

A NOTE ON LITURGICAL AND MYSTICAL QUOTATIONS
IN *FLAMENCA*

The text we call *Flamenca* – found only in MS Bibliothèque municipale de Carcassonne n. 35 – has attracted medievalists ever since its discovery by François Raynouard in the 1830s.¹

The romance's appeal does not lie exclusively in the fact that, as modern readers, we cannot know the story's ending (the manuscript has lost, amongst others, its first and last leaves) or the identity of its author.² What continues to interest audiences to this day is that the love story between the *mal-mariée* Flamenca and the young Guillaume de Nevers is built on a playful juxtaposition of sacred and profane. Indeed without this strong contrast between erotic theme and holy setting, the thirteenth-century text³ would remain in its outline quite typical: a young and learned knight, Guillaume Count of Nevers, has long engaged in the theoretical study of love, without ever experiencing it. He finally falls in love with Flamenca, a beautiful *domna* who, at the very beginning of the narrative, is given in marriage to Sir Archimbaut, a noble knight of the region. However, soon after the wedding, Archimbaut is struck by an all-consuming jealousy, which transforms him into the embodiment of the literary type of the *gilos*.⁴ He locks Flamenca in a tower with only two maidens for company, allowing her to leave it only for church and occasional visits to the town's thermal baths. Stories of her beauty and her terrible imprisonment reach Guillaume, who determines to see her. He travels to the town of Bourbon-Archimbaut, and first glimpses Flamenca in church during Sunday Mass. It is at this point, however, that the plot drastically diverges from traditional structures: because Archimbaut's jealousy knows no bounds, even during Mass Flamenca is shielded from view, confined in a wooden box. Guillaume reasons that only the cleric who holds out the Pax to her would manage to exchange with her a few words at a time without being noticed. The knight thus proceeds to feign a religious epiphany, and abandoning all lay affairs manages to secure a place as cleric to the church's priest. Thus slowly begins a flirtatious exchange of words between Guillaume and Flamenca that lasts several weeks.⁵

Guillaume:	Flamenca:	Guillaume:	Flamenca:
Hailas! (line 3953)	Que plains? (line 4348)	Mor mi. (line 4507)	De que? (line 4765)
D'amor. (line 4882)	Per cui? (line 4944)	Per vos. (line 4972)	Qu'en pucs? (line 5043)
Garir. (line 5100)	Consi? (line 5159)	Per gein. (line 5208)	Pren l'i! (line 5221)
Pres l'ai. (line 5313)	E cal? (line 5462)	Iretz. (line 5464)	Es on? (line 5469)
Als banz. (line 5471)	Cora? (line 5491)	Jorn breu. (line 5503)	Plas mi. (line 5725)

G. Alas! – F. Why are you crying? – G. I'm dying. – F. Of what? – G. Of love. – F. For whom? – G. For you. – F. What can I do? – G. Heal me. – F. How? – G. With a plan. – F. Find one. – G. I have. – F. And what is it? – G. You will go. – F. Where? – G. To the baths. – F. When? – G. Someday soon. – F. This pleases me.⁶

The two lovers will eventually meet in the town's thermal baths and consummate their adulterous love. The central portion of the text – which focuses on the future lovers' sexually charged exchanges during Mass – is studded with biblical and religious quotations, mostly uttered by the newly appointed cleric Guillaume. While the sexual undertones present in Guillaume's use of religious texts have been widely studied,⁷ the multiple literary games the anonymous author creates with biblical and liturgical references have not yet been fully explored. This is certainly due to the unfathomable richness of the romance's referencing schemes rather than the efforts of modern scholars, which have been substantial in quality and quantity, often illuminating inexplicable passages by pointing to the author's references and letting us in on the joke. This article, then, intends to insert itself in this prolific critical tradition by highlighting some as yet unrecognized religious quotations in the *Flamenca* romance, uncovering the multiple layers of humorous puns and hidden meanings within these citations. The study does not purport to be a definitive analysis of the anonymous author's intertextual skills, but rather an attempt at reconstructing a piece of a puzzle, strictly connected to the critical work that came before and will undoubtedly follow. In particular, the article aims to clarify the author's use of the antiphon *Asperges me* (based on Psalm 1.9), Psalm cxxi.7 and the hitherto unidentified *Signum salutis*, in order to create multiple correspondences between biblical characters and the romance's protagonists. Lastly, I will propose to read some of Guillaume's musings on love in light of mystical and doctrinal texts immensely popular at the time, namely Bernard's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.

Three liturgical quotations in Flamenca

It is during the course of Sunday Mass – the day after his arrival in Bourbon – that Guillaume first catches sight of the lady he has fallen in love with; in order to receive the blessing more fully, Flamenca loosens the veil covering her head, thus revealing her forehead.

Le preires dis: *Asperges me*,
 Guillem[s] s'i pres al *Domine*
 e dis lo vers tot per enter.
 An[c non] cug mais qu'e cel mostier
 fos tam ben dig; e.l preire issi
 fora del cor, e portet li
 us vilas l'aiga beneseita
 vas n'Archimbaut, [a] la ma dreita,
 per zo que l'aiga.l don avanz.

...

Le cappellas ab l'isop plou
 lo sal espars per miei lo cap
 a Flamenca, lo miels que sap,
 et ill ac fag un'obertura
 dreit per mei la pelpartitura
 per zo que meilz lo pogues penre.
 Lo cuer ac blanc e prim e tenre
 e.l cris fon bell' e resplandens.
 Le soleils fes mout qu'avinens,
 car tot dreit[t] sus, per mei aqui,
 ab un de sos rais la feri.
 Quan Guillems vi la bell'ensena
 del ric tesaur qu'Amor[s] l'ensenna,
 le cors li ri totz e l'agensa,
 e *Signum salutis* comensa.
 (lines 2473–500)

The priest said: *Asperges me*. / Guillaume caught up at the *Domine* / and sang the entire verse. / I don't believe that in that church / it was ever sung so well; and the priest went out / of the choir, and a servant brought / the holy water for him / towards sir Archimbaut, at his right / in order to bless him first. ... The chaplain with the aspersorium makes the holy water rain / over Flamenca's head, as best he can; / and she has opened her veil / right at her hairline, / so she can best receive it. Her skin was white, fine, and tender / her hair was beautiful and resplendent. / The sun was very gracious then, / because right at that moment, there on the hairline / with one of its rays it hit her directly. When Guillaume saw that beautiful sign / of the rich treasure that Love was indicating to him, / his heart laughed and rejoiced, / and so he started singing the *Signum salutis*.

The two liturgical references (*Asperges – Domine, Signum salutis*) that frame this beautifully orchestrated scene are in dialogue with one another and at the same time strongly linked to the second fundamental setting of the story, the public baths where Flamenca and Guillaume will finally meet and consummate their love. The priest thus intones: *Asperges me*, and Guillaume joins in at the *domine*, the third word of the same antiphon.⁸ This liturgical chant, based on Psalm 1.9, goes on as follows: ‘Asperges me, domine, hysopo et mundabor, lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor.’ During the Middle Ages the antiphon was sung, just as in the *Flamenca* scene, in the moment when the altar and the congregation received a blessing of holy water; it was an important part of the liturgy of penance and intimately associated with the doctrine of purification.⁹ However, in the church scene quoted above, the antiphon acquires implicit sexual undertones: As Dragonetti has highlighted, ‘c’est au lecteur qu’il appartient de relier l’espace des rencontres, l’église et les bains, sur le fond d’un chant de *l’asperges me* et d’eau bénite’.¹⁰ The author’s reference thus creates a strong intratextual link with the erotic encounters Guillaume and Flamenca enjoy later on in the romance. However, given the author’s profound biblical learning, a further investigation of the quotation’s possible uses could bring to light other, intertextual, references within this sexually charged scene. Indeed, the biblical context of Psalm 1 – from which the antiphon is extrapolated – encourages an intertextual comparison with King David’s own act of adultery. In fact, this psalm expresses the king’s repentance and confession for his sexual sin with Bathsheba. This is made plain from its superscription: ‘Victori canticum David. In finem psalmus David cum venit ad eum Nathan propheta, quando intravit ad Bethsabee.’¹¹ As II Samuel xi recounts, David had lain with the wife of Uriah the Hittite, and because the adultery could not be concealed, the king had sent Uriah to his death. It is worth noting that David had first conceived his lust for Bathsheba after having watched her bathe: ‘viditque mulierem se lavantem ex adverso super solarium suum: erat autem mulier pulchra valde ... tulit eam quæ cum ingressa esset ad illum dormivit cum ea statimque sanctificata est ab inmunditia sua’ (II Sam. xi.2–4). In a similar fashion, Guillaume’s first ecstatic vision of his beloved occurs while she is asperged: the joy that this vision of moist flesh inspires causes Guillaume to sing the *Signum salutis*. The connection between bathing and adultery, established by the use of the *Asperges me* (and its biblical context in Ps. 1 and II Samuel xi), will be further emphasized by the lovers’ sexual encounters in the thermal baths. Thus, through this liturgical reference the author draws a comparison between the romance’s protagonists and those of the biblical narrative: King David is identified with Guillaume, Bathsheba with Flamenca, and Uriah with the cuckold Archimbaut. The fact that the Psalmist functions as a model for *Flamenca*’s own adulterous cleric-poet is made explicit by another passage in the romance: Guillaume instructs the young

cleric Nicolaus on the appropriate verse to be used for the *pax*, and states that Ps. cxxi.7 – analysed in the following pages – had been chosen by David himself: ‘David[s] o dis a Salamo, / quan hac fait lo sauteri tot’ (lines 317of.). Guillaume thus becomes David to Nicolaus’ Salomon. However, while a medieval audience could have made the connection between the antiphon *Asperges me* and its biblical context in Psalm 1, it is impossible to assert with absolute certainty that the additional allusion to the Book of Samuel – and consequently Bathsheba’s bathing – would have also been plainly discernible to contemporary readers.¹² Certainly the author’s own clerical knowledge – displayed in his conscious use of the liturgical calendar – allows for such an articulated referencing scheme.¹³ Nevertheless, it is clear that the author’s use of the *Asperges me* serves both intratextual (the future bath scenes) and intertextual (Psalm 1) functions, all of which refer to the lovers’ future sexual encounters.

I now turn to the second religious quote of the passage, the *Signum salutis*, its identification, and its interpretation in the context of the scene. Exactly what liturgical text this ‘sign of salvation’ refers to is as yet uncertain. U. T. Holmes Jr had proposed to identify it with a hymn, *Laudamus te Rex Marie genite sempiternae*.¹⁴

Laudamus te Rex Marie genite sempiternae
 Cuius crux est salus nostra;
 Cuius sors est vita nostra.
 Tu victima et hosti[a] factus es, crucis ara;
 Mortis porta mor[t]e TUA per crucem est obstrusa;
 Extincta sunt venena TUO sanguine Leviathan,
 Siccata Babylon iam per TE flumina sulphurea.
 Christe Redemptor, muni famulos crucis signo;
 [Adversos fuga tuos releva et exalta]
 Novit Constantinus quid p[ro]sset crux tua, Christe Iesu,
 Novit Heraclius dum cadit Cosroe hostis tuus.
 Sensit Danubius te Deum esse verum,
 Infectus veneno serpentis teterrimo,
 Iesu, tibi sit gloria et laus.¹⁵

(We praise you o King born of Mary, in perpetuity / from your Cross is our salvation / from your fate is our life. / You are made victim and sacrifice on the altar of the Cross; / the door of death is closed by your death on the Cross. / The poisons of the Leviathan are extinguished by virtue of your blood, / already the sulphuric rivers of Babylon are dried thanks to you. / o Christ, Saviour, shield your servants with the sign of the Cross. Banish your enemies, raise and exalt the faithful. / Constantine knew the power of your Cross, Jesus Christ / and Heraclius, when Khosrow, your enemy, fell. / The Danube, infected by the horrible poison of the serpent, / felt you were the true God. / Jesus, in you may there be praise and glory.)

This identification is based on two phrases, ‘salus nostra’ in line 2, and ‘crucis signo’ in line 8, which combined are rather similar to ‘signum salutis’. The Beauvais *Troparius* has it sung on the *VI Feria post Pascha*, that is to say, the Saturday during which, according to Holmes, the church scene takes place. However, Manetti has noted that ‘la precisazione temporale del v. 2027 si riferisce agli eventi dell’arrivo a Borbon, mentre *lo matinet* (v. 2031) segna il passaggio alla domenica ... del resto, se non fosse festa Flamenca non sarebbe alla messa’.¹⁶ There is no temporal correspondence, then, to support Holmes’s already dubious claim – as the assonance of lines 2 and 8 is no longer sufficient – that the *Laudamus te Rex Marie genite sempiternae* is the text sung by Guillaume. I submit that the *Signum salutis* intoned by the protagonist corresponds to the *incipit* of a specific processional antiphon:¹⁷

Signum salutis pone domine in domibus istis
et non permittas introire angelum percutientem in
domibus in quibus habitamus
de celo pone signum tuum Domine et protege nos,
et non erit in nobis plaga nocens.¹⁸

(O Lord, place the sign of salvation on these houses / and do not allow the avenging angel to enter / in the houses which we inhabit / from the sky place your sign o lord and protect us / and we will not be wounded.)

The chant, which had been part of the Roman ritual,¹⁹ refers to the sign of salvation placed by God on the houses of the Jewish during the first Passover. It was often sung in concomitance with the use of holy water, which would thus protect all that it touched, sheltering it from evil. The *Signum salutis* can be found in a number of Occitan graduals and processions dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth century: Bibliothèque nationale de France (= BnF), Lat. 776, a monastic gradual from the Gaillac Abbey of Saint-Michel, eleventh century, at folio 139^r; BnF, Lat. 903, a monastic gradual from Saint-Yrieix Abbey, eleventh century (fol. 144^{r-v}); BnF, Lat. 780, a secular gradual from the Narbonne cathedral of SS Just et Pasteur, dated to the end of the eleventh century (107^v); Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, ms. 136, a secular processional from the Toulouse cathedral of Saint-Étienne, c.1200 (fols 62^v–63^r); Montpellier, Médiathèque centrale Émile Zola (= MOv), ms. 20, a monastic processional from Saint-Guillem-le-Desert Abbey, thirteenth century (fol. 1^r). These, along with British Library Harley MS 4951 and BnF Lat. 2819, form a cohesive group within the Aquitaine notation tradition, identified as ‘la famille meridionale’ by Gisèle Clément.²⁰ This manuscript tradition was developed within an area delimited by the county of Auvergne in the north, the counties of Foix and Barcelona in the south, and the Rhône valley in the south-east:²¹ a Rouergat cleric like *Flamenca*’s author²² would undoubtedly have adopted this specific

repertoire, 'beaucoup plus riche que celui des abbayes limousine et auvergnate lesquelles, plus fidèles à la liturgie de Cluny, conservent une liste d'antennes processionnelles réduite'.²³ It is particularly relevant that within this southern *corpus*, the *Signum salutis* is always quoted with the *Asperges me* as antiphon to be used in a variety of occasions,²⁴ and generally before and during every Sunday procession.²⁵

When considered within the church scene quoted above, the text of the *Signum salutis* acquires new levels of meaning. If the citation and its narrative context are tied through the word play between the earthly *bell'ensena* (line 2497) and the religious sign of salvation,²⁶ it is also true that the fourth line of the antiphon explicitly references the ray of sun that touches Flamenca ('*from the sky place your sign, oh Lord*') which inspires Guillaume's song. Moreover, the antiphon, which refers to Exodus xii, implicitly compares Flamenca's wooden prison to the houses of the Jewish people which were spared by God during Passover: the lady's incarceration by Archimbaut thus gains biblical proportions, transforming Guillaume into a liberating Moses.²⁷ Indeed, Ute Limacher-Riebold has already underlined the significance of this particular Mass specifically in regard to Flamenca's emancipation: the author places this scene – "le début de la libération de Flamenca" grâce à la ruse de Guillaume' – the week after Easter Sunday, in symmetry with Flamenca's "libération définitive" à l'égard de la société courtoise de Bourbon-l'Archimbaut, lors du tournoi final',²⁸ a fortnight after Easter Sunday of the following liturgical year.

Finally, it should be noted that the *Signum salutis*, amongst its other functions, was also an important part of the matrimonial rite as printed in Rodez in 1513,²⁹ among the 'prières utilisées à la maison des noces pour la chambre ou le lit' – following the *Asperges me*, which the priest sang in order to bless the nuptial bed with holy water. The *Signum salutis* was also a component of the twelfth-century Albigensian wedding rite.³⁰ Thus the antiphon can be placed even in its matrimonial use in the Occitan region. It is possible, then, that the author intended the *Signum salutis* to recall the *benedictio thalami*: if this is the case, the audience would be reminded of the sexual relationship consummated in the thermal baths by the two lovers on a bed that – while just as wet – is certainly far from nuptial. What is more, in this light, the 'angelum percutientem' which guards the Jewish houses – 'allusion à l'ange exterminateur d'Exode 12, et peut-être en filigrane au démon Asmodée qui tuait les époux de Sara, fille de Raguel'³¹ – could be referencing the 'enemy' (line 2424), the 'fers aversiers' (line 2443). 'diabol' (line 3898) Archimbaut³² whose deranged jealousy is very close to that of the demon Asmodeus for Sarah. While *Flamenca's* textual community may or may not have had in mind the contemporary wedding rite, it certainly would have recognized the *Signum salutis* as the processional chant quoted above.

A final liturgical reference – Psalm cxxi.7 – appears after the Sunday Mass

episode. Guillaume needs to be sure he knows the exact place in the text that Flamenca when the Pax salutation is offered, in order for him to kiss it too and thus take part in a textually mediated erotic exchange. To garner this particular bit of information, he pretends to educate the cleric Nicolaus (who will later be sent away by Guillaume in order to take his place):

e dis: 'Amix, e.us mostr[ar]ai
 on dones pas quan m'en irai,
 quar per mi debes mellurar;
 e tot'ora la debes dar
 en *fiat pax in virtute ...*'
 (lines 3163–7)

(And he said: 'friend, I will show you | where to give the *pax* even after I am gone
 | because you should better yourself with my counsel, | from now on you should
 give it | *at fiat pax in virtute ...*')

The various layers of irony uncovered by critics around the use of the Psalm *Fiat pax in virtute* have focused on the single word *pax*. Damon states, for example, that 'puns on the liturgical phrase *donner la paix*, "to offer the Pax", were a commonplace of medieval French *sermo amatorius*. ... The psalmist's view that peace is to be found in righteousness keeps rubbing, in a variety of ways, against Guillaume's efforts to find it in the love of women.³³ Nonetheless, I believe that other layers of meaning may be revealed if Psalm cxxi.7 is considered in its entirety: indeed if peace (intended as the erotic exchange of an *osculum pacis*) is to be found in virtue (and it should be noted that the supreme *virtus* is virginity), abundance is to be found in towers ('et abundantia in turribus tuis': so continues the psalm), much like the one that imprisons Flamenca.

... 'Amors, Amors!
 S'em breu no.m faitz vostre socors
 No.m poires [a] longas socorre:
 Mon cor ai lai en cella torre
 E, si.l cors vos non lai metes,
 sapïas que perdut m'aves.'
 (lines 2691–6)

(... Love, Love! / If you won't soon save me, / there won't be anything left to save
 / my heart is in that tower / and if you do not bring my body there also / you
 should know that you will have lost me.)

The tower of Bourbon holds Guillaume's heart – and hopefully it will soon host his body as well. While the protagonist receives a textually mediated kiss through Psalm cxxi.7, only an unlimited access to the tower will grant him the full enjoyment of the riches it holds within. The citation of cxxi.7, considered as a whole, would have undoubtedly reminded the reader of the scene which

takes place the night before this particular Mass: Guillaume, obsessed by the tower which he believes to be ‘dedins pur’ e clara’,³⁴ faints. ‘Amor’ then transports his spirit within the stronghold, where he is able to enjoy Flamenca’s body ‘en visio’ (line 2159).

Thus all three liturgical quotations – the *Asperges me*, the *Signum salutis*, and *Fiat pax in virtute* – not only refer more or less explicitly to the sexual consummation of Guillaume’s love, but they also set up strong inter- and intratextual ties with other *loci* of the romance, or with related biblical passages: they may reference famed adulterers (*Asperges me*), or re-write Flamenca’s rescue in biblical terms (*Signum salutis*) or even allude to Guillaume’s previous nightly visions (*Fiat pax in virtute*).

Mystical and theological references in Guillaume’s soliloquies

In the course of the narrative, other – extra-liturgical – religious elements are employed, albeit less explicitly. Guillaume’s enamoured state, for example, is often described in curiously mystical terms; and his reflections on the nature of love acquire doctrinal components which are used to declare the superiority of erotic love over any other. On the one hand, the use of theological elements *per se* is not surprising: in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Provençal literature will produce a series of texts – Daude de Pradas’s *Les Quatre Vertus cardinales*, Mafre Ermengau’s *Breviari d’Amor*, the *Leys d’Amors*³⁵ – which copiously borrow from current doctrine to uphold their views. On the other, it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that these texts harbour declaredly moralistic – if not explicitly pious – aims, condemning carnal love or at least relegating it to the lowest spheres of *Amors*. It is striking, then, that *Flamenca*’s author employs theological and mystical elements in service of the protagonists’ adulterous love. The scene that describes Guillaume’s second vision is particularly relevant for an analysis of the author’s use of religious language and its specific purpose. The innkeeper who is accompanying Guillaume has noticed that his guest, sitting under a flowering apple tree, has become extremely pale. He wishes that God may give him health and allow all his desires to come true. Guillaume, however, can no longer hear him:

Guillems entent al rossinol
 e non au ren que l’ostes prega.
 Vers [es] qu’Amors homen encega
 e l’auzir e.l parlar li tol,
 e.l fai tener adonc per fol,
 cant aver cuja plus de sen.
 Guillems non aus ni ves ni sen,
 ni.ls oils non mou, ni ma ni boca:

una douzor[s] al cor lo tocha
 que.l canz del rossinol l'adus
 per qu'estai cecs e sortz e mutz;
 et aisi.l clau tota l'aurella
 cil douzors que.l cor li reveilla
 ques outra res no.i pot intrar,
 ans coven que per joi menar
 cascus dels sens al cor repaire;
 car le cors es seners e paire,
 e per so, cant ha mal ni be,
 cascus dels sens a lui s'en ve
 per saber tost sa voluntat;
 e, quan son laïns ajostat,
 om es defors totz escurzitz
 et estai quais esbalauzitz;
 ...
 E tut li sen an tal usage
 que, se l'us formis so message,
 l'autre de re non s'entremeta,
 mais tota s'ententio meta
 a lui aidar et a sservir,
 si que tut aion un consir;
 (lines 2346–80)

(Guillaume listens to the nightingale, / and hears nothing the host is saying. / It is true that love blinds man / and takes his power of speech and hearing / and makes him look like a fool / when he himself thinks he's being most intelligent. / Guillaume does not hear, see nor feel / he doesn't move an eye, nor a hand or mouth: / a sweetness touches his heart / brought by the song of the nightingale. / For this reason he is blind, deaf and mute; / thus his ears are completely full / from that sweetness that awakens his heart, / so that nothing else can enter, / rather, all the other senses, in order to share in the joy, / must rush to the heart / because the heart is lord and father, and thus, when one feels bad or good, / all the senses come to him / to know his will immediately; / and when someone's senses are all reunited in the heart / that person outwardly will look darkened / and almost bewildered; ... and all the senses have the custom / that when one of them brings his message / the others don't bother with anything but / helping him and serving him / so that all of them have one purpose.)

While, at first glance, the description of Guillaume's altered state of mind – caused by love and the nightingale's song – seems to be an expansion of the troubadour theme of *immoderata cogitatio*, the author's precise account of the role played by the outer senses points rather to those twelfth-century pious doctrinal texts which focused on mystical *alienatio*. Indeed, the relationship between the five senses and alienation within this passage is the same as that which regulates

homo interior and *homo exterior* as formulated by Augustine and, in the twelfth century, the Victorines.³⁶ The sound of the nightingale touches Guillaume's heart through hearing – one of the noblest senses – inducing in him a state of trance. This operation naturally causes the external absence of all five senses. An *esbaudimen* analogous to that described in *Flamenca* can be found in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*:

Sed attende in spirituali matrimonio duo esse genera pariendi, et ex hoc etiam diversas soboles, sed non adversas, cum sanctae matres aut praedicando, animas, aut meditando, intelligentias pariunt spirituales. In hoc ultimo genere interdum exceditur et seceditur etiam a corporeis sensibus, ut sese non sentiat quae Verbum sentit. Hoc fit, cum mens ineffabili Verbi illecta dulcedine, quodammodo se sibi furatur, immo rapitur atque elabitur a seipsa, ut Verbo fruatur.³⁷

(But note that in a spiritual marriage there are two types of birth, and therefore two different – yet not opposing – types of offspring, for the holy mothers produce either spiritual souls by preaching, or spiritual intellects by meditating. With the latter type the intellect can sometimes go out of itself and become separated from the corporeal senses, because the mind has no awareness of itself once it becomes aware of the Word. This happens when the mind, enticed by the ineffable sweetness of the Word, is somehow stolen from itself, or rather it is enraptured and escapes from itself in order to enjoy the Word.)

This passage also features another important keyword of mystical *delectatio*: sweetness.³⁸ The *dulcedo* of Bernard's writings equates to the *doussor* in Provençal poetry which is so important for Guillaume's mental alienation and for Bernart de Ventadorn's *lauzeta*.³⁹ Indeed, two different *loci* in the romance clearly illustrate the author's awareness of the strong theological connotations of *doussor*. After Flamenca's first response (*que plains?*) Guillaume's ears are praised by his eyes because of the great bounty they have received:

Cascuna [Domnas aurellas] deu esser curosa
 D'aicella vos bonaürosa
 Que tot cor reuens et adousa:
 manna del cel non es tan douza
 que cai plus suau que rosada.
 (lines 4391–5)

(both of you, Lady Ear, should long for / that voice which brings happiness / that cheers up and sweetens the whole heart: / it is sweeter than the manna from heaven / which gently falls like dew.)

Later on in the text, it is Flamenca's sense of taste that is affected by *doussor*. Filled with the memory of Guillaume's *dous esgartz* (line 6095) she no longer feels the need to eat:

... Una dousor
 Tan saboros' al cor mi mena
 Que.m replenis mielz e m'abena
 Que non fes li mana de cel
 El desert los fils d'Israel.
 (lines 6096–100)

(A sweetness / so flavourful is brought to my heart / that I am more satiated and filled by it / than the sons of Israel were by the manna from heaven.)

The author thus twice compares the lovers' *doussor* to the sweetness of the biblical *manna*, while at the same time irrevocably declaring the former's superiority.⁴⁰ The lines cited above demonstrate the author's conscious use of the ambiguity intrinsic in the concept of *doussor*, which can equally grow in one's heart through the sensory memory of a lover or through the spiritual nourishment of celestial knowledge.⁴¹ Correspondingly, the ambiguous status of Guillaume's rapture – caused by carnal love, but similar in its effects to a mystical *visio* – is confirmed when one compares the passage to descriptions of *alienatio* in explicitly religious texts.⁴² The frequent *raubimens* of the beguine Doucelina, for example, closely echo Guillaume's. Like the Count of Nevers, the saint is also deeply affected by the *doussor* of birdsong:

Si auzis alcun son que li fossa devot, o li dones plazer, tantost era tirada az aquell raubiment; que non podia sufrir nulla doussor de son, ni a penas nulh cant, pas lo cant dels aucels, qu'illi non fos raubida. Una ves, illi auzi cantar una passera solitaria, e dis a sas companhieras: 'can solitari cant a aquest aucell!' E apres, de mantenent e ill estet raubida, que tantost fon en Dieu tirada al cant d'aquell aucell.⁴³
 (If she heard any sound that aroused her fervour or that gave her pleasure, she would immediately be enraptured; in fact she could not suffer any sweet sound, barely any singing, not even of birds, without going into an ecstatic state. Once, she heard a solitary sparrow singing and she said to her companions: 'what a lonely song that bird has!' and then immediately she was enraptured, drawn to God by the song of that bird.)

Doucelina's *raubimen* has the same consequences on her senses as Guillaume's, as she 'sentent en aquel estament sobrehuman sentiment, non conoissia, ni sentia ren c'on li fezes entorn'.⁴⁴ The many practical tests performed by nuns and laymen alike, whose aim is to verify this *mentis alienatio*, constitute the more macabre scenes of the *Vida*: beatings, burnings, wounds, and cuts performed on the saint's body by the suspicious public are scrupulously described throughout the text. *Flamenca's* author refers his readers to the same type of physical tests that the beguine had been subjected to:

e per cesta rason s'ave
 qui pessa fort que meinz ne ve,

men[s] sens e men[s] parla et au;
 e ja no.l toc hom trop suau,
 cel colp non sentira negeis:
 zo ve chascus per si meteis.
 (lines 2381–6)

(And for this reason it happens that / one who is lost in contemplation sees less,
 / feels less and speaks and hears less / and even if someone were to indelicately
 touch him, / he wouldn't feel the blow: / anyone can verify this by his experience.)

It is precisely this authorial comment immediately following this mock doctrinal discussion on the senses which fully reveals how playfully Guillaume's *visio* is described. The reader is encouraged to verify the veracity of Guillaume's ecstasy through his own experience; he is almost invited to imagine a saintly Guillaume beaten during his semi-conscious longing. However, the second of Guillaume's visions is not the passage which most echoes theological thought in *Flamenca*, and it is not here that Guillaume's words move dangerously close to those used by twelfth-century Cistercians and Victorines. Indeed, the sophisticated narrative structure that describes the lovers' slow verbal exchange alternates the church scenes with long ruminations by the protagonists on the nature of love. While *Flamenca* can always enjoy the input of her maidens, Guillaume on the other hand is determined to be left to his own devices.

Having thus said 'Mormi' to *Flamenca* during the day's Mass, the knight turned cleric abandons himself to his musings, spurning all company, 'car sols si ten per solassatz, / et ab solatz per asolatz, / e per meins sols adonc si te / on mais ha de solatz ab se' (lines 4597–600). His thoughts turn to the nature of mercy ('merces'):

Autrui mals et autrui miseria
 es de merce caps e materia:
 si per dolor ques autre sen
 pietatz e mon cor descen,
 que debonairitat[z] y mena
 per una sotileta vena,
 so es de merce la radis.
 Si poissas mi fai tan ni.m dis
 sil pietatz que bo.m saupes
 sos guerirs, s'aver lo pogues,
 aisso es de merce la flors.
 Pois s'en mou tant qu'il fai secors
 senes fenchas e senes cuitz,
 aisso es de merce sos fruitz;
 et es florida e granada
 et em bona rasis fe[r]mada,

car ab si mena caritat
 per cui tut ben son coronat.
 (lines 4627–44)

(The misfortune and misery of others / is the source and matter of mercy: / if, because of someone else's pain, / pity falls in my heart / brought there by good will / through a thin vein, / this is of mercy the root. / If this pity does and says so much / that I wish that person to be healed, if it is possible, / this is of mercy the flower. / When it moves to bring help, / without spontaneously and without hesitations, / this is of mercy the fruit, / which has flowered, born fruit, / and grown on solid roots / because it brings with it charity, / which crowns all good.)

Paul Olson juxtaposed this passage to Mafre Ermengau's *Breviari d'Amor*, a text entirely structured upon a symbolical tree of love whose pious values are overturned by Guillaume's praise of carnal love in the following lines.⁴⁵ It is important to note, however, that the newly tonsured cleric is not discussing love in all its earthly and celestial forms but rather is meditating upon the specific feeling of mercy for one's neighbour. While the *Breviari* does indeed dedicate one of its branches to the 'amor de proyme', it never explores the element of sympathy for others which is central to Guillaume's reflection. The theme of *compassio*, however, is thoroughly analysed in Bernard's *Sermons*, notably through the same botanic metaphor present in *Flamenca*:

Etenim si peccanti homini homo peccator minime indignatur, sed magis quasi quemdam ei suavissimi balsami rorem sudans, pium exhibet compassionis affectum, hoc scimus unde venit, et iam audistis, sed non advertistis forsan. Dictum namque est quod ex consideratione suiipsius cuique veniat mansuetum esse ad omnes, dum homo, consilio sapientissimi Pauli, ut pie condescendere sciat praeoccupatis in peccato, considerat seipsum, ne et ipse tentetur. Annon hinc denique amor proximi radicem trahit, de quo in lege mandatur: DILIGES PROXIMUM TUUM SICUT TE IPSUM? Ex intimis sane humanis affectibus primordia ducit sui ortus fraterna dilectio, et de insita homini ad seipsum naturali quadam dulcedine, tanquam de humore terreno, sumit procul dubio vegetationem et vim, per quam, spirante quidem gratia desuper, fructus parturit pietatis, ut quod sibi anima naturaliter appetit, naturae consorti, id est alteri homini, jure quodam humanitatis, ubi poterit et oportuerit, non existimet denegandum, sed sponte ac libens impertiat.⁴⁶

(If then, a sinner is not at all outraged by someone who sins, but rather, as if exuding the dew of the sweetest balm for him, offers him the gentle sentiment of compassion, we know where this comes from: indeed you have already heard it, even if you have not realized it. It has been said, in fact, that by means of introspection every man can respond with kindness to all, as long as, following the advice of wise St Paul that one should be forbearing to those who are enmeshed in sin, he scrutinizes himself, lest he himself fall into temptation. Or is it not the case that love for thy neighbour has its roots in what is said in the law: LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THEYSELF? This primordial fraternal love certainly originates

in the depths of human affection and undoubtedly draws its vigour and power from a certain sweetness that is innate in man and natural to him, as if from the humidity of the earth. From this, inspired by grace from above, it bears the fruit of divine mercy, so that by virtue of a common humanity the soul does not wish to see what it desires for itself denied to others that share its nature – that is other humans – wherever this is opportune and possible. It grants it willingly and freely.)

As with Guillaume's tree, Bernard identifies the origin of piety as human compassion for the evil which affects others. This compassion, which in *Flamenca* descends into Guillaume's heart, flowing like a liquid through a 'sootileta vena', is compared in Bernard's text to 'dew of the sweetest balm', and it bears fruit: fraternal love, offered to others spontaneously and joyfully (in *Flamenca*: 'secors senes fenchas e senes cuitz'). However, Guillaume's philosophical reflections – so similar to St Bernard's words – are abruptly interrupted, discredited, and finally dismissed:

E quan val cesta sotillanza?
 Qu'ieu vei per eissa ma proansa
 que merces non val ses amor.
 D'amor ha hom cella douzor
 que.s dol per la do[lo]r d'autrui.
 (lines 4645–9)

(And what's the point of this subtle reasoning? / because I can see with my own experience / that mercy is worth nothing without love. / From love man receives that sweetness / that makes him suffer for another's suffering.)

D'amor ven merces e comensa,
 d'amor pren merces la creissensa
 qui la fai esser tan humana,
 e ses amor merces non grana.
 (lines 4661–4)

(Mercy starts and originates in love, / from love mercy gains that increase / that makes it so human, / and without love, mercy does not bear fruit.)

It is thus made abundantly clear that this love is entirely different from pious *caritas*, which had already appeared in Guillaume's tree allegory: 'car ab si mena caritat / per cui tut ben son coronat' (lines 4643f.). Guillaume abandons the ephemeral subtleties ('sotillanza') of the tree of mercy for the more solid reality of love, as his own experience proves: the frail tree does not depend on *caritas*, as Bernard maintained, but on that very feeling that caused the protagonist to pose as a cleric.⁴⁷ The whole passage becomes that much more ironic if we consider the garb in which Guillaume is dressed as he speaks:

El borc s'en van per far la capa;
 li donzel dizon: 'si escapa,

monsener bem bos hom sera;
 jamais en cort non estara.
 Ben semblara morgues novels
 de Chardossa o de Sistels
 s'agues los draps aras vestitz.⁷
 (lines 3695–700)

(They go towards the town to have the cope made, / The squires say: If he escapes
 (from his sickness), / our master will surely be a perfect man, / he will never go
 back to court. / He will surely look like a new monk / from the Charterhouse or
 from Cîteux / if he will go around in these clothes.)

Guillaume thus enunciates his speeches in favour of carnal love – and against the value of *caritas* – dressed as a Cistercian or Carthusian monk. The striking image would not have escaped the romance's more attentive readers, who would have also instantly recognized the term 'bos hom' in the passage above as a reference to the Cathar heresy.⁴⁸ Political innuendoes add to the irony of the scene if one considers Bernard's role as one of the principal instigators of the Albigensian Crusade, and Guillaume de Nevers's name, which is borrowed from a well-known Cathar polemicist of the thirteenth century.⁴⁹

Thus, whilst recounting a story of seduction, the central section of the romance playfully stages all aspects of religious fervour, from chant to rapture. The impression Guillaume de Nevers leaves is that of a humorously heterodox lover: through the character of the cleric-impostor the author is able to explore multiple and refined levels of irony which re-elaborate psalms and antiphons alike in order to create an amusing 'liturgy of love'. Even mystical theology⁵⁰ – which, a century earlier, had indelibly changed the face of Provence through Bernard's preaching⁵¹ – is involved in this complicated literary game. However, it is up to the reader to deconstruct the text, to unlock the intertextuality that lies beneath, and finally get in on the joke. Through the composite system of quotations described in this article *Flamenca* invites its readership to smile both at the excessively erotic undertones of mystical writing and – without a doubt – the overly rarefied and idealized language of troubadour love songs. The presence of these opposing elements in both genres must have been noted and strongly felt by contemporary audiences⁵² to allow the light-heartedness with which the romance's author disposes of religious language in order to create new and whimsically erotic meaning.

NOTES

¹ François Raynouard, 'Notice de Flamenca, poëme provençal, manuscrit de la Bibliothèque municipale de Carcassonne n. 681', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XIII, 2e partie (Paris, 1835–8), pp. 80–132. The question of the text's title has been debated for years: Alberto Limentani had suggested *Las novas di Guglielm di Nevers* (see *Las novas de Guillem de Nivers [Flamenca]*, ed. Alberto Limentani, (Padua, 1965)). The very label of 'romance' has been subject to debate: see Jean-Charles Huchet, "'Jaufré" et "Flamenca": novas ou romans?' *Revue des langues romanes*, 96 (1992), 275–300, Ute Limacher-Riebold, *Entre 'novas' et 'romans': pour l'interprétation de 'Flamenca'* (Alessandria, 1997), Limentani, *Las novas*, note on pp. VII–VIII, and most recently the introduction to *Flamenca: texte édité d'après le manuscrit unique de Carcassonne*, ed. François Zufferey and trans. Valerie Fasseur (Paris, 2014), pp. 80–91. The edition of the text referenced here is *Flamenca. Romanzo Occitano del XIII secolo*, ed. Roberta Manetti (Modena, 2008). For an English translation, see *The Romance of Flamenca*, ed. and trans. E. D. Blodgett (New York, 1995).

² Given the literary consciousness of *Flamenca's* author it is quite plausible that he would have named himself at the beginning or end of the romance. François Zufferey, in his recent edition, stated: 'Il n'y a aucun doute possible: l'auteur de *Flamenca* était un Rouergat' (Zufferey and Fasseur, *Flamenca*, p. 106). On the basis of lines 1724–38, scholars agree that the author was familiar with the court of Alga and its lords, the Roquefeuil-Anduze (see for example Manetti, *Flamenca*, pp. 35–7). These verses also mention an *En Bernardet*, who had been supposedly ill-treated by the family, but who cannot be identified with any degree of certainty as the text's author. Jean-Pierre Chambon has recently sustained on stylistic grounds that the author is the troubadour Daude de Pradas ('Un auteur pour *Flamenca*?' *Cultura Neolatina*, 75 (2015), 229–71). Daude was indeed a Rouergat and had dedicated one of his lyrics to 'dos fraires de Rocafueil' (PC 124.1). He had also sent his *planh* for the death of Uc Brunenc (PC 124.4) to another member of the same aristocratic family. In addition, his role as canon of Rodez and *magister* of the Faculty of Arts at Montpellier would have given him the clerical and literary education that the author of *Flamenca* displays throughout the text. On Daude de Pradas, see Silvio Melani, *Per sen de trobar: l'opera lirica di Daude de Pradas* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 9–16; Gerardo Larghi, 'Daude de Pradas trovatore, canonico e maestro (... 1191–1242 ...)', *Cultura Neolatina*, 71 (2011), 23–54. Note that PC = Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle, 1933).

³ See Charles Révillout, 'De la date possible du roman de "Flamenca"', *Revue des langues romanes*, 8 (1875), 5–18. Comparing the text's precise use of the liturgical calendar, Révillout identified three possible years for *Flamenca's* internal action: 1139, 1223, and 1234. Manetti and Zufferey–Fasseur argue for the third option, while Jean-Pierre Chambon and Colette Vialle have highlighted textual elements which point to 1223: 'Pour le commentaire de *Flamenca* (III): nouvelles propositions concernant le cadre chronologique', *Revue des langues romanes*, 114 (2010), 155–77. However, the identification of the liturgical calendar can only aid in identifying the romance's internal chronology. While the romance's action should be placed in one of these three years, the text itself may have been composed years after – if not before – the one selected by the author for his narrative. The *terminus ante quem* is

the dating of ms. Carcassonne n. 35, which was compiled c.1300; the date of *Flamenca* is placed by Manetti in the middle of the thirteenth century, while Zufferey–Fasseur point to a date after 1287.

⁴ A common figure in Occitan lyric, the topos of the *gilos* is also explored by Raimon Vidal in his *Castia Gilos* and in the *Novas del Papagay*. For Archimbaut's jealousy, see Marie-Françoise Notz, 'Le Personnage d'Archimbaut: fiction et poésie', *Revue des langues romanes*, 92 (1988), 77–89; Dominique Luce-Dudemaine, *Flamenca et les novas à triangle amoureux: contestation et renouveau de la fin'amor* (Montpellier, 2007); John Moreau, 'The perversion of time: jealousy and lyric in the *Romance of Flamenca*', *The Modern Language Review*, 104 (2009), 41–54.

⁵ The words exchanged by the future lovers are a quotation from troubadour Peire Roger's song *Ges no posc en bo vers faillir* (PC 356,4). The intertextuality was first noted by Karl Appel (see *Das Leben und die Lieder des Trobadors Peire Rogier* (Berlin, 1882), p. 14 n. 3), while Santorre Debenedetti highlighted an additional echo of Giraut de Bornelh (*Ailas, com mor! Que as, amis*, PC 242,3). These troubadour quotations are discussed in Charles Huchet, *L'Étreinte des mots: Flamenca, entre poésie e roman* (Caen, 1993), pp. 73–80; and Jean Michel Caluwe, 'Flamenca et l'enjeu lyrique: la médiation de Jaufre Rudel et de Peire Rogier', in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations, et intertextualite*, vol. 3 (Montpellier, 1992), 837–53. See also René Nelli, 'Le Roman de Flamenca: un art d'aimer occitanien du XIIIe siècle' (Montpellier, 1966), re-published (Béziers, 1989), pp. 85–128; Alberto Limentani 'Il poeta di "Flamenca" e la sua cultura', in *Lecezione narrativa: la Provenza medievale e l'arte del racconto* (Turin, 1977), pp. 242–84.

⁶ The translations from Occitan and Latin are mine.

⁷ The work – among others – of Philip Damon, 'Courtesy and comedy in *Le Roman de Flamenca*', *Romance Philology*, 17 (1963–4), 608–15; Roger Dragonetti, *Le Gai savoir dans la rhétorique courtoise: Flamenca et Joufroi de Poitiers* (Paris, 1982); Thomas D. Hill, 'A note on *Flamenca*, line 2294', *Romance Notes*, 7 (1965), 80–2; Jean-Charles Huchet, 'De *Dilexi quoniam* à *Ailas!* Que plans? De la citation à l'intertexte dans *Flamenca*', in *Contacts de langues, de civilisations, et intertextualite*, vol. 3 (Montpellier, 1992), and *L'Étreinte des mots*; Rita Lejeune, 'Le Calendrier du *Roman de Flamenca*: contribution à l'étude des mentalités médiévales occitanes', in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, de linguistique et de philologie romanes offerts à Charles Rostaing par ses collègues* (Liège, 1974), II, 585–618 and reprinted in *Littérature et société occitane au Moyen Âge* (Liège, 1979), pp. 355–78; Ute Limacher-Riebold, 'L'Importance du Calendrier dans *Flamenca*', in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño, Series International Medieval Research 9 (Turnhout, 2003) pp. 109–26; Paul Olson, 'Le Roman de Flamenca: history and literary convention', *Studies in Philology*, 55 (1958), 7–23; Tilde Sankovitch, 'Religious and erotic elements in *Flamenca*: the uneasy alliance', *Romance Philology*, 35 (1981), 217–23; Bettina von der Forst, *Eros im sakralen Raum: zur Interdependenz von Raumdiskurs und Liebesemantik*, Romanische Literaturen und Kulturen 1 (Bamberg, 2008) are a few of the fundamental critical texts that have endeavoured to uncover *Flamenca*'s multiple plays on religious and biblical texts.

⁸ Manetti and Zufferey–Fasseur identify the 'domine' as the incipit of Psalm 117: 'Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam'. However, as Professor Nigel Palmer has kindly pointed out to me, the word 'domine' is part of the *Asperges me* in its

antiphonal, rather than psalmodic, form. The Lavaud–Nelli edition quotes the antiphon rather than the psalm but does not specify its source. See *Les Troubadours: Jaufré, Flamenca, Barlaam et Josaphat*, ed. René Lavaud and René Nelli (Paris, 1960), p. 772. The antiphon is catalogued in the *Corpus Antiphonarum Officii* (CAO) as number 1494. See Prévost Hesbert, René-Jean Hesbert, and Rénatus Prévost, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior* (Rome, 1963–79). In the CANTUS index: Cantus ID 001494. (<http://cantusindex.org/>).

⁹ In *Purgatorio* XXXI, when Dante, after his confession, is finally able to drink from Lethe (and thus abandon Purgatory for Paradise), he hears the *Asperges me*: ‘Quando fui presso a la beata riva / ‘Asperges me’ sì dolcemente udissi / che nol so rimembrar, non ch’io lo scriva’, lines 97f. See *Commedia. Purgatorio*, ed. Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi, Series: Meridiani (Milan, 1994).

¹⁰ Dragonetti, *Le Gai savoir*, p. 107.

¹¹ The Psalms and other biblical passages are quoted from *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatum versionem*, Bonifatio Fischer et al., recensuit et brevi apparatu instruxit Robertus Weber (Stuttgart, 1983). While superscriptions (the short introductory verses at the beginning of psalms) were generally not included in medieval liturgy and were replaced by *tituli* in the early and High Middle Ages, they do reappear in the biblical psalters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: cf. Eyal Poleg, *Approaching the Bible in Medieval England* (Manchester, 2013), pp. 134–42 and the appendix, pp. 213–21. Moreover, I have traced four liturgical psalters composed in the Occitan area which do indeed contain superscriptions, suggesting that the situation in Languedoc might be quite different from that of northern France and England. See British Library, Harley MS 2928 dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century or the first quarter of the twelfth century (fol. 42^r for Ps. 1); Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 45, eleventh century (fol. 52^r); Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 144, second half of the fourteenth century (46^r); Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 79, twelfth and thirteenth centuries (38^r). Cf. Chanoine Victor Leroquais, *Les Psautiers, manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols (Mâcon, 1940–1), I, 4f., 201f. and II, 223–6.

¹² Although it is important to note that the common iconography for the Penitential Psalms in Books of Hours was of Bathsheba bathing. I would like to thank Eyal Poleg for this observation.

¹³ For this point, see Rita Lejeune, ‘Le Calendrier’: the study shows how the separate feasts referenced by the author (for example the Ascension, St Barnabas, St Peter in Chains) are specifically related to each corresponding line of dialogue exchanged by the two protagonists.

¹⁴ Cf. Urban T. Holmes Jr, ‘Three notes on the *Flamenca*’, in *Classical Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman* (Rome, 1964), pp. 85–92. The trope is number 197 in the *Analecta Liturgica, Pars II, Thesaurus hymnologicus* (Bruges, 1888), I, 301f.

¹⁵ I have emended the text as quoted by Holmes Jr by following the *Missale Belvacense* of 1514 (cf. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Belvacensis peroptime ordinatum ac diligenti cura castigatum cum additione plurium missarum. Missale ad consuetudinem ecclesiae Belvacensis*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, B-27751, printed in Rouen by Martinus Morin and quoted in USARIUM, ‘The Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period’, <http://usarium.elte.hu>). The sequence is numbered ah09030 in the CANTUS index.

¹⁶ *Flamenca*, p. 215.

¹⁷ *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 3 vols Studi e Testi (Rome, 1963–72) (= PRG), I, 122, n° XXXVI 2. The antiphon is numbered a01526a in the CANTUS index.

¹⁸ The text referenced here is that found in Biblioteca nacional de Madrid, Ms 136, edited by Mique S. Gros, ‘El processoner de la cathedral de Tolosa de LLeuguadoc’, in *Miscellanica liturgica hispanica IV* (Barcelona, 1990), pp. 127–83 (p. 164). The graduals and processions from the Occitan region described below quote this version; there is also another which varies in the last two verses: ‘ponam signum meum dicit dominus / et protegam vos et non erit in vobis plaga nocens’. Cf. Giacomo Baroffio’s *Corpus Antiphonarum Italicum -Textus* (CAIT): <http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/index.htm>, for this variant and its witnesses.

¹⁹ See Geneva, Biblioteca Bodmeriana C 74, composed in St. Cecilia in Trastevere in 1071, at fol. 126^v.

²⁰ Gisèle Clément, *Le Processionnal en Aquitaine, IXe–XIIIe siècle: genèse d’un livre et d’un répertoire* (Paris, 2017), pp. 193–209.

²¹ Clément, *Le Processionnal*, p. 197.

²² See note 2.

²³ Clément, *Le Processionnal*, p. 201.

²⁴ BnF, Lat. 776: quoted as ‘antiphone aestat[is] tempor[e]’; BnF, lat. 903: ‘ab octava pentecostes usque ad adventu domini’; BnF lat. 780: ‘in salis aspersione’; BnM ms. 136: ‘dominica ia qua cantatur responsoria «deus omnium»’ (the first of the series of the *Responsoria de Libro Regum*, which was sung before the reading of the Book of Kings) with the additional note: ‘Antiphona in coro’; MOv ms. 20: ‘ad aquam spargendam’.

²⁵ Clément, *Le Processionnal*, p. 66. See also p. 71, and the book’s CD-ROM, where both the *Signum salutis* and the *Asperges me* appear in manuscript context.

²⁶ See Lavaud-Nelli, *Les Troubadours*, p. 772, and Bettina von der Forst, *Eros im sakralen Raum. Zur Interdependenz von Raumdiskurs und Liebessemantik* (Bamberg, 2008), pp. 43f.

²⁷ On the theme of liberation in *Flamenca* see Zufferey–Fasseur, *Flamenca*, pp. 75f.

²⁸ Ute Limacher-Riebold, ‘L’Importance du Calendrier dans *Flamenca*’, p. 114.

²⁹ Molin and Mutembe, *Le Rituel*, p. 326.

³⁰ ‘Auch et Rodez (notre *Ordo XVI bis*) ont gardé la vielle antienne rencontrée à Albi au XII siècle’, Molin and Mutembe, *Le Rituel*, p. 260. The manuscript from the Albi cathedral is Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 3, fols 38^v–43. The *Signum salutis* is the first of the ‘Ad visitandos nubentes’, as an antiphon to be sung ‘in ingressu domus’. However, here it is not accompanied by the *Asperges me*.

³¹ Molin and Mutembe, *Le Rituel*, p. 260: the story of Sarah and Asmodeus (demon of conjugal discord) is found in the Book of Tobias iii.

³² Cf. *Flamenca*, p. 212 note 2424: ‘Archimbaut è ormai tut’uno col diavolo ... il nemico per antonomasia (come explicitato nel paragone buffonesco dei vv. 3998–3999 [possible oversight of the editor, one must read lines 3898f.]), come il *gilos* dell’alba *Reis glorios* di G[iraut de] Born[eil].’

³³ Damon, ‘Courtesy and comedy’, p. 610. Damon also notes Machaut’s use of the pun of the *osculum pacis* in his *Voir Dit*: ‘Quant on dist Agnus Dei / Foy que je doy à Saint Crepais / Doucement me donna la pais / Entre deux pieters du moustier.’

³⁴ Line 2133. On Flamenca's tower, see also Imre Gábor Majorossy, *Ab me trobaras Mercé. Christentum und Anthropologie in drei mittelalterlichen okzitanischen Romanen* (Berlin, 2012), pp. 152–7; Isabel de Riquer, “la tors es grans e fortz le murs” (v. 1304), *Revue des langues romanes*, 92 (1988), 91–104.

³⁵ The doctrine and religious sources of the *Breviari* and the *Leys* are analysed in Imre Gábor Majorossy, *Amors es bona voluntatz; chapitres de la mystique de la poésie des troubadours* (Budapest, 2006), pp. 144–204.

³⁶ For Augustine see *Confessions* 10.6; and Paul-Ludwig Landsberg, ‘Les Sens spirituels chez Saint Augustin’, *Dieu Vivant*, 11 (1948), 81–105; and Patricia Dailey, *Promised Bodies: Time, Language, and Corporeality in Medieval Women's Mystical Texts* (New York, 2013), pp. 27–61 for an analysis of Augustinian influence in medieval mysticism. For the Victorines, see Ritva Palmén, ‘The experience of beauty: Hugh and Richard of St Victor on natural theology’, *Journal of Analytic Theology*, 4 (2016), 234–53.

³⁷ Sermon LXXXV, IV. 13, *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*. Bernard's writings are quoted from vol. V of *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, Charles H. Talbot, and Henri Rochais (Rome, 1957–77). On the role of the senses in Bernard's works, see Gordon Rudy, *Mystical Language of Sensation in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 2002), pp. 45–65.

³⁸ Mystical reflections on sweetness, especially for Bernard, are prompted by Ps. xxxiii.9 (‘Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Deus’). Cf. Rudy, *Mystical Language*, pp. 56–65; and Rachel Fulton, “‘Taste and see that the Lord is sweet’ (Ps. 33:9): the flavor of God in the monastic West’, *The Journal of Religion*, 86/2 (2006), 169–204. See also Mary Carruthers, ‘Sweetness’, *Speculum*, 81/4 (2006), 999–1013, who distinguishes the medieval conception of sweetness as knowledge, as persuasion, and as medicine. The *dulcedo Dei* is discussed at pp. 1004f. The critic also quotes *Purgatorio* VIII, ll. 8–18, where the sweetness of the hymn sung by the souls in the Valley of the Princes enraptures Dante: ‘che fece me a me uscir di mente’ (line 18).

³⁹ I am referring here to *Can vei la lauzeta mover* (PC 70,43). Cf. *Bernart von Ventadorn, Seine Lieder mit Einleitung und Glossar*, ed. Carl Appel (Halle, 1915). The lark's heart is touched by the sweetness of a ray of sun:

Can vei la lauzeta mover
De joi sas alas contra.l rai,
Que s'oblid' e.s laissa chazer
Per la doussor c'al cor li vai,
(lines 1–5)

The mystical undertones of this particular lyric have been noted by Lucia Lazerini, ‘L’“allodetta” e il suo archetipo: la rielaborazione di temi mistici nella lirica trobadorica e nello Stil Novo’, in *Sotto il segno di Dante: studi in onore di Francesco Mazzoni*, ed. Leonella Coglievina and Domenico De Robertis (Florence, 1998), pp. 165–88.

⁴⁰ On these verses see also Majorossy, *Ab me trobaras Mercé*, pp. 133–5.

⁴¹ Starting with Origen's Commentary on the Song of Songs, the spiritual significance of manna becomes a constant theme in theological and mystical writing. See, for example, St Bernard's *Ad clericos de conversione* XIII.25: ‘Nimirium suavis Dominus est: nisi gustaveris, non videbis. GUSTATE, inquit, ET VIDETE QUONIAM SUA VIS EST DOMINUS. Manna absconditum est, nomen novum est, quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit’ (*Sancti Bernardi*

opera, IV, 99). For an exegesis on the function of taste in this passage, see Rudy, *Mystical Language*, pp. 63–5. *Doussor* is also central to one of the author's discussions on love (lines 6555–628): he remarks that the sweetness derived from a glance is much stronger than one derived from a lover's kiss. As Manetti notes (p. 403 n. 6579), this is an inversion of the view expressed by Chrétien de Troyes in *Erec et Enide* (lines 2051–60 of Chrétien de Troyes, *Ceuvres complètes*, ed. Anne Berthelot and Daniel Poirion, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 408 (Paris, 1994)), while it perfectly complies with the traditional theological order of the senses. St Bernard discusses the superiority of a *visio dei* compared to the sweetness of the kiss received by the Bride in Sermon XLVIII,8.

⁴² One cannot discuss mystical elements in Occitan poetry without citing Edward Wechsler, *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Renaissance*, vol. I, *Minnesang und Christentum* (Halle, 1909), pp. 242–69. See also Brigitte Saouma, 'Le Christ-Époux chez Bernard de Clairvaux et la Dame dans la "fin'amors" des troubadours', *Studi medievali*, 30 (1989), 533–66; Imre Gábor Majorossy, '*Amors es bona voluntatz*'.

⁴³ *La Vie de sainte Douceline, fondatrice des béguines de Marseille, composée au treizième siècle en langue provençale*, publiée pour la première fois, avec la traduction en français et une introduction critique et historique, par l'abbé J.-H. Albanès (Marseille, 1879), p. 82. See also the English translation *The Life of Saint Douceline, a Beguine of Provence*, trans. Kathleen Garay and Madeleine Jeay (Woodbridge, 2001).

⁴⁴ *La Vie de sainte Douceline*, p. 74. On Doucelina's mystical visions see Marie-Rose Bonnet, 'Douceline et le Christ, ou la fenêtre ouverte', *Senefiance*, 49 (2003), 43–55.

⁴⁵ 'History and literary convention', p. 15.

⁴⁶ *Sermones*, XLIV, III. 4. The fruits of mercy reappear at LL.4.II: 'non est, dico vobis, unde dubeat mentem, quasi pro intermisso studio iucundae contemplationis, tristitia, cum talibus fuero circumdatus floribus atque fructibus pietatis.'

⁴⁷ The author comments on Guillaume's religious conversion with a quote from the *Roman de Renart*, making it clear that this transformation is both ludicrous and treacherous (though the episode is absent from the *Renart* as we know it): 'Aissi presica n'Aengris, / mais, si.l capellas fos devis, / ben pogra dir si con Rainartz: / gar si Belis daus totas partz!' (lines 3691–4).

⁴⁸ See *Le Roman de Flamenca, publié d'après le manuscrit unique de Carcassonne, traduit et accompagné d'un glossaire*, ed. Paul Meyer (Paris, 1865), p. 424.

⁴⁹ Cf. Suzanne Nelli, 'L'Hérésiarque Guillaume de Nevers, alias Théodoric/Thierry, un polémiste cathare', *Hérésis*, 10 (1988), 45–50 and Olson, 'History and literary convention', p. 13. The text's not so subtle references to heterodox movements and Catharism in particular do not end here: later on the text will say of Guillaume that (he) 's'apataris' (line 3821): he has become a patarine; Manetti also noted that Guillaume recites in church the seventy-two names of God – a prayer of dubious orthodoxy (lines 2280–3) – and that he believes heaven to be assured *a priori* (line 5063), and finally, the assertion that the hostess Bellapila 'non teis ren, ni cos ni fila' (line 3408) could be referring to the 'tisserands', a name used to designate Cathars. See Manetti, *Flamenca*, p. 32 (and notes to the lines cited).

⁵⁰ Scholars have already highlighted Guillaume's use of other mystical terminology. For example, the term 'bos sabers' (lines 4057–67) in play with 'bonus sapor' is commented in Lucia Lazzarini, 'La trasmutazione insensibile: intertestualità e metamorfismi nella lirica trobadorica dalle origini alla codificazione cortese', *Medioevo Romanzo*, 18 (1993),

153–205; 313–69 (pp. 321ff.), and Mira Mocan, “‘bos sabers’: la ‘sapida scientia’ dei primi trovatori”, *La parola del testo*, 9 (2005), 9–27.

⁵¹ It was Bernard of Clairvaux’s sermon tour of 1145 against preachers such as Peter of Bruys, Henry of Losanne, and the early manifestations of the Cathar movement that spurred the persecution of these religious manifestations and ultimately culminated in the Albigensian Crusade. On the subject, see for example Robert I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012), pp. 232–40.

⁵² In modern criticism the matter has been abundantly discussed on both sides: as for troubadour lyric, see Leo Spitzer’s classic study, *L’Amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944); while Jean Leclercq’s book remains the most relevant work on the relationship between Cistercian authors and worldly love: see *L’Amour vu par les moines au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1983), along with Étienne Gilson, *La Théologie mystique de Saint Bernard* (Paris, 1934), pp. 193–215.