1022/1027: Ibn Ḥazm on the Relations between Masters and Female Slaves in al-Andalus

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Daniel G. König, 1022: Ibn Ḥazm on the Relations between Masters and Female Slaves in al-Andalus, in: *Transmediterranean History* 7.1 (2025).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18148/tmh/2025.7.1.88.

Abstract: In his treatise on love, "Necklace of the Dove" (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*), the Andalusī polymath Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) repeatedly deals with the relations between Muslim masters and female slaves in al-Andalus of the late tenth and early eleventh century. Although we cannot rule out that some of these female slaves were Muslims, most of them probably had non-Muslim roots. As opposed to sale contracts that focus on the female slave as an object, or juridical works that describe the relationship between masters and female slaves in legal terms, Ibn Ḥazm gives insight into the psychology of these relations. In this context, he credits female slaves with a high degree of agency within an obviously asymmetric patriarchal hierarchy. Presenting one excerpt as an example, the article gives insight into the range of relationships between masters and female slaves as described by Ibn Ḥazm. In this way, it discusses a variant of interreligious relations and communication that was prevalent in Muslim-ruled societies of the pre-modern period.

Source

Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut: al-Muʾassasa al-ʿarabiyya li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-našr, 1987, cap. 14 (*bāb al-ṭāʿa*), pp. 156–157, URL: https://shamela.ws/book/10518/73#p1, trans. Daniel G. König.

خبر: وأشنع من هذا أنه كانت لسعيد بن منذر بن سعيد صاحب الصلاة في جامع قرطبة أيام حكم المستنصر بالله رحمه الله جارية يحبها حباً شديداً، فعرض عليها أن يعتقها ويتزوجها، فقالت له ساخرة به؛ وكان عظيم اللحية: إن لحيتك أستبشع عظمها، فإن حذفت منها كان ما ترغبه.

News: Even more outrageous than this was that Saʿīd b. Mundir b. Saʿīd, who was in charge of leading the prayers at the Great Mosque of Córdoba during the reign of [al-Ḥakam II] al-Mustanṣir billāh, may God have mercy on him, had a slave girl (*ǧāriyya*) whom he loved intensely. He offered to manumit and marry her, but she replied to him, mocking him, for he had a very large beard: "I find the size of your beard repulsive. If you trimmed it, then what you desire might be possible."

فأعمل الجلمين فيها حتى لطفت، ثم دعا بجماعة شهود وأشهدهم على عتقها، ثم خطبها إلى نفسه فلم ترض به، وكان في جملة من حضر أخوه حكم بن منذر فقال لمن حضر: اعرض عليها أني أخطبها أنا، ففعل فأجابت إليه، فتزوجها في ذلك المجلس

So he set scissors to work on it until it was neat, then summoned a group of witnesses and had them testify to her manumission (*ʿitq*). After that, he proposed to her—but she did not accept him. Among those present was his brother, Ḥakam b. Mundir, who said to those there: "Offer her the option that I propose to her." They did so, and she responded positively. So he married her there and then in that very gathering—and he [Saʿīd] accepted

بعينه ورضي بهذا العار الفادح على ورعه ونسكه واجتهاده.

this crushing humiliation despite his piety, asceticism, and devotion.

Authorship & Work

[§1] Born in Córdoba in 384/994, Ibn Ḥazm was an Andalusī polymath whose family possibly descended from Christian converts to Islam. His grandfather had settled in the Umayyad capital, where his father made a career at the Umayyad court, serving as vizier to the *de facto* ruler, al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir (r. 371–392/981–1002), and his son, ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (r. 393–399/1002–1008), during the official rule of caliph Hišām II al-Muʾayyad (r. 366–399/976–1009 and 400–403/1010–1013).[1]

[§2] Ibn Ḥazm's family lost its eminent position in the turbulences that accompanied the breakdown of the Umayyad caliphate and the transition to the early *ṭāʾifa*-period.[2] In 399/1008, the vizier ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar fell into disgrace, and the reigning caliph, Hišām II, was replaced by Muḥammad al-Mahdī (r. 399–400/1009). When his assassination put the former caliph back in power, Ibn Ḥazm's family fell prey to the measures of the *Ṣaqlabī* military Wāḍīh. Ibn Ḥazm's father died in 402/1012, and the family home was destroyed one year later. Ibn Ḥazm fled to Almería where he stayed until the town's government collaborated with Berber groups to overthrow the new caliph Sulaymān (r. 400/1009 and 403–408/1013–1018) in 407/1016.

[§3] Under suspicion, Ibn Ḥazm was first imprisoned and then banished, leaving Almería for Ḥiṣn al-Qaṣr, probably in the region of Málaga or Murcia. He then joined the forces of a new claimant to the Umayyad caliphate, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān IV al-Murtaḍā (r. 408/1018), whom he served as a vizier. Taken prisoner during a battle near Granada, he was released and retreated to Játiva. Another opportunity of political activity opened up when the Umayyad claimant, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān V al-Mustaẓhir (r. 414/1023), took Córdoba. His assassination seven weeks later landed Ibn Ḥazm in prison once again. He eventually retired to Játiva, and possibly became vizier again to the last Umayyad caliph, Hišām III al-Muʿtadd (r. 418–422/1027–1031).[3]

[§4] From this point onwards, Ibn Ḥazm lived in semi-retirement and dedicated himself to writing and teaching. His attacks against the political establishment of the *ṭāʾifa*-period, in particular the ʿAbbādids of Seville (r. 414–484/1023–1091), and the Mālikī jurists supporting it, earned him many enemies. This resulted in a prohibition to gather students and to teach.[4] Ibn Ḥazm retired to a village in Manta Lišam near Seville where he died in 456/1064.[5]

[§5] Until the age of fourteen, Ibn Ḥazm was mainly raised in the company of women, who—as he states himself in his treatise "Necklace of the Dove" (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*)—taught him to read and write, poetry, and the Qurʾān.[6] Later, he was instructed by eminent teachers, mentioned in the *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* and a treatise on the merits of al-Andalus (*Risāla fī kitāb faḍāʾil al-Andalus wa-riğālihā*). He received lessons in the science of tradition (*ḥadīṯ*), grammar, lexicography, rhetoric, dialectic, theology (*kalām*), poetry, Islamic law (*fiqh*), and philosophy

[1] Arnaldez, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 790–799.
[2] Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*; Scales, *Fall*.
[3] Arnaldez, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 790–799.
[4] Kaddouri, Identificación, pp. 299–320; Kaddouri, Kitāb al-tanbīh, pp. 95–108; Kaddouri, Refutations, pp. 539–599.
[5] Arnaldez, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 790–799.
[6] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 166 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/83#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 67–68; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 72; Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, p. 421.

(*falsafa*). His writings bear witness to his relations with many intellectuals of his period and his interest in all important intellectual currents of his time. In his treatise on the classes of the sciences (*Risāla fī marātib al-ʿulūm*), he devised an educational programme encompassing all important branches of knowledge in his day.[7]

[§6] Ibn Ḥazm allegedly left behind 400 works, most of which are not extant. However, three of his works reveal the wide interest and intellectual horizon of this polymath: a large treatise of comparative religion that deals extensively both with Islamic and non-Islamic schools of thought (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*), a large compilation of Islamic law following the Ẓāhirī doctrine (*Kitāb al-Muḥallā bi-l-aṯār fī šarḥ al-maǧallā bi-l-iqtiṣār*), and his treatise on love (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*) that stands at the centre of this article.[8]

Content & Context

[§7] When he retreated to Játiva, either after his second (412/1022) or after his third imprisonment (418/1027), Ibn Ḥazm was asked by a friend to write a book on love.[9] The "Necklace of the Dove" (*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*) stands in a tradition of writings on love by earlier authors such as al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī (d. 297/909), Abū l-Ṭayyib (d. 325/936), and al-Daylamī (d. 371/980).[10] Rather than reproducing these texts, however, the "Necklace of the Dove" provides examples from contemporary al-Andalus and from the author's own life, as he himself states in the introduction to this work.[11]

[§8] Scholarship has highlighted the "courtly spirit" of this book of thirty chapters that both celebrates and problematises the enchantments of love.[12] The treatise first addresses the "signs of love" (chap. 2), then deals with different possibilities of falling in love—e.g. in dreams, by description, at first sight, or after prolonged acquaintance (chap. 3–6). It shortly discusses the impression made by early experiences (chap. 7), and then turns to the communication between the lover and the beloved via signs, letters, and messengers (chap. 8–10). After debating whether and how to reveal one's love to the beloved (chap. 12–13), Ibn Ḥazm opposes obedient to defiant lovers (chap. 14–15) and then sketches the role of intermediate persons who can support, endanger, and even destroy a relationship in its bud (chap. 16–19). Opposing the reunion of lovers to their separation (chap. 20–21), Ibn Ḥazm discusses loyalty, betrayal, the parting of lovers, contentment, dying from love, forgetting previous love, and reactions to death (chap. 22–28). He ends his treatise with a warning of sin and a praise of the virtues of chastity (chap. 29–30).[13]

[§9] It is worth mentioning that Ibn Ḥazm repeatedly deals with love between men.[14] It is not entirely clear, however, whether he automatically associated mutual love between males with sexual practices. The passages in question suggest that he accepted strong mutual affection

[7] Arnaldez, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 790–799.
[8] Arnaldez, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 790–799.
[9] Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 420–421.
[10] Dajani, Immortality, pp. 321–335; Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love*.
[11] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 87 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/4#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 6–7; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 3; Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 422–424.
[12] Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 424, 434–437; Hickman, *Ibn Hazm*.
[13] Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 429–432.
[14] E.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 156 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/73), Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 59; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 62, on the love of Muqaddam b. al-Aṣfar for the young man ʿAǧīb; ibid., ed ʿAbbās, pp. 278–279 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/195); trans. Weisweiler, p. 161; trans. Nykl, p. 187, on the love of the Muʿtazilī Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām for a Christian youth (*fatā naṣrānī*); Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 433–434.

between males as absolutely normal, but condemned associated forms of sexuality.[15] His main focus, however, lies on heterosexual relations, in particular, but not only, between Muslim masters and female slaves.

[§10] The excerpt cited above shows in an exemplary manner how Ibn Ḥazm approached the relationship between Muslim masters and female slaves. Rather than merely presenting the slaves as objects subject to the whims of their master(s), Ibn Ḥazm credits them with a very high degree of agency. The anecdote is set in the realm of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (r. 350–366/961–976), i.e. the golden period of the Umayyad caliphate. Saʿīd b. Munḏir b. Saʿīd, the imām of the congregational mosque of Córdoba and thus an important public figure, is so infatuated with one of his slaves that he offers to manumit and then marry her. She refuses, claiming mockingly that his beard is too long. Although he trims his beard—a symbol of masculinity—she refuses his offer again in public when he manumits her in front of witnesses and asks for her hand in marriage. In this situation, the imām's brother offers to marry the slave, receives her consent, and immediately weds her using the same witnesses. Apparently feeling that the imām should have taken some punitive measure, Ibn Ḥazm concludes that Saʿīd b. Munḏir "accepted this crushing humiliation *despite* his piety, asceticism, and devotion (*wa-raḍiya bi-hāḏa al-ʿār al-fāḍiḥ ʿalā waraʿihi wa-nusukihi wa-iǧtihādihi*)."

Contextualization, Analysis & Interpretation

[§11] The following passages will first give an introduction to the phenomenon of female slavery in al-Andalus, explain why master–slave relations form a relevant part of interreligious communication in the period under investigation, and finally contrast Ibn Ḥazm's particular take on the subject with alternative approaches (§§12–17). The ensuing overview on all anecdotes in the "Necklace of the Dove" dealing with female slaves allows for a glimpse into the literary representation and the socio-religious implications of such liaisons. Ibn Ḥazm illustrates the emotional dependency of masters on their female slaves (§§18–21) and underscores the latter's agency (§22). However, he also shows how slaves became emotionally attached and dependent on their masters, often as part of abusive relations (§§23–24). These anecdotes do not only give an insight into how different variants of master–slave relationships could play out, but also how Ibn Ḥazm—as an observer of the relations between lovers and beloved—presented and understood such relations in his treatise against the backdrop of his own experiences with women (§§25–26).

[§12] Ibn Ḥazm generally classifies the women to be dealt with here as *ǧāriyya* (Pl. *ǧawārī*), a term that can be translated as "girl" or "maid." It is usually associated with unfree younger women, i.e. slave girls, bondmaids, or bondwomen, who were not only used for menial tasks, but often fulfilled the function of concubines.[16] Alternative Arabic terms, rarely used by Ibn Ḥazm in this treatise, are *ama* (Pl. *amāt*) or *qayna* (Pl. *qiyān*), the latter denoting females educated as singing and dancing entertainers. Even if he does not always clearly define the

[15] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 278 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/195#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 161; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 187, on a friend and his dealings with boys (*maʿa baʿḍ al-ġilmān*); ibid., ed. ʿAbbās, p. 279 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/196#p1); trans. Weisweiler, p. 162; trans. Nykl, p. 188, on the love of Ibn al-Ǧazīri for a youth; ibid., ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 280–281 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/197#p1); trans. Weisweiler, pp. 162–163, trans. Nykl, p. 189, on sexual relations between male guests at a soirée. Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 434–435.

[16] Puente, Ethnic Origins, p. 124.

social status of a *ǧāriyya*, Ibn Ḥazm clearly distinguishes such "girls" from Muslim women who belonged to the higher classes of Andalusī society.[17]

[§13] In the period under investigation, al-Andalus accommodated a large number of imported male and female slaves from different regions.[18] The period of relative border stability under Umayyad hegemony—established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (r. from 300/912 as amīr, 317–350/929–961 as caliph) around 940 and maintained by his son al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (r. 350–366/961–976)—probably reduced the number of Christian captives from the north of the Iberian Peninsula.[19] The raids led by al-Manṣūr b. Abī ʿĀmir (r. 371–392/981–1002) against León and the County of Barcelona then brought new human resources onto the slave markets in great quantities.[20] Moreover, the tenth century was the heyday of trade in *Ṣaqāliba*, i.e. slaves of (generally) Slavic origin, who were exported via Venice and the Frankish realm to Byzantium and Muslim-ruled societies[21]—most notably to al-Andalus as well as to Aġlabid and later Fāṭimid North Africa, where male *Ṣaqāliba* played an important role as elite troops and in the administration.[22] As such, the trade in slaves connected different parts of the Mediterranean and forcibly produced a great number of interreligious encounters and resulting processes of transculturation.

[§14] The "Book of Documents and Registers" (*Kitāb al-Wāṯāʾiq wa-l-siǧillāt*) by Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār al-Qurṭubī (d. 399/1009), a collection of notarial *formulae*, contains several sale contracts for female slaves of Berber, Galician, Frankish, and Slavic origin.[23] The many studies of Cristina de la Puente on the treatment of female slaves in Mālikī law as written out and practiced in al-Andalus, also suggest that relations between Muslim masters and non-Muslim female slaves were a common phenomenon in al-Andalus of the late Umayyad and early *ṭāʾifa*-period.[24] Research has noted from early on that Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on love deals with female slaves,[25] but has only recently acknowledged it to be an important source on slavery.[26] The work as such has not yet been inserted into the wider context of transeuropean and transmediterranean slave trade in the tenth and early eleventh century.

[§15] Not all female slaves in al-Andalus of the late tenth to early eleventh century were of foreign origin. Muslim-ruled societies also harboured the occasional Muslim slave, and slave couples gave birth to a new generation of slaves.[27] However, children fathered by a Muslim master with Muslim slaves were born free, their mother acquiring the status of "mother of a child" (*umm walad*) that was juridically associated with an eventual manumission.[28] Consequently, captivity and trade remained an important source of female slaves throughout the period of investigation. However, foreign origin did not automatically imply religious or cultural alterity, which plays no role in Ibn Ḥazm's depiction of relations between Muslim

[17] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 117 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/34#p1), 165 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/82#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 29, 66; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 28, 70.
[18] Marín, *Mujeres*, pp. 125–140.
[19] König, 942–956: Ibn Ḥayyān zu Ungarneinfällen, §§7–8.
[20] Bariani, *Almanzor*, p. 225; Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla*, vol. 2, p. 503; Martínez Enamorado and Torremocha Silva, *Almanzor*, p. 168; Corral Lafuente, Almanzor y la Marca Superior, pp. 131-143
[21] Jankowiak, Slave Trade, pp. 169–172; König, 903–906: Raffelstettener Zollordnung.
[22] Mishin, Saqaliba Slaves, pp. 236–244; Meouak, *Saqāliba*; Jiwa, Slaves to Supporters, pp. 103–125; Haji, A Distinguished Slav Eunuch, pp. 261–274.
[23] Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Kitāb al-Waṯāʾiq wa-l-siǧillāt*, ed. Chalmeta und Corriente, pp. 238, 254, 259, 265, 296, 420.
[24] Puente, Entre la esclavitud y la libertad, pp. 339–360; Puente, Juridical Sources, pp. 95–110; Puente, Free Fathers, pp. 24–44; Puente, Ethnic Origins, pp. 124–142; Puente, Islamic Law, pp. 294–313.
[25] Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, p. 433; Hamilton, *Representing Others*, pp. 28–29.
[26] Guichard, Social History, p. 693; Fox, Ring, pp. 54–68; Simmons, *Muslim–Christian Romance*, pp. 64–73.
[27] Oßwald, *Sklavenrecht*.
[28] Schacht, Umm al-walad, pp. 857–859; Puente, Free Fathers, pp. 27–44;

masters and female slaves. Many non-Muslim female slaves probably converted to Islam as part of their linguistic and sociocultural integration into Muslim society. This integration was actively promoted in the case of expensive female slaves who had been educated as entertainers and were thus fully socialised as regards the language, literary culture, and norms of Muslim Andalusī society.[29]

[§16] Female slaves moved around in Andalusī society in a way that was not necessarily open to Andalusī Muslim women from higher classes.[30] In his treatise, Ibn Ḥazm does not only describe interaction between slave women and men on the street and at parties, but also points to Muslim women of higher standing who led a life that secluded them from any male contact apart from their relatives (*rabbāt al-ḫudūr al-maḫğūbāt min ahl al-buyūtāt maʿa aqāribihinna min al-riğāl*).[31] It is to such women that Ibn Ḥazm ascribes a tendency of falling in love with the description of a man—i.e. with a man, whom they could not meet personally and who, in consequence, was only known to them thanks to the descriptions of others.[32] While we should not draw too clear a line between free Muslim women subject to strict normative control on the one side, and unfree non-Muslim female slaves on the other, the former often lacked certain freedoms that the latter enjoyed. At the same time, we should certainly not idealise the situation of female slaves either. Ibn Ḥazm describes how he and other men followed female slaves in and outside their homes because they hoped to get their (sexual) attention.[33] He mentions rich men who bought women regularly to satisfy their sexual desires, getting rid of them when they became tired of them.[34] He also distinguishes between female slaves assigned to menial household tasks and slaves of a higher class considered as singing and dancing entertainers and potential sexual partners.[35]

[§17] Notwithstanding these illustrations of the blatantly patriarchal hierarchy and the potential physical and psychological compulsion and even violence these unfree women were subject to, Ibn Ḥazm's depiction of the relationships between male Muslim masters and female slaves differs considerably from their depiction in contemporary juridical texts, e.g. Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār's notarial documents. There, unfree women appear merely as physical objects that are up for sale and have potential defects (*ʿuyūb*), including pregnancy by a former master, that could make the purchase juridically invalid. The women in these documents have no personality. They are described physically, are given an exchangable name tag, and are sold and resold, used and reused as labour force and sexual object by the person that is able to buy them.[36] Ibn Ḥazm, in turn, is interested in the psychology of relationships between male masters and slave women.[37] To a certain degree, the emotional facets of these relationships are also reflected in contemporary *muwaššaḥ*-poetry. In many of such poems, a man reveals and describes his love for a woman. The last stanza is in the Romance vernacular written in Arabic letters. It takes on the perspective of the beloved woman who proclaims her love for the Muslim male and whom

[29] Pellat, Ḳayna, pp. 820–824; Shippers, A Muwashshah, pp. 56–57; Reynolds, The Qiyan, pp. 100–123.
[30] Marín, *Mujeres*, pp. 217–248.
[31] Turki, Femmes privilégiées, pp. 25–82; Adang, Women's Access, pp. 75–94.
[32] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 117 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/34#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 29; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 28, 33.
[33] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 120–122 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/37#p1), 249–253 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/166#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 31, 132–146; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 31–32, 157–159.
[34] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 198–199 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/115#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 90–92; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 106–107.
[35] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 208–209 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/125#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 99–100; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 115–116.
[36] Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Kitāb al-Waṯāʾiq wa-l-siğillāt*, ed. Chalmeta und Corriente, pp. 33–36.
[37] Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, p. 432; Marín, *Mujeres*, pp. 656–679.

we can often identify as a non-Muslim.[38] Ibn Ḥazm, however, goes beyond idealizing mere romantic feelings. Within the patriarchal gender hierarchy outlined above, he describes and analyses complex emotional relationships, giving much attention to the agency of slave women that is enhanced by male feelings of emotional dependency.

[§18] In the chapter on revealing one's love (chap. 13: *bāb al-iḏāʿa*), Ibn Ḥazm mentions a young man among his peers who fell in love with a secluded slave-girl (*ǧāriyya maqṣūra*) to such a degree that he gave up many of his good habits and was so dominated by his passion that the girl eventually scolded him for displaying it so openly.[39] In his chapter on submission (chap. 14: *bāb al-ṭāʿa*), Ibn Ḥazm makes a general statement on how male infatuation can in fact reverse actual hierarchies. Some men became extremely worked up about how their female slaves played with their emotions, Ibn Ḥazm claims, in spite of the fact that nobody could prevent these men from taking advantage and possessing their slaves.[40]

فقد ترى الإنسان يكلف بأمته التي يملك رقها، ولا يحول حائل بينه وبين التعدي عليها، فكيف الانتصاف منها.

One may see a man grow attached to his slave woman (*ama*), over whom he holds ownership (*allatī yamlik riqqahā*), with nothing preventing him from assaulting her (*al-taʿaddī ʿalayhā*)—so how could he possibly seek justice from her?

[§19] Male infatuation with female slaves even seems to play a role in contemporary folklore. A story that Ibn Ḥazm describes as having heard again and again (*ḥikāya lam azal asmaʿuhā*) possibly provides insight into popular contemporary ideas of romance. According to this story, an Andalusī Arab was forced to sell his beloved female slave in Berber territory. Having sold her, he became aware of how much he loved her. He went to the buyer and offered him his entire wealth to reacquire the slave, but the buyer refused. Almost losing his mind, the Andalusī turned first to the local populace, then to the Berber ruler (*malik al-Barābir*) for help. Although they interceded in favour of the Andalusī, they were not able to change the buyer's mind. He claimed that his state of mind would be even worse than that of the Andalusī if he had to give up this slave. When even money failed to convince him, the Andalusī jumped out of the first storey of the ruler's residence with the intention of killing himself, but was not hurt. The Berber ruler then demanded the same proof of love from the buyer. He consented at first, but then refused. He eventually gave up the female slave and was compensated by the ruler.[41]

[§20] Ibn Ḥazm includes himself within the group of men who have become infatuated with female slaves. Dealing with the phenomenon that people often fall in love with a particular characteristic in their early youth and then continue to look for it in later partners, Ibn Ḥazm reports that, as a young man, he fell in love with one of his female slaves who had blond hair. Since then, he claims, he has not been able to appreciate women with dark hair.[42] In another part of the treatise, Ibn Ḥazm recalls his love for a slave girl of sixteen years, who lived in his family home when he was still underage (*fī ayyām ṣibāy*). Although he tried to win her love for a period of two years, she refused all his advances and purposely avoided him when he tried to get near her, e.g. during an official reception at his home where she impressed him by her

[38] Jones, *Romance Kharjas*; Zwartjes, *Love Songs*; Corriente, *Poesía dialectal*; Fees, New Directions, pp. 153, 196–197; König, Latin-Arabic Entanglement, pp. 57–58.
[39] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 149–150 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/66#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 53–54; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 173–175.
[40] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 154 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/71#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 58; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 179.
[41] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 265–266 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/182#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 149–151; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 173–175.
[42] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 130 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/47#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 40; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 39.

singing. When catastrophe befell his family in Ǧumādā al-āḫira 399 / February 1009, he saw her again, and became infatuated with her once more. When he met her the next time in Šawwāl 409 / February–March 1019, she had lost all her charm and beauty, prompting Ibn Ḥazm to state that women, other than men, lose their charms if they are not taken care of—as had been the case with this girl who, in the political turbulences of the time, had lost the protection of his ruined family.[43] The most dramatic event of his love life happened when Ibn Ḥazm fell in love with Nuʿm, a younger slave girl, with whom he felt in complete harmony (*muwāfaqa lī*), who lost her virginity to him, and who loved him as well (*wa-kunnā qad takāfaʾnā al-mawadda*). She died when he had not yet reached the end of twenty, plunging him into despair. He claims not to have changed his clothes for seven months, to have cried continuously, and to still feel the loss when writing down this story, stating that he would pay his whole fortune if he could ransom her from death. Since her demise, Ibn Ḥazm claims, life has been joyless for him (*wa-mā ṭāba lī ʿayš baʿdahā*), and every subsequent relationship seemed illegitimate (*wa-laqad ʿafā ḥubbī lahā ʿalā kulli mā qablahu, wa-ḥarrama mā kāna baʿdahu*).[44]

[§21] Male suffering plays an important role in the treatise. Ibn Ḥazm relates several anecdotes, in which Muslim men are either prevented from uniting with the beloved female slave or even lose her, generally because of the intervention of family or outsiders. He relates the story of a trustworthy friend, who was kept at a distance from a slave girl he loved (*wa-kāna mamnūʿan minhā*) until he was able to engage with her under a blanket protecting them from the rain during a family outing in the countryside, as he recalled happily many years later.[45] In two other cases, reported to Ibn Ḥazm by clients (*mawālī*) of the respective families, relatives actively broke apart existing relationships. This was the case with Marwān b. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Ḥudayr who was in love with a slave belonging to his brother. Since his brother did not allow him to have her and sold her to someone else, Marwān suffered from a state of mental confusion (*iḫtilāt*) and a loss of sanity (*ḏihāb ʿaqlihi*).[46] In the case of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbbās b. Abī ʿAbda, his loss of sanity (*ǧunūn*) resulted from the fact that his mother sold the female slave he was in love with because she wanted him to marry him to a daughter from the ʿĀmirid family.[47] The most dramatic case involving the loss of a beloved slave because of external intervention was related to Ibn Ḥazm by the *qāḍī* Yūnus b. ʿAbd Allāh. He recalled the mutual love between a slave girl and a well-educated noble youth (*fatā min ahl al-adab min abnāʾ al-mulūk*) whose friend acted as a messenger between the two. When the slave was put up for sale, the messenger bought her for himself, rather than for his friend, thus ending the relationship. One day, he came upon her when she was handling a small casket, which contained an old letter by her former lover. The (former) messenger accused her of disloyalty, but became silent when it became clear that the letter was one of those he himself had transported between her and his (former) friend.[48]

[§22] A man's initiatives of winning a slave girl's favour and compliance were not always successful, as is best illustrated in the passage quoted at the beginning of this article. In the anecdote, a female slave does not only dare to mock the imām of the congregational mosque of

[43] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 249–253 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/166#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 132–146; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 157–164.
[44] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 223–224 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/140#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 111; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 131–132.
[45] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 188–189 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/105#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 84; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 94–95.
[46] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 242–243 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/159#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 125; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 150.
[47] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 243 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/160#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 125–126; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 150.
[48] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 214 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/131); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 103–104; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 121.

Córdoba, but completely disgraces him, when she refuses his offer of marriage in front of official witnesses.[49] The story seems to have been publicly known, for Ibn Ḥazm does not see the necessity, explicitly mentioned in the introduction of his treatise, of protecting the imām Saʿīd b. Munḏir by concealing his name. The imām's disgrace can probably be classified among the anecdotes whose mention causes no harm "because fame makes concealment and the abandoning of disclosure futile (*li-štihār lā yuġnī ʿanhu al-ṭayy wa-tark al-tabyīn*)."[50] Ibn Ḥazm also proffers additional stories, in which female slaves rebuke the advances of Muslim men in spite of existing hierarchies. In the chapter on people who fall in love on first sight (chap. 5: *bāb man aḥabba min naẓra wāḥida*), Ibn Ḥazm relates the story of a man who spontaneously fell in love with a slave woman who stood at the gate of the spice vendors in Córdoba chatting with other women. Because he followed her on her way home, she eventually turned around and inquired what he wanted. When he explained his desire for her and asked her about her social status, name, and the name of her owner, she refused to reveal her address. She got rid of him by stating that he could meet her at the gate of the spice vendors every Friday, but never appeared there again.[51] In the chapter on giving voice to one's love (chap. 8: *bāb fī taʿrīḍ al-qawl*), Ibn Ḥazm mentions a young man and a female slave who loved each other, eventually arriving at the point where he was about to seduce her. She, however, rebuked him and announced that she would shame him in a concealed manner in front of others. During a reception involving the ruling elites of the caliphate (*baʿḍ akābir al-mulūk wa-arkān al-dawla*), the girl sang a song addressed to her lover, in which she mentioned mutual love but the necessity of refusing sinful unions.[52] In none of these cases, the female slave suffered retribution because the Muslim male was prepared to accept her choice, had no claim on her, or because he respected prevailing norms of decency.

[§23] Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on love does not only feature Muslim men running after female slaves, but also presents us with various instances in which female slaves became emotionally attached to, or even infatuated with a Muslim man who was often, but not always, their master. Their infatuation could be of a predominantly sexual nature, but could also display itself in extreme manifestations of loyalty. In the chapter on love that grows (chap. 6: *bāb man lā yuḥibb illā maʿa al-muṭāwala*), Ibn Ḥazm describes a rich, noble and well-educated man who had the habit of buying female slaves to satisfy his sexual desire. Given his grim manner, especially towards women, the slaves usually did not like and even feared him. As soon as he had had intercourse with them, however, their distaste transformed into an attitude of total adoration and devotion. Asked about this by a friend, the young man boasted about his incredible sexual stamina and his ability to fully satisfy female desire.[53] Another anecdote, featuring the *ḥāǧib* al-Manṣūr, i.e. Abū ʿĀmir Muḥammad b. Abī ʿĀmir (r. 371–392/981–1002), describes the fate of female slaves who were won, used, and then left to their fate both with regard to their social status and emotional state. According to Ibn Ḥazm, Abū ʿĀmir had a volatile and capricious nature in spite of his intelligence, fine manners, and education, and did not bear not being able to conquer a slave woman in his proximity. As soon as he had won the slave, however, he tired of her and then sold her for a very low price, thus wasting tens of thousands of dīnars. Several

[49] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, cap. 14 (*bāb al-ṭāʿa*), pp. 156–157 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/73#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 59–60; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 63.

[50] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 87 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/4#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 6–7; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 3; Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 422–424.

[51] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 120–122 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/37#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 31; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 31–32.

[52] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 135 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/52#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 43–44; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 43.

[53] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 127–128 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/44#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 37–38; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 37.

slaves who had become emotionally attached to him, one of them known personally to Ibn Ḥazm, were thus devastated and were killed by loneliness (*qatalahuna al-waḥda*). They had clung to their illusions concerning him (*aliqna awhāmahunna bihi*), were betrayed by the hopes he had raised (*fa- ḫānnahunna mimmā amilnahu minhu*), and thus became hostages of decay (*fa-ṣirna rahāʾina al-balā*).[54] Less dramatic is the story of a slave infatuated with the son of a leading man who did not notice her love. Being a virgin, she was too shy to take the initiative. She then asked a trusted woman for advice and was told to recite verses, which the young man did not understand. During one of their encounters, she then kissed him on the mouth and departed with swaying hips. Consequently, he became infatuated with her, until the relationship ended for some unmentioned reason. Possibly because the sexual initiative came from the woman's side and had the effect of transforming the man's modesty and chastity into sexual appetite, Ibn Ḥazm classified this union of lovers as resulting from the snares of Satan (*maṣāyid Iblīs*).[55]

[§24] In other anecdotes, Ibn Ḥazm describes female slaves who had grown to love their respective masters. Rather touching is the story of a young man and a slave girl, each of whom found in the other the merit of love (*fatā wa-ǧariyya kāna yaǧid kull wāḥid minhumā bi-ṣāḥibihi faḍl waǧd*). When he hurt himself lightly while cutting fruit during a rendezvous, she immediately tore apart her expensive garment (*ġilāla min qaṣab ḫazāʾiniyya lahā qīma*) to bandage the wound.[56] More dramatic is the story of an estrangement. It resulted from a rumour heard by the master about his female slave that, according to Ibn Ḥazm, should not have aroused his anger (*lam yakun yūǧib al-suḫṭ*). Instead of clearing up the matter, he sold her, to the effect that she withered away and eventually died.[57] The most extreme form of loyalty shown by a female slave is addressed in the story of a slave in the house of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Wahb, also known as Ibn al-Rakīza. When her former master had died, she was sold as part of his legacy. From then on, however, she refused to please men (*fa-abata an tarḍā bi-l-riǧāl baʿadahu*), not only by declining to sing (in spite of being an excellent singer), but also by not letting any man have intercourse with her (*wa-mā ǧaʿalahā raǧul ilā an laqiyat Allāh ʿazz wa-ǧall*). Loyalty to her former master (*wafāʾ li-man duṯṯira*) made her "shun the group of girls taken for procreation and pleasure" (*al-ḫurūǧ min ǧumlat al-muttaḫaḍat li-l-nasl wa-l-laḍḍa*) and prefer menial tasks (*al-ḫidma*). Ibn al-Rakīza, however, wanted to include her into the group of his bedfellows (*rāmahā sayyiduhā al-maḍkūr an yaḍummahā ilā firāšihi maʿa sāʾir ǧawārīhi*). When she refused, he beat and disciplined her harshly more than once, but she remained obstinate. This form of loyalty is defined by Ibn Ḥazm as *ġarīb*, which can either be translated as "strange" or "excentric," thus implying a lack of understanding on his part, or as "unusual" and "uncommon," thus highlighting the exceptionality of such a tremendous demonstration of loyalty.[58]

[§25] Although Ibn Ḥazm gives us a very rich panorama of relations between Muslim men and female slave girls, he describes these relations from a particular point of view. It is the perspective of an older man, reminiscent of his youth, during which he invested into the love

[54] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 198–199 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/115#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 90–92; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 106–107.
[55] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 182–183 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/99#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 78–79; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 88–89.
[56] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 187 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/104); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 83; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 93.
[57] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 259 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/176#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 142; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 168.
[58] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 208–209 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/125#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 99–100; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 115–116.

he had for someone and never became weary.[59] As we have seen, it is also the perspective of a man of the Muslim elite, who was surrounded by peers fulfilling their emotional and sexual needs and desires by engaging with "girls," generally unfree women inside and outside their homes, who could be bought and sold, punished and discarded in line with the wishes of their Muslim owners, both male and female. Ibn Ḥazm himself purports to have had a special relationship with women in his youth and, consequently, to have understood what motivated them (*taʿarruf asbābihinna*). He had observed women carefully and had gotten to know their secrets as no-one else when he grew up among them. Until he started having facial hair, women taught him reading, writing, poetry, and the Qurʾān.[60] On this basis he became convinced of certain ideas concerning women that are illustrated in his anecdotes and commented upon occasionally.

[§26] Ibn Ḥazm claims, for example, that no-one kept secrets better than women do. He relates the story of a female slave severely punished by her mistress because she refused to reveal the romantic relationship between a slave couple in the household that had become known to her mistress through a letter. He claims that older women kept secrets even better because they did not seek male attention any longer, were consequently not ridden by jealousy, and thus often went out of their way to help younger, especially poor and orphaned women to find a husband. Ibn Ḥazm believes that this has to do with the fact that women are only interested in flirting and in obtaining sex, whereas men also have to take care of more serious tasks.[61] Because of this, Ibn Ḥazm states, women are extremely obliging in romantic affairs and often serve as messengers of romantic tidings. This concerns elder women interfering in other relationships, from whom newly-wed women are warned, but also women who have professions that bring them together with other people. These include the female physician (*ṭabība*), the cupping practitioner (*al-ḥaǧǧāma*), the thief or eavesdropper (*al-sarāqa*), the matchmaker (*al-dallāla*), the hairdresser (*al-māṣiṭa*), the mourner (*al-nāʾiḥa*), the singer (*al-muġanniyya*), the soothsayer (*al-kāhina*), the teacher (*al-muʿallima*), the servant (*al-mustaḫdima*), and the craftswoman working on the spindle or weaving (*al-ṣunnāʿ fī l-miġzal wa-l-nasīǧ*), apart from the female relative (*ḏā qarāba*).[62] Ibn Ḥazm believes that a woman's love is more stable than that of men, because they are weaker and consequently more easily overpowered emotionally.[63] However, he is opposed to the widely diffused belief that men have more control over their passions than women.[64] He clearly acknowledges that—in affairs relating to love—both women and men can behave or can fail to behave honourably.[65] The fact that many anecdotes were related to him by a woman he considered trustworthy (*imraʾa aṯiq bihā*),[66] shows that Ibn Ḥazm did in fact maintain intensive relations to women and respected their opinion. All this does not obliterate,

[59] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 181–182; Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 79; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 90.
[60] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 166 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/83#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 67–68; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 72.
[61] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 164–166 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/81#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 65–68; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 70–71.
[62] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 141–142 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/58); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 47–48; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 49–50.
[63] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 117 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/34#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 29.
[64] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 269 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/186#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 153; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 178.
[65] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, p. 270 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/187#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, p. 154; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, p. 179.
[66] Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāma*, ed. ʿAbbās, pp. 187 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/104), 208–209 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/125#p1), 259 (https://shamela.ws/book/10518/176#p1); Ibn Hazm, *Halsband*, trans. Weisweiler, pp. 83, 99–100, 142; Ibn Ḥazm, *Book*, trans. Nykl, pp. 93, 115, 206; Giffen, Ibn Ḥazm, p. 433.

however, that his perspective is and remains decidedly patriarchal and only partly acknowledges the suffering of unfree women subjected to the whims and desires of rich men.

[§27] In sum, Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on love gives insight into the psychology of relations between Muslim men and female slaves in al-Andalus of the late tenth and early eleventh century. It focuses on their emotional interdependency, but also reveals how men (ab)used these women. At the same time, it provides us with several examples of female slaves who displayed an astonishing degree of agency considering the hierarchies they were in. Ibn Ḥazm describes these master–slave relationships, not from the commercial and legal point of view adopted by notaries and jurists in sale contracts and legal manuals, but from an emotional and social point of view. Notwithstanding this, his perspective certainly has its limits. In spite of the dramatic turbulences he and his family experienced at the beginning of the eleventh century, Ibn Ḥazm's perspective is that of a member of the political, financial, and intellectual elite that could afford female slaves for menial labour and (sexual) entertainment. The rich Muslim youths of Ibn Ḥazm's day often seem to have begun their sexual life in the company of women owned by their family or themselves or by people in their social environment. This led to emotional attachments and could lead unfree women into positions of enormous (emotional) influence, especially if they had received previous training as literary and musical entertainers. When giving birth to a child procreated with their master, they received the legal status of *umm walad*, i.e. the mother of a [legitimate] child, and thus became an integral part of Muslim society.[67] Several cases described above show, however, that the status of these women was also precarious and highly dependent on the emotional make-up of the men (and also women) who owned them. The strong hierarchies between the free and the unfree, between males and females, were a permanent part of their lives and—in spite of all agency attested here—forced female slaves to adapt to the norms of Muslim society rather than vice versa.

[§28] With regard to interreligious relations, Ibn Ḥazm's "Necklace of the Dove" gives an impression of how women of generally non-Muslim origin had become an integral part of Muslim society in al-Andalus. Ibn Ḥazm never comments on the origins of the "girls" he writes about. However, we can probably situate them at the end of long supply chains moving the booty of raids via complex transeuropean and transmediterranean trade networks to Muslim markets in demand of female labour and sexual services. Even if Ibn Ḥazm's "girls" belonged to the second or third generation of slaves, their unfree status can probably be accounted for in most cases by pointing to a history of forced migration. The "Necklace of the Dove" can thus be inserted at the end of a long list of contemporary documents that provide insight into the import of humans into Muslim-ruled societies. The treatise illustrates how the massive import of male and female slaves into Muslim-ruled societies of the tenth century affected gender relations by creating particular forms of male–female relationships characterized simultaneously by strong patriarchal hierarchies, a disequilibrium in social status, and complex emotional entanglements. It illustrates the living conditions of female slaves fully integrated into the fabric of Muslim society and often at the brink of rising into its upper echelons. Although Ibn Ḥazm's setting is particular to al-Andalus of the late Umayyad caliphate and the early *ṭāʾifa*-period, the existence of (imported) female slaves in all part of the Islamicate sphere[68] allows us to regard the "Necklace of the Dove" as a document that provides an understanding for the end point of forced female migration on a transmediterranean scale.

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[67] Schacht, Umm al-walad, pp. 857–859; Puente, Free Fathers, pp. 27–44;
[68] Gordon and Hain (eds), *Concubines and Courtesans*.

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