hispano-Arabic theory, yet was one of the first critics to notice an absence of the ennobling force of love among various other key aspects of courtly love in the poetry of Ibn Hazm, and thus rejects this particular theory of origin. Many other scholars over the years, such as Alexander J. Denomy, have explicitly denied the Hispano-Arabic source. Denomy mentions that "the Arabians had a certain conception of pure love. […] Ibn Hazm described it in detail […]. It was a love of desire that remained desire that love might endure. It remained pure in spite of the sensual delights that accompanied it" (29). He then argues that such a love did not influence the tradition of courtly love: "[the concept of love of the Arabs] was not considered as the fount and origin of virtue and, because of that it lacks the very essence of courtly love" (29). In comparing similar traits, Ramón Menéndez Pidal agrees that the literature and philosophy of Muslim Spain played an influential role in the development of the concept of love in Provençal texts, but cautions that the Hispano-Arabic source was only one of many: "the first impression produced by the many similarities leads to the belief that that Provençal lyric was born of imitation to the Andalusian. But such a belief is inexact. In addition

to the similarities, there are many differences, which represent various origins" (my translation) (Menéndez Pidal 68).[19]

1.5 Oversight of Arab Influence in the Study of Courtly Love

A number of scholars of the nineteenth century overlooked Ibn Hazm and other non-Western works as possible sources of courtly love. In the late twentieth century, Maria Rosa Menocal suggested that, in order to understand Western literature, "the world of al-Andalus [. . .] must be considered, because its presence was, for better or worse, imposing and unavoidable" (150). She submits that the literature of Arab Spain remained largely unnoticed by Western scholarship for two reasons. The first cause of omission stems from the idea that scholars viewed Spain and all its cultural diversity as one common culture that consisted of a "unique cultural mixture, rich not only in accumulation but in the synthesis of the various features of the Christian, Muslim and Jewish worlds" (149). This homogenization of distinct cultures made it difficult to study Arab influences on Western literary conventions, such as courtly love. Menocal furthers her argument by suggesting that past scholars knowingly elected to overlook Muslim literature as an attempt to ignore and erase the literature and influence of Muslim Spain due to its negative connotations: "many Spaniards, and many Hispanists [. . .] have wished to view the eight hundred years of Islamic presence as a negative period in their history, a moment of alien intrusion that, if it cannot be erased, can at least be made to disappear in our historiographical fictions" (150). Historical and literary research alike followed this tendency of excluding nearly all influential sources of Arab origin in the Peninsula, as Menocal explains:

> To begin our anthologies of the literature of Spain with the *Cantar de Mio Cid* is commonplace; to believe that "Arab" meant simply the enemy and as such is a

[19] The original version in Spanish reads: "la primera impresión que tantas semejanzas pueden producir lleva a la creencia de que la lírica provincial nació por imitación de al andaluza. Pero tal creencia es inexacta. Al lado de esas semejanzas hay muchas diferencias, que suponen origines muy varios" (Menéndez Pidal 68).

> simple image that can be dismissed or bypassed is made to seem reasonable; to ignore or marginalized the effects of the literature, philosophy, and other writings in Arabic or Hebrew on the Christian writers of the medieval period is as well; and to accept the notion that the "courtly love" of Spain came solely from Provence and to ignore Ibn Hazm, or to admit that perhaps in the popular lyric, but not elsewhere, there might be Arabic influence—all these are common features of Hispanic scholarship. (150-51)

The hypotheses of exclusion, as described by Menocal, supports the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin of courtly love as it allows for a scrutiny of the objectivity of any and all studies related to courtly love. Additionally, she highlights the problem of translation and lack of understanding of Arabic among scholars. An unfamiliarity of the Arabic language by overloaded scholars exacerbated their oversight (151), which expounded the omission of works written in Arabic by many nineteenth century scholars. Numerous influential works may have been excluded from the birth of courtly love scholarship given that the Spanish and English translations of *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah*, along with many other works from Arab Spain, were not readily available to scholars until the early twentieth century.

In the mid to late twentieth century, interest in the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin was revitalized, and scholars made note of many of the fundamental features of courtly love in various extant literary works from Islamic Spain. Few studies exist, however, that analyze Ibn Hazm's treatise of love, *The Ring of the Dove*, in search of the key elements of courtly love or that establish a clear portrayal of Ibn Hazm's conception of love. The unanswered question regarding the origin of courtly love becomes more complex when considering the degree of influence originating from the Hispano-Arabic literary practice, specifically from the text of Ibn

Hazm and his discourse on love. Did *The Ring of the Dove* contribute significantly to the literary convention known as courtly love and to Andreas Capellanus' *The Art of Courtly Love*, or is it better categorized as one of many contributing sources, influencing the tradition inconsequentially? If Ibn Hazm did not play a key role in forming Andreas' version of love, was the Arab treatise on love influential in the unique evolution of the Peninsular variety of courtly love? Do parallel forms of the literary convention exist: one in the Iberian Peninsula and one or more in other parts of Europe? Later chapters in this study will demonstrate that Ibn Hazm's work, *The Ring of the Dove*, must be regarded as a direct source for the literary convention known as courtly love, particularly the variety known to exist in the Spanish literary tradition.

1.6 Summary of Subsequent Chapters

In my second chapter, I will continue to advance the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin by asserting the idea that Ibn Hazm's work, *The Ring of the Dove*, written in Arabic during the early eleventh century, had a profound impact on the formation of courtly love, particularly on the courtly love literature of Spain. This hypothesis will be explored and affirmed in four ways. First, through a textual analysis of Ibn Hazm's work, I will challenge seminal scholarly works related to courtly love that explicitly deny, based on thematic opposition, the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin. The second affirmation of my hypothesis will involve a brief discussion of a variety of Spanish works traditionally considered representative of the tradition of courtly love, such as *Cárcel de amor* and *Libro de buen amor*. I will analyze these works and compare the treatment and representation of love found in the amorous episodes involving their protagonists to the traditional paradigm of courtly love as defined by Paris, Jeanroy and others. The differences that will be identified will help establish unique patterns in Spanish literature while establishing the influence of Muslim literature on literature by Christian authors. In the third

section, I will analyze the potential influence of Ibn Hazm's treatise on the work of Andreas in order to establish that Andreas formulated his work, to some extent, based on the doctrines of love present in *The Ring of the Dove*. Lastly, I will examine *The Ring of the Dove* and identify common attributes of courtly love in order to demonstrate textually that many of its characteristics existed in the literature of Arab Spain.

In my third chapter, I will reveal the Hispano-Arabic role in shaping the transition from passive women characters in literature to women protagonists with active voices and, in some cases, exhibit examples of women who take matters into their own hands in the courtship process. I will first identify and analyze textual examples in *The Ring of the Dove* in which women participate actively in the courtship process, explicitly articulate their objectives, and take action in order to realize an assortment of amorous goals. Secondly, I will explore other early Hispano-Arabic works that provide similar examples of female engagement, such as the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas* and the *cantiga d'amigo*. In my analyses, I will consider the presence of sexual activity when initiated and sought after by the female participant in the tradition of courtly love, which are evident in both in implicit and explicit textual illustrations in the aforementioned works. I will analyze the relationship between lovers as either physical or intellectual considering the presence of neo-Platonism in the Peninsula. Finally, I will discuss the Islamic tradition of women exploring sensuality, the voice of women in literature, and similar traits. The analysis will not only support my hypothesis that a distinctive variety of courtly love existed in the Peninsula and received inspiration from Ibn Hazm's text, but it will also unveil the active role of women participants, in the Hispano-Arabic courtly love literary convention.

In my fourth chapter, I will explore parallels between Ibn Hazm's treatise on love and several examples of Spanish courtly love tales in narrative form, including *Libro de buen amor*,

Cárcel de amor, and *Celestina*. I will explore a variety of parallels that demonstrate the traits of courtly love literature discussed in this present chapter, most of which the scholars of the nineteenth century suggested to have been absent in the love lyrics of Arab Spain. Scholars pointed out three indispensable courtly love features lacking in the literature of Arab Spain, which discredited the possibility that Ibn Hazm's treatise had an influential effect on the development of the courtly love literary convention. The features identified as absent in Ibn Hazm's work (and consequently in the corpus of Hispano-Arabic literature) were the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved or the idea that the beloved commonly belongs to a higher social class than the lover, and the obligation of service to the beloved. I will identify the presence of these features in Spanish works. Additionally, I will explore the role, use and function of the messenger while describing parallels between Ibn Hazm's depiction of an intermediary and that of the Peninsular authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In my fifth chapter, I will explore poems written by Christian writers, most of which either reflect the features of love as described by Ibn Hazm in *The Ring of the Dove* or parody certain characteristics. In particular, textual correspondences between the *The Ring of the Dove* and Peninsular poetry suggest that Ibn Hazm's perspective on love played an influential role in development of the philosophical perspective on love in Peninsular lyric poetry. In my analysis, I will identify and consider a variety of courtship behaviors including the act of physical love. Some features will point to the lasting effect of Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love while others will suggest a rejection or aberration of courtly love. Likewise, these textual and thematic variations of courtly love literature will recall the influence of Ibn Hazm.

In my sixth chapter, I will explore the concept of *saudade* and its impact on one or both parties involved in amorous affairs in *The Ring of the Dove.* Textual evidence will reveal that

this literary concept originated from Ibn Hazm and his philosophical impact on the literature of medieval Spain. *The Ring of the Dove* presents the concept of *saudade* as a consequence of suffering for the sake of love, the absence of the beloved, the act of guarding the secret of an amorous relationship, and the inability to express love for the beloved. I will analyze these variants of suffering as explained by Ibn Hazm in his treatise on love.

The seventh and final chapter will serve as a conclusion for my work. I will summarize the hypotheses and conclusions presented in each chapter. Additionally, I will provide a concise summary of many of the essential elements of courtly love found in *The Ring of the Dove* and discuss the worldview of Ibn Hazm. Furthermore, I will discuss the contribution of not only Ibn Hazm but the Islamic philosophy of Arab Span as it relates to the foundation of courtly love in the Iberian Peninsula and beyond.

Chapter 2

A Response to Scholarly Opposition to the Hispano-Arabic Theory of Origin

2.1 Hispano-Arabic Literature and Courtly Love

In the previous chapter I explored the establishment, composition, and characteristics of courtly love, including an assessment of the most commonly accepted theory of origin, that is, the idea that the roots of the movement can be traced to the troubadours of southern France. Moreover, I established the coexistence of an alternative theory less acknowledged by medievalist scholars, the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin.[20] In the present chapter I will continue to advance this theory of origin by asserting the idea that Ibn Hazm's work, *The Ring of the Dove*, written in Arabic during the early eleventh century, had a profound impact on the formation of courtly love, particularly on the courtly love literature of Spain. This hypothesis will be explored and affirmed in four ways. First, through a textual analysis of Ibn Hazm's work, I will challenge seminal scholarly works related to courtly love that explicitly deny, based on thematic opposition, the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin. The second affirmation of my hypothesis will involve a brief discussion of a variety of Spanish works traditionally considered representative of the tradition of courtly love, such as *Cárcel de amor* and *Libro de buen amor*.[21] I will analyze these works and compare the treatment and representation of love found in the amorous episodes involving their protagonists to the traditional paradigm of courtly love as defined by Paris, Jeanroy and others. The differences that will be identified will help establish unique patterns in Spanish literature while establishing the influence of Muslim literature on literature by Christian authors. In the third section, I will analyze the potential influence of Ibn

[20] As discussed in the first chapter, most seminal studies on courtly love (Gaston Paris, C.S. Lewis, Alfred Jeanroy, Otis Green, Alan Deyermond, and others) accept the Provençal origin of courtly love.

[21] Chapter three will provide more detailed analyses of these and other works; this present chapter only introduces key points useful for supporting the hypothesis of this study.

Hazm's treatise on the work of Andreas in order to establish that Andreas formulated his work, to some extent, based on the doctrines of love found in *The Ring of the Dove*. Lastly, I will examine *The Ring of the Dove* and identify common attributes of courtly love in order to demonstrate textually that elements widely considered to belong to the literary convention existed in Arab Spain.

2.2 Rejection of the Hispano-Arabic Theory of Origin

In discussing the canonical doctrines of courtly love, it should be considered that the term itself did not appear until the end of the nineteenth century. Gaston Paris first coined the term in his study on the subject of love in the Middle Ages. Since that time, many studies have analyzed the role and presence of this literary convention in Peninsular and European works. The perspective of Paris and his contemporaries coupled with the representation set forth by their research established a common set of traits and codified the concept of love expressed by Andreas Capellanus and the troubadours. The compilation of literary features recognized by Paris and his colleagues in order to designate what belongs to courtly love did not include analyses of Spanish works, which drew critical attention away from the Hispano-Arabic theory. María Rosa Menocal argues that courtly love "scholars who most vociferously reject the Hispano-Arabic theory, in general or in some specific feature, [. . .] have done so without much knowledge of the culture whose 'influences' they were denying" (50). She cites two issues responsible for the fact that the culture of Islamic Spain has been overlooked in courtly love scholarship: the first problem stems from "the anachronistic belief that, as an appendage of the Oriental world of Islam, the civilization of Spain did not constitute an integral part of Europe" (Menocal 50-51), and the second issues emanates from an "anti-Semitic prejudice in forms ranging from subtle to blatant, prejudice that does not admit the possibility of an important

Oriental component" (51). Moreover, due to various forms of censorship in Europe and specifically in Spain throughout several centuries, a Christian hegemony is evident in nineteenth century studies. For example, John Jay Parry, a translator of Andreas, mentions the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin in several studies but is quick to split the concepts of love of Andreas and Ibn Hazm by indicating their Classical foundations, suggesting that Ovid and his guide for lovers served as inspiration for Andreas while Plato and his philosophy of love functioned as the primary source of stimulus for Ibn Hazm. Likewise, A.R. Nykl, translator of Ibn Hazm, concurs with Parry and develops the idea by stating that the model of Arab love does not contain an ennobling force, one of the essential characteristics of courtly love. This ennobling force, however, is implicitly evident in Ibn Hazm's treatise on love, examples of which will be analyzed later in this chapter.

Alfred Jeanroy similarly denies the presence of the ennobling force of love on the lover in the Hispano-Arabic tradition of love, while adding that the absence of a service requirement provides additional proof that the Hispano-Arabic theory is implausible. He continues his objection by stating the idea that the beloved, as an object of desire, is to be socially superior to the lover, a requirement of courtly love not always found in the literature of Muslim Spain. Further on in my study, I will identify textual examples of service to the beloved and address the issue concerning the hierarchic structure in Ibn Hazm's work in order to provide evidence of the existence of these traits, both of which are considered to be inextricable from the convention of courtly love.

The aforementioned scholars have identified at least three difficulties in attempting to connect the origin of courtly love with the Hispano-Arabic literately tradition. In addition to the dichotomy between Plato and Ovid as classical sources, modern scholarship suggests that *The*

Ring of the Dove lacks three essential traits to be considered a possible source of courtly love: the absence of the ennobling power of love, the nonexistence of service to the beloved, and the social supremacy of the courted. Apart from these three issues, scholars have studied the literary connection between Muslim Spain and Christian France with limited success. For example, Ramón Menéndez Pidal in his analysis of the literary contribution of Muslim works of the eighth to thirteenth centuries, *Poesía árabe y poesía europea*, investigates the structural and formal relationship between the poetry of the troubadours and the Hispano-Arabic poet, Ibn Guzman, concluding that the presence of the *zajal* supports the existence of a cultural and literary connection between Western and Eastern writers, as I mentioned in the first chapter. However, few studies exist that have developed a thematic connection between Islamic Spain and the troubadours, and, for the most part, the hypotheses of these limited studies center on structural relationships and poetic traits in the vein of the previously mentioned study of Menéndez Pidal.

My work suggests a thematic link between Islamic and troubadour poetry by establishing that Ibn Hazm's treatise functioned as a significant source on the Peninsular literary convention of courtly love. This idea suggests that the work of Andreas Capellanus, along with troubadour poetry, did not exclusively inspire the majority of texts belonging to the Peninsular literary tradition of the thirteenth through fifteenth century, but did so in conjunction with the texts and traditions of Muslim Spain, a region in which the work of Ibn Hazm provided the principal source of inspiration.

2.2.1 The Ennobling Force of Love in Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove*

According to the scholarship discussed in the first chapter, the work of Ibn Hazm lacks three crucial traits considered to be essential to the convention of courtly love, the first of which is an ennobling force of love. In this section, I will challenge the views of previous scholars by

demonstrating that Ibn Hazm does speak of love as an ennobling force. The ennobling force initially appears discreetly in Ibn Hazm's work in the first chapter, within a passage that describes the signs of love. He explains that love has the ability to improve and change a person in love, and he provides descriptions and details in order to illustrate how love accomplishes this transformation: "a man in love will give prodigally to the limit of his capacity, in a way that formerly he would have refused [. . .] in order that he may show off his good points, and make himself desirable" (Ibn Hazm 34-35). Love, according to Ibn Hazm, advances the benevolence of the lover, and affords him aspirations to seem (and become) comparable to men known for charitable deeds, which, in turn, increases his image socially, thus ennobling him. Ibn Hazm broadens the notion of ennobling by describing the effects of love: "How often has the miser opened his purse-strings, the scowler relaxed his frown, the coward leapt heroically into the fray, the clod suddenly become sharp-witted, the boor turned into the perfect gentlemen, the stinker transformed himself into the elegant dandy, the sloucher smartened up, the decrepit recaptured his lost youth [. . .] all because of love!" (35). The act of being in love, according the description in *The Ring of the Dove*, intensifies the character of one who seeks love, which makes an individual in love more noble with respect to virtue, behavior, attitude, social stature, among other qualities.

At the same time, given the dissimilarity in the cultures of the late eleventh century in al-Andalus along with the social hierarchy in the courts of late thirteenth century France, the importance and value of social status, court structure, nobility and rank should not be considered to parallel each other in France and Muslim Spain. Although Ibn Hazm does not refer to the concept of nobility as understood in eleventh century Muslim Spain, the model of love according to his treatise clearly infers that love exalts the lover and has the ability to improve his status, a

change that has the capacity to ennoble an individual, not necessarily socially but personally and in terms of virtue. This contrast illustrates Andreas' attempt to feudalize the love relationship framed within socio-cultural norms, an idea that will be discussed later when discussing unequal social classes among lovers. For now, in considering the ennobling force of love as a catalyst capable of social and moral change, James T. Monroe explains the contrasting social structures of the two cultures in question. Monroe states that "the implied social structure of Provençal poetry is a feudal one and, if we are to believe the class-restriction that obsessed Andreas Capellanus, courtly love between a lover and his Lady was appropriate only when his rank was inferior to hers" (400-01). He contrasts Andreas' along with the Provençal poets' reflection of social structure to that of the poets of the medieval Islamic tradition by implying that "there was no feudal structuring of society, and no aristocracy of birth. As in the case of the Egyptian Mamluk or "slave" dynasty illustrates, even slaves could aspire to become monarchs" (399). The socio-cultural divergence accounts for the variation of the ennobling force of love: it exists in both societies but, in that of Andreas, the ennobling force of love communicates an attempt to increase the societal rank of one in love, whereas in Ibn Hazm's milieu, it speaks to the character and virtue of the lover. The ennobling force of love is evident in Ibn Hazm's text. However, the discrepancy regarding its function and that of the ennobling force described by Andreas is not a question of existence, but one of consequences: the lover becomes ennobled virtuously in the literature of Arab Spain whereas he is ennobled hierarchically at court as described by Andreas and the troubadours. The issue of social mobility and class distinction as a requirement among lovers will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

2.2.2 The Superiority of the Beloved in Ibn Hazm

The second essential trait of courtly love whose existence in Ibn Hazm's treatise has been denied by scholars is the idea that the lady must belong to a higher social position than the lover. This idea is directly related to the ennobling force of love, in light of the feudalized nature of love implied in Provençal lyrics as discussed in the previous section. Theoretically, a lover seeking the love of a woman of a lower class would not increase his social status in obtaining her love. Therefore, the idea of the superiority of the beloved inextricably complements the act of love as an ennobling force. The supremacy of the beloved is evident in several of the examples of amorous relationships represented in *The Ring of the Dove* including relationships involving lovers belonging to different social classes, such as the love between a slave and a merchant (Ibn Hazm 52-53). While Ibn Hazm's treatise provides numerous examples of lovers of all social classes, the need to seek love from a woman of higher social class is not found in its pages. While nineteenth century scholars viewed the quest for love from a lady of higher social rank as an inextricable element of courtly love literature, their assertion was not based on either the Hispano-Arabic tradition or that of Andreas' text. Andreas' work, likewise, reveals a similar pattern of intermingling among lovers of various classes within the framework of the societal hierarchy of Languedoc, the region from which the aforementioned scholars proclaimed that courtly love began. For example, Andreas provides instructions for lovers from higher classes seeking the love of someone belonging to a lower class, along with instructions for lovers from lower classes seeking the love of someone from a higher class, most of which, it merits pointing out, do not align with the traditional set of rules of courtly love as prescribed by nineteenth century scholars.

An analysis of Andreas Capellanus' treatise exposes a representation of lovers and their class dissimilarities very similar to that of Ibn Hazm, which dispels the argument that lovers, in the early courtly love tradition, typically seek a lady of higher social status. Only two of the eight dialogues in Andreas depict a woman who belongs to a higher social class than the male who courts her, which suggests that love from higher social class should not be considered a foundational element in the courtly love tradition and, similarly, should not be used to discredit works such as Ibn Hazm's treatise from consideration as important sources for the literary convention. As an example of this, Andreas provides models of courtship of a man of the high nobility pursuing the affection of a women of the middle class (at least two classes below him), as well as five other examples of lovers who court women from lower social classes. In Andreas' sixth dialogue in which a man of one of the highest ranks of nobility courts a woman of much lower rank (the middle class). In doing so, the lover overtly confronts the matter of their unequal social rank: "May Your Grace, therefore, deign to retain me in your service and not reject the love of a count, for only a count or one of still higher rank is worthy of a love such as yours" (Andreas 84). He furthers his argument by blending the character and social rank in a possible attempt to justify this hierarchical mismatch: "God forbid that one so beautiful and of such an excellent character should ever care to select a lover from the middle class" (84). Beauty and character seem to offset an unequal social rank among lovers. Andreas' other examples establish a similar pattern, that is, lovers, both male and female, who court individuals from all ranks of society, not just from higher ranks.

The explicit act of mentioning and explaining class distinction reveals Andreas' implicit attempt to feudalize the ennobling force of love. The idea that love makes the lover a better, more virtuous person existed in the work of Ibn Hazm, which is dissimilar to the ennobling force

of love in Andreas' text, considering that he alters the this transformative feature from a virtuous one to one of social hierarchy. The significance that Andreas places on the social status of lovers and his discussion about how different men and women belonging to different classes should court men or women of specific classes reveal the importance that social status and hieratic structure have on the culture of twelfth century France, that is, social class differences do not inhibit amorous relations, although they reveal social rank in Andreas' epoch. Andreas' focus on social nobility and class division allows for a social ennobling in lovers (increasing one's social rank by involving oneself with a lady of elevated social status), as opposed to an ennobling of character or virtue as described in Ibn Hazm's text. In both cases, that of Andreas and that of Ibn Hazm, lovers are ennobled in virtue and in character, but the issue of class distinction is evident only in Andreas. According to my assessment of both Andreas' and Ibn Hazm's works, seeking the love of a woman of higher social rank should not be viewed as a requirement. Scholars have imposed this requirement when classifying works within the courtly love tradition, but this condition does not exist in either work. As a result, the fact that the requirement of seeking love from higher social ranks is not found in Andreas and, considering that it is considered to be an foundational work in the courtly love tradition, the absence of this particular characteristic in Ibn Hazm no longer seems relevant and should not be considered as a justification for excluding *The Ring of the Dove* as a significant and influential source for courtly love.

Scholars have said that love as a virtuous, ennobling force is a common trait found in the works of the troubadours, but, based on the above analysis, it is clear that it can also be found in Ibn Hazm's writing and the culture of Muslim Spain. It is evident in both the works of Andreas and of Ibn Hazm that the love of an individual belonging to an elevated social class is not a requirement for courtly love, and thus should not be used to dismiss *The Ring of the Dove* as an

significant source in forming the courtly love tradition in the Iberian peninsula and beyond, as Jeanroy has noted in his assessment of and objection to the Hispano-Arab theory of origin. The act of seeking love from a noble women may have become commonplace as the literary convention of courtly love developed through generations and across regions, but considering that this trait did not permeate troubadour poetry or the love treatises of Arab Spain, this particular idea should not be considered a fundamental feature of the tradition.

2.2.3 The Obligation of Service to the Beloved in Ibn Hazm

The act of service to the beloved has long been considered an essential feature of courtly love. Alfred Jeanroy argues, in his rejection of the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin, that service, or an "amorous vassalage" (367) as he calls it, does not exist in Ibn Hazm's text. Although Jeanroy is correct in pointing out that the act of service does not exist explicitly in Ibn Hazm's work, vassalage to the beloved is alluded to in Ibn Hazm's text. It is embodied indirectly in the chapter on fidelity by the actions of the lover fallen out of love: Ibn Hazm recounts a tale of a lover no longer desiring to serve his beloved, and thus, infers that he had previously served her as a result of his love. After ceasing to love her, the following transpires: "I requested him to do me a certain service, but he did not stir a finger to help me, pretending to be otherwise occupied, although the matter on which he claimed to be engaged was nothing urgent at all" (Ibn Hazm 155). The frustration expressed by the lover's former object of affection illustrates the presence, at a previous time while in love, of the act of service, which thus can be said to form a component of the Hispano-Arabic tradition of love. The passage proves that, when engaged in an amorous relationship, it is assumed that the lover will participate in any task requested by the beloved, which is in itself an act of service.

Other texts belonging to the Hispano-Arab tradition illustrate patterns and features of love similar to those found in Ibn Hazm's text. The *kharchas*, for example, composed in the same region and epoch of Ibn Hazm, reflect a similar philosophy of love while establishing a well-known base for the Hispano-Arabic literary tradition. The following fragments of poetry, translated and transliterated into modern Castilian and English, demonstrate the literary tradition and its unique elements, such as the woman's active role as a participant in the courtship process (a theme that I will discuss in the next chapter), the ennobling force of love, the insatiable nature of love, and other elements commonly attributed to the courtly love tradition. Ibn Hazm first described this type of love, and consequently, it should be considered as a unique trait of love distinctive to al-Andalus. The first example, found in the thirty-third *jarcha*, illustrates the unquestionable presence of the ennobling force of love: "If you want me as a good man / kiss me then [with] this string of pearls / mouth of cherries" (my translation).[22] The theme of frustrated love is apparent in the eighteenth *jarcha*: "So much loving, so much loving, / oh beloved, so much loving / Eyes that were gay became ill / and sorely pain to me" (Spitzer 9).[23] A similar topic, the tragic sense and fatal destiny of love, is undeniable in the fifteenth *jarcha*: "Tell me what I must do! / I am waiting for my beloved, through him I shall die" (Spitzer 9).[24] These are examples of themes parallel to Ibn Hazm's ideas and reveal that elements of courtly love exist not only in Ibn Hazm but also in literary works from the Hispano-Arabic tradition.

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[22] The following is a transliteration of Arabic characters to Latin-script letters and is a representation of the original text in Arabic: "šk'rš km bwn mib / biym 'd' 'lnzm dwk / bk'lh d' hb 'lmlwk" (García Gómez 1965, 124). The modern Spanish translation is: "Si me quieres como bueno / bésame entonces esta sarta de parla / boquita de cerezas" (García Gómez 1952, 96).

[23] The transliteration of the original reads: "tnt 'm'ry tnt 'mry / hbyb tnt 'm'ry / 'nfrmyrwn wlywš gydš / y dwln tn m'ly" (Stern 331). The modern Spanish translation is: "¡Tanto amar, tanto amar, / amado, tanto amar! / Enfermaron [mis] ojos, ¡ay Dios! / y duelen tanto" (Frenk Alatorre 5).

[24] The transliteration of the original reads: "g'r kfry[w] / km bbryw / 'št 'lḥbyb 'šb'r bwry lmrdyw" (Stern 16). The modern Spanish translation is: "Dime, ¿qué haré? / ¿cómo viviré? / A este amado espero, por él moriré" (Frenk Alatorre 6).

2.3 Peninsular Courtly Love Works and the Practices of Love According to Andreas Capellanus and Ibn Hazm

The fundamental argument for the present chapter establishes that the Hispano-Arabic literary tradition influenced both the European and Spanish traditions of courtly love. As a result of the impact of the Hispano-Arabic tradition and texts such as *The Ring of the Dove*, courtly love is different in Spain than in German, English and French literatures, although some features are shared. These distinctions become evident when contrasting the depiction of love in Ibn Hazm's and Andreas' works. Three examples of such differences are: 1) the function and detailed role of an intermediary or mediator of love; 2) death and suicide as a result of love; 3) the role of women as active participants in the courtship process, all of which help establish the unique sort of courtly love brought about by the Hispano-Arabic tradition. The first discrepancy between the treatise of Andreas and the work of Ibn Hazm is the role of the messenger or go-between between used to communicate and facilitate surreptitious love affairs. Don Alfred Monson in his book, *Andreas Capellanus, Scholasticism and the Courtly Tradition*, examines the role and representation of the messenger in the work of Andreas. After mentioning that love, according to Andreas, must remain confidential between lovers, Monson describes the lack of intermediaries in Andreas and points out the only explicit occurrence in the following: "besides these [a confidante appropriate for each lover] they may have one faithful intermediary [. . .] through whom the affair may always be managed in secret and in the proper fashion" (Andreas 165). The role of the messenger is minor in Andreas' discourse. In contrast, Ibn Hazm, with great care and detail, explains the role and significance of the custom of integrating a messenger into the courtship of lovers, an image that is reflected clearly in *Carcél de amor*, *El libro de buen amor*, and *La Celestina*. Ibn Hazm furthers his justification for the go-between by clarifying his

or her value in the love affair along with the carefulness required in selecting an appropriate intermediary: "He [the messenger] needs to be sought and chosen with great care, so that he shall be both a good and an energetic man; he is the proof of the lover's intelligence, for in his hands (under God's Providence) rest the life and death of the lover, his honor and his disgrace" (Ibn Hazm 73). The difference between the selection process of an intermediary in Andreas and Ibn Hazm is that the former argues that lovers should choose the messenger together, while the later indirectly refers to the lover (the one seeking the love of another) as the one having the duty to locate and incorporate a third-party into the courtship, a feature that is identifiable in *Libro de buen amor*, *Carcél de amor*, and *la Celestina*, making it a distinctive feature of Peninsular courtly love that may have been inspired in Ibn Hazm.

This unique characteristic becomes more evident when Ibn Hazm's continues beyond the mere suggestion of the use of a messenger and establishes particular duties and traits that a worthwhile messenger must perform and possess:

> [T]he messenger should be presentable, quick-witted, able to take a hint and to read between the lines, possessed of initiative and the ability to supply out of his own understanding things which may have been overlooked by his principal; he must also convey to his employer all that he observes with complete accuracy; he ought to be able to keep secrets and preserve trusts; he must be a loyal, cheerful and sincere well-wisher. (Ibn Hazm 73)

Ibn Hazm describes the common physical appearance of women who serve as intermediaries who "hobble along on sticks, and carry rosaries, and are wrapped up in a pair of red cloaks" (74). He continues by describing the duties and social roles of women who act as messengers: "Women plying a trade or profession, which gives them ready access to people, are popular with

lovers—the lady doctor for instance, or the blood-letter, the peddler, the broker, the coiffeuse, the professional mourner, the singer, the soothsayer, the schoolmistress, the errand-girl, the spinner, the weaver, and the like" (74). All of these details are crucial in order to achieve a potential and successful love affair. Ibn Hazm's attention to specific details are what sets his requisite of the messenger apart from that of Andreas, that is, the need for a messenger is not all that is needed, but a specific type of messenger is most advantageous in successfully managing an amorous relationship.

One additional variance is the function of the intermediary. According to Andreas, his or her function is to maintain an established relationship, not to establish one as previously described in Ibn Hazm's work and commonly found in the Peninsular tradition. Andreas suggests that the lovers choose an intermediary "by common consent" (165), which suggests that the lovers have already established a line of communication and require a messenger to uphold or advance a blossoming relationship. The unique role and function of the messenger in Ibn Hazm and, subsequently in the Spanish literary tradition, adds yet another distinction between courtly love as it evolved in Muslim Spain and southern France.

Andreas and Ibn Hazm also differ with regard to the fatal consequences that may result from a relationship within the courtly love tradition. Alan Deyermond summarizes the traits traditionally found in the Spanish literary practice of courtly love and, apart from the common features found in French literature, he adds that Peninsular courtly love may be tragic and result in a fatal conclusion (43), which is not found in Andreas' treatise or the lyrical works of the troubadours. Tragic unattainable love, however, is found in many Peninsular works such as *Carcél de amor* and *la Celestina*. Ibn Hazm, likewise, provides an example of the tragic consequences of love:

> Sometimes the affair becomes so aggravated, the lover's nature is so sensitive, and his anxiety so extreme, that the combined circumstances result in his demise and departure out of this transient world. The well-known dictum of the Fathers declares that 'He who loves, and controls himself, and so dies, the same is a martyr.' (220)

The concept of tragic unattainable love along with the provocation of death as a proof of love occurs in the narrative and verses in *The Ring of the Dove.* These models become evident when Ibn Hazm narrates the tale of an Andalusian man who lost his beloved to a wealthier man: "the Andalusian, being in despair (after learning that the king is unable and unwilling to help return is lady to him), bent himself double, and with his hands clutching his feet he threw himself down from the topmost height of the audience-chamber to the earth" (228). The Andalusian man survives his attempt at suicide, which prompts the king to request that the other man toss himself from the precipice in an equal manner as a divine test; the survivor would win this test of love and merit the woman. This particular account demonstrates the existence of tragic fate as one of the outcomes of love, a practice evident in and unique to Peninsular courtly love tales, many of which will be analyzed in the fourth chapter.

The third difference concerns the active role of women. Marianne Shapiro, in her article that discusses the scarcity and shared characteristics of female troubadours, also known as trobairitz, states that traditionally women were passive participants in the courtly love tradition: "The lady stood at the pinnacle of achievement in more than the exploits of sexual love, for the poet-lover suffered both the torments of unrequited love and the ache of un-fulfilled ambition. She was the emblem of nobility itself and as such could only stand passively as the target of all his effort (Shapiro 561). Andreas, for example, in his eight illustrations that instruct men how to

obtain a lover, exemplifies a male dominated courtship process, which, in turn, requires a passive role from the lady. Ibn Hazm in agreement with other works of Hispano-Arabic literature conversely provides numerous examples of women actively pursuing men, participating equally in an amorous relationship, and performing other non-traditional tasks in the pursuit of a relationship, many of these examples will be explored and analyzed extensively in the following chapter.

2.4 *The Ring of the Dove* as a Literary Foundation of *The Art of Courtly Love*

I have asserted in this study that *The Ring of the Dove* and the culture of Muslim Spain played an influential role in shaping the Peninsular variety of courtly love. At the same time, I have not denied that Andreas' treatise on love influenced the same literary convention, although his influence begin nearly a century later in a different region. The issue I will consider now is whether Ibn Hazm's work directly influenced Andreas' work. It is possible that Ibn Hazm's work functioned as a literary and thematic source of inspiration for Andreas' treatise on love. As an alternative hypothesis, it seems more reasonable to consider the possibility that the Peninsular tradition is a distinctive variety of courtly love, which is a tradition with its own unique yet similar features. Of course, one should not deny Andreas' influence on the Peninsular courtly love tradition as his work has been documented as a direct source for many canonical courtly love works. At the same time, when considering the literary tradition of the Peninsula, one should consider the influence of Ibn Hazm and *The Ring of the Dove* as more important.

The literary tradition of medieval Spain depicts a version of courtly love with a Hispano-Arabic nuance. The following trajectory defines the tradition of Peninsular courtly love: Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove* in the eleventh century along with other Arabic love treatises (*Tarjuman al-Ashwaq* by Ibn Arabi, for example) inspired works of the late eleventh and early

twelfth centuries, such as the *kharchas*. The *kharchas* provided a literary and cultural framework that shaped later Christian works such as the *Cantigas d'amigo* from the thirteenth century. These works established the groundwork for the Peninsular courtly love tradition. Although the lyrics of the Occitan troubadours codified the courtly love tradition, the literature and culture of Arab Spain helped develop the unique style of the Peninsular tradition.

Roger Boase's seminal study on the origins of courtly love, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A critical study of European scholarship*, discusses the theory of the Hispano-Arabic origin of courtly love. In order to provide credibility, Boase explores parallels between the courts of al-Andalus and the courts of southern France, from which point communication between the two cultures must have existed (Boase 63). The question of communication has been debated by scholars for many years. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, in agreement with Boase that certain connections existed, suggests that a lack of interaction between cultures remains as an issue for many scholars, which deters their acceptance of the Hispano-Arabic theory of origin: "the reluctance of many scholars to accept [this theory] is based on a deep-seated prejudice: the false belief in the intellectual isolation of the two worlds, Christian and Islamic" (my translation) (38).[25] Boase attempts to break down this supposed cultural barrier by providing examples of music, literature, scholarship, culture and other elements that reveal ties between the two cultures. In light of evidence presented by Boase, such as the presence of the *zajal* in both regions, *The Ring of the Dove* along with the culture and traditions of Arab Spain should be considered as important sources.

A literary genre that transcends both Western and Eastern societies is the formal treatise on love, which has existed as a literary genre since antiquity. Ibn Hazm's contribution to the love

[25] The original Spanish version reads as follows: "la resistencia de muchos eruditos a aceptar […] se funda en un prejuicio muy arraigado: la falsa creencia en la incomunicación intelectual de los dos orbes, cristiano e islámico" (Menéndez Pidal 38)

treatise functions as a personal guide for lovers written in an informal dialogic style, a form that incorporates theoretical examples of lovers seeking love, all of which, according to Ibn Hazm, are said to have been based on actual examples of from Muslim Spain in the eleventh century. *The Ring of the Dove* provides details, according to Ibn Hazm, about what has occurred to those having previously experienced comparable situations, and, as a consequence of having read these examples, the reader extracts implicit instructions about love. This unique model differs from the Classical treatises on love, such as the *Ars Amatoria,* in which Ovid presents a guide for men partaking in a metaphorical battle for love with the ultimate goal of attaining a loved one, taking advantage of her, and eventually leaving her. Ovid's treatise is full of deceptive techniques and falsehoods. In Ovid's work, women, unlike in Ibn Hazm and Andreas, have little if any role in the courtship process; even their ability to love is questionable. According to Ovid, women lack the intellectual capacity to experience true love. Ibn Hazm and Andreas Capellanus, however, venerate the beloved and, in a sense, adore her by offering sensible and useful guidance to the reader. Additionally, women in Ibn Hazm's and Andreas' are able to experience love, that is, they are no longer simple passive objects of affection but active participants, although women seem to have a greater role in the courtship process in Ibn Hazm's text than in Andreas'. The unique role of women provides not only a contrast between the Classical version of love and that of the Middle Ages but also a clear indication of the lasting influence brought about by Ibn Hazm's representation of love and of women and the Hispano-Arabic variety of love. The concept of women as adept protagonists in the art of courtship is not found in most Classical sources such as Ovid. It is a tradition common to certain Classical sources, Plato for example, and the Hispano-Arabic literature. As mentioned in the first chapter, scholars have pointed to Plato as a Classical source for Ibn Hazm and to Ovid as a source for Andreas and the

troubadours. The issue of women and their ability to experience love and participate actively in the courtship process, as evidenced by the courtly love tradition, originates from the philosophy of love from Plato and, subsequently, Ibn Hazm.

2.5 An Analysis of Additional Features of Courtly Love in *The Ring of the Dove*

In the first chapter of this study I discussed Alexander J. Denomy's theory that three unique elements set courtly love apart from other literary traditions or representations of love, elements that are in addition to other common traits found in the lyrics of the troubadours. Denomy lists the three distinguishing traits: "first, the ennobling force of human love; second, in the elevation of the beloved to a place of superiority above the lover; third, in the conception of love as ever unsatiated, ever increase desire" (20). In the present chapter I have disputed claims by scholars that Ibn Hazm's text does not exhibit these features and, should thus not be considered as a literary source for courtly love. In his seminal study of the literary convention, C.S. Lewis's evaluates the corpus of courtly love literature by reducing it to five shared attributes, that is, common traits thought to be found in all varieties of courtly love literature, all of which will be discussed in relation to *The Ring of the Dove* below. The common features of courtly love according Lewis have not been identified in Ibn Hazm's treatise. The following section will explore *The Ring of the Dove* in search of these attributes of courtly love.

The first attribute of courtly love accepts that this type of love and courtship behavior occurred exclusively as a literary convention, an idea I discussed in the first chapter of this study. The second attribute implies that the love relationship must be secret, and, consequently, the revelation of said secret negates or terminates the amorous association. The third attribute indicates that the participants in a love relationship in the courtly love tradition must belong to an aristocratic family. The fourth attribute specifies that the lovers' act is one of adultery or that

their affair should be extramarital. Marriage was not considered to be an objective within the framework of courtly love. The final attribute describes courtly love as a ritualized, systematic form of courtship involving a variety of essential characteristics, most of which I have discussed and analyzed previously. In order to better establish Ibn Hazm's text as a major literary influence on courtly love, I will demonstrate that all of the aforementioned attributes are found in *The Ring of the Dove*.

In modern scholarship of courtly love, the issue of real world practice has been debated for decades. Ibn Hazm explicitly explains in the author's preface of his text that the issue of real world practice of the type of love he plans to describe is unique to the Arabs in al Andalus and should not be read as a prescriptive text written as a guide for lovers, which is a striking contrast from Andreas' guide for lovers written a century and a half later. Ibn Hazm claims to observe real people and authentic relationships. He also states that his accounts of lovers and their actions are not influenced by ancient writers and philosophers and their texts. The following selection sums up Ibn Hazm's proclamation and intention to record and report exclusively the love of Arabs in al-Andalus: "I shall be quoting in this essay verses which I have composed myself upon my own observations" (Ibn Hazm 18). In other words, the author is testifying that he has been an eye-witness to the events to be described in his work. He continues the same assertion when describing the accounts reported by his acquaintances: "I have kept in this book to the bounds set by you, limiting myself to things which I have either seen with my own eyes, or I am convinced are true as deriving from trustworthy reporters" (18). Finally, he concludes his preface by dismissing the idea that his vision of love is based on the work of others or from the tales of antiquity: "Spare me those tales of Bedouins, and of lovers long ago! Their ways were not our ways, and the stories told of them are too numerous in any case. It is not my practice to wear out

anybody's riding-beast but my own; I am not one of those who deck themselves up in borrowed plumes" (18). It is clear that Ibn Hazm's work was intended to be written as an exclusive representation of love as embodied by the society in which he resided, although the influence of the scholars of antiquity, many of whom Ibn Hazm read and studied, may have influenced his representation of love in al-Andalus.

The secret nature of county love is one of the most clearly defined attribute found in *The Ring of the Dove*. Ibn Hazm pens two chapters on the subject of secrecy: one detailing the value of maintaining a relationship in secret titled "On Concealing the Secret" and the following chapter in which he describes the consequences of the lack of clandestineness in an amours relationship, which is titled "On Divulging the Secret." In the former, Ibn Hazm states explicitly the value of secrecy: "One of the attributes of Love is holding the tongue; the lover will deny everything if interrogated, affect a great show of fortitude, and make it appear that he is extremely continent and a confirmed bachelor" (76). Additionally, he describes the importance of secrecy to an established relationship, as opposed to one that has just begun, "It is possible in the early stages to delude those lacking in finer sensibility; once Love has firmly established itself, however, that is entirely out of the question" (76). According to Ibn Hazm, secrecy is an essential attribute in the courtship process and, as proof of this assertion, he provides many justifications for keeping a relationship secret. His first discussion of the clandestine nature of love additionally bolsters the previously mentioned idea of the ennobling force of love—"Sometimes the reason for concealment is that the lover wishes to spare his beloved; then it is a proof of loyalty, a mark of true nobility of character" (79)—which once again demonstrates how love makes the lover more honorable, in terms of his character, not his rank. Ibn Hazm does consider the rank of the beloved, however, as another condition for concealing the nature of the

relationship. He designates the second reason for keeping the relationship private: “Sometimes, again, the reason for the discretion is that the lover would protect himself against the consequences of his secret’s disclosure, on account of the illustrious rank of his beloved” (80). This reference provides evidence that the ennobling force of love exists in Ibn Hazm’s work, although it is one of character, not of social rank.

The concept of secrecy in a relationship had such value in eleventh century Muslim Spain that Ibn Hazm provides an entire chapter in order to describe the consequences of outing a clandestine affair. He begins by cautioning that the revelation of an amorous secret “is one of the most deplorable accidents that can befall a romance” (82), and, accordingly, has the potential to end the love affair. The attribute of secrecy in a relationship is paramount to Ibn Hazm and the type of love described in his text.

The following passage furthers the idea of secrecy and segues into the theme of adultery. Ibn Hazm voices his disregard for stories of amorous relationships that speak openly of the details of romantic escapades and, consequently, promote the idea of secrecy within a relationship: “I have read in some Bedouin tale that their womenfolk do not feel satisfied and convinced that a man is really in love with them until his romantic feelings become public knowledge and are completely divulged.” This statement, based on other works of Arab literature, supports Ibn Hazm’s requisite of secrecy. He states that the lover in Bedouin’s tale, “must advertise and broadcast his attachment, and sing their praises for all to hear. I know not what to make of that, considering they have such a reputation for chastity: what chastity does a woman in fact possess, if her greatest desire and joy is to be notorious after this fashion?” (86). Ibn Hazm is vague as to whether this chastity belongs to single or married women, which leads to the attribute of adultery. His words throughout the majority of his text, nevertheless, neither

support nor deny extramarital relationships and focus the attention of the relationship to its clandestine nature. This omission is not necessarily an overt promotion of adultery, as will be discussed below. Late in Ibn Hazm's text, he dedicates a portion of his chapter "On the vileness of sinning" to warn of the sinful nature of adultery, which, along with false accusations of adultery, result in a penalty of death. This particular chapter clearly describes Ibn Hazm's viewpoint on adultery. The previous twenty or more chapters are less clear and, as I have explored, appear to support and elevate physical acts within a relationship. It is possible that Ibn Hazm's concluding chapters function as a redaction to previously stated misconceptions or vague antidotes of love that may possibly be interpreted to support adulterous behavior. Many critics speculate that the second part of Andreas' text serves as a refutation to the first half of his text, which, if accepted, would reflect Ibn Hazm's seemingly contradictory admiration and admonitions of extramarital activity.

The adulterous nature of love as described by Ibn Hazm is less clear than some of the other attributes, even though adultery and love outside the confines of marriage exist in his text. C.S. Lewis attributes the extramarital nature of courtly love to the observation that in a feudal society "marriage had nothing to do with love […] all matches were made of interest. […] Any idealization of sexual love, in a society where marriage is purely utilitarian, must begin by being an idealization of adultery" (13). Physical union and sexual desire were disconnected from legal and religious matrimony. Ibn Hazm includes three chapters that are appropriate for considering the issue of adultery, that is, he includes three chapters that focus on sexual desire and union, none of which consider marriage as either a necessary element or an obstacle. One particular chapter focuses on the union of lovers, which suggests and describes a sexual relationship. He describes the union as "pure happiness which is without alloy, and gladness unsullied by sorrow,

the perfect realization of hopes and the complete fulfillment of one's dreams" (118). Further on, Ibn Hazm ranks passion as one of the highest joys, "I have found that neither intimacy with princes, nor wealth acquired, nor finding after lacking, nor returning after a long absence, nor security after fear and repose in a safe refuge—none of these things so powerfully affect the soul as union with the beloved, especially if it come after long denial and continual banishment" (118). The bond of marriage is never mentioned in the chapter "On Union," which implies that matrimony was subordinate, at best, to a physical or emotional relationship.

Scholars are not in agreement with the interpretation of what is meant by a union, that is, whether Ibn Hazm refers to a spiritual union or a physical one. Diane Ackerman, in agreement with an assortment of scholars, proposes that Ibn Hazm's "attitude was deeply Platonic as well as Muslim, especially when he spoke about the need to become one with the beloved" (49). Ibn Hazm may have been describing a union of souls, yet generations of readers may have interpreted it differently as a union of bodies. The chapters "On Fidelity" and "Of Betrayal" describe the importance of fidelity along with its absence. Ibn Hazm considers fidelity to be particularly vital in an amours relationship: "the noble characteristics and virtuous habits by which men may be adorned, whether they are engaged in love-making or any other activity, fidelity ranks high" (152). He describes betrayal as "base and detestable in the extreme" (161). Once again, matrimony is not explicitly mentioned in either chapter. The value of fidelity within a relationship appears to be dominant, which again places marriage at a lower level or rank. Ibn Hazm does not explicitly promote or condone extra-marital affairs, although a great portion of his work lauds the role of a physical relationship and fidelity among lovers. Marriage is seldom mentioned and does not appear to supersede other characteristics of romantic relationships.

The ritualistic element of the courtship process is evident in several forms. First, each chapter demonstrates a different stage, complexity, issue, and so on, all of which signal patterns common to the society, according to the author, in which he lived. These patterns spell out a ritualistic approach to attain love, that is, a systematic approach for lovers to acquire a lady. As an example, the enticing of the lady by means of elaborate songs or poetry is considered to be a common ritual in the courting process of courtly love. In Ibn Hazm's chapter "Of Allusion by Words," he states that in many cases poetry or song is the first point of contact in the courtship process. Ibn Hazm writes that "the first device employed by those who seek union, being lovers, in order to disclose their feelings to the object of their passion, is allusion by means of words. Either they will quote a verse of poetry, or dispatch an allegory, or rhyme a riddle, or propose an enigma, or use heightened language" (65). Exchanging gifts or tokens of love exhibits an additional ritual of lovers. Ibn Hazm makes no mention of a physical exchange of tangible gifts, although he describes intangible tokes of love in his chapter on the "Signs of Love." He describes the outward tokens of love evident in the lovers' behavior in the following way:

> [A] playful tug-of-war for anything the one or the other lays hold of; much clandestine winking; leaning sideways and supporting oneself against the object of one's affection; endeavoring to touch his hand, and whatever other part of his body one can reach, while engaged in conversation; and drinking the remainder of what the beloved has left in his cup, seeking out the very spot against which his lips were pressed. (36)

These commonly exhibited behaviors, among others, validate the ritualistic patterns of love in Arab Spain, and, consequently, reveal agreement with the shared attributes of courtly love literature.

The aristocratic element of love may be one of the most challenging attributes in attempting to establish Ibn Hazm's text as an important source of inspiration for courtly love. C.S. Lewis explains the requirement by explaining that this new code of behavior absorbs the class structure of the society about which it was written: "The whole attitude [of courtly love] has been rightly described as 'a feudalization of love'. This solemn amatory ritual is felt to be part and parcel of the courtly love. It is possible only to those who are, in the old sense of the word, polite. […] Only the courteous can love, but it is love that makes them courteous" (2). As mentioned previously in this chapter, the societal structure in eleventh century Muslim Spain did not share many features in common with the society of thirteenth century France. Aristocracy played a role in both societies, although its presence appears to affect the actions of lovers more profoundly in France than in Arab Spain. Ibn Hazm's practitioners of love include men and women from many ranks of society, such as princes, viziers, sovereigns, and others belonging or related to the highest ranking officials of the epoch. *The Ring of the Dove* offers countless examples of men from various societal ranks seeking the love of slave girls. In most cases, the rank of the lover is not mentioned or is inferred from his title, which confirms my earlier mentioned supposition that the love described by Ibn Hazm has little concern with social mobility. Social rank plays a role in courting in Arab Spain, although a secondary one. For example, in the chapter "On Secrecy," Ibn Hazm is careful to describe the social ranks of the lovers in order to consider the implications, sociologically speaking, that such an affair may or may not have on either the lover's or the beloved's position in society. This distinction, however, appears to be necessary in Ibn Hazm's text in order to illustrate other relevant factors when courting a man or women properly, according to Arab tradition. These class divisions appear to

have a less significant role in the courtship process than what is described and thought to be required in the societies of the thirteenth century and the literature of courtly love.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed the topic of the origin of the literary convention known as courtly love, a subject that has been debated for over a century. I have demonstrated that many of the traits of courtly love are found in Ibn Hazm's text *The Ring of the Dove*. As I will continue to prove in subsequent chapters, the main source of the unique sort of Peninsular courtly love can be attributed to the Hispano-Arabic tradition as exemplified by Ibn Hazm's text, *The Ring of the Dove*. The characteristics of courtly love considered fundamental and exclusive to the Peninsular tradition not found in the work of Ibn Hazm are found in other Hispano-Arabic texts, such as the *kharchas*, which suggests that the Spanish literary convention was influenced by Hispano-Arabic works. The European tradition (the non-Peninsular sort) of courtly love, although similar, has a dissimilar set of beginnings and literary foundations.

Chapter 3

The Role of Women and the Female Voice in *The Ring of the Dove* and Medieval Peninsular Works

Simon May, when discussing the unique attributes of courtly love, asserts that *fin' amor* elevates women to a nearly divine level: "a woman is now worshipped as a privileged repository of virtue [. . .] the troubadours challenge a centuries-old view of women as temptresses who lead men to sin, on the model of Eve and Adam: of woman as the path of wickedness and the devil's gateway" (122). As discussed in previous chapters, modern scholarship generally recognizes the troubadours as innovators of this "extraordinary reversal of roles, in which even a supremely powerful feudal lord subordinates himself to a lady who by all the social and political authority of the times is vastly his inferior" (122). As May asserts, the evolution of the female temptress into a nearly divine being developed over hundreds of years. Yet, as Christopher Brooke describes, "the problem [for the lack of progress in studying women's history] was, and is, that we have so little direct first-hand evidence about the vast majority of women" (121), particularly first-hand literary accounts of women in the Middle Ages. The issue of the historical role of women, based on historical representations, bears relevance to my study insofar as Ibn Hazm claims his examples of romantic escapades of women represent the women of his day and the society in which he lived. *The Ring of the Dove* thus provides a clear representation of the amorous behavior of women in Arab Spain. As for the literary tradition of Europe of the tenth to twelfth centuries, an absence of information concerning women exists, such as accounts of their actions, emotions, and thoughts, songs and poetry of expressing the female voice, among other specifics. This is not the case in Arab Spain, particularly in Ibn Hazm's work *The Ring of the Dove.* Ibn Hazm's treatise on love exhibits a representation of women in Arab Spain along with

the changing role of women and their evolution into active participants in the courtship process. Courtly love scholars suggest that women protagonists in the works of courtly love represent an evolutionary progression from a passive role in the courtship process (as was the case in many tales of ancient times) to an active role. This new behavior is thought to have its foundation in the courtly love works of the troubadours in Occitania. This chapter will prove that the advancement of the role of women to active participants occurred much earlier, which I will support through analysis of Ibn Hazm's work and his depiction of the society of Arab Spain. Moreover, analyses of works from other regions dealing with the courtship process (written in Arabic and Galician Portuguese) the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas* and the *cantigas* will provide further understanding of the developing role of women of the tenth to thirteenth centuries.

This chapter will examine Ibn Hazm's representation of women in *The Ring of the Dove* by exploring idiosyncrasies related to the active role of women in the courtship process, along with other unique characteristics of Ibn Hazm's female protagonists. Later, I will take into account scholarly investigations in order to establish a link between Ibn Hazm's work and the *muwashshahāt* and the *kharjas.* Furthermore, my research will explore the influence the *kharjas* had on the development of the *cantigas d'amigo*. The connection will suggest the influence of Ibn Hazm and *The Ring of the Dove* on the courtly love tradition, especially with relation to women as active participants in amorous affairs and with influential voices in the courtship process.

This chapter will reveal the Hispano-Arabic role in shaping the transition from passive women protagonists in literature to women protagonists with active voices and, in some cases, exhibit examples of women who take matters into their own hands in the courtship process. I will

first identify and analyze textual examples in *The Ring of the Dove* in which women participate actively in the courtship process, explicitly articulate their objectives, and take action in order to realize an assortment of amorous goals. Secondly, I will explore other early Hispano-Arabic works that provide similar examples of female engagement, such as the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas* and the *cantiga d'amigo*. In my analyses, I will consider the presence of sexual activity when initiated and sought after by the female participant in the tradition of courtly love, which is evident in both implicit and explicit textual illustrations in the aforementioned works. I will analyze the relationship between lovers as either physical or intellectual considering the presence of neo-Platonism in the Peninsula. Finally, I will discuss the Islamic tradition of women exploring sensuality, the voice of women and similar traits. My discussion will not only support my hypothesis that a distinctive variety of courtly love existed in the Peninsula and received inspiration from Ibn Hazm's text, but it will also unveil the active role of women participants, in the Hispano-Arabic courtly love literary convention.

Previously, I observed that until the inception of courtly love literature, women protagonists in the courtship process played little or no role, which, for the most part, is accurate, although some form of participation, albeit passive[26], in the courtly love tradition denotes a historical change for women. Katherine M. Rogers in her book, *The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Literature,* describes in detail the history of attitudes toward marriage, love, and women. By looking toward Greek, Roman, and Biblical sources, along with an assortment of medieval writings, she states that the literary tradition of medieval Europe was extremely misogynistic, "an attitude only slightly tempered by the concept of courtly love" (58). Rogers' comment suggests what many other scholars have proposed regarding the changing role

[26] Female troubadours and other writings in the courtly love convention from the perspective of a female protagonist or author exist, although these cases are rare.

of women advanced by this new code of behavior. A movement that signals the beginning of a new era in the role of women, one in which the lady is able to contribute to the courtship process, actively in certain cases, passively in others. Rogers indicates that both the society and literature of the European Middle Ages had a misogynistic propensity evident in almost all genres, regions, and languages. The literary convention of courtly love provided an active voice and empowered women.

3.1 Identification and Analysis of Textual Examples in *The Ring of the Dove* in which Women Play an Active Role in the Courtship Process

The culture of Arab Spain in the tenth and eleventh centuries allowed women more educational, political, and religious freedoms than other geographically near societies. The development of a literary tradition that permitted women to express their desire to seek, initiate, advance a relationship with a lover, involve herself sexually, and even terminate a romantic relationship reflects the sociological characteristics of this society with more gender equality than other regions in medieval Europe. Many of the features I will analyze in this chapter, such as the active voice and role of women among many others, revealed by women characters in various texts, strongly suggest a connection to and an existence of the knowledge of the distinctive and active role of women depicted in Ibn Hazm's epoch and in his text. This connection explains the inclusion of female protagonists in *The Ring of the Dove* who seek men, an occurrence not common to the Western European literature of the eleventh century. S. M. Imamuddin, in his sociological study of medieval Muslim culture in the Peninsula, explains that women had similar freedoms as men, were able to achieve similar levels of culture, participated politically, owned property, were educated, and were able to divorce their husbands with due cause. Women, overall, occupied a similar level of equality within the society of their day (34-

35). Additionally, he states that "much of the chivalrous sprit and gallantry for which the Muslims of Spain were famous was undoubtedly due to the ennobling influence of women" (35). Imamuddin implies that the freedom and presence of women at social events in al-Andalus compelled men to increase their social worth and become nobler, by means of virtue. He furthers his argument by stating that "the frequent association of the sexes gave rise to a delicacy of sentiment and refinement of manners" (35), which allowed gentlemen to produce a "polished courtesy and an exalted feeling of honour" (35). The fundamental idea implied by describing the freedoms and advances of women in al-Andalus and the contrasting feature, unlike the female role in medieval France, is that this sociological equality permitted women to have an influential and significant voice, not only in society but also in all things relating to amorous interactions. Ibn Hazm clearly typifies this sociological phenomenon in *The Ring of the Dove,* which plants the seed for women to become increasingly inspired to take matter into their own hands, especially when the convention of courtly love codifies more than a century later. This idea will be explored later in this chapter in relation to the courtship process and the amorous relationship.

Lois Griffen, in an article exploring Ibn Hazm and *The Ring of the Dove,* analyzes Ibn Hazm's view of women, both in the society of Arab Spain and in his treatise. In her analysis, she states that Ibn Hazm disrupts the traditional role of woman as passive participants in the courtship process: "women appear not only as the beloved, the pursued one, but often as equal participants or the heroine smitten with love" (432). She suggests that Ibn Hazm is unique among scholars of his day in that he views men and women as equal in their ability to experience love: "[Ibn Hazm] rejects the opinion commonly held among [medieval Muslim scholars] that men are better able than women to restrain their passions. He believes that men and women are equally vulnerable to an illicit love, given sufficient time and opportunity and seductive influence" (423).

Ibn Hazm deals with the issue of equality of women in their ability to experience love in his chapter "The Vileness of Sinning." He first states the traditional idea that passion controls only men: "I hear many people say, 'Complete subjugation of the passions is found only among men, and not among women'" (232). He contrasts this notion by stating that "men and women are exactly equal in their inclination towards these two things ["that which lies between his moustache and beard, and that which lies between his two legs"]" (232). Further on, when discussing the sin of seduction, Ibn Hazm explains that men and women are equally vulnerable to seduction of the opposite sex. He begins by describing the sin of seduction and temptation[27], that is, men who experience temptation imposed on them by women: "The man does not exist who, having been offered the love of a pretty woman a long time, and there being no obstacle to prevent him, will not fall into Satan's net, will not be seduced by sin[28], and will not be excited by desire and led astray by concupiscence" (232). In order to demonstrate how women have been created with a similar propensity toward sin, he states that "there is no woman who, if invited by a man in the selfsame circumstances, will not surrender to him in the end; it is the absolute law and inescapable decree of destiny" (232). In associating both men and women as perpetrators of the same sin, which is enticing the opposite sex into sinful activities, Ibn Hazm dispels the notion that women are exclusively culpable for such temptation and places both sexes on the same level of responsibility. My inclusion regarding the debate of sin is not to say that all relationships lead to extramarital affairs or are of a sinful nature. The connection between women as equal collaborators attempts to demonstrate Ibn Hazm's ideology on equality, that is, his belief that

[27] The Qur'an describes the concept of *fitnah*, which translates to temptation, as a sinful activity.

[28] Here Ibn Hazm describes the sin of seduction and/or temptation. The Qur'an explains the sin of temptation as any distraction from Allah. Multiple verses in the Qur'an caution against the perils of sexual seduction or temptation which may influence a believer to commit other sins.

women and men are equally at risk of condemnation for their sins; one is not more or less responsible than the other.

At times *The Ring of the Dove* reverses the traditional model of men pursuing women in the courtship process. Ibn Hazm speaks about several instances in which women actively pursue men, not only in search of establishing a new amorous relationship but also in order to advance one already in progress. His most overt example is found in his chapter "On Union," in which Ibn Hazm describes a slave girl in love with a young, noble man and aggressively pursues his love: "I know of a young slave-girl who was ardently passionate for a certain youth, the son of a noble household, but he was ignorant of her sentiments. Great was her sorrow, and long her despair, so that she pined and wasted away for the love of him" (121). In this passage, Ibn Hazm provides an example of a relationship possessing many qualities that pertain to the convention of courtly love: a lover seeks affection from a beloved of higher social status and the lover experienced a blessed suffering[29] as a result of falling in love. The lover, however, is female and enthusiastically pursues a gentleman of higher social status, which is not a typical occurrence in tales of courtly love. Ibn Hazm continues by describing the emotional state of the female lover: "As time went on, however, and the girl felt more and more certain of the state of her heart, she at last complained of her plight to a sagacious woman who enjoyed her confidence, for she was her old nurse" (121), which proves not only the lady's ability to experience love, but also her resolve to take action. An additional noteworthy element here is the use of the intermediary, which seems necessary given cultural norms imposed upon women. The lack of ability women have to publicly proclaim or openly seek love from men. The intermediary suggests that the lady lure her beloved by means of the written word, which is common to courtly love, although men

[29] Ottis Green, as discussed in the first chapter of this present study, describes one of the attributes of courtly love as a *blessed suffering*: "a love of penas, of 'blessed suffering'; of non-attainment, of have-and-have-not, a love of impossibility, an amour lointain" (Green 202).

typically write to women: "The [old women] said to her, 'Hint at your feelings to him in verse'" (121). After several unsuccessful attempts, due to the youth's inability to find the occulted meaning in the lady's words, the lady takes action: "Finally the girl's endurance was at an end; her emotions were insupportable. [. . .] Finding that she could no longer control her feelings, when she stood up to leave him she suddenly turned and kissed him on the mouth, then, without uttering a single word, coquettishly swaying she withdrew" (122). The resourcefulness demonstrated by the lady affects the gentleman in such a way that he quickly falls in love with her. Subsequently, they initiate an idealistic relationship: "Such was the beginning of a love between them, which continued many moons" (123). This passage provides one of many example by Ibn Hazm of women successfully seeking men, an idea not possible within the traditional, European view of courtly love.

3.2 Exploration of Literature from Arab Spain Exemplifying a Female Perspective, an Active Engagement of Women, and an Overt Female Voice

Historically, scholars and historians alike agree that King Juan of Aragon (1350-1396), who ruled from Barcelona from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the century, used Andreas Capellanus' work as a textbook in the educational system of the courts of Aragon and other kingdoms.[30] For this reason, it is not feasible to argue that *The Art of Courtly Love* had little or no influential effect on the literature in the various kingdoms of Spain during the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries and beyond. This following section will analyze several Peninsular works considered to belong to the courtly love tradition, all of which were written

[30] For additional information regarding Andreas' text and its scholarly use in the courts of Spain, see: Parry, John Jay. Introduction. *The Art of Courtly Love*. By Andreas Capellanus. New York: Columbia UP, 1990. 3-24. It has been well document that the courts in Aragon used Andreas' text. Scholars have suggested its study in other kingdom, but evidence is less concrete. For the purpose of my study, works written prior to the middle of the fourteenth century will receive special attention in an attempt to trace Ibn Hazm's influence.

before the fourteenth century. These works provide added evidence of Ibn Hazm's lasting impact along with the prominent cultural impact of Arab Spain on the literary convention of courtly love.

3.2.1 The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: the *Muwashshaha* and its *Kharja* as Textual Examples of the Female Voice in Arab Spain

Western scholarship has traditionally overlooked Eastern literature due to the fact that few texts were translated and, as a result, many influential works, such as *The Ring of the Dove* were not considered to be important as components of the literary foundation for literary genres. Likewise, the perspective of women failed to receive serious attention, which created a void in considering the female voice or the role of women in literature or in society. An analysis of the *muwashshahāt*,[31] in addition to a brief exploration of the *kharjas*, advocates the idea that the society of Arab Spain contributed to a literary evolution that gave women a voice, as demonstrated in both Ibn Hazm's text and the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas*. The strophic poetry known as the *muwashshahhāt* provides numerous examples of the female voice although, for the most part, the verses of the protagonist are passive in nature as she longs for an absent lover. It is important to point out that in the *muwashshahāt* women do in fact have a voice, although passive, which signals a turning point in the perception of women, with respect to their role in the courtship process. This change or deviation from the traditional role of women supports the idea that courtly love and its newly-found freedoms and empowerment of women received its inspiration in part from the tolerant and progressive society of Islamic Spain. Specifically, works such as the *kharjas* and *The Ring of the Dove* were instrumental in enabling women to become less passive, at least in literary form. In fact, John F. Plummer insists that "the female voiced song is the source of courtly poetry" (5), which speaks, albeit implicitly, to the

[31] Muwashshahāt is the plural form of muwashshah.

shift in the structure and process of courting. Plummer points out, in a review of scholarly works concerning the female voice in Europe, that other scholars such as Leo Spitzer and Theodor Frings agree that "women's songs lay at the base of all medieval love poetry" (7), an affirmation that supports the idea of this chapter through analyses of both the *kharjas* and *The Ring of the Dove.*

Andalusian *muwashshahāt* consist of five stanzas of strophic verse written in Arabic. The following examples represent only a small portion of verses that embody similar themes yet are common to both courtly love literature and Iberian rhythmic poetry. For example, the theme of a lady longing for her absent lover is presented in the following verses: "Is there any way to reach you? Or must I give up all hope? I have all but wasted away from weeping and sighing" (al-A^{c}mā al-Tutīlī, qtd. in Compton 11), and "You were unjust when you stayed away from the one who loved you. So return to where you were, close to me. You deceived me and bolted, oh, my darling." (Anonymous, qtd. in Compton, 13), and finally, "I have been wounded to the point of death and can only wring my hands. Something came between me and my friend. There is no doubt that separation is causing my death" (Ibn Baqī, qtd. in Compton, 30). All of these verses demonstrate a reoccurring theme in the *muwashshahāt*: the voice of a lady who longs for her loved one, complains of wrongdoing, and laments a past love. The simple act of writing these emotions deviates from the pattern common to European literature of the Middle Ages, which frequently portrays women as silent participants in the courtship process.

The women of Muslim Spain not only actively expressed their emotions; in some cases, as displayed in several *muwashshahāt,* the female voice articulates sexual desire and describes extramarital affairs. For example, an anonymous *muwashshaha* describes the desire of one woman to participate in an adulterous physical relationship, although she is married: "My

darling, make up your mind. Arise! Hurry and kiss my mouth. Come embrace my breast and raise my anklets to my earrings. My husband is busy" (Compton 22).

An example as overt in describing adulterous sexual activity does not exist in Ibn Hazm's text, which is most likely a result of socio-cultural pressures in writing texts in Arab Spain. Ibn Hazm lived in a time of great coexistence and cooperation among various religions and races, yet as an educated man and known scholar, he had to veil certain explicit themes from his envisioned reader. The *muwashshahāt,* however, were not written for public eyes but as private reflections about love, which allowed for more liberal commentary on sexual behavior, physical contact, and related activities. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Christian authorities censored and destroyed many Hispano-Arabic works throughout the centuries. Works subtly and cunningly describing physical encounters may have survived centuries of censorship due to the writer's clever concealing of explicit leitmotifs. Mary Elizabeth Perry describes the "Christian attempts to obliterate their traditions and identity" (27), and states that "many of the stories [of Arab origin] have been lost, swallowed up in an oral tradition that became more and more silent. Others, among those that had been written down, fell victim to Christian authorities who ordered the burning of all writing in Arabic or Aljamia" (27). The idea of censorship and oppression of ideas, in written form, does not imply that texts of courtly love ceased to exist. It does, however, imply that many examples of lesser known traditions, such as the lady seeking her own lover and participating in other active ways in the courtship process, existed and flourished in both oral and written form, although much has been lost or destroyed. Censorship and suppression of specific themes may explain the lack of consideration of Hispano-Arabic works by the fathers of courtly love scholarship.

The discovery of the *kharjas* in the middle of the twentieth century offers insight to the lasting influence of the Hispano-Arabic literary tradition and representation of love, and a detailed analysis of these poetic fragments attached to the end of the *muwashshahhāt* provides a textual connection between the theme of courly love in Ibn Hazm and works from the thirteenth century onwards.

The first example provides evidence of what C.S. Lewis calls a new sensibility in love, a concept I discussed in the first chapter. Lewis envisions the suffering produced by love as a positive attribute, although he suggested that this characteristic originated in the lyrics of the Occitan troubadours. Similarly, the poet in the *kharja* states that love is a great good.

(V.1) Come, my lord, come!

(V. 2) Love-longing is so great a good. (Dronke 29)[32]

According to the author of these verses, love or the act of loving is 'good,' which is much different from the love of suffering and yearning found in the accounts of antiquity. This suffering for the sake of love was considered a folly when bearing in mind the love between two earthly individuals, as opposed to the love for a divine being or another form of religious love. Neo-platonic and biblical love often are confused as they represent a type of 'good' love, 'virtuous' love, or the love for one's fellow man. In the culture of Arab Spain, the love discussed in the *kharjas* is not a love of divine origin or that of brotherly love, but a physical-based love

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[32] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:

1 Ven dueño mío, ven,
2 porque el amor es un gran bien
3 que nos depara esta época
4 feliz gracias al hijo de Ibn al-Dayyan (García Gómez)

Arabic Transliteration:

1 b'n sydy b'n
2 l'qrd's tntb'n
3 dst 'lzm'n
4 bn flyw dbn 'ldy'n (Stern)

between two carnal lovers. This particular element of love, as described in the aforementioned *kharja*, reveals the category of love that later developed the concept of ennobling love, that is, love that progresses the character or virtuous nature of the lover. In these two verses, the lady is absent from her lover, and in separation her longing for him is brought about. The author of these verses implies that this yearning or suffering is a good, which may be interpreted as a virtue. Neo-platonic love and carnal love have merged into one concept as the lady longs for her carnal companion, which produces a 'great good.' In the previous chapter, I explored the ennobling force of love and explained how the simple act of loving, according the explanation in *The Ring of the Dove*, intensifies the character of one who seeks love, which makes an individual in love more noble with respect to virtue, behavior, attitude, social stature, among other qualities. Ibn Hazm describes many cases in which lovers better themselves "all because of love" (35). What is unique about Ibn Hazm's assertion is that not only those who love one's fellow man are ennobled but also those involved in a physical, bodily relationship.

The fourth *kharja* reveals an example of the blessed suffering experienced by waiting for the loved one in his or her absence, a trait common to the tradition of courtly love. Furthermore, the following verses represent the female perspective, which exhibit not only the woman's ability to experience love, but also her determination to attain her lover.

(V. 1) Tell me, oh my sisters

(V. 2) how to bear my pain!

(V. 3) Without the beloved I cannot live

(V. 4) and I shall fly to claim him for my own. (8)[33]

[33] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:
1 Decid vosotras, ay hermanillas,
2 ¿cómo resistiré a mi pena?

With respect to the English translation, Frenk Alatorre interprets the subject as a 'lover' or 'beloved' whereas others such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal interpret the beloved as 'friend,' a slight variation that alters the meaning and implication of this particular verse significantly.[34] This is a common occurrence found in the translation and scholarship of the *kharjas.* This variation in interpretation may not be a simple interpretive issue; it may uncover a more complex sociological issue. For centuries a male dominated community of scholars overlooked the perspective of women. Translating the absent one as a 'friend' exemplifies the notion of neo-Platonic love, while the same verse interpreted as 'lover' suggests not only that a women is actively pursuing a man, but also she is able to experience the strong sentiment of love and its absence. While the traditional view of critics is that 'lover' and 'friend' are synonymous terms, the distinction between carnal love and neo-Platonic love is called into question. Interpreting the absent one in the *kharjas* or the *cantigas d'amigo* (discussed later in this chapter) as a friend classifies the protagonists' relationship among those of the neo-platonic viewpoint. Conversely, reading the verses as love lyrics among romantic lovers suggests an active and participatory role of women in carnal relationships, an idea unique to the Peninsula and to the culture of Arab Spain.

Whereas Peninsular courtly love may lead to a physical relationship, neo-Platonic love leads to a spiritual relationship. The presence of neo-Platonism in the Peninsula highlights the

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3 Sin el amado no podré vivir,
4 volaré en su busca. (Frenk Alatorre)

Arabic Transliteration:
1 gryd bš 'y yrmnl'š
2 km kntnyr 'amw m'ly
3 šn 'lḥbyb nn bbr' yw
4 'dbl'ry dmnd'ry. (Stern)

[34] Lois Griffen (433-34) suggests that gender ambiguity is compounded when translating texts from Arabic to European languages. She suggests that many of the translated versions of *The Ring of the Dove* contain gender pronoun issues and many translators simply guessed when deciding between pronouns.

presence of a consensual relationship among lovers, as opposed to a sensual relation. Irving Singer in his comprehensive review of courtly and romantic love identifies Ibn Hazm's awareness of neo-Platonism when describing his accounts of love: "Ibn Hazm lives in a post and neo-Platonic era, and though he recognized that unification begins with sensory experience, he emphasizes "fusion of souls" as love's aspiration to a greater extent than Plato himself did" (45). Singer adds that Ibn Hazm, in agreement with Avicenna, combines the concept of physical and spiritual love: "since the individual soul is beautiful, it feels an affinity toward all beautiful forms in the physical world" (45). This is an idea that affords women an opportunity to begin active participation, that is, in terms of using their beauty to initiate the courtship process by enticing men into action.

The idea of beauty as a catalyst in obtaining love is evident in Ibn Hazm's chapter on love at first sight and his chapter on love after a long association. The concept of love, based on beauty or at first sight, involves mostly external, physical beauty, although as described in *The Ring of the Dove* it sometimes is the first step in developing deeper relationship. Ibn Hazm describes this occurrence:

> I have myself seen a man of this description who, whenever he sensed within himself the beginnings of a passionate attachment, or conceived a penchant for some form whose beauty he admired, at once employed the device of shunning that person and giving up all association with him, lest his feelings become more intense and the affair get beyond his control, and he find himself completely stampeded. This proves how closely Love cleaves to such people's hearts, and once it lays hold of them never looses its grip. (Ibn Hazm 55)

In this passage, beauty functions, albeit indirectly, as an inescapable force that successfully attracts a lover. The gentleman attempts to resist and remain in control of his passion and carnal desire for such a woman, yet as the verse states, he "looses his grip" and eventually succumbs to the woman. This particular tale implies that the woman has power over the man by means of her physical beauty and is able to 'attract' a lover at will.

A similar example provides evidence of a woman forming a physical attachment to a man, based on external features, and, after some time, develops a relationship that becomes more than a simple, carnal one:

> A young fellow I know, the son of a clerk, was one day observed by a lady of noble birth, high position and strict seclusion; she saw him passing by, while peeping out from a place of vantage in her home, and conceived an attachment for him which he reciprocated. They exchanged epistles for a time, by ways more delicate than the edge of a fine-ground sword; and were it not that I purpose not in this essay to uncover such ruses and make mention of such subterfuges, I could have set down here such things as I am certain would have confounded the shrewdest and astonished the most intelligent of men. (Ibn Hazm 54)

This passage enlists the woman as the initiator of the relationship. The actions of the noble lady implicitly illustrate her intention to commence the courtship process, and, in due course, establish a relationship with the man of her choosing. In order to achieve such a goal, she takes the necessary steps to realize her amorous objective. Her actions thus provide an additional example of a female character successfully taking matters of the heart into her own hands and, consequently, realizing her objective of forming a relationship desired at first not by a male character but by a female one. The male reciprocates and takes part in the relationship willingly,

yet the unique element becomes evident in that the gentleman is not the one to seek out the relationship at its outset.

Returning to the dichotomy between sensual and consensual relationships, it is evident that in the courtship process in Ibn Hazm's examples women are not exclusively passive participants. In some cases the participatory role of women is reduced to a simple act of physical attractiveness, which is not as direct as in more overt examples of women vigorously seeking men. Nonetheless, the traditional model of courtship had begun to evolve. Men were no longer exclusively charged with all duties of initiating and maintaining romantic relationships. This peculiarity unique to Arab Spain in time will afford women a more active role in the courtship process in the literature throughout Europe. Ibn Hazm provides numerous anecdotes across the spectrum of active female participation, which range from simple acts of attractiveness and seduction in order to solicit male action to blatant actions of women taking the necessary measures in order to initiate or advance a relationship.

The fifth *kharja* (like the following *kharjas*: sixth, the ninth, the sixteenth, the twentieth, the twenty-fourth, the thirtieth, the forty-first, the forty-ninth, the fifty-first, the fifty-third) also concerns the absence of the loved one and suffering experienced during the wait for his or her return:

(V. 1) Easter comes and comes without him

(V. 2) How my heart burns bright for him! (Spitzer 7)[35]

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[35] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:
1 Viene la Pascua, ay, aún sin él
2 lacerando mi corazón por él (García Gómez)

Arabic Transliteration:
1 bnyd lpškh 'dywn šn 'lh
2 km knd mw grgwn pwr'lh (Stern)

This particular *kharja*, in agreement with many others, provides a description of the emotional state of despair, suffering, and long periods of waiting for the beloved's return, all of which seem to represent the perspective of the female participant in the amorous relationship.

The eighth *kharja* provides evidence of the absence of physical contact among lovers, a tradition considered to belong to the canonized tradition of courtly love.

(V. 1) Do not touch me, my beloved!

(V. 2) I don't want any trouble.

(V. 3) The bodice of my gown is frail,

(V. 4) be content with beauty! (Dronke 30)[36]

The implicit rejection voiced by the female speaker not only points to a focus on admiration from afar but also implies that the male participant in the courtship process seeks physical love in his attempt to touch his beloved. These verses recall tales of courtly love when the lady rejects her suitor, which motivates the lover to perform deeds and services in an attempt to win over the beloved and ultimately enter into a physical relationship with her.

The fifteenth *kharja* demonstrates the possibility of death as a result of waiting for the beloved, or as the ultimate sacrifice for love, a topos that will be explored in my chapter focusing on the distinctiveness of courtly love in the Peninsula. As for the active role of women, this particular *kharja* displays the female character's resolution to die for the sake of love, which is

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[36] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:

1 ¡No me toques, amigo! [Again, others translate 'amigo' as 'beloved']
2 Yo no quiero al que hace daño!
3 Mi corpiño es frágil.
4¡Basta! A todo me niego. (García Gómez)

Arabic Transliteration:

1 nn mt' nqš y' hbyby
2 f'nkr dn' šw
3'lgl'lh rksh
4 bšt't hfrmšw. (Stern)

an action common in the Middles Ages and one that will become more common in subsequent centuries. In this specific case death due to waiting epitomizes an extreme measure taken by a woman in love:

(V. 1) Tell me what I shall do,

(V. 2) how I can live.

(V. 3) I am waiting for my lover. For him I shall die. (Ganz 304)[37]

Although this statement in the fifteenth *kharja* does not describe an unconcealed, deliberate action, as depicted in other *kharjas* and does not alter the course of the relationship, it illuminates a bold affirmation from the mouth of the female participant and provides yet another example of the female voice.

The eighteenth *kharja* exhibits pain and suffering as a result of love. Additionally, it introduces a focus on the eyes of the lady that resembles the words of Ibn Hazm as he describes dozens of implications conveyed by the various non-verbal signs of the eyes:

(V. 1) So much loving, so much loving,

(V. 2) my friend, so much loving.

(V. 3) My eyes which used to be joyful are sick

(V. 4) and now suffer such pain. (Ganz 304)[38]

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[37] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:
1 Dime, ¿qué haré?,
2 cómo viviré?
3 A este amado espero, por él moriré. (Frenk Alatorre)

Arabic Transliteration:
1 g'r kfry[w]
2 km bbryw
3 'št 'lḥbyb 'šb'r bwry lmrdyw. (Stern)

[38] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:
1 ¡Tanto amar, tanto amar,
2 amado, tanto amar!

Two elements merit analyais in this particular *kharja*: pain and suffering due to love and expression by means of the eyes. Ibn Hazm dedicates an entire chapter to a description of the eyes ("On Hinting with the Eyes") and describes how the eyes of women possess the ability to communicate without words. For example, he states that "the eye takes the place of a messenger, and that with its aid all the beloved's intention can be apprehended" (Ibn Hazm 68). Conveying a message through the eyes provides yet another form of female communication. In this particular case, the eyes provide a glimpse of the suffering caused by the absence of the lady's loved one. She does not explicitly state the affect her lover's absence has had on her, but it is evident in her eyes. The presence of pain and suffering due to an absence is common in the convention of courtly love literature, which again suggests a connection between it and the literature of Arab Spain.

The twenty-third *kharja* provides an example of a clandestine affair occurring at night. The lady in this case reaches out to her lover and accepts a concealed affair, which indicates her persistence to further the relation at all costs, even those not accepted socially:

(V. 1) My lord Ibrahim,

(V. 2) oh name so sweet,

(V. 3) come to me

(V. 4) by night

(V. 5) If not, if you're no wish,

---

3 Enfermaron [mis] ojos, ¡ay Dios!
4 y duelen tanto. (Frenk Alatorre)

Arabic Transliteration:
1 tnt 'm'ry tnt 'mry
2 hbyb tnt 'm'ry
3 'nfrmyrwn wlywš gydš.
4 y dwln tn m'ly (Stern)

(V. 6) I'll go to you.

(V. 7) Oh, tell me where

(V. 8) to find you. (Trend 422-23)[39]

The lady resolves to continue the relationship without seeking a response from her lover. She requests that he visit her, "come to me / by night" which demonstrates an overt, intentional action performed by a lady in order to accomplish her romantic objective. She will not accept being away from her lover and states that she will seek him out in the case that he does not obey her first request. This *kharja* provide yet another example of the female voice taking action to initiate and further a relationship with her lover. Secondly, the issue of a clandestine affair is one that will become commonplace in the tales of courtly love in the centuries that follow. The issue of meeting at night does not necessarily indicate an extramarital affair, yet it suggests that the relationship may not be acceptable in the light of day.

The thirty-third *kharja* provides an additional example of the ennobling force of love in addition to the active voice of the female participant. In the following verses, the female protagonist explicitly directs the lover to take action by kissing her mouth. Her words solicit

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[39] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:

1 Dueño mío Ibrahim,
2 oh nombre dulce,
3 vente a mí
4 de noche.
5 Si no, si no quieres,
6 iréme a ti
7 ¡dime a dónde!
8 a verte. (García Gómez 1965, 50)

Arabic Transliteration:

1 mn sidi 'br'him
2 i' nu'mn dly
3 f'nt mib
4 di njt
5 'n nwn šnwn krš
6 irim tib.
7 grmi 'wb
8 lfrt. (García Gómez 72)

action. The lady does not execute the requested action herself but incites her lover to initiate the act as wished:

(V. 1) If you want me as a good man,

(V. 2) kiss me then this string of pearls:

(V. 3) mouth of cherries (my translation)[40]

The first verse returns to the issue of the ennobling force of love, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The speaker offers a possible route to become a nobler gentleman. If he wants to become a 'good' man, he must take it upon himself to kiss her cherry lips and smile that resemble a string of pearls. This verse differs from many other verses in that the woman does not take action directly but offers an proposition of sorts. She entices her lover with a promise of becoming more virtuous, and ultimately it will be his choice. Again, physical beauty and seduction play a role in the courtship process. The lady uses attractiveness and the bait of the ennobling force of love to lure her lover into the intended relationship, which provides yet another example of the active role of women in the courtship process.

The *kharjas* I have discussed provide two key pieces of evidence in the context of my study that suggest a link between Muslim Spain[41] and the literary convention of courtly love. First, the *kharjas* exhibit numerous cases of women expressing their emotions in written form

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[40] Modern Spanish translation and interpretation:

1 Si me quieres como bueno,
2 bésame entonces esta sarta de perlas:
3 boquita de cerezas. (García Gómez)

Arabic Transliteration:

1 šk'rš km bwn mib
2 biym 'd' 'lnzm dwk
3 bk'lh d' hb 'lmlwk. (García Gómez)

[41] Not all scholars agree on the eastern origin of the *kharjas*, as exemplified in the study "Some Kharja Antecedents in Latin Inscriptions" by Guillermo E. Hernández. The study does not attempt to repudiate the Arabic and Hebrew foundation of the *kharjas*; however, it suggests a "linguistic and aesthetic continuity, operating at a literary and social level, between the ancient Roman world and the nascent Romance Middle Ages" (Hernández 199)

along with many tales of women taking action in order to initiate or advance a relationship, all of which illustrate countless instances of the female voice in Medieval Spain. Second, the verses of the *kharjas* establish many thematic connections between the age of Ibn Hazm and that of the troubadours. Both of these features help explain how Ibn Hazm's work had a lasting effect on the society of Arab Spain, which continued for centuries and subsequently provided an important source for the literary convention of courtly love.

3.2.2 The Thirteenth Century: *Cantigas d'amigo*

Similar to the *muwashshahāt/kharjas*, the *cantigas d'amigo* written in Galician-Portuguese are commonly grouped together as a single genre due to their structural and thematic similarity. Written several centuries after to the *kharjas*, the *cantigas* share many parallels. In fact, many scholars have strongly suggested that the *kharjas* are the literary source for the *cantigas d'amigo*. Alan Deyermond summarizes the structure and characteristics of both genres, along with the *villancicos*, and concludes that their similarities are not based one singular source but on a common tradition (64). This common tradition, as it relates to the female role in amorous affairs, is apparent in all of the aforementioned genres. Deyermond clarifies the idea that the *kharjas* presumably provided a direct influence on the *cantigas* by stating that "the similarities between [the *kharjas* and the *cantigas d'amigo*] and the rest of the lyrics of the Peninsula made [the scholars of the twentieth century] think of a direct influence" (63). Deyermond's synopsis implies that all three of these genres share a common tradition. Ana Paula Ferreria in her work concentrating on the female influence in medieval Spain agrees that a widespread tradition is universally known throughout the Peninsula. She states that "[songs of women in the Middle Ages] seem to share a similar use of language and recurrent motifs centered on the feelings of the speaker toward her lover. The traces of a popular, oral tradition

can thus be said to underlie the female voice in women's songs" (23). This assertion supports my hypothesis that Arab literature, such as that of Ibn Hazm and the *kharjas*, offered a noteworthy stimulus for other writings in the Peninsula and beyond, all of which ultimately found their way to the writings of the troubadours and the works that codified in the tradition of courtly love.

The *cantigas* originated from the northwest region of the Peninsula[42] and express a variety of female voices, although men wrote all of the cantigas as far as we know. These verses express the emotional states and desires experienced by women, exhibit the longing and suffering for absent lovers, and reveal lamentations about the wounds perpetrated by past and present lovers. At first glance, it is easy to see how scholars connected the *kharjas* and the *cantigas* as their themes are closely related and provide similar insight to women in the Middle Ages. Despite the fact men wrote the verses now known as the *cantigas d'amigo*, these rhythmic poems provide a clear representation of the concerns of medieval female participants involved or seeking a romantic relationship, offer a fictional voice from the woman's perspective, and, most importantly, demonstrate women as active contributors in such relationships. Rip Cohen in his seminal compilation and translation of more than five hundred *cantigas*, states that the majority of these love lyrics "reflect the wooing customs of non-noble women in the northwest quadrant of the Iberian peninsula, providing an important source for the history of female speech, sexuality, and mentality" (2). Similarities between the *cantigas* and *The Ring of the Dove* reveal the lasting effect of Ibn Hazm's work and the culture of Arab Spain.

The following *cantiga* provides an example of a protagonist with a strong female voice in the sense that she plans to take action. In terms of courtly love attributes, this would be an

[42] The *cantigas* are generally associated with male poets from the courts of Portugal, which is only partially accurate. Poets from Portugal and Galicia have been well documented, and others from more central regions of the Peninsula such as Castile and Leon exist.

example of servitude to the beloved. The author of this particular *cantiga*, Gomez Garcia, describes the withholding of a favor as leverage within a relationship:

> And he'll want to serve me as he used to,
>
> If I like, but this is what I'll do:
>
> Since he was there so long against my will,
>
> He can be here for a while without my favors. (Quoted in Cohen 102)

In these verses, the lady openly takes matters into her own hands by suppressing her usual favors upon the return of her suitor. This exploit does not present an example as blatant as those described by the female protagonist in Ibn Hazm's work due to its passive aggressive nature. At the same time, the lady does not idly stand by and await her fate. This withholding of favors is repeated in the same *cantiga*:

> When he comes back and wants to talk to me,
>
> Since he did that, I will just do this:
>
> Since he was there so long against my will,
>
> He can be here for a while without my favors. (102)

As for the component of the gentleman serving his lady, the concept of this act is apparent in the first verses of the following *cantiga*: "My boy says that he serves me well / And that he thinks of nothing but me" (103), which is a common occurrence in many of the *cantigas*. In the previous chapter, I discussed how scholars such as Alfred Jeanroy, in seminal studies regarding courtly love, identified the absence of the topos of service to the beloved as a weakness in suggesting Hispano-Arabic roots for the convention of courtly love. Ibn Hazm, however, provides clear examples of lovers serving and withholding service in the same form as found in both the *cantigas* and the *kharjas*. In a similar indirect manner as exemplified by the previous verses in the *cantigas*, Ibn Hazm narrates the story of a lover no longer desiring to serve his lady: "I

requested him to do me a certain service, but he did not stir a finger to help me, pretending to be otherwise occupied, although the matter on which he claimed to be engaged was nothing urgent at all" (Ibn Hazm 155). The frustration expressed by the lover's former object of affection illustrates the presence, at a previous time while in love, of the act of service. The passage demonstrates that the lover will participate in any task requested by the beloved when engaged in an amorous relationship, which is in itself an act of service. Service to the beloved along with its antithetical act, the withholding of service, are evident in both *The Ring of the Dove* and the songs of women, which strongly suggests a common tradition in the Peninsula.

Many of the *cantigas* address the question of whether women are equally capable of experiencing love in a similar form as men. For centuries women were thought to possess a lesser ability to experience love. Pai Gomez Charinho, a thirteenth century Galician poet, writes of the suffering of a woman in the absence of her loved one. Not only does she experience love and pain as a result of her lover's absence, similar to what he experiences, but in effect she loves and suffers more than he. The subsequent *cantiga* indicates that women and men have a similar ability to experience the pain and suffering of love:

> All the pain he now feels because of me
>
> But I think that he can't survive
>
> He loves me so much, but I think then:
>
> If he loves me, I love him more,
>
> And if he feels pain, it's because of his lady. (Quoted in Cohen 91)

The poet takes great care to describe the pain caused by love, both in an absence and due to a romantic relationship. Additionally, he describes the lady as able to love in excess to that of her lover, the male participant in the relationship. The idea that women experience love equally, if

not greater, to that of men is commonplace in *The Ring of the Dove*, the *kharjas*, and the *cangias d'amigo*.

Johan Garcia de Guihade, a thirteenth century Portuguese poet, expresses the frustration of women and their recognition of the inability to avenge the wrongs of their men. This inability to retaliate wrongdoing in an amorous relationship and its acknowledgment via lamentations of a fictitious female poet highlight a theme common to the Peninsula in the late Middle Ages. This recognition suggests that the attitude of women, in which submissiveness is less acceptable, has begun to take shape in the Peninsula long before the advent of courtly love tales. In the following example, the boyfriend has inflicted mental anguish on the lady by engaging in a relationship with other women:

> My boyfriend, whom I always loved,
>
> Since I saw him, more than myself or anything else,
>
> Went to see another lady, to my sorrow,
>
> But I, crazed, when I found out,
>
> I didn't know how else to take revenge
>
> Except by crying as much as I could cry. (qtd. in Cohen 93-94)

In the previous *cantiga*, the lady talks of taking action or avenging the misconduct of her lover (his unfaithfulness to their amorous relationship). She states that she has no other recourse other than a simple act of objecting by means of her tears. The lady's mindfulness of her inability to alter the course of her relationship indicates a slight shift in the role of women, which signals a rejection of this passive role imposed by the societal structure of medieval life as represented in the literature tradition of the thirteenth century. The *cantigas* portray a similar picture of women to that of Ibn Hazm, although the *cantigas* exhibit a more passive, less proactive view of women.

Nonetheless, they afford an additional element in exemplifying a Peninsular antecedent to the convention of courtly love.

Similar to the principal motifs identified in the *cantigas*, the theme of suffering as a result of the absence of a loved one is evident in *The Ring of the Dove*. Ibn Hazm pens an entire chapter on the subject of separation. In his chapter "On Separation," Ibn Hazm provides many examples both in verse and prose to describe the male perspective of an amorous relationship in absentia. Although *The Ring of the Dove* provides numerous examples of female voices, in this particular chapter the perspective is exclusively that of the male participant. Nonetheless, suffering, pain, sickness, and other common features are plentiful. For example, when describing a leave-taking due to a journey, Ibn Hazm first describes the pain and sickness that will come as a result of said separation, and then he furthers his metaphor in verse form.

> Separation can be caused by a journey and a far removal of dwellings, when there is little certainty of a return, and the lovers cannot be sure of ever meeting again. That is a grievous catastrophe, a shocking anxiety, a most frightful eventuality, a stubborn sickness: greatest indeed is the ensuing fretfulness, when it is the beloved who goes away. (166)

Similar to the reoccurring theme abundant in the *kharjas* and the *cantigas*, an absence causes much agony and brings about an emotional state of sickness which may even lead to the death of either the male or the female in the relationship. Ibn Hazm writes in verse from to describe the result of one's absence:

> Ah me, the languor of her eyes,
> The sickness baffling doctors' skill,
> That leads me, as no doubt it will,

To waters where the drinker dies.

I am contented to be slain,

A ready victim to her love,

As one who swallows poison of

The sparkling wine he yearns to drain.

Alas, how little was their shame,

Those endless nights I sleepless lay,

Eager to steal my soul away [. . .]. (166)

Ibn Hazm's poetry and prose, along with many other tales of lovers in *The Ring of the Dove*, reflect similar themes common to both the *cantigas* and the *kharjas*, which strongly suggests that the literary tradition initiated by Ibn Hazm continued in other genres throughout several centuries in the Peninsula.

3.3 Conclusion

Ibn Hazm and his treatise on love provide an important contribution to the literary tradition of eleventh century Spain. At the same time, his work established a literary pattern affording women the freedom to express their voice openly, in written form, regarding their amorous undertakings. The pattern of openness and assertiveness expressed by the female characters in *The Ring of the Dove* echoes through the centuries in Arab Spain and most certainly influenced other Hispano-Arabic works, such as the *muwashshahāt* and their *kharjas*. Furthermore, the reverberations of the Ibn Hazm's work in the thirteenth century are unmistakable as exhibited in my analysis of the *cantigas d'amigo*. This newly established literary phenomenon, an inclusion female expression along with the active role of women in the courtship process, which I have discussed and analyzed in this chapter, creates a better

understanding of one of the many stimulating forces that was codified in the thirteenth century and is now known as courtly love.

Chapter 4

Parallels between *The Ring of the Dove* and Peninsular Models of the Courtly Love in the Narrative Genre: *Libro de buen amor, Cárcel de amor,* and *Celestina*

A number of Peninsular works from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries embody the courtly love convention by exhibiting a number of its essential literary features. This chapter will explore parallels between Ibn Hazm's treatise on love and several examples of Spanish courtly love tales, including *Libro de buen amor, Cárcel de amor,* and *Celestina*. I will explore a variety of parallels that demonstrate the traits of courtly love literature discussed in the second chapter of this study, most of which the scholars of the nineteenth century suggested to have been absent in the love lyrics of Arab Spain. Scholars pointed out three indispensable courtly love features lacking in the literature of Arab Spain, which discredited the possibility that Ibn Hazm's treatise had an influential effect on the development of the courtly love literary convention. The features identified as absent in Ibn Hazm's work (and consequently in the corpus of Hispano-Arabic literature) were the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved or the idea that the beloved commonly belongs to a higher social class than the lover, and the obligation of service to the beloved. I will identify the presence of these features in Spanish works. Additionally, I will explore the role, use, and function of the messenger while describing parallels between Ibn Hazm's depiction of an intermediary and that of the Peninsular authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

4.1 The Fourteenth Century: *El libro de buen amor* (1330) as an Amalgamation of Peninsular and Provençal Courtly Love and as a Parody of Andreas

Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, writes a fictional account about his personal struggles between good love (*buen amor*) and mad love (*loco amor*). His didactic work suggests that good

love is a form of chaste, religious love for God and the church, while mad love is that of a sinful nature, like passionate love for another human being. Throughout his text, he illustrates and codifies numerous examples of fourteenth century love. The Archpriest's first of three manuscripts dates back to 1330, which places his text in an interesting epoch of the development of the courtly love tradition. During the fourteenth century, both Hispano-Arabic and Provençal literature provided stimulus to the literate elite of the Peninsula, both of which have been explored as sources for *Libro de buen amor*. Modern scholarship suggests that Ruiz's work not only provides examples of courtly love in archetypical form and in the form of parody, but also reveals a burlesque version of Andreas' text on the subject.

During the 1960s and 1970s, several studies focused on evaluating courtly love in *Libro de buen amor*. Many scholars published convincing essays regarding the features and flaws of the archpriest's integration of courtly love ideals in his work. Brian Dutton, in his study "Buen Amor: Its meaning and uses in some Medieval texts," argues that courtly love is what Ruiz portrays as *loco amor*, which opposes *buen amor*. Dutton is not alone in pointing out the archpriest's complex and subtle absorption of the medieval convention in his text by exemplifying all worldly, romantic endeavors (considered *loco amor*) as those ending in failure and despair. The Archpriest's textual representation of a return to the Church and rejection of *loco amor* yield peace and harmony. For the purpose of this study, the existence of a multitude of scholarly works dedicated to pointing out features and flaws of courtly love in *Libro de buen amor* provides sufficient evidence that the author, Juan Ruiz, wrote his work with a working knowledge of the common traits of courtly love.

The Archpriest's models of love have been examined as a burlesque imitation of courtly love. Dorothy Clotelle Clarke in a study analyzing the influence of Andreas' treatise on Ruiz's

work hypothesizes that many of the examples of love in Ruiz's work are an attempt to mock the love philosophy expressed in Andreas' exposition on courtly love and, more importantly, that the Archpriest satirizes the Chaplain's text "in order to counteract its debasing influence on the literate public—the same public that undoubtedly was familiar with and favorable to the earlier work [*The Art of Courtly Love*]—and on the abstract level to teach a philosophical-moral lesson" (Clotelle Clarke 391). Moreover, Juan Ruiz may have included satirical elements based on the Hispano-Arab tradition of love, especially given his knowledge of Ibn Hazm's work, as I will explore later in this chapter.

Américo Castro in his seminal study on Arab Spain suggests a link between *The Ring of the Dove* and *Libro de buen amor*. Castro concludes that "Juan Ruiz interpreted themes from the Christian-European tradition with a Hispano-Moslem sensibility" (429) and that "Ibn Hazm's work circulated in Christian Spain whether by oral transmission or in some other way, and that in the *Libro de buen amor* we find something of its artistic form (not of its content) along with European literary themes, the combination displaying the stamp of Juan Ruiz's genius" (443). In other words, Castro strongly suggests that the Peninsular authors of courtly love literature, Juan Ruiz in particular, received some stimuli from the literary representation of love in Arab Spain, especially that of Ibn Hazm. In fact, Castro explicitly suggests a thematic link between Ibn Hazm's work and later Peninsular works: "The moral commentary, the tireless repetition of similar situations, the dual aspect of everything that is said—all is to found in *The Dove's Neck-Ring* and other Arabic ascetic and mystical treatises" (Castro 443).

Returning to the Arab influence on *Libro de buen amor,* this fourteenth century work provides a hybrid literary model typifying both Andreas Capellanus' and Ibn Hazm's models of the courtly lover; that is to say, mutually significant sources are evident in Juan Ruiz's work and,

thus, it embodies a synthesis of parallel currents. Juan Ruiz's narration in *Libro de buen amor* that is most commonly associated with the convention of courtly love is "How Love Took His Leave of the Archpriest, and the Advice of Venus" ("De como el amor se partio del arçipreste e de commo doña Venus lo castigo"). In this tale many of the archetypal elements of courtly love occur. First, Ruiz explicitly states the manifestation and value of service to the beloved: "how I never tired of serving women" (Ruiz 147),[43] "serve her, don't grow tired, love grows with service [. . .] serve her with great skill, and you will draw closer to her" (Ruiz 155).[44] He explains the process of courtship among nobles while paying special attention to note the social hierarchy of both the lover and the beloved: "the noblest character I could ever find [. . .] noble in everything and of worthy lineage (Ruiz 147).[45] In the following verse, Ruiz explains how the beloved belongs to a higher class than her suitor: "I dare tell no one in the world, since she is of high birth and noble lineage; her family and home are far above me" (Ruiz 151).[46] These characteristics are only a sampling of the many elements of courtly love found in this and many other didactic tales and fables in *Libro de buen amor*. For the purpose of this present study, four particular elements will be identified and explored as parallels between Ruiz's representation of love and Ibn Hazm's treatise on love: service to the beloved, the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved, and the unique representation and role of the messenger. I will discuss each feature in order to identify distinctive traits while establishing connections, all of which will strengthen the argument that Ibn Hazm's influence had a lasting effect on the literary convention of courtly love, especially in the Peninsula.

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[43] Ruiz's original Spanish version reads: "de commo en seeruir dueñas todo tienpo non canse."

[44] Spanish version: "syruela, non te enojes, siruiendo el amor crece [. . .] syrue la con arte e mucho te achaca"

[45] Spanish version: "la mas noble figura de quantas yo auer pud [. . .] fiia de algo en todo e de alto linaje."

[46] Spanish version: "A persona deste mundo yo non la oso fablar, por que es de gran lynaje e duena de grand solar, es de majors paryentes que yo e de major lugar."

4.1.1 Parallels Between Courtly Love as Manifested in *The Ring of the Dove* and *Libro de buen amor*

The first parallel found in both Ruiz's and Ibn Hazm's works emanates from the explanation of the act of loving as an endeavor able to improve an individual, that is, the act of love ennobles the lover. The ennobling force of love, as it is commonly labeled in analyses of courtly love works, has been explained as a force that elevates lovers to a higher societal rank or that which improves the lover's worth or his character. This is especially applicable when the beloved belongs to a higher societal rank, which is a common occurrence in courtly love. The concept of love as an ennobling force, according to Gaston Paris and his contemporaries, originates from the works of the troubadours and serves as one of the distinctive features of courtly love. My analysis of Ibn Hazm's treatise in the second chapter of this study strongly suggests that the ennobling force of love existed in Arab Spain, specifically in *The Ring of the Dove.* Juan Ruiz, likewise, describes love as a force capable of increasing the lover's virtue, the character of a lover, or his overall self-worth. In the second chapter of this study, I acknowledged Ibn Hazm's explanation about how the act of loving another, especially in the case of an unattainable love, enhances an individual in love. He clearly describes love's ability to make the lover a better, more virtuous man, as in the following passage:

> A man in love will give prodigally to the limit of his capacity, in a way that formerly he would have refused; as if he were the one receiving the donation, he the one whose happiness is the object in view; all this in order that he may show off his good points, and make himself desirable. How often has the miser opened his purse strings, the scowler relaxed his frown, the coward leapt heroically into the fray, the clod suddenly become sharp-witted, the boor turned into the perfect

> gentleman, the stinker transformed himself into the elegant dandy, the sloucher smartened up, the decrepit recaptured his lost youth, [. . .] and all because of love! (Ibn Hazm 34-35)

I concluded that this portrayal of the effects of love signals a force capable of making the lover a better and more virtuous man; love ennobles him in character. The writers of the late Middle Ages commonly described the favorable attributes of loving a lady with similar complimentary verses. In the eleventh century, particularly in Arab Spain, this was not the case, and Ibn Hazm provides an exclusive valuation of love within his society.

Juan Ruiz similarly describes love in a strikingly analogous form to that found in *The Ring of the Dove*. Within the fable regarding the constellations and planets,[47] Ruiz includes the following verses:

> 156 Love makes the ignorant man wise,
> makes the dumb speak with eloquence,
> love makes the coward bold
> and the lazy quick and sharp.
>
> 157 It keeps the young man youthful,
> and the old man's age falls away
> skin as dark as pitch becomes white and handsome,
> love gives great value to the worthless. (Ruiz 47)[48]

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[47] The title of this particular fable is: "On the subject of the constellations and planets under which men are born, and the different opinions of the five learned sages regarding the birth of King Alcaraz's son." The Spanish title is: "Aqui fabla de la constelaçion e de la planeta, en que los omnes nasçen, e del juyzio de los çinco ssabios naturlaes dieron en el nasçemiento del fijo del rey Alcarez."

[48] Ruiz's Spanish version reads: 156 El amor faz sotil al omne que es rrudo,
ffazele fabrar fermoso al que antes es mudo,
al omne que es couarde fazelo muy atrevudo,
al perezodo fazer ser presto e agudo

According to Ruiz, love and the act of loving advances one's intelligence, bravery, and youthfulness, which parallels Ibn Hazm's description of love's capabilities. In both Ruiz's and Ibn Hazm's words, the general notion that love has the ability to improve the character and virtue of a man in love is strikingly similar.

Earlier in this study, I argued that two variations of the ennobling force of love exist in the literature of the Middle Ages: an ennobling of character (sometimes described as virtue) and an ennobling of social rank (becoming nobler or increasing one's rank among the social hierarchy). Andreas Capellanus outlines both types of ennobling in his treatise on love. In his first dialogue while describing a gentleman who gives advice to a lady regarding the dual ennobling ability of love in the Middle Ages, he explicitly delineates the distinct nature of both variations of nobility:

> Indeed, if you should find a man who is distinguished by both kinds of nobility [nobility of character and nobility of birth] it would be better to take as a lover the man whose only nobility is that of character. For the one gets his nobility from his ancient stock and from his noble father and derives it as a sort of inheritance from those from whom he gets his begin; but the other get his nobility only from himself, and what he takes is not derived from his family tree, but springs only from the best qualities of his mind. (Capellanus 38)

Scholarship on courtly love typically credits the literary advent of the ennobling force of love (ennobling of virtue) to the love lyrics of the Occitan troubadours, a trait that is codified in the work of Andreas Capellanus. Simon May summarizes their contribution to the literary historical

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157 al mancebo mantiene mucho en mancebez
e al Viejo faz perder mucho la vejez,
ffaze blanco e fermoso del negro como pez,
lo que non vale vna nuez amor leda grand prez.

development of love by describing unique features found in the lyrics of the troubadours: "their radical innovation is to institute a cult of love for an earthly woman, through which her suitor (and sometimes she too) can attain to a nobility, freshness, and above all joy that are available in no other way" (120). For the purposes of my study, the key point hypothesized by May designates the troubadours as innovators of the ennobling force of non-divine worldly love between men and women. It is clear that this feature of love (or force of love) existed in Arab Spain as exemplified in Ibn Hazm and continued to be present in the literature of the Peninsula, as I have exhibited in the *Libro de buen Amor*.

An additional feature of courtly love I explored in the second chapter of this study is the requisite trait, according to the seminal studies of the nineteenth century, that the lady must belong to a higher social position than the lover. I concluded that this notion originated directly from the concept of the ennobling force of love. That is to say, when taking into consideration the feudalized nature of love implied in Provençal love lyrics, the focus of love's ennobling effect centralized around the ennobling of a man socially or the improving of his societal rank, rather than the ennobling, or cultivating, of his character or virtue. Juxtaposing this assertion with Ibn Hazm's treatise on love will provide further textual confirmation that the many traits of courtly love existed in *The Ring of the Dove.*

Ibn Hazm's chapter on "Concealing the Secret" describes a poor man seeking the love of an unnamed lady: "I am a poor and lovelorn youth, cast down and weary, full of care" (79). As such a poor man wishes to spare his beloved the shame or possible embarrassment of making his romantic intentions known publicly, he conceals the secret. Again, no explicit class distinctions are mentioned. However, considering that Ibn Hazm describes the lover as a poor man, the lady must belong to a higher social class due to her risk of possible disgrace and humiliation. Ibn

Hazm notes that this concealment displays nobility of character, which again suggests the existence of the ennobling force of love in *The Ring of the Dove*: "Sometimes the reason for concealment is that the lover wishes to spare his beloved; then it is a proof of loyalty, a mark of true nobility of character" (79). This one particular occurrence reflects the attitude of lovers found in many of the courtly love tales of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: the honor of his lady is more important than his own and he is made better not by achieving his amorous goal but, on the contrary, by its unattainability. His lady appears to belong to a higher societal rank and, as described in the subsequent verses, he prefers death to the revelation of his beloved's name. When asked to reveal the lady's identity, Ibn Hazm's lover belonging to the lower class of society states the following verses:

> "For Allah's sake", they plead with me,
> "Name thou her name to us, that we
> May be apprised what passion deep,
> For whom, has robbed thee of thy sleep."
> No, no; before I tamely yield
> The secret they would have revealed
> I'd sooner see my reason go
> And plunge into the depths of woe. (Ibn Hazm 79)

Moreover, after relating the aforementioned verses, Ibn Hazm overtly explains that a societal rank inequality has created the need to conceal the nature of a relationship, especially in the case that the beloved belongs to a much higher rank than the lover. He explains that "sometimes, again, the reason for discretion is that the lover would protect himself against the consequences of his secret's disclosure, on account of the illustrious rank of his beloved" (80). This tale of a

lover of a lower rank than that of his beloved who prefers death to the exposure of intention echoes from the pages of courtly love tales many centuries later, which again suggests a link between *The Ring of the Dove* and the convention of courtly love.

Amorous relationships are evident in quite a few of the examples Ibn Hazm presents in *The Ring of the Dove*. In my second chapter, I discussed the love between a slave and a merchant (the merchant falls in love with a slave girl). Ibn Hazm provides many further examples of slaves and masters, noblemen and ladies belonging to various social classes, and an assortment of other social intermingling. While Ibn Hazm's treatise provides abundant examples of relationships between men and women of all social classes, the need or even a suggested inclination to seek love from a woman of higher social class is not found within its pages. Although nineteenth century scholars viewed the quest for love from a lady of higher social rank as an inextricable element of courtly love literature, their assertion was not based on either the Hispano-Arabic tradition or that of Andreas' text. Andreas' and Ruiz's works, likewise, advise lovers in their quest to pursue ladies of all social classes, not exclusively those belonging to a social rank above that of the lover. Ruiz's text fails to provide explicit advice as to the social class that the beloved should seek, yet he implicitly displays an assortment of love quests for ladies belonging to many social strata. For example, aside from the above mentioned love affair between the archpriest and Endrina, the archpriest seeks the love of a nun and a Moorish girl, neither of whom belong to a societal class greater than that of a clergyman. Class distinction does not appear to be a pertinent concern for the archpriest in his search for love, which aligns his classification of the ennobling force of love alongside that of Ibn Hazm, that is, an ennobling force that has little or no effect on one's position on society. If the archpriest in *Libro de buen amor* is ennobled by love, it is his virtue or character that is made better.

Earlier in this study, I identified a third disputed feature of courtly love (a feature said to have been absent in the corpus of Arab love writings, as I discussed in the first chapter) and its existence in Arab Spain: the obligation of service to the beloved. Ibn Hazm exemplifies servitude to the beloved only in two indirect ways: a mention of past services when involved in a romantic relationship and in the form of submission to the beloved. The first allusion to service occurs when narrating the story of a lover no longer desiring to serve his beloved. In doing so, the protagonist infers that he had previously served his lady as a result of his love. After ceasing to love her, the following transpires: "I [the lady] requested him to do me a certain service, but he did not stir a finger to help me, pretending to be otherwise occupied, although the matter on which he claimed to be engaged was nothing urgent at all" (Ibn Hazm 155). I explained in my second chapter that the lady's frustration illustrates the presence of the act of service, which occurred at a previous time while the two were involved in a romantic affair. The passage strongly suggests that when engaged in an amorous relationship, it is assumed that the lover will participate in any task requested by the beloved, which is in itself an act of service.

Ibn Hazm incidentally discusses another form of service to beloved in his chapter "On Compliance" when describing how lovers will assume submissive behaviors in order 'serve' his lady. Ibn Hazm asserts that when a man has fallen in love with a certain women, he "adjusts his own character by main force to that of his loved one" (87), which, in turn, situates himself in a role of servitude to his lady. In the event that his lady accuses him of wrongdoing, he accepts all faults, even when not culpable of committing the accusations spoken from his beloved. As her servant, he accepts all insults, accusations and the like as not to anger her or endanger the possibility of furthering the blossoming relationship. Ibn Hazm exemplifies this behavior by explaining how a lover will completely submit himself to the beloved, even upon becoming the

victim of false accusations: “The beloved heaps unjust accusations on his head; and he is full of apologies for every fault he is supposed to have committed, and confesses crimes of which he is wholly innocent, simply to submit to what his loved one says and to avoid resisting the charges” (Ibn Hazm 88).

Juan Ruiz reworks this behavior by countering the attacks of the beloved in the conversation between the archpriest and Endrina. One of several occurrences transpires when the archpriest declares his love to Endrina:

> 661 There is nothing in the world I love as much as you.
> It has been a long time now, two years past,
> that I have suffered with love [. . .]. (Ruiz 167)[49]

Endrina instantly rejects his advances in the following verses, which would implore a confession from the lover according to Ibn Hazm’s advice.

> 664 [. . .] She replied: ‘I don’t give two hoots for your words.
> 665 Many other Endrinas have been deceived in this way.
> Deceitful man takes in his woman neighbours.
> Don’t think I am silly enough to listen to your ditties,
> look for someone else to deceive with the false thrones of
> your words. (Ibn Hazm 167)[50]

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[49] The Spanish version reads:

661 en el mundo non es cosa que yo ame a par de uos;
tienpo es ya pasado de los años mas de dos
que por vuestro amor me pena; amo vos mas que a dios.

[50] The Spanish version reads:

664 ella dixo: ‘vuestros dichos non los precio dos piñones,
665 bien asi enganan muchos a otras muchas endrinas;
el omne tan engañoso asi engaña a sus vesinas.
non cuydedes que so loca por oyr vuestras parlillas;
buscat a quien engañedes con vuestras falsas espinas.’

The archpriest, however, is unable to accept blame for a wrong he has not committed, which exhibits a deviation from the Hispano-Arabic tradition, as seen in Ibn Hazm's work. He responds to Endrina's allegations as follows:

666 I said 'Now, such anger, let us talk of happy things.
There are five fingers on a hand, but they are not all the same.
Not all men are made the same way or think the same thoughts.
The fur in a coat may be black and white, but it is all made of rabbit.

667 Sometimes the righteous pay the price for the sinners,
and others' mistakes hinder many.
The good and the best get wrongly blamed,
but the penalty should be for those who do wrong. (Ibn Hazm 167)[51]

The archpriest's words seem to address the action of Ibn Hazm's lovers and their form of service, or submission, to the beloved. This particular nonconformity may exemplify the codifying of the courtly love convention in the Peninsula. Religious piety or the pursuit of honor in the eyes of the beloved generates a desire to clear one's name when faced with unjust accusations. These modified traits may have begun in Occitan lyric poetry, while the preliminary act of hurling insults at one's suitor only to be followed by a compensatory confession appear to have been suggested by Ibn Hazm's description of love in Arab Spain. Nonetheless, the pattern of courtship is strikingly similar, particularly when considering the viewpoint of the lady and her absolute refusal of all advances from her suitor. Ruiz, by the words of Venus, reassures the lover

[51] The Spanish version reads:

666 yo le dixe: 'ya, sañuda, anden fermosos trebejos;
son los dedos en las manos pero non son todos parejos,
todos los omnes non somos de vnos fechos nin cosejos,
la pena tiene blanco e prieto pero todos son conejo.

667 a las vagadas lastan justos por pecadores,
a muchos enpeescen los ajenos errores,
fas mal culpa de malo a buenos e a mejores;
deuen tener la pena a los sus fasedores;

to be steadfast in his pursuit of one's lady and again lauds the value of service in order to achieve the goal of advancing a relationship:

613 Don't be alarmed by her negative response,
she will soon give a better one if you use skill and service,
persevering and serving will change her thoughts,
a lot of shoveling demolishing the biggest mountain. (Ruiz 155)[52]

The advice of Venus dispels the possibility of accepting the lady's initial response or any attempt to accept blame for any false accusations.

Juan Ruiz defines the act of service to the lady in a more explicit form in *Libro de buen amor*, perhaps as a result of the codifying of the courtly love convention in Andreas' treatise and in other works of the troubadours known throughout the fourteenth century. In many occasions Ruiz openly lauds the significance and outcome of serving one's lady. When describing the qualities and attributes of a man in love, Ruiz declares the worth and benefits of serving women:

155 the man who serves woman has many good qualities
he strives to be vigorous, forthcoming, and generous;
the good man does not flinch from serving women,
for with hard work, he will live a life of great pleasure. (Ruiz 47)[53]

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[52] The Spanish version reads 613 Non te espantes della por su mala Respuesta,
con arte o con seruicio ella la dara apuesta,
que siguiendo e seruidndo en este coydado es puesta;
El omne mucho cauando la grande peña acuesta.

[53] The Spanish version reads: 155 muchas noblezas ha en el que a las dueñas sirue;
locano, fablador, En ser franco se abiue;
en seruir a las dueñas el bueno non se esquiue,
que si mucho trabaja, en mucho plazer byue.

Serving the lady is an inextricable feature of the ennobling force of love as the act of service, according to Ruiz, ennobles the lover. Later, in an allegorical conversation with Love, the latter offers advice to the archpriest by explaining the value and good resulting from loving one's lady:

452 serve her, don't be angry, love grows through service,
in the good man service never perishes, never dies. (117)[54]

Ruiz, much like his forerunners Andreas and Ibn Hazm, clearly indicates the need to serve one's lady in an attempt to win her love and affection. The feature of service and its relation to the ennobling force of love in Ruiz, when compared to Ibn Hazm's representation of similar features, continue to support the idea that the Hispano-Arab expression of love as revealed in *The Ring of the Dove* played a major role in the development of the Peninsular courtly love literary convention.

4.1.2 Commonalities Regarding the Messenger and His or Her Role

Previously, I discussed at length the role of the messenger in Ibn Hazm's work along with its distinctive features. I suggested that the use of an intermediary, according to Andreas and, subsequently, the courtly love convention codified by his treatise and the works of the troubadours, functioned in order to maintain an earlier established relationship. In opposition, Ibn Hazm's work describes the need for a third-party to support the creation of a new relationship. The use of the messenger furthermore supports the idea that a relationship should be clandestine in nature, especially early in its onset, in order to be free from societal persecution and scrutiny. Andreas suggests that the lovers choose an intermediary "by common consent" (165), which implies that the lovers have already established a line of communication and require a messenger to uphold and advance a blossoming relationship. Ibn Hazm and some of the

[54] The Spanish version reads: 452 syrue la, non te enojes, syruiendo el amor crece.
El seruicio en el bueno nunca muere nin peresce;

courtly love examples in Peninsular literature suggest that the messenger be employed by the lover in an attempt to support his quest for obtaining the lady he desires. Subsequently, I will analyze other likenesses and dissimilarities of the intermediaries found in *Libro de buen amor* and *The Ring of the Dove* paying special attention to shared traits not found in the works of the troubadours or other non-Peninsular examples of courtly love literature.

Before the prominent go-between known as Trotaconventos occupies a major role in *Libro de buen amor*, Ruiz provides numerous examples as to how an intermediary should be selected and what he or she should do in order to be successful. Many of these requisite details mirror the ideal intermediary described by Ibn Hazm several hundred years earlier. For example, while chatting with the god of Love, the archpriest learns of the many indispensable qualities a useful go-between must possess:

> 436 The woman who is your go-between should be related,
> she will be quite loyal to you; don't choose the lady's
> servant. (Ruiz 113)[55]

Ibn Hazm suggests that the intermediary be related to the beloved as well: "it is also convenient to employ a person who is closely related to the beloved, and who will therefore not be grudged

[55] The Spanish version of the next several stanzas are as follows:

436 A la muger que enbiares de ti sea parienta,
Que bien leal te sea, non sea su seruiente, [. . .]
437 puña, en quanto puedas, que la tu mensajera
sea bien rrasonada, sotil e costumera
sepa mentir fermoso e siga la carrrera,
ca mas fierbe la olla con la su cobertera.
704 oficio de corredores es de much aporidat,
Mas encubiertas encobrimos que meson de vesindat.
438 si parienta non tienes atal, toma viejas,
que andan las iglesias e saben las callejas,
grandes cuentas al cuelo [. . .]
440 toma de vnas viejas que se fasen erveras,
andan de casa en casa e llaman se parteras;
a dios alcan las cuentas, querellando sus coytas,
¡ay! ¡quanto mal saben estas viejas arlotas!

admittance" (Ibn Hazm 74). Later, Ruiz describes the necessity of secrecy and trust that must be established and guarded between the third-party and his or her employer, that is, the lover:

437 Strive as far as you can to find a messenger
who is discreet, subtle and patient,
knowing how to bend the truth and persevere to the end,
because a pan with its lid on boils faster.

704 The go-between must keep confidences.
We keep more secretes than the local inn. (Ruiz 177)

Ibn Hazm, in fewer words, suggests a strikingly similar characteristic as obligatory in selecting an appropriate and useful intermediary: "he ought to be able to keep secrets and preserve trusts" (Ibn Hazm 73). Both Ruiz and Ibn Hazm continue their description of go-between, yet they move from useful traits to describing physical and visual characteristics of such women. Ruiz describes the intermediary as old women who wear rosaries:

438 If you don't have such a relative, use one of those old women
who frequent churches and know all the alleyways,
who wear long rosaries round their necks. [. . .] (113)

Even in Arab Spain, Ibn Hazm pays special attention to note that these female intermediaries are advanced in age, as they exhibit a difficulty in walking, and, most importantly, that they are known for wearing or carrying rosaries: "women are frequently used, especially those who hobble along on sticks, and carry rosaries, and are wrapped up in a pair of red cloaks" (Ibn Hazm 74). The occupation described by both Ruiz and Ibn Hazm also share striking resemblances. Ruiz states that intermediaries often pose as merchants or work in the field of curing particular ailments:

440 Choose an old woman who sells medicinal herbs.

They go from house to house, claiming to be midwives,

with powders, cosmetics, pots for eye make-up,

to cast the evil eye and cause true blindness. (Ruiz 113-15)

Ibn Hazm's depictions correspondingly suggest a similar type of woman: "women playing a trade or profession, which gives them ready access to people, are popular with lovers—the lady doctor for instance, or the blood-letter, the peddler, the broker, the coiffeuse, [and many other occupations]" (Ibn Hazm 74). Both authors mention different professions, yet each appear similar in their function of providing health-related services to the townspeople or selling goods throughout the city or town.

Ibn Hazm and Juan Ruiz agree upon the need to employ an intermediary for a successful romantic relationship. Ruiz integrates a blend of both Ibn Hazm's and Andreas' suggested use of an intermediary, which further suggests that Ruiz received inspiration from both literary sources. In *Libro de buen amor*, the archpriest employs an intermediary (Trotaconventos) for both an established relationship and one in which the lady is unaware of the lover's intentions. In the case of Endrina, Trotaconventos understands the archpriest's amorous intentions before the entrance of a third-party messenger, which mirrors Andreas's suggestion of finding a lover in order to advance a relationship.

697 I searched for a go-between as Love instructed, [. . .]

698 I found an old woman of the kind I needed, [. . .]

699 She was an old peddler who sold jewelry,

the kind who set the trap; they dig the ditches, [. . .]

700 These hucksters habitually

go from house to house, selling numerous gifts.

No one suspects them, they mix with all social classes,[56] (Ruiz 175).

Endrina plainly states that she and the archpriest had previously established contact before the insertion of the go-between was employed:

740 Endrina answered: 'Stop all this talking,

Since he has already tried to deceive me with his words.

He has tempted me many times,

But neither of you can boast of getting me. (Ruiz 185)

In the case of the nun and the Moorish girl, neither woman is cognizant of the archpriest's intent upon arrival of the intermediary, which reflects Ibn Hazm's suggestion of hiring a third-party in order to inform the lady of the lover and his intentions. Ibn Hazm, Juan Ruiz and Andreas Capellanus share many similarities when signifying the need, function, and role of an intermediary in the courtship process. These similarities I have discussed strongly suggest an additional connection to Ibn Hazm's role in the formation of the literary convention of courtly love.

4.2 The Fifteenth Century: *Cárcel de amor* (1492) and *Celestina* (1499): Courtly Love in Archetypal and Burlesque Form

In the late fifteenth century two works confirm the presence of the courtly love literary convention in the Peninsula: Diego de San Pedro's sentimental novel *Cárcel de amor* [*Prison of Love*] and Fernando de Rojas' multi-genre work, *Celestina*. Scholars have discussed and

[56] The Spanish version reads:

697 busque trota conventos qual me mando el amor,
698 falle vna nieja qual avia menester,
699 Era vieja buhona destas que venden joyas.
estas echan el laco, estas cavan las foyas,
700 Como lo han vso estas tales buhonas,
andan de ca sa en casa veniendo muchas noas,
non se rreguardan dellas, estan con las personas,

analyzed the features of courtly love in both works for nearly a century and a half. In this section, I will first analyze the manifestation of courtly love in both works, which are in the conventional form in *Cárcel de amor* and in parodic form in *Celestina*. Once I evaluate and discuss the primary examples and features of courtly love in both texts, I will establish parallels between several specific characteristics and similar features of courtly love found in *The Ring of the Dove*.

4.2.1 *Celestina* as a Parody of the Archetypal Exemplification of Courtly Love in *Cárcel de amor*

In order to assess the emblematic features of the courtly love tradition in the Peninsula, a divergent evaluation of two representative works will help suggest the existence and awareness of the literary convention as it existed during the fifteenth century. First, it must be noted that that existence of a burlesque form of courtly love validates the idea that the tradition had taken hold in Spain. Not until the twentieth century have scholars began to consider the love patterns and peculiar courting behavior in *Celestina* as a parody of the tradition.[57] Conversely, the courting patterns exemplified by the central characters in *Carcél de amor* provide a clear example of what is considered to belong to the European variety of courtly love, that is, the literary tradition according to Gaston Paris, Alfred Jeanroy and other authorities in the field of courtly love literature.

A focus on the male protagonists in each work will demonstrate the contrasting representation of parody along with archetypal models. The elements of courtly love that will be analyzed are the following: suffering for the sake of love, death as a result of love, discretion and secrecy in the amours relationship, the role and function of a sexual relationship, social status of

[57] For more information of courtly love in the form of parody, see: Rojas, Fernando de, *La Celestina*, ed. de Dorothy S. Severin, Madrid, Cátedra, 1993

each male and female character, and matrimony as a goal along with its role. Less apparent satirical patterns are visible, although not discussed in detail in this study, such as the use of religious imagery along with the treatment of virtue and service to the beloved. These traits, among others, will help illustrate and define the unique Peninsular tradition and will be traced to the Hispano-Arabic tradition of love found in Ibn Hazm's text later in this chapter.

The first contrast is found in the nature and degree of suffering that both protagonists experience: Leriano, the protagonist seeking love from Laureola, suffers from the confinement and tortures of a prison. For example, the *auctor* or narrator describes the metaphorical prison to which Leriano is confined as a "cruel sentence" (9).[58] He continues by describing representational figures surrounding Leriano's captivity as: "Sadness and Distress and Tribulation [. . .] Misfortune [. . .] Anguish [. . .] Torment [. . .] Longing [. . .] Judgment [. . .] Despair [. . .] Sickness and Pain and Sorrow" (9-10),[59] and describes their duties as a consequence of loving: "the chains which they hold in their hands are the power which they possess to hold my heart bound fast, so that it may find no ease" (9).[60] Leriano endures the suffering without complaining as he perceives it as a blessed suffering for the sake of love. He sums up his blessed suffering in the following statement: "I should sooner desire longer life in order to suffer for her sake than death to make an end of my suffering" (10).[61] In contrast, Calixto avoids most physical and emotional suffering save the pain and suffering of a toothache:

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[58] The Spanish version reads: "sentencia cruel" (72).

[59] The Spanish version reads: "Tristeza y la otra Congoxa y la otra Trabajo" (72).

[60] The Spanish version reads: "Las cadenas que tenían en las manos son sus fuercas, con las cuales tienen altado el coracón porque ningund discanso pueda recebir" (72).

[61] The Spanish version reads: "antes devo desear larga vida por padecer que la muerte para acabar" (73).

"a single throbbing molar has laid him low" (Rojas 57).[62] He continues to mock Leriano by complaining about his situation, which in comparison to that of Leriano is quite pleasant, and initially grumbles about how his amorous escapade does not work out how he had envisioned. The act of suffering for love's sake culminates in death for Leriano, providing an example of the ideal lover in the courtly love tradition; his death is one of anguish, agonizing lamentation, and melancholy. In opposition, Calixto clumsily falls from a ladder after a dishonorable misfortune; his death is a result of his romantic endeavor, but it is not brought about by the actual force of love, or the absence of love in case of most lovers belonging to the tradition.

Discretion and secrecy illustrate an obvious contrast in the two works. The *auctor* in *Carcél* works diligently to preserve the secrecy of the possible relationship between the two protagonists and considers the danger to both reputation and body that the revelation of the secret would bring. Leriano laments the exposure that his letter writing brought about, which confirms his devotion to guarding the secrecy of their epistolary relationship: "I would sooner have set my hand against myself to end my life than to this paper to write to you, if the cause of your imprisonment had been my actions rather than my ill fortune" (40).[63] Although Leriano values and attempts to preserve secrecy, his inability to do so, and thus the breaking of the rules of courtly love, results in his demise. Likewise, Leriano, in an attempt to preserve the clandestineness of the intended relationship, tears, chews, and subsequently swallows the written correspondences between himself and his beloved. Calixto, on the other hand, hires the most notorious go-between in his village to manage his proposed love affair, even against the advice

[62] The Spanish version reads: "Agora, senora, tienele derribado vna sola muela: que jamas cessa de quexar"

[63] The Spanish text reads: "Antes pusiera las manos en mí para acabar la vida que en el papel para comencar a escrevirte, si de tu prisión uvieran sido causa mis obras como lo es mi mala fortuna" (104).

of one of his trusted servants. Celestina, the intermediary, discusses the relationship with her servants as does Calixto; confidentiality never appears to be of any importance in this work.

When a relationship becomes sexual, pure love becomes carnal love, which is generally considered a departure from the tradition of courtly love. Leriano, once again as the prototype of the courtly lover, never mentions an intention to enter into a sexual relation with his beloved; however, sexual desire appears to be the main motivating factor for Calixto, which provides further evidence of the parody of courtly love in *Celestina.* Social class peculiarities advance the argument for parody. The object of Leriano's love is described as a princess, which needs no additional scrutiny given that he belongs to a noble family yet is not as socially elevated as a prince or a similar rank. His social status by default is below that of Laureola's, which is confirmed by his words: "your high estate told me I should be fearful" (17).[64] Social hierarchy plays little role in *Celestina*, and in fact, is not explicitly explained. The father of Melibea belongs to the merchant class, which historically was not a class of nobility, whereas Calixto indirectly appears to belong to a noble family when considering his financial means, lack of profession, and pastime of falconry. The parody of the tradition inverts the usual constraint of the one being courted belonging to a higher social class than that of the courtier, which as a result removes the idea of love as an ennobling force, that is to say, ennobling as a social result of one's love. Marriage is not goal of either love relationship. However, a striking contrast is evident in each of the lover's objectives. Leriano, upon learning of his beloved's objections to his advances, is content in loving from afar. Dissimilarly, Calixto does not concern himself with the vows of marriage as an end result; once again sexual desire motivates his actions, not a socially-honorable relationship bound by matrimony. Equating the object of one's affection with a religious image illuminates another common feature in literature considered to belong to the

[64] The Spanish text reads: "tu grandeza que temiese" (81).

tradition of courtly love, although in the case for or against parody in *Celestina* there are not obvious satirical examples apart from the exaggerated depiction of Christian piety.

4.2.2 Parallels between the Treatment of Love and Courtly Love Features in *The Ring of the Dove* and *Carcél de amor.*

Now that I have explored the literary manifestations of courtly love in two canonical Spanish works, both in satirical and exemplary forms, I will examine the treatment of several of the features discussed earlier in this chapter (service to the beloved, the ennobling force of love, and the condition that the lady must belong to a higher social order than the lover). These features will be analyzed in order to establish parallels between the fourteenth and fifteenth century Peninsular versions of courtly love and Ibn Hazm's text.

Two features are evident in one event in *Carcél de amor*: the lover's service to the beloved and the condition that the lady belonging to a higher social order than her suitor. The event is the consuming of Leriano's letters from Laurelola. The literary convention of courtly love was well-established in Diego de San Pedro's life, and the author and readers alike certainly understood the value of secrecy in a relationship similar to that of San Pedro's protagonists, although the act of chewing and swallowing written correspondences is unique to *Carcél de amor*. In an attempt to preserve the secret correspondences between himself and his lover, Leriano tears, dissolves and consumes three letters in the last moments of his life: "[Leriano] could not think how to dispose of [the letters]. [. . .] When he thought of entrusting them to one of his servants, he feared that they might be read, whereby she who had sent them might be endangered" (San Pedro 81).[65] Even at the point of death, Leriano continues to value the confidentiality of his past relationship. Destruction of the letters illustrates the gravity of his

[65] The Spanish version reads: "no sabía qué forma se diese con [las cartas]. [. . .] cuado pensava ponerlas en poder de algún suyo, temíaque serían vistas, de donde para quien las embió se esperava peligro" (San Pedro 149).

resolve to protect his lady's reputation: "taking the surest way amidst these doubts, he called for a cup of water, tore the letters into pieces, and dropped them into the water, and when he had done this he ordered them to sit him up in his bed, and when he was sitting, he drank them in the water and rested content" (82).[66] In his chapter "Of correspondence," Ibn Hazm remarks in a strikingly similar fashion regarding the concealment of written communication "Some men I have seen, that were given to correspondence, who made all haste to tear their letters up, to dissolve them in water, and to rub out all trace of them. Many a shameful exposure has been occasioned by a letter, as I have remarked in verse" (71). Ibn Hazm never suggests the ingestion of letters, although his objective in protecting privacy among lovers is clearly reflected centuries later in Diego de San Pedro's work. While the issue of secrecy appears paramount, even if not successful, it should be considered an act of vassalage to the lady. Both in Ibn Hazm's and San Pedro's account, the lover fears what will happen to his lady if he acts carelessly. He must serve his lady's best interested and protect her honor by preserving secrecy, which is considered to be an act of service.

Aside from the question of secrecy and service to the beloved when participating in written communication, the question of social status is relevant. Above, when discussing parallels found in *Libro de buen amor*, I discussed Ibn Hazm's tale of a poor man in love with a lady of a higher social class in which he refused to reveal her name in order to preserve secrecy in the relationship. Conversely, secrecy does not receive the same treatment in an example of a lover who attempts to court a lady belonging to a lower class: "I [Musa ibn 'Asim ibn 'Amr] was once with my father [. . .] writing a letter for him at his behest. Suddenly my eyes caught a glimpse of a slave girl with whom I was infatuated; unable to master myself, I threw the letter

[66] In San Pedro's words: "Pues tomando de sus dudas lo más seguro, hizo traer una copa de agua, y hechas las cartas pedacos echólas en ella; y acabado esto, mandó que le sentasen en la cama, y sentado, bevióselas en el agua y assí quedó contenta su voluntad" (149).

away and started after her" (Ibn Hazm 83). This tale is one of a cautionary nature, although it is not exclusive in its lack of value of secrecy when a lover courts a lady of a lower social rank. The lover seeking to establish a relationship with a slave girl appears to be less concerned with protecting the honor of his beloved, which indirectly suggests secrecy may be of more value when courting a lady of higher social status.

An additional parallel between the two texts, concerning service to the beloved, emanates from the act of suffering, which Leriano compares to an act of service: "I have done you no service; but if you should count as service what I have suffered, however much you were to offer in repayment, I should believe that you were still my debtor" (San Pedro 17).[67] Vassalage, according to Leriano, surpasses the perceptible, labor intensive deeds of service in the lady's presence or in her absence, and extends to the act of suffering for the sake of love.

Ibn Hazm dedicates an entire chapter to the various types of separation experienced by lovers of all sorts, along with exhaustive imageries of the emotional toil resulting from being separated from one another. He states that "no calamity is there in the world equal to separation: if the souls of men should flow out of their bodies by reason of it—and much more the tears out of their eyes—it were but little to wonder at" (163). He contends that the grief experienced by the lover due to an absent loved one is second only to death. Accordingly, suffering as a result of parting is likened to death, when Ibn Hazm quotes an unnamed philosopher: "Nay, but death is the brother of separation" (163). This idea signals the fatal nature of separation while insinuating the difficulty in finding a resolution for such an affliction. As to the act of service when considering the suffering due to an absence of the love one, Ibn Hazm does not directly equate the latter to the former. He prescribes the single remedy for the agony of separation as the

[67] The Spanish version reads as follows: "Yo me culpo porque te pido galardón sin averte hecho servicio, aunque si recibes en cuenta del server en penar, por mucho que me pagues siempre pensaré que me quedas en deuda" (81).

returning to the absent one: “Such parting is a load oppressing the heart, a lump obstructing the throat, that will not be mended save by a coming back” (163). The unmentioned act of waiting honorably, comporting chastely, and remaining faithfully manifests itself upon the return of the parted lover. Finding another lover or forgetting that the love had previously existed most assuredly would negate the act of serving, although it may appease a lover in a state of anguish.

A pleasant and joyful return of the absent lady is of great value to Ibn Hazm. The following verses describe the emotional state of a lover upon the return of his lady after being separated for a time:

> My eyes were cooled with gladness, when
> I came to dwell with you again;
> But while you were afar, ah then
> My eyes were hot with burning pain.
> I offer God for what is gone
> A spirit patient and resigned,
> As too, for what ensued thereon,
> The praises of a grateful mind. (Ibn Hazm 169)

These verses not only tell of the dreadful discomfort experienced by a lover in his beloved’s absence but also of the service to the lady by means of a submissive and enduring sprint. The poet is grateful for remaining steadfast in his conviction and dedication to his lady and has served her by remaining faithful to her, even though he suffered great pain and agony in doing so during her absence. The following verses, similarly, display the reward expected by a lover who suffers the pain of an absent loved one.

He suffers rigour patiently

For sake of glory yet to be,

Nor flinches in his high desire

Though heaven rain on him with fire.

He spurns all comforts as a shame

That bring diminishment of fame;

And there are blessings, well I know,

That lead to torment and to woe. (Ibn Hazm 203)

The glory and blessings are reserved for those who remain in the service of the lady. Abandoning the relationship, breaking it off, or finding another lover would force the lover to abandon such benefits. Not all lovers remain loyal during an absence, and many of these experiences are explained in numerous chapters that describe the consequences of ending a relationship, especially during a leave-taking by one of the participants of an amorous relationship.

In contrast to service by means of suffering as a result of one's absence, Ibn Hazm inscribes two chapters that detail the events and consequences of forsaking one's lover in his or her absence: "On Forgetting" and "Of Breaking Off." Each chapter chronicles dozens of instances of lovers parting from short periods of time to unspecified, lengthy periods, including permanent separation and death. The unifying element found in all of Ibn Hazm's tales of separation provides a striking contrast to the honorable servitude to one's lover during a time of separation, that is, service to the beloved by means of a virtuous, blessed suffering experienced while apart from the loved one. Ibn Hazm suggests a key dissimilarity among lovers who choose to move on during a time of separation and those who remain in the service of their absent lover: "the universal difference between the man who endures consciously, and the one who forgets, is

that the former, although he manifests the last degree of impassivity, and makes a great show of reviling and attacking his beloved, will not tolerate such conduct in any other" (Ibn Hazm 204). In dividing two types of lover, Ibn Hazm indirectly suggests that the lover who opts to protect the name of his beloved, even in her absence, is a lover who serves his beloved and his or her best interests even during an indefinite, lengthy, or even permanent absence. In *The Ring of the Dove*, the times of leave-taking permit the lover to serve the beloved.

The ennobling force of love in *Carcél de amor* is evident in many of Leriano's written correspondences to Lauriola. Yet the most striking resemblance between *Carcél* and *The Ring of the Dove*, in relation to the ennobling force of love, stems from the beginning of Leriano's diatribe in which he advocates twenty arguments for men's indebtedness to women. His first justification parallels Ibn Hazm's suggestion that love transforms a lover into a better man, a nobler, more virtuous lover. Diego de San Pedro's protagonist, Leriano, attempts to prove why men should be indebted to their beloved or women in general:

> [women] inspire in rude and simple men the cardinal virtue of prudence, and not only do they make dull men into men of superior judgment, but they make superior men yet more subtle and acute, for if they are taken captive by the passion of love, they study so hard how to achieve release that, their wit spurred by their sufferings, they employ such pleasing and persuasive arguments that occasionally, because of the pity they inspire, they do achieve relief from their anguish and simple-minded men, ignorant of nature, when they begin to love, enter upon it rude of spirit, but find the study of sentiment so quickening to their

> understanding that frequently they emerge from it endowed with wisdom, so that it is women who supply what Nature failed to give them. (San Pedro 69-70)[68]

Leriano proposes that women, and thus, the love that manifests itself by means of loving women, improves the character of a man. Diego de San Pedro's description of love as an ennobling force resembles that of Juan Ruiz, as discussed above, and a remarkable similarly is found in Ibn Hazm's treatise. Much like Leriano's contention that women sharpen the intelligence of men in love, Ibn Hazm mentions a similar trait of love: "how often has [. . .] the clod suddenly become sharp-witted [. . .] all because of love" (34). Other resemblances appear in Leriano's twelfth point. Lerianos's description of a parsimonious man is strikingly similar to Ibn Hazm's statement that "a man in love will give prodigally to the limit of his capacity, in a way that formerly he would have refused; as if he were the one receiving the donation, he the one whose happiness is the object in view; all this in order that he may show off his good points, and make himself desirable" (Ibn Hazm 34). Likewise, Leriano reflects this sentiment by explaining that "turning us away from avarice, [women] lead us to liberality, and in practicing it we win the good will of all" (San Pedro 72).[69] Both Ibn Hazm and San Pedro suggest that the act of loving keeps men from leading a lifestyle dominated by greed and materialism.

Additionally, both authors express the idea that love refines etiquette and sharpens proper manners in a man in love. In several arguments, for example, Leriano reflects Ibn Hazm's suggestion that love transforms "the boor [. . .] into the perfect gentleman" (34). In his third

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[68] Ruiz's original Spanish text reads as follows: "a los simples y rudos disponen para alcancar la virtud de la prudencia, y no solamente a los torpes hacen discretos, mas a los mismos discretos más sotiles, porque si de la enamorada pasión se cativan, tanto estudian su libertad, que abviando con el dolor el saber, dizen razones tan dulces y tan concertadas que alguna vez de compasión que las an se libran della; y los simples, de su natural inocentes, cuando en amar se ponen entran con rudeza y hallan el estudio del sentimiento tan agudo que diversas vezes salen sabios, de manera que suplen las mujeres lo que naturaleza en ellos faltó" (136).

[69] Spanish text read: "apartándonos del avaricia nos juntan con la libertad, de cuya obra ganamos las voluntades de todos" (138).

argument, he states that "in order not to disgust them and so come to be regarded with distaste, we become temperate in our eating and drinking, [. . .] we are temperate in our manner; we are temperate in our actions , without by one whit departing from what is proper" (San Pedro 70).[70] In his fourteenth argument, he states that "because of the cleanliness which they move us to strive after, as much in our persons as in our dress and in our eating and in everything we do" (70).[71] Likewise, Leriano suggests that love obliges men to dress in a more elegant manner in his sixteenth argument: "[women] make us refined in our dress. For their sake we pay close attention to our clothes; for their sake we study what we ought to wear" (73).[72] Ibn Hazm, equally, suggests that love assists in improving the lover's outward appearance and manner of dress: "how often has [. . .] the stinker transformed himself into the elegant dandy, [. . .] all because of love" (35). In sum, both Ibn Hazm and Diego de San Pedro agree that love transforms a man, thus, ennobles him, not only in his character but his in the way he dresses, comports himself, eats, manages his wealth among many other issues. All of these behaviors, as a direct consequence of loving, work together to produce a nobler, more virtuous man not only in the literature of Arab Spain during the early eleventh century but also in fifteenth century Peninsular works.

4.3 Conclusion

The parallels established between Ibn Hazm's treatise and texts from fourteenth and fifteenth century Spain, both in exemplary and burlesque form, confirm two hypotheses in

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[70] Spanish text reads: "por no selles aborrecibles, para venir a ser desamados, somos templados en el comer y en el bever y en todas las otras cosas que andan con esta virtud. Somos templados en la habla, somos templados en la mesura, somos templados en las obras, sin que un punto salgamos de la onestad" (136).

[71] The Spanish text reads: "por la limpieza que nos procuran, así en la persona como en el vestir, como en el comer, como en todos las coas que tratamos" (138-39).

[72] The Spanish text reads: "nos hazen ser galanes: por ellas nos desvelamos en el vestir, por ellas estudiamos en el traer" (139).

observed in this study. The first hypothesis, which I discussed in detail in the second chapter of this study, puts forward the notion that *The Ring of the Dove* contains many of the requisite features of courtly love, specifically those said to be absent in the literary tradition of Arab Spain. The second hypothesis suggests that the canonical Peninsular works belonging to the tradition of courtly love share multiple parallels with Ibn Hazm's treatise on love, an idea that strongly suggests a thematic link between *The Ring of the Dove* and the literary convention of courtly love in the Peninsula.

Chapter 5

Parallels between *The Ring of the Dove* and Peninsular Lyric Poetry

The medieval poetic tradition in Spain, specifically *cancionero* poetry, reflects many of the same courtly love conventions I identified in narrative pieces in the previous chapter. In the present chapter, I will explore poems written by Christian writers, most of which either reflect the features of love as described by Ibn Hazm in *The Ring of the Dove* or parody certain characteristics. In particular, textual correspondences between the *The Ring of the Dove* and Peninsular poetry suggest that Ibn Hazm's perception on love played an influential role in development of the philosophical perspective on love in Peninsular lyric poetry. In my analysis, I will identify and consider a variety of courtship behaviors including the act of physical love. Some features will point to the lasting effect of Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love while others will suggest a rejection or aberration of courtly love. Likewise, these textual and thematic variations of courtly love literature will recall the influence of Ibn Hazm.

5.1 Consummation and Physical Love in Medieval Spanish Poetry

Scholars have debated the existence of sexual relations within the courtly love code of behavior. Most seminal studies on courtly love suggest that for a relationship to fit within the framework of courtly love it must exclude physical love. Otis Green suggests that physical contact negates the courtly lover's obligation to suffer for the sake of love. Green proposes that "as long as [courtly love] maintains itself on this level, as long as it continues to be 'pure' (hearts and minds only) and resists the transition to *amor mixtus* (hearts and bodies), it is simply an exultation in suffering *a vivir desviviéndose*" (75). When a relationship becomes carnal, it has thus disobeyed the rules of courtly love and no longer should be considered an illustrative example of such. One of the unique features of courtly love, according to modern scholarship, is

its ennobling force. This ennobling feature of love is brought about by the unrequited nature of the relationship, which upon reaching the point of sexual union no longer exists as an unrequited love and, consequently, the ennobling force is lost. If lovers consummate their love, the lover who does not abide by the traditional code of conduct for courtly love achieves one of the highest goals within the traditional (non-courtly love) courtship process: sexual union. Upon reaching the point of physical union, the longing and suffering experienced by the lover for his beloved along with his motivation to continually serve his beloved gradually decreases, generally speaking, as he has satisfied his goal of 'conquering' his amorous quest.

The issue and presence of sexual union is incompatible to the code of courtly love, according to many scholars such as Paris, Jeanroy, Green, and others. For this reason, many academics of today, who base their definition of courtly love on the research conducted by nineteenth century scholars, suggest that the inclusion of sexual activity invalidates classification of courtly love to romantic tales that otherwise would belong to the convention. Keith Whinnom asserts that lover who abides by the courtly love code of behavior creates a "posture of adoration [which makes the beloved] untouchable" (111). Further on he discusses the issue of sexual activity as one of the most problematic themes in the consideration of courtly love literature. According to Whinnom, Andreas Capellanus' treatise on love cautions lovers against escalating their relationship to the point of sexual intercourse:

> Andrew the Chaplain advises against *amor mixtus*, that is, love which admits sexual consummation, and prefers *amor purus*, where desire is kept at fever pitch by, for instance, kissing, embracing, viewing, and touch the beloved's nude body, with any climactic release, but he is forced to concede that fulfilled sexual love is also verus amor ("true love"). (111)

Seminal studies on courtly love literature point to *The Art of Courtly Love* as one of the most influential texts responsible for codifying the courtly love literary convention. Many scholars look to Andreas as the forefather of courtly love literature. Considering that his text rejects the inclusion of sexual activity, modern scholarship continues to understand sexual love a detrimental act within the courtship process of courtly love. When scholars use Andreas' work as a guidebook for defining and recognizing courtly love behavior, it is apparent why sexual love finds no place within the literary convention. Whinnom proposes an alternative hypothesis that permits sexual relations within the convention of courtly love. He suggests that "any number of poets did not share [Andreas'] views. Many, and possibly a majority, saw sexual union as the logical and natural end of their desires" (111). Ibn Hazm and his philosophy of love, although predating all of the works studied by Whinnom, agrees that sexual contact is a common and essential element practiced by the lovers of his day. Textual examples of sexual relationships in *The Ring of the Dove* in agreement with Peninsular lyric poetry suggest that both sexual union and the ennobling force of love are compatible with and essential to the literary convention of courtly love.

Cancionero poetry shares many of the same attributes as courtly love literature and is considered to have received much inspiration from tales of courtly love. Additionally, *cancionero* poetry includes many direct and indirect references to sexual relations. Álvaro Alonso supports the idea that *cancionero* poetry is a direct descendant of courtly love literature. In his analysis of the similarities and influential factors shared between *cancionero* poetry and courtly love literature in Occitania, he identifies in both traditions the use of service to the beloved, loving from a far as a leading objective of the lover, and suffering and death for the sake of the beloved (Alonso 15). More importantly, his analysis suggests that both *cancionero*

poets and the troubadours include direct and indirect references to sexual consummation.[73] He explains that many scholars erroneously separated works containing explicit or even implicit sexual relations from archetypical courtly love works due to a scholarly focus on Platonic love. Alonso explains as follows: "critics tended to highlight aspects of Platonic love in Provençal poetry, omitting –even in the verses of this present version– sexual or decidedly obscene references" (my translation) (15).[74] This suppression of references to sexual conduct in scholarly studies diminishes the significance of physical love as an essential element of courtly love poetry. If sexual activity is allowed within the code of behavior of courtly love, Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love becomes particularly appropriate. The inclusion of sexual, physical love within the courtly love code of behavior supports my hypotheses that Ibn Hazm's philosophy exerted a lasting influence on literature. In many cases in *The Ring of the Dove,* Ibn Hazm lauds the experience of sexual contact and explains the value of physical union within a relationship, although he indicates in his chapter "On the Vileness of Sinning" that "one should allow oneself sexual union only when it is lawful" (Griffen 430).

In addition to his numerous poems and narrative tales of lovers, Ibn Hazm dedicates an entire chapter titled "On Union" to discussing the union between lovers, which can be interpreted as both a fusion of souls and a union of bodies. He begins his chapter with laudatory words equating love and sex (physical and spiritual union) as interchangeable elements: "One of the significant aspects of Love is Union. This is a lofty fortune, an exalted-rank a sublime degree, a lucky star; nay more, it is life renewed, pleasure supreme, joy everlasting, and a grand mercy

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[73] For additional information about direct and indirect sexual references in cancionero poetry, see: Whinnom, Keith. *La poesía amatoria de la época de los Reyes Católicos*. Durham: University of Durham, 1981.

[74] Álvaro Alonso's observation in his own words reads as follows: la crítica tendió a destacar los aspectos platónicos de la poseía provenzal, omitiendo –incluso en la propia edición de los versos—las referencias sexuales decididamente obscenas" (15).

from Allah" (Ibn Hazm 118). According to Ibn Hazm, physical contact is an indispensable element of love, which indicates that sexual relations are vital when attempting to achieve full union within an amorous relationship. In Ibn Hazm's chapter "On Union," he describes the pleasures and emotional response to the uniting of lovers. He begins by placing physical contact above all other pleasures:

> I have tested all manner of pleasures, and known every variety of joy; and I have found that neither intimacy with princes, nor wealth acquired, nor finding after lacking, nor returning after long absence, nor security after fear and repose in a safe refuge none of these things so powerfully affects the soul as union with the beloved, especially if it come after long denial and continual banishment. (118)

His mention of an extended denial from his lover recalls the *topos* of unrequited love, which is common to courtly love literature. In this particular case, however, rejection converts into physical union as the 'flame of passion' is not easily extinguished. Ibn Hazm explains this in the following terms:

> For then the flame of passion waxes exceeding hot, and the furnace of yearning blazes up, and the fire of eager hope rages ever more fiercely. The fresh springing of herbs after the rains, the glitter of flowers when the night clouds have rolled away in the hushed hour between dawn and sunrise, the plashing of waters as they run through the stalks of golden blossoms, the exquisite beauty of white castles encompassed by verdant meadows not lovelier is any of these than union with the well-beloved, whose character is virtuous, and laudable her disposition, whose attributes are evenly matched in perfect beauty. (118)

Images of passion, yearning, and clandestine affairs during the night hours reveal sexual desire and physical contact, which mirrors the norms of courtly love when physical love is included as one of its components.

Ibn Hazm continues to recommend and applaud the achievement of sexual relations. His most overt example of sexual union depicts a pair of lovers enjoying a sexual encounter in the midst of other people, although the bystanders are unaware of the sexual act occurring nearby. Ibn Hazm recounts the story as it was told to him (Ibn Hazm is not the one of the participants in the love affair) in the following passage:

> One day [. . .] we went on an excursion to one of our estates in the plain to the west of Cordova; one of my uncles was accompanying us. We sauntered through the orchards until we were far away from human habitation, and stretched at our ease by the banks of streams. Suddenly the sky clouded over, and rain began to fall. We had not sufficient coverings with us to protect the whole party; and so my uncle ordered a servant to bring a wrap, threw it over me, and then told the girl to cover herself up with me. Picture me, as you will, enjoying full possession under the very eyes of the multitude, and they entirely unaware! Blissful reunion that was virtually a privacy, happy party that was indistinguishable from a tete-a-tete! (128-29)

Ibn Hazm includes this tale of lovers in his chapter “On Union” as an illustration of how lovers seek to unite physically. Not once in this chapter does he caution readers of the perils of sexual contact. On the contrary, his unceasing praise of union implies support for such acts within the framework of basic courtship among lovers.

In addition to a simple description of sexual, physical union among lovers, the following verses in Ibn Hazm's chapter "On Compliance" not only metaphorically describe union among lovers but also explicitly recommend that the lover enter into a physical, sexual relationship with the beloved:

> Seize the opportunity
> As it opens up to thee;
> Opportunities depart
> Swiftly as the lightnings dart.
> Ah, the many things that I
> Might have done, but let slip by,
> And the intervening years
> Brought me naught but bitter tears.
> Whatsoever treasure thou
> Findest, pounce upon it now
> Wait no instant: swoop to day
> Like a falcon on thy prey. (Ibn Hazm 92-93)

Ibn Hazm introduces these verses with an explanation of how lovers find themselves incapable of resisting the desires of the flesh, which recalls his praise of physical love from his chapter "On Union." His lyrics provide an attempt to explain "how the lover will submit to the beloved" (87). He cites an example in the following passage:

> [A] man [he] knew who lay awake for many nights, endured extreme suffering, and had his heart torn asunder by the deepest emotions, until he finally overcame

> his, beloved's resistance, who thereafter refused him nothing and could no more resist his advances. (Ibn Hazm 92)

This idea suggests that Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love reveals lovers who possess insatiable needs to achieve sexual contact within a romantic affair. Physical love, therefore, occupies an essential part of Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love.

In my third chapter, I explored twelfth century works from Muslim Spain in search of overt representations of sexual activity and cited an illustration of an anonymous *muwashshaha* that describes the yearning of one woman to participate in an adulterous physical relationship with her lover:

> My darling, make up your mind. Arise! Hurry and
> kiss my mouth. Come embrace
> my breast and raise my anklets to my earrings.
> My husband is busy. (Compton 22)

Additionally, I explored similar features in the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'amigo* and suggested that the inclusion of direct sexual expression found in the works of Arab Spain, such as those found in *The Ring of the Dove,* inspired these particular *cantigas*. David W. Foster asserts that fourteenth century poets such as Macías, "followed the Galician-Portuguese school of the High Middle Ages; their goal was the imitation in Castilian of what had been accomplished in Galician: the combination of the Provenzal courtly poetry of love with the early and primitive regional compositions of Galicia" (16). In my exploration of Macías' lyric poetry, I will identify connections between *The Ring of the Dove* and the literary convention of courtly love.

5.1.1 "Razón de amor"[75] and Carnal Love

One of the earliest known lyric poems written in Castilian is the anonymous thirteenth century work "Razón de amor," which serves as a thematic bridge between the literature of Arab Spain, such as *The Ring of the Dove*, and *cancionero* (songbook) poetry insofar as both include images of and allusions to sexual activity within the courtship process among lovers. Scholars agree that this poem reflects the Provençal style and abides by many of the rules of courtly love literature due to the presence of a *locus amoenus*, and, the inclusion of admiration of the lady from a distance coupled with her mild rejection of her suitor.[76] "Razón de amor" presents an early example of lovers who, for the most part, abide by the courtly love code of behavior yet elevate their relationship to one of carnal love or engage in sexual activity. Francisco Manuel Gómez Domingo suggests that "aside from spiritual love, the lady [in "Razón de amor"] gives into love and also wants a clearly carnal, physical love" (my translation) (58).[77] Physical contact is evident in the following verses:

> She removed her cloak from her shoulders
>
> she kissed me on my mouth and eyes;
>
> so much enjoyment from me,
>
> she was unable to speak. (my translation) (v. 123-26)[78]

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[75] Charles C. Stebbins complied the only extant translation of "Razón de amor." The title of the works translates in English to "Poem of Love" although most scholars refer to it by its original title. In this study, I will refer to the poem as "Razón de amor."

[76] For additional information on shared features of courtly love and "Razón de amor," see: Gómez, Domingo F. M. "Una nueva lectura de Razón de amor." *Verba Hispanica*. (1996): 55-62.

[77] In Gómez Domingo's article in Spanish, he writes: "aparte del amor spiritual, ella se rinde y desea tambien un amor manifiestamente fisico, planamente carnal" (58).

[78] The original verses read as follows:

> Toliose el manto de los ombros
> besome la boca e por los oios;
> tan gran sabor de mi auia,

John Gornall suggests the existence of additional implicit sexual references in "Razón de amor," incorporating the sexual motif of a *sierra*, which symbolically represents an upward journey or a quest that ends in sexual relations (492-93). Similarly, Margaret van Antwerp agrees that Peninsular folk songs, such as "Razón de amor," allude to sexual acts implicitly by describing the tops of trees and similar places (3). Gornall concludes that a number of medieval poems include a "folkloric association between sexuality and 'high places and . . . the act of climbing up to them'" (495). Gómez Domingo contrasts the extant physical love in "Razón de amor" with the variety of love described by the troubadours, which some have described as a modification of Platonic love considering the absence of sexual or physical contact. He suggests that the female protagonist "loves without seeing, without meeting [her suitor]; it is a Platonic love—from a distance—. She is in love because of a description and gifts that the messenger has given her" (my translation) (57).[79] The peculiarity in this case is that a relationship formed outside of physical, verbal, or even close range visual contact rapidly converts to a physical, sexual relationship; a seemingly Platonic relationship transforms to a carnal one in a short period of time.

Likewise, Ibn Hazm describes various methods of falling in love from afar. He begins by describing how men form romantic attractions with women purely from descriptions. He describes this occurrence as follows:

> One of the strangest origins of passion is when a man falls in love through merely hearing the description of the other party, without ever having set eyes on the beloved. In such a case he will progress through all the accustomed stages of love;

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sol fablar non me podia. (v. 123-26)

[79] In Spanish, Gómez Domingo writes the following: "Ella ama sin ver, sin conocer; es un amor platónico *-a distancia-***.** Está enamorada por las descripciones y regalos que el mensajero le ha dado" (57).

> there will be the sending to and fro of messengers; the exchange of letters, the anxiety, the deep emotion, the sleeplessness; and all this without actual sight of the object of affection. (Ibn Hazm 48)

This idea replicates the concept of loving or admiring the lady from afar, as the troubadours in Occitania frequently practiced, which questions the scholars' belief that it is an innovative feature of Provençal lyric poetry. Ibn Hazm includes several additional verses that reflect the same theme of falling in love without having seen the object of affection:

> O thou who chidest me
> Because my heart has been
> Entranced by passion utterly
> For one I have not seen. (Ibn Hazm 49)

Additionally, he describes not just falling in love but admiring one from a distance. He writes one stanza about how men "[admire] the beauty of a singing voice, without ever having seen the singer" (49), as described in the following verses:

> Love's soldiery assailed mine ear
> And now do occupy
> My heart; their triumph doth appear
> In my submissive eye. (Ibn Hazm 49)

Ibn Hazm furthers the idea of loving or admiring from afar in his chapter that describes how men fall in love at first sight. He describes this event in the following pronouncement: "often it happens that Love fastens itself to the heart as the result of a single glance" (52). In Ibn Hazm's tale of a man who falls in love at first sight, the conversation that transpires between the lover and his lady reflects many of the themes common to courtly love poetry. For example, when a

certain man (Yusfu ibn Hurun, al-Ramadi) forms a romantic attraction with a woman based exclusively on observing her from a distance, their conversation ensues as follows:

> She accordingly went up to him and said, "Why are you walking behind me?" He told her how sorely smitten he was with her, and she replied, "Have done with that! Do not seek to expose me to shame; you have no prospect of achieving your purpose, and there is no way to your gratifying your desire." He countered, "I am satisfied merely to look at you." "That is permitted to you", she replied. (Ibn Hazm 52)

The relationship established by al-Ramadi and the object of his affection falls into the pattern of Platonic love, especially considering that they are realized ultimately as attractions based on descriptions that never progress to a sexual relationship.

At the same time, Ibn Hazm encapsulates an exemplary illustration of lovers who submit to the desires of the flesh in his chapter on falling in love at first sight. He describes the amorous history of a pair of lovers who fall in love, admire each other from a far and, ultimately, consummate their relationship sexually. Ibn Hazm abstains from describing the physical nature of their relationship, but it seems to be implied in the following tale:

> A young fellow I know, the son of a clerk, was one day observed by a lady of noble birth, high position and strict seclusion; she saw him passing by, while peeping out from a place of vantage in her home, and conceived an attachment for him which he reciprocated. They exchanged epistles for a time, by ways more delicate than the edge of a fine-ground sword; and were it not that I purpose not in this essay to uncover such ruses and make mention of such subterfuges, I could

> have set down here such things as I am certain would have confounded the shrewdest and astonished the most intelligent of men. (Ibn Hazm 54)

Ibn Hazm opts not to describe the "ruses" and "subterfuges" of their relationship, which, in doing so, implies the presence of behavior inappropriate for inclusion in written form, that is, physical love. Above and beyond the issue of physical love, this amorous relationship detailed by Ibn Hazm echoes the code of behavior that would become commonplace in poetry, narrative, and other genres in the following centuries.

As I have explored previously, many scholars have argued that the rigid stipulations of courtly love are violated when any physical contact occurs. Ibn Hazm likewise suggests the presence of a change in the relationship upon the onset of physical contact:

> As for what transpires at first blush as a result of certain accidental circumstances-physical admiration, and visual enchantment which does not go beyond mere external forms-and this is the very secret and meaning of carnal desire; when carnal desire moreover becomes so overflowing that it surpasses these bounds, and when such an overflow coincides with a spiritual union, in which the natural instincts share equally with the soul; the resulting phenomenon is called passionate love. (58)

Ibn Hazm's acknowledgement of the transition between Platonic love and passionate love suggests that he too understands the difference between an unrequited love taking place from afar and one of close, intimate interaction. Later in the same chapter he describes the dichotomy between physical and spiritual love:

> This example [. . .] proves that when a spiritual concord is once established, love is immediately engendered. Physical contact completes the circuit and thus enables the current of love to flow freely into the soul. (Ibn Hazm 59)

Scholars have argued for many decades that protagonists who follow the courtly love code of conduct do not engage in sexual activity. As revealed by textual references in *The Ring of the Dove*, relationships described by Ibn Hazm follow a similar pattern of behavior while including sexual relations. In the following sections, I will examine poetic works from the centuries after Ibn Hazm that suggest similar patterns, that is, works that reflect many of the features of courtly love along with direct and indirect allusions to physical love.

5.1.2 *Amor mixtus* in the Poetry of Macías el Enamorado (Macías *o namorado*)

Near the middle of the fifteenth century, Juan Alfonso de Baena compiled a collection of lyric poetry known as the *Cancionero de Baena* (*Songbook of Baena*). Many of the works Baena collected date to the middle of the fourteenth century, such as the poetry by Macías,[80] who contributes four poems to his collection.[81] In addition to these four well-known works, I will also explore other poems by Macías in search of thematic parallels that associate these poems to the literary convention of courtly love and that reflect Ibn Hazm's philosophy of love.

In a manner similar to the inclusion of physical love in "Razón de amor," the poems of Macías allude to sexual relations. His ninth *canción* tells of a lover in search of physical love, although consummation seems unlikely.

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[80] According to Hugo Rennert, Macías lived and composed poetry between the years of 1340 and 1370, although the exact dates of his birth and death are uncertain.

[81] The four *canciones* included in the *Cancionero de Baena* are as follows: "Cativo de mina tristura," "Amor cruel e bryoso", which is the most widely studied, "Señora, en quien fiança," and "Povery de buscar mesura."

Given that pleasure was

Unable to accept you

With kindness,

You will die and not see

The good you will miss. Oh, wretched one! (v. 1-5)[82]

The lover expresses his desire to consummate his relationship, an idea with which the beloved is not in agreement. Yet, the last verse strikingly resembles Ibn Hazm's suggestion that physical union can be virtuous and good. The lover states that rejection of 'pleasure' results in a loss for the beloved, which is a missed opportunity to partake in such an activity. Had the beloved entered into a sexual relationship with the lover, together they would benefit from the presence of physical love. Other instances of physical love are evident in Macías' poetry, most of which will be discussed when analyzing other features of courtly love in subsequent sections of this chapter.

5.1.3 Sexuality in the Marquis of Santillana's *Serranillas*

Much scholarship and historical evidence exists regarding the life and literary career of Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Marquis of Santillana. This corpus of scholarship rejects the notion that Santillana studied *The Ring of the Dove* or any of Ibn Hazm's works as it is commonly accepted that the Marquis did not read or understand Arabic. Although this is true, Ibn Hazm's philosophical understanding of love provided a lasting influence to poets for centuries. His inspiration is evident in the Peninsular oral tradition, popular songs, and, of course, a trajectory

[82] The original verses read as follows:

Pois prazer non posso aver,
A meu querer e
de grado
Será morrer e mais non ver
Meu ben perder, ¡ai coitado! (v. 1-5)

of poets who did in fact read and study literary works from Arab Spain in Arabic. Santillana may not have read Ibn Hazm's work, but he received inspiration indirectly as is visible in the philosophical approach to love within his poetry.

The genre unique to the Peninsula known as the *serranilla* traces its roots to a fusion of multiple antecedents. David W. Foster asserts that the *serranilla* genre is a "crude tradition in the Peninsula consisting of short compositions dealing with the encounter between a traveler and a mountain girl who shows him the way" (112). In this genre, the verses exhibit a "stylized concentration on the projection of courtly love upon the settings and the individuals of the countryside" (111). Swan, Gronow and Aguirre suggest that the *serranillas* comprise a unique genre in Medieval Spanish poetry that is "half-way between the so-called 'poseía de tipo tradicional' and courtly love poetry" (530).[83] The *serranillas* of Santillana provide a glimpse of how the convention of courtly love, as inspired by Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love, slowly transforms throughout several centuries.

The philosophy of love presented by Ibn Hazm in *The Ring of the Dove* endured a process of evolution from its onset in eleventh century Muslim Spain. My analysis of the *serranillas* will suggest a continuation of the thematic parallels that are traceable to Arab Spain and Ibn Hazm. Rafael Lapesa hypothesizes that due to the simplicity of the *serranillas* as a literary genre as well as to the fact that these verses were commonly known and recited orally (46), the themes and traditions presented in the stanzas of the *serranillas* reflect the incorporation of specific literary features into the popular poetry of Spain. Such themes are traceable to the work of Ibn Hazm and literature of al-Andalus. Furthermore, Foster proposes a structural similarity between the rhyme scheme of the *serranillas* and the poetry of Islamic Spain. He states

[83] Swan, Gronow and Aguirre "postulate the existence of two types of love lyric in fifteenth century Castille: one, "de tip tradicional", a form of poetry infused with emotion and natural sentiment appertaining to the realm of the contury; another, "poema caoncioneril", pertaining to the court" (530).

that several of the rhythmic patterns are "directly traceable to Arabic models which exert a major influence on Medieval and Renaissance poetry in the Peninsula [and] are often found in the *serranillas*" (113). Thematically, many of the essential elements of courtly love are easily identifiable in the *serranillas*, particularly those I have explored in Ibn Hazm's work and will continue to examine below.

Similar to the inclusion of implicit depictions of carnal love in *The Ring of the Dove* and in "Razón de amor," Santillana's fourth *serranilla* provides textual evidence of a sexual relationship among lovers. Santillana defies the traditionally accepted norms of courting by interjecting an overt sexual reference. Foster suggests that "the *topos* of subservience is twisted, with the result that the woman orders the man, not to perform deeds in her honor (a variant may be humiliatingly trivial acts proving blind allegiance), but to engage in sexual intercourse" (121). The following verses translated by Foster provide an example of sexual contact that occurs among Santillana's protagonists:

> But then, since chance has brought you
> this way, it would be best, without any
> other terms, that you give me your sash,
> or let us enter into it rightaway, for in
> this undergrowth, I'd like to toss a bit
> with you. (Foster 120-21)[84]

[84] Santillana's original Spanish version of his fifth *serranilla* [Menga de Mançanares] reads as follows:

> Pero ya, pues le ventura
> por aquí vos has traydo,
> convien en toda figura,
> sin ningund otro partido,
> que me dedes la cintura,
> o entremos a braz partido;
> ca dentro en esta espesura
> vos quiero luchar dos pares. (v. 21-28)

Scholars such as Foster traditionally view this rejection of courtly love's norms as a satiric representation of the literary convention. It is my contention that, based on textual examples found in *The Ring of the Dove* and other works explored in this present study, allusions to carnal love should be traced to the literary impact of Ibn Hazm's treatise and his admiration of physical union within amorous relationships.

Foster furthers his argument by suggesting another burlesque attitude toward courtly love in the same work: "irony is involved in the IVth *serranillia*, where the poet's address [. . .] is couched in the courtly terms of permission [. . .] here we seem to have a composition that incorporates a satiric attitude toward the well-worn *topoi* of courtly love" (119). The following verses exemplify this idea:

> Coming down, along by Boralo, in that
> lower valley, I saw a *serrana* singing; I
> greeter her, as is the custom, and said:
> "*Serrana*, hearing you, I cannot but do
> your bidding." (Foster 120-21)[85]

Santillana clearly represents the metaphor of sexual contact and high places in the form of parody in the above *serranilla*, yet satire may not be the only cause for incorporation of sexual love within Santillana's verses. As I have explained in my analysis of *The Ring of the Dove*,

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[85] Santillana's original Spanish version of his fourth *serranilla* [Menga de Mançanares] reads as follows:

> Descendiendol yelmo a yuso,
> contral Bovalo tirando
> en esse valle de suso,
> vi serrana estar cantando;
> saluela, segund es uso,
> e dixe: "Serrana, estado
> oyendo, yo non me excuse
> de fazer lo que mandares." (v. 5-12)

desire to escalate a relationship from one of Platonic nature to one of a sexual nature provides an additional motive for the integration of sexual relations. The idea of love based solely on hearing a singing voice directly reflects one of Ibn Hazm's methods of falling love. In this case, the lady uses her voice seductively and the lover appears to transform into a type of love-servant, which most likely will result in a physical, sexual relationship. Santillana's poem directly reproduces the philosophy of love postulated by Ibn Hazm by his inclusion of sexual references, which supports the hypothesis that Ibn Hazm's viewpoint on love left an enduring impact in literature.

An additional sexual reference emerges in the Santillana's third *serranilla.* In the following verses, the lover extols the extreme beauty of the *serrana* while his desires of the flesh implicitly emerge from his words:

> I have never in my whole life seen such
> a *serrana* as I did this morning.
> There in the meadow by Mata el Espino
> on the road to Lozuela, I saw her so pretty
> that I really wanted that early fruit. (Foster 117)[86]

The previous stanza describes a lover who observes the physical beauty of the *serrana*, at which point he desires to enter into a sexual relationship with her. Later in the same *serranilla*, the

[86] Santillana's original Spanish version of his third *serranilla* [Yllana, la serrana de loçoyuela] reads as follows:

> Despues que nasçi,
> Non vi tal serrana
> Como esta mañana.
> Alla en la vegeula,
> A Mata el Espino,
> En esse camino
> Que va a Loçoyuela,
> de quisa la vi
> que me fizogana
> la fructa temprana. (v. 1-10)

focus shifts to a concentration on the beauty of the *serrana*. She asks the traveler about his romantic intentions, and the conversation develops as follows:

> I turned to her saying: "Sprightly one,
> Tell me, are you a country wench?"
> "Yes I am, sir; if you so take it; tell
> me true, what do you want of me?" I then
> told her: "I swear by St. Anne that
> you are not rustic." (Foster 117)[87]

The *serrana* seeks answers, but the traveler dwells only on her beauty. The focus on beauty and carnal love demonstrate not only an inclusion of physical love but an elevated level of importance placed upon this one particular element.

According to Ibn Hazm, a connection between beauty and the soul assists in forming a loving relationship. Irving Singer summarizes Ibn Hazm's view on beauty as follows: "[s]ince the individual soul is beautiful, it feels an affinity toward all beautiful forms in the physical world. If the soul can find something of itself, a spiritual kinship behind the form, it falls in love with it" (45). Further on in this chapter, I will discuss the implications of her social status and the lovers' disagreement of such based on her beauty. For now, however, it is noteworthy that the lover does not engage in or mention any services to be rendered in order to earn the love of the

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[87] Santillana's original Spanish version of his third *serranilla* reads as follows:

> A ella volvi
> diziendo: "Locana,
> e soys vos villana?"
> "—Si soy, cavallero;
> si por mi lo avedes,
> dezid, que queredes?
> Fablad verdadero."
> Yo le dixe asy:
> "Juro por Santana
> que non soys villana." (v. 15-24)

lady. He simply observes her beauty and desires to be with her sexually, which is an idea that derives from Ibn Hazm's philosophy.

As I have described in my analysis of Ibn Hazm's chapter "On Union," he lauds the objective of achieving physical union in a relationship. Physical or sexual union eventually becomes part of many of the amorous affairs described in Ibn Hazm's work and forms an essential element in the courtship process. Santillana's *serranillas* provide numerous cases of lovers seeking beauty and sexual contact, all of which clearly reflect Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love. This revised tradition of lovers consummating their relationships, although in opposition to the obsolete notion that sexual encounters void the proper practice of courtly love, exists not only in Arab Spain as explored in *The Ring of the Dove* but also in lyric poetry and popular songs composed by Spanish poets centuries after Ibn Hazm.

5.2 Parallels between *The Ring of the Dove* and Peninsular Lyric Poetry

In previous chapters, I explored a variety of parallels between Ibn Hazm's treatise on love and several Spanish narrative works. In doing so, I concentrated on three specific traits of courtly love literature: the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved or the idea that the beloved commonly belongs to a higher social class than the lover, and the obligation of service to the beloved. Additionally, I discussed how many scholars point out that most of these essential characteristics of courtly love did not exist in the literature of Arab Spain. In this section, I will identify the presence of these features in a variety of Peninsular lyric works and seek parallels between their treatment of love and that of Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove*. I will also explore other features that suggest that Ibn Hazm's treatise had a lasting effect on the Spanish lyric tradition.

5.2.1 The Feature of Service to the Beloved

Medieval Spanish poets exemplify the act of service to the lady in a variety of forms. Conventional courtly love tales represent a traditional form of vassalage as the performance of deeds and services in an attempt to initiate, preserve or even salvage a relationship. The notion of servitude to the beloved is effortlessly identifiable in several of Macías' works.[88] The following example, found in his sixth work of poetry, exhibits a lover expressing his devotion to his beloved:

> My intention was
> And will continue to be,
> Very faithful and true
> To my lady;
> Even when hope is lost
> Her goodness is guarded,
> By my broken heart. (my translation) (v.11-17)[89]

In expressing not only his past commitment to his beloved but also his continuing dedication, the lover exemplifies an elevated level of servitude to his lady. In other poems, Macías provides several more overt illustrations of service to the lady. His seventh poem includes verses that reveal the act of servitude to the beloved:

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[88] Twenty-one works of poetry have been associated with Macías el enamorado, although only four have been universally confirmed to have been written by Macías.

[89] The original verses read as follows:

> A mina entençion era
> E sera mais todavia,
> Mui leal e verdadeira
> Contra a sennora mia;
> Mais quando me desaspera
> Do seu ben que atendia,
> Tdo meu coraçon parte. (v.11-17)

Love, may you be respectful

As you ordered me to serve

[. . .]

Love, I heard you say

That wherever you go

You should live joyously

For much worry will exist (my translation) (v. 21-22, 29-32)[90]

The twenty-first and twenty-second verses provide unambiguous instances of how the lover positions himself in a situation of service to his lady in any form necessary to satisfy her needs and ultimately earn her affection in return. The last verses (v. 29-32) demonstrate how the poet suggests that one in love should take joy in the act of service to his beloved, even when he is not repaid for his services, that is, his beloved does not return her love to him.

I suggested earlier that suffering for the sake of love embodies an act of service by the lover, which occurs in many cases when the lover agonizes due to the absence of his beloved. In the following verses from Macías' *cantiga*, "Proud and cruel love," the poet takes a more cynical tone. The poet seems to be at odds with love, which resembles many of the previously discussed diatribes between men and the god of love (Juan Ruiz, Diego de San Padro, Ovid, among others). In Macías' case, a laudatory tone never materializes; he refrains from defending love and

[90] The original verses read as follows:

Amor, seas ensalçado
Poys me mandaste server
[. . .]
Amor, sempre oy dezir
Que calquier que te serviese
Devie muy ledo bebir
Por quan(to) coyta en que se v[i]ese, (v. 21-21, 29-32)

exalting all of its positive traits. The following stanza begins Macías' second poem, which appears to present a contrarian view of the virtues of love:

> Proud and cruel love,
>
> Cursed be your highness,
>
> For you allow no equal
>
> Being so powerful (my translation) (v. 1-4)[91]

This poem omits flattering words with respect to love, does not attempt to justify it within the context of this *cantiga*, and depicts an abhorrence of love. The misery brought about by love no longer represents a blessed suffering, one that brings honor to both the lover and the beloved, and certainly is not welcomed by either participant in the relationship.

The following verses by Macías further the idea of love as a supplier of pain, suffering, and agony:

> Love, by your failure
>
> And your great cruelty
>
> With sadness my heart
>
> Enters into thought. (my translation) (v 9-12)[92]

These verses omit the presence of a lady or the love of a lady. Macías laments the cruelty and wretched nature of love and concludes his work with the idea that love ultimately brings about

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[91] The original verses read as follows:

> Amor cruel e brioso,
> Mal aia a ta alteza,
> Pois non fazes igualeza
> Seendo tal poderoso. (v. 1-4)

[92] The original verses read as follows:

> Amor, por teu fallimento
> e por a ta grant crueza,
> meu coraçon con tristeza
> é posto en pensamento. (v. 9-12)

death. In examples discussed previously in this study, poets in agreement with Ibn Hazm's tales of lovers prefer death to the thought of losing their lady. Death bestows honor when a lover parishes in serving his beloved, as evidenced in the following verses:

> You see, Love, why I say it,
>
> I know you are cruel and strong,
>
> Adversary or enemy
>
> One who despises his court
>
> In such luck you cast aspersions
>
> That for honor you offer highness;
>
> He who serves you in kindness
>
> As a reward you provide death. (my translation) (v. 29-36)[93]

In these verses, the reward of loving is death, which furthers the idea that the poets of the fourteenth century understood the notion of and rules associated with courtly love but did not always choose to abide by them. This divergence from the traditional rules of courtly love by an inclusion of the lover's demise as payment for his service supports the idea that Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love continues to be influential in the fourteenth century. For example, Ibn Hazm clearly describes how lovers take pleasure in dying for the sake of love and in service to their ladies, which ennobles the lover as the following verses express:

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[93] The original verses read as follows:

> Ves, Amor, por qué lo digo,
> sei que es cruel e forte,
> adversario ou enemigo,
> desamador de ta corte;
> al vil deitas en tal sorte
> que por prez le das vileza;
> quien te sirve en gentileza
> por galardón lle das morte. (v. 29-36)

Though thou scoldest me, yet I

Am the cheapest man to die,

Slipping swiftly like false gold

Through the tester's fingers rolled.

Yet what joy it is for me

To be slain for loving thee!

Marvel, then, at one who dies

Smiling pleasure from his eyes. (Ibn Hazm 87)

These verses reflect several features of Ibn Hazm's viewpoint on love. The lover appears to belong to a lower class as he is "the cheapest man to die" (87), yet he appears to receive pleasure in dying for the sake of his love. Such an idea epitomizes the idea of the ennobling force of love. The poet understands his place both in society and in the afterlife, both of which are improved by the act of sacrificing himself in the service of the beloved.

Santillana provides similar examples of service to the beloved in his *serranillas*. As I discussed in the section on physical love, scholars have interpreted the following stanza as a burlesque take on courtly love due to the simplicity and social status to which the *serrana* belongs and to whom the lover seeks to offer his servitude. However, the tale of falling in love with a women based only on hearing her voice recalls Ibn Hazm's tale of a lover who falls in love with a women due to her beautiful singing voice and who, as a result, becomes obligated to serve her:

Love's soldiery assailed mine ear

And now do occupy

My heart; their triumph doth appear

In my submissive eye. (Ibn Hazm 49)

In addition to the issues of sexuality within the following verses, as I discussed above, the following verses from Santillana's fifth *serranillas* bear a resemblance to Ibn Hazm's notion of falling in love from afar or after simply hearing the voice of the beloved:

I saw a *serrana* singing; I

greeter her, as is the custom, and said:

"*Serrana*, hearing you, I cannot but do

your bidding." (Foster 120-21)[94]

These verses illustrate how the lover is unable to avoid sexual, physical love when the lover is enticed by the trance-provoking songs of the *serrana*. They also exhibit how a lover who seeks to advance such a relationship will enter into service to the lady. Both Ibn Hazm and Santanilla depict lovers who are seduced by song and ultimately end up in servitude to the lady. The act of serving the beloved due to some sort of provocation on behalf of the lady does not exist in traditional works of courtly love, which reveals an additional trait unique to Ibn Hazm and the literature inspired by his philosophy on love.

5.2.2 The Superiority of the Beloved

The requisite feature of courtly love known as the superiority of the beloved indicates that the lady must belongs to a higher social class than that of the lover. As discussed earlier in my study, this feature is directly related to the ennobling force of love. The poems of Macías

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[94] Santillana's original Spanish version of this fifth *seranllia* [Menga de Mançanares] reads as follows:

vi serrana estar cantando;
saluela, segund es uso,
e dixe: "Serrana, estado
oyendo, yo non me excuse
de fazer lo que mandares." (v. 8-12)

provide a number of cases that exhibit the superiority of the beloved. The following stanzas from Macías' tenth poem describe a lady whom many have served and who appears to occupy a high position in society:

> I order myself to obey
>
> My lady of great worth
>
> Completed in courtesy
>
> Whom I still serve
>
> And [. . .] without failure
>
> I see many that served you,
>
> Serve you now and will serve you
>
> I see others that spoke evil,
>
> Speak evil now and will speak evil
>
> About me due to my daring
>
> Praise of your highness (my translation) (v. 8-18)[95]

In these lines, grammatical usage indicates an elevated level of formality. The use of the formal possessive adjective *seu* in agreement with direct object pronoun *la* is employed as a sign that the beloved belongs to a higher social class than that of the lover. In contrast, other works written by Macías incorporate informal pronouns and adjectives when lovers address each other, such as the

[95] The original verses read as follows:

> Me mandou obedescer
> Dona de mui gran valia,
> Acabada en cortesia,
> A quen servo todavia
> E loei sen fallimento
> Muitos vi que la servian
> E serven e servirán;
> Outros vi que mal dizian,
> Mal dizen ou mal dirán
> A mi por que foi ousado
> De loar seu alto estado (v. 8-18)

object pronoun *ti* and the subject pronoun *tú*. Unlike the previous verses and their incorporation of formal pronouns, the following stanza displays use of the informal adjective and pronoun as the poet address his beloved in an informal manner.

> My lady, to whom I pledge
>
> And certainly without doubt
>
> Do not obey out of vengeance
>
> My sadness.
>
> Nor because of merit
>
> But because it is commanded (my translation) (v. 1-6)[96]

The alternating use of formal and informal grammatical forms in the poems of Macías demonstrates that lovers seek to court women from higher ranks. The issue of social structure thus plays an important role in Macías' lyrics. Again, Ibn Hazm's philosophy of love along with this one particular trait of courtly love is present these poems by Macías. In "I order myself to obey," the speaker addresses the lady formally, the lover longs to provide services to the lady (or to be in a position of servitude), which would ennoble him as a lover. In "My lady, to whom I pledge," the poet uses informal speech and speaks of sadness. He fails to mention other deeds or services that may lead to serving his beloved and consequent ennobling.

Santillana, as discussed in the previous section, continues his burlesque treatment of the courtly love theme in his seventh *serranilla*. Foster suggests that many of the requisite characteristics of courtly love poetry are present in this work: "the courtly themes of the exotic

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[96] The original verses read as follows:

> ¡Ai! Sennora, en quen fiança
> Ei por certo sen dultança,
> Tu non aias por vengança
> Mia tristura.
> Non porque [o] merecimento
> A ti o manda (v. 1-6)

setting, the hyperbole on the roses of Spring, the *topoi* of the lover's lost liberty, [and] the gentle rejection of the poet's words" (124). However, the lady is not noble; she is a cowgirl, which suggests another burlesque representation of the superiority of the beloved due to her low social status. In the following verses, Santillana expresses the lover's surprise at her beauty due to her occupation and position in society:

> In a green meadow of roses and flowers,
> watching over her flock with the other
> shepherds, I saw her, so charming that I
> could hardly believe she was a cowgirl
> from La Finojosa.
> I don't believe roses in the spring are as pretty
> or anyway like her, and I'm not exaggerating.
> if beforehand I had known about that cowgirl from
> La Finojosa. (Foster 123)[97]

Santillana's satirical representation of the beloved exhibits two noteworthy traits. First, it reveals that the literary convention of courtly love and Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love have permeated

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[97] Santillana's original Spanish version of his seventh *serranilla* [La vaquero de la Finojosa] reads as follows:

> En un verde prado
> de rosas e flores,
> guardando Ganado
> con otros pastores,
> la vi tan graciosa
> que apenas creyera
> que fuesse vaquero
> de la Finojosa.
> Non creo las rosas
> de la primavera
> sean tan fermosas
> nin de tal manera,
> fablando sin glosa.
> si antes sopiera
> de aquella vaquero
> de la Finososa. (v. 13-28)

Spanish literature to a point that they are now the subject of ridicule and parody. Second, it reveals that the particular characteristics and rules of this unique courtship process have been incorporated into the lyric genre.

An additional anomaly related to the rank of the beloved appears in several of Santillana's *serranillas*. The lover by definition is a gentleman of the court and, similar to the previously cited stanzas, the beloved is a peasant girl. Swan, Gronow and Aguirre suggest that the "girl aspires towards the courtly ideal because she feels her position to be social inferior" (534). The following stanzas reveal the female protagonist's personal struggle with and denial of her place in society:

> I was raised in a village,
>
> I became dark-skinned
>
> If I were raised in a small town
>
> I would be prettier.
>
> [. . .]
>
> You call me low-class
>
> I am not low-class
>
> My father married me
>
> To a gentleman. (my translation) (v. 162-65, 117-20)[98]

[98] The original verses read as follows:

> Criéme en aldea,
> híceme morena.
> si en villa me criara
> más bonica furea.
> [. . .]
> Llamáisme villana;
> yo no lo soy.
> Casóme mi padre
> Con un caballero. (v. 162-65, 117-20)[98]

According to Swan, Gronow and Aguirre, "the 'caballero' in Santillana's '*serranillas*' uses his position and the girl's feeling of inferiority to his advantage" (535). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, his 'advantage' manifests itself as sexual, physical love. Ibn Hazm describes a similar advantage that a master presumes to have over his slaves: "sometimes you will see a man infatuated with his slave-girl, his own legal property, and there is nothing to prevent him from having his way with her if he so desires" (89). Lawfully, the slave owner is allowed to request (or forcibly demand) a sexual encounter from one of his slaves at any time for any reason. The hierarchal structure offers an 'advantage' to him. On the contrary, love overcomes the social-structure imbalance in the following tale of lovers that Ibn Hazm articulates later in the same chapter. He describes how the lover (a man of high social rank) submits himself to the slave girl in the following account:

> Sa'id Ibn Mundhir Ibn Sa'id [. . .] had a slave-girl with whom he was deeply in love. He, offered to manumit and marry her, to which she scornfully replied−and I should mention that he had a fine long beard−"I think your beard is dreadfully long; trim it up, and then you shall have your wish." He thereupon laid a pair of scissors to his beard." (Ibn Hazm 91)

Societal structure in every culture establishes specific norms to which rules of love are applied. In many cases, such rules are manipulated in order to allow for the taking advantage of either the lover or the beloved as exemplified in the Ibn Hazm's account cited above. Courtly love tales typically provide examples of those who increase their worth socially and virtuously by courting one of a higher social status. Conversely, Ibn Hazm's philosophy, as revealed in the poetry of Santillana and Macías, provides examples of those who defy such norms as a consequence and result of love.

5.2.3 The Ennobling Force of Love

The concept of love as an ennobling force is problematic due to the quantity of contrasting definitions that exist after more than a century of courtly love scholarship. Alexander Denomy provides a concise summary of the ennobling force of love. He states that this force is "the elevation of the lover affected by a ceaseless desire and yearning for union with a worthy lady" (23). As discussed earlier in this chapter, Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love suggests that love is compatible with physical union. According to scholars such as Denomy, courtly love is a "love that yearns for and, at times, is rewarded by the solace of every delight of the beloved except the physical possession of her. That is not allowed to those who love purely" (24). As a result of this perpetual yearning, the lover becomes a nobler gentleman, as stated by Denomy: "it is desire and yearning for one's lady that is productive of joy, for thereby is the lover ennobled" (24). Ibn Hazm's idea of the ennobling force of love differs from that of traditional courtly love literature. Courtly love scholarship suggests that consummation nullifies the possibility of ennobling love, while Ibn Hazm advises that both ennobling love and physical relations are advantageous to both participants involved in an amorous affair. The following passage dispels the notion that physical union is detrimental to love. Ibn Hazm advises lovers to engage in physical love, which in the following example of a prolonged union exemplifies the view that sexual love strengthens the amorous bond between lovers:

> Some say that union too long enjoyed is fatal to love. That is a vile doctrine, advanced only by those who quickly tire of a sweet romance. On the contrary, the longer the union lasts the firmer the attachment becomes. Speaking for myself, I have never drunk deep of the waters of amorous union without my thirst raging all the more fiercely: such is the predicament of one who seeks to cure himself by

> applying as remedy the very sickness from which he is suffering the respite is immediate, but soon gone. (Ibn Hazm 223)

This example of a prolonged physical union bolsters the affection shared between lover and beloved, which is in direct contrast to the idea of union as disadvantageous to an amorous relationship between lovers.

Suffering for the sake of love ennobles the lover. When a lover seeks a beloved, he alters his conduct, among many other adjustments. Macías provides numerous examples of suffering for the sake of the beloved, which thus ennobles the victim of such anguish. The seventh poem attributed to Macías embodies this type of suffering for the sake of love, which ennobles the one who endures such sorrow:

> I do not complain of you now,
> Love, if I suffer badly,
> Since you gave as a lady
> A noble, angelic presence,
> To whom I was and am loyal
> And I will be without doubt
> A woman who suffers great
> Unmerited torment. (my translation) (v.13-20)[99]

[99] The original verses read as follows:

> Non me quexo de ty agora,
> Amor, sy padeesco mal,
> Poys me distes por señora
> Noble vista angelical,
> A quien fuy e soy leal
> E seré syn dudamento,
> Muguer que sufro tormento
> Longe syn faser error. (v.13-20)

The speaker in this poem, a female voice, clearly suffers as a result of the seemingly unattainable love. She appears to be the victim of anguish, although these verses indicate a shift in her emotional state. The thirteenth verse indicates that the protagonist had previously shunned her lover by complaining of his advances, which recalls many situations described by Ibn Hazm. Further on she signals that she now is the one who is faithful, loyal, and the one who will ultimately suffer as result of love.

The idea of suffering, which ennobles the lover either socially or virtuously, permeates Santillana's ninth *serranilla.* Lovers who endure perpetual suffering as a result of serving the beloved constantly strive to increase their worth in order to better serve their beloved. Additionally, this demonstration of loyalty even in times of suffering provides the beloved with a clear picture of the lover's character and the extent to which he will dedicate himself to her. The following verses epitomize the lengthy period of suffering one in love experiences:

> I believed that
>
> love had forgotten me,
>
> like someone who had
>
> much time remaining
>
> of such suffering,
>
> more so than the flame
>
> that burns lovers (my translation) (v. 6-10)[100]

[100] The original verses read as follows:

> Cuidé que olvidado
> amor me tenía,
> como quien se avía
> grand tiempo dexado
> de tales dolores,
> que más que la llama
> queman amadores. (v. 6-10)

The ennobling force of love brought about by suffering is an ennobling of character and virtue, not one of societal or class ennobling.[101] The unique brand of the ennobling force of love that appears in both *The Ring of the Dove* and in Peninsular lyric poetry displays a distinctive form of suffering that provides a transformative experience to the lover who is afflicted by the absence of the beloved. Suffering due to the absent lover affords the lover a higher sense of nobility of character and virtue.

Ibn Hazm equates the act of sexual union in *The Ring of the Dove* with the ennobling force of love. In his chapter "On Union," he refers to union (both sexual and spiritual union) with the beloved as an "exalted-rank." Upon achieving union with the beloved, the lover appears to increase his worth, as described in the following passage: "One of the significant aspects of Love is Union. This is a lofty fortune, an exalted-rank a sublime degree, a lucky star; nay more, it is life renewed, pleasure supreme, joy everlasting, and a grand mercy from Allah" (Ibn Hazm 118). Physical love, which plays an important role in Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love, functions as an additional element of love capable of ennobling the lover. As I explored in the works of the Marquis of Santillana, Macías, and other lyric poetry, sexual contact permeates the tales of lovers and recalls Ibn Hazm's model of love. Both Spanish *cancionero* poetry and Ibn Hazm's work reveal lovers who simultaneously engage in sexual activity while experiencing the ennobling effects of love. As discussed above, scholars routinely consider these two concepts incompatible, yet, in view of the lasting impact of *The Ring of the Dove* and the society of Arab Spain, sexual activity and ennobling love appear harmonious.

[101] I discussed this distinction of the ennobling force of love and its two manifestations in courtly love literature in detail in the second and fourth chapter of this study.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified philosophical parallels between the late medieval Peninsular poetic tradition and Ibn Hazm's treatise on love, *The Ring of the Dove*. The literary representations of sexual love or physical love found in many of the works I analyzed were once considered to nullify the courtly love code of conduct. Textual evidence from *The Ring of the Dove* strongly suggests that Ibn Hazm's description of love played an influential role in the formation of the lyric tradition that evolved into the literary convention now known as courtly love. My exploration and analysis of "Razón de amor" supports the idea that Ibn Hazm's philosophy on love resounded throughout the centuries. Furthermore, my examination of the lyric poetry written by Macías provides both a very important model for fifteenth century Spanish courtly love literature and a manifestation of Ibn Hazm's lasting impact on the Spanish variation of the convention. These poems and their thematic relation to Ibn Hazm demonstrate and support the hypothesis that works from Arab Spain occupied an essential role in the formation and codification of courtly love. Additionally, Ibn Hazm's stimuli in lyric poetry considered in this chapter accounts for many of the abnormalities that exist in courtly love scholarship, such as the exclusion of sexual activity in traditional courtly love tales, the variation in forms the ennobling force of love, and the unique representations of service to the beloved.

Chapter 6

Saudade and the Concept of Suffering for the Sake of Love

6.1 Ibn Hazm's Philosophy of Love and the Concept of *Saudade*

Many of Ibn Hazm's tales of love depict lovers who experience a particular form of sorrow and who are subjected to its profound psychological impact. This unique version of suffering, which manifests itself in a several forms, has been well studied and identified in both Spanish and Portuguese literature of the late Middle Ages and is known by the Portuguese term *saudade*. Textual evidence of this expression of suffering and its impact on one or both parties involved in amorous affairs in *The Ring of the Dove* suggest that this literary concept originated from Ibn Hazm and his philosophical impact on the literature of medieval Spain. *The Ring of the Dove* presents the concept of *saudade* as a consequence of suffering for the sake of love, the absence of the beloved, the act of guarding the secret of an amorous relationship, and the inability to express love for the beloved. I will explore all of these types of suffering as explained by Ibn Hazm in his treatise on love.

6.2 Suffering for the Sake of Love

Josiah Blackmore traces the origins of *saudade* as a literary device to the suffering expressed by the Galician-Portuguese *cantiga d'amigo*, which is known as *coita d'amor*. He suggests that their poetry reveals "the first expression of *saudade*" (641). Ibn Hazm, however, details numerous amorous episodes of lovers suffering in a similar fashion in his treatise on love and shaped this distinctive notion of suffering several centuries before the *cantigas* and the development of courtly love literature. Before the Galician-Portuguese poets were said to have codified the concept of *saudade* in their lyric poetry, Ibn Hazm expressed a form of inner suffering, which impacted the afflicted lover in a way that he or she was left with a lasting,

irreversible psychological condition. Ibn Hazm insinuates that such suffering stems from a variety of causes. The first source of intense suffering is brought about by the absence of a loved one. In the following case, the lover takes great joy in suffering for the sake of his love. The love for his absent beloved is replaced by his suffering for her, as Ibn Hazm expresses in this passage:

> I once knew a youth who was bogged down in love and stuck fast in its toils passion had grievously affected him, sickness had worn him out. Yet his soul found no comfort in praying to Almighty God to remove his afflictions; his tongue was not loosed in any petition for deliverance. His only prayer was to be united with and to be possessed of the one he loved, despite the enormity of his sufferings and the long protraction of his cares. (What is one to think of the sick man who desires not to be rid of his sickness?). One day [. . .] I said to him (among other things), "May Allah grant you relief!" I at once observed in his face the marks of strong displeasure with what I had said. (31)

The aggrieved lover shuns relief from his misery, as his state of agony remains as his only connection to his absent beloved. This extreme suffering has affected him so profoundly that he no longer desires relief from his pain. Only reunifying with the beloved will cure his ailment, which may or may not exist as a potential resolution.

This type of suffering for the sake of love differs slightly from the variety of suffering that is typically associated with courtly love, which is a form of suffering that ennobles the lover and may persuade the beloved to return his love as payment for his suffering. The following tale of a grief-stricken lover from *The Ring of the Dove* expresses this category of suffering and love, which recalls the precepts of courtly love:

> A wonderful example of how the lover will submit to the beloved is provided by a man I knew who lay awake for many nights, endured extreme suffering, and had his heart torn asunder by the deepest emotions, until he finally overcame his, beloved's resistance, who thereafter refused him nothing and could no more resist his advances. (Ibn Hazm 92)

The key difference between this example and the others I will discusses in this chapter is the element of amorous success. The lover suffers hardship and ultimately accomplishes his goal of attaining the love of his beloved in return. His agony does not leave an enduring impact on his psychological state as a remedy is present, namely, a union with his beloved.

6.2.1 Suffering Due to the Absence of the Beloved

One manifestation of *saudade* occurs when the beloved has taken flight. Gregory B. Kaplan discusses its presence in a selection of Galician-Portuguese poetry from the late Middle Ages and reveals that the literary representation of *saudade* depicts lovers who have a preference for suffering due the absence of the beloved. These lovers "dedicate their efforts to lament their state; in a certain sense, the *saudade* replaces the amorous conquest as the principal theme of the poem" (my translation) (Kaplan 204).[102] Kaplan likens these *cancionero* poems to the literary convention of courtly love and discusses their many shared features. He indicates their "surrendering to melancholy [as] the distinctive Galician-Portuguese element of courtly love" (my translation) (204).[103] An emphasis on a type of suffering that generates an extreme psychological impact on the lover to the point at which he no longer seeks remediation is a distinctive feature in these poems. Furthermore, the tormented lover prefers his suffering to any

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[102] Kaplan's article, written in Spanish, reads as follows: "dedica sus esfuerzos a lamentar su estado; en cierto sentido, la saudade reemplaza la conquista amorosa como tema principal del poema" (204).

[103] The original test of the article reads: "su entrega a la melancolía, es el elemento distintivo de la expresión gallegoportuguesa del amor cortés" (204).

sort of solution or even when reunion with the absent beloved or another form of remedy is readily available.

Throughout his treatise, Ibn Hazm describes how separation of lovers creates great suffering in the hearts of the affected lovers. The following excerpt summarizes his awareness on this one particular form of anguish:

> Separation can be caused by a journey and a far removal of dwellings, when there is little certainty of a return, and the lovers cannot be sure of ever meeting again. That is a grievous catastrophe, a shocking anxiety, a most frightful eventuality, a stubborn sickness: greatest indeed is the ensuing fretfulness, when it is the beloved who goes away. (Ibn Hazm 166)

Many examples depict lovers who strive to reunite with their estranged beloveds, most of whom, in their attempt to remedy their state of despair, do not exhibit the presence of *saudade*. A few amorous accounts, nevertheless, plainly reflect this concept. For example, the lovers in the following passage seem to prefer the act of suffering and reject attempts to lessen their state of agony. In the following verses, Ibn Hazm expresses the sentiment of guarding the emotional suffering while exemplifying the desire to shun all attempts to ease said suffering for the sake of an absent loved one:

> O rare delight, these pains that break
> My heart, dear hope, for thy sweet sake!
> Through all the days, in all my woe,
> I will not ever let thee go.
> If any man should dare to say,
> “Thou shalt forget his love one day”

The only answer I will give

Is an eternal negative. (32)

The previous verses illustrate the concept of *saudade* in the lover's perpetual refusal to accept every possible remedy for his current state of sorrow. Forgetting his absent beloved, if possible, would bring about relief, but this particular lover prefers to remain in a state of grief in place of moving on to the next amorous escapade. The stress of losing his beloved has affected him psychologically to a breaking point. The subject of this suffering appears as the victim of a failed relationship, an absent or departed beloved, or an assortment of other causes and no longer seeks or accepts a cure for such an illness. He no longer desires to assuage the continuous and painful misery brought about by his unrequited love. Suffering develops into the preferred reality of the afflicted lover.

The practice of prolonged suffering physiologically alters the afflicted lover to an extent that he no longer seeks remediation of his suffering. In the following verses, Ibn Hazm depicts a lover who prefers to see his lover only in his subconscious thoughts and his dreams:

I am too jealous, love, to let

My eyes alight upon thee yet,

And fear to hold thee overmuch

Lest thou be melted by my touch.

So by such caution moved, my sweet,

I suffer not that we should meet,

Intending rather that we keep,

Our rendezvous, when I'm asleep.

For if I slumber, then my soul

> Shall have thee only, have thee whole;
>
> No body gross shall come between
>
> Our spirits, subtle and unseen.
>
> This spiritual unity
>
> More sweet a thousand fold shall be,
>
> More fine, more tender, and more fresh
>
> Than the hot intercourse of flesh. (188-89)

Uniting with the beloved, forgetting her, or seeking another romantic interest logically provide temporary or permanent relief for such a malady. The unconventional behavior in the previous verses contrasts other exhibitions of suffering for the sake of an absent beloved by depicting the afflicted lover as one who chooses dilution or a false reality of union to that of an actual union with his beloved.

The following textual examples of prose and poetry from *The Ring of the Dove* illustrate Ibn Hazm's philosophies regarding the impact of an unrequited love, an unattainable love, or the absence of the beloved for a variety of reasons:

> Every lover who is sincere in his affection, if he be barred from union with his beloved either through separation, or as the result of a breaking off, or because or some reason or another he has to conceal his attachment, must necessarily fall in consequence into sickness, wasting away, and emaciation; not infrequently he, is obliged to take to his bed. This is a thing exceedingly prevalent; it is happening all the time. The accidents that befall on account of love are quite different from those maladies, which result from the sudden attack of an illness, and are readily diagnosed by the shrewd physician and the observant physiognomist. (197)

Additionally, Ibn Hazm counters the possibility of an association of love sickness with other illnesses, as he establishes the unique qualities of this condition. The following poem expresses in great detail the state that results from the profound psychological impact of an absent beloved. These eight verses express how other men are incapable of understanding the pain of agony of the afflicted lover, a condition only understood by the one experiencing such anguish and by God:

The doctor says to me
(But he does nothing know),
"Take drugs, dear So-and-so
Thou ailest grievously!"
Yea, no man knows this thing
I suffer from, but I
Do know, and God Most High,
One Lord, Almighty King. (Ibn Hazm 197)

The next few stanzas express the afflicted lover's incapability to conceal his suffering. His current state is easily recognizable due to its severity and the physical distress placed upon on the lover, as the following verses express:

Can I conceal my woe?
That is made all too plain
By my deep groans of pain,
My throbbing head bent low?
My face grief's signs are seen
Most clearly there, in faith;

My body-that poor wraith,

So wasted and so lean.

And naught can ever be

More sure, more free of doubt,

Than when signs point it out

Incontrovertibly. (Ibn Hazm 197)

As the previous verses illustrate, an absent beloved not only brings about emotional effects but also physical issues. Further on in the poem, a physician diagnoses his ailment as melancholy, as the following verses describe:

He said, "Ha, I discern

Thy nerves are overwrought;

All jumpy, deep in thought

Thou art, and taciturn.

I therefore speculate

'Tis melancholia;

Be careful! It is a

Most grave and serious state." (Ibn Hazm 198)

The previous verses explicitly describe how the state of suffering for the sake of love burdens the afflicted lover. Later, the speaker states how the search for a cure for this illness affects the mental state of the one suffering in such a condition:

"My sickness", I did say,

"Itself provides my cure;

Aye, such a case, for sure,

> Leads mightiest brains astray.
>
> "My proof may be discerned
>
> At once, and visibly:
>
> The branches of a tree
>
> Make roots, when overturned. (Ibn Hazm 198-99)

Ibn Hazm's words indicate that the suffering for the sake of love is a distinctive malady, which has no other remedy but union with the beloved. Nonetheless, the extreme emotional impact on the lover when his beloved is away for any reason is conspicuous and closely parallels the concept of *saudade*.

Finally, Ibn Hazm provides an extreme example of how the separation of a beloved impacts the lover in the most severe of ways: death. The following example tells the story of a man who is unable to endure the suffering brought about by an absent beloved:

> I know a man who came to bid farewell to his beloved upon the day of parting, and found that she was already gone. He paused in her tracks a full hour, passing to and fro over the spot where she had been; then he departed crestfallen, pale, dejected. Within a few days he fell sick and died, God rest his soul! (Ibn Hazm 173)

Clearly, the act of departing, separation, or an absence in any length has a lasting and profound psychological impact on those experiencing a situation of separation. Portuguese poets exemplify this behavior, yet Ibn Hazm provides strikingly similar cases of emotionally distraught lovers yearning for their absent beloveds several centuries prior to the Galician-Portuguese poets.

6.2.2 Suffering for the Sake of Guarding a Secret

Ibn Hazm recounts a number of tales of lovers who guard the secret of their love and, in doing so, experience great pain and suffering. Suffering in order to guard the secret of a love affair exemplifies another form of suffering represented in *The Ring of the Dove*. Lovers involved in clandestine interactions avoid public knowledge of their relationship from the beginning of the courtship process to the point at which the relationship advances to an intricate romantic affair. According to Ibn Hazm, the act of safeguarding the nature of the relationship is paramount to its success. Furthermore, he suggests that disclosure of a relationship often results in a catastrophic end and lauds the value of confidentiality within romantic relationships in an entire chapter titled "Of Concealing the Secret." In his treatise, he provides numerous examples and details to justify the need for secrecy throughout this particular chapter, but his introductory words suffice for exhibiting this trait within his work:

> One of the attributes of Love is holding the tongue; the lover will deny everything if interrogated, affect a great show of fortitude, and make it appear that he is extremely continent and a confirmed bachelor. For all that the subtle secret will out. The flames of passion raging in his breast will be glimpsed in his gestures and in the expression of his eyes; they will creep slowly but surely into the open, like fire among coals or water through dry clay. (Ibn Hazm 76)

The metaphor of flames emanating from the body epitomizes the struggle and powerlessness of the lover who endeavors to hide his relationship from others and retain control over his body. In like fashion, the following verses epitomize this concept and demonstrate how lovers will suffer great anguish in an attempt to preserve the furtive nature of an amorous affair. The pain and suffering manifests itself in a tangible, visible manner in the physical movements of the lover

and in his eyes. These manifestations indicates how suffering for the sake of love psychologically impacts the lover even when the beloved is present, although the nature of the relationship is absent from public knowledge.

> The tears of passion flow
>
> And flow again;
>
> The veil, of love, I know,
>
> Is rent in twain.
>
> My heart, as she floats past,
>
> Is fluttering yet
>
> Like a poor partridge, fast
>
> Trapped in the net. [. . .]
>
> How long, how long must I
>
> This secret hide
>
> Which I cannot deny,
>
> Nor lay aside? (Ibn Hazm 78)

Both in Ibn Hazm's prose and poetry the need to preserve secrecy is clear. Similar to the poem quoted above ("The tears of passion flow"), romantic relationships must be kept from the light of day, literally and figuratively. The following example reveals a similar sentiment and adds a descriptive approach to identify a lover physically who suffers from the affliction of love:

> The sign of sorrow is a flame
>
> That strikes the heart, and burns the same,
>
> As too the tears that freely go
>
> Adown the cheeks in ceaseless flow.

For when the man by Love possessed

Conceals the secret of his breast,

His tears the guarded truth betray

And bare it to the light of day.

So, when the tear-ducts overfill

The eyelids, and their torrent spill,

Be sure, if thou observant art,

Love's painful sickness rends that heart. (Ibn Hazm 44)

As the previous verses express, the emotional impact of concealing a romantic love affair is nearly unmanageable. The lover ineffectively attempts to conceal his emotions while the force of love overpowers his heart, his tears, and his breast as love conquers his will. Suffering for the sake of protecting the secret of a romantic relationship does not seem to impact the afflicted lover with a similar extreme psychological impact when the beloved is absent or has broken off the relationship. Perhaps the idea that union remains possible provides comfort to the soul as the lover and his beloved continue to share similar feelings for each other. Nonetheless, as Ibn Hazm describes, these lovers experience a distinctive form of pain and agony in their attempts to protect the covert nature of their relationship.

6.2.3 Suffering Due to the Inability to Express Love for the Beloved

An additional form of suffering arises in Ibn Hazm from the inability to express love for the beloved. Social and religious obstacles are only two of many reasons a lover may not be able to express his or her emotions. Ibn Hazm describes a female slave who has formed an attachment for a noble man. Her suffering and subsequent illness arise from her failure to initiate a romantic

relationship with the noble gentleman. The following narrative displays the emotional impact that such suffering brings about:

> I know of a young slave-girl who was ardently passionate for a certain youth, the son of a noble household, but he was ignorant of her sentiments. Great was her sorrow, and long her despair, so that she pined and wasted away for the love of him. He in all the pride of youthful indifference was quite unconscious of her suffering, which she was prevented from revealing to him by maidenly modesty; for she was a virgin unspotted, and moreover respected him too highly to surprise him with a declaration which for all she knew he might not find to his liking. (Ibn Hazm 121)

The slave-girl in the previous tale rejects all possibility of achieving her amorous goal due to the slight possibility of failure and the risk of tarnishing the honor of her beloved. She places the social value of her lover's name above her own needs in order to protect his reputation. She chooses to remain in her current state of suffering and agony brought about by an unrequited attraction, of which her beloved is unaware. Modesty and societal hierarchy prevent her from expressing the emotions she feels for her beloved and, consequently, bring about an insatiable internal suffering.

6.3 The Consequences of Suffering for the Sake of Love

Emotional and even physical consequences surface when the lover experiences the pain and agony due to an absent beloved, a failed relationship, the daunting task of guarding the nature of a relationship, the inability to express the love for his beloved, or any other cause that creates an unending suffering without hope of remediation. Much of the suffering experienced by the lovers discussed in this chapter exemplifies a physical suffering that leads to other bodily

illness or even death. Josiah Blackmore suggests that the variety of *saudade* found in Peninsular works is unique from that of other regions: "[a]lthough passionate or melancholic experience surfaces in Provencal poetry, there is no exact equivalent in langue d'oc of *coita*[104] as it appears in Galician Portuguese" (642). He states that one of the unique features stems from the tie between amorous suffering and a medical condition: "Iberian poets fashion amorous experience as primarily an acute suffering, one that often fuses medical theorizations of melancholic physiology with *saudade*, or nostalgic memory" (642). Lovers afflicted by a form of suffering for the sake of love are easily identifiable by both medical experts and common people. Likewise, Ibn Hazm includes medical references to suffering for the sake of love in a variety of prose and poetry excerpts. The following poem describes how a lover slowly succumbs to the state of suffering as a result of an unsuccessful attempt at love and his doctor's medical option related to his condition:

Dear mistress, I am wasted so
By Love's consuming pains, that lo,
My sick-bed visitors descry
No sign at all where I may lie.
How then, where others failed indeed
To see a way, did Love succeed
This anguished sufferer to find
Invisible to all mankind?
My doctor, who would cure my ails,
Grows weary of the task, and fails,

[104] Blackmore defines *coita* as: "*coita d'amor* [is] a first expression of *saudad*, the bittersweet, nostalgic yearning that, in later centuries, will become the emblematic national temperament of Portugal" (124)

While even those who envied me

Feel pity for my malady. (Ibn Hazm 131)

Ibn Hazm reflects Ovid's description of the effects of love when describing the physical influence love has on the lover and beloved. Ibn Hazm incorporates the shade of the lover's skin as 'pale' differently than Ovid. Ovid describes the color of love as pale and the act of loving as an action that makes the lover pale, thin, and weary:

A pale colour would shame a sailor on the ocean wave,

who's blackened by the rays of the sun:

and shame the farmer who turns the soil with curved plough

and heavy harrow, underneath the heavens.

And you who seek the athlete's crown, you too

would be ashamed if all your body was white.

Let all lovers be pale: it's the colour fitting for love:

it suits, though fools have thought it of no value.

Orion wandered pale, for Side, in the woods,

Daphnis was pale for his reluctant Naiad. (127)

Not only does Ovid describe how love affects the body physically but he also suggests that a lover should endure such physical suffering that alters the appearance of the body. Ovid continues to discuss the effects of love on the body in the following excerpt:

Let your leanness show your heart: don't think it a shame

to slip a cape over your shining hair:

Let youthful limbs be worn away by sleepless nights

and care, and the grief of a great love.

> To gain your desire, be miserable. (128)

Ibn Hazm describes the lover in the same way but stops short of explicitly recommending that the lover suffer. *The Ring of the Dove* describes many outward appearances of love-sick men and women but never suggests that appearing in such a way provides benefits to either the lover or the beloved. In the following passage, Ibn Hazm describes how a third party effortlessly identifies an afflicted lover:

> Now I recall that one day I happened upon him when he was seated with someone who kept hinting at his inward feelings all these suggestions my friend denied strenuously. Just at that moment, the very person he was suspected of having a crush on chanced to pass by; no sooner did his eyes light on his beloved, than he became all confused; his former sangfroid entirely deserted him; he grew pale, and his well-turned phrases lapsed into incoherency. His interlocutor thereupon broke off the argument, and he invited him to resume the previous discussion. (77-78)

The effect of suffering for the sake of love overpowers the lover on a subconscious level, which allows outside observers to gain knowledge of a highly guarded secret. As I discussed in the previous section, revelation of this secret has the ability to render extreme emotional and physical concerns.

The ultimate consequence of the revelation of a secret love affair, an unrequited love, or any other suffering for the sake of love can result in death. Many lovers who lose or are unable to achieve union with their beloved suffer great mental and physical hardships. Ibn Hazm describes several men and women who perish as a result of their irredeemable suffering in the following passage:

> My friend [. . .] has informed me [. . .] that Chief Secretary Ibn Quzman was so sorely smitten with love for Aslam Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, [. . .] was an exceedingly handsome man-that he was laid prostrate by his sufferings and affected with mortal sickness. Aslam attended his sickbed a frequent visitor, having no knowledge that himself was the source of his malady; until at last Abu ‘1-Sari succumbed of grief and long wasting. The informant continued: Then I informed Aslam, after the tragic event had come to pass, of the true cause of Abu '1-Sari's illness and death. He was very sorry, and said, “Why did you not let me know?” “Why should I?” I replied. “Because”, he said, “in that case I swear I would have kept myself even more closely in touch with him, and would scarcely have left his bedside; that could have done me no harm.” (220)

The grief-stricken lover chooses death over the feared exposure of his love for his beloved. This particular state of suffering impacts its victims psychologically to a point at which an antidote is no longer desired. Due to the extreme emotional impact realized by suffering for the sake of love, a state of suffering leading ultimately to death becomes the preferred reality of lovers who find themselves in these situations.

The concept of suffering for the sake of love saturates Ibn Hazm’s tales of lovers. His narration and graphic illustrations of love-sick men and women along with his advice for those seeking love remarkably recalls the concept of *saudade*, a concept which Ibn Hazm predates by several centuries. Afflicted lovers, as described by Ibn Hazm, suffer great maladies due to absent loved ones, unrequited love affairs, their tendency to guard the secret or nature of a relationship from public view, in addition to an assortment of other causes. This form of suffering extremely affects the lover both psychologically and physically. In certain cases, Ibn Hazm’s lovers prefer

the state of suffering to union with their former or absent beloveds. In all cases, suffering for the sake of love, according to Ibn Hazm, produces a lasting, psychological impression on the lover, which is a feature that will continue to impact tales of lovers for many centuries.

6.4 *The Abencerraje* and the Lasting Effect of Ibn Hazm

In previous chapters, I explored the lasting influence of Ibn Hazm's treatise on love, *The Ring of the Dove,* along with the inspiration of his philosophy on love in Peninsular literature even centuries after his death. Additionally, I explored variations of the traditional features of courtly love through textual analysis of Peninsular poetry and prose. In the present section, I will continue with similar analyses as related to one particular narrative work from the sixteenth century: *El Abencerraje o la historia de Albindarráez y la hermosa Jarifa*, which belongs to a unique category of prose known as the Moorish novel (*la novela morisca*). In order to explore connections to Ibn Hazm and his philosophy on love, I will explore the idea of suffering as it relates to courtly love and the dichotomy between Christianity and Islam.

6.4.1 Suffering and *Saudade* in *The Abencerraje*

The presence of and reference to suffering in *The Abencerraje* exhibits the perpetuation of Ibn Hazm and his model of lovers afflicted by agony centuries after his death. An analysis of the dissimilarity of suffering in the text will illustrate Ibn Hazm's lasting impact. The family of the protagonist, Abindarráez, had suffered greatly for generations and, consequently, the text establishes his ability to endure and experience great suffering. Later, when Abindarráez recounts the story of his love affair with Jarifa to his Christian counterpart, his suffering for the sake of love intensifies. After describing how he and Jarifa had once thought of each other as natural siblings and formed a relationship based on Platonic love, he relates the emotional impact upon his discovering of the truth of his relationship with his biological sister. The following

passage describes how his love evolved from joy to suffering upon converting from brotherly love to carnal love: "At the same moment [upon realizing the nature of their relationship] we were certain, that the clean and healthy love we felt began to do damage and turn into a rabid illness which will afflict us until death" (Knauss 52-53).[105] In a relationship that transforms from Platonic to carnal love, the author expresses the disadvantageous nature of sexual love, which is at odds with the pure love experienced between siblings.

An additional reference to suffering arises from the seemingly insignificant act of sighing. In analyzing this anticipatory sign of suffering, the divide between Christian and Muslim understanding of suffering becomes more apparent. Israel Burshatin suggests that "for the Moor, defeat at the hands of Rodrigo affects him less than the separation and longing in store for him; he would now, certainly, not be able to rejoin his beloved" (204). The thought of his imminent suffering and the realization that Abindarráez and his beloved will not soon reunite manifests itself as "a deep and unhappy sigh [that] expresses his predicament" (Burshatin 204). Abindarráez's Christian counterpart is unable to understand his suffering from only having witnessed a state of despair and disappointment, which is reduced to a sigh. Burshatin explains the complex undertones condensed in the act of sighing: "the motif [sighing] is misinterpreted by Rodrigo, who takes it as a sign of weakness" (204). The act of sighing as an expression of sorrow for the absent beloved becomes part of the Peninsular literary tradition as Cervantes creates a character in *Don Quijote* who "attempts to imitate Abindarráez and his 'Moor's sigh' over the beautiful Jarifa" (210). The so-called Moor's sigh appears numerous times in *The Ring of the Dove*, which suggests an additional link to Ibn Hazm's treatise on love and his enduring inspiration on the love philosophy in Spain. For example, in Ibn Hazm's chapter that describes

[105] The original, anonymous version reads: "En el mismo punto que fuimos certificados de esto, aquel amor limpio y sano que nos teníamos, se comenzó a dañar y se convirtió en una rabiosa enfermedad que nos durará hasta la muerte" (López Estrada 145-46).

the emotional impact brought about when distance occurs between lovers, he mentions a sigh that encapsulates much of the suffering experienced by a lover in the absence of his beloved: "My friend's anguish was thus redoubled, for he could not find any way whatever of departing; he was almost snuffed out by despair; he was unable to discover any comfort but in solitude, and took refuge in prodigious sighs and sullen grief" (165). The simple, seemingly inconsequential act of sighing provides a means for the tormented lover to express his suffering and grief that has been triggered by an absent beloved. In the same chapter, Ibn Hazm describes a scene in which two lovers depart from each other in the following passage: "It is an hour to soften the hardest heart, to melt the most unfeeling breast. The shaking of the head, the long unwavering stare, the sighs that follow after farewell tear aside the veil of the heart, and admit into its sanctuary disquietude" (170). Sighing thus represents the onset of a profound suffering, which eventually may produce an extreme emotional impact on the lover when the beloved no longer remains near.

6.4.2 The Evolution of Courtly Love with Regards to Suffering, Sexual Activity, and Religion in the Sixteenth Century

The convention of courtly love reached its pinnacle from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In the late fourteenth and early fifteen centuries, deviations from the original code of conduct began to surface in literature. Two theories attempt to explain this alteration of the traditional courtly love convention, both of which I will analyze through the scope of Ibn Hazm and his philosophy of love. The first is an incorporation of an alternate dialogue hidden beneath the surface.[106] Costa and Iglesias suggest that many Peninsular non-Christian writers (mainly those of Jewish decent, *conversos*¸ along with Islamic writers) "encode a counterdiscourse in

[106] Bryant Creel [in his article…] defines this method of concealment of a controversial subject as '*nicodemism*.' He suggests that many non-Christian authors incorporated "the practice of consciously cloaking a controversial deeper intent with an orthodox exterior" (Creel 226).

their works through the use of irony, parody and allegory in order to challenge the dominant, mainstream discourse of Christian society" (519). This idea, according to writers such as the anonymous author of *The Abencerraje*, incorporates themes outside of the scope of the Christian moral code. These themes and their divergence from Christian ideology reflect much of the influence of Ibn Hazm and his Muslim philosophy of love represented in *The Ring of the Dove*, especially themes related to sexual activity, suffering for the sake of love, and the religion of love.

A series of divisions occurs within in the action of *The Abencerraje* that reveal a concealment of controversial themes. The first develops between love and virtue and the second between Ibn Hazm and his philosophy on love and that traditionally considered to belong to the convention of courtly love. Richard F. Glenn suggests that virtue forms the overarching theme of the work and that the anonymous author "has skillfully argued the case for the Christian concept of virtue—a spirit of tolerance and altruism on the part of all men—as a norm of conduct for both Christians and non-Christians" (209). As archetypical examples of Christian and Muslim faiths, the Christian protagonist of *The Abencerraje* (Rodrigo de Narváez) and the Moorish protagonist (Abindarráez) share mutual respect for each other, although during an epoch of discord among the two religions such respect was unusual. Glenn states that their ability to respect the virtue of each man exemplifies their nobility of character: "it is extraordinary that a work such as this should argue that members of the two races can retain their inherent nobility without abandoning their basic religious principles" (203). As Glenn establishes, both men are worthy participants suitable for the traditional conventions of the courtly love code of behavior. Additionally, both gentlemen exhibit multiple requisite features of courtly love with regard to their romantic affairs, although one particular and striking difference exists with respect to the

issue of adultery. As I have discussed in detail in several preceding chapters, Ibn Hazm lauds the value of physical union as an integral part of an amorous relationship. Nevertheless, he explicitly cautions against adultery. It is my contention that both the convention of courtly love (in the most general sense) and Ibn Hazm's love philosophy allow lovers to enter into a sexual relationship. I discussed earlier, however, a scholarly consensus does not exist regarding the inclusion of sexual activity within the code of courtly love.

Two textual cases found within *The Abencerraje* clearly illustrate the divisive issue of adultery. Glenn points out that Rodrigo's adulterous affair, which an unnamed traveler describes to Abindarráez and Jarifa en route to their imprisonment, belongs to the convention of courtly love: "Rodrigo has been amorously involved with a married lady while he was still *alcaide* of Antequera alone. The references to this affair are clearly in the tradition of the courtly love convention, based on adultery" (208). Other traits of courtly love are noticeable in the tale of Rodrigo and his past amorous quests, according to one account told by the traveler. For example, Rodrigo falls in love "with a very beautiful lady, in whose service he did a thousand gentle deeds" (Knauss 63).[107] Rodrigo continues his courtship with his married beloved even though "she loved her husband so much that she didn't pay [Rodrigo] any attention" (64).[108] Other elements of courtly love are evident, which indicate that this relationship typifies the tradition of courtly love. The key element in contention occurs after the husband of the lady in question leaves town, she calls for Rodrigo and "welcomed him sweetly and took him to her chamber" (65).[109] Shortly after the soon-to-be lovers exchange words, Rodrigo learns of the great honor of

[107] The original, Spanish version reads: "allí anduvo mucho tiempo enamorado de una dama muy Hermosa, en cuyo servicio hizo mil gentilezas que son largas de contar" (López Estrada 156).

[108] The original, Spanish version reads: "amaba a su marido tanto que hacía poco caso de él" (López Estrada 156).

[109] The original, Spanish version reads: "le rescibió dulcemente y le metió en su cámara" (López Estrada 157).

the absent husband, which obliges him to "repent of the evil he was doing" (66).[110] Although honor and virtue undermine the value of an amorous relationship constructed upon an adulterous affair, the actions clearly illustrate the concept of courtly love. Honor and virtue notwithstanding, the extramarital affair crosses the line to adultery when the tale alludes to sexual activity in the sense that Rodrigo enters into the chambers of a married woman, which is easily interpreted as a euphemism for physical, sexual love.

Abindarráez's relationship with Jarifa also escalates to one involving physical union, only after the couple commits to one another in marriage. This simple distinction allows the relationship to stay within the strict moral code of Islam, as Ibn Hazm clearly states in his chapter "On the Vileness of Sinning." Abindarráez and Jarifa exchange pledges to each other in the presence of a third party, which according to law legally unites them in marriage. The text explains their act of marriage and consummation of such in the following passage: "after calling the housemaid, they got married. And being married they went to bed, where the new experience increased the fire in their hearts" (Knauss 60). As I discussed in previous chapters, Ibn Hazm's view on sexual conduct is ambiguous, where his view on adultery is clear. For example, in the following verses, he describes the fires of passion that burn among lovers, which is an insatiable emotional state alleviated only by physical contact:

> Long she denied my heart's desire,
>
> Then ah! So ardent kisses pressed
>
> Upon my lips, that all the fire
>
> Of love rekindled in my breast.
>
> So might some traveller athirst
>
> Discovering waters after dearth

[110] The original, Spanish version reads: "arrepentimiento del mal que hacía" (López Estrada 157).

> Drink, till the great potations burst
>
> His lungs, then lifeless sink to earth. (Ibn Hazm 120)

This passage raises the question about whether a kiss constitutes physical love or do these verses imply a more sexual, physical act. Nevertheless, physical contact occurs and is not forbidden among lovers, which recalls the love between the Muslim couple in *The Abencerraje.* Ibn Hazm addresses the question of adultery near the end of his treatise in a chapter dedicated to discussions of religion as it relates to several of the topics discussed earlier in his text. The following passage explicitly describes Ibn Hazm's viewpoint on adultery:

> The "righteous" man is he who has no traffic with adulterers, and does not expose himself to sights exciting the passions; who does not raise his eyes to look upon ravishing shapes and forms. The "wicked" man however is he who consorts with depraved people, who allows his gaze to wander freely and stares avidly at beautiful faces, who seeks out harmful spectacles and delights in deadly privacies. The "righteous" man and the "righteous" woman are like a fire that lies hidden within the ashes, and does not burn any who is within range of it unless it be stirred into flame. (233-34)

Although these words appear to contradict his numerous laudatory verses that detail the joys of union with the beloved, they suggest that passionate, physical love belongs within the constraints of marriage, which, again, reflects the act of consummation according to Abindarráez and Jarifa and conflicts with actions realized by Rodrigo and his beloved.

Both textual references to sexual union along with the subsequent period of absence by one party involved in the amorous affair exhibit unique forms of suffering. Suffering brought about in the case of Rodrigo, the Christian protagonist, yields suffering from the guilt he

experiences upon learning of the exalted honor possessed by the spouse of his beloved, with whom he enters into an adulterous affair. The emotional impact of his sexual union leaves a positive mark on his reputation, one that brings fourth honor and prestige as a gentleman. The Christian version of suffering for the sake of love exhibits a type of suffering capable of producing honor and virtue. The suffering that Abindarráez and Jarifa experience does not stem from the same origin as that of Rodrigo. Abindarráez experiences an extreme emotional impact as a result of the separation from his beloved and his brief imprisonment. Moreover, he experiences an actual physical, tangible suffering during his process of departing, which transpires in the form of the attack and subsequent skirmish imposed on Abindarráez by Rodrigo and his men. Abindarráez and Jarifa do not experience any form of emotional suffering as a result of their having consummated their love.

The above dispute recalls the issue of Christian and Muslim morality and its relation to suffering. Jeffery Russell explains that dichotomy between the Christian attitude toward sexual involvement and that of a pagan approach in the following statement: "The straightforward pagan attitude toward sex produced no conflict, though it might occasionally produce exhaustion, but Christianity, with its ambivalence toward the world, its uncertainty whether the flesh were good or evil, brought with it an inherent tension" (39). This elevated level of tension brings about another form of suffering, which Russell likens to the suffering of the troubadours: "That tension in turn made passion–passion in its root sense of suffering–in love possible, and it was this suffering for love that the troubadours found so sweet" (39). Furthermore, Russell suggests that a tension that creates a unique form of suffering results from desire to achieve sexual union: "The moral obstacles that Christianity put in the path of sexual fulfillment also helped to create tension. Romantic love cannot flourish where sexual fulfillment is easily obtainable, but only

where obstructions are placed in its way" (39). In opposition to Christianity, the Muslim faith appears to allow and support the concept romantic love when conducted in agreement within the law of Islam.

The concept of physical love as a deed that opposes or replaces pious devotion has been discussed by many scholars. Denomy, for example, suggests that courtly love and Christian teaching are incompatible and claims that attempts by many Provençal poets to mask religion within the convention of courtly love are always transparent and ineffective due to the opposing nature of "reason and faith," "nature and grace," and "philosophy and theology." (41-54). The convention of courtly love opposes the prescripts of religion and, consequently, poetic attempts to merge both elements into one work are seldom effective, which brings about an elevated level of suffering by the afflicted protagonist. Roger Boase discusses the doctrinal conflict between courtly love and medieval Christianity and explains how the two seemingly opposing sides merged to a more common ground by suggesting that "courtly love underwent a process of disincarnating[111] [after the Albigensian Crusade in 1209], dictated by asceticism of orthodox Christianity and by the fear of ecclesiastical censorship" (33). The identification of a non-Christian philosophy as an inextricable element of courtly love supports the Hispano-Arabic theory of its origin. Given that courtly love vehemently opposes Christian attitudes on religion and love, an Andalusian foundation appears to be a more feasible source.

Ibn Hazm clearly defines the Muslim viewpoint on love, sexual activity, and its relation to religion in *The Ring of the Dove.* Additionally, he identifies a strikingly similar concept regarding the *religion of love,* which is a concept that suggests that love (earthly, physical love)

[111] By disincarnating, Boase insinuates that the act of sexual, carnal love no longer formed an integral element of love and was thought of as a more sinful act.

is heretical given its capability to replace roles traditionally reserved for the Church.[112] Courtly love is able to function as a religion for those who abide by its guidelines. For example, Ibn Hazm suggests that love possesses an "authority over the soul" (60) and has the ability to ennoble the individual. Ibn Hazm explains this when praising many of the unique qualities of love in his chapter "On Falling in Love with a Certain Quality":

> Love exercises an effective authority, a decisive sovereignty over the soul; its commands cannot be opposed, its ordinances may not be flouted, its rule is not to be transgressed; it demands unwavering obedience, and against its dominion there is no appeal. Love untwists the firmest plaits, and looses the tightest strands; it dissolves that which is most solid, undoes that which is most firm; it penetrates the deepest recesses of the heart, and makes lawful things most strictly forbidden. (60)

According to Ibn Hazm, love must oppose religious dedication as it seems to exceed the worth of the virtue of the soul. This unique ideology or philosophy generated by Ibn Hazm on love is not in agreement with Western standards of love and religion. Yet, as I explored in the previous chapter, sexual relations, according to Ibn Hazm, are not only acceptable when Muslim law permits such activity, but also are regarded with respect and praise. This religious variation on the viewpoint of sexual activity reveals a contrast in the consequential suffering brought about by sex in a Christian relationship. While, in contrast, the Muslim sexual encounter in *The Abencerraje* does not bring about suffering and suggests an additional parallel to Ibn Hazm and his lasting philosophy on love.

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[112] For more information on the concept of love as a religion as it relates to courtly love, see: Lewis, C. S. *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1959.

6.4.3 An Additional Parallel between *The Abencerraje* and *The Ring of the Dove*

In addition to the discussion of suffering in *The Abencerraje*, one additional parallel exists between this work and *The Ring of the Dove*. This parallel describes a lover who, in the absence of his beloved, seeks out places where she has been, things she has touched, among other actions that remind the lover of the beloved. The first example is found in Abindarráez's actions upon realizing his romantic attraction to the lady previously thought to be his sister, Jarifa. After her departure, Abindarráez "looked at the windows where she had usually sat, the waters where she used to bathe, the room where she used to sleep, the garden where she used to rest during siesta" (Knauss 55).[113] Abindarráez's actions reflect Ibn Hazm's description of lovers who "[drink] the remainder of what the beloved has left in his cup, seeking out the very spot against which his lips were pressed (36). Both lovers seek out a tangible connection with an absent lover, which provides consolation due to the suffering caused by an absence of the beloved. Likewise, Abindarráez, upon falling in love with Jarifa, rejects all things unrelated to his beloved. The following passage exemplifies his obsession with Jarifa: "Everything I saw that didn't have to do with her seemed ugly to me, ignorable and without profit in the world. All my thoughts were of her" (53).[114] Ibn Hazm dedicates an entire chapter to the act of "falling in love with a quality and thereafter not approving any other different" (60). In this chapter, he describes how men become obsessed with specific qualities possessed by their beloveds, as explained in the following passage:

> I have known many men whose discrimination was beyond suspicion, men not to be feared deficient in knowledge, or wanting in taste, or lacking discernment, and

[113] The original Spanish version reads: "Miraba las ventanas do se solía poner, las aguas do se bañaba, la cámara en que dormía, el jardín do reposaba la siesta" (López Estrada 147).

[114] The original Spanish version reads: "Todo lo que no veía en ella, me parecía feo, escusado y sin provecho en el mundo; todo mi pensamiento era en ella" (López Estrada 146).

> who nevertheless described their loved ones as possessing certain qualities not by any means admired by the general run of mankind, or approved according to the accepted canons of beauty. Yet those qualities had become an obsession with them, the sole object of their passion, and the very last word (as they thought) in elegance. (60)

He furthers his argument regarding men who form attachments for certain qualities of women by providing numerous examples of men who reject perfectly acceptable women (both in appearance and character) due to their lack of a certain feature. For example, Ibn Hazm describes a man who has fallen in love with a women with a short neck in the following passage: "I know a man whose loved one was somewhat short of neck; thereafter he never admired anyone, man or girl, whose neck was long and slender" (61). Later, he provides a personal example of how he finds only blondes attractive:

> In my youth I loved a slave-girl who happened to be a blonde; from that time I have never admired brunettes, not though their lark tresses set off a face as resplendent as the sun, or the very image of beauty itself. I find this taste to have become a part of my whole make-up and constitution since those early days; my soul will not suffer me to acquire any other, or to love any type but that. (61)

Ibn Hazm and Abindarráez concentrate their attraction on their beloved in a similar fashion. Physical qualities that are not similar to those possessed by the beloved no longer seem desirable to the lover. This rejection of all traits dissimilar to those of the beloved reveals an additional parallel in these two texts.

6.5 Conclusion

The concept of suffering is one that has been associated with love since Antiquity, although its many manifestations originate from an assortment of literary traditions. Scholars generally attribute the concept of *saudade* to the Galician-Portuguese poets in the late Middle Ages. This form of nostalgia for the absent or estranged beloved may have codified in the Galician-Portuguese works, but Ibn Hazm provides numerous examples that closely resemble many of its primary characteristics several centuries earlier. The distinctive expressions of suffering for the sake of love, as epitomized by the lovers in *The Ring of the Dove*, exerted a lasting impact on Spanish literature. Ibn Hazm's inspiration, with regard to the concept and representation of suffering, is evident five-hundred years later in the *The Abencerraje*. My analysis of *The Abencerraje*, furthermore, supports the idea that courtly love evolved into a variety of forms, many of which are tied to religious and sociological issues.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In this study I have argued that Ibn Hazm's *The Ring of the Dove* had a lasting impact on the development of the literary convention of courtly love, particularly on the literature of Spain. The textual and philosophical similarities between Ibn Hazm's text and representative works of courtly love reveal Ibn Hazm to be a significant contributor to the literary convention. His distinctive ideology reveals the broader culture of al-Andalus, which made possible the overall zeitgeist of courtly love. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have suggested Ibn Hazm as one of many writers whose works may have influenced the development and codification of courtly love in the thirteenth century. Even so, a full length examination of *The Ring of the Dove* did not exist until my study. In the present section, I will recapitulate and consolidate a few of my findings while discussing further observations and conclusions.

7.1 Shared Worldview of Ibn Hazm, Juan Ruiz, and Andreas Capellanus

A shared worldview provides a solution to the seemingly contradictory messages conveyed by Juan Ruiz, Ibn Hazm, and Andreas Capellanus in their textual presentation of a theological doctrine that both forbids sin while simultaneously describes sinful acts in an outwardly laudatory form. Their worldview allows (and advocates) a clear separation between theology and philosophy. In Denomy's analysis of Andreas, he suggests that Andreas included his third book (*The Rejection of Love*) within his treatise on the subject of love due to the fact that he "saw that the conclusions he had arrived at through reason in the *De Amore* were opposed to faith and therefore he wrote the *De Reprobatione.* As a good Christian, he wished to put himself on the side of orthodoxy" (52). Denomy furthers this assertion by suggesting a parallel between Andreas and Chaucer's tale of courtly love, *Troilus and Criseyde*. Both Andreas and

Chaucer chose to contrast the code of courtly love with divine love and were "able to discern the true from the false, the orthodox from the heretical [allowing the reader to make a] choice between them" (Denomy 55). This perspective questions the view that these writers contradict themselves and asserts that they were aware of the theological/philosophical contrast in their treatises on love and actively chose to provide a simultaneous yet contrasting perspective on the subject.

Ruiz and Ibn Hazm provide a superficially contradictory picture of carnal love and religious piety. Ruiz states that readers "will find various ways to [indulge in the excesses of worldly love] described" (11) in his text. Yet, further on, he states his intent for writing his text while cautioning readers "not [to] be misled by the deceiving sound of the words [. . .] And God knows that [his] purpose was not to write it to suggest ways of sinning, nor to speak evil, but to guide everyone to the clear recollection of how to do good and set a good example in their habits and penances on the road to salvation" (11). Ruiz does not oppose separation of theology and philosophy and his worldview is not contradicted by the act of discussing, explaining, and perhaps leading readers toward sinful activity. According to his prologue, he allows the individual to assume the burden of responsibility for his own soul. Nonetheless, Ruiz's didacticism is evident in an observation of the entire work. *Libro de buen amor* chronicles the archpriest's life, which includes his path away from a pious lifestyle and focus on carnal, worldly love, the subsequent hardships and suffering, and his return to the church with renewed focus on divine love. A text incorporating such structure is capable of an interpretation that suggests, supports, and praises sinful activity. The reader, however, is responsible for extracting the overarching implication of text and interpreting Ruiz's intended didacticism.

Ibn Hazm's treatise, which predates both Andreas' and Ruiz's works, exhibits a strikingly similar separation of theology and philosophy. Anthony Arberry describes this mixture as "a perfect blend of sacred learning and profane delectation" (12). The combination of seemingly contradictory elements recalls that of Ruiz and Andreas. Ibn Hazm explains in his preliminary excurses his intent to conclude his discourse with two chapters based on the theology of Islam: "the Vileness of Sinning" and finally "the Virtue of Continence." He states that he had "planned this matter thus so that the conclusion of our exposition and the end of our discussion may be an exhortation to obedience to Almighty God, and a recommendation to do good and to eschew evil" (20). The majority of his text, however, immerses the reader in tales of attraction, union, physical desire, spies, reproachers, many examples and cases of falling in and out of love, many of which explicitly describe behavior that Islam deems sinful. Most of the aforementioned themes are presented in the body of the text from a philosophical perspective and are not discussed through a theological viewpoint. Ibn Hazm's theoretical methodology, like that of Ruiz and Andreas, clearly separates theology and philosophy, again placing the burden of responsibility, as far as religious piety is concerned, on the reader.

7.2 Voluntarism and Free Will

According to Ibn Hazm's preface, he explains his motive for writing on the nature of love, which is a departure from his habitual trade of writing on law, philosophy, and other topics of a more 'serious' nature. He states that he plans to write an essay describing every aspect of love in response to his dear friend who has commissioned him to do so. Additionally, he cites the Prophet Mohamad's mandate for leisure, which suggests that the majority of one's time should focus on serious things and a small amount must be set aside for the less important aspects of life, such as pleasantries. Even in the name of leisure, an essay on love that includes an

unintended promotion of corrupt and immoral activity presents an ethical dilemma for Ibn Hazm. Presentation of such subject matter reveals an additional aspect of Ibn Hazm's worldview: Voluntarism.[115] Both the archpriest and the vizier again share a worldview that places the freedom and burden of choice on the individual, each in their respective religion. Ruiz and Ibn Hazm alike present direct and indirect instructions for behavior that would be considered sinful by both Islam and Christianity. At the same time, both authors indicate that readers should choose the correct interpretation appropriate for their life. The doctrine of free will presents ethical dilemmas to the individual, which in turn, prompts the individual to either accept or reject his personal system of ethics. Ruiz and Ibn Hazm facilitate this process by demonstrating some of the many joys and enticing aspects of sinful activity, which provides an opportunity to the individual reader. Furthermore, exposition of an extreme (immorality) and its subsequent abstention yields a much greater reward for its counterpart (piety).

This shared worldview is not one of pure instruction, a common feature of the works produced by religious clergy like Ruiz, but a didactic expression of cause and effect. What makes this worldview distinctive is its indirect methodology of presentation. Both writers employ anecdotal accounts that initially appear to contradict to the stated religious viewpoint of each author. These accounts, however, present a picture contrary to explicit statements regarding sin and what constitutes sin for two reasons. The first presents an escape from the pious lifestyle in which readers learn of the satisfaction, joy, and benefits of love, along with its pain, sorrow, and turmoil. The second provides a didactic and moral instruction regarding the result of living outside of a lifestyle of devotion. The act of reading of sinful activity for the purposes of leisure is capable of providing not only pedagogical benefits but also corrupting the soul. Medieval

[115] For additional information of Augustinianism and Voluntarism in Ruiz, see: Ullman, Pierre L. "Juan Ruiz's Prologue." *MLN*. 82.2 (1967): 149-170.

scholars and clergymen would, in my opinion, assume the latter. Ruiz and Ibn Hazm, on the other hand, based on their shared worldview, would accept the former.

This philosophical worldview recalls and predates Thomas Aquinas' view on the philosophy of Compatibilism[116] and its subset of Free Will. According to Aquinas, the human psychological state and subsequent human behavior choices (especially related to sin/piety) are directed by passion, will, and intellect. Both Ruiz and Ibn Hazm provide the framework for action, restraint, and so on. Aquinas' definition of human choice is divided into five categories. First, Aquinas states that choice is based on the human intellect's decision as to the desirable nature of an object. Ibn Hazm provides several chapters that describe the cognitive process as to how men find women desirable, how they come to be attracted to women, how they desire certain features and reject others, and a number of similar choices made by an individual. The desirability of these objects (women) is based on intellectual considerations, not just emotional ones. Aquinas describes the second stage of choice as the intellectual contemplation as to how to achieve the goal at hand, which recalls Ibn Hazm's numerous descriptions of how to successfully achieve an amorous union. The third stage explains the individual's intent to take action with regard to a set goal. In Ibn Hazm, this stage represents the lover's cognitive process that leads him to take action in order to achieve union with a lady. The fourth stage unites will and intellect to make a proper decision to achieve a certain goal. Ibn Hazm provides contrasting examples of many possible love scenarios, which affords a lover the opportunity to use his intellect to motivate his actions and subsequently satisfy his amorous goal. Aquinas' fifth and final stage suggests that the will of an individual chooses to execute an action. In the case of Ibn Hazm, a

[116] For more information on Thomas Aquinas' view on Compatibilism, see: Stump, Eleonore. *Aquinas*. London: Routledge, 2003.

lover makes the final decision to pursue a lady, which is based on the previous stages of contemplation.

After all the intellectual musings have concluded, free will is in play. It is at this point that the lover (or reader) has the choice to act. Ibn Hazm illuminates all of these stages, in addition to numerous Qur'anic citations regarding the laws of Islam in each of the subjects addressed in earlier tales of lovers. In doing so, the format of his treatise provides ample opportunities for free will as it relates to love and the pattern of lovers. The ultimate responsibility to achieve union while simultaneously obeying the laws of Islam falls exclusively upon the individual. A key consideration of Aquinas' philosophy implies that an individual's judgment is able to end guidance and take action, which is done first by reason and then by free will. The individual is ultimately in control of his own actions. Much like Ibn Hazm, Ruiz is in agreement with Aquinas in that he (Ruiz) believes that humans are predisposed to sin or to be sinful by means of their human nature but are given the choice to choose sin or righteousness. For this reason, as I discussed in the previous section, both Ruiz and Ibn Hazm provide pious recommendations along with instructions for sinful activity, which places the burden of reasonability determinedly on the lover or reader.

7.3 Adultery in Ibn Hazm

I suggested in my fifth chapter that Ibn Hazm lauds the value of physical union as an integral part of an amorous relationship while explicitly cautioning against adultery as a sinful act. As I explained, textual dialogues of physical union and tales of lovers who participate in sexual activity alongside Ibn Hazm's recitation of the laws of Islam yield a contradictory message. Adultery and love outside the confines of marriage clearly exist in *The Ring of the Dove*, although they are not openly endorsed by Ibn Hazm. His view on the sin of adultery and

his manner of presentation recalls that of Juan Ruiz and again exemplifies the philosophical perspective of both Ibn Hazm and the society of Islamic Iberia. Many scholars have noted Juan Ruiz's connection to the Augustinian tradition (Augustinian voluntarism)[117] due to his willingness to discuss openly the act of sinning and adultery. The viewpoint of Ruiz, according to his prologue in *Libro de buen amor*, states that he understands the path of righteousness and its contrasting path of sin and, of course, advises readers to choose the morally sound path. Nonetheless, for those who choose sin, he provides a guide for such behavior. Ruiz describes this justification for immoral instruction as follows: "because it is human to sin, if some people want to indulge in the excesses of world love, which I do not advise, they will find various ways to do so described here" (11).[118] Ruiz appears to condemn a life of sinful behavior, yet he understands that some will and seeks to provide the proper way to do so. Ibn Hazm, likewise, provides many explicit instructions regarding amorous activities that seem to suggest sinful behavior, according to the teachings of Islam.[119] In his preface, he states that he intends to describe the love of his day, mostly while avoiding indirect or direct advocating of such behavior. He appears to report

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[117] For more information on Juan Ruiz and Augustin, see Ullman, Pierre L. "Juan Ruiz's Prologue." *MLN*. 82.2 (1967): 149-170.

[118] Ruiz's version in Spanish reads as follows: "Enpero, por que es umanal cosa el pecar, si algunos, lo que non los conssejo, quisieren usar del loco amor, aquí fallarán algunoas maneras para ello" (110).

[119] The Qu'ran provides a number of specific laws and subsequent punishments for the sins of adultery and fornication. Ibn Hazm, in his chapter "On the Vileness of Sinning" quotes the Prophet Mohamad regarding adultery: "The Prophet said, 'That thou shouldst commit adultery with thy neighbor's wife.' Allah revealed in confirmation of this, 'And those who call not upon any other God beside Allah, and slay not the soul which God hath made sacrosanct, save for right cause, neither commit they adultery' (Koran XXV 68-69). Allah has also declared, 'And the fornicating woman, and the fornicating man-flog each one of them with a hundred stripes; ye shall not be moved with compassion for them in the religion of Allah, if ye truly believe in Allah" (Koran XXIV 2)'" (252). Likewise, Ibn Hazm suggests that "It is the unanimous opinion of all Moslems, which only a heretic would impugn, that the married fornicator shall be stoned until he expires" (253). Later, Ibn Hazm quotes Qu'ranic verses to deem fornication and even false accusations of adultery as sinful activity: "Allah in His Book has only threatened hellfire as the punishment for seven crimes in addition to infidelity; these are the Deadly Sins, and fornication is one of them, as also the false imputation of adultery to respectable matrons; all this is supported by chapter and verse in the Book of Allah the Almighty" (254-55).

what occurs while adding advice for future lovers to be successful in love. An interesting statement concludes his preface: he asks for God's forgiveness for what he is about to do. It appears as if he is aware that many of his tales of lovers and subsequent advice will be interpreted as a guide for lovers, which leads them to the path of sin. In like fashion, both Ibn Hazm and Juan Ruiz integrate a form of 'Augustinian voluntarism' by describing how to succeed in sinful activity and permitting the reader to choose to either accept or reject such behavior.

Similar to Ruiz, it seems as if Ibn Hazm does not condone adulterous behavior, yet he includes it in his text anyway. He writes three chapters that are appropriate for considering the issue of adultery. All three extol sexual desire and union and neglect to mention marriage as either a necessary element or as an obstacle. One particular chapter focuses on the union of lovers. In this chapter "On Union," Ibn Hazm describes union as "pure happiness which is without alloy, and gladness unsullied by sorrow, the perfect realization of hopes and the complete fulfillment of one's dreams" (118). Ibn Hazm later ranks passion as one of the highest joys: "I have found that neither intimacy with princes, nor wealth acquired, nor finding after lacking, nor returning after a long absence, nor security after fear and repose in a safe refuge—none of these things so powerfully affect the soul as union with the beloved, especially if it comes after long denial and continual banishment" (118). The bond of marriage is never mentioned in the chapter "On Union," which implies that matrimony was subordinate to a physical or emotional relationship.

7.4 Sensuality and Society

The inclusion of sexual activity as a motif of courtly love represents a unique feature in the Peninsular tradition. Jeanroy, Paris, and Lewis suggest that sensual involvement invalidates the requisite feature of unrequited love. According to this line of thought, if a lover achieves

sexual union with his beloved, his love is no longer unreturned and thus no longer belongs to the convention of courtly love. Peninsular courtly love, inspired by Ibn Hazm and the spirit of Arab Spain, is more tolerant to sexual contact within its code of behavior. Ibn Hazm's description of a society in which sensuality is lauded allows for a culture of lenience with regard to sexual activity. For example, many of the sexual encounters described by Ibn Hazm are indirect, while in other tales he overtly describes the act of physical union or carnal activity within a relationship. Absent from these depictions of sensuality are words of caution or any sort of denunciation of such activity. In his chapter "On Union" he describes the pleasures and emotional responses to the uniting of lovers. He begins by likening worldly, tangible pleasure to the sexual ones and places physical contact above all others. Near the end of this treatise, Ibn Hazm discusses specific rules on adultery, which I discussed in my second chapter. However, his warning against adultery follows abundant textual occurrences of sensual behavior as I have underscored throughout my study. It appears as if Ibn Hazm does not condone adultery, although he places physical love in a position much higher than that of social conventions, such as marriage.

Ibn Hazm states in his primary excurses that he does not intend to reflect the Arab tradition of theoretically considering love. His predecessors commonly opined on love by reciting and evaluating well known poetry.[120] Traditionally, Arab scholars provided interpretations of love, philosophical debates, or opinions on various aspects of love (Griffen

[120] Lois Griffen suggests that Ibn Hazm clearly implies that he rejects the notion of following "the practice of earlier authors on love" (423) based on the following quote: "Spare me those tales of Bedouins, and of lovers long ago! Their ways were not our ways, and the stories told of them are too numerous in any case. It is not my practice to wear out anybody's riding-beast but my own; I am not one of those who deck themselves up in borrowed plumes" (Ibn Hazm 18). According to Griffen, Ibn Hazm's refusal to repeat the words of Bedouins is "a reference of course to the tales of chaste, unfulfilled love" (423).

423).[121] Ibn Hazm, however, delivers not an opinion or interpretation of the love described by his precursors but an eye-witness or, in some cases, a second-hand account of the nature and philosophy of love as it occurred in his society. In doing so, he paints a picture of a culture in which profane love and sensuality are ubiquitous. After his numerous dialogues of union and tales of lovers committing sexual acts, it is not until the last few chapters that Ibn Hazm deems these activities as sinful ones. Unambiguously, like Ruiz, Ibn Hazm forbids adultery. Nonetheless, for those who choose to enter into such relationships, like Ruiz, Ibn Hazm provides specific and useful instructions, which creates a much more ambiguous environment for tolerance or even advocating sexual activity. In both cases, the reader of the text is again tasked with the decision to accept or reject a certain path of behavior.

7.5 The Courteous Nature of Love

Ibn Hazm's illustrations of love reveal his overarching ideology and exhibit preliminary models of love that resembles that of courtly love. For example, the courteous nature of love, a requisite feature of the convention, **s**pecifies that lovers who abide by the exact courtly love code of behavior will exhibit a high level of courtesy toward their beloved in order to be successful in love. Ibn Hazm's description of the ideal lover[122] coupled with his many other prescriptive instructions for lovers perfectly embody the idea of the courteous nature of love. Ibn Hazm's pattern for love and the art of courting a beloved require a particular and elevated level of respect and structure. He describes this structured behavior in two forms in opposing chapters, that is, one chapter explains the proper way to achieve an amorous relationship and then the following illustrates the opposing action of the same behavior and its consequences. For example, he

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[121] Griffen discusses the Arab literary tradition of love as represented by the works of Muhammad b. Dāwūd-Zāhirī (*The Book of the Flower*) and Al-Washshā (*The Brocaded*).

[122] Ibn Hazm describes the ideal lover in his preliminary excurses, his chapter on the signs of love, when he describes the helpful brother, and in several other chapters.

provides one chapter on union and the following chapter describes the act of breaking off a relationship. This balanced approach provides ample suggestions for lovers and embodies the courteous nature of love by explaining how to be successful in obtaining a beloved. This approach presents a hybrid model of instructions for lovers as Ibn Hazm describes first what is necessary, just, honorable, or socially acceptable in order to obtain a beloved. In the subsequent chapter, he describes in didactic form how lovers who disobey certain procedures and lack an elevated level of courtesy are rarely successful in their romantic endeavors. This form of didactic literature ties Ibn Hazm directly to models of Peninsular courtly love centuries later. It foreshadows Juan Ruiz's style of presenting tales of lovers, according to the courtly love code of behavior, which allows the reader to see clearly the end result and learn from both ethical (pious) and immoral (sinful) actions of the protagonists.

7.6 The Inferiority of the Lover

The inferiority of the lover is a necessary trait of courtly love as it allows the lover to enter into service to his beloved and enables him to increase to his worth both socially and virtuously. Lovers who seek to court a beloved from the lower ranks of society are unable to improve their social rank due to their already elevated status. The act of service is directly tied to the ennobling force and it is uncommon for a man of high social status to submit himself to the service of a woman of a lower rank. As I discussed in my second chapter, this requirement did not exist in early courtly love tales such as those written by Andreas Capellanus and thus should not be considered a requisite feature. Nonetheless, Ibn Hazm provides numerous accounts of lovers belonging to the lower classes (including slaves) who court women from the higher ranks of society. Additionally, Lois Griffen (437) suggests that the devotion of lowly men to women of higher classes is common in *The Ring of the Dove*. She furthers this idea by suggesting that it

was common in Ibn Hazm's era for poets to court women of elevated social status, which explains and justifies the actions of many of Ibn Hazm's protagonists, many of whom are poets. Griffen's avowal speaks to the overarching ideology shared by Ibn Hazm and that which was embedded in the society of al-Andalus in the eleventh century. The concept of a lover seeking a beloved from higher ranks of society should not be viewed as a requisite feature in the development of courtly love but as a representation of the society in which Ibn Hazm lived.

7.7 The Ennobling Force of Love

In the second chapter of my study, I explored the ennobling force of love. According to early scholars of courtly love, this particular characteristic may be the most unique and most distinguishing trait belonging to the courtly love convention. My analysis of Ibn Hazm suggests that the idea of an ennobling force of love existed in the literature of Arab Spain, specifically in *The Ring of the Dove*. In particular, I underscored the significance of Ibn Hazm's explanation about how the act of loving another, particularly in the case of an unattainable love, enhances an individual in love. He clearly describes love's ability to make the lover a better, more virtuous man. His portrayal of the effects of love depicts a force capable of transforming the lover into a better and more virtuous man. In the eleventh century, the ability for love to ennoble a human being in character is unique to Ibn Hazm.

Additionally, I suggested that love, according to Ibn Hazm, affects the lover when he enters into the service of the beloved. He seeks to win her love by demonstrating his loyalty through service. The deed of servitude affords him many opportunities to perform tasks worthy of praise not only from the beloved but also from the society in which he lives. His service and submission to the beloved noticeably ennobles him as a lover and a member of society. According to a number of Ibn Hazm's tales, the lover alters his behavior, his level of respect in

society, and adjusts many other traits in order to achieve his amorous objective. In doing this, however, his reputation and honor in the eyes of the society also are improved. Thus, a secondary consequence related to the ennobling force of love is social ennobling, which is beyond the initial ennobling of character. Andreas Capellanus and other writers of courtly love works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries feudalized this particular element by writing of protagonists who seek social advantages by means of courting high-ranking ladies. In these cases, the ennobling force of love served as a tool that increases the social status of the lover. In Ibn Hazm, love empowers men to increase their virtue not their rank.

7.8 The Clandestine Nature of Courtly Love

Ibn Hazm lauds the value of confidentiality within romantic relationships in his chapter titled "Of Concealing the Secret." He provides numerous examples and details to justify the need for secrecy. The value of secrecy is paramount in amorous affairs, so much so that Ibn Hazm's following chapter chronicles the consequences of breaching the clandestine nature of love. The element of secrecy permeates Ibn Hazm's tales of romantic quests, not only in an explicit form but also in cautionary tales in which he clearly describes the consequences of flaunting the appropriate path on which he advises lovers to journey.

In his chapter "Of Concealing the Secret," Ibn Hazm describes a poor man seeking the love of an unnamed lady. This particular tale exemplifies many requisite features of courtly love. The poor man wishes to spare his beloved the shame or possible embarrassment of making his romantic intentions known publicly and conceals his love for her. As for the lady, no explicit class distinctions are mentioned. However, considering that Ibn Hazm describes the lover as a poor man, the lady must belong to a higher social class or risk possible disgrace and humiliation. Ibn Hazm notes that this concealment displays nobility of character, which again suggests the

existence of the ennobling force of love in *The Ring of the Dove*: "Sometimes the reason for concealment is that the lover wishes to spare his beloved; then it is a proof of loyalty, a mark of true nobility of character" (79). This one particular occurrence reflects the attitude of lovers found in many of the courtly love tales of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries: the honor of his lady is more important than his own and he is made better not by achieving his amorous goal but, on the contrary, by its unattainability. In this case, the lady appears to belong to a higher societal rank, and the lover prefers death to the revelation of his beloved's name. When asked to reveal the lady's identity, the low-ranking lover refuses. Ibn Hazm overtly explains that a societal rank inequality has created the need to conceal the nature of a relationship, especially in the case that the beloved belongs to a much higher rank than the lover. He explains that "sometimes, again, the reason for discretion is that the lover would protect himself against the consequences of his secret's disclosure, on account of the illustrious rank of his beloved" (80). This tale of a lover of a lower rank than that of his beloved who prefers death to the exposure of his intention recalls the system of courtly love tales many centuries later.

Ibn Hazm's treatise as a whole incorporates nearly all of the features of courtly love, although not one particular tale embodies each and every one of these traits. The requisite traits discussed in detail earlier in this study (the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved, and the obligation of service to the beloved), which are some of the traits unique to both European and Peninsular courtly love, are clearly evident in *The Ring of the Dove*. Their presence, along with added features discussed above and throughout this study, strongly suggests that Ibn Hazm had a lasting philosophical influence on the foundation of the brand of love common to courtly love literature.

7.9 Summary of Chapters and Concluding Remarks

In my first chapter, I reviewed and analyzed the history of courtly love literature and scholarship related to its origins. In doing so, I explored the idea that two works fundamentally impacted the codification of the courtly love literary tradition: Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and Andreas Capellanus' *The Art of Courtly Love*. Additionally, I suggested that scholars have commonly overlooked non-Western sources of courtly love, such as that of Ibn Hazm. Studies that included even brief analyses of *The Ring of the Dove* were quick to dismiss it as a possible source. A variety of scholars suggested that three key factors did not exist in Ibn Hazm or other works from Arab Spain: the ennobling force of love, the superiority of the beloved, and the obligation of service to the beloved.

I explored these three characteristics in *The Ring of the Dove* in my second chapter. My identification of these traits revealed that Ibn Hazm's treatise had a significant and lasting impact on courtly love literature. In order to further this assertion, I explored the treatment of these three particular features in several Peninsular works that are representative examples of courtly love literature in Spain. Equally, I examined Andreas' treatise in order to identify and scrutinize similar parallels. Analyses of these three traits indicates that not only does Ibn Hazm's treatise unmistakably exhibit these features, but also his representation of each is strikingly similar in both Spanish courtly love tales and that of Andreas, all of which furthers the idea that Ibn Hazm provided a significant influence in the development of the Peninsular courtly love convention.

My third chapter discussed the role and voice of women in Arab Spain and in Peninsular courtly love works. By evaluating examples in Ibn Hazm of women who took romantic matters into their own hands and actively pursued men, and through an analysis of Arab and Galician-Portuguese poetry of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, I demonstrated how patterns

of active women in the courtship process continued to provide inspiration to the literature that became the convention of county love. Tracing this pattern of female behavior to Ibn Hazm suggests that, again, his influence played a substantial role in the codification of Peninsular courtly love.

The fourth chapter of my study explored the narrative genre in Spain and its relation to Ibn Hazm. I examined a variety of Peninsular courtly love tales and established parallels to *The Ring of the Dove.* These connections established additional links to Ibn Hazm and furthered my hypothesis that his treatise significantly impacted the development of courtly love literature. I continued this analysis in my fifth chapter by exploring lyric poetry from several centuries after Ibn Hazm. I suggested an additional connection by means of physical love. Ibn Hazm's view on sexual and physical love proved to be strikingly similar to that of many poets' views on the subject, especially that of courtly love poetry and thus provided additional evidence to his influence on the code of behavior for lovers.

My final chapter explored the theory of suffering and the literary concept of *saudade.* I suggested that this unique variety of suffering said to have originated in the works of Portuguese poets strikingly resembles many of Ibn Hazm's lovers and their lamentations resulting from a variety of causes. Identification of *saudade* in Ibn Hazm established that his view on love and his overall philosophy on love provided a lasting impact to other tales of love in the Peninsula and beyond. This feature along with the aforementioned themes and hypotheses explored in this study collectively support this principal theory by providing evidence of Ibn Hazm's impact on the foundation of courtly love literature.

Throughout this study, I have analyzed Ibn Hazm's numerous tales of love from *The Ring of the Dove.* In doing so, I have identified and examined many parallels from his text and a

variety of Peninsular works, which has highlighted numerous shared features. In each chapter, I avoided the temptation to speculate regarding the assortment of hypotheses as to why Islamic sources for courtly love have been largely overlooked, which allowed my textual analyses to speak for themselves. Nonetheless, my inquiries revealed a number of explanations for possible omission of non-Western influences, such as linguistic dissimilarities, secular censorship, among many other causes.

My examination and analyses of textual parallels, scrutiny of past and present scholarship, and research of many additional themes in this study speak to a broader Islamic ideological contribution to courtly love. Ibn Hazm's place in Spanish Literature is directly related to his *weltanschauung* as evidenced by his reflection of the society of his day, his philosophy on love, and his spiritual devotion and awareness. This spirit unique to the culture of Arab Spain carried on from generation to generation in both oral and literary sources[123] and left its mark on centuries of literature in the Peninsula and beyond. *The Ring of the Dove* provides a deeper theoretical understanding of Ibn Hazm's view on the individual, the collective group (the society of Arab Spain) and his belief system as it relates to love, the philosophy of love, and the relation of profane love to religious fervor. His views reflect the unique cultural blend of religion, philosophy, and other ideologies of his era. At its core, his literary technique reveals his ability to balance a delicate separation of these seemingly contradictory ideologies while his worldview reflects the cultural code of sociological and religious beliefs present in Islamic Iberia in the early eleventh century. Due to the unique nature of this philosophy, Ibn Hazm and this particular duelist ideology produced a cultural environment and literary precedent perfect for cultivating the birth of a code of amorous behavior similar to that of courtly love. For example, a

[123] For additional information, see: Wulstan, David. "Boys, Women and Drunkards: Hispano--Moresque Influences on European Song?" *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Dionisius A Agius and Richard Hitchcock. Reading, UK: Ithaca P, 1994.

century and a half of scholarship has debated the nature of physical love and its role in courtly love, the heretical nature of this literary convention and its subsequent contradictions when didacticism and immorality are intertwined in one text, and a number of other controversial themes. Many of these debates originate from a misunderstanding and omission of Hispano-Islamic philosophy and scholarship, such as that of Ibn Hazm. A clear understanding of Ibn Hazm coupled with an appreciation of culture and society of Arab Spain helps mitigate many of dichotomies and challenging ambiguities suggested by past critics regarding this particular theory of origin.

Ibn Hazm's *weltanschauung* permits simultaneous presentation of both virtue and immorality, thus providing moralizing instruction. The reader carries the burden of responsibility and must balance didacticism and immorality in the text. Eleventh century Islam in the Peninsula allowed the individual much more freedom than the more traditional branches of Islam in other Muslim lands. For this reason, Ibn Hazm's treatise has been misinterpreted by even Arab scholars as a guidebook for heretical and profane instruction. Apologists for Ibn Hazm attempt to interpret his text thorough the lens of Plato and reject all claims of sexual contact, physical desire, and other seemingly sinful activity as innocent, chaste love for one's fellow man. These interpretations misunderstand the nature of unique brand of Islam created and adapted by the culture of al-Andalus.

The ideas discussed in this chapter reinforce the overarching hypothesis of this study that Ibn Hazm, his treatise on love, his worldview, and the culture and society in which he lived had a lasting and significant impact on courtly love. Above and beyond the influence of Ibn Hazm's text, the extensive Islamic philosophy of al-Andalus helped make a fertile environment possible for the ensuing realization of courtly love. The combination of Ibn Hazm and the Islamic

ideological contribution collectively provided a direct and indirect inspiration. Eleventh century Islamic ideology, as embodied by Ibn Hazm, inspired the unique genre known as the *muwashshaha* and its *kharcha*, which unmistakably contain textual connections with both Ibn Hazm and the society of his day. Such influences may have been transmitted not only directly via his text by poets, authors, and others who understood Arabic and Romance but also indirectly via oral traditions, tales recited orally at court, and other less formal modes of transmission. The *cantigas d'amigo*, likewise, exemplify this particular Islamic philosophical impact and many of its distinctive traits. Centuries later, many of the well-known and well-studied Peninsular works of courtly love in the narrative genre and in lyric poetry reveal a continuation of this lasting and powerful Islamic perspective, thus establishing Ibn Hazm as one of the many significant contributions in the construction and organization of courtly love. In all, the literary convention would not be the same, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula, had it not been for Ibn Hazm and the Islamic ideological contribution of Arab Spain.

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Vita

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