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The Troubadours and the Song of the Crusades

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The Troubadours and the Song of the Crusades

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Arts
of Bard College

by
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Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

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Preface

Since childhood, I found myself drawn to the religious tensions and persecutions of Medieval Europe. The oppression and miserable conditions stemming from poor social structure and religious intolerance never ceased to astound me. Through my music education, I was exposed to early medieval texts, sparking my interest in the oratory troubadour tradition. The combination of the two interests inspired me as I sought a topic for my Senior Project, and through this search, I found the following context for my thesis in “The Troubadours and The Song of the Crusades.”

The troubadours, trouvères, minnesingers, and others of similar tradition, transcended the constraints of early-medieval social structure, maintaining a unique culture consisting of many classes, from commoners, to gentility, to royal appointment. Removed from the direct influence of both the Church, and the nobility, the troubadours were unaffected by the limits imposed by the existing social structures. Holding a unique social standing, the troubadours functioned with an autonomy that resulted in music and poetry from the perspective of a cultural observer. The troubadours were often granted intimate access to the courts of nobility and those in positions of power, offering them internal insight into events of political and social importance.

Their position allowed them to observe the period of the Crusades with a relative sense of objectivity in a time of inter-cultural and inter-faith transgressions. During a period of secular control by religious institutions, especially on the part Catholic church, the troubadours served almost as a medieval “journalist.” Their ability to be lenient with their lyrics came at a time when public dissent was restricted and muted by religious warfare, when most historical documents were recorded by those employed by religious institutions. My first objective of this text will be

to examine the historical narrative within which the troubadours composed, in order to demonstrate their position as recorders of antiquity. In addition, it will be important to show that their music and poetry provide accounts of popular opinions and attitudes, primarily within the timeframe of the First Crusade, through to the Albigensian Crusade, with the addition of some minor crusade efforts as well.

In a period of physical and spiritual suffering, the vernacular music of the troubadour tradition portrays the turmoil affecting all parts of society during the Crusades. Therefore, it is also my objective throughout the subsequent chapters to provide specific instances that reflect medieval social reality, unmasked by religious hypocrisy. I will also provide texts of various origins and languages, with intent to demonstrate that the regional scope of the troubadour tradition affords a diversity of historical narratives.

I. Troubadours: An Historical Overview

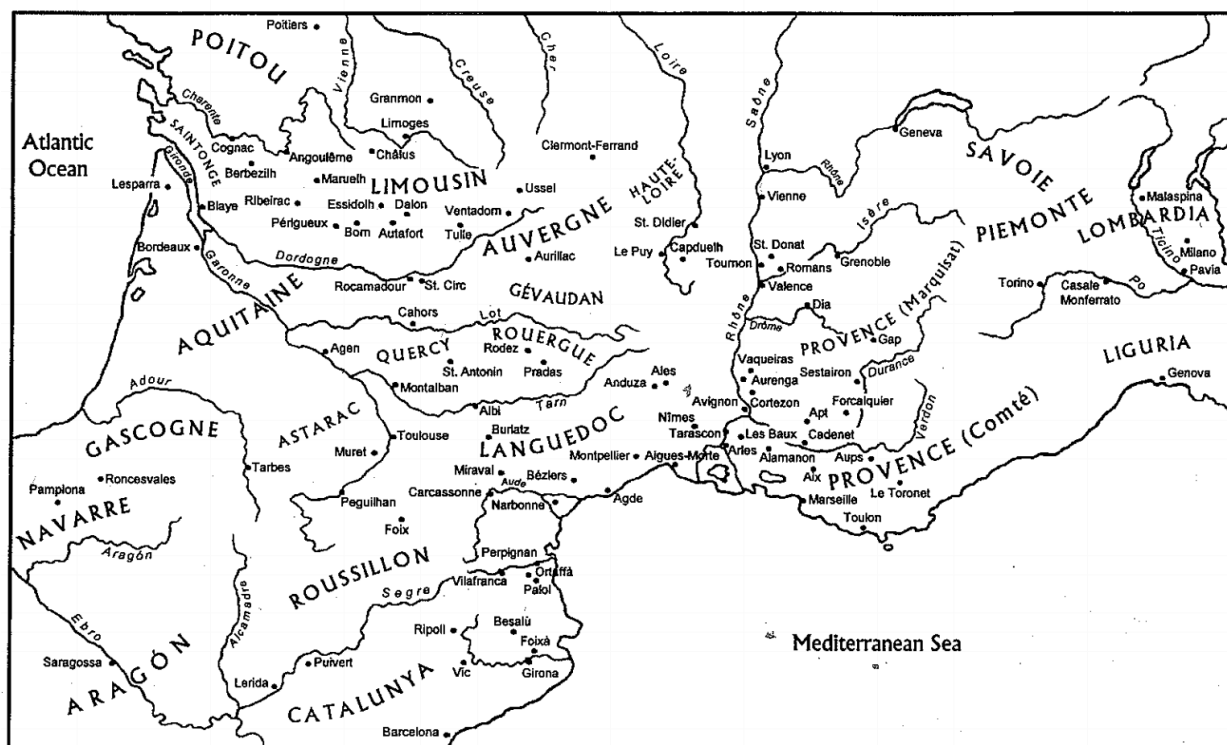


Figure 1. Occitania-Midi region between 12th and 13th centuries.

The troubadours have been credited as giving birth to the lyrical poetry of modern European languages.¹ Emerging in France, they were predominantly male composers from parts of Western Europe during the High Middle Ages (approximately the twelfth through the thirteenth centuries). They glorified the concept of courtly love in the *langue d'oc*, the dialect of Southern France. The troubadour tradition originated in the Middle East, from where the troubadour ideas then spread between the Mediterranean and Spain, to the Medieval region known as Occitania by the eleventh century. The tradition then flourished throughout Southern

¹ Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, The Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), 267.

France,² a region characterized by greater freedom and fewer societal constraints than was the norm in other parts of Medieval Europe. There was also a smaller social distinction between the wealthy and poor, and a noticeably less prominent social hierarchy, as well as less influence of the Catholic church and nobility. These social conditions created a more tolerant, open community. Beyond Southern France, the troubadour tradition travelled to Northern France as the Trouvère tradition, as well as other areas such as the Languedoc, Germany, Italy, and beyond.

Individual troubadours often came from nobility, and sought patronage in royal courts, leading to the intrigue of courtly love. Emerging in Western Europe, the concept of troubadour “courtly love” is one of intrigue and admiration. During a period where most marriages were arranged and love was “learned,” not intuitive, these composers would praise the virtues of women, demonstrating a loving fondness. Courtly love was not a lustful tradition; troubadours did not write about physical desirability, rather they were concerned with sensual, not sexual, love. The role of the troubadours in this context included the duty to speak of admiration and love, often with regard to those who had experienced an arranged marriage. While exploring the theme of love in their music, the troubadour often placed the female at a similar level as a goddess, or as something rare, beautiful, even mystical. Since the name “courtly love” suggests those in power in royal courts or associated with the realm, troubadours sometimes would find themselves under scrutiny, accused of courting married women³ during a time when true love was often thought to be something found outside of the arranged household. Further, the troubadours would often be accused of acting only in self-interest, purportedly intending only to

² The name “troubadour” is telling of its’ origins: *Trobar*, meaning “to find,” or “to compose in verse,” in French; *tarrab*, in Arab meaning “minstrel.”

³ Especially those women whom may have mistreated and unhappy in their marriage.

advance their position in society and career. Despite this, it was the troubadours that were responsible for instilling notions of a certain kind of love and romanticism during a period marked with plague, famine, inquisition, and crusade.

The troubadours cultivated a kind of lyricism in their music, most notably in their use of meter and rhyme. Those who did not find consistent patronage would travel from village to village⁴ and abroad as they continuously wrote and performed their work. While the content of troubadour music is often thought to be romantic, as they travelled, they were able to spread news to the areas they ventured to. During a time where there was no readily accessible news source,⁵ the troubadours not only served as a source of entertainment, but also as a means to spread news of recent events to those in power and noblemen, and throughout villages and among common people. Troubadours, trouvères, trobaritz, and minnsingers all stemmed from a multitude of societal backgrounds. Makin notes,

The Provençal poets—the troubadours—were princes, ex monks, poor knights, bakers’ sons and beggarly plagiarists. Some wandered and sang for a living, some could count on an appreciative, tied audience... The troubadours had networks of communication whose nature we can only guess at,⁶

demonstrating the great wealth of access these poets had contact with, which inspired their work based on who they conveyed their art form to. Almost like an exchange, the community would share news to the traveler, who would then continue on in his journey, bringing news wherever they went. However, troubadours not only were vessels for historical information, but also reacted to current events through their poetry. During the time in which the troubadours

⁴ Troubadours also had a hierarchy-type system, or four different types of troubadours. One was the travelling minstrel, or the entertainer who visited different villages to serve the public, rather than those troubadours who served the court and gentility.

⁵ The printing press wouldn’t even be developed until the end of the High Middle Ages between 1140-50.

⁶ Peter Makin, *Provence and Pound* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), 1.

flourished, there was another event of importance occurring—the Crusades (1095-1291). Many troubadours would travel abroad to the Holy Land with their patrons who were participating in the crusades; during their travels, the troubadours were often considered to be quite literally, portable instruments.⁷ Some troubadours would even “take the Cross,” choosing to partake in the fighting themselves. Many would record crusade history in their compositions as a result. However, the main profession of these troubadours was musicianship, or entertainment.

While troubadours themselves were poets, the unique correlation between musical structure and poetic structure demonstrates that the pieces they created were actually musical songs, not just poems. The troubadour tradition was rooted heavily in vocal transmission—while nearly 2600 troubadour poems survive by more than 450 authors, the melodies for these poems did not survive as well, with only about 275 melodies surviving.⁸ Therefore, examining the melodies that do survive proves to be difficult because the songs were often transmitted through each performer as well as sometimes through patrons of the troubadours as well. Through multiple transmissions, it is understandable that the lack of consistency of same-music counterparts can be changing in nature. Similar in regards to the crusades and the oral nature of the troubadour tradition, melodies altered and/or lost during a period of conquest and death is understandable considering documents would be destroyed during times of religious dissent.

⁷ "Music of the Crusades Era," University of Michigan, last modified November 18, 1997, accessed March 2, 2016, <http://www.umich.edu/~marcons/Crusades/topics/music/music-article.html>.

⁸ Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 270.

II. The Early Troubadours

William IX (1071-1127)⁹

The troubadours that participated in early crusade fighting would reflect their experience in their poetry (if they did return from the fighting at all). The earliest surviving troubadour text comes from Guilhèm de Peitieu,¹⁰ otherwise known as William IX, Duke of Aquitaine and VII Count of Poitiers VII. As a result, he is often referred to as the “first” troubadour. His noble position would inhibit his participation in the First Crusade,¹¹ when many others were assuming the cross and engaging in combat. However, he would lead the Crusade of 1101 (as well as participating in other crusades), a relatively small crusade following the conclusion of the successful First Crusade. William IX traveled to Constantinople with a large army, which would be massacred, with William barely surviving himself. However, this was not a complete loss for the count—William of Malmesbury, the most accredited English scholar of the twelfth century, drew a correlation between the tremendous failure of the Crusade of 1101 and the beginning of William IX’s interest in composition.¹² It has been inferred by scholars that William IX’s poems are the earliest surviving Crusade troubadour texts. Ordericus Vitalis, a Benedictine monk (the standard historian of the time) noted that the first *chansons de la croisade* were written by the

⁹ Frederick Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology and a History* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1983), 5.

¹⁰ *Guilhem de Peiteu* in Occitan.

¹¹ At the time of the First Crusade in 1095, William IX did not have an heir to the throne, deeming it irresponsible to participate in the holy war. However, following his son’s birth in 1099, William IX began campaigning to finance his crusade.

¹² William, *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine*, ed. Gerald A. Bond, *The Garland Library of Medieval Literature a* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1982), 4: xxxvi.

Duke of Poitiers in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c. 1135), referencing one year after the failed crusade:

Pictauensis uero dux peractis in Ierusalem orationibus, cum quibusdam aliis consortibus suis est ad sua reuersus, et miserias captiuitatis suae ut erat iocundas et lepidus, postmodum prosperitate fultus coram regibus et magnatis atque Christianis cetibus multotiens retulit rithmicis uersibus cum facietis modulationibus.

When the duke of Poitou had completed his devolutions in Jerusalem he returned home with some of his companions. Once restored to prosperity, being a gay and light-hearted man, he often recited the trials of his *captivity* (misery) in the company of kings and magnates and throngs of Christians, using rhythmic verses with skillful modulations.¹³

Translation by Chibnall.

The final line demonstrates that Ordericus notes William IX transmitted his experiences not only with words, but in musical form. Despite a lack of musical counterparts surviving with his poems, it can be assumed that there must have been a melodic structure due to the mention of “skillful modulations.”

His initial failure during the Crusade of 1101 did not dissuade William IX from continuing God’s work through *Milita Christi*. He would once again lead the Spanish Crusade of 1120, this time drawing great success. His eleventh and final remaining work, *Pos de chanter m’es pres talentz*, was written around 1119 as he prepared for his departure,¹⁴ and the current historical references within the text indicates that the poem served as a farewell to his own life as the uncertain outcome of fighting seemed dire:

Pos de chanter m’es pres talentz	Since I feel a need to sing
Farai un vers don sui dolenz:	I will make a song about my sorrow;
Mais no serai obediencz	No longer will I be a vassal
En Peitau ni en Lemozi.	In Poitou and in Limousin.

¹³ William, *The Poetry of William*, 4: 120-121.

¹⁴ Samuel N. Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998), 36.

Qu'era m'en irai en eisil:
 En gran paor, en grand peril,
 En guerra laisserai mon fil,
 E faran li mal siei vezi.

For now I shall go into exile:
 In great fear, in great peril,
 At war I will leave my son,
 And his neighbors will harm him.

Lo departirs m'es aitan grieus
 Del senhoratge de Peities:
 En garda lais Folco d'Angieus
 Toto la terr'e son cozi.

The departure from the domain
 Of Poitiers is so difficult for me!
 I leave Foulques of Angers in charge
 Of all the land and of his cousin.

Si Folcos d'Angieus no.l socor
 E.l reis de cui ieu tenc m'onor,
 Faran li mal tuit li pluzor,
 Felon Gascon et Angevi.

If Foulques of Angers does not help him
 And the king from whom I hold my domain,
 Many people will bring him harm,
 Treacherous Gascons and Angevins.

Si ben non es savis ni pros,
 Cant ieu serai partitz de vos,
 Viatz l'auran tornat en jos,
 Car lo veiran jov'e mesqui.

If he is neither wise nor valiant
 When I will have left you,
 Quickly they will have overturned him
 For they will see him young and feeble.

Merce quier a mon compaignon
 S'anc li fi tort, qu'il m'o perdon,
 Et ieu prec en Jesu del tron,
 Et en romans et en lati.

I ask pity for my companion
 If ever I wronged him, may he pardon me,
 And I pray to Lord Jesus on the throne
 In Romance and in Latin.

De proeza e de joi fui,
 Mas ara partem ambedui,
 Et eu irai m'en a sellui
 On tuit peccador troban fi.

I have belonged to prowess and joy,
 But now we part company,
 And I go away to the One
 With whom all sinners find rest.

Mout ai estat cuendes e gais,
 Mas Nostre Seigner no.l vol mais;
 Ar non puesc plus soffrir lo fais,
 Tan soi aprochatz de la fi.

I have been most charming and gay,¹⁵
 But our Lord wants that no more;
 Now I can no longer carry the burden,
 So close have I come to the end.

Tot ai guerpit quant amar sueill,
 Cavalaria et orgueill,
 E pos Dieu platz tot o acueill,
 E prec li que.m reteing'am si.

I have left behind everything I used to love,
 Chivalry and pride,
 And since it pleases God, I accept all that
 And pray Him to retain me in His presence.

¹⁵ It's interesting to note that William IX was known for his promiscuity, making this statement all the more relevant since at the time since he was excommunicated by the church and his marriages often suffered as a result.

Toz mos amics prec a la mort
 Que vengan tuit e m'onren fort,
 Qu'eu ai avut joi e deport
 Loing e pres et e mon aizi.

I pray all my friends, at the moment of death
 To come and render me high honor,
 For I have known joy and pleasure
 Far and near and in my domain.

Aissi guerpisc joi e deport
 E vair gris e sembeli.

Thus I leave joy and pleasure
 And rich fur and sable.¹⁶

The form of this piece is simple and straightforward, characteristic of the earliest troubadour texts. It follows a simple four-line stanza structure, with a rhyme scheme of *aaab* (referencing the original text), where the *a*-rhyme only changes minutely (ex. word endings –enz, -il, -or), while the *b* rhyme has the last word of each stanza rhyme continuously and unchanging (-i).¹⁷ This technique was common in William IX's works; the simple theory techniques once again demonstrate the early stages of the troubadour tradition.

For the majority of the text body, Guilhem IX is concerned with his son and heir, William X,¹⁸ who would only succeed him briefly. Stanzas 2-4 note that his son is both “young and feeble” demonstrating that his son is both a minor and inexperienced. The remaining text alludes to both William's service to God as well as to his people. The first stanza compares himself to a vassal, which can be an allusion to a few options: his service to his people, a religious reference demonstrating that he is working in the name of Christ, and lastly, a more sexual allusion that he will no longer remain in the comfort of his homeland where he has romantic ties.¹⁹ The religious context of the poem continues, only further referencing incidents of the crusade.

¹⁶ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 39-40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁸ This matter of his heir is the reason he did not participate in the First Crusade.

¹⁹ This idea can be entertained due to his promiscuous reputation.

Throughout the second half, he directly references his service to God, noting that he is leaving his community and family because it is what God wills—the purpose of the Crusades. It is easy to gather how ominous he felt his chances of survival must have been, since he does not assume the possibility of a return to his home, instead pleading that God may pardon him and allow him to pass to heaven. This is no surprise though, given that at this point he had already seen his comrades defeated in his first holy excursion. Rather, William IX’s continuous contrasting between his present situation and future predicament demonstrates the realities these men faced during a time of religious conquest, where they dedicated themselves to God often with the sacrifice of their own worldly presence (their life). This is most exemplary with his concluding envoi,²⁰ the final two lines of the piece, “thus I leave joy and pleasure and rich fur and sable.” This only demonstrates the comfortable life that he decidedly is sacrificing (“furs and sable” indicating wealth and power) for a cause greater than his own joy. He solidifies this notion as well in the previous stanza, noting that he has experienced joy and pleasure already, and only asks to be memorialized, since God no longer deems that he can continue in this fashion, and instead, must become a martyr.

Marcabru (fl. 1129-1150)²¹

William IX’s son, William X Duke of Aquitaine, VIII of Poitiers, would later become the patron of one of the most prolific troubadours, Marcabru, who frequented many different

²⁰ The songs created by these troubadours often end with an envoi, a technique developed in the Middle Ages. An envoi is often concluding lines of music, in this case, troubadour poetry, that signifies the ending of a poem, and addresses the preceding portion of the poem or stanza. Developed by the medieval troubadours, envois originally served to address a beloved person, or patron (a personal message).

²¹ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 51.

courts as well as William X's court. Marcabru's work as a troubadour differentiated itself from others because his poems were concerned less with courtly love, and were more satirical in nature. Not only would he become prolific, but his works would become the most challenging to understand at the time. In fact, where other troubadours found love to be their weakness, such as William IX or Jaufre Rudel (discussed later in this chapter), Marcabru rejected *fin'amor* in favor of *fals'amor*,²² instead valuing love based on tolerance and joy, equal desire, purity, and most importantly, free of greed. He did not compose love-lyrics for his music.²³ Instead, Marcabru would often use his works as a direct response to other troubadour works that praised courtly love, such as those by William IX and Rudel. Unlike other troubadours of the time, Marcabru did not hail from gentility, which would have provided an easy platform for his music to be heard. Rather he gained his success through his moralistic voice and unique poetic technique, *trobar clus*, a poetic style distinguished by its complex metrics and rhymes, and most importantly (with regard to Marcabru), words chosen for their sound rather than their meaning (which contrasts works of courtly love more concerned with their romanticized meaning or purpose).²⁴

Following the death of William X in 1137, Marcabru sought patronage under King Alfonso VII of Castile. King Alfonso's involvement in the Iberian Reconquista, in turn, inspired Marcabru to compose; *Pax in nomine Domini*, dated approximately 1149,²⁵ is the most well-

²² Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 42.

²³ Linda Paterson, "Fin'amor and the Development of the Courtly Canso," in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32.

²⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Arnaut Daniel".

²⁵ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 44.

known crusade song. Within it, Marcabru uses his unique didactic voice to discuss the feeling surrounding the Second Crusade:²⁶

Pax in nomine Domini!

Fetz Marcabrus los motz e.l so.
Aujatz que di:
Cum nos a fait, per sa doussor,
Lo Seingnorius celestiaus
Probet de nos un lavador,
C'anc, fors outramar, no.n fon taus,
En de lai debes Josaphas:
E d'aquest de sai vos conort.

Lavar de ser e de mati
Nos deuriam, segon razo,
Ie.us o afi.
Chascus a del lavar legor;
Domentre qu'el es sas e saus,
Deuri'anar al lavador,
Que.n es verais medicinaus;
Que s'abans anam a la mort,
D'aut en sus aurem alberc bas.

Mas Escarsedatz e No-fes,
Part Joven de son compaigno.
Ai! cals dols es,
Que tuich volon lai li plusor,
Don lo gazaings es enfernaus!
S'anz non correm al lavador
C'ajam la boca ni.ls huoills claus,
Non i a un d'orguill tant gras
C'al morir non trob contrafort.

Que.l Seigner que sap tot quant es
E sap tot quant er e c'anc fo,
Nos i promes
Honor e nom d'emperador.
E.il beutatz sera,—sabetz caus—

Pax in nomine Domini!

Marcabru made the words and the music.
Listen to what he tells:
How through His kindness
The Lord in Heaven has made,
Near us, a washing place,
Such that never was there one like it except overseas
Way yonder toward Jehoshaphat:
And to the nearby one, I exhort you.

Every morning and every evening
We should wash, according to reason,
I assure you.
Everyone has the opportunity to do so;
While he is hale and hearty,
Each should go to the washing place,
Whence comes true medicine;
For if, before that, we go to death,
Rather than on high, we will have a low lodging.

But Niggardliness and Lack-of-Faith
Separate Youth from his companion.
Ah! What grief it is,
That most all fly there
Where the recompense is Hell!
If we do not run the washing place
Before we have our mouth and eyes closed,
There is not one with pride so great
That in death he will not find the great enemy.

But the Lord who knows all that is
And knows all that will be and that ever was
Promised us there
Honor and the name of emperor.
And the beauty will be—do you know of what kind—

²⁶ Stanza 4 references King Alfonso VII of Spain, which also defends the position that this Crusade song portrays the Second Crusade. He also includes a cameo of his previously deceased employer, William X, in the eighth stanza, (“soul of the count”).
Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 44.

De cels qu'iran al lavador?
 Plus que l'estela gauzignaus;
 Ab sol que vengem Dieu del tort
 Que ill fan sai, e lai vas Domas

Probet del lignatge Caï,
 Del primeiran home felho,
 A tans aissi
 C'us a Dieu non porta honor;
 Veirem qui ll'er amics coraus;
 C'ab la vertut del lavador
 Nos sera Jhesus comunaus;
 E tornem los garssos atras
 Qu'en agur crezon et en sort!

E il luxurios corna-vi,
 Coita-disnar, bufa-tizo,
 Crup-en-cami
 Remanran inz el felpidor;
 Deus vol los arditz e ls suaus
 Assajar a son lavador;
 E cil gaitaran los ostaus;
 E trobaran fort contrafort,
 So per qu'ieu a lor anta ls chas.

En Espaigna, sai, lo Marques
 E cill del temple Salamo
 Sofron lo pes
 E l fais de l'orguoiill paganor,
 Per que Jovens cuoiill avol laus.
 E l critz per aquest lavador
 Versa sobre ls plus rics captaus
 Fraitz, faillitz, de proeza las,
 Que non amon Joi ni Deport.

Desnaturat son li Frances,
 Si de l'afar Dieu dizon no,
 Qu'ieu sai cum es:
 Antiocha! Pretz e Valor
 Sai plora Guiana e Peitaus.
 Deus, Seigner, al tieu lavador
 L'arma del comte met en paus:
 E sai gart Peitius e Niort
 Lo Seigner qui ressors del vas!

Of those who go to the washing place?
 Greater than the morning star:
 Provided that we avenge God of the wrong
 They do him here, and there towards Damascus.

In the lineage of Cain,
 Of that first treacherous man,
 There are many,
 Not one of whom honors God;
 We shall see who will be a loyal friend to Him,
 For by the virtue of the washing place
 Jesus will be one with us;
 And let us turn back those scoundrels
 Who believe in omens and in sorcery!

And the lechers, drunkards,
 Eager-eaters, fireside squatters,
 Rumps-on-the-road
 Will remain in their squalor;
 God wants the brave and the kind
 To test at his washing place,
 And the rest will wait in their dwellings,
 And they will find the great and mighty enemy;
 That's why I chase them to their shame.

In Spain, nearby, the Marquis
 And those of Solomon's temple
 Bear the brunt
 And the burden of pagan pride,
 On account of which Youth reaps disgrace;
 And the outcry for this washing place
 Pours over the greatest leaders,
 Broken, failed, weary of prowess,
 Who love not Joy or Delight.

The French are degenerate
 If they say no to the task of God;
 I know how it is:
 Antioch! Guyenne and Poitiers
 Here weep for Merit and Valor.
 Lord God, at your washing place
 Grant peace to the soul of the count;
 And here may he protect Poitiers and Niort,
 The Lord Who rose from the grave!²⁷

²⁷ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 52-53.

Example 1. Marcabru, *Pax in nomine Domini*.

Pax in no- mi- ne Do- mi- ni!
 Fetz Mar- ca- brus los motz e.l so.
 Au- jatz que di:
 Cum nos a fait, per sa dous- sor,
 Lo Sein- gno- rius ce- les- ti- aus
 Pro- bet de nos un la- va- dor,
 C'anc, fors ou- tra- mar, no.n fon taus,
 En de lai de- ves Jo- sa- phas:
 E d'a- quest de sai vos co- nort.

In Example 1,²⁸ the melodic setting displays a unique form, with some repetition, but not in ‘any standard’ melodic form (such as a binary form): ABCDDA’EFG, where there is much change and fluctuation within the latter portion of the musical stanza, resulting in a melodic climax. The same can be said of the lyrical rhyme: abacdcdef—there is some repetition, but not in any

²⁸ Samuel N. Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998), 51.

conventional format.²⁹ For both the melody and lyrical rhyme, each line remains related in some way to another, such that melodically, lines 4 and 5 are expansions of the material in line 3, and that line 6 is also an exaggeration of line 1. This analysis is particularly important as it plays a strong role in message convention for the poetry. The beginning line exclaims, “Pax in nomine Domini!”³⁰ (translating to “peace in the name of the Lord”) to set context to the text—that of the Crusade and peace movement. Marcabru addresses himself as narrator, and continuously draws upon the crusades by introducing a “washing place,” *lavador*, alluding a type of Holy cleanse or remission of sins.³¹ Specifically, this brings to mind the act of the crusades in an attempt to purify others through *Milita Christi* as the crusades became more than mere conquest, but also a pilgrimage, including taking religious vows, and defending the Cross. Marcabru indicates geographical locations, including pilgrimage routes and other locations. The initial brief mention of himself draws a comparison between himself and the Lord (“nomine Domini...Macrabrus”); just like God, creator of man, Marcabru views himself also as a creator, particularly of the song form. These first two lines are so striking alongside the supplied melodic material, establishing a serious narrative tone. The change in tonal register by the third line indicates a shift to the audience, which is also demonstrated by the lyrics, “Listen to what he tells...” shifting the focus from Marcabru as the narrator, back to the purpose of the audience’s pilgrimage (the crusade). The tonal register remains as it discusses the Lord. The brief a-line of 4 syllables exclaims (line 3), “Aujats que di,” which relates to the Old French writing of “Oiez Seignor,” meaning “Harken, Lords” creating a sense of an epic work, and determining that the audience would be of

²⁹ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 22; Marcabru et al., *Marcabru: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge [England]: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 435.

³⁰ This is the only troubadour text that begins with a Latin excerpt, followed then by the vernacular Occitan.

³¹ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 44.

the gentility, such as knights, who may be departing for war, or are returning, having experienced the combat. The important use of *lavador* is repeated throughout each stanza, bringing the audience back to envisioning a religious cleanse. The melodic gesture attached to *lavador* is the same as that which introduced the work with “nomine Domini...Marcabrus,” creating a complete fusion between God, Marcabru, and the poetic purpose.³² This *lavador* is also referenced to be an absolvment of sins by God, specifically the use of “doussor.” Throughout the piece, sinners, and those in opposition of God or not willing to fight for His purpose, are called upon through incessant repetition to either take the cross or remain in hell. The melodic gesture reaches the highest point at this call for sinners (line 8) creating an intensification; the melisma on e then returns downward, indicating a resolvment. We can see the reoccurrence of the idea of a sinner throughout other stanzas, such as the mention of “the lineage of Cain, of that first treacherous man.” The sixth stanza focuses primarily on indicating that those sinners will forever suffer, noting that God would not want them in His service (after their disloyalty). Instead of creating the image of an accepting God, this text develops the opposite notion—a discriminatory God. It then becomes clear that the repetition of *lavador* not only serves as a call to enroll in crusading, but also symbolizes a fear to stand against the movement for the misery one would then endure. Beyond the religious persecution one would face, it is clear that the inactive were not worth salvation (Heaven). By the final stanza it is more than clear that the motive to reach the *lavador* is motivated morally, and politically. He claims that the French are degenerates based on their refusal to serve God, mentioning a weeping for “Merit and Valor,” the ultimate courtly values one must uphold which those who do not serve must not uphold themselves. It can be determined, based on the overwhelming tone of this

³² Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 23.

Crusade song, that many people must have been rejected and committed to a life of melancholy, and only a few appear to be absolved. Further, this poem serves as an important historical artifact documenting the punitive, unforgiving attitude surrounding the cause of the crusade.

Jaufre Rudel (fl. mid-twelfth century)³³

Jaufre Rudel de Blaye, a nobleman and lord (of Blaye in South-West region of France), also participated in the crusades and wrote in the vernacular style tradition of the time. It is likely that his participation in the Crusade of 1148 also led to his demise, perhaps dying in the Holy Land.³⁴ Many of his poems are concerned with love. He grew particularly fond of the Countess Hodierna of Tripoli, who he learned of from displaced Antioch pilgrims who recounted her virtues. The countess became the protagonist in most of his works regarding love, and, it is noted that Rudel became most famous for his longing for a “distant love.”³⁵ Further, his romanticization would motivate Rudel to take part in the crusades. It is speculated that he finally met his ‘true love’ in Tripoli, where the Countess came to him, and he died tragically in her arms. His piece, *Quan lo rossinhol el follos*, is reflective of a longing love, and the struggle and dismal outcome of his time spent in the crusade:

Quan lo rossinhol el fulhos	Deep in the leaves, the nightingale
Dona d’amor e·n quier e·n pren	Knows love and pleads to seize love’s prize
E mou son chan jauzen joyos	And while he tells his joyous tale
E remira sa par soven,	Still toward his mate he turns his eyes.
E·l rieu son clier e·l prat son gen	Rivers run clear; green pastures rise.
Pel novel deport que renha,	While this season’s new pleasures start,
Mi ven al cor gran joy çazer.	Great joys go spreading through my heart.

³³ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 100.

³⁴ Due to the fact that there are no historical references to Rudel after this event.

³⁵ Robert Kehew, Ezra Pound, and W. D. Snodgrass, *Lark in the Morning: The Verses of the Troubadours*, a bilingual ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 61.

D'un' amiatat soi enveios,
 Car no sai joia plus valen,
 C'or e dezir, que bona·m fos
 Si·n fazia d'amar parven,
 Que·l cors a gran, delgat e gen
 E sen ren que·l desconvenha:
 Es s'amor bon' ab bon saber.

D'est' amor soi fort cossiros
 Velhan, e pueys son ja dormen,
 Car lay ay joy maravilhos
 Per qu'ieu la jau ab joy jauzen;
 Mas sas beutaz no·m val nïen,
 Quar nulhs amicx no m'essenha
 Cum ieu ja n'aya bon saber.

D'aquest' amor soi tan cochos
 Que cant yeu vau vas luy corren,
 Vejaire m'es que raïzos
 Me·n torn e qu'ela m'an fugen,
 E sos chivaus cor aitan len
 Que greu er mays qui l'atenha
 S'amors no la·m fay remaner.

Amors alegre·m part de vos
 Per tal car vau mo mielhs queren,
 E soi de tan, aventuros
 Qu'en breu n'auray mon cor jauzen
 La merce de mon bel Guiren
 Que·m vol e m'apell' e·m denha,
 E m'a tornat en bon esper.

E qui sai rema deleytos
 E Dieu non siec en Belleen,
 No sai cum ja mais sia pros
 Ni cum ja venha guerimen,
 Qu'ieu sai e cre mon escien
 Que selh qui Jhesus ensenha
 Segura escola pot tener.

Just to become her friend I yearn;
 No gem's so precious anywhere
 As that she'd grant me in return
 Her love, a gift beyond compare—
 That shape so graceful, trim and spare,
 All her body's smooth, well-formed flesh,
 Her love so rare, her poise so fresh.

Such love as mine demands great care
 Waking or in my dreams at night
 For I find pleasure with her there
 Taking and giving deep delight.
 Her beauty, though, inflames my sight.
 He would become this heart's best friend
 Who'd say I'll win her in the end.

Yet love brings great distress as well
 For though I try to reach her side
 Sometimes she seems to flee pell-mell
 While I move backward, stride by stride.
 My mount's so tardy, we're denied
 Every hope to win our love's race
 Unless some fondness slowed her pace.

Love, take no blame that I depart;
 I go now at the Lord's behest;
 New goals have risen in my heart
 That send me forth upon this quest.
 Let my Protector's name be blest,
 Who desires and calls, who binds too,
 Turning me toward a hope so true.

Who'd lounge in comforts like some knave,
 Not seeking Bethlehem's true Lord—
 I know not how to call him brave
 Nor what hope waits for his reward
 Or what grace could our God afford;
 Yet the man our God leads His way
 Will surely never range astray.³⁶

³⁶ Kehew, Pound, and Snodgrass, *Lark in the Morning*, 66-69.

This lyricism displays the “complex medieval conception of love”³⁷—involving both love and lust. While this poem is dedicated to love, it also makes note of a religious following, or call to follow in the name of Christ particularly in its final stanza. Despite his love, the narrator’s main objective is to seek his “highest good,” which, during this period, was to expand Christendom and reclaim the Holy Land. The narrator suppresses his yearning love out of respect for God, who calls for his servitude and dedication, more so than the woman who holds Rudel’s true affection. However, this is described as being fair and just, since only those who abandon their desires in the time of need for God are worthy of “true love” and salvation. The penultimate stanza marks the poet’s farewell to courtly love: “Let my Protector’s name be blest, who desires and calls, who binds too, turning me toward a hope so true,” resolves Rudel to suffer permanently in the name of the God as he “turns” towards a new purpose. The text until the penultimate stanza also utilizes similar word choice typical of courtly love poetry, while the final stanza abandons any romantic language, and instead, focuses only on the new, imposed purpose of the narrator, emphasizing the finality of the situation; The last stanza notes the narrator following God to Bethlehem, the Holy Land, painting a clear picture that, just as Jaufre Rudel had hoped to be united with his admirable love, he also felt the responsibility to his higher devotion, God, choosing the latter.³⁸ Regarding this textual inference, Kehew writes,

This poem takes the form of a spiritual journey, as the poet-narrator wends his way through progressively higher, more spiritual planes of existence. He begins his quest for joy in the first part of the poem, in the material world. Then, in the third and fourth stanzas, the poet pursues his fleeing love through a surreal and imaginative plane. Finally, in the concluding stanzas, he realizes that “the highest joy is to be found in the service of God”—on a more spiritual level of existence that yet is rooted in the world of action. This interpretation helps to clarify why the work morphs...from a *canso* about romantic love into a Crusade song.³⁹

³⁷ Kehew, Pound, and Snodgrass, *Lark in the Morning*, 61.

³⁸ This is interesting since the troubadour fascination with courtly love tends to exceed that of religious conquest.

³⁹ Kehew, Pound, and Snodgrass, *Lark in the Morning*, 61.

It is at the end of the piece we gain the sense of the narrator “following” to the Holy Land and therefore, into the Crusade of 1148 at the Siege of Damascus (Second Crusade).

Rudel also became important beyond his recorded works and participation in the Crusades. It became his piece, *Lanquan li jorn son lonc en mai*, that would serve as inspiration for later generation of troubadours⁴⁰. It is also another piece of *fin’amor*, courtly love, directed towards his countess. Topsfield notes that, similar to the previous piece, the narration is that of a spiritual traveler. However, in *Lanquan*, the narrator does not completely sacrifice his *amor*:⁴¹

Lanquand li jorn son lonc en mai M’es bels douz chans d’auzels de loing, E quand me sui partiz de lai Remembra.m d’un’amor de loing; Vauc de talan enbroncs e clis, Si que chans ni flors d’albespis No.m platz plus que l’inverns gelatz.	When the days are long in May, I like the sweet song of birds from afar, And when I have departed from there, I remember a love from afar; I go sad and bowed with desire So that neither song nor hawthorn flower Pleases me more than icy winter.
Ja mais d’amor no.m gauzirai Si no.m gau d’est’amor de loing, Qe gensor ni meillor non sai Vas nuilla part nip res ni loing. Tant es sos pretz verais e fis Qe lai el renc dels Sarrazis Fos eu per lieis chaitius clamatz.	Never in love shall I rejoice Unless I enjoy this love from afar, For nobler or better I do not know In any direction, near or far, Her worth is so true and perfect That there in the kingdom of Saracens I would, for her, be proclaimed a captive.

⁴⁰ In reference to the German interpretation of Minnsingers, see Chapter IV, section “Walther von der Vogelweide.”

⁴¹ Noting that there have been different readings of this piece, Kehew states that “Topsfield persuasively argues that the poem’s controlling metaphor is the notion of the lover as a crusader or pilgrim. A pilgrim, of course, endures great hardship on the road—it is no coincidence that the words *travel* and *travail* sound alike—in order to reach and worship the Holy... Neither the ‘sweet birds’ song [nor] flowering briar’ can cheer the pilgrim-poet. After this transfiguring encounter, the poet imagines that an ordinary chamber or garden will seem like a ‘palace’: not even being held ‘captive in a Moorish land’ would be able to quell his joy. (The troubadours, like poets and thinkers of other times, were fascinated by the notion that there is a subjective aspect to our perceptions of reality.) The lover entertains no thought of remaining permanently in his beloved’s presence... He realizes that his intersection with the holy will be moving but short-lived: he must then depart, go home, and pick up his (now transformed) ordinary life again.” Kehew, Pound, and Snodgrass, *Lark in the Morning*, 61.

Iratz e gauzens m'en partrai
 Qan veirai cest'amor de loing,
 Mas non sai coras la.m veirai,
 Car trop son nostras terras loing:
 Assatz i a portz e camis.
 E per aisso no.n sui devis,
 Mas tot sia cum a Dieu platz!

Be.m parra jois qan li qerrai
 Per amor Dieu l'amor de loing.
 E s'a lieis plai, albergarai
 Pres de lieis, si be.m sui de loing.
 Adoncs parra.l parlamens fis
 Qand drutz loindas er tant vezis
 C'ab bels digz jauzirai solatz.

Ben tonc lo seignor per verai
 Per q'ieu veirai l'amor de loing,
 Mas per un ben qe m'en eschai
 N'ai dos mals, car tant m'es de loing.
 Ai! car me fos lai peleris
 Si que mos fustz e mos tapis
 Fos pelz sieus bels huouills remiratz!

Dieus qe fetz tot qant ve ni vai
 E fermet cest'amor de loing
 Me don poder, qe.l cor eu n'ai,
 Q'en breu veia l'amor de loing
 Veraiamen en locs aizis,
 Si qe la cambra e.l jardis
 Me resembles totz temps palatz.

Ver ditz qui m'apella lechai
 Ni desiran d'amor de loing,
 Car nuills autre joist ant no.m plai
 Cum jauzimens d'amor de loing;
 Mas so q'eu vuoill m'es tant ahis
 Q'enaissi.m fadet mos pairis
 Q'ieu ames e non fos amatz.

Mas so q'ieu vuoill m'es tant ahis...
 Toz sia mauditz lo pairis
 Qe.m fadet q'ieu non fos amatz!

Sad and rejoicing I shall depart
 When I shall see this love from afar,
 But I do not know when I shall see her
 For our lands are too far.
 Many are the ports and roads,
 And so I cannot prophesy,
 But may all be as it pleases God!

Joy will surely appear to me when I seek from her,
 For the love of God, this love from afar.
 And if it pleases her, I shall lodge
 Near her, although I am from afar.
 Then will appear fine discourse,
 When, distant love, I shall be so close
 That with charming words I shall delight
 in conversation.

I consider that Lord as the true one
 Through whom I shall see this love from afar,
 But for one good that befalls me from it,
 I have two ills, because she is so far.
 Ah! Would that I might be a pilgrim there
 So that my staff and my cloak
 Might be seen by her beautiful eyes.

God who made all that comes and goes
 And established this love from afar,
 Give me the power, for the desire I have,
 Quickly to see this love from afar,
 Truly, in agreeable places,
 So that chamber and garden
 Might always seem to me a palace!

He speaks the truth who calls me greedy
 And desirous of love from afar,
 For no other joy pleases me as much
 As enjoyment of love from afar,
 But what I want is so difficult,
 For thus did my godfather decree my fate,
 That I should love and not be loved.

But what I want is so difficult
 May the godfather be cursed
 Who decreed my fate that I should not be loved.⁴²

⁴² Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 56-7.

The original Occitan text shows that a few components comprise the form of this piece. The verb *loing*, meaning afar/far, creates a refrain in lines 2 and 4 of each stanza. Significantly, *loing* is often attached to *amor*, love, (*d'un amor de loing*, *d'est' amor de loing*, and so on), creating a relationship between longing and love for the narrator. An extension of this, each stanza has an ababcc rhyme structure, where the metric structure in each line contains 8 syllables. The rhyme scheme is in relation to the structure: -ai (a), -loing (b), -ai (a), -loing (b), -is (c), -is (c), -atz (d). This is significant because, the combination of the syllables and rhyme structure makes it so the rhyme sounds continuous. This technique is called *coblas unissonans*, meaning same sounding stanzas. In the final line of the stanzas, 'd', rhymes with the other ending stanza lines ("-atz") as well (called *rim estramp*), creating a fluid relationship from stanza to stanza.⁴³ This piece is also one of the few pieces where the melodic component still exists. Looking at the melodic music, there is a connection between the distant love and a melodic gesture:

Example 2. Jaufre Rudel, *Lanquand li jorn son lonc en mai*.

Lan- quand li jorn son lonc en mai

M'es beils douz chans d'au- zels de loing,

E qand me sui par- titz de lai

Re- mem- bra.m d'un' a- mor de loing;

Vauc de ta- lan en- broncs e clis,

Si que chans ni flors d'al- bes- pis

No.m platz plus que l'in- verna ge- latz.

Example 2⁴⁴ demonstrates that there is a melodic instability created by the cadences focused on the d-rhyme (-atz). In the first line, we see a melodic cadence through “son long...mai” and this

⁴³ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

continues in the following lines. These cadencial details occur around instances of *amor*; the melodic gesture being utilized during instances of both *loing* and *amor de loing*. With each melodic cadence, a distance is created both figuratively and literally (through the distance between notes) between the narrator and the holder of his affection. The narrator's physical and psychological anguish is emphasized by the notes on which the cadences occur: D, G, and C. Since the piece starts on D, but ends on C, an unstable tonal center is created. This tonal instability also highlights a lack of resolve⁴⁵ and particularly, a type of anguish in the relationship between the narrator, love, and God; This is evident in the lyrics—at the beginning of the poem, the narrator is describing the beauty of the woman he loves, however he states that, “sad and rejoicing,” he must leave where he is, and the woman he adores. This action is not of his own will, but because of mandated service to God. He also writes, “Would I might be a pilgrim there, so that my staff and my cloak might be seen by her beautiful eyes,” alluding once again to the Countess (“her beautiful eyes”), and the Crusades (“pilgrimage there”); Therefore, Rudel has become an ally in the crusade efforts. The designation of “there” is clearly the land of Tripoli, while the notion of being a pilgrim must be influenced by his interactions with crusade pilgrims. With the combination of the historical context, and the narrator's personal affection (the love of the Countess), and melodic techniques, the spiritual suffering endured becomes clear. Further, the narrator seems to justify this suffering by noting, “He speaks the truth who calls me greedy and desirous of love from afar, for no other joy pleases me as much as enjoyment of love from afar...decree of fate, that I should love and not be loved,” making it seem as though to indulge in love, the source of his pleasure, is to work against a divine power and purpose for his life. This replacement of love with suffering is highlighted by the final 3-line stanza, an *envoi*, in which the

⁴⁵ Rosenberg et al., *Songs of the Troubadours*, 54-5.

narrator is able to directly convey his personal feelings. The unresolved cadential ending in C further exemplifies his inner turmoil.

Enduring struggle during the medieval period was expected and almost unnoticed as it became integrated with cultural, social, religious, and political life. The troubadours were at the forefront of musical exploration for the later period of the middle ages, pioneering new methods behind the poetry they created. Their music travelled outside of the courts they were subject to, with many feeling the need to participate beyond their troubadour-duties. The Crusades drew considerable attention and participation, resulting in sacrifice and bloodshed; among this were the troubadours, at the 'Holy Land', and recording history through song. It is the remaining poems that demonstrate that the Crusades were more than just "God's will"—the suffering endured was an immanent sacrifice made by the troubadours, as well as by all those within the bounds of the Holy War.

III. 1147-1192

Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Trouvères (Pt. I)

The beginning of the trouvère tradition most likely began as an indirect result of the first known troubadour, William IX.⁴⁶ Not only did he influence the troubadour tradition, but would also inadvertently set the course for the trouvère tradition through his granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine. As the daughter of William X Duke of Aquitaine, VIII Count of Poitiers, Eleanor inherited the title of “Duchess of Aquitaine” in 1137 from her father; this position would make her one of the most eligible women in Europe. She would soon marry King Louis VII of France the same year, making her the Queen of France, which further strengthened her power throughout Europe. According to Deborah Nelson, the troubadour tradition would flourish from Southern France to Northern France as a result of this matrimony.⁴⁷ Since Eleanor was exposed to her grandfather’s legacy, as well as having cultivated “high-class” interests typical of nobility, Nelson’s assumption that Eleanor exposed the troubadour tradition to Northern French courts appears valid. It is important to note that there is no physical documentation of the troubadour movements around this period. There is however, evidence that Eleanor’s marriage to Louis VII contributed to the spread of the art form.⁴⁸ Eleanor’s appreciation and patronage of music, literature, and the troubadour tradition would continue through her two children born to Louis VII; they would continue to shape the regions of Champagne and Blois as cultural centers that appreciated the trouvère entertainment. This can be exemplified by the fact that these

⁴⁶ Refer to the second chapter for more information regarding William IX.

⁴⁷ Deborah H. Nelson, "Northern France," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 255.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

northern poets were financially supported and well received, similar to the respectful patronage the troubadour tradition received in Southern France.



Figure 2. Boundary between troubadours (*langue d'oc*) and trouvères (*langue d'oïl*).

It can be concluded then that Eleanor's marriage to King Louis VII established Northern France as a developing cultural hub where the troubadour tradition could evolve; the trouvère

interpretation soon became a respected entertainment form. Significantly, the spread of the troubadour style afforded a larger region to be historically recorded by trouvère compositions.⁴⁹

The Second Crusade (1145-1149)

The earliest existing trouvère piece comes from the Second Crusade titled, *Chevalier mult estes guariz*.⁵⁰ Written between 1146-47 in England, the piece is considered linguistically trouvère in nature (the piece is written in the *langue d'öil*,⁵¹ an Old French spoken in Northern France during the time period). Although the author of the work is unknown, the text and music survive:

Chevalier, mult estes guariz,
 quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur
 des Turs e des Amoraviz ki
 li unt fit tells deshenors.
 Cher a tort unt cez fieuz saisiz.
 Bien en devums avoir dolor,
 cher la fud Deu primes servi
 e reconnu pur segnnur.

Ki ore irat od Loouis,
 ja mar d'enfern n'avarat pouur,
 Char s'alme en iert en pareis od les
 angeles nostre Seignor.

Knights, you are in safe keeping,
 since God will defend you against
 the Turks and Almoravids who
 have brought him such shame.
 Indeed, wrongly did they seize his lands.
 Rightly should we be sad over it,
 for it was there that God was first honoured
 and recognized as Lord.

Who now will go with Louis need not have
 any fear of hell,
 For his soul shall go to paradise with the
 angels of our Lord.⁵²

⁴⁹ It is also demonstrated in the following “Bertran de Born” section that Eleanor’s second marriage to King Henry II further helped establish the troubadour tradition across water and lands in English territories.

⁵⁰ Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., *A History of Old French Literature: From the Origins to 1300* (New York: F.S. Crofts, 1938), 198.

As a note, I have changed the title from *Chevalier molt estes guariz*, as Holmes cites it, to *Chevalier mult estes guariz*, which is the transcription found in the following source by John Haines.

⁵¹ Nelson, "Northern France," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 255.

⁵² John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 223.

Example 3. Unknown, *Chevalier, mult estes guariz.*

The image shows a musical score for a song. It consists of six staves of music in a single system, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: Che - va - lier, mult_ es - tes_ gua - riz, quant Deu a vus fait sa cla - mur_ des_ Turs e des_ A - mo - ra - viz ki li unt fait tels des - he - nors. Cher a tort unt cez_ fieuz sai - siz. Bien en dev - ums a - veir_ do - lur, cher la_ fud_ Deu primes_ ser - vi e re - con - nu_ pur segn - nur_ Ki ore_ i - rat od Loou - is, ja mar d'en - fern n'avarat pou - ur, Char s'alme_ en_ iert en pa - reis_ od les an - ge - les nos - tre Sei - gnor.

Categorized as a crusade song, this piece includes specific historical references that indicate which crusade is being recounted. The piece begins by noting that the Turkish and Almoravid people have brought shame to God, alluding to the beginning of the Second Crusade; in December of 1144, the Turkish warlord Zengi captured Edessa and massacred the Frankish inhabitants there. In response, Pope Eugenius III initiated the Second Crusade (1145-49), recruiting fighters using propaganda that detailed previous acts of heroism from the First Crusade (1096-99). It also included the privileges that would be afforded⁵³ to those who took the Cross.⁵⁴ The success behind the Pope's recruitment in the crusades stems from the differences in

⁵³ A tactic that has been documented in the music discussed in the previous chapter.

⁵⁴ Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 47.

familial hierarchy in Northern France versus the hierarchy existing in Southern France. Whereas in Southern France, familial descendants inherited land in equal share, Northern France often adhered to the concept of primogeniture, which entitled the first born to familial land and a formal title, while the second born would dedicate his service to the church. For example, this notion is demonstrated by Eleanor of Aquitaine's inheritance; she was not the first child born to William X, but since she came from the South, she inherited an official title and land. These standard ideas of inheritance added to the success of Pope Eugenius' call to arms, as well as to other military campaigns; he offered men the opportunity to acquire land through enrolling in the crusade efforts, as well as settling in the East,⁵⁵ instilling the prospect of social mobility. Among those who enrolled was King Louis VIII of France, whose name is listed in the final line of *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, further designating a definitive time period for the composition.⁵⁶

The text is descriptive of the valiant man or knight, who could possibly be interpreted to be the troubadour composer, who is depicted as opposing external forces, specifically Muslims. Not only does this facilitate service recruitment on the side of the papacy, but also further developed the image of an armed man as a "spiritual" warrior. (Whereas an armed man can be fighting for anything, the spiritual warrior manifests the higher responsibility of defending God.) The image of a religious warrior defending "Christian lands", and theological ideals, becomes standard in the musical-portrayal of the warrior in trouvère texts voicing papal values, further serving as an example of the Church's theological justification to wage regional and

⁵⁵ Magda Bogin, *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), [Page 30].

⁵⁶ These simple music forms (as opposed to a more complex music structure) have been demonstrated to be typical of the troubadour style in previous examined pieces. Key aspects of the piece point to the time that it was produced, besides the narration, such as the simple form (similar to binary) it is written in, AA'A''BB'B''. Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance*, 81, 223.

transnational wars. This piece is only one instance that shows the rationale of igniting the Second Crusade,⁵⁷ when the Catholic church claimed that the Muslims seized “their” lands.

Eleanor of Aquitaine (Pt. II)

Eleanor of Aquitaine’s marriage to Louis VII dissolved due to her inability to produce a legitimate male heir to the French throne, their marriage was annulled under the guise of their descentance from the same family. However, being a woman of great power, intellect and wealth, Eleanor quickly found another suitor in King Henry II of England in 1152, only 8 weeks after her marriage was officially annulled. Through this second marriage, she had five sons, two of which would assume the throne, as well as three daughters. Her marriage was eventually estranged as a result of her support of their second child, King⁵⁸ Henry the Young’s revolt against his father Louis II, which resulted in her imprisonment for eighteen years by her own husband. However, her efforts would not be completely wasted. While her first marriage to Louis VII had seen her take part in the failed Second Crusade, her position as the Queen of England would see her have a more active, purposeful role in the upcoming Third Crusade, and she would ultimately take the Cross herself⁵⁹ in service to the Lord. Eleanor’s third son, Richard, who would succeed in assuming his father’s title of King in 1189, became well known for his successful military efforts. The beginning of the leader’s political influence is documented throughout many of the troubadour Bertran de Born’s works.

⁵⁷ Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance*, 61.

⁵⁸ A crowned king but only a titular king, merely holding a formal position while his father, Louis II enacted the authority of political power.

⁵⁹ Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy*, 429 n.99.

Bertran de Born (b. ca. 1140)⁶⁰

Bertran de Born is regarded as a part of the second generation of troubadours.⁶¹ He came from minor nobility, including those whose fortunes were not inherited, but rather earned through chartered fighting. The threatening possibility that his holdings could be stripped from his possession if he sympathized with opposing forces is likely the reason for his involvement in crusade efforts. Further, his sometimes wavering-allegiance was more than likely caused by his desire to maintain his riches.⁶² His nine surviving pieces transcribed during the era of the Third Crusade (1189-1192)⁶³ parallel crusade events and establish him as a political commentator.

Bertran de Born's piece, *Nostre Seingner somonis el mezeis* (app. 1108),⁶⁴ captures the militant nature of crusading until this point in time. In comparison to his earlier works that document religious military enthusiasm, this piece focuses on monastic purpose and assumption of the Cross.⁶⁵ While short in length, it documents the events of the beginnings of the Third Crusade:

Nostre seinger somonis el mezeis
 totz los ardiz e·ls valens e·ls presatz;
 qu'anc mais guerra ni cocha no·l destreis,
 e d'aquesta ten se fort per grevatz.
 Que presa es la vera cros, e·l reis,
 e·l sepulcres a de secors fraitura,
 don tuit crezem, ab leial fe segura,
 que lo sainz fuecs i deisen. C'om o ve,
 per que no·i fai nuill effortz qui so cre.

Our lord himself summons
 all the spirited and the worth and the noble;
 never before has a war or a skirmish distressed him,
 but he finds himself much grieved by this one.
 For the True Cross is captured, and the king,
 and help is needed at the Sepulcher,
 where, as we all believe with true and certain faith,
 the holy fire descends. Anyone can see it,
 so he who believes in it is making no great effort.

⁶⁰ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 224.

⁶¹ Mark Everist, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 207.

⁶² Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 224-25.

⁶³ History.com Staff, "Crusades," History.com, last modified 2010, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.history.com/topics/crusades>.

⁶⁴ John Gillingham, "The Character of a Lionheart," in *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 260.

⁶⁵ William D. Paden, Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran De Born* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), [Page 384].

opponents. They accepted the Cross from the Archbishop of Tyre on January 21, 1188, initiating the tribulations of the Third Crusade movement.⁶⁹

The piece explores the honor achieved by dedicating oneself to the theological purpose behind the crusading. The distinction that to “take the Cross” determines a “fit king” also suggests that to not fight in the name of the Lord is to be an inadequate leader. The piece praises the “immediate” action of the “truce” between England and France in effort to aid the Papacy’s militia (this ‘agreement’ however wouldn’t be realized for another three years, as they continued to fight and settle, up until Henry II died)⁷⁰. Lastly, the piece depicts events of the Third Crusade that would earn Richard the title of “the Lionheart,” giving him recognition as a fearsome and skillful warrior.

The crusaders, who had pledged both in 1187 and 1188, would not set sail until 1191 from Sicily. Conrad of Montferrat, a major proponent and figure of the Third Crusade is extensively referred to in the following Bertran de Born poem. Conrad was one of the first to respond to the defeat at Hattin, where the king of Jerusalem was captured, and Conrad was appointed the acting King of Jerusalem as a result. Although Richard and King Philip had taken the Cross because of Conrad, the pair delayed the crusade efforts as they continued fighting each other.⁷¹ *Fuilhetas, vos mi preiatz qe ieu chan* (app. 1191),⁷² expresses the irritability Bertran de Born felt toward the inaction, which can be assumed to have been a popular sentiment, while praising Conrad’s efforts to redeem the birthplace of Christ, the Holy Land:

⁶⁹ Paden, Sankovitch, and Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour*, 384.

⁷⁰ It is supposed that Bertran de Born thus added the King of France into the poem later, after the two first kings took the cross in November of 1187. Gouiran, *L'amour Et La Guerre*.

⁷¹ Paden, Sankovitch, and Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour*, 408.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 409.

Fuilhetas, vos mi preiatz qe ieu chan,
pero non hai ni senhor ni vezi,
d'aqest afar aia cor ni talan
ni vueilha ges q'en chantan lo casti.

Mas vos o tenes a joia
amta ab pro mais qe honor ab dan,
e aves mal chauzit, al mieu semblan.

La raucha vos, don cridaz en chantan,
e-l niegre cors don semblas Sarrazi,
e-l paupre mot que dizes en contan,
e qar flairaz sap, e gema, e pi
con avols gens de Savoia,
e qar es lag garnitz e malestan,
ab qe-us n'anes, farai vostre coman.

Ara parra de prez qals l'a plus gran
de totz aqells qi-s leveran mati:
mesier Conratz l'a plus fin ses enjan,
qe-s defen lai a Sur d'en Saladi
e de sa mainada croia.

Dieus l'acorra! Qe-l secors vai tardan.
Sols aura-l prez, pos sols suefre l'afan.

Mesiers Conrat, a Jesu vos coman,
q'ieu fora lai ab vos, so vos afi,
mas laissez m'en qan vi qe li plus gran
si croicavan, li rei e li prinsi.

Pueis vi midons, bell'e bloia,
per qe mos cors mi vai afreollan.
Lai for'ab vos, s'ieu en saupes aitaïn.

D'en Oc e No mi vauc ara duptan
qar peza li si nuilha re-l casti;
e-l reis françois vai si trop apriman
ez ai paor qe veinha sobre mi.

Mas anc al seje de Troia
non ac tan duc, prince ni amiran
con ieu ai mes per chantar a mon dan.

A mon Ynsombart part Troia
vai, serventes, e di li-m, q'ieu lo-l man,
q'als reis crozatz es amta qar non van.

Fuilhetas, you ask me to sing,
but I have no lord or neighbor
with a wish or desire for it,
or who would like me to needle him with a song.

Because you rejoice
to have shame with profit rather than honor with loss,
I think you choose badly.

What with the raucous voice you yell in when you sing,
and the black body that makes you look like a Saracen,
and the poor words you use when you tell jokes,
and because you stink of spruce and pitch and pine
like the dirty people from Savoy,
and because you are ill equipped and unsavory,
if only you'll go away I'll do what you want.

Now we'll see who has the greatest merit
among all those who will get up early;
Sir Conrad has the finest, no doubt,
for he defends himself there in Tyre from Sir Saladin
and his wretched crew.
God help him! For help goes slowly.
He alone will gain the reward, because he suffers the torment alone.

Sir Conrad, I commend you to Jesus,
for I would be there with you, be sure,
but I gave up when I saw that the greatest men
were taking the cross, the kings and the princes.

Then I saw my lady, fair and blond,
and my heart went weak.
I would be there with you, I'm sure, if I knew as much about it
as they do.

Now I go around scared of Sir Yes-and-No
because it bothers him if I scold him at all,
and the French king goes so daintily
that I am afraid he may spring on me.

By singing I have turned
against myself more dukes, princes, and emirs
than ever were at the siege of Troy.

Go to my Isembart beyond Troyes,
sirventes, and tell him for me
that it is a shame for the crossed kings not to go.⁷³

⁷³ Paden, Sankovitch, and Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour*, 410-13.

The initial three stanzas praise Conrad of Montferrat's valiant efforts to reclaim the Holy Land. Bertran de Born views those efforts in contrast to the inactivity he observed from Richard and Philip, effectively criticizing those who had taken the Cross, but neglected to answer Conrad's pleas for aid during wartime. The translation, "Because you rejoice to have shame with profit rather than honor with loss, I think you choose badly,"⁷⁴ is a sharp insult to those who remained consumed by infighting within their own lands, rather than the higher purpose of the Lord.⁷⁵ It would make sense that Bertran's opinions reflected popular consensus, especially during a time when religion and state were so intertwined; a monarch's inaction may have caused turmoil among his population's will, especially when defending the Cross. Further, these lines seem to draw from biblical sources, "In the joy of the just there is great glory: when the wicked reign, men are ruined" (Proverbs 28:12),⁷⁶ only further propagating the idea that those sworn crusaders, especially the monarchs, had tarnished the role they had assumed, impeding Conrad's efforts, and jeopardizing the re-conquest of Jerusalem.

It is the lack of military reinforcement supporting Conrad that leads the narrator to exclaim "God help him!" in the third stanza, while also claiming "Sir Conrad" as the "finest" with the "greatest merit." This suggests that to abandon one's own desires, unrelated to the Lord or Papacy, is the right and just thing to do, exemplified through Conrad's perseverance.

⁷⁴ Pfeffer notes that "it is fitting that the troubadour-knight who values honor above all, and ability on the battlefield as the prime means of acquiring power, would use these lines." *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan Literature* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 55.

⁷⁵ The sirventes *Al nou douz termini blanc*, not of definite authorship of Bertran, but is often attributed to him, further criticizes Philip and Richard of their quarreling, asking them to subside their irrelevant fighting and honor their word, to truly take "blood" in the crusades:

"War is no noble word, when it's waged without fire and blood for a king or a great potentate whom anyone can scorn and call a liar, and he just relaxes and fattens up! A young man who doesn't fee on war soon becomes fat and rotten." Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan*, 56.

This passage then clearly chastises the king for not taking immediate action.

⁷⁶ Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan*, 56.

Addressing Conrad directly in the fourth stanza, Bertran states that he would also valiantly have taken the cross in the crusading efforts, yet he felt assured that other, more qualified men like Conrad, who could better achieve the goal of the crusades, had assumed the responsibility already. In true troubadour style, he justifies his own inaction based on the love of a lady.⁷⁷ Ultimately, while criticizing others for their inaction, Bertran retains his own desires, remaining inactive in an apparent contradiction, driven by both love and fear. This dynamic reveals the torment a crusader faced when deciding to take the Cross, abandoning personal desire for a “greater” religious purpose. Bertran states that Conrad will “alone gain the reward, because he suffers the torment alone,” proving that to fight for the Cross is tantamount to experiencing profound agony.

Bertran describes the fear he faced being in disagreement with “Sir Yes-and-No”, the nickname given to Richard the Lionheart taking into account his tendency to be succinct. This fifth stanza passage illustrates a perceived fear in speaking against those in positions of authority, noting that Bertran fears that Richard might then “spring” on him if he were to do so. He claims that by singing his song, those in power (the dukes, princes, and emirs) may then turn against him. He compares this to the siege of Troy in order to dramatize the fear of being outspoken. This sentiment is consistent in the writings documenting attitudes surrounding the crusades; to honestly exhibit feelings or desires opposing the monarchy or the papacy often led to fear or punitive suffering. Yet, to mute oneself could be considered personal suffering for the sake of abandoning one’s own subsistence and desire. This is also a reference to the fact that Philip Augustus of France was threatening Aquitaine and its Duke, Richard, through February to

⁷⁷ “Troubadour style” referring to the idea that the troubadours were concerned with romanticizing everything.

November of 1188.⁷⁸ The piece ends with Bertran's statement that it is "a shame the crossed kings" do not go, alluding to Richard's crowning in the year 1189.

King Richard's coronation is further alluded to in a subsequent piece Bertran wrote regarding Conrad's unsupported efforts:

Ara sai eu de pretz quals l'a plus gran
de totz aquels que·s leveron maiti:
mesers Conratz l'a plus fin ses enjan
que·s defen lai a Sur de Saladin
e de sa masnada croia.

Secora·l Dieus! Que·l socors vai tarzan.
Sols aura·l pretz que sols sofre l'affan.

Meser Conrat, a Jesu vos coman,
q'eu fora lai a Sur de Saladi,
mas laisei m'en quar se tarzaven tan
li comt'e·ill duc, lli rei e li princi.

Pois vi midonz bell'e bloia
per que s' Janet mos cors aflebeian,
q'eu fora lai, ben a pasat un an.

Seingner Conrat, eu sai dui rei qu'estan
d'aiudar vos. Ara entendatz qui:
lo reis Felips es l'uns, quar va doptan
lo rei Richard, es el lui dopt'aissi.

Ar fos unsquecs d'elz en boia
d'en Saladin! Pos van de Deu gaban
quar son crosat e d'anar mot no fan!

Seingner Conrat, tot per vostr'amor chan,
ni ges no·i gart ami ni ennemi.
Mas per so·l fatz que·ls crozatz vauc reptan
del passatge qu'an si mes en obli.

Non cuidon qu'a Deu enoia
que·ill se paisson e se van sojornan?
E vos enduretz fam, set, e ill stan.

I know now who has the greatest
merit of all those who got up early:
Sir Coonrad has the finest, no doubt,
for he defends himself there at Tyre from Saladin
and his wretched crew.
God help him! For help goes slowly.
He alone will gain the reward because he suffers the
torment alone.

Sir Conrad, I commend you to Jesus,
because I would have been there in Saladin's Tyre,
but I gave up when the counts and the dukes,
the kings and the princes dawdled so.

Then I saw my lady, beautiful and blond,
and my heart went weak;
otherwise I would have been there a year ago!

Lord Conrad, I know two kings who fail
to help you. Now listen who they are:
King Philip is one, because he goes suspecting
King Richard, who suspects him right back.

I wish both of them were in Sir
Saladin's chains! For they go bragging about God,
because they took the Cross, but they don't say a word
about going!

Lord Conrad, all for the love of you I sing,
and I don't mind friend or foe.
I do it because I go on reproaching the crusaders
with the voyage they've forgotten.

Don't they think it angers God that
they stuff themselves and go loafing?
You endure hunger and thirst, and they don't budge.

⁷⁸ "Bertran de Born," Rialto, [http://www.rialto.unina.it/BtBorn/80.17\(Gouiran\).htm](http://www.rialto.unina.it/BtBorn/80.17(Gouiran).htm).

Seingner Conrat, la roda·s vai viran
in aquest mon pur en mal a la fi.
Quar paucs en sai que no s'anon penan
com enganon vezi e no-vezi.

Mas cel que pert no·ill par joia.
Donc sapchan ben, ceill qu'eu dic qu'aiso
fan que Dieus escriu so que dig e faig an.

Seigner Conrat, lo rei Richart val tan
(si tot quan voill, de lui gran mal m'en di)
qu'el passera ab tal esfortz ogan
con far poira·n—so aug dir tot de fi.

E·l reis Felips en mar poia
ab autres reis. C'ab tal esfortz vendran
que part l'Albre-Ses irem conquistan.

Bel Papiol, vas Savoia
ten ton camin e vas Branditz brochan
e passa·l mar c'al rei Conrat ti man.

Quan seras lai, no t'ennioa;
tu li diras que s'ar no·ill vaill al bran
e·il valrai tost, si·ll rei no·m van basan.

Mas ben es vers qu'a tal domna·m coman
se·l passatge no·ill platz, non crei que·i an.

Lord Conrad, the wheel goes turning
in this world always to evil in the end.
For I know few people who don't go trying
to cheat everyone near and far.

But it's no fun for the loser.
So let them know well, those who act as I say,
that God has written down what they've said and done.

Lord Conrad, King Richard is worth so much
(though when I want to, I speak very badly of him)
that he'll travel there this year with such force
as he can get—that I hear tell for sure.

And King Philip puts out to the sea
with other kings. They'll come with such armies
that we'll go conquering beyond the Dry Tree.

Pretty Papiol, towards Savoy
hold your road and spur towards Brindisi
and cross the sea, for I send you to King Conrad.

When you're there, don't be lazy;
tell them that if now I'm no help with my sword,
I will be soon, if the kings don't go deceiving me.

But it's certainly true that I commend myself to such a lady
that if the trip doesn't please her, I don't think I'll go.⁷⁹

In the beginning stanza of *Ara sai eu de pretz quals l'a plus gran*, we see a reiteration of the line “God help him! For help goes slowly. He alone will gain the reward because he suffers the torment alone” from the previous piece. While this second piece continues to criticize the lack of action by the kings, beginning in the previous song, this piece is more focused on the criticism or repercussions by the higher power of God; rather than this being a piece putting forward only a man's mortal judgment, there are poetic instances that indicate a superior reckoning at the hands of God. For example, the third stanza states that the kings go “bragging about God, because they took the Cross, but they don't say a word about going!” beginning a tone of mockery and

⁷⁹ Paden, Sankovitch, and Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour*, 416-21.

criticism, almost suggesting that inaction is worse than willingly neglecting to take the Cross, as it is a shame on God. This notion is expanded on in the following stanza, “I go on reproaching the crusades with the voyage that they’ve forgotten. Don’t they think it angers God that they stuff themselves and go on loafing?” The idea that not taking up arms for the sake of the Cross is equated with failure resurfaces again; the composer creates a sense of fear that accompanies the act of opposing the will of God, and the suffering one could endure (while also suggesting a fear of opposing King Richard, a monarch who is supposed to be in service to God). This places those inactive crusaders⁸⁰ in a position of fear of God’s wrath.

Bertran further expands this idea in the fifth stanza, stating “So let them know well, those who act as I say, that God has written down what they’ve said and done.” This phrase divides the Christian population into two—those who do, and those who don’t, specifically in reference to fighting for the Cross. The idea that participation in the crusades serves as redemption has thus come full circle from earlier examples, as the narrator draws a metaphorical line between the active and the inactive.⁸¹ God is supposed to remember those who do fight on his behalf, while the separation between the two lends to the idea that those who do not defend the Cross will be remembered, therefore punished. Yet to fight as a warrior also brings about suffering,⁸² creating the idea that there is no positive option—only God himself “wins” in this instance. Bertran

⁸⁰ The kings, but this can also apply to those who had taken the oath to crusade but have not departed yet.

⁸¹ In another *sirventes*, Bertran de Born sings, “War brings shame to the man who is not found brave at it and strips him of his worth,” Pfeffer, *Proverbs in Medieval Occitan*, 57.

This reinforces the idea that participating in the crusades brings redemption and purpose, while to not, brings shame.

⁸² The narrator reintroduces his love of a woman, recalling the suffering endured by those participating in the crusades as they separate from their significant others indefinitely, mainly in regards to the troubadours that joined their warrior patrons service in the religious efforts (discussed in chapter 2).

alludes in the sixth stanza to a “Dry Tree,” representing a biblical tree as old as Earth’s existence, which died at the same time of Christ, but would only regrow once the Holy Land had been conquered by a Christian prince,⁸³ alluding to the potential victory that may come as the Holy Land is reclaimed by Conrad’s efforts, fulfilling God’s will.

As a historical account of events, this piece is assumed to have been written in 1190, after Bertran de Born’s marriage, given that he refers to the woman he loves and cannot abandon. This piece revolves around the time after Saladin’s defeat of the Christians in 1187, while in Tyre, Conrad had asked for aid from Western Europe, France and England. Whereas the previous poem explained both leaders had taken the Cross to help Conrad, this piece similarly explains that they had been slow to respond, specifically the new King Richard. Their consumption by their own fighting is portrayed as greed, in comparison to the “higher purpose.” The tone change by the sixth stanza, and its content, show that King Philip began his journey to the Holy Land, indicating that King Richard will embark the same year as well.⁸⁴ Therefore, the piece up until the sixth stanza is mainly critical of King Richard, who has yet to set sail. His inactivity will be redeemed eventually by his determined war efforts in the eyes of God.⁸⁵

The Third Crusade would ultimately conclude as a failure contributed to England. Reflecting on the shortcomings of the crusade, and the disappointments of King Richard, Makin states,

⁸³ Paden, Sankovitch, and Staublein, *The Poems of the Troubadour*, 419.

⁸⁴ "Bertran de Born," Rialto, [http://www.rialto.unina.it/BtBorn/80.4\(Gouiran\).htm](http://www.rialto.unina.it/BtBorn/80.4(Gouiran).htm).; The Dry Tree reference is significant because it draws a parallel between a successful crusade outcome happening in part of the two armies that the two kings bring, and the positivity that the Holy Land will be conquered.

⁸⁵ Further recommended reading documenting historical events of the Second Crusade: *Del gran golfe de mar*, and *Fortz chausa es que tot lo major dan*, both by Gaucelm Faidit. Paden and Paden, *Troubadour Poems from the South*, 125-28.

Richard, now Richard I of England, and Philippe-Auguste of France were both under an obligation to crusade, and Bertran seemed briefly to raise his sights above local squabbles when he cursed them both for self-interested manoeuvring while Christendom lacked champions. He himself refrained from crusading. When the long and disastrous Third Crusade was over, and Richard had been ransomed from his famous captivity, Bertran was there to welcome him back with news of more rebellions in Aquitaine; and here he exited from history, pausing in a last song to renounce the world and the sins that he had so enjoyed.⁸⁶

The ending refers to Richard's imprisonment, as he was accused of murdering Conrad of Montferrat. Richard is historically noted as either crusading, or being in captivity. However, his contributions to the cause ultimately were futile as a result of the crusade's failure, something Bertran de Born may have anticipated as a result of Richard's delayed crusade departure.

⁸⁶ Makin, *Provence and Pound*, 61.

IV. 1202-1229, and onwards

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (b. 1155-1160; fl. 1180s-1205)⁸⁷

Pope Innocent III attempted to initiate new crusade efforts in 1198, however due to ongoing conflict with the Byzantine Empire, many crusaders were already engaged in combat against Byzantine Emperor Alexius II. Their efforts were successful, and a new Emperor succeeded, Alexius III, in 1203. However, this would further aggravate tensions between the Catholic and Orthodox churches; Crusaders would turn their efforts towards Constantinople. The Fourth Crusade (1202-04)⁸⁸ ultimately would be a success, resulting in the taking of the city and establishment of Latin (French) emperors by the end of 1204.⁸⁹

The works of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras document the short Fourth Crusade. Raimbaut was of humble origins, yet was well-versed, and he found himself benefitting from great patronage during his lifetime. As a result, he travelled extensively, spending most of his time between Provence and Northern Italy. Significantly, he was one of the first troubadours to spend a noteworthy time in the Alps (further increasing the area exposed to the troubadour tradition). His contact with the Melaspina family of Genoa, a powerful feudal family from Northern France,⁹⁰ exposed him to some of the battles of the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. One of his main benefactors, Marquis Bonifacio I de Montferrato, influenced the troubadour to ultimately join crusade efforts. Bonifacio knighted Raimbaut in exchange for his military service; in 1202,

⁸⁷ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 266.

⁸⁸ Holmes, *A History of Old French*, 217.

⁸⁹ History.com Staff, "Crusades," History.com; Holmes, *A History of Old French*, 217.

⁹⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Malaspina Family", <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Malaspina-family>.

Raimbaut departed for the Fourth Crusade alongside Bonifacio.⁹¹ It is likely that he ultimately sacrificed his life for this crusade, dying in the Middle East.⁹²

His piece, *No m'agrad' iverns ni pascors*, written towards the end of the Fourth Crusade, discusses both the purpose of crusading, and the sorrow derived by the absence of love. Unlike other crusade songs, the tone of this piece is dismal, especially since Raimbaut mainly focuses on personal suffering experienced, while minimally praising God:

No m'agrad' iverns ni pascors
ni clars temps ni fuoills de garrics,
car mos enans mi par destrics
e totz mos majer gauz dolors,
e son maltrag tuit miei lezer
e desesperat miei esper;
e si·m sol amors e dompneis
tener gai plus que l'aiga·l peis!
E pois d'amor me sui partitz
cum hom issillatz e faiditz,
tot' altra vida·m sembla mortz
e totz autre jois desconortz.

I have no pleasure in winter or spring,
the season of brightness, the oak leaf,
my advancement seems like my undoing,
and my greatest joy my grief.
My diversions all are torments,
and my hopes have lost hope:
once, love and serving my lady
kept me in greater joy than water keeps a fish;
but since I have parted from love
like a broken man, in exile,
for me any other life is death,
and any other joy desolation.

Pois d'amor m'es faillida·il flors
e·l dolz fruitz e·l grans e l'espics,
don gauzi' ab plazens prezics
e pretz m'en sobrav'et honors
e·n sabi'entre·ls pros caber,
era·m fai d'aut en bas cazer;
e si no·m sembles fols esfreis,
anc flama plus tost non s'esteins
q'ieu for'esteins e relinquitz
e perduitz en faitz et en digz,
lo jorn qe·m venc lo desconortz
que non merma, cum qe·m refortz.

Since love puts forth no flower for me,
no sweet fruit, grain, or ear,
though I used to know its joy in gentle conversation,
and its honor and renown overflowed in me,
and I could take my place among the valiant,
now from that high eminence I have fallen down;
and if it did not seem like mad despair,
no flame was ever snuffed out as fast
as I would have been, all effaced,
my noble gestes and words erased,
the day this desolation first came on,
that will not lessen, though I resist.

⁹¹ Raimbaut's *Ara pod hom conoisser e proar*, was written around the time of his depart, and chronicles events of the beginning of the Fourth Crusade.

⁹² Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, pbk. ed., Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 14; Frederick Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology and a History* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1983), 266-67.

Bels armatz e bos feridors,
 setges e calabres e pics,
 e traucar murs nous et antics,
 e vensser bataillas e tors
 vei et aug; e non puosc aver
 ren qe·m puosc'ad amor valer!
 E vauc cercan ab rics arneis
 gerras e coitas e torneis,
 don sui conqueren enriquitz;
 e pos jois d'amor m'es faillitz,
 totz lo mons no·m parri'us ortz,
 ni mos chans no m'es mais confortz.

Doncs, qe·m val conquistz ni ricors?
 qu'eu ja·m tenia per plus rics
 qand er'amatz e fis amics
 e·m paissi'ab n'Engles amors;
 n'amava mais un sol plazer
 que sai gran terr'e gran aver,
 c'ades on plus mos poders creis
 ai major ir'ab mi mezeis,
 pos mos Bels Cavalliers grazitz
 e jois m'es loignatz e fugitz,
 don mais no·m naissera conortz,
 per q'es majer l'ir'e plus fortz.

Pero no·m comanda valors,
 se be·m sui iratz ni enics,
 q'ieu don gaug a mos enemics
 tan q'en perda pretz ni lauzors,
 q'ancar puosc dan e pro tener,
 e sai d'irat joios parer
 sai entre·ls Latins e·ls Grezeis;
 e·l marques, que l'espaza·m seis,
 gerreia Blacs e Drogoiz,
 et anc pos lo mons fon bastitz
 nuilla gens non fetz tant d'esfortz
 cum nos, cui Dieus a gent estortz.

Lo marques n'es honratz e sors
 e·l Campanes e·l coms Enriex,
 Sicar, Montos e Salanicx
 e Constantinople socors,
 quar gent sabon camp retener,
 e pot hom ben proar en ver:
 qu'anc mais nulha gent non ateis

Handsome arms, good fighters,
 sieges and catapults and pikes,
 piercing ancient walls and new,
 vanquishing battalions and their towers,
 I see all this, I hear all this, and cannot win
 a single thing to help me in love.
 I go seeking, with rich accouterments,
 wars and skirmishes and tournaments,
 and always conquering, I grow rich;
 but since I never won the joy of love,
 the whole world would seem less than a little garden,
 and my song no longer comforts me.

And so, what's all this wealth and conquest worth to me?
 I thought that I was far wealthier
 when I was loved and a faithful lover
 and love fostered me by the side of En Engles:
 I love one little pleasure of that time more
 than all the great land and great possessions here,
 for now the more my power increases,
 the more regret I have within,
 since my much praised Fair Courtier
 and joy have gone far from me, fled from me,
 and so no comfort will be born in me again,
 and my regret is greater and more bitter.

But my manliness does not command me—
 though I am bitter and full of unease—
 to give pleasure to my enemies
 by losing all of my fame and praise.
 For I can still do damage and do good,
 and I know how to give the look of joy to my regret,
 here, among these Latins and these Greeks.
 And the Marquis, who tied the sword around me,
 fights against Wallachians and Drogobites,
 and since this world was made
 no people ever did such things
 as we have done, and God has mercifully delivered us.

The Marquis is honored by it and unpraised,
 and the man of Champagne, and Count Henry;
 Sicar, Montos, Salonica,
 Constantinople, all are saved,
 for these men can hold the field,
 anyone can tell that:
 for never did any people win

aitan gran honor, apareys.
 Per bos vassals, valens, arditz,
 es nostr' emperis conqueritz,
 e Dieus trameta nos esfortz
 coissi·s tray' a cap nostra sortz!

Anc Alixandres non fetz cors
 ni Carles ni·l reis Lodoics
 tan honrat, ni·l pros n' Aimerics
 ni Rotlans ab sos poignadors
 non saubron tan gen conquerer
 tan ric emperi per poder
 cum nos, don poja nostra leis;
 q' emperadors e ducs e reis
 avem faitz, e chastels garnitz
 prop dels Turcs e dels Arabitz,
 et ubertz los camins e·ls portz
 de Brandiz tro al Bratz Sain Jorz.

Per nos er Domas envazitz
 e Jerusalem conqueritz
 e·l regnes de Suri'estortz,
 que·ls Turcx o trobon en lur sortz.

Los pellegris perjurs, fraiditz,
 qi nos an sai en camp geqitz,
 qi los manten e cortz es tortz,
 que chascuns val mens vius que mortz.

Belhs dous Engles, francx et arditz,
 cortes, essenhatz, essernitz,
 vos etz de totz mos gaugz conortz,
 e quar viu ses vos, fatz esfortz.

such great honor, this is known.
 Through these vassals, brave and courageous,
 our empire is regained.
 And may God send us armies,
 That what has been ordained for us may come to pass.

Alexander never mounted a campaign,
 no, nor King Louis, nor Charlemagne,
 so honored. And the brave Lord Aimeri
 and Roland, with all their warriors,
 could not conquer with such nobility
 and with all their might an empire so rich and strong
 as we have conquered; and now our holy law is soaring.
 We have made emperors, dukes, and kings,
 we have fortified castles
 close to the Turks and the Arabs,
 and opened up the roads and ports
 from Brindisi to the Straits of St. George.

Because of us Damascus will be attacked,
 and Jerusalem won,
 and the kingdom of Syria delivered,
 for the Turks find all this in their prophecies.

Those pilgrims who broke their word, those deserters
 who left us alone on the field,
 it is wrong for any lord to give them bread,
 for they aren't worth as much alive as dead.

My fine sweet Englishman, brave and kind,
 courtly, well-bred, chosen out,
 you give all my joys their strength,
 and in living without you I perform a feat.⁹³

The fourth stanza refers to the “the side of En Engles,” referring to Raimbaut’s loyalty to Marquis Boniface of Montferrat. This also highlights the beginning of the composer’s turmoil, when his relation to the Marquis led him to participate in the Fourth Crusade. From the fifth stanza onward, he depicts various locations, such as Solonica, Constantinople—places that were

⁹³ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 268-75.

threatened during the Crusade by an opposing Bulgarian force that had captured the Latin Emperor Baldwin. As a result, Marquis Boniface was granted control of the Kingdom of Salonica, and it is likely that Raimbaut composed these final lyrics there.⁹⁴

The piece's purpose in conveying the emotional turmoil endured by Raimbaut is alluded to with the description of absence of love, specifically that of his woman, "Fair Courtier." He contrasts it to the rewards promised by taking the Cross; the fourth stanza notes that "wealth and conquest" is associated with crusading, rewards promised alongside admittance to heaven by God if one "sacrificed" himself during the conflict. He further adds "I love one little pleasure of that time more than all the great land and great possessions here, for now the more my power increases, the more regret I have within," describing the tremendous value love holds in comparison to the insignificance of promised material property. Yet for Raimbaut, these treasures no longer intrigue him: after personally experiencing the difficulties of war, he recognizes that these "benefits" no longer outweigh the sacrifices—abandoning his love and his established life. However, he makes it clear that he has no plans to abandon his sworn oath, highlighting the common criticism of the "cowards" who had done so in the penultimate stanza: "Those pilgrims who broke their word, those deserters who left us alone in the field, it is wrong for any lord to give them bread for they aren't worth as much alive as dead." This is a historical reference to a group of approximately 7,000 men who had sworn to defend the cross at the harbor of Constantinople; they abandoned the cause after hearing of the defeat at Adrianpole, essentially abandoning the responsibility of protection, and consequently compromising the security of the capital, full of military and religious leaders, to opponents of the crusade.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 270.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 273.

Further, this phrase demonstrates Raimbaut's view that to die in service to God was the right thing to do, and that those who shy away from the responsibility are inept; to show doubt and to be fearful is a sign of weakness, almost synonymous with being a traitor. Raimbaut's view, given his position as a religious fighter, demonstrates that one must accept suffering, and misery, because to act in any other manner can lead to criticism and attack, as well as condemnation by God.

The Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229)

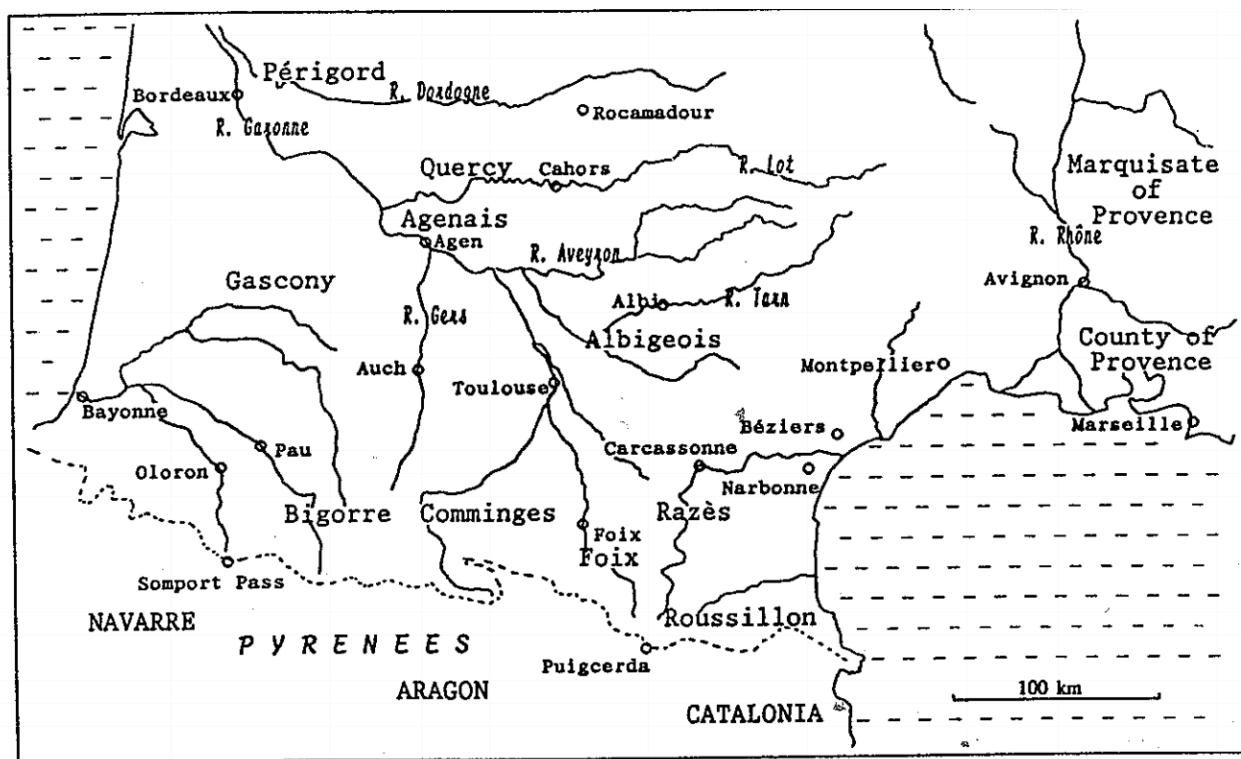


Figure 3. General map of the Albi region and area of the Albigensian Crusade.

The Albigensian Crusade was recorded by the troubadours, and in some instances, was experienced by the troubadours as it threatened the troubadour tradition itself. To understand

this, it is important to explore the background of the Albigensian Crusade to effectively determine the extent of troubadour participation. Based in Southern France, around the territory of Albi, between 1209 to 1229, the Albigensian Crusade (given its title after the area it originated in),⁹⁶ also known as the Cathar Crusade, differed from the other crusades explored thus far because it targeted religious heretics, rather than solely aiming to reclaim a religious area or territory. As early as the 1130s, Jerusalem indulgences were being offered to those fighting political enemies of the Papacy, at times without having to take the cross, or make any vows. This newfound leniency provided the material and physical means to initiate a new crusade, declared by Pope Innocent III in 1208, against opponents of the Catholic Church. This was the first instance that a crusade was directed at “Christians” (as opposed to taking back the Holy Land from Muslims), specifically the Cathar heretics of Languedoc.⁹⁷ During this period, the territory of Christendom itself was fiercely targeted, with an aim to extinguish a perceived growing heresy. The crusade effort evolved, or devolved, into aggressive land seizing, and punitive acts of barbarism, making it a notorious crusade in history.

The Cathars were a puritanical dualist religious group that first appeared in Europe in the eleventh century. The religious nature of the Cathars has been a source of constant debate, as to whether they were Christian heretics, or even Christian at all: during the thirteenth century, however, the Catholic Church designated the group as “the great heresy” of Christianity, paradoxically maintaining that Catharism was not Christian at all.⁹⁸ The Cathars, or Dualists, considered themselves to be Christians, believing in two principles—a creator God of goodness,

⁹⁶ Thomas F. Madden, "Albigensian Crusade," Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/event/Albigensian-Crusade>.

⁹⁷ Tyerman, *Fighting for Christendom: Holy*, 67.

⁹⁸ James McDonald, "Cathars and Cathar Beliefs in the Languedoc," last modified September 15, 2014, <http://www.cathar.info/>.

and his evil adversary (similar to the Christian idea of God and Satan). The Catholics distinguished them as either Albigensians or Cathars. The Cathars maintained a church setting, and followed established Catholic religious rites, but they objected to priesthood. However, some of their beliefs placed them in clear opposition to the Papacy: first and foremost, they regarded men and women as equals, embraced the notion of contraception, and did not object the practice of euthanasia, or even suicide itself.⁹⁹ They celebrated the sacred nature of sex,¹⁰⁰ viewing non-procreative sex as having greater spiritual value than procreative sex, antithetical to the views of the Catholic Church that rejected the carnal aspects of intercourse.¹⁰¹ Further, the Cathars opposed the normative feudal system of the period, which the Catholic Church considered to be the natural social order. Their contrasting views led many Cathars to refuse support to the Catholic Church, specifically mandated tithes, used to fund war, as they had their own way of life to support instead.¹⁰² Regarding these opposing values, Janet Shirley states,

The crusade was launched and strongly supported by Pope Innocent III in order to stamp out the dualist heresy then flourishing in Languedoc. Most writings by these heretics have long since perished, so that the surviving evidence is mainly provided by their enemies, but it seems clear that Cathars believed in the existence not of one supreme God but of two gods who were equally powerful, one good and one evil... They also held that ‘the Roman Church had been founded by the evil god to frustrate the work of Christ,’ and that Christ did not really die on the cross and therefore did not need to rise from the dead.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ McDonald, "Cathars and Cathar Beliefs."

¹⁰⁰ Even more radical, they didn't believe that homosexual relations were "evil," even viewing sexual relations between a man and woman as being more derogatory and blameworthy since it was preached by the Catholic church only reproduce. Ibid.

¹⁰¹ It's important to note that the twelfth century in France developed a greater sense of liberalism and religious tolerance. By the thirteenth century, Languedoc in Southern France was regarded as being in a period of "high culture," and this liberalist attitude was definitely exemplified through the Cathars being the dominant religion in the area.

¹⁰² McDonald, "Cathars and Cathar Beliefs."

¹⁰³ Guillaume de Tudèle and Anonymous, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. Janet Shirley, Crusade Texts in Translation (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 1996), 1.

Recommended reading for a greater account of the Albigensian Crusade.

The tolerant attitude flourishing throughout Languedoc designated the region as a heretical target for the Papacy; both parties, the Cathars and the Papacy, maintained a distaste for the other, however the Cathar's tolerant attitudes likely played a role in their lack of concern, and hesitancy to act against the Catholic Church. The Papacy, on the other hand, reacted in an opposite manner, beginning with Pope Innocent III's decision to launch a military campaign in the Languedoc region, against the Cathars. He enlisted a Cistercian abbot, Arnaud Amaury, and Simon IV de Montfort, as the military leaders of his 'Holy' Army. Amaury is best recognized for his statement "Kill them all. God will know his own," demonstrating the Papacy's idea that their devotion to God was the only true order of worship. The crusade attacked the Counts of Toulouse, a family whose power was considered to be the equivalent of a monarchy of Languedoc, as well as the Languedoc people. During the period, roughly half a million people, both Catholic and Cathar, were massacred. The Toulouse family lost their lands in France, and subsequently, their place in society.

The troubadours were directly affected by the Albigensian Crusade because their noble patrons, especially those in Southern France, were often Cathar, or may have been tolerant to the Cathar beliefs. Following the conclusion of the Albigensian Crusade, many of the patrons had become *faidits*,¹⁰⁴ or exiled Cathar fighters, with their lands conquered, and their beliefs tarnished. This led to a premature end for the troubadour high culture era; the troubadours no longer had the patronage they had previously relied on. In a similar manner to Catharism, the troubadour texts documented a voice that contrasted with the teachings of Catholicism. The most evident example of attitudes shared between the Cathars and the Troubadours was the "rejection

¹⁰⁴ "The Troubadours," The Languedoc-Roussillon, http://www.midi-france.info/1904_troubadours.htm.

of the pleasures of the flesh,¹⁰⁵ since the troubadours celebrated the spiritual love between a man and woman in a majority of their compositions (particularly those dealing with the theme of courtly love, instead of the purely reproductive purpose of love attuned to the Papacy). As a result, the troubadours may have been persecuted alongside their benefactors. By the thirteenth century, the troubadour tradition had already spread outside of Occitania¹⁰⁶ which can be seen through the trouvères that had established themselves in Northern France, to England, as well as the Minnesingers in Germany, and elsewhere across the Mediterranean Sea. This proliferation made it impossible for the tradition to disappear entirely, only declining in the area it once originated in.

The period of the Albigensian Crusade, and the subsequent Inquisition, overlaps with fourth generation of troubadours, who inhabited the central and western regions of France, areas exposed to the Albigensian conflict.¹⁰⁷ The troubadours who actively composed during this period were either involved in various battles, or functioned as general observers of the political-religious discourse during a time of upheaval. Therefore, troubadour texts of the period portray conflicting attitudes, and depict significant historical events that affected both the troubadours, and the Cathars.

¹⁰⁵ "The Troubadours," The Languedoc-Roussillon, http://www.midi-france.info/1904_troubadours.htm.

¹⁰⁶ Some causes for this was the travelling nature of those troubadours who weren't steadily employed by one patron or court, and the inherent spread of ideas (such as Eleanor of Aquitaine transmitting the troubadour tradition).

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, pbk. ed., Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 16.

Peire Cardenal (c. 1180-c. 1278)¹⁰⁸

Peire Cardenal is regarded as being part of the “last generation of troubadours.”¹⁰⁹

Coming from minor nobility, Cardenal’s upbringing customarily would have led him to assume a position in the church, but instead his education fostered an interest in vernacular poetry.¹¹⁰ The majority of his existing pieces (96 songs, only three remaining with music) come from the years 1205-1272; therefore, many of his pieces emerged during the Albigensian Crusade. His earlier pieces conveyed negative, angry sentiments toward the French and Papal authorities during the Albigensian Crusade, demonstrating support for the Cathars. His later works during the period, however, show that he experienced a change of heart,¹¹¹ rescinding his discontent for the French clergy, and expressing his support for the Papacy. Because of his eloquent, satirical pieces that conveyed attitudes during the period of conflict, Cardenal is regarded as the “great poet of the Albigensian period.”¹¹²

His sirventés, *Clergue si fan pastor* (also recorded as *Li clerc si fan pastor*), with no agreed date of origin, is commonly accepted to have been written during the Albigensian Crusade period.¹¹³ It expresses a sentiment of concern regarding the crusade:

Li clerc si fan pastor
e son aucizedor
e semblan de sanctor;
quan los vey revestir
e pren m’a sovenir
de n’Alengri, q’un dia
volc ad un parc venir,

The clergy pretend to be shepherds,
When really they are killers;
If you watch them don their robes
They seem too be quite holy;
They make me think of Isengrin
The wolf, who one day wanted
To get into a sheepfold,

¹⁰⁸ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 285.

¹⁰⁹ Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, 23.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Raymond Thompson Hill and Thomas Goddard Bergin, *Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours*, 4th ed., Yale Romantic Studies xvii (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 161.

¹¹³ "Peire Cardenal," Rialto, [http://www.rialto.unina.it/PCard/335.31\(Vatteroni\).htm](http://www.rialto.unina.it/PCard/335.31(Vatteroni).htm).

mas pels cas que temia,
 pelh de mouton vestic,
 ab que los escarnic;
 pueys manget e trahic
 selhas que·l abellic.

Rey et emperador,
 duc, comte e comtor
 e cavallier ab lor
 solon lo mon regir;
 ara vey possezir
 a clercx la senhoria,
 ab tolre et ab trazir
 et ab ypocrizia,
 ab forsa et ab prezic;
 e tenon s'a fastic
 qui tot non lor o gic,
 et er fag, quan que tric.

Aissi cum son maior,
 son ab mens de valor
 et ab mais de follor,
 et ab mens de ver dir
 et ab mais de mentir,
 et ab meyns de clercia
 et ab mays de falhir,
 et ab meyns de paria;
 dels fals clergues o dic,
 qu'anc mais tant enemic
 ieu a Dieu non auzic
 de sai lo temps antic.

Quan son en refreitor,
 no m'o tenc ad honor
 qu'a la taula aussor
 vey los cussos assir
 e primiers s'eschauzir;
 auiatz gran vilania:
 quar hi auzon venir
 et hom non los en tria.
 pero anc non lai vic
 paupre cusso mendic
 sezer latz qui son ric;
 d'aisso los vos esdic.

But he feared the dogs,
 So he put on a sheepskin
 And managed to deceive them;
 He gobbled up and swallowed down
 Everything he pleased.

Emperors and kings,
 Dukes and counts and viscounts
 And knights, along with them,
 Used to rule the world;
 Now I see the clergy
 In charge of running things
 By stealing, by betraying,
 By hypocrisy,
 By force and by preaching.
 They think it's a nuisance
 If you put up resistance
 Or fail to hand them everything.

The higher their rank
 The lower their worth;
 The higher their folly
 The lower their truth;
 The higher their lying
 The lower their trust;
 The higher their lacking
 The lower their learning;
 I mean the clergy who pretend—
 From what I hear, God's not had
 So many enemies
 Since ancient times!

When I go to their refectory
 I take it as no honor
 Because I see traders
 Sitting at high table,
 And they are first to choose!
 It is villainy enough
 That they dare come in;
 No one keeps them out.
 At least I've never seen
 A poor, begging trader
 Sit beside a rich one—
 For that much I excuse them!

Ia non aion paor
 alcays ni almassor
 que abbat ni prior
 los anon envazir
 ni lur terras sazir,
 que afans lur seria;
 mas sai son en cossir
 del mon quossi lur sia,
 ni cum en Frederic
 gitesson del abric;
 pero tals l'aramic
 qu'anc fort no s'en iauzic.

Arab chiefs and sultans
 Have no need to fear
 That abbots or priors
 Will assault them
 And steal their lands—
 That would be too hard.
 Instead, they contemplate
 How to win the world,
 How they might have lured
 Sir Frederick from his lair.
 (Someone did attack him
 Who had no cause to cheer.)

Clergues, qui vos chauzic
 sens fellon cor enic,
 en son comde falic,
 qu'anc peior gent no vic.¹¹⁴

If someone chose you, Clergy,
 With no intent to harm,
 He reckoned very poorly,
 For you're the worst I've known!¹¹⁵

Beginning with the first stanza, there is an allusion to Isengrin the wolf, a character of medieval beast fables who was the opponent of Renard the Fox, the main protagonist; in it, Renard is the common hero who battles the aristocracy and the clergy, characterized by Isengrin.¹¹⁶ This allusion was utilized in many *fin d'amour*, or courtly love pieces, as well as in *chansons de geste* as a form of parody. Further, this was also used in a few instances of political and religious satire, which this piece can be categorized as. This allusion is meant to depict the Pope's decision to embark on the Albigensian Crusade, as well as later crusade efforts throughout the first half the the thirteenth century directed against heretic groups.¹¹⁷ The criticizing tone of the poem which is described by Paden as Peire complaining “vigorously of clerical and papal meddling in

¹¹⁴ Hill and Bergin, *Anthology of the Provençal*, 164-66.

¹¹⁵ William D. Paden and Frances Freeman Paden, trans., *Troubadour Poems from the South of France* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 172-73.

¹¹⁶ Further recommended reading about the *fabliaux*, George Saintsbury, *A Short History of French Literature*, Clarendon Press Series (London: Oxford University Press Warehouse, 1984), 52-61.

¹¹⁷ Paden and Paden, *Troubadour Poems from the South*, 172.

politics, which, he claims, should be the domain of the secular nobility,”¹¹⁸ insinuates the argument that religion has no place in politics, nor does it bring about any good in the interest of the public. Further, he insults the clergy as hypocritical and self-interested, at the extreme expense of others. The criticism is cleverly continued through a series of correlations between status and morals (“the higher their rank, the lower their worth... the higher their lying, the lower their trust”) to solidify the attitude of deceit and mistrust surrounding the Albigensian Crusade. The penultimate and final stanza insults the religious clergy, noting that, while war is waged among common Christian brothers (the Papacy against the Cathars), “Arab chiefs and sultans,” or those who follow other religious doctrines, have the freedom to conduct their own business—Specifically, Islamic forces need not fear being attacked by opposing Christian forces, enabling conquest of their own. This critique is put into historical context in the line, “How they might have lured Sir Frederick from his lair,” in reference to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II being attacked in Naples by his father-in-law, John of Brienne, with the help of the Papal militia. While the attack failed,¹¹⁹ Cardenal uses this event to demonstrate the absurdity of attacking the Cathars, who could have loosely been considered as being on the same side of the Catholic Church as mutual “Christians.” Lastly, Cardenal’s depiction can be interpreted as a criticism of Pope Innocent III. Although he is not explicitly mentioned by name in the poem, he eventually launched a crusade against Frederick II, who is recorded as being hesitant to launch supportive crusade efforts on the part of the Holy Roman Empire during this period of Catholic conquest.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Paden and Paden, *Troubadour Poems from the South*, 172.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹²⁰ "Peire Cardenal," Rialto.

Nostre chief fet touz noz membres doloir,
 por c'est bien droiz qu'a Dieu nos en
 plaignons;
 et granz corpes ra mult seur les barons,
 qui il poise quant aucuns
 veut valoir;
 et entre gent en font mult a blasmer
 qui tant sevent et mentir et guiler;
 le mal en font deseur aus revenir:
 et qui mal qiert, mal ne li doit faillir.
 Qui petit mal porchace a son pouoir,
 li granz ne doit en son cuer remanoir.

Bien devrions en l'estoire vooir
 la bataille qui fu des .ij. dragons,
 si con l'en treuve es livres des Bretons.
 dont il couvint les chastiax jus cheoir:
 c'est cist siecles qui i couvient verser,
 se Dex ne fet la bataille finer.
 Le sens Mellin en couvint fors issir
 por deviner qu'estoit a avenir.
 Mès Antecriz vient, ce poëz savoir,
 as maques qu'Anemis fet mouvoir.

Savez qui sont li vil oisel punais
 qui tuent Dieu et ses enfançons?
 Li papelart, dont li nons n'est pas nez.
 Cil sont puant, ort et vil et mauvès;
 il ocient toute la simple gent
 par leur faus moz, qui sont li Dieu enfant.
 Papelart font le siecle chanceler,
 par saint Pere, mal les fet rencontrer!
 Il ont tolu joie et solaz et pès;
 cil porteront en Enfer le grief fès.

[Or nos doint Diex lui servir et amer
 et la Dame, qu'on n'i doit oublier,
 et nos vueille garder a toz jors mès
 des max oisiax, qui ont venin es bès.]

Our head causes great pain in all our members,
 And it is indeed fitting that we complain to God
 about it;
 Our leader accuses our barons of great sins
 Which he weighs upon them when any wishes to
 be of worth;
 And people find fault with one another
 For they know well how to lie and deceive;
 They bring misfortune upon each other:
 Whoever seeks evil will not fail to receive evil.
 He who ardently expels small sins
 Will not harbor great ones in his heart.

We should learn from the story
 Of the battle of the two dragons
 As found in the book of the Bretons,
 In which the castle fell to the ground:
 It is the world itself which will be overthrown
 If God does not put an end to the battle.
 One should call upon the powers of Merlin
 To divine what the outcome will be.
 The Antichrist draws near, it is clear,
 Waving the bludgeons of the Enemy.

Do you know who the evil birds are
 Who murder God and his children?
 The *papelards*, who name is well-suited—
 They are indeed cruel, foul-smelling and evil.
 With their wicked words
 They slay the simple, God's children.
 The *papelards* make the world tremble;
 By God the Father, may evil befall them!
 They have taken away joy, solace, and peace,
 And will carry the burden of it into Hell.

[God grant that we might serve him
 And the Lady whom one must not forget;
 May he always protect us
 From the evil birds with venom in their beaks!]¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Kathleen J. Brahney, *The Lyrics of Thibaut De Champagne*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature a (New York: Garland, 1989), 238-241.

The piece begins by recounting a figurative animal tale, a bestiary metaphor¹²⁵ typical of religious texts. (Similarly, the previous Cardenal poem also used figurative animal metaphors to convey an idea.) The animals convey a relationship between good and evil; the father pelican, shedding his own blood, represents God, the father of both Jesus, his own flesh and blood, and of mankind. The hypothetical victim/s in the piece face the challenge of powerful adversaries, whether it be the Papacy, French clergy, or crusading militia. Further, the second stanza portrays the world as one full of deceit, injustice, and treachery. As a result, God is portrayed as a neutral actor, neither enacting suffering, nor acting to end oppression. The opposing party, the “antichrist,” is the embodiment of evil, whose sole goal is to throw the world into distress.¹²⁶ “The *papelards*, whose name is well-suited—They are indeed cruel, foul-smelling and evil. With their wicked words they slay the simple, God’s children,” refers to the violent force utilized by Catholics against Christian heretics, who, regardless of Papal discrimination, are deemed to be “God’s children.” The extensive allusion relates to the historical events surrounding the Albigensian crusade during 1226 to 1229.

Thibaut’s responsibility as both a warrior and monarch led him to launch the Barons’ Crusade in 1239, which he documented in his compositions. His song, *Seigneurs, sachiez*, written during the same period, is regarded as “the embodiment of patriotic and religious fervor,”¹²⁷ which is evident in the narrative text. Simultaneously, it demonstrates the sacrifice and the torment of those unwilling, unpatriotic few:

¹²⁵ Kathleen J. Brahney, *The Lyrics of Thibaut De Champagne*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature a (New York: Garland, 1989), 41: xxviii.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, xxviii.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, xxvi.

Seignor, sachiez, qui or ne s'en ira
 En cele terre ou Dex fu mors et vis,
 et qui la croiz d'Outremer ne prendra,
 a paines mès ira en Paradis.
 Qui en soi n'a pitié ne remembrance
 au haut Seigneur doit querre sa venjance
 et delivrer sa terre et son païs.

Tuit li mauvès demorront par deça,
 qui n'aiment Dieu, bien ne amor ne pris.
 Et chascuns dit: "Ma fame que fera?
 Je ne leroie a nul fuer mes amis."
 Cil sont cheet en trop fole atendance
 qu'il n'est amis fors que cil, sanz dotance,
 qui fu pour nos en la vraie croiz mis.

Or s'en iron t cil vaillant chevalier
 qui aiment Dieu et l'enour de cest mont,
 qui sagement veulent a Dieu aler;
 et li morveus, li cendreus demorront.
 Avugle sont, de ce ne dout je mie,
 qui un secors ne fet Dieu en sa vie
 et por si pou pert la gloire du mont.

Dex se lessa por nos en croiz pener,
 et nos dira au jor ou tuit vendront:
 "Vous, qui ma croiz m'aidastes a porter,
 vos en iroiz ou tuit me angre sont;
 la me verroiz et ma mere, Marie.
 Et vos, par qui je n'oi onques aïe,
 descendrez tuit en Enfer le parfont."

Chascuns cuide demorer tout hetiez
 et que jamès ne doie mal avoir;
 ensi les tient Anemis et pechiez
 que il n'ont sens, hardement, ne pouoir.
 Biau sire Dex, ostez leur tel pensee,
 et nos metez en la vostre contree
 si sainement que vos puissions voir!

Douce Dame, roïne coronee,
 priez pour nos, virge bone eüree,
 et puis apres ne nos puet mescheoir.

Lords, be informed: anyone who will not go
 To the land where God died and lived,
 And will not bear the Crusade cross,
 Will hardly go to Paradise.
 Anyone who has pity and is mindful
 Of the Supreme Lord, ought to seek vengeance
 And deliver His land and His countr

All of the lowly will remain behind,
 Those who love neither God, love, nor honor;
 And each says: "My wife, what will she do?
 Nor would I leave my friends at any cost."
 Such men have fallen into foolish concerns,
 For one has no friend except He who, without fear,
 Was placed upon the true cross for us.

Now the valiant knights will go forth,
 Those who love God and the honor of this world,
 And who rightly wish to go to God;
 And the sniveling, the cowardly, will remain behind.
 They are blind—all of this I have no doubt—
 Such a man never aids God during his life,
 And for so little loses the glory of the world.

God let himself suffer on the cross for us,
 And he will tell us on that day, when all men gather,
 "You who helped me carry my cross,
 Will go where my angels are;
 There you will see me and my mother, Mary.
 And you from whom I never received aid,
 Will all descend into the depths of Hell."

Everyone thinks he will remain healthy
 And that ill should never befall him;
 Thus the Enemy and sin take hold of them,
 Until they nave neither sense, boldness, nor power.
 Gracious lord God, take such thoughts from them
 And put us in your country
 With such holiness that we might see you!

Sweet lady, crowned queen,
 Pray or us, Virgin of good fortune,
 And henceforth no evil can befall us.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Brahney, *The Lyrics of Thibaut*, 41: 226-9.

While the exact date of the piece is unknown, it is often assumed to have been composed between 1234, when the crusade was being preached, and August of 1239, when the Barons' Crusade began (based on its historical context). By the time this piece was created, King Thibaut had been labeled a "traitor," being noted to "not hesitate to betray his allies or disregard his feudal obligations to the French kings,"¹²⁹ many of whom may have been considered Cathars, demonstrating his allegiance towards the Catholic Church. The piece exhibits attitudes surrounding the Albigensian crusade, as well as other crusades, voicing opinions similar to those of the Papacy. Overall, the piece conveys general attitudes during a period where multiple religious wars occurred simultaneously.¹³⁰

The attitude and affliction conveyed in the lyrics reflects the sentiment of suffering explored throughout this project. The first stanza begins as a forewarning of the consequences of not defending the Holy Land. Specifically, it is stated that to not bear arms for God is unforgivable, therefore, one will not go to heaven ("Paradise") and will not attain salvation. This is contrasted with the notion that the only "just" action to take is one in the name of the Lord: "Anyone who has pity and is mindful of the Supreme Lord, ought to seek vengeance," emphasizing the need to defend the Cross—seeking bloodshed, and reclaiming land is the only appropriate action. The following stanza relates inaction to the sin of selfishness, "All of the

¹²⁹ Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-creation in Troubadour*, 212.

¹³⁰ It is significant to note that by the thirteenth century, Northern French charters had become less precise, where previously, witnesses were necessary to take the Cross, legitimate documentation of those who had sworn themselves to the efforts became less exact. In the case of the Albigensian Crusade, many documents only note the Albigensian Crusade when relating to a specific siege. This makes socio-political relations less exact between different crusade efforts, as witnesses for each event became recorded sparingly. Instead, the charters just referenced those on the journey as being either crusaders, *crucesignati*, or pilgrims, *peregrini*. Daniel Power and Swansea University, "Who Went on the Albigensian Crusade?," *The English Historical Review* CXXVIII, no. 534 (October 2013): 1053-55, doi:10.1093/ehr/cet252.

lowly will remain behind, those who love neither God, nor honor.” The translation of “lowly” is descriptive of “base men,” those considered not to hold values or honor, therefore they have not taken interest in the Cross. Inaction is portrayed as having no religious merit, since they aren’t fighting against the Lord, they are not fighting with him either, and therefore become a certain enemy akin to the Saracens. Thibaut goes on to explain justifications a man would provide to explain his decision not to participate in the crusade, such as his wife and friends; effectively the life he has built and therefore feels physically connected to (instead of uprooting himself to become a spiritual warrior). Once again, it is clear that this composer fervently defends God, creating the sense that to wish to remain at home in peace results in being condemned to suffer by God’s own wrath. The hypothetical man is expected to abandon all he knows without hesitation. This revisits the notion of physical and spiritual suffering—to take the Cross would result in a personal suffering brought about by loss of one’s home and love, and physical suffering from religious torment by rejecting the Cross, as well as the metaphysical suffering of being condemned away from Heaven by God. The narrator’s choice to single out love as an inexcusable justification to reject fighting is fascinating, since Thibaut himself is a *trouvère*; at the root of the troubadour tradition is the sanctity of love,¹³¹ however Thibaut seems to discredit it in light of events. If the piece was composed during the Albigensian Crusade, then it is

¹³¹ The poet further justifies this mentality of abandoning the wife, in comparison to the standard nature of troubadour texts, in a stanza of another crusade song, *Dame, ensi est q’il m’en couvient aler*, which translates:

“It is fitting that my heart be joyous and doleful: Doleful for leaving my lady, and joyous, desirous of serving God, who is my heart and my soul. This love is surpassingly true and powerful, and by its path come the most learned; It is the ruby, the emerald, the gem which cures us all of ugly, foul-smelling sin.” Brahney, *The Lyrics of Thibaut*, 41: 233.

Therefore, while the narrator enjoys the notion of love by a lady, the love of God is seen as far more abundant, justifying the turmoil one must succumb to (suffering due to abandonment of love) in order to appease a higher power.

reasonable to assume that Thibaut may have changed his opinions to match those of the Papacy, ultimately distancing himself from the persecuted Cathars.¹³² The third stanza returns to praising the selfless quality of the soldier acting in defense of God, inferring that the only way to show love for God is to engage in combat. He calls those who remain behind, especially those who do so out of concern for loved ones, “*li morveus*,” and “*li cendreu*.” This portrayal of a “sniveling, cowardly man,” demonstrates that those who hesitate to fight have no redeemable function (i.e. supporting a family, etc.), since they aren’t acting selflessly. The decision not to be the “valiant knight” immediately strips the hypothetical man of all potential “glory of the world,” forcing him to spend the rest of his days suffering, waiting for his predetermined judgment by God, to suffer indefinitely outside of the Lord’s kingdom (Heaven).

This condemnation is fascinating when compared to the common portrayal of a compassionate, forgiving God, exemplified by the sacrifice of his son to absolve the sins of all. However, Thibaut’s depiction of a selfless God who “let himself suffer on the cross for us” in the fourth stanza initiates a change in perception of God. The command that all men should act in service to the Lord creates a sense of debt that can only be repaid by service to God (removing the altruistic nature of God’s “sacrifice”). The repercussions of inaction are most explicit when it is stated that God will declare, when all men gather (meaning the crusade), “You, who helped me carry my cross, will go where my angels are... And you from whom I never received aid, will all descend into the depths of Hell,” finally announcing that the suffering that one will endure will be that of eternal Hell (contrasting the notion of absolvment and

¹³² The rejection of the troubadour admiration of love is similar to the Cathar’s appreciation of spiritual love. Thibaut’s denouncement of the importance of love therefore aligns him as an ally of the Catholic church.

Heaven). The pardoning, forgiving God no longer exists in Thibaut's realm. Rather, the reader is left with the image of an oppressive God to be feared.

Chanson de Femmes

While the *chanson de croisade* provided insight into the political excursions and Catholic intent, these poems only exhibit the male warrior's perspective. It is through the female's perspective that another view of the crusades can be understood. Rather than the songs demonstrating "the call to liberate the Holy Land from the Saracens"¹³³ or depicting those who leave to fight as spiritual warriors, these songs enlighten the reader of the emotional suffering endured by those left behind as part of either general religious war or Papacy-directed recruitment. The *chanson de femme* appears during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries throughout Europe. The female narrative was composed either by the female trouvère (Northern France), the female troubadour, or trobaritz¹³⁴ (Southern France), simply a male troubadour, or a combination of both female and male composers.¹³⁵

For example, the following poem is credited to a male trouvère, however its narration features a distinctly female voice. Its context enlightens the reader of the burden felt by the woman as a warrior embarks on the crusade:

¹³³ Eglal Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 141.

¹³⁴ The female troubadour and trobaritz are often assumed to be the same. However, the distinction that the trobaritz were not only female composers, but also the source of inspiration for male troubadours sometimes distinguishes the two as being separate concepts.

¹³⁵ Some historians still debate if the female composer actually existed, however Arthur Långfors expresses his confidence that *jeux-partis*, songs of two voices (male and female), involved both male and female poets composing. Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women*, 2. This idea is important to keep in mind when examining the following *chansons de croisade*, since a female's contribution to each may not have been known but possible.

Chanterai por mon corage
 Que je vueill reconforter,
 Car avec mon grant damage
 Ne vueill morir n'afoler,
 Quant de la terre sauvage
 Ne voi nului retorner
 Ou cil est qui m'assoage
 Le cuer quant j'en oi parler.
Deus, quant crieront "Outree,"
Sire, aidiez au pelerin
por qui sui espöentee,
car felon sunt Sarrazin.

Soufferei en tel estage
 Tant que.l voie rapasser.
 Il est en pelerinage,
 Dont Deus le lait retourner.
 Et maugré tot mon lignage
 Ne quier ochoison trover
 D'autre face mariage;
 Folz est qui j'en oi parler.
Deus, [quant crieront "Outree,"
Sire, aidiez au pelerin
Por qui sui espöentee,
Car felon sunt Sarrazin].

De ce sui au cuer dolente
 Que cil n'est en cest païs
 Qui si sovent me tormente;
 Je n'en ai ne gieu ne ris.
 Il est biaus et je sui gente.
 Sire Deus, por que.l feïs?
 Quant l'une a l'autre atalente,
 por coi nos as departis?
Deus, [quant crieront "Outree,"
Sire, aidiez au pelerin
Por qui sui espöentee,
Car felon sunt Sarrazin].

De ce sui en bone atente
 Que je son homage pris;
 Et quant la douce ore vente
 Qui vient de cel douz païs
 Ou cil est qui m'atalente,
 Volentiers i tor mon vis;
 Adont m'est vis que je.l sente

I will sing for the sake of my heart,
 Which I wish to comfort;
 In the face of my great suffering
 I wish to neither die nor go mad,
 When I see no one return
 From that barbarian land
 Where he is, the one who calms
 My heart whenever I hear his name spoken.
God, when they should "Charge!"
Lord, please help the pilgrim:
I am terrified for him,
For ruthless are the Saracens.

I will suffer in this state
 Until I see him come back.
 He is on a pilgrimage,
 God grant that he return.
 Despite my whole family
 I do not wish to have grounds
 To marry another man;
 Anyone I hear suggest it is a fool.
God, when they should "Charge!"
Lord, please help the pilgrim:
I am terrified for him,
For ruthless are the Saracens.

What pains my heart
 Is that he is not in this land,
 The one for whom I am in anguish;
 I have neither pleasure nor mirth.
 He is handsome and I am lovely.
 Lord God, why have you done this?
 When we desire each other,
 Why have you parted us?
God, when they should "Charge!"
Lord, please help the pilgrim:
I am terrified for him,
For ruthless are the Saracens.

What gives me hope
 Is that I received his homage;
 And when the sweet breeze blows
 From that sweet land
 Where he is, the one that I desire,
 Gladly do I turn my face to it;
 Then I seem to feel im

Par desoz mon mantel gris.
Deus, [quant crïeront “Outree,”
Sire, aidiez au pelerine
Por qui sui espöentee,
Car felon sunt Sarrazin].

Under my gray cloak.
God, when they should “Charge!”
Lord, please help the pilgrim:
I am terrified for him,
For ruthless are the Saracens.

De ce fui mout deceüe
 Que ne fui au convoier.
 Sa chemise qu’ot vestue
 M’envoia por embracier.
 La nuit, quant s’amor m’argüe,
 La met delez moi couchier,
 Toute nuit a ma char nue,
 Por mes malz assoagier.
Deus, [quant crïeront “Outree,”
Sire, aidiez au pelerin
Por qui sui espöentee,
Car felon sunt Sarrazin].

What disappointed me greatly
 Was that I was not present to escort him out.
 The tunic he had worn
 He sent for me to embrace.
 At night, when his love spurs me,
 I lay it down beside me,
 All night, against my naked skin,
 To soothe my pain.
God, when they should “Charge!”
Lord, please help the pilgrim:
I am terrified for him,
*For ruthless are the Saracens.*¹³⁶

The *chanson de croisade et de femme* is credited to the Burgundian trouvère Guiot de Dijon at some point during the first half of the thirteenth century.¹³⁷ Guiot had been patronised by Erard II of Chacenay, a sire who served in the Fifth Crusade. It is likely that this piece was inspired by that crusade specifically.¹³⁸ The narration is distinctly female; from the beginning line, “I will sing for the sake of my heart, which I want to console; with all my suffering...,” the audience is immediately drawn to the concept of suffered or tortured love. In the fourth stanza, there is the description of a “sweet breeze” blowing from a “sweet land,” alluding to the distance between the female narrator and her significant other. This motif is common in many Occitan and Old French texts,¹³⁹ and is exemplary to describing the space between those who remained at their

¹³⁶ Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women*, 143-4.

¹³⁷ Further exemplifying the spread of the troubadour tradition by the thirteenth century.

¹³⁸ A conclusion I came to through analyzing overlapping dates between the Fifth Crusade, the patron, and the poet. However, the ownership of the piece has been debated, since Guiot De Dijon is not known to have any pieces voicing female sentiment typical of the *rotrouenge*.

¹³⁹ Such as Bernart de Ventadorn’s *Quan le douss’ aura venta/Deves vostre país*.

homes during the crusades, and those who went off into distant territories. The narrator also notes that her lover has sent her a “chemise,” which can be interpreted as a tunic worn over other garments, which crusaders would have used as they outfitted themselves as pilgrims. The clothing therefore symbolizes the vow her significant other has taken to defend the cross;¹⁴⁰ the item also becomes a symbol of the separation, as the female remembers her lover wearing it when he left her. The repetition of “*Outree*” in the refrain is found in many crusade songs, supporting the notion that this piece is in response to crusade efforts. Significantly, this is one of the few remaining *chanson de femmes* that has a surviving melodic counterpart:¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Goldin, *Lyrics of the Troubadours*, 289.

¹⁴¹ Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women*, 142.

Example 4. Guiot de Dijon, *Chanterai por mon corage*.

Chan - te - rai por mon co - ra - ge
 Que je vueill re - con - for - ter,
 Car a - vec mon grant da - ma - ge
 Ne vueill mo - rir n'a - fo - ler,
 Quant de la ter - re sau - va - ge
 Ne voi nu - lui re - tor - ner
 Ou cil est qui m'as - so - a - ge
 Le cuer quant j'en oi par - ler.
 Deus, quant cri - e - ront "Ou - tre - e,"
 Sire, ai - diez au pe - le - rin
 Por qui sui es - po - en - te - e,
 Car fe - lon sunt Sar - ra - zin.

Similar to Guiot de Dijon's piece is another *chanson de femme et chanson de croisade*, *Jherusalem, grant damage me fais*. While the composer is unknown, its narrative voice is once again from the female perspective, sharing similar characteristics with Guiot's composition. It further explores the passionate lamentation endured as a result of a crusade:

Jherusalem, grant damage me fais,
 Qui m'as tolu ce que je pluz amoie.
 Sachiez de voir ne vos amerai maiz,
 Quar c'est la rienz dont j'ai pluz male joie;
 Et bien sovent en souspir et pantais
 Si qu'a bien pou que vers Deu ne m'irais,
 Qui m'a osté de grant joie ou j'estoie.

Jerusalem, you do me great harm,
 taking away what I have loved the most.
 You may be sure I will love you no more,
 because that is what gives me the most doleful joy;
 often it leaves e sighing and so short of breath
 that I almost turn on God in anger,
 for He has stripped me of the great joy I had.

Biauz dous amis, com porroiz endurer
 La grant painne por moi en mer salee,
 Quant rienz qui soit ne porroit deviser
 La grant dolor qui m'est el cuer entree?
 Quant me remembre del douz viaire cler
 Que je soloie baisier et acoler,
 Grant merveille est que je ne sui dervee.

My dear beloved, how can you endure
 your great pain as you sail away from me,
 if nothing on earth could express
 the great woe that has entered my heart?
 When I remember the sweet, smiling face
 that I used to kiss and caress,
 it is a wonder that I don't lose my mind.

Si m'aïst Deus, ne puis pas eschaper:
 Morir m'estuet, teus est ma destinee;
 Si sai de voir que qui muert por amer
 Trusques a Deu n'a pas c'une jornee.
 Lasse! mieuz vueil en tel jornee entrer
 Que je puisse mon douz ami trover
 Que je ne vueill ci remaindre esguaree.

So help me God, I have no way out:
 I must die, for that is my fate;
 yet I well know that whoever dies for love
 has more than one day's journey to God.
 Alas! I would rather set out on such a journey
 in order to recover my dear beloved
 than remain here adrift.¹⁴²

Since the composer cannot be determined, the composition date is unclear. However, it is likely that it dates from sometime between when Frederick II set out on his mission for the Sixth Crusade in 1228, and the period of Thibaut de Champagne's involvement in the Baron's Crusade (1239-40).¹⁴³ While the short length suggests that this is only a fragment of a larger body of work, its descriptive narrative is particularly interesting; at certain instances, the narrator declares her abandonment of God. While many crusade texts note the honor that comes with travelling to the Holy Land, the piece comes from a perception of Jerusalem as only bringing misery and grief. The narrator's lament stems from the moment her lover departed for the crusade. While the

¹⁴² Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women*, 214.

¹⁴³ School of Modern Languages and Cultures, "RS 191," Troubadours, Trouvères and the Crusades, last modified December 22, 2015, <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs191/>.

warrior seems to remain religiously loyal, considering the promise of salvation in exchange for his service, the female instead “turns to God in anger” as the “great pain” grows with the absence of love. The piece demonstrates the ability of the male to choose to abandon his home and love, while the female finds herself in an unchosen constraint. The narrator blames God for the lack of freedom to choose her fate. Further, she is aware of the repercussions of acting in anger towards God, noting that she “must die, for that is my fate.” While dying for the religious cause behind a crusade is considered honorable, it is explained that “whoever dies for love has more than one day’s journey to God.” This creates the context that her “selfish” concern of love will result in a delayed ascent to Heaven, if at all, since she is acting, or thinking, with her own interests in mind, rather than the greater purpose laid out by God. However, her own willingness to display anger despite the wrath of God demonstrates a kind of selflessness in consciously rejecting her salvation for love. The fact that only a small portion of the piece survives makes sense when considering that many pieces voicing anti-Catholic sentiments from the thirteenth century were destroyed, along with anything that seemed remotely heretical.¹⁴⁴ The music has also been lost, perhaps in an attempt to silence anti-crusade (and heretic) sentiments by the Papal forces.

Walther von der Vogelweide (c. 1170-c. 1230)¹⁴⁵

While the troubadours themselves experienced the decline of their “high period” following the events of the Albigensian Crusade (as well as the Inquisition), it is important to note that the troubadour tradition itself did not die; by this time, the art form had already spread

¹⁴⁴ Once again, the role of love comes into play with heresy. Refer to section “The Albigensian Crusade” for further information.

¹⁴⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Walther von der Vogelweide", accessed May 03, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Walther-von-der-Vogelweide>.

to countries outside France. This is most evident in the German troubadour variant, the Minnesingers. Once again, Eleanor of Aquitaine (and subsequently the troubadour roots through her great-grandfather William IX) can be traced to the formation of the Minnesinger tradition: as early as 1147, it is recorded that King Louis VII of France and his wife, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine assembled an army near Metz and travelled down to Regensburg, in Germany, en route to participate in the Second Crusade. Among these participants was one of the early troubadours, Jaufre Rudel,¹⁴⁶ whose exposure in Germany would influence the Minnesinger traditions development.

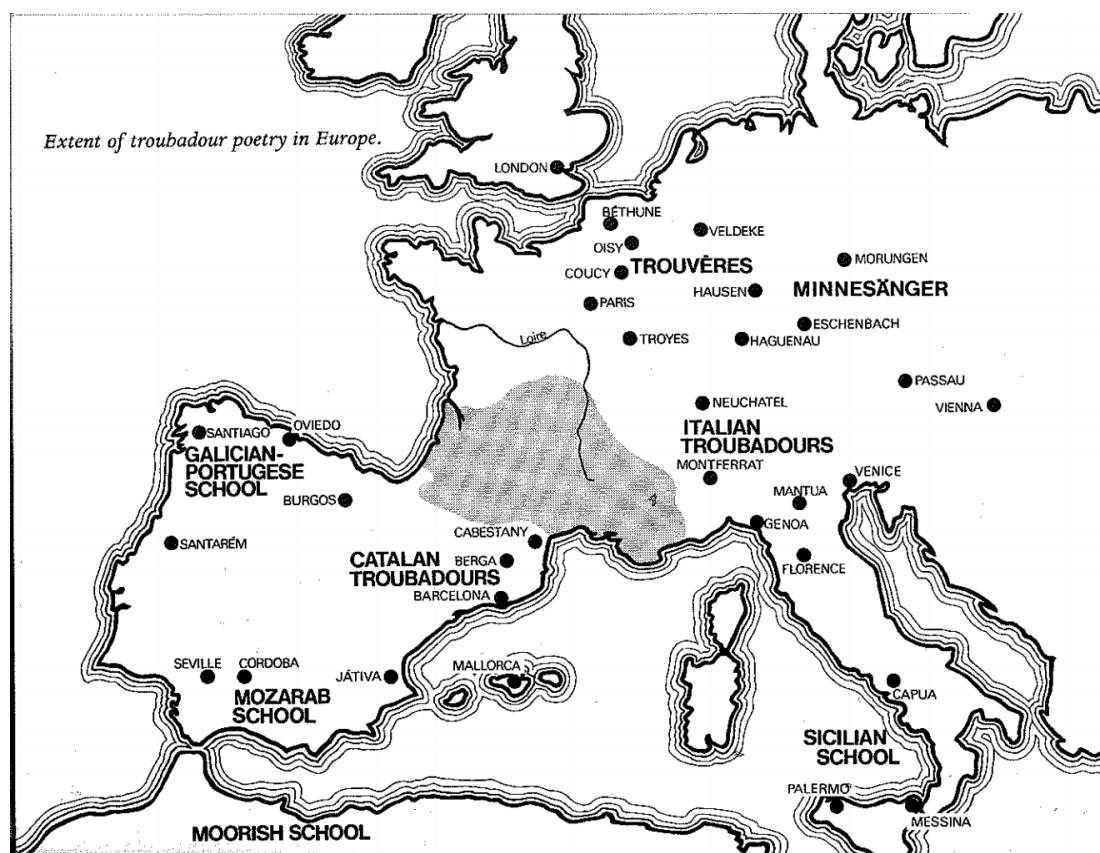


Figure 4. Spread of the troubadour tradition, including Minnesingers, in Europe.

¹⁴⁶ Stephanie Cain Van D'Elden, "The Minnesingers," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 263. Discussed in the first chapter.

The Minnesang tradition underwent various stages of development: its early stages recall minimal romance roots, and begin around the time of Rudel's Crusade travel to Germany, indicating the first instance of the travelling "Minnesang" (not yet a fully developed tradition) who were few in number, lacking the support of noble patrons. The second stage of Minnesingers had an increased emphasis on romanticism, particularly the troubadour "courtly love" idealization, thus establishing the court Minnesang. While the classic troubadours seemed to have reached their full potential with regard to new poetic themes and possibilities,¹⁴⁷ Walther von der Vogelweide is credited as developing a third stage of Minnesinger, characterized by his compositions that went beyond the standard conventions associated with troubadour roots. Further, Vogelweide is acknowledged as being one of the first Minnesingers whose art was his sole profession, and came from ordinary lineage, whereas prior Minnesingers were noted as being part of nobility;¹⁴⁸ His position in society and tolerant perception was a likely influence in choosing the content for his works.¹⁴⁹ His "new" form of Minnesinger is linked to the type of expression he developed in his compositions:

He created a new type of poetic diction, in which the formal concepts of courtly love were expressed in a language that was stripped of its traditional formality. By this means he achieved a unique degree of immediacy by making possible an identification of poetic images with items of common experience. The figures of his poems are no longer the formal abstractions "lady" and "knight," but assume individual, human shape as girls and lovers. Moreover, the figures as well as their actions are part of the poetic environment, which is itself active.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Van D'Elden, "The Minnesingers," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 263.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹⁴⁹ For example, Vogelweide was not in a position to appease a specific religious sect, nor found himself in a position of great power, such as monarchs who had the power to launch Crusade campaigns (such as King Louis VII and Queen Eleanor) or worked in comradery with Papal wishes.

¹⁵⁰ Van D'Elden, "The Minnesingers," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, 264.

His works therefore must have resonated with the general public through the use of colloquial images and descriptions, as opposed to works composed solely for royal courts.

It is evident that Jaufre Rudel's piece, *Lanquan li jorn son long en Mai*¹⁵¹, inspired Walther von der Vogelweide to create *Allererst lebe ich mir werde*, which is often categorized as a crusade song. Also referred to as *Palästinalied*, the piece affirms the troubadour traditions expansion beyond the limits of France. Written during the timeframe of the Fifth Crusade (between 1217-21), the piece demonstrates a similar voice regarding crusading efforts as compared to the songs of the troubadours, while retaining and seamlessly blending the unique voice that Vogelweide developed:

Life's true worth at last beginneth,
 Now my sinful eyes behold
 The holy land, the earth that winneth
 Fame for glories manifold.
 I have won my lifelong prayer:
 I am in the country where
 God in human shape did fare.

Lands, the greatest, goodliest, fairest,
 Many such mine eyes have seen;
 O'er them all the crown thou bearest.
 Think what wonders here have been!
 From a Maid a babe did spring,
 O'er the angel hosts a king;
 Was not that a wondrous thing?

¹⁵¹ Hendrik van der Werf, "Music," in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, by F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 137. Refer to chapter one, section "Jaufre Rudel," for more information about the piece *Lanquan li jorn*.

Here He was baptized with water,
 That men might be pure as He.
 Here He let them sell Him later,
 That we thralls might so be free.
 We had else been lost, I wis.
 Spear, Cross, thorn, your praise it is!
 Heathens, woe! ye rage at this.

Down to hell the Son descended
 From the grave wherein he lay.
 Him the Father still attended
 And the Ghost, whom no man may
 E'er disjoin; the three are one:
 Shaft so smooth and straight there's none,
 As to Abraham it was shown.

When He quelled the fiend and ended
 Such a fight as king ne'er fought,
 Here to earth He reascended.
 Sorrow to the Jews it brought;
 Through their guard He broke amain;
 Living was He seen again,
 Whom their hands had pierced and slain.

Here a day of dreadful summons
 He appointed for this land.
 Orphan's wrongs and widowed woman's
 Shall be righted by His hand.
 Then the poor man may declare
 All the violence he must bear.
 Penance here brings blessing there!

That this land they do inherit
 Christians, Jews, and heathens claim.
 God adjudge it where the merit
 Lieth, in His threefold name!
 All the world strives here, we see;
 Yet we hold the rightful plea:
 God will grant it rightfully.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Frank Carr Nicholson, "Walther Von Der Vogelweide," in *Old German Love Songs: Translated from the Minnesingers of the 12th to 14th Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 71-73.

Written in 1224, the poem recounts opinions surrounding the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, forming an army for a crusade¹⁵³ after Pope Innocent III, once again, ignited action in 1215 for the new Northern Crusades (right before the Pope's death in 1216). In Germany, there was minimal support for a new crusade, however Vogelweide's piece does not express discontent, considering that it was written when the crusade was well underway, and showing promising success. The piece itself is famous for being a *chanson de croisade*, and it is the only piece of Vogelweide's that has a surviving melodic counterpart.¹⁵⁴

Example 5. Walther von der Vogelweide, *Palästinalied*.

Nü al-rést leb' ich mir wer-de Sit mîn Sün-dic ou-ge siht
 Daz rei-ne lant und ouch die er-de Den man vil der ê-ren giht.
 Mirst ge-sche-hen des ich ie bat Ich bin ko-men an die stat
 Dâ got mensch-lî - chen trat.

Only now I live in dignity,
 now that my sinful eyes have seen
 that pure land and earth as well
 which have been given such great honor.
 To me has happened what I always hoped,
 for I am come unto that place
 where God once trod the earth as man.

¹⁵³ Nicholson, "Walther Von Der Vogelweide," in *Old German Love Songs*, 71-73.

¹⁵⁴ Example 5 demonstrates a rounded melody, which has been compared to Rudel's melody seen in Figure 2. Similarly, it is in Dorian mode, typical of chants or church music of the period. Richard Taruskin, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, The Oxford History of Western Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

The piece is categorized as a *Kreuzlied*, German for crusade song, meant to be recited by a group of people, therefore not necessarily reflecting the opinion of the author himself.¹⁵⁵ It is also labeled a *Preislied*, known as a “song of praise,” which is a standard notion for a crusade song discussing the Catholic God. The lack of a persuasive argument encouraging crusade enrollment within the overall poem further suggests that Vogelweide may not have been personally interested in the crusade efforts,¹⁵⁶ but rather chose to provide commentary on significant events.

Regardless of Vogelweide’s personal opinion, the piece begins in the first person narrative, depicting the moment of arrival in the Holy Land, the main focus of the composition. He considers travel to the Holy Land, or pilgrimage, as a great privilege and honor, specifically in the line “I have won my lifelong prayer,” equating with a highest possible achievement.¹⁵⁷ He draws a distinction between Christians (or Catholics), Jews, and Muslims (noted as “heathens”), however there is no reference to a specific place, rather, he keeps the setting broad, only referring to the Holy Land. The narrative indicates a belief that all men have been redeemed by Christ through the description of Christ’s crucifixion (i.e. the cross and thorns). At first, this seems to suggest that there is no one who will be excluded from God’s care (in comparison to other texts that strictly say only Crusaders will be absolved). However, it becomes clear that only those who believe in the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), “Lieth, in His threefold name,” will be awarded victory and afforded salvation. Therefore, it is determined that since only the

¹⁵⁵ Nicholson, "Walther Von Der Vogelweide," in *Old German Love Songs*, 71.

¹⁵⁶ Hilda Swinburne, "Walther von der Vogelweide and the Crusades," *The Modern Language Review* 56, no. 3 (July 1961): 351.

¹⁵⁷ A common theme throughout this paper, this also falls in line with paying service to God through war over the Holy Land.

Christian religion assumes the legitimacy of Jesus as the Son of God (hence believing in the Holy Trinity), it will be those Christian crusaders who will be accepted by God.¹⁵⁸

Vogelweide was prolific in the amount of crusade and political commentary pieces¹⁵⁹ he produced. Beyond his *Palästinalied*, the composer questioned the purpose and supposedly “just” nature of the Crusades, a probable skepticism that was felt by many, but may not have been voiced out of fear of persecution. Vogelweide, however, did not restrain himself; his remaining works depict him as “spokesman of the period,” where he “attacks the Papacy with great violence and outspoken bitterness” on some issues. The fact that he was able to conceive of tolerance toward subjugated religious groups the Papacy continuously fought against, i.e. Jews and Muslims, was radical for the time;¹⁶⁰ his work allows the modern reader to assume that by the thirteenth century, much of the public, and even gentility, may have been questioning the validity of religious warfare. Negative sentiment, and the possible realization that the war efforts inflicted more suffering than good, may have led others to abandon the infallibility of the Pope or Holy Roman emperor, even territorial monarchs. This demonstrates a change from sacred motivation, to a secular interpretation of socio-political-religious events.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Swinburne, "Walther von der Vogelweide," 351.

¹⁵⁹ Suggested pieces by Walther von der Vogelweide regarding crusades and papal criticism: *Ir fürsten, die des küneges gerned waeren ane. Do Liupolt spart uf gotes vart. Herzoge uz Osterriche, ez ist iu wol ergangen. Sagt on, her Stoc.*

¹⁶⁰ Swinburne, "Walther von der Vogelweide," 353.

¹⁶¹ Further, Swinburne notes, “Only once does Walther appear to speak mockingly of the Crusades. An objection quoted and answered repeatedly in official propaganda was the argument: if God really wanted the Holy Land to be freed, surely he could free it by his own power,” *Ibid.*, 352., drawing a correlation between following crusade advocacy to being “ignorant.”

V. Conclusion

The troubadour tradition emerged in the courts of Western Europe, granting them a powerful, autonomous, voice, while backed by noble patronage. Some of the composers were directly exposed to events of the crusades, either through first-hand experience, or through the tales of their benefactors. Others documented significant events, contributing to the historical narrative of the Medieval era, at times in contrast to established modern narratives. Their position outside the hierarchical social structure of the time allowed them to convey popular and personal attitudes with a relatively unrestrained level of authenticity that was uncommon, taking into account the pervasiveness of Roman Catholic dogma, and the power of royalty and nobility.

Troubadour compositions are inextricably linked to the Crusades during the High Middle Ages. The troubadours' development of lyric poetry evolved from a pure emphasis on courtly love, becoming a means to record historical instances of religious turmoil. The troubadour notion of "courtly love" found purpose beyond entertainment in royal courts. Troubadours were encapsulated by spiritual love; as a result, the idea of love as an ethereal virtue became a theme common throughout most of their compositions, regardless of genre. With a virtuosity in conveying emotion with poetic detail, the troubadours could express the emotional longing and suffering stemming from crusade efforts, utilizing their skillful lyricism to construct arguments and interpretations of the events of the Crusades.

The first troubadours William IX, Marcabru, and Jaufre Rudel, cultivated a distinct style of lyricism for their compositions, eventually influencing later regional variations of the Troubadour tradition, as exemplified by the emergence of the Trouvères in Northern France, and the Minnesingers in Germany. The territorial range of these composers gave them access to a

breadth of social attitudes that allowed them to comprehensively record the history of the Crusades. One would assume that the secular and personal sentiments conveyed in their work would vary depending on place of origin, and regional religious and political convictions; however, the compositions demonstrate the opposite—more often than not, the Troubadours, Trouvères, and Minnesingers, shared similar views and provided common historical accounts. The troubadour's freedom from external influence did not make them free of bias, as their Western European perspective is reflected in their lack of sympathy for the Saracens and Islamic forces, “true” opponents of the Cross. However, their fluid social status and romantic ideals meant that the values of crusading forces, such as of the Holy Roman Empire or of the Papacy, were not always shared. At times, certain troubadours fervently opposed the violent actions they observed, most evident during the Albigensian Crusade. The religious persecution of the Cathars challenged the very existence of the troubadour tradition; with the dispossession of their beneficiaries, the troubadours were noted as facing an extinctive period. Further, the main force behind troubadour-ism, *fin d'amour*, was criticized due to its similarities to Cathar beliefs. Since the art form was appreciated by many, the essence of the troubadour tradition was preserved in the various evolutionary forms that followed. Further, the oppression of the Cathars demonstrates that acts of religious “righteousness” were not as valid as religious leaders had suggested.

Their unique social standing, and independence from dogmatic constraints, provided a platform for a more liberal capacity to speak, making it possible to demonstrate secular opinions that would have been considered controversial. Their historic commentary grants the modern reader a greater understanding of the social and religious conditions surrounding the Crusades, rather than merely the glorified instances recorded by those with inherent biases, such as those of clergymen and nobility.

During a period plagued by physical and spiritual suffering, this analysis of vernacular troubadour compositions is significant not only because it provides uncommon historical accounts, but also reveals a dismal mood felt throughout society during a period of intercultural and interfaith transgressions. It is my hope that the reader has gained a sense of medieval social reality, while also understanding instances of religious hypocrisy in crusade campaigns launched with intent to eradicate Christians deemed to be “heretics,” rather than defending Christendom from actual religious opponents, as well as the antithetical nature of crusade barbarism. Further, it is my hope that through the numerous compositions provided, the reader gains a greater insight and understanding of late medieval religious attitudes and convictions as they pertained to the Crusades. Ultimately, the troubadours were successful in capturing the tensions underlying the crusades, and their unique vantage point allows for an understanding of the Crusades as not solely being religious in nature, but as socio-political wars affecting all spheres of life, from the physical, to the metaphysical.

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