Within the general theme of classical influences on the Middle Ages, my aim here is to examine two particular currents of Ovidianism at work in one of the most overlooked medieval masterpieces, the Occitan Roman de Flamence. This mid-thirteenth-century text, extant in only one copy, is an interesting example of how classical sources and contemporary texts combine advantageously and is remarkable for its high degree of intertextuality, revealing much about the different and subtle ways that outside influences act as a positive force for narrative renewal. In the case of Ovid’s Ars Amatoria, the blueprint for Flamence, it is a successful translatio studii without the least anxiety of influence.

The heroine of the title weds the noble and exemplary Archambaud at a sumptuous, deliberately storybook wedding patterned after the banquet scenes of Chrétien de Troyes. Such is her beauty that her husband becomes insanely jealous and locks her up in a tower, and it is only then that Flamence begins to languish for romance. Drawn by accounts of her imprisonment, the hero Guillem de Nevers conceives a troubadouresque amor de lonh (love from afar) for her, and vows to win her. At the spa town of Bourbon where she is captive, he takes lodgings, ingratiates himself with the locals, and poses as a cleric in order to contrive brief meetings. As the result of their bi-syllabic exchange over a period of weeks at mass, the lovers arrange a meeting in the bath-house where Flamence will take a cure for what she claims is heart-trouble. With an unwitting Archambaud on guard at the door, Guillem reaches the bath-house via a tunnel dug during his spare time and whisks the heroine away to his room at the inn in order to complete her cure, and they remain lovers until her blooming health makes her need to take the waters implausible. Guillem befriends Archambaud, who in the meantime miraculously recovers his sanity, and the two men go off tourneying. On their return, a great feast and joust are prepared. As if to add to its comedy and ambiguity, the unique extant text of this mid-thirteenth century romance is
missing both beginning and end, leaving only speculation as to the resolution of its impossible domestic triangle.

Many critics have remarked that the culture of the Flamenca poet is as stunning as it is encyclopedic. In addition to a broad knowledge of the classics, he shows himself an intimate of the Northern tradition of courtly romance, particularly the works of Chrétien, as well as of contemporary courtly theoreticians in both French and Latin, and of the troubadours. Although in the present context it is impossible to convey the subtlety, wit and literary ingenuity of this poem, I hope to explore further the tie that binds the disparate traditions together, for short of concluding the work, as Ovid does the Ars Amatoria, with the words NASO MAGISTER ERA T, it would be hard to find a text more Ovidian in spirit, in letter, but most of all in tone.²

The above outline contains many echoes of topoi found in the Ars: chief among them are the themes of jealousy, the impossibility of sequestering would-be lovers, and the joys of the amorous chase. These latter pleasures feature the strategies involved in choosing a quarry, contriving a meeting, and planning elaborate seductions using ruses and subterfuges, and in the case of Flamenca these go to subversive, comic, and indeed subterranean lengths. Other Ovidian elements include the importance of timing (essential to successful seduction and good comedy), befriending useful servants, using the image of love as malady and doctor, centering the intrigue around a bath-house, and winning the husband over as an ally. Most importantly, we find the alliance and interplay of intricate poetry and prosaic realism that produces a strong sense of narrative vitality.

The Flamenca poet is not the only one to have found inspiration in Ovid, since although more intrigued by courtly fantasy than naturalistic examination of the art of seduction, Chrétien de Troyes is one of the first and foremost modifiers of the master. In his much glossed prologue to Cligés Chrétien claims an unrecovered translation of the Ars Amatoria, and we can only speculate as to how his interpretation would have compared with that of his more sardonic contemporary and courtly rival, Andreas Capellanus.³ In Chrétien's collective prologues we find consideration of critical terms such as sens, matiere, and conjointure which point to an obvious awareness of literary technique. Since Flamenca no longer has such an introduction we cannot gauge how, or to what extent, the author set up his literary game, or to what extent he might have
acknowledged Ovid as a source or narrative inspiration. However, given the development of his work, an artful exordium almost certainly opened the work, and the corresponding sens, matiere, and conjointure of the Occitan text bear witness to a high degree of literary playfulness inspired by Ovid.

Detailed examination of the Flamenca reveals many echoes and some suggestive textual parallels with the classical model. With further references from the Amores and the many other sources, these have been catalogued and analysed by both Alberto Limentani and René Nelli. Commentators since Meyer’s first 1865 edition have acknowledged the poet’s presence, but we are still far from fully appreciating the extent, nature and operation of the poet’s work in the text.

After demonstrating the frequent Ovidianisms in Flamenca, Nelli concludes: “Il est assez facile...de déterminer ce qui appartient à Ovide dans l’art d’aimer de Flamenca: bien peu de chose” (p.82). However influenced in letter by Ovid, and in spite of the presence of direct references, the ars erotica he finds in the romance owes its genesis almost entirely to the spirit and aesthetics of the troubadours, and for this reason he is unwilling to ground Flamenca in an outside tradition. He even suggests that authorial intention runs counter to Ovidian principles, because while the love celebrated by Guilhem and Flamenca is carnal and sensual, it is somehow simultaneously spiritual and profound. To Nelli, the love consummated by Guilhem and the heroine is the naturalistic expression of troubadour joi, a scene described by Gordon Shedd as a "rather unpleasantly comic spectacle of communal copulation.”

For the average reader, it is hard to justify either extreme, but such judgements reveal an intriguing potential for further interpretation. Nelli is justified in assuming that surface allusion is not necessarily a measure of deep influence, but as a consequence wrongly dismisses other potential manifestations of Ovid’s influence in the text.

Nelli lauds the particularly Southern character of the work, but in his analysis, Flamenca is a more serious text than it is for most readers. If one chooses to avoid the jocular mauvaise foi in the text, and play down Ovid’s presence, a sense of courtly parody is largely missing, and as such the text loses much of its appeal. Claiming Flamenca as primarily troubadour terrain and rejecting outside influence risks unnecessarily sacrificing some rich readings, since creative ambiguity and comedy are just as much a part of the
troubadour canon as they are of Ovidian texts. The troubadour aesthetic championed by Nelli is a selective one, and we might do well to recall the vida of the first recorded troubadour, Guilhem IX, who is noted as *uns dels majors cortes del mon e dels majors trichadors de domnas* ("one of the greatest courtly nobles, and one of the foremost deceivers of women"), no doubt based on the content of some of his surviving lyrics. While Guilhem IX's poetry demonstrates the already codified tenets of courtly love in works like *Farai una chansoneta neuva* (P-C 183.6), he also penned poems like *Un vers farai, pos me someill*, which are playfully Ovidian in spirit. Whether or not Guilhem was the rake that his later biographer describes is of less interest than the urge to depict him as such.

The point is a simple one: the example of the first troubadour and Eleanor of Aquitaine's grandfather reveals that the poetic system of the troubadours was, from its recorded beginnings, far from one-sided. With, and perhaps because of, the refinement of courtly love, a more subversive rhetorical counterbalance exists of which examples abound in the lyrics of the troubadours. By concentrating only on the rather narrow range of love-lyrics we eliminate an essential dualism from the system as a whole, one comprehended in its totality by Guilhem IX and by the *Flamenca* poet. Beyond the perfect and polished conventions there lie darker and more parodic forces at work. The naturalism that Nelli ascribes to the *Flamenca* author and to the doctrine of courtly love, which we might term a limited form of realism, or at the very least a vivid narrative ambiguity, is already an integral part of the troubadour canon, just as it is embedded in Ovidian narrative. Ovid is a perfect match for the troubadours, since he too is both consummate poet and satirist of love. Familiarity with Ovid on the part of the *Flamenca* poet breeds neither contempt nor slavish reproduction: its chief product is a conspiratorial irony that alloys perfectly with an indigenous tradition.

Recent enlightened commentators on the rhetoric of the lyric canso like Sarah Kay and Simon Gaunt reveal the systematic irony and the diversity of narrative personae disguised in the rhetorical "*je*" that itself masks the subtle *jeu linguistique* of troubadour creativity. The *Flamenca* poet is an equally modern reader of the troubadour canon, as he is is of Ovid. Indeed, far from running counter to the ethos of *Flamenca* the Ovidian conspiracy at the heart of its narrative is in perfect harmony with
the overall design. Let us consider this Southern strain the first and more complex of the two Ovidian paradigms, manifest in the ironic distance and playful stance taken with regard to the specialized vocabulary of the troubadours, the conventions of courtly love and the poetic genres used as a vehicle for them, and the burlesquing of actual poems. An example of this would be Peire Rogier's _canso_, *Ges no posc en bo vers fallir* (P-C 356.4), transformed from a sensitive, internal dialogue on the irreconcilable pains of love into a fragmented, clichéd exchange played out in a farcical public context.  

After an even more exhaustive analysis than Nelli's, Alberto Limentani points to other more direct and indirect Ovidian influences, since, as he rightly points out, much of the material found in _Flamenca_ was probably accessible in florilegia, or in some of the extensive Northern French reworkings of the *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris*. Andreas Capellanus' treatise on courtly love, and Guillaume de Lorris' section of the *Roman de la Rose* are most notable among a variety of disparate secondary vehicles, including trouvère lyric, so that by the time we reach the period of _Flamenca_ Ovid is well diffused in the North. And yet in their very dispersal, the works of Ovid ironically become more ubiquitous, and in addition to an already-present Southern tradition encoded in the works of the troubadours, there is a second sphere of Ovidian influence extending in a largely theoretical wave from the North. Because it is harder to identify exact loci and unveil such secondary sources, detecting their influence in _Flamenca_ becomes more problematic. It is logical, but by no means comprehensive, to measure intertextuality by closeness to an original model, or by plotting recognizable elements. In the case of _Flamenca_, however, the impact of the original is no less even when diluted and less readily visible in the form of paraphrase, echo, and resonance: the fusion of classical, medieval, Northern and Southern Ovidian currents serves to amplify the original, while simultaneously and ironically cloaking its presence. The success of Ovid in _Flamenca_ is precisely not to appear as a classical influence: the urbane and sardonic teachings of the *magister amoris* are a perfect graft onto the indigenous stock-in-trade of the _Flamenca_ poet. Both the works of troubadours and the Northern adaptors seem to take to heart the rhetorical strategies professed at the close of Book I of Ovid's text:

[V]arious are the hearts of women; use a thousand means
to waylay as many hearts. The same earth bears not
everything; this soil suits vines, that olives; in that, wheat
thrives. Hearts have as many fashions as the world has
shapes; the wise man will suit himself to countless fashions,
and like Proteus will now resolve himself into light waves,
and now will be a lion, now a tree, now a shaggy boar.¹⁰

The fate of Ovid's narratorial persona would no doubt have pleased
the master himself: to be transformed and metamorphosized into a
thousand more contemporary shapes according to changing
circumstance. The poet uses natural imagery to reflect human
nature discourse and the nature of writing itself, but most
importantly the inclusion of Proteus personifies the idea of literary
metamorphosis and injects a comic note, since the shape-shifting of
this minor god is his way of avoiding answering questions. Only
when he is grasped firmly, as by Odysseus in Book IV of The
Odyssey, will he assume his true form. Wrestling Proteus is a
suitable tongue-in-cheek metaphor for those engaged in either
writing or criticism, since especially in dealing with intertexts we
search for the concrete where often only elusive and shifting forms
remain, and ones that refuse to give an unequivocal answer as to
their meaning or origin.

This protean model of textual irony also serves as an
appropriate metaphor for the fate of the Ars Amatoria in texts like
Flamenca. Limentani agrees with Nelli that in individual places in
the text "se contatto c'è, non è derivazione letterale, ma
trasposizione (un calco)," but sees this as a more positive influence
than Nelli.¹¹ Although Ovid's works find one kind of literary
accommodation in the alternative tradition of the Ovide moralisé,
Ovid the magister amoris slips successfully and unnoticed into courtly
narrative with a minimal metamorphosis.

This is particularly true of the works of the Northern
French adaptors.¹² Maître Elie, writing at the beginning of the
thirteenth century, swaps Ovid's Roman circus for St.Germain-des-
Prés on a crowded day and loses nothing of the spirit or letter of
the original work. Once inside, instead of discussing starting prices,
players, or the outcome of sporting competitions, Maître Elie
exhorts his would-be disciples to discuss fellow church-goers and
clerics. Instead of protecting a potential conquest from the jostling
of overzealous spectators, he advises fending off the unwelcome
attentions of enthusiastic patrons engaged in prayer.
The context has changed, but the spirit of Ovid is more than apparent in the tone and treatment of Maître Elie. In addition, appropriating a house of worship to practice the religion of love is a suitable image in the context of courtly texts like Flamenca, where we find the image familiar as a metaphor for courtly devotion pushed to a literal extreme as Guilhem poses as a cleric. Elsewhere in Maître Elie's text, the strategies of seduction and advice to suitors remain the same, even down to advice on sartorial elegance and personal grooming.

Andreas, the most complete adaptor, Maître Elie, Jakes d'Amiens, Guiart, Drouart la Vache, and the anonymous author of La Clef d'Amours have a similar way of dealing with Ovid. Mythological references are kept to a minimum, to leave pride of place to practical advice, vivid description and contemporary mores. Books II and III of the Ars are largely ignored, but the first finds theme and inventive variation. The more it is integrated into its transposed setting, the greater narrative vitality the classical original seems to inject. Theory lends itself to praxis, and Flamenca is in many ways superior to other courtly works in the subtlety with which Ovidian teachings are brought to life, while the Northern theoreticians remain just that. Even Andreas, with his mordant wit, is arguably least successful when trying to transform his règles d'amour into a romance. The result, in Book II of De Arte, is an almost comically mediocre Arthurian tale about the quest of an anonymous Breton knight for a magical sparrow-hawk and glove. As an added bonus, he also wins a charter on which the rules of love are set down: these are the same sardonic precepts that we find reiterated throughout the first two books. Is Andreas showing up the artificiality of the romance genre and poking fun at courtly literature, showing that courtly idealism is nothing more than a more sardonic Ovidian reality? Is he trying to set off his realistic maxims by surrounding them with a fashionable fantasy? Or is he
perhaps demonstrating their perfect capacity for adaptation and his own literary limitations? His text is successful in all of the above.

The *Flamenca* poet takes a similarly parodic approach, but turns theory to practice with greater success. Here the joining of treatise and romance is seamless, and we find a complex and comic confluence. In a text riddled with intertexts, Ovid's protean text reigns supreme, a fact that is even more ironic given that *Flamenca* is perhaps best remembered for the catalogue of many other literary works that opens the wedding feast of Archambaud and his bride. In the light of my conspiracy theory, the fact that Ovid is mentioned among seventy names only by passing allusions to Narcissus, Piramus, and Orpheus might at first seem to make the claim tenuous. But as well as proving the poet's ingenuity and serving as a literary tour de force, this intellectual cornucopia is exactly what it appears to be: a collection of references on the surface of a text. Like its immediate context, a well-wrought, conventional banquet scene, the list is a parodic exercice de style, a suggestive paper-chase, and, ultimately, a smokescreen. Ovid is not here because, with suitable irony, that is exactly where we would expect to find him. Absent too are the troubadours, save Marcabru, the often cynical critic of courtly love, who is, and quite deliberately, the last troubadour we would expect to find at a wedding. There is no reference to Andreas, or to any of the Northern commentators. However much we might find Guilhem and Flamenca to be the comic counterparts of Piramus and Thisbe, and however much we might interpret Narcissus as a perfect emblem for the textual narcissism of courtly literature, and a perfect personification of the polished rhetorical self-absorption of the troubadours, the surface allusions found here cloak the more covert Ovidian activity beneath. A better clue is concealed in the figure of Orpheus, who was forced underground in an attempt to rescue his true love from gloomy imprisonment. Harder to detect, and more deeply rooted is the more covert stylistic and structural intertextuality that emerges through theme and language, and expressed in the central characters.

One of several keys is the hero, Guilhem, a name already suggestive of the heritage of the troubadours. Guilhem is far more encyclopedic than the banquet list. Of capital importance is his superlative training: he is more astute than Absalom and Solomon, wiser and better-looking than Paris, Hector, and Ulysses put together, a picture of health, generous to a fault, and a consummate
knight. His physical prowess is only exceeded by his intellectual gifts: he can outcompose any troubadour, and show himself the equal of any cleric. Most importantly, he receives his education in the liberal arts in Paris, and is so learned that *pogra ben en totes partz / tener escolas, s.i.s volgues* (l.1624-5: "...he could easily teach school anywhere, if he wished to..."). This is not the only way in which his potential is magisterial: *per dire saup ben què fon amors, / cant legit ac to tz los auctors / que d'amor parlon e si feïnon / consi amador si capteïnon.* (l.1763-6). The essential elements here are the importance of literary authorities regarding love (*tots los auctors*), and the Ovidian rhetorical ruses evident in the linking of *parler* and *feiner*, to speak and to invent (and often pretend), recalling Ovid's advice in Book II:

Nor let it be a slight care to cultivate your mind in liberal arts, or to learn the two languages well. Ulysses was not comely, but he was eloquent. 17

The greatest adventurers achieve success *per artes*: we might speculate that in their updated context the two languages of Ovid's text find themselves transposed into the literary languages of the Northern and Southern traditions. Guilhem has had plenty of theory, soon to be applied to the complex and comic scenario that the goddess of Jove has organized for him in the form of Flamenca, imprisoned in her tower. Somewhat a Proteus figure, Guilhem is worthy of the sentimental education that awaits him because, as Amor tells him, *Ben· es artos / e sobre totz homes ginòs* (l.1789-90: "You are artful / and cunning above all men"), combining the skillful, artful qualities with those of the ingenious trickster, like his namesake Guilhem IX. The combination of knight, cleric and troubadour renders him practically invincible. The single occurrence of the word *artos* to describe his genius links him unquestionably to Ovid.

Love's description leads us to expect that like Guillaume de Lorris' Lover, Guilhem will try to storm the tower, or at least earn his way in. However, being an essentially Ovidian hero, and living in a world that refuses allegory (except for a few voyeuristic wish-fulfilment dreams) and any form of magic, and that spurns the poetic notion of *amor de lonh* as a desirable concept, Guilhem confounds our expectations by bribing those helpful to his cause and by digging his way without ceremony to the bath-house. This act is
symbolic of the way in which romance convention and lyric clichés are quite literally undermined throughout the text with the aid of Ovid-inspired machinations. The commonplaces of the roman courtois are superficial and are systematically exposed as literary artifice, and a straightforward tale becomes a convoluted literary exercise that is a longer version of the more elegant and courtly Southern form of the fabliau, the novas. Quite literally, with the subversive Guilhem, Ovid goes underground and surfaces triumphantly. Through the artful contrival of the central character the twin strands of Ovidian influence combine to magisterial effect, and ultimately the classical source is what lends an air of modernity to the tale.

Although not as widely read as it deserves to be, Flamenca has received many superlative accolades. W. P. Ker justifiably dubs the author Chrétien's cleverest pupil and his text "the expression in an elegant manner of the ideas of the Art of Love, as understood in the polite society of the times," but without any further analysis. Charles Muscatine terms it a romance "in its terminal form as such," without further exploring what it becomes. It is both the summit of, and a point of transformation of the romance as a genre, but is symbolic of its renewal as a genre and not its destruction. What marks it out is its self-conscious literarity and vivacity, and Flamenca is a perfect example of a kind of medieval evolution in narrative that has much to contribute to the history of the novel. Through Guilhem's sentimental education we see not only the renaissance of the Ovidian hero, but one who uses the full measure of his inheritance. The prior models absorbed by the Flamenca poet are many and varied, and in the subtle layering of intertexts, and most particularly those of Ovid, we find a prime example of how some authors really did make it new in the Middle Ages.

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Notes


3. *Cligés*, ed. Alexandre Micha (Paris: Classiques Français due Moyen-Age, 1957) 1.1.-3: "Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide, / Et les Comandemanz Ovide / Et l'Art d'Amors an romanz mist..." ("He who told of Erec and Enide, and who put both Ovid's Commandments and the Art of Love into romance..."). The sense of *an romanz mist* is, of course, that he translated the works concerned. However, as this paper seeks to show how Ovid's *Ars* translates into narrative, i.e., into a *roman*, I would like to preserve the ambiguity of the original.


7. In the latter pastourelle-like poem the chief constituents are an adventurous knight who feigns a speech impediment, two noblewomen in search of amorous dalliance, and a large recalcitrant ginger cat. The knight is seduced by the women, who test his mettle by flailing him with the disgruntled animal. The boisterous conclusion to this work is as far removed from courtliness as possible.


10. ...sed sunt diversa puellis
    Pectora: mille animos excipe mille modis.
    Nec tellus eaden parit omnia; vitibus illa
    Convenit, haec oleis; hac bene farra virent.
    Pectoribus mores tot sunt, quot in orba figurae;
    Qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit,
    Utque leves Proteus modo se tenuabit in undas,
    Nunc leo, nunc arbor, nunc erit hirtus aper.
    (I, 744-62, p. 65)

11. p. 181. "...if there is contact, it is not literal derivation, but transposition (a calque)."

12. The texts referred to are to be found in *Artes Amandi da Maître Elie ad Andrea Capellano*, ed. Anna Maria Finoli (Milan: Cisalpino, 1969).

13. l. 215-22, p. 7. "And thus you look behind you to see if
there is some boor sticking his knee into her back, and say to him, if you have the mettle, 'Fairfriend, move your leg, because you are incommoding this lady.' Doing small favours comes naturally to people of good will."


15. Possibly referring to Metamorphoses III & IV, but not necessarily, since the former is mentioned in troubadour lyric, particularly in works by Bernart de Ventadorn, and the latter in Northern romance.

16. "Indeed, he knew it all when it came to love, since he had read all the authorities who speak of love and theorize on how lovers behave."

17. Nec levis ingenuas pectus coluisse per artes
Cura sit et linguas edidicisse duas.
Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulixes,
Et tamen aequoreas torsit amore deas. (1.121-4)

18. Novas is the word that the poet uses to refer to his own text in line 250. It is a most plastic form, designating both short and long narrative texts within the small extant corpus of medieval Provençal.
