



Vous ki ameïs de vraie

(amor(RS 1967))

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Anonymous

I

Vous ki ameïs de vraie amor,
anveilliez vos, ne dormeis pais!
L'aluête nos trait lou jor
4 et si nos dist an ces refrais
ke venus est li jors de paix
ke Deus, per sa tres grant dousor,
promet a ceaz ki por s'amor
8 panront la creus et por lour fais
sofferront poinne neut et jor.
Dont vairait Il ces amans vrais!

II

Cil doit bien estre forjugiez
12 ki a besoing son Signor lait.
Se serait il, bien lou sachiez!
Aseiz aurait et poinne et lait
a jor de nostre dairien plait,
16 ke Deus costeis, pames et piez
mousterait sanglans et plaiez,
car cil ki plus aurait bien fait
serait si tres fort emaëz
20 k'il tranblerat, keil greit k'il ait.

III

Cil ki por nos fut an creus mis,
ne nos amait pais faintemant,
ains nos amat com fins amins,
24 et por nos, honorablemant,
la Sainte Crox mult doucemant
antre ces bras, an mi son pis,
com agnials dous, simples et pis,
28 et l'astraing angoisousemant.
Puis i fut a trois clos clofis
per piez, per mains, estroitement.

I

You who love with true love, wake up, sleep no more! The lark brings us the dawn and tells us with its warbling that the day of peace has come which God, in his great sweetness, promises to those who for love of Him will take the cross, and for their sins will suffer pain both night and day. Then He will see who truly loves Him!

II

Anyone who abandons his lord in his hour of need deserves to be sent into exile. And he will be, you can be sure of that! He will suffer pain and disgrace at the Last Judgment, when God will show His bleeding and wounded sides, hands and feet: even one who has behaved most righteously [in this life] will be so appalled that he will tremble, whether he wishes or no.

III

The one who was set upon the cross for us did not love us dissemblingly but did so as a perfect lover, and for our sakes, with dignity, [He took] the holy cross most sweetly in his arms, holding it tightly in anguish across his chest, like a gentle, innocent and pious lamb. Then he was nailed fast with three nails through feet and hands.

IV

J'ai oït dire an reprovier:
³² «Boens merchiez trait de borce argent»
 et «Cil ait mult lou cuer ligier
 ki lou bien voit et lou mal prant».
 Saivez ke Deus n'ait an covant
³⁶ a ceaz ke se vorront creusier?
 Se m'eïst Il, mult bial luier:
 Paradis par afaitemant!
 Car ki son prout puet porchasier,
⁴⁰ fols est se a demain s'atant.

V

Nos ne n'avons point de demain,
 a certes lou peons savoir.
 Teis cuide avoir lou cuer mult sain
⁴⁴ c'ains lou quairt jor tot son avoir
 ne prisent pais, ne son savoir.
 Car, cant la mort lou tient a frain
 et il ne puet ne piez ne mains
⁴⁸ a lui sachier ne remouvoir,
 la keute lait si prant l'estrain.
 Mais trop est tairt a persouvoir!

IV

I have heard say in a proverb: 'A good price draws money from the purse' and 'It is a complete fool who sees what's good and takes what's bad'. Do you know what God guarantees to those wishing to take the cross? God help me, splendid wages: Paradise assured! Anyone who can pursue profit [today] is mad to wait until tomorrow.

V

We have no [certainty of] tomorrow, we know this well. Someone may think he is in perfect health yet within the fourth day he may no longer put any value on the whole sum of his wealth or knowledge, for once death holds him in his bridle and he can no longer move his hands and feet in one direction or another, he gives up his soft bed and takes a straw mattress. But realisation comes too late!

Notes

- 2 *anveillez vos, ne dormeis pais!* Bédier-Aubry 1909, p. 23, following Paris 1892, pp. 164-165, see in this line an adaptation of a profane song of awakening. The call to spiritual awakening is typical of religious hymn-writing in hymns such as the *Aeterne rerum conditor* (st. 5, 17-20 *Surgamus ergo strenue! / Gallus iacentes excitat, / et somnolentos increpat, / Gallus negantes arguit*) of Ambrose (AH 51,11), or *Ales diei nuntius* (st. 1 and 2, 1-8: *Ales diei nuntius / lucem propinquam praecinit; / nos excitator mentium / iam Christus ad vitam vocat. // Auferte, clamat, lectulos / aegros, soporos, desides: / castique recti ac sobrii / vigilate, iam sum proximus*) by Prudentius (AH 50,23). The exhortation to wake up is also found in the exordium to the hymn of Clunic origin v. 3: *Spiculator pigris clamat: "Surgite"!* (on the long history of interpretations of the bilingual alba of Fleury, see most recently Lazzerini 2014) and in the Occitan *alba Reis glorios, vrais lums e clartatz* by Giraut de Borneil (BdT 242,64), 6-10: *Bel companho, si dormetz o velhatz? Cal que fazatz, en estans vos levatz, qu'en orient vey l'estela creguda qu'amenal jorn, qu'ieu l'ai ben conoguda, et ades sera l'alba!*, and 11-13: *Bel companho, en chantan vos apel / non dormatz plus, qu'ieu aug chantar l'auzel / que vai queren lo iorn per lo boscatge* (cfr. Di Girolamo 2009, who suggests that the *gaita* is the guardian angel who announces to mankind the arrival of the light that will bring light into the darkness of the sin in which mankind is immersed). The Occitan repertory of religious *albas* contains two examples particularly close to RS 1967: the end of st. I of BdT 155,26, attributed to Folquet de Marselha and dated to the period after he became a monk, after 1200, vv. 1-10: *Vers Dieus, el vostre nom e de sancta Maria / m'esvelharai hueimais, pus l'estela del dia / ven daus Ierusalem, que m'essenha qu'ieu dia: / estatz sus e levatz, / senhors que Dieu amatz! / que-l jorns es aprosmatz / e la nuech ten sa via; / e sia-n Dieus lauzatz / per nos, e adoratz, / e-l preguem que-ns don patz / a tota nostra via* (ed. Squillacioti 1999, XXVI), and the gallicised text of Peire Espanhol's religious *alba* (BdT 342,1), 1-4: *Or levetz sus, francha corteza gans! / levetz, levetz, trop avetz demoret, / qu'aprochatz s'es lo jors clers e luzans / que lo nos a la doss'alba menet* (ed. Chaguinian 2008, p. 296). Nonetheless RS 1967 is quite unusual in its association of religious and military elements with the exhortation to the *votum Crucis*, and in this respect it is comparable to the 11th-c. *Scolte Modenesi Ritmo* (hymn) linked to the tradition of the liturgical *nocturni* and the *vigilae murorum* (cfr. Roncaglia 1948), 1-2: *O tu qui servas armis ista moenia, / noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila, and the final lines 29-30: Resultet haecco comes: "eia, vigila!" / Per muros: "eia", dicat haecco, "vigila!"*.
- pais*: the reading at the rhyme is present in both mss. (*pas* U, *pais* C). According to Jeanroy 1889, p. 69, n. 1, the rhymes 2 *pais* (< *passum*) : 4 *refrais* : 5 *paix* (< *pacem*) prove that the text is of Lorraine or Burgundian origin. Paris however (1892, 585, n. 1, also followed by Bédier-Aubry 1909, p. 23), proposes the correction *mais*: «il faut lire ainsi au lieu de *pais*, forme du copiste lorrain».
- 3 *aluête*: the lark as messenger of the morning is, in mystical symbolism, the messenger of God (cfr. Lazzerini 1998). For Schöber 1976, p. 242 the lark's presence is evidence of originality, while Dijkstra (1995a, p. 97, n. 128) suggested that the poet chose this out of caution because the nightingale, «associé trop souvent à l'amour charnel, ne puisse pas figurer dans une aube qui chante l'amour de Dieu».
- 4 *refrais*: the modulations of the lark's singing. Compare Jaufré Rudel (BdT 262,5) 4-5: *e-l rossihletz el ram / volf e refranh ez aplanà*. C's reading, *retrais*, is interesting for its assimilation of the lark's song to the summoning of true lovers of Christ; see, though with reference to the call to retreat found particularly in epic songs, TL VIII, 1174 s.v.: 'Rückzug' or '(Horn)signal zum Rückzug'. Bédier, who elsewhere shows himself to be following C, also includes *refrais* in his text.

- 5 *paix*: this has been understood in the Christian sense of ‘reconciliation’ with God (which comes about through repentance and amendment of life: *a ceaz ki por s’amor / panront la creus et por lour fais / sofferront poine neut et jor*, vv. 7-9). Paris 1892, p. 165, n. 2, perhaps thinking of a spring opening, considers the line erroneous: «L’original portait sans doute: *Que venus est cel jor li mais*, ou quelque chose d’analogue».
- 10 *Dont vairait il ces amans vrais!* The motif is found in the *conductus Quid ultra* of Philip the Chancellor, 61-62: *Prope est dies domini / mei qui me diligitis* (AH, 21, 141 and Dronke 1987, n. 38). But it is also found in Huon de Saint-Quentin, *Jerusalem se plaint et li païs* (RS 1576), 3-4: *que deça mer a poi de ses amis / ki de secors li facent mais nient*, and Maistre Renas, *Pour lou pueple resconforteir* (RS 886), 26: *Il veult esproveir ces amis* (see the note to that line).
- 11 *forjgiez*. For the condemnation to exile of those who abandon their own lord in his hour of need, compare Du Cange, II, 560 and Guida 1992, p. 321, note. For the context, see again the *conductus Quid ultra*, 1-5: *Quid ultra tibi facere, / Vinea mea, potui? / Quid potes mihi reddere, / Qui pro te caedi, conspui / Et crucifigi volui?*
- 22 Jeanroy 1909, p. 444 chooses to translate *faintemant* as “paresseusement, mollement” rather than “hypocritement”, retaining the interpretation most in keeping with the following lines. However, the sense of *ne nos amait pais faintemant* in v. 22 seems rather to relate to *Vous ki ameïs de vraie amor* in v. 1, in harmony with the whole of stanza III where the preacher attenuates the apocalyptic tone of the two preceding stanzas by describing Christ’s calvary in courtly terms: *fins amans* (v. 23), *honorablemant* (v. 24), *moult doucemant* (v. 25).
- 31-40 The whole of stanza IV is clearly aimed at a bourgeois public. The pact between God and crusaders is no longer a feudal, vassalic one, and is even stipulated according to mercantile agreements, using expressions drawn from the world of commercial exchange: v. 35 *avoir an covent* ‘stipulate in a contract’ (see TL II, 987 ‘etw. jem. zugesichert, gelobt haben’), v. 37 *luier* ‘use of goods given in compensation’, v. 38 *par afaitemant* ‘by agreement, through a transaction’, v. 39 *son prout porchasier* ‘earn, seek profit’. Here too a comparison with the *conductus* model of this song, also rich in mercantile metaphors, is particularly interesting, Christ’s sacrifice makes Man indebted to Him and the terms recall a commercial relationship: *Quid potes michi reddere* (str. 1, 3), *vice mutui* (str. 1, 7), *facitque mutatoria de meo patrimonio* (str. 3, 7-8), *creditum* (str. 5, 2), *pensantique lane pretium. et non curant de ovibus* (str. 5, 6) (compare also Rillon-Marne 2012).
- 32 For the proverb *Boens merchiez trait de borce argent* (Morawski 1925, n. 291) Dijkstra (1995a, p. 100, n. 139) cites the motif of the *mercator prudens* in St Bernard’s collection of homilies: *Si prudens mercator es, si conquistor hujus saeculi, magnas quasdam tibi nundinas indico; vide ne pereant* (PL 182, 567). For the motif see also the note to RS 1576, 40-44.
- argent*: this is the only case of the -ent outcome at the rhyme with -ant in the rest of the stanza (*prant, covant, afaitemant, atant*).
- 33-34 The two lines represent a saying made up of different traditional materials. Bédier-Aubry 1909, 24, refers to Leroux de Lincy 1859², II, pp. 138, 394 and 476. Dijkstra 1995a, p. 99, n. 138, refers to the proverbs *Ki bien set et le mal prent / fous est tres nayv[e]ment* (Morawski 1925, n. 1848); *Qui bien voit et le mal prent / si se foloie a escient* (Morawski 1925, n. 1852); *Qui bien voit et mal prant / a boen droit se repant* (Morawski 1925, n. 1853). The same motto appears in the crusade song *Ar nos sia capdels e garentia* of Pons de Capdoill (BdT 375,2), 32: *dunc ben es folz qui ben ve e mal pren*.

- 37 *Se m'eüst Il, mult bial luier: Paradis par afaitemant!* The same motif occurs in Huon de Saint-Quentin, *Jerusalem se plaint et li païs* (RS 1576), 43: *car paradis en ara de loier*; and *Maistres Renas, Pour lou pueple resconforteir* (RS 886), 47-48: *Lai iert li boens luwiers doneis / a ceauls ki l'avront deservit*, and the note to those lines.
- 43 *Teis cuide avoir lou cuer mult sain*. Schöber 1976, p. 238 refers to the proverb *Telz cuide estre touz sains qui est a la mort* (Morawski 1925, n. 2344) and the *Vers de la mort* of Hélinant de Froidmont, st. XV, 11-12: *Teus me cueve desoz ses dras / qui cuide estre haitiez et sains* (ed. Wulff – Walberg 1905). An expression similar to Helinand's also appears in the *Somme le Roi* (according to the text of ms. BnF fr. 943, f. 74r), which indicates, much more fully than the present piece, a time within which death will take the sinner away: *de rechief, li pechierres est ausi com cil qui cuide estre forz et sains, et il a ja la mort dessouz ses dras, car il ha les humeurs mauveses et corrompues ou cors, dont il morra dedanz un mois, qui cuide encore .xl. anz; si com dit Elinanz es vers de la mort: 'Ostez vos chiffles et vos gas, / Car tieus me couve souz ses dras / Qui cuide estre et fors et sains'*. See Meyer 1872, who in turn quotes a passage cited in LR II, 419b: *Si com dis Elinans, .i. trobayres, els verses de la Mort: 'Levatz de vos chuflas e gabs; / Car tals me coa sotz sos draps / Que cuja esser fortz e sas'*.
- 46 *cant la mort lou tient a frain*. Bédier 1909, p. 24 links the expression to st. XV, 5 of Hélinant's *Vers de la mort: Ainçois que je vos praigne as frains*. See also Guida 1992, note to the line, p. 322.
- 47-48 *ne puet ne piez ne mains / a lui sachier*: a similar image is found in the XIVth-c. *Dit de Flourence de Romme* attributed to Jehan de Saint-Quentin: *Qu'à paine pooit-ele ne pié ne main sachier*, ed. Munk Olsen 1978, p. 100.
- 49 *keute*: the two mss. have *keuce* C and *keuse* U, which give no sense. I follow Bédier who accepts the conjecture of J. Cornu (*Mélange*. IV, in *Romania*, X (1881), p. 218) who interprets *keute* as *couette*, translating 'lit de plume'; as a result he considers *estrain* as 'lit de paille'; see also Godefroy II, 333 s.v. *coulte* and IX, 232 s.v. 2. *coute*. Another possibility concerns *keute* meaning 'beer' (see FEW XVI, 349a, s.v. *koyte*) and this again could indicate worldly pleasures abandoned during amendment of life (*estrain* could mean 'the sackcloth of repentance').
- estrain*: see TL III, 1436, s.v. *estrain* (REW 8287 *stramen*) 'Stroh, Streu', interpreted here as 'straw mattress'. For the whole expression see the *Congés* of Jean Bodel, 161-162: *Salve par Jehan Bodel / Cui Diex met de keute en estrain* (ed. Barbazan 1808, I, p. 148).

Text

Anna Radaelli, 2016.

Mss.

(2). C 245v-246r (*Denostre/daime*), U 127r-v (anonymous).

Versification and music

8ababbaabab (MW 865,3); 5 *coblas singulares* ; rhymes a = - or , - iez , - is (- ins), - ier , - ain (- ains); b = - ais , - ait , - ant , - ant (- ent), - oir . The song shares its metrical shape with two other songs, the anonymous *Grant piece a que ne chantai mais* (RS 194 = MW 865:1) and the song in *coblas doblas* di Raoul de Ferrières *Quant je voi les vergiers florir* (RS 1412 = MW 865:2). Spanke 1936, 153, relates this versification to the monodic *conductus Quid ultra tibi facere* attributed to Philippus *parisiensis* , chancellor of the chapter of Notre-Dame from 1217. The paraliturgical text, composed of six 10-syllable

lines on two rhymes which change position in the central part of the stanzas (whose complete melody is transmitted only in ms. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1), is a lamentation of Christ who contrasts His sufferings with the thirst for power and the slothfulness of the Church and the clergy (*Planctus Christi de malis praesulibus*). Equivocal rhymes: 2 *pais* : 5 *paix* , 12 : 14 *lait* , 26 : 27 *pis* , 42 : 45 *savoir* ; identical rhymes: 1 : 7 *amor* , 3 : 9 *jor* ; link in *cobla capfinida* between stanzas IV and V; both mss. are hypermetric by one syllable in v. 2 (*ne dormeis uos pais*); the text is transmitted without music (blank staves in C, the interlinear space is left blank in the first stanza in U).

Previous editions

Meyer 1877, 369; Bartsch 1920 ¹² , 243; Bédier-Aubry 1909, 19; Rosenberg-Tischler 1981, 105; Guida 1992, 73; Dijkstra 1995a, 94.

Analysis of the manuscript tradition


Of the two Lorraine witnesses the version of ms. U has been chosen, both for its graphy and for its text, complete in contrast to C which lacks v. 25.

Historical context and dating

The opening is that of a *cantio vigilum*, which associates the song with the liturgical tradition of the *vigiliae* and morning hymns. The text takes the form of an announcement of good news, as if it were the expression of the biblical *κήρυγμα* (*kérugma*) in which the herald, God's official spokesman, publicly proclaims that the time is fulfilled and the faithful are invited to repent and amend their lives. The lark, messenger of the day, is the mystical reflection of the annunciation of Christ's coming and the opportunity to emerge from the darkness of sin and renew the pact of fidelity with God by taking the *votum crucis*. The use of traditional preaching motifs (the *dies irae*, the account of the Passion, the *memento mori*) together with the use of proverbs having a mercantile flavour, clothes the song in the garb of a public sermon, and reveals the type of lay, bourgeois audience to whom the song is addressed. (Oeding 1910, 37, thinks that the author is a cleric).

Bédier sees in the text a certain stylistic energy reminiscent of *Chevalier mult estes guariz*, but does not go as far as to date it to 1147. Nonetheless, on the basis of its formal aspects (stanzas «d'un type assez compliqué» and *singulars*, p. 20), he still considers it to have been composing during the 12th c. (as Jeanroy 1889, p. 69), citing Paris 1892, p. 165, who links it to the crusade of 1189. Schöber (1976, p. 238), however, observes that there is no reference either to the fall of Jerusalem or to the loss of the Holy Cross, or to the liberation of the holy places from the enemy. Noting lexical echoes of the *Vers de la mort* of Hélinant of Froidmont (to which Bédier had also referred in a note on p. 24), composed between 1194 and 1197, and also the fact that the versification appears late, he situates the song at the time of the Fourth Crusade. Finally Dijkstra (1995a, p. 97) is more inclined to date it to the Third Crusade, 'compte tenu du ton optimiste du poète ... mais j'avoue que l'argumentation en est faible'.

Schöber is unquestionably right to draw attention to the absence of references to the holy places. The absence of any military element traditionally present in appeals composed at the imminent prospect of a crusade, and the presence of a wealth of motifs belonging to texts of a homiletic, religious and liturgical nature, provide no support of a contingent historical kind, and situate the composition of the text a long way from any prospective departure. But the fact that the song is a metrico-melodic *contrafactum* of a monodic *conductus* of Philip the Chancellor may provide useful chronological indications. Philip became chancellor of the Notre-Dame chapter in 1217 and was the author of profane and liturgical poems in both Latin and French (cfr. Dronke 1987 and Rillon-Marne 2012), together with



a vast number of homilies for which he is cited by the most famous and prestigious preachers of the time. His 'crusade' repertory includes four sermons urging participation in Louis VIII's expedition to the Midi in 1226 (cfr. Bériou 1997), to which has recently been added the *conductus* *Crucifigat omnes* (cfr. Payne 1986, p. 238, n. 12, and Payne 2001, 19, p. 596). The latter is essentially a vigorous call to a war of liberation of the Holy Land after the fall of Jerusalem and the capture of the true cross in 1187, and can therefore be added to *Venit Ihesus* as a second exhortation by Philip the Chancellor to take part in the Third Crusade. In contrast, although the monodic *conductus* *Quid ultra tibi facere*, of which RS 1967 is a *contrafactum*, belongs to a similar climate, it is not hortatory and its tone clearly differs from the harshness and bellicosity of the two preceding *conductus*. Instead it is edifying and moral in character, and is evidently not subject to the pressure of events. It therefore seems likely to belong to a period which falls between the urgent calls to take part in the Third Crusade and the preaching efforts in favour of royal intervention in Occitania, such as that initiated by Innocent III in his bull *Quia maior nunc* of April 1213 which gave rise to a new campaign of *Crucis praedicationes*. The song seems likely to have arisen in this climate and to date from a time immediately following that year. It is also important to take note of the rubric *De Nostre Daime* written in the margin of ms C next to the incipit: its presence may be not only further confirmation that it is modelled on *Vous ki ameis* but also that it was composed in the musical modes of the School of Notre-Dame.