

The Poets, the Popes, and the Chroniclers:
Comparing Crusade Rhetoric in the Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères

with Crusade Literature, 1145-1291

by

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ABSTRACT

The call to crusade in 1145 prompted a movement fueled not only by religious writings and sermons, but by calls to arms in secular song. During the mid-twelfth to thirteenth centuries, French Trouvères and Occitan Troubadours wrote over one hundred crusade songs, the majority of which are rife with propaganda and support for the crusades and the attacks against the Saracens and the East. The crusade song corpus not only deals with sacred motivations to go overseas, such as the crusade indulgence present in papal bulls, but also summons biblical figures and epic persons as motivation to crusade.

Previous scholars have not adequately defined the genre of a crusade song, and have overlooked connections to the crusading rhetoric of the genre of crusade literature. I offer a precise definition of crusade song and examine commonalities between crusade literature and song. During the crusades, troubadours and trouvères wrote crusade songs to draw support for the campaigns. The propaganda in these songs demonstrates that the authors had an understanding of current events and may have had some knowledge of other crusading literature, such as papal calls to crusade, crusade sermons, the Old French Crusade Cycle, and various crusade chronicles. These documents show how the themes and allusions present in crusade song have broader connotations and connections to crusade culture in Medieval Europe.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
Crusading and Song.....	3
The Crusade Songs of Troubadours and Trouvères.....	9
Sources, Manuscripts and Crusading Language.....	15
Plan of Inquiry.....	18
2 SACRED MOTIVATIONS TO CRUSADE IN SONG, AS MIRRORED IN CRUSADE DOCUMENTS.....	20
Remission of Sin.....	21
God as Proclaimer of Crusade.....	25
Promise of Eternal Life.....	28
Crusaders as “Heirs” to the Holy Land.....	33
The Recovery of the True Cross.....	35
Crusade as Pilgrimage.....	38
Conclusions.....	40
3 THE PORTRAYAL OF SAINTS AND BIBLICAL FIGURES IN CRUSADE SONG.....	44
The Passion of Christ.....	45
The Day of Judgment and the Antichrist.....	48
Portrayal of Biblical and Religious Figures.....	52

CHAPTER	Page
Conclusions.....	64
4 CHARLEMAGNE AND OTHER EPIC PERSONS REPRESENTED IN SONG	
AS THE IDEAL CRUSADER.....	66
The Nine Worthies in Crusade Literature and Song.....	67
Charlemagne as the Ideal Leader.....	70
Roland as the Ideal Warrior.....	75
Alexander the Great at the Ideal Crusader.....	77
The Use of Charlemagne, Roland, and Alexander the Great in Crusade Song....	82
Conclusions.....	88
5 CONCLUSION.....	90
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	95
APPENDIX	
A TIMELINE OF CRUSADE EVENTS AS WELL AS DATES OF	
TROUBADOURS, TROUVÈRES AND THEIR PATRONS.....	102
B LIST OF CRUSADE SONGS.....	106
C LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS.....	111
D <i>CHEVALIER, MULT ESTES GUARIZ</i>	114
E <i>OIES, SEIGNEUR, PERCEUS</i>	117
F <i>BE.M PAC D'IVERNS</i>	119
G <i>AHI! AMOURS CON DURE DEPARTIE</i>	123
H <i>ARA POT HOM CONOISSER</i>	132
I <i>KARITATZ ET AMOR E FES</i>	136

APPENDIX	Page
J <i>JERUSALEM, SI PLAINT ET LI PAÏS</i>	139
K <i>FORT CAUZA, ES QUE TOT LO MAJOR DAN</i>	142
L <i>NO M'AGRAD IVERNS NI PASCORS</i>	148
M SELECTED TEXTS OF CRUSADE SONGS.....	151

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Refrain of <i>Chevalier, mult estes guariz</i>	31
2. Excerpt of <i>Oies, seigneur, perceus</i>	34
3. Excerpt of <i>Ara pot hom conoisser</i>	46
4. Excerpt of <i>Karitatz ez amors e fes</i>	56
5. Excerpt of <i>Be.m pac d'iverns</i>	63
6. Excerpt of <i>Be.m pac d'iverns</i>	63
7. Excerpt of <i>Fort cauza es que tot lo major dan</i>	84
8. Excerpt of <i>Fort cauza es que tot lo major dan</i>	85

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On November 12, 1239, a group of Christian knights disagreed with crusade leaders (including Thibaut de Champagne, king of Navarre [1201-1253]), and went ahead into battle without the rest of the company. Most of the six-hundred men were either killed or captured, including prominent members of the crusade such as the counts Henry of Bar and Amaury of Montfort.¹ Philippe de Nanteuil, a knight under Thibaut and a *trouvère*, was also captured. While imprisoned he wrote several songs, one of which is interpolated in the text of the *Rothelin Continuation* of William of Tyre's *History*, which chronicles the events in the Holy Land from 1229-1261. Philippe begins his song *En chantant vueil mon duel faire* by mourning the loss of the count of Bar and the count of Montfort, and then blames the other Christians for not riding out to battle with them:

In song I'll mourn
to ease my grief
for Montfort, noble count,
who bore his fame so well.
He came to Syria-
sad loss to France!-
there to make war.
But soon his warfare ceased
for from his first assault
God allowed no return.

Ah France, admired and loved,
now all your joy is turned
to endless tears.
Always in future now,
silent, you'll grieve.
This was the tragedy:

¹ Janet Shirley, trans., *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999), 49-51.

no sooner did they come
than both your counts were lost.

Ah count of Bar, your loss
strikes cruelly at France.
When Frenchmen hear the news
how they will grieve!
Poor France, stripped of her sons,
such brave and valiant knights!
Accursed the day
that changed these noble men
to slaves and prisoners!

If the Hospitallers,
Templars² and brother knights
had shown our men the way,
had ridden as they should,
then all our chivalry
would not in prison lie,
nor Saracens still live.
But this they did not do.
Great was the error here,
some would say treachery.

My song, made up of grief,
of grief and pity mixed,
go and find Pity, beg
for God and friendship's sake,
she run to find the host,
tell them, make sure they know,
that they must not break faith!
Make them put out their strength
and get our people back,
by warfare or by wealth.³

En chantant is one of many trouvère and troubadour songs about the crusades. It was not uncommon for imprisoned knights to write songs. In fact, many crusade songs were written while on campaign. What is unique about Philippe de Nanteuil's song is that it is

² Hospitallers (Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem) and Templars were military and religious orders founded to protect and defend the Christians in the Holy Land.

³ Ibid, 52-53.

recorded in a crusade chronicle, and provides a direct eye-witness testimony. In this example, Philippe implores the Christian army to aid in his personal release from prison.

Crusading and Song

The crusades, armed expeditions that were proclaimed by the Pope for which certain privileges were granted, were multi-national events spanning several hundred years. Although historians debate the end of the entire crusade movement, the period between 1095-1291 was the most active.⁴ The crusades started in November 1095 with Pope Urban II's papal bull. The Pope calls the nobility to arm themselves and defend the Holy Land against the Saracen invaders and to recover the Christian relics that were being held hostage. The first crusade (1096-1099) was by far the most successful, resulting in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom in the East.⁵ In 1144, the Christian-held city of Edessa was lost to the Muslims, prompting Pope Eugene III to write a letter to the French King Louis VII that started the second crusade (1147-1149). Jonathan Riley-Smith calls the second crusade a "fiasco," resulting in the defeat of both Christian armies.⁶ There are only three extant songs from the second crusade: one trouvère song, *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, and two songs by the

⁴ In *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, the crusades are still present in the twenty-first century. Other historians put the end of the crusades with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798, and another view on the end of the crusades is 1291, when there was no longer hope of regaining the Holy Land.

⁵ The Latin Kingdom is the name given to the Christian government rule of the Holy Land. The capital moved constantly as the Christian forces combatted the Muslims (the first capital was Jerusalem; the last capital was Acre). The first king of the Latin Kingdom was Godfrey of Bouillon.

⁶ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

troubadour Marcabru. There were several military battles after the second crusade, the most notable being in the late 1180s. In 1187, the Muslim forces defeated the Christian army at the Battle of Hattin, where the True Cross—recovered during the first crusade—was again lost, and in that same year the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Muslims. This event led Pope Gregory VIII to call the third crusade (1189-1192), to which the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Henry II of England, and King Philip II of France responded. However, Henry II died before completing his crusade vow, and the English-French joint expedition was led by his successor, King Richard I.⁷ The third crusade was quite successful, with the recovery of much of the Holy Land—Jerusalem not among the conquests, although not by lack of trying. The third crusade is quite active in terms of music, with the most influx in the crusade song repertory—thirty-two songs were written during this time. The fourth crusade (1202-1204) was a disaster as the crusaders diverted from their course to the Holy Land and attacked Constantinople as well as Greece.⁸ This crusade was led by Boniface I, the patron of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras—a troubadour whose songs will be prominent throughout this study. The short-lived fourth crusade led Innocent III to plan a new crusade. However, he died before he could see this through, and Pope Honorius III took over Innocent’s crusade effort. The fifth crusade (1217-29) was called by Honorius III, led by the excommunicated Emperor Frederick II, and by way of a treaty, saw the recovery of

⁷ Simon Lloyd, “The Crusading Movement 1096-1274,” in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 38.

⁸ Riley-Smith, 3.

Jerusalem.⁹ The fifth overlaps with the sixth crusade (1228-1229) and involves the same players. The trouvère Thibaut de Champagne and Richard of Cornwall led what is called the Baron's crusade (1239-1241), and it resulted in one of the largest territorial acquisitions for the Latin Kingdom.¹⁰ The seventh (1248-1254) and eighth (1269-1272) crusades were both led by King Louis IX of France. Louis IX's first crusade was in response to the loss of Jerusalem in 1244, and he died in Tunisia during his second crusade.¹¹ Seventeen songs by troubadours and trouvères discuss events from the seventh and eighth crusades, most notably Louis IX's capture during the seventh and the lamentation of his death during the eighth. For more details on specific crusades, their timeline, and how they relate to the troubadours and trouvères, see Appendix A.

The first extant troubadour or trouvère crusade song does not occur until the mid-twelfth century. This study focuses on the documents pertaining to the period of the second crusade to the fall of the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, Acre, in 1291. My research only concerns monophonic crusade songs by French trouvères and Occitan troubadours, and does not consider any of the extant songs in German, Latin, Italian, or Gaelic. The period between 1145-1291 is important, not only historically because of the crusades, but musically because of the timeline of monophonic secular song. By 1291, the troubadours had been displaced from Southern France and moved to

⁹ Ibid. and Thomas W. Smith, *Curia and Crusade: Pope Honorius III and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1216-1227* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

¹⁰ Riley-Smith, 3.

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

Italy or Spain, and the trouvères were starting to experiment with polyphonic forms, which makes 1291 an appropriate date to end this study.

Well over two hundred songs by troubadours and trouvères mention the crusades, yet not all qualify specifically as crusade song. A fleeting reference to a city in the Holy Land, or to the *Outremer*, does not evoke enough crusade rhetoric for the song to fit the crusade genre. How does one define a crusade song? Musicologists and other scholars have made multiple attempts to define the crusade genre. Kurt Lewent's 1908 study of Occitan and German lyrics catalogs sixty-three crusade songs.¹² Lewent believes that crusade songs are "sermons for a specific purpose," and he focuses exclusively on songs of exhortation, a commonality seen across crusade song scholarship.¹³ Peter Hölzle, in his 1980 study of Occitan and German crusade song, states that all crusade songs must appeal, directly or indirectly, "to the able-bodied collective, and/or to individual rulers," and must be "in parallel to the preaching of the crusades."¹⁴ Hölzle concludes with only nineteen crusade songs by Occitan and German poets. However, Hölzle examines only the twelfth-century repertory, and therefore omits ninety-one years of crusade song, if not more. He also neglects songs that criticize the crusades and courtly love songs that evoke crusading rhetoric. Contrary to Lewent and Hölzle, Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, as well as Friedrich Oeding, take a different approach, and their studies include two

¹² Kurt Lewent, "Das altprovenzalische Kreuzlied" *Romanische Forschungen*, 21 (1908), 321-448.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 334.

¹⁴ Peter Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der Okzitanischen und Deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1980), 101-103.

different categories of crusade song, exhortations and songs of love.¹⁵ Unlike other scholarship, D.A. Trotter writes that crusade songs are songs “in which crusades to the Holy Land play a significant part.”¹⁶ While this would yield a remarkable corpus, it still leaves out those that discuss the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) or the Spanish Reconquista (722-1492).

Modern scholarship on crusade songs rectifies the issue of an overly narrow definition, yet the definitions scholars provide tend to go in the opposite direction, being much too broad. Cathrynke Dijkstra states that a song is only a crusade song when “the historical reality of the crusades was a necessary condition for the creation of the song.”¹⁷ While this may seem a fitting definition, one must think of the pervasive culture of crusading during the Middle Ages. Throughout the Medieval period, the possibility for a crusade was always present, and the crusade movement was constantly embedded in European culture throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.¹⁸ In the most recent study of crusade song, Linda Patterson observes, “Since the focus of interest in this book is what the lyric poets say about the crusades...the book does not attempt to define what was or

¹⁵ Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, *Les Chansons de Croisade* (1909; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), ix-x.

¹⁶ D.A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100-1300)* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1988), 173.

¹⁷ Cathrynke Dijkstra, “Troubadours, Trouvères and Crusade Lyrics,” in *Le rayonnement des troubadours: actes du colloque de l’AIEO, Association Internationale d’Etudes Occitanes, Amsterdam, 16-18 Octobre 1995*, edited by Anton Touber (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 174. Dijkstra also has a longer study on crusade song published in 1995, where she names 186 songs as part of the genre.

¹⁸ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 7.

was not a crusade song, even if it will offer some indication of the different types of text in which these responses appear.”¹⁹ Yet Patterson claims that her study includes 151 Occitan and 51 Old French songs that relate to the crusades.²⁰ Patterson thus leaves many questions unanswered.

I propose the following definition, with parameters that are not too narrow, yet not too broad:

A crusade song is any song written between 1095 to 1291 in which the majority of the lyrics deal specifically with a crusade—this can include crusades to the Holy Land, the Spanish Reconquista, or the Albigensian crusade. These songs can incorporate aspects of other genres (such as the troubadour *sirventes*, or the *trouvère chanson avec refrain*) with characteristics of courtly love, exhortation, or criticism.

I apply this definition only to monophonic secular song of the troubadours and *trouvères*.²¹ As we will see, crusade song is a hybrid genre, taking on the different poetical forms of the troubadours and *trouverès*, and can be classified into three categories—exhortation, criticism, and courtly love. Contrary to previous research, this new definition allows for songs that criticize the crusades. These critical songs typically detail events from a specific crusade and feature a call to action. For example, the

¹⁹ Linda Patterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movement, 1137-1336* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), 7. Linda Patterson’s project also culminates with an online database of crusade lyric, which has proven quite useful. Throughout this thesis, if the reader wishes to view the full text, the reader will be directed to either Appendix M, or the University of Warwick’s *Troubadours, Trouvères, and the Crusades*. The texts in the database are in two sections, Occitan and Old French. The Occitan uses the PC numbers, and the Old French uses the RS numbers, which the footnotes in this thesis will use to direct the reader.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ However, this definition can be modified to fit other types of song. For instance, removing the time parameter of 1095-1291 would allow the definition to fit any song, regardless of language or harmonic structure.

troubadours Tomier and Palazi (fl. c. 1199-1226), in both of their *sirventes*, criticize the Albigensian Crusade and call for the nobility of Occitania to take up arms against the invading French. My definition of the crusade song genre applies to 104 songs, of which seventy-three are by troubadours, and thirty-one are by trouvères (see Appendix B).

The Crusade Songs of Troubadours and Trouverès

Troubadours

The troubadour corpus features many different genres of troubadour poetry. Important troubadours who wrote crusade song include Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (fl. c. 1180-1207), Giraut de Borneil (1138-1215), Folquet de Marseille (1150-1231), Folquet de Romans (fl. c. 1215-1233), and Bertran de Born (1140-1215).

A recurring genre in half of the crusade songs by troubadours is the *sirventes*, exploring political or moral themes. Typically, as seen in crusade songs, this genre is political, and the call to crusade is the most prevalent theme. Guillem Figueira (1195-1250) is perhaps the best-known composer of *sirventes*, as exemplified by *D'un sirventes far*, in which all twenty-three stanzas criticize the Catholic Church and the Albigensian Crusade. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras also wrote several crusade *sirventes*. As mentioned earlier, he served under Boniface I, the Marquis de Montferrat, and accompanied the Marquis on the fourth crusade. Raimbaut's style is unique when compared to other troubadours. Textually, Raimbaut employs many stylistic devices: allusions to romances and epics (see Chapter 4), comparisons to nature and chivalric values, and what Joseph Linskill calls "word play (repetition of nouns and verbs, juxtaposition of derivative

forms, use of refrain-words, occasional employment of grammatical rhymes).”²²

Raimbaut is deliberate not only in word choice, but word placement (see Chapter 2).

Musically, Raimbaut’s style is neumatic, heavily ornamented, and he does not rely on repetition as much as his contemporaries.

The *canço* on the theme of courtly love is also well represented in the troubadour corpus. Typically, these songs are on the subject of unreciprocated love. There are several sub-categories of *canço*, including *vers*, *descort* and *lay*, which are rarely seen in crusade song. Prominent poets of *canço* include Guiraut Riquier (c. 1230-1300) and Peire Vidal (fl. c. 1183-1205). Peire Vidal is known for his humor and wit. He served many different patrons throughout his lifetime, including the viscount of Marseille, Raimon V of Toulouse (who influenced the Albigensian Crusade), Alfonso II of Aragon (fought in Spanish Reconquista), Boniface I (leader of the fourth crusade), and Alfonso VIII of Castile (fought in Spanish Reconquista).²³ Peire’s poetry utilizes complex rhyme schemes, and hyperbole, while his melodies employ a repetitive structure and a large melodic range, usually of a ninth or a tenth.²⁴ However, as we will see in Chapter 3, his crusade song *Be.m pac d’iverns* expands to the extraordinary range of an octave plus a seventh, which is seldom seen in other troubadour songs.

To a lesser extent, troubadour crusade song incorporates the *planh*, a song of lament. There are five *planh* in the crusade song corpus, each for a different crusade,

²² Joseph Linskill, *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras* (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), 48.

²³ Veronica M. Fraser, *The Songs of Peire Vidal: Translation and Commentary* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 1-29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16-17

lamenting the death or imprisonment of a military leader. For example, Austorc d'Aurillac (fl. c. 1250) laments the capture of King Louis IX (see Chapter 4). Gaucelm Faidit (c. 1150-1220) also composed a *planh* lamenting the death of the English King Richard I. Gaucelm was a troubadour under the patronage of Boniface I during the same time as Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Peire Vidal. His *vida* is quite elaborate, stating that he became a *joglar* because he lost all of his money playing dice. He also married a prostitute, and the *Vida* hints that he had an affair with Maria de Ventadorn.²⁵ Gaucelm uses repetitive motives in his music, and usually employs two musical forms, ABABx, which repeats the first two lines of a stanza, or the *oda continua*, which contains little to no repetition (see Chapter 4).

Trouvères

Within the trouvère repertory, thirty-one songs conform to the crusade song genre. Named trouvères who wrote crusade song include Conon de Béthune (c. 1160-1220) and Thibaut de Champagne. Unlike the troubadour songs, almost half of the trouvère crusade corpus is anonymous.

The trouvère *sirventes* follows the same form as the troubadour genre. These songs discuss political or moral issues, and there are twelve crusade songs that are considered *sirventes*. One difference between troubadour and trouvère *sirventes* is that the trouvère *sirventes* may include a refrain. Two *sirventes* utilize a refrain in the crusade repertory: the anonymous *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, and Maistre Renaut's *Pour lou pueple resconforter*.

²⁵ Jean Mouzat, *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit* (Paris: A.G. Nizet, 1965), 25.

The courtly genre of trouvère crusade song is the *chanson d'amour*, in which the subject is courtly love. Thirteen crusade songs are *chansons d'amour*, and most are considered 'departure songs' in which the main focus is the "separation motif"—leaving one's lady for the Holy Land.²⁶ Thibaut de Champagne and Chardon de Croisilles (fl. c. 1220-1245) both wrote departure songs and each sings that his heart will remain with his lady while his body goes to serve the lord in the Holy Land. An atypical *chanson d'amour*, by Conon de Béthune (see Chapter 2), combines characteristics of both the *chanson d'amour* and *sirventes*. It is unknown if Conon participated in the third crusade (his poems might suggest this); however, he did participate in the fourth crusade and was present at the sack of Constantinople. Conon's poetry is usually isometric, with decasyllabic verses. His music tends to use repetition, and is typically syllabic with little ornamentation. Troubadour and trouvère poetic genres are quite similar to one another, which can also be said for their music.

Music

Of the 104 crusade songs, only 26 survive with music. There are several problems in analyzing troubadour and trouvère music, the largest issue being transmission, which generates multiple versions of the same melody (see Sources, Manuscripts, and Crusading Language). Another issue is with musical performance, as no consensus on performance practice in the Middle Ages has been established by scholars.²⁷ While

²⁶ Trotter, 177.

²⁷ There are several studies that detail musical performance, including the use of instruments in secular song. See Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental practice and songs in France 1100-1300* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1987).

scholars have attempted to derive rhythms from the notation in troubadour and trouvère manuscripts, there is no definitive way to discern rhythm. All of the transcriptions that are present in this study are in un-measured notation. The basis for the format of my personal music transcriptions come from van der Werf and Aubrey, among others. A problem within musical analysis is whether or not to use modes. There seems to be a consensus that mode should not be used in analysis of troubadour melodies. However, that consensus has not been reached in trouvère scholarship.²⁸ For my particular purpose, I will follow the conventions set by troubadour scholars and not use mode in my analysis. It is also difficult to determine a tonal center in analysis, according to recent scholarship, as this tends to shift throughout the melody in troubadour and trouvère song.²⁹ These songs emphasize specific pitches that are considered the structural foundations of the melody, yet they do not emphasize a specific “tonality.” One must look at the overall range to discern the framework of a melody.³⁰ Finals alone will not determine the framework, or even the structure, because the final pitch in a melody tends to be one that is unexpected to the listener, and Elizabeth Aubrey claims that the final note would be different in performance, as it would not be sung until all stanzas had been recited.³¹ According to past scholarship, melodies are typically based structurally on thirds, but

²⁸ Theodore Karp and Hans Tischler utilize modal analysis. Other scholars such as Ian R. Parker and Hendrik van der Werf tend to err on the side of caution when assigning modes to songs.

²⁹ Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 175-176.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

sometimes they may be based on fourths and seconds.³² Troubadour and trouvère melodies tend to be either neumatic (two to six notes per syllable) or syllabic (one note per syllable), and melismas (musical flourishes with six or more notes per syllable) are more pronounced in troubadour song. Trouvère melodies tend to be more syllabic than their troubadour counterparts. It is common to see stepwise motion in secular monophony, as well as leaps of fourths or fifths. Leaps over a fifth are rare and should be noted in analysis.³³

Analysis of secular monophony should also address the form of the song. Typically, trouvère songs use predictable forms of repetition in each stanza. There are various different forms for troubadour and trouvère melodies. The most popular form is the ABABx form, in which the first two verses—or musical lines/phrases—repeat.³⁴ The initial AB is called the *pes*, and the overall front section ABAB is called the *frons*. The *cauda* (indicated by the *x*) comes after the *frons* and can be made up of any structure. For instance, the crusade song *Li departirs de la douce contrée* by Chardon de Croisilles has the form ABABCD¹C¹E, with the *cauda* having some form of internal repetition (CD¹E). However, there does not need to be any repetition in the *cauda*. Trouvère and troubadour song can also be through-composed, which is more common in the

³² Hendrik van der Werf, *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: Published by the author, 1984), 31. The idea that melodies are based on thirds derives from an article by Curt Sachs entitled “The Road to Major” (1943), in which all secular monophonic song can be condensed to three different triadic structures.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Hans Tischler, “Trouvère Songs: The Evolution of their Poetic and Musical Styles,” *The Musical Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1986), 330. And Aubrey, 146.

troubadour repertory. Through-composed in this instance means that the music for all stanzas is notated, and the form is not strophic.³⁵ Other forms that occur in troubadour melodies are ABBAx, paired verse (ABABCD CD etc.), and rounded form (large-structure ABA).³⁶ There are also strophic melodies in which there is no internal repetition and the form would be represented as ABCDEFG and so forth (*oda continua*). However, the form of the piece may change based on variants that occur with manuscript transmission.

Sources, Manuscripts, and Crusading Language

This study examines a wide variety of sources to better understand the rhetoric of crusading and how it is used in song. The entire study analyzes non-musical sources to determine themes that are present in both literature and song. Non-musical sources include chronicles, sermons, crusading epics, papal bulls, and personal correspondence. All of these sources were intended for the nobility or the clergy with whom troubadours and trouvères were affiliated. Many troubadours worked for the nobility, such as Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, whose patron would have read the papal call to crusade and heard crusade sermons. It was also common for troubadours to be members of the clergy who, because of their position, may have also had access to similar documents. Most of the trouvères discussed in this study were members of the nobility taking active roles in the crusade, such as Thibaut de Champagne who led a crusade expedition. Troubadours, on the other hand, took a less active role, usually accompanying their patrons to the Holy Land.

³⁵ The only crusade song that is through-composed is the anonymous *Finament*.

³⁶ Aubrey, 144-149.

The documents examined in this study utilize language that is specific to the crusades. A common expression in crusade literature and song is that one “takes the cross.” This is in reference to the vow a crusader took before going overseas. When taking this vow, one was bestowed with the cross, and it was usually sewn on to their clothing.³⁷ The crusade indulgence is also heavily mentioned in this study. The crusade indulgence was granted by the pope through his call to crusade and gave crusaders the promise that their sins would be forgiven, they would receive eternal life, and that their property would be protected by the church while they were overseas. The main goal of the crusaders was to take Jerusalem, and in doing so, acquire the True Cross. The True Cross was not a goal of crusaders until the third crusade, and is relatively absent in crusade song and documents during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³⁸ The Jerusalem fragment of the True Cross was believed to be “miraculously” found during the first crusade, and then was believed to be lost during the third crusade at the Battle of Hattin.³⁹ Devotion to the relics of the True Cross flourished during the crusade movement. In my discussion, I have adopted the scholarly tradition that the True Cross is a metaphorical concept. Specifically, in crusade song, the True Cross is a rhetorical device used to exhort the laity to “take the cross” and go overseas.

³⁷ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, “From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095-1300,” *Speculum* 88, no. 1 (January 2013), 44.

³⁸ Nikolas Jaspert, “The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 208.

³⁹ Fulcher of Chartres describes the discovery of the True Cross in his chronicle, *Fulcheri Carnotensis historia Hierosolymitana*. Other “fragments” of the True Cross had been found, and the prime fragment of the cross was in Constantinople.

Thirty-one principal manuscripts transmit crusade song (see Appendix C). All but two of these manuscripts were copied during the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, sometimes well after the composition of the songs. This raises the issue of transmission, which plagues musical analysis of troubadour and trouvère song. Most of these melodies are preserved in multiple manuscripts with variants between them. These can either be minor variations (a B-flat in one and a B-natural in the other) or distinct variations (changes in form, one melody being much more florid than the other, etc.). There are various theories among scholars as to how the scribes learned of the melodies they copied. One theory is that the scribes notated the melody from memory, while another is that the scribe copied the melody from an exemplar. There is no way to tell which manuscript contains the “true” melody (if there is such a thing), and since most of these songs were learned through rote by the *jongleur*, it is possible that multiple melodies existed in different regions. The problem of manuscript transmission can affect text-music relationships. It is difficult to analyze text-music relationships because the variants in the melodies may emphasize different words.⁴⁰ Crusade songs were copied in various types of documents including *chansonniers*, *chansons de geste*, and crusade chronicles. Sixteen manuscripts, mostly *chansonniers*, transmit the crusade song melodies. There are two manuscripts that contain only Occitan melodies (Troubadour manuscripts G and R) and two manuscripts contain multiple troubadour and trouvère

⁴⁰ An example of this is present in Chapter 3, in the discussion of Peire Vidal’s *Be.m pac d’iverns*.

melodies (Troubadour manuscripts W and X). All of these manuscripts, except for Troubadour manuscript X, have melodies notated in square notation.⁴¹

When looking at these sources, I specifically searched for similarities between crusade song and crusade literature. In my musical analysis, I prioritize the musical form, and any repetitive motifs. When looking at multiple manuscripts for a single melody, I look for similarities between the concordances, and striking differences. The attempt in the musical analysis is to stay within the conventions set by previous troubadour and trouvère scholars. What I found were references in the songs that have specific meanings in crusade literature and are occasionally emphasized by the music. These themes show that there is a connection—even if it is a small one—between literature and song.

Plan of Inquiry

During the crusades, troubadours and trouvères wrote songs to draw support for the campaigns. The propaganda and themes present in these songs demonstrate that the author had an understanding of current events and may have had some knowledge of other crusading literature. These songs utilize similar language (rhetoric) and have similar motifs and references that can be seen in other types of Medieval documents on the crusades. This connection—and the themes that I study in this thesis—have been largely overlooked by the previous crusade song scholarship. In this thesis, I examine various themes that occur in crusade songs. These themes have a specific connotation that may not be conveyed explicitly in song, but have an important connection to crusading culture and literature in medieval Europe, supporting my interpretation of how these songs would

⁴¹ French Manuscript U is notated with Messine neumes.

have been understood by the listener. While not always the case, these themes can be emphasized by the music. However, it can be hard to make the case for relations between music and text because of the above-mentioned problems of manuscript transmission. Music and text relations are analyzed only where a) manuscript transmission is not a problem (i.e. only one manuscript) or b) all variants are stable for that specific textual reference.

In crusade song and literature, there are recurring ideas and themes that have their own specific meanings that are important to the crusade movement. In Chapter Two I analyze papal bulls, sermons, and crusade songs to determine the sacred motivations to go on crusade. In Chapter Three, I discuss portrayals of religious figures such as Christ, the Antichrist, saints, and old testament figures, and how these figures relate to the sacred motivations to crusade. Finally, in Chapter Four, I examine allusions to epic figures such as Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, and Roland in crusade chronicles, epics, and songs, and how these figures were used as motivation to crusade. These themes have been overlooked by recent scholarship, and have not yet been analyzed in the context of crusade literature.

CHAPTER 2

SACRED MOTIVATIONS TO CRUSADE IN SONG, AS MIRRORED IN RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTS

Before the departure of the second crusade, an anonymous trouvère writes “Knights, you are under good safeguard, since it is before you that God introduces his trial against the Turks” [“Chevalier, mult estes guariz, quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur des Turs”].⁴² This passage begins the first extant trouvère crusade song complete with religious allusions, connotations, and motivations to take the cross. Sacred motivations to crusade are not unique to song but are present in many ecclesiastical and historical sources of crusade. In fact, crusade songs mirror both the themes and language of these documents.

The crusaders believed they fought, not for any one individual living on Earth, but for God, and this is echoed throughout the crusade song corpus. Yet, certain personal motivations play a role in the crusade movement. Every papal bull utilizes the crusade indulgence; that is, a promise of the remission of sin and life everlasting for those who are willing to leave their worldly goods behind and fight in the Holy Land. There are multiple instances of the indulgence in literature, sermons, and lyric.

This chapter will examine the sacred themes in troubadour and trouvère lyric. Analyzing sacred motivations in crusade song allows for a deeper understanding of the crusade ideals and how the crusades were viewed by the laity. I argue that troubadours and trouvères knew of these motivations to crusade, and, bringing these ideas into the

⁴² Bédier and Aubry, 8-11.

courtly realm, transform the themes present in papal bulls and sermons. In this chapter, I will discuss multiple sacred motivations to take the cross, including the papal indulgence, the recovery of the true cross, and the belief that the crusaders had the right to claim the Holy Land as their inheritance.

Remission of Sin

Pope Eugene III's call to the second crusade in 1145 includes one important feature: the crusade indulgence. In his papal bull, Eugene states that "forgiveness of sins and absolution we grant, in accordance with the precedent established by [Urban II]" and that those who die overseas will receive "eternal recompense."⁴³ Gregory VIII also grants an indulgence in his call to the third crusade, stating:

We promise, then, to all those who, with a contrite heart and a humble mind, will not fear to undertake this painful voyage, and who will be determined to do so by motives of a sincere faith, and with the view of obtaining the remission of their sins, a plenary indulgence for their faults, and the life everlasting which will follow.⁴⁴

The remission of sin and the promise of eternal life are important aspects of the call to crusade, appearing in papal bulls, sermons, and chronicles throughout the crusading period. Papal bulls and chronicles were written for and specifically addressed to the nobility, while crusade preaching targeted a broader audience.

Emulating the pope, troubadours and trouvères exhort the laity to crusade by utilizing the crusade indulgence as motivation to take the cross. The first extant trouvère

⁴³ Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, Charles Christopher Mierow, trans. (New York: WW Norton, 1953), 71-3.

⁴⁴ S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt, eds. *The Crusades* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 161.

crusade song, the anonymous *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, calls on French knights to take the cross and follow King Louis VII on crusade. The anonymous trouvère utilizes strong language throughout, claiming that the Turks are attacking the Lord, and emphasizing that sinners will be “saved” if they go to the Holy Land “to procure vengeance for God” [“pur la vengeance Deu furnir”].⁴⁵ Maistre Renaut echoes this sentiment in *Pour lou pueple resconforter*:

The most felonous and the least prized
can be absolved,
provided he goes away, having taken the cross,
in the promised land.

[Li plus faus et li moins prixiés
puet avoir absolution,
maix k’il s’en voist et soit croixiés
en terre de promission.]⁴⁶

Maistre Renaut states that Christ suffered to turn humankind towards redemption. The crusades, to the trouvère, are another way humanity can redeem themselves for their sins. Folquet de Marseille limits who can receive absolution in *Chantars mi torn’ad afan*, proclaiming that anyone in the nobility will receive absolution from any sin if they take the cross:

[The Turks] certainly vanquished us,
and we do not contest the mortal shame of it.
If we were loyal,
this would direct us towards a great honour.
For it was God’s gracious plan for us that the wealthy might find forgiveness
(they who act more fragile than glass
at the demand for abstinence)
and fight with praise.
God has taken into his service

⁴⁵ Bédier and Aubry, 12. For full text, see Appendix M.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 80-82. For full text, see Appendix M.

many whose confession alone
would not have pleased him, had this not existed.

[Be.ns venson, pos nuilh deman
non fam de l'anta mortal;
e si nos fassem leyal
tornera.ns ad hono gran;
qu'us ortes gienhs de Dieu fo
que.lh ric trobesson perdo—
qui.s fan plus frevol de glassa
qui d'estenensa.ls somo—
mas combatten ab lauzor;
n'a Dies pres en son labor
mains que ja confessios
no.il plagra, s'quo no fos.]⁴⁷

Folquet hints that the indulgence given by the pope is “God’s gracious plan” and that the indulgence allows absolution to anyone, even those “whose confession alone” would not be enough for salvation. The troubadour Giraut de Borneil expresses that even the most virtuous can still serve God by going on crusade. In his *sirventes*, *Jois sia comensamens*, he states, “For now a man of excellent virtue is worth nothing at all unless he humbly atones for his sins, serving God” [“Qu’er es paucs pros e niens, sis as colpas penedens non eschan”].⁴⁸ Giraut’s song takes aim at the delay of the French and English to depart on the third crusade. He instructs the kings to “go in the service of God to deliver His Holy Sepulchre from pagans and the vile horde” [“c’al servizi Dieu no van de paians e d’avol gen desliurar lo monimen”].⁴⁹ While these songs use subtler language to expand upon the ideas in the crusade indulgence, Folquet de Romans takes quite a different

⁴⁷ Ibid, 235.

⁴⁸ Ruth Verity Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of the Troubadour Giraut de Borneil: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 422 and 424. See Warwick, PC 242.41 for full text.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

approach. In *Quan lo dous temps*, Folquet invokes God's voice to strike fear in those who are not going on crusade, reminding the listener it is God, not the pope, who is granting the indulgence:

When God says: "Those who have suffered cold and heat
on my account and spilled their blood,
and have revered and feared and loved me,
and served me and done good to me and honoured me,
those people will live in joy, without sorrow,
and those who have wronged and sinned against me will ineluctably
—for [their sin] will not be forgiven them—
fall into the burning fire of Hell."

[Quan Dieus dira: "Selhs qu'an freytz ni calors
sufert per mi ni lur sanc escampat
e m'an blandit e temsut et amat
e m'an servit e fag be et honors,
aquilh seran ab gaug, ses marrimen,
e selhs qu'auran de mi tort e peccat,
ses falhimen, que no·ls er perdonat,
cayran layns el foc d'ifern arden."]⁵⁰

Folquet's entire *sirventes* criticizes the nobility for waging war among each other and not seeking battle in the Holy Land to recover the "true cross and His Holy Sepulchre."⁵¹

According to Folquet's song, anyone who is willing to serve and die for God on crusade will receive remission of sin and be granted entry into God's kingdom. However, those who do not serve God will suffer in the eternal fires of Hell. Folquet de Romans is not unique in his fear-mongering, as it appears in the songs of others. Folquet de Marseille in his Spanish crusade song *Hueimas no.y conosc razo* states that whoever goes on crusade

⁵⁰ Arveiller and Gouiran, 104-105. For full text, see Appendix M.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

can save his soul from “death and torment.”⁵² Giraut de Borneil follows along the same path as Folquet de Marseille, in *Jois sia comensamens*, stating that those who serve God in the Holy Land will “receive happiness,” but that the “wicked will receive torment eternally without end.”⁵³ In these examples, there is a clear link between the papal bull and the song because the crusade indulgence is present in both. However, the songs expand the ideas set forth in the papal bull, describing the pain and suffering that will be given to those who do not defend God and Christians in the East. The nobility listening to these songs were probably more willing to go on crusade because of the safeguard put in place if they die overseas.

God as Proclaimer of Crusade

Historically, the pope proclaims the crusades, as seen with the numerous papal bulls calling on Christians to take the cross and go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Crusade songs, however, rarely mention the pope as the proclaimer of the crusade. Only one song, out of over one hundred, mentions the pope by name. Aimeric de Peguilhan’s *Ara parra qual seran enveyos* states: “let us take the holy sign of the cross and pass overseas, for the good Pope Innocent, the strong and wise, will guide us” [“E de la crotz prendam lo sanh senhal e passem lai, que.l fermes e.l conoissens nos guizara, lo bos pap’ Innocens”].⁵⁴ But even in Aimeric’s song, the pope is not connected with proclaiming or

⁵² N. M. Schulman, *Where Troubadours Were Bishops: The Occitania of Folc of Marseille (1150-1231)* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 237. For full text, see Warwick, PC 155.15.

⁵³ Sharman, 424

⁵⁴ William P. Shepard and Frank Chambers, eds., *The Poems of Aimeric de Peguilhan* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1950), 89.

calling a crusade. It is God who calls the crusade; Aimeric claims God “summons only the bold and the good” to go overseas.⁵⁵

God as proclaimer of the crusade is a common trope found in crusade song. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras states that God is summoning the crusaders in *Ara pot hom conoisser*:

Our Lord commands and tells us all to go forth
and liberate the Sepulchre and the Cross.
Let him who wishes to be in His fellowship
die for His sake, if he would remain alive
in Paradise, and let him do all in his power
to cross the sea and slay the race of dogs.

[Nostre Senher nos mand' e.ns ditz a totz
qu'anem cobrar lo sepulcr' e la crotz;
e qui volar esser de sa companha
mueira per lui, si vol vius remaner
em paradis, e fassa som poder
de passer mar e d'aucier la gen canha].⁵⁶

Raimbaut utilizes all the tools of crusade exhortation in this passage, starting with the call from God, who “commands” the crusaders to “liberate” the Holy relics. Those who seek eternal life must first “cross the sea and slay the race of dogs.” In Raimbaut’s song, God directly implores Christians to go on crusade. However, God can also proclaim the crusades through the poet. An anonymous trouvère starts his *sirventes* by saying:

A sirventes, a plea of pleasure, and of joy,
I will start at God’s command,
so that he may teach us the way and the path
to go to Him without any difficulty.
Let us all go quickly
with Him, who calls and exhorts us,
prepared to assemble His troops.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 219-220

[Un serventois, plait de deduit, de joie,
commenceraï au Dieu comandement,
qu'il nos enseint le chemin et la voie
d'a li aler sanz nul encombrement.
Alon en tuit et très isnelement
avuec celui qui nos apele et proie,
amanevi a son asenblement]⁵⁷

Here, the trouvère claims that God has asked him to write the *serventes* in the hopes that all who hear it will “assemble His troops.” This implies that God is leading and guiding the crusaders. The trouvère describes God as the one “who calls and exhorts us,” suggesting that God is preaching the crusades. By attributing the call of crusade to God and not a specific pope, the troubadours and trouvères are invoking divine inspiration for the crusades. Moreover, the benefit of stating that God proclaims the crusade is that it allows for the song to be heard at any place and at any time. Since there is no specific pope mentioned, these songs can circulate for longer periods of time. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s song, for instance, is transmitted in a wide array of manuscripts. The first appearance of *Ara pot hom conoisser* is in Troubadour Manuscript D, which dates to 1254. Raimbaut’s song appears in twelve different manuscripts copied in various regions including Narbonne, Languedoc, and Lombardy. The latest manuscript to transmit *Ara pot hom conoisser* is from Troubadour Manuscript L, which is from the late fourteenth century. While we cannot trace the oral transmission of this song, we can trace the written one, indicating that Raimbaut’s poem was circulating for over a century after it had been written. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Aimeric de Peguilhan, and others claim in their

⁵⁷ Translated by Victoria Choin. For full text, see Appendix M.

songs that God is proclaiming the crusade, and it is God who is also granting eternal life to those who go to the Holy Land.

Promise of Eternal Life

A prominent feature of the crusade indulgence is the promise of eternal life in Paradise. The anonymous trouvère song *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* emphasizes this idea not only through the text, but also through the music. In the sole surviving manuscript (Erfurt, Codex Amploniana 8°, 32, mid-twelfth century), the promise of paradise is stated in the refrain:

Whoever will go with Louis
will never have fear of Hell,
because his soul will be in Paradise
with the angels of our Lord.

[Ki ore irat od Loovis
ja mar d'enfern avrat pour,
Char s'alme en iert en pareis
od les angles nostre Segnor.]⁵⁸

In *Chevalier*, the refrain acts as the 'call to crusade' while each stanza lists different reasons for taking the cross.⁵⁹ Though refrains are typical of trouvère song, the poet makes an effective use of this convention to highlight his call to crusade. For instance, the first stanza states:

Knights, you are under good safeguard,
since it is before you that God introduces his trial
against the Turks and the Almohads,
who have greatly shamed Him.
Certainly, it is wrong that they have seized His fiefs:
It is right that we feel pain,
because that is where God was first served

⁵⁸ Bédier and Aubry, 8 and 11.

⁵⁹ For full text of song, see Appendix M.

and acknowledged as our Lord.

[Chevalier, mult estes guariz,
quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur
des Turs e des Amoraviz,
Ki li unt fait tels deshenors.
Cher a tort uns ses fieuz saiziz;
bien en devums avoir dolur,
cher la fu Deu primes servi
E reconuu pur segnuur.]⁶⁰

The refrain calls on knights to follow Louis so that they can aid God and avenge this wrongdoing. The second stanza states, “the churches are burned and ruined: God is no longer worshipped” [“les mustiers ares e desertez: Deus n’I est mais sacrifiez”].⁶¹ The second stanza thus allows the refrain to become a call to crusade based on the Christian religion—one should go to defend the Christian faith in the Holy Land from the Muslims.

The third stanza asks the knights to be like King Louis:

Take the example of Louis,
who has more possessions than you;
He is rich and powerful,
crowned above all the other kings:
He left furs of vair and gray,
castles and towns and cities:
He left these for the One who,
for us, was tortured on the cross⁶²

Pernez essample a Lodevis,
ki plus ad que vus n’avez;
Riches est e poesteiz,
sur tuz alters reis curunez,
deguerpit ad e vair e gris,
chastels e viles e citez:
il est turnez a icelui

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8 and 11.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Vair is a blue/grey color.

ki pur nus fut en croiz penez.⁶³

The call to crusade in the third stanza becomes one of comparison. A knight can be like Louis by giving up their worldly goods and following him into battle. A French knight hearing this song would want to be like their king, and therefore go on crusade.

Moreover, the music of this song further emphasizes the refrain and the call to crusade (see Appendix D for the complete melody). During the refrain, the words, “never have fear of Hell,” are stressed through syllabic monotone in a melodic phrase that is independent from the preceding stanza. In this second phrase of the refrain, the melody lingers on a single pitch (G) stated seven times (six in immediate succession) on the words “will never have fear of hell” [“ja mar d’enfern n’avrat povur”]. It is quite unusual to find monotonal repetition of a single pitch in *trouvère* song, and this may be a scribal error. If it is intentional, however, the composer of *Chevalier* uses this device to prioritize the declamation of the text (see Example 1).⁶⁴ Another interesting musical detail occurs in the first verse of the refrain— “Whoever will go with Louis.” Here, we see the word “Louis” emphasized by a descending melisma. A similar figure occurs throughout the refrain; however, the “Louis” is unique, with a longer descending motion that puts a larger emphasis on the King. The near-identical melisma, which is one pitch shorter than “Louis,” emphasizes the word “paradise” in the third verse of the refrain— “because his soul will be in paradise.” The musical similarities between the first and third verses—the repeated descending pattern from A to D—highlight that following Louis will earn one a

⁶³ Bédier and Aubry, 9 and 11.

⁶⁴ This could possibly be scribal error or the way the scribe remembered the melody. However, since there is no other manuscript that transmits this song, we cannot know this for certain.

place in paradise. However, this is not the first time that this music is heard, as the first verse of the refrain is very similar to the seventh verse in the stanza. The form of this piece can be diagrammed as ABCBCBDE, with the refrain diagrammed as ABA(B?).⁶⁵ The A in the refrain quotes most of verse D in the stanza. This creates a musical connection between serving God, going to the Holy Land with Louis, and entering paradise. As seen, the music does not stand by itself, but emphasizes melodically key crusading themes that are present in the poetry.

Ki ore i - rat od Loo - vis
 ja mar d'en - fern n'a - vrat pov - ur
 char s'alme en iert en pa - reis
 od les angles nostre segnor

Example 1: The refrain of *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* Erfurt, Cod. 8. The last line of the refrain has been cut off in the manuscript and therefore has been left blank. Notice the second line and the string of repeated G's. Also the repeated pattern of the Bb to D, which occurs throughout the first and third lines, and how it is extended to emphasize King Louis.

⁶⁵ There are alternate ways to diagram this form. For instance, the refrain is its own entity: ABCBCBDEABA. Or, Hans Tischler in 2002 diagrammed this form as AA¹A¹¹BB¹B because he, like Bédier and Aubry, transpose the first line down to start on A so that it fits in tonally. However, my transcription follows what is written in the manuscript.

Other songs also stress the reward of eternal life that is given to those who go on crusade. An anonymous trouvère singing during the seventh crusade states in his song *Un serventois, plait de deduit, de joie*, that as a reward for going on crusade “He will offer us paradise for evermore and our salvation” [“en guerredon paradis nos otroie a toz jors mais por nostre salvement”].⁶⁶ Conon de Béthune echoes this in his song from the third crusade, *Ahi! Amours con dure departie*, stating:

He who does not want to lead a humiliating life
should seek to die for God, uplifted and rejoicing,
for this death is sweet and agreeable,
by which one gains the precious kingdom;
not one person will die from death,
but all will be reborn into a glorious life.

[Qui ci ne veut avoir vie annuieuse,
si voist pour Dieu morir liez et joieus,
que cele mors est douce et savereuse
dont on conquiert le regne precieus;
ne ja de mort nen I morra uns seus,
ainz naistront tuit en vie glorieuse]⁶⁷

The “precious kingdom” is, of course, paradise. Reiterating a fundamental Christian principle, Conon de Béthune maintains that death of the body is not a true death, but that the soul continues on and is “reborn” in paradise. Conon’s song states that by going to the Holy Land, one gains paradise. The Holy Land is important in all of these songs as the place where one receives redemption. All of these songs attest to the power of the crusade indulgence. By going on crusade, one can earn a place in Paradise. These songs show that, for the crusader, to die on crusade is to be reborn into an eternal life.

⁶⁶ Translation by Victoria Choin.

⁶⁷ Bédier and Aubry, 33 and 35. For full text, see Appendix M.

Crusaders as “Heirs” to the Holy Land

Another important theme that occurs throughout crusade song is the belief that the Holy Land is God’s “fief” and the crusaders are “heirs” to the Holy Land and have the right to claim it. Papal documents and sermons echo this sentiment, and the idea of crusaders as heirs is seen in chronicles of the first crusade, which posit that the crusaders are heirs to the apostles, or heirs to the Israelites, in part justifying their claim to the Holy Land.⁶⁸ In Pope Innocent III’s call to the fourth crusade, the loss of the “inheritance” is in a list of “injuries” inflicted by the Muslims. Pope Innocent quotes the Book of Lamentations: “For behold, our inheritance has been turned over to strangers, our houses have gone to foreigners.”⁶⁹ Crusade songs surpass the biblical comparisons, and the crusaders are seen as heirs of God specifically, therefore destined to take the Holy Land.

In *Oies, seigneur, perceus*, Maistre Ricars states:

Beyond the sea, in this holy land
where God was born and where he died and lived,
we must go to claim our inheritance,
because He has been expelled from there for us.
Whoever will not go there will not be his friend,
for there is no peace, truce, or respite there.

[Outre la mer en cele sainte terre
ou Dieus fu nés et ou fu mors et vis,
devons aler nostre iretaje querre,
car a grant tort en fu pour nous hors mis.
Ki n’i venra, il n’ert pas ses amis,
car il n’i a pais ne trieves ne terme].⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2015), 5.

⁶⁹ Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 11. The verse Innocent III is quoting is Lamentations 5:2.

⁷⁰ Bédier and Aubry, 297-298. For full text see Warwick, RS 1020a.

The trouvère's words mirror the call to the fourth crusade in that the Holy Land is the crusaders' "inheritance" which has been lost. Musically, Maistre Ricars links the "Holy Land" and "inheritance" through repetition, which is the basis of the song's form (ABABCDCD). "In this Holy Land" and "our inheritance to collect" occur in verses one and three, allowing for musical repetition to connect the two, as is customary to the paired verse form (see Example 2). The text and music relations are present in not only the fourth stanza, but other stanzas as well. For example, the musical form links ideas in the first stanza, connecting "lords, lazy with idleness" with a "death full of anguish" (see Appendix E).

4. Ou - tre la mer en ce - le sain - te te - rre

ou Dieus fu nes et ou fu mors et vis

de - vons a - ler no - stre i - re - taje qu - rre

Example 2: The Holy Land "sainte terre" and claim of inheritance "iretaje querre" are musically connected in verses one and three of stanza four.

The Holy Land becomes the crusader's inheritance in other songs as well. Speaking directly to the Holy Roman Emperor, Folquet de Romans states in *Quan cug chantar* that God "wishes you to recover his inheritance" ["vos cobrez sas heritaz"].⁷¹ It is not unusual

⁷¹ Raymond Arveiller and Gerard Gouiran, *L'oeuvre Poetique de Falquet de Romans, Troubadour* (Aix-en-Provence: C.U.E.R.M.A., 1987). 92-93. For full text, see Warwick PC 156.11.

that Folquet directly addresses the Emperor, as Emperor Frederick II was Folquet's patron (see Appendix A). Folquet calls the Holy Land God's inheritance, which is similar to the two crusade songs that specifically call the Holy Land God's "fief," a term that does not appear in other crusade literature.⁷² Using the term "fief" is unique to crusade song, and gives a different connotation to the Holy Land. A "fief" is property that can be inherited, given by a lord to a vassal in return for allegiance and service. In the context of these songs, God's "fief" can be inherited by the crusaders if they serve God in the Holy Land. The anonymous trouvère writes in *Chevalier* that the Turks "have seized His feifs" ["cez fieuz saisiz"].⁷³ Also, Aimeric de Peguilhan states that those who are in God's service on crusade go "in order to save the Holy Sepulcher and His fief."⁷⁴ This passage mentions one of the key motivations to take the cross, the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher and the True Cross.

The Recovery of the True Cross

Like the crusade indulgence, the recovery of the True Cross is an important theme in crusade documents. In 1187, it is believed that the true cross was lost to Saladin's forces at the battle of Hattin—one of the many reasons why Pope Gregory VIII issues the call to the third crusade:

Saladin, without any warning...comes pouring down upon the city. The king and the bishops, the Templars and the Hospitallers, the barons and the people, hasten to the rescue, bearing with them the cross of the Lord, that cross which, in memory of the passion of Christ, who was nailed to it, and which thus purchased

⁷² To my knowledge, there is no reference to the Holy Land as God's "fief" in papal documents, chronicles, or sermons.

⁷³ Bédier and Aubry, 11.

⁷⁴ Shepard and Chambers, 87. For full text, see Warwick, PC 10.11.

the redemption of the human race, was regarded as the most secure rampart to be opposed to the attacks of the infidels. The conflict begins; our brethren are conquered; the holy cross falls into the hands of the enemies.⁷⁵

According to Gregory VIII, the true cross is one of the key defenses of the crusaders. The fact that the cross is now in the hands of the Saracens is a message to Europeans that they are failing God. Gregory states that the cross is lost “in consequence of the internal dissensions which the wickedness of men, by the suggestion of the demon, had given birth to in the Holy Land.”⁷⁶ The loss of the true cross becomes a prominent exhortation device in literature and songs of the third crusade and beyond.

Troubadours and trouvères use this event as a key motivational tool in their songs of exhortation. Troubadour Folquet de Marseille, writing during the third crusade, speaks of the loss of the true cross in his song *Consiros, cum partitz d’amor*:

And the conquests that our ancestors
won in Terra Major,
we, who do not step to his aid, are losing—
including the cross where Jesus suffered,
and died, and arose for us,
which I know to be in jeopardy!

Que.l conquest que nostr’ancessor
conquisteren Terra Major
perdem qui no.l secor viatz—
e.ill crotz on Ihesus pres dolor
e mort, e.y fo per nos levatz,
e qui sai rest’en balensa!⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Allen and Amt, 160.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Schulman, 240-241. For full text see Appendix M.

Folquet invokes the victories of the first crusade in this passage, since it was during this crusade that the crusaders (“our ancestors”) found the true cross and conquered Jerusalem. These are the “conquests” that have been lost and must be regained. However, the true cross and Jerusalem are not the only things that need rescuing from the Muslims. The trouvère Maistre Renaut, also writing during the third crusade, describes Jerusalem in *Pour lou pueple resconforter* as having “the temple where He suffered and the cross where He was tortured and the sepulcher where He was resuscitated” [“Est li temples ou il soffri et la croix ou il fu peneis et le sepulcre our surrexit”].⁷⁸ These items, according to Maistre Renaut, need to be recovered immediately.

Recovering the Holy Sepulcher is also an important motivation to take the cross that troubadours and trouvères employ. Giraut de Borneil writes in his song *Jois sia comensamens*, that all should “go in the service of God to deliver His Holy Sepulchre from pagans and the vile horde” [“c’al servizi Dieu no van de paians e d’avol gen desliurar lo monimen”].⁷⁹ To Giraut, being in God’s service is directly related to recovering the Holy Sepulcher. Peire Vidal writes in his song, *Be.m pac d’iversns*, that:

Our Lord seeks help
against the Turks who have driven Him out,
and taken His tomb and the river
where He purified sinners.

[Quer nostre Senher secors
pel Turcs que.l tenon faidiu,
que tolt l’an e.l vas e.l riu
on mondava.ls pechadors.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Bédier and Aubry, 81.

⁷⁹ Sharman, 420 and 423.

⁸⁰ Fraser, 196 and 198. For full text, see Warwick, PC 364.11.

Here, we see Peire calling on the nobility to not only take back the tomb but also “the river,” implying the River Jordan. There is an implication that those who take back the river can be purified from sin by taking this pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Crusade as Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is the foundational idea of crusade and there is an emphasis on Jerusalem in crusade documents. Anyone who went on crusade would be taking a pilgrimage to the Holy City. Later in the crusading period, the crusaders were bestowed with the religious insignia of the cross, as well as the scrip and staff, symbols of the pilgrim.⁸¹

The view of crusade as pilgrimage is not only present in ecclesiastical documents, but permeates songs as well. In fact, many crusade songs use the word “pelerin” (“pilgrim”) instead of crusader. Both Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Folquet de Romans use the word “crozat” (“crusader”), which is rare. Other than these few occurrences, texts refer to the crusaders as pilgrims. Writing during the third crusade, Aimeric de Peguilhan uses “pilgrim” to discuss the embarkation of crusaders:

Now it will be evident who will desire to have praise
from the world and honor from God,
for they can win both loyally,
those who will soon be pilgrims in order to regain
the Sepulcher. Alas! How grievous it is
that the Turks have done violence to our Lord!

Ara parra qual seran enveyos
d'aver lo pretz del mon e.l pretz de Dieu,
que ble poiran guazarhar ambedos
selh que seran adreitamen romieu
al sepulcre cobrar. Las! qual dolor

⁸¹ M. Cecilia Gaposkin, 44.

que Turc aian forsat nostre senhor!⁸²

Aimeric uses this lament to plead with his patron to take the sign of the cross, to become a pilgrim “in order to regain the Sepulcher.”⁸³ In *Ahi! Amours con dure departie*, Conon de Béthune believes that even those who do not enter the Holy Land can take part in the pilgrimage:

All of the clergy and the old men
who stay behind performing acts of good
will also participate in this pilgrimage,
as well as the ladies who live chastely
and remain faithful to those who go [to the Holy Land];
and if by evil counsel they sin,
they will sin with cowardly and evil men,
for all the good men will go on this journey.

[Touz li clergiez et li home d'aage
qui en aumosne et en bienfaiz manront
partiront tuit a cest pelerinage
et les dames qui chastement vivront,
se louiauté font a ceus qui i vont,
et s'eles font par mal conseil folage,
a lasches genz et mauvais le feront,
quar tuit li bon iront en cest voiage.]⁸⁴

Conon de Béthune's text speaks to a greater audience than other crusade songs. While most focus on those going to the Holy Land, Conon focuses on those who cannot go. Everyone, according to Conon, can take part in the pilgrimage if they stay faithful and perform good deeds. Conon also states that those who remain and do not help in some capacity will suffer eternally, something that other troubadours and trouvères echo. The

⁸² Shepard and Chambers, 85 and 87.

⁸³ Ibid, 87.

⁸⁴ Bédier and Aubry, 34-35.

music ties the clergy and old men to pilgrimage through the internal repetition present in the song. As is convention for trouvère song, the first two verses of the music are directly repeated, creating the form ABABx, which occurs throughout the ten manuscripts that transmit this song. The *pes* (ABAB) is stable throughout all of the concordances.

Therefore, the text “all of the clergy and old men” and “will also participate in this pilgrimage” are set to the same music (see Appendix G). Although this occurs in the fifth stanza of the text, this musical link would stand out in performance, as the listener would begin to expect the musical repetition from the preceding stanzas.

Conclusions

While crusade songs mirror the themes and language of sermons and papal calls to crusade, they also expand upon the ideas set forth in these sources. The indulgence is developed to include those who choose not to go on crusade. These “cowards” or “traitors”—in the words of Conon de Béthune and Giraut de Borneil, respectively—will not enter Paradise but will torment and burn eternally in the infernal fires of Hell.⁸⁵

Sacred motivations to take the cross permeate the entire crusade song corpus, including the recovery of the True Cross and the crusade as a pilgrimage. Recent musicological scholarship fails to address these themes, instead focusing on the secular motivations to take the cross, such as fame, fortune, and love of the lady. However, the sacred motivations to take the cross are pertinent to understanding not only crusade song, but crusade culture, since the crusade movement is fueled and perpetuated by religious

⁸⁵ Sharman, 418.

beliefs. It is important to focus on the sacred motivations to take the cross to understand how crusade songs mirror the ideals of the crusade, which gain a musical voice in song.

Up to this point, we have examined the sacred motivations to take the cross that are present in song. These themes are not present by themselves, but are used in conjunction with each other to form a coherent string of crusade propaganda. A few stanzas from Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *Ara pot hom conoisser* demonstrate how all of these themes relate to one another.⁸⁶

<p>1. Now men may know and prove that for fair deeds God gives a fair guerdon, for He has bestowed on the noble Marquis a recompense and gift, granting him to surpass in worth even the best, so that the Crusaders of France and Champagne have besought God for him, as the best of all men, to recover the Sepulchre and the Cross whereon lay Jesus, who would have him in His fellowship; and God has given him (the Marquis) true vassals and land and riches and high courage in abundance, so that he may the better perform his task.</p>	<p>Ara pot hom conoisser e proar que de bos faitz rend Dieus bon guizerdon c'al pro marques n'a faich esmend' e don q'el fai son pretz sobre. ls meillors pojar tant qe. il crozat de Frans' e de Campaigna l'an quist a Dieu per lo meillor de totz e per cobrar lo sepulcr' e la crotz on Jhesus fon, q'el vol en sa compaigna l'onrat marques, et a. il Dieus dat poder de bons vassals e de terr' e d'aver e de ric cor per far miels so que. il taigna</p>
<p>3. He who made air, sky, land and sea, cold and heat, rain, wind and thunder desires all good men to cross the sea under his guidance, as He guided Melchior and Gaspar to Bethlehem; for the Turks take from us the plain and the mountain, and God has no mind to break silence. But it behoves [sic] us, for whom He was put on the Cross,</p>	<p>Cel qui fetz air' e cel e terr' e mar e freig e caut e ploi' e vent e tron vol q'el siu guit passon mar tuich li bon si cum guidet Melchion e Gaspar en Bethleem, que. l plan e la monaigna nos tolen Turc, e Dieu no. n vol dir motz. Mas a nos taing, per cui fo mes en crotz,</p>

⁸⁶ For full text, see either Linskill, 217-220, or Appendix M.

to go yonder, and whoever remains here
will live an ignoble life and die a perilous
death,
for we stand in great and fearful sin,
from which each will be delivered if he
bathes in the river Jordan.

4. For our salvation God permitted
Himself to be sold,
and He suffered death and accepted the
Passion,
and for us the felon Jews outraged Him,
and He was beaten and bound to the
column, and was raised on the beam
which stood in the mire,
and was scourged with knotted scourges
and crowned with thorns on the Cross;
wherefore he is hard of heart who does
not grieve
for the hurt done to us by the Turks,
who[se] purpose [it is] to hold
the land where God willed to dwell, alive
and dead.
So it falls to us to wage a great war and a
great combat.

7. Our Lord commands and tells us all to
go forth and liberate the Sepulchre and the
Cross. Let him who wishes to be in His
fellowship die for His sake, if he would
remain alive
in Paradise, and let him do all in his
power to cross the sea and slay the race of
dogs.

que lai passem, e qui que sai remaigna
vol s'avol vid' e sa greu mort vezer,

q'en laig pechat estam c'om deu temer,
don qecs er soutz si.n flum Jordan si
baigna

Dieus si laisset vendre per nos salvar,
e.n soffri mort e.n receup passion,

e l'auniront per nos Jezue fellon,
e l.n fon batutz e liatz al pilar,
e.n fon levatz el trau q'er' en la faigna

e correjatz de correjas ab noz
e coronatz d'espinas en la crotz
per q'a dur cor totz hom qe.l dan non
plagna
qe.ns fant li Turc que volunt retenir

la terr' on Dieus volc mortz e vius jazer,

don nos n'eschai grans gerr' e grans
mesclaigna.

Nostre Senher nos mand' e.ns ditz a totz
qu'anem cobrar lo sepulcr' e la crotz;
e qui volar esser de sa companha
mueira per lui, si vol vius remaner

em paradis, e fassa som poder
de passer mar e d'aucir la gen canha.⁸⁷

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras starts his *sirventes* by stating that God has specifically asked the Marquis of Montferrat (Boniface I) to “recover the Sepulchre and the Cross.” The third stanza states that God has called the crusades, and will guide the crusaders to Bethlehem,

⁸⁷ Linksill, 217-220. The Occitan differs from Appendix H (my musical transcription) because Linksill uses a different manuscript for the basis of his translation (Troubadour Manuscript A- Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana 5232).

as he did Gaspar and Melchior, two of the three biblical Magi. Raimbaut also expands on the ideas found in the papal bulls. It is not simply those who go on crusade who are affected by the indulgence, but those who remain will “die a perilous death.” Raimbaut also mentions the River Jordan, creating a sense of renewed baptism for those who go on crusade. The fourth stanza emphasizes Christ’s passion, and at the end of this stanza, Raimbaut calls on Christians everywhere to go on crusade to avenge “the hurt done to us by the Turks.” Beginning in the seventh stanza, the *tornada*—a short stanza typically found at the end of troubadour song—combines multiple elements of crusade propaganda. We see that God proclaims the crusade— “Our Lord commands”—and specifically wishes crusaders to “liberate the Sepulchre and the Cross.” Those who do so will earn the crusade indulgence and “remain alive in Paradise.” Raimbaut utilizes all of these themes as motivation to cross overseas and fight in the Holy Land.

CHAPTER 3

THE PORTRAYAL OF BIBLICAL FIGURES IN LITERATURE AND SONG

Writing after the Battle of Hattin in 1187, Gaucelm Faidit invokes Christ's Passion to motivate Christians to take the cross: "for the false people who do not believe in Him are disinheriting Him and ill-treating Him over there [in the Holy Land] where He suffered death and pain."⁸⁸ This is but one example of using the Passion of Christ to strike at the hearts of listeners and exhort them to take the cross, encouraging the crusaders to endure Christo-mimetic suffering.⁸⁹ Other religious figures are present in song, and the songs mimic and reshape the themes seen in other documents, such as crusade sermons and chronicles.

In this chapter, I will examine the religious figures present in crusade songs by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Folquet de Romans, Maistre Renaut, and Gaucelm Faidit to show that these figures substantiate the religious ideals of crusading. I will first discuss references to Christ and his suffering during the Passion, and how this is depicted in song and crusade documents. Subsequently, I will examine allusions to the Book of Revelation as well as the depiction of the Antichrist in songs and sermons. Finally, I will examine allusions to and portrayals of saints and biblical figures, and how their portrayal relates to crusading. The figures present in crusade song and literature are connected to crusade propaganda and are utilized by these authors as motivations to crusade.

⁸⁸ Mouzat, 444.

⁸⁹ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "From Pilgrimage to Crusade," 44.

The Passion of Christ

Christ's Passion was not a new theme to crusade documents in 1187. The Passion and the cross are the main themes in Gilbert of Tournai's crusade sermon. Gilbert of Tournai (c. 1200-1270) was a master at the University of Paris before becoming a Franciscan friar and joining Louis IX's first crusade to the Holy Land. Gilbert, in his sermon, describes crusaders as Christ's soldiers, since they are signed with the cross. According to Gilbert, Christ signed himself first during the Passion "so that he could precede all others with the banner of the cross."⁹⁰ The relationship between the crucifixion and the sign of the cross worn by crusaders is evident in many crusade sermons.

The cross is also an important feature in song, exemplified by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *Ara pot hom conoisser*. Textually, Raimbaut discusses various aspects of the cross in relation to crusading and the Bible. As we have seen, one of Raimbaut's main concerns is the recovery of the True Cross. Three of the eight stanzas discuss the loss of the True Cross and the goal of the crusaders is to liberate the cross from the Muslims. Also related to crusade propaganda is the exhortation to "take the cross." Musically, Raimbaut emphasizes the cross through strategic placement of the word "crotz" in each stanza (see Example 3). For each stanza, the word for cross is placed at the end of the seventh verse.

⁹⁰ Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 179.

e	per	co	-	brar	lo	se	-	pulc	-	re	la	_____	crotz		
c'a	tal	ho	-	nor	a	le	-	va	-	da	la	_____	crotz		
e	Dieus	es	_____	gais	que	son	-	me	-	zes	la	_____	crotz		
e	co	-	ro	-	natz	d'e	-	spi	-	nas	en	la	_____	crotz	
mas	a	-	nos	-	taing	per	-	cui	-	fo	mes	en	_____	crotz	
e	co	-	bra	-	rem	en	-	camp	-	la	ve	ra	_____	crotz	
non	sai	-	si.m	-	lais	per	-	vos	-	o.m	leu	la	_____	crotz	
qu'a	-	nem	co	-	brar	lo	-	se	-	pul	-	cr'e	la	_____	crotz

Example 3: The seventh verse (E) from *Ara pot hom conoisser*. Music is found in Troubadour Manuscript R

Since the music is strophic, meaning the music repeats for each new stanza of text, the word “cross” receives the same musical treatment. In the form of this piece

(ABABCDEF GHI), verse seven (E) is musically independent from the others. While other verses may share motivic similarities, for instance verses eight and nine start with the same ascending motive, there is no similarity in verse seven (see Appendix H).

Textually, this is the only time the same word appears in the same place in every stanza.

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras uses the rhyme scheme (ABBACDDCEE C) to his advantage. Of the eight stanzas, three mention recovery of the true cross (stanzas one, six, and eight), two mention the Passion of Christ (“put on the Cross” and “crowned with thorns on the cross” in stanzas four and five), two mention taking the cross (stanza two states that his patron has “taken the cross” and in stanza seven the poet wonders if he should remain or “take the cross”) and in stanza three Raimbaut states that for God one makes the “sign of the cross.” The strophic treatment of this song would allow the references to the cross to become equivalent since the music is the same for each mention of the cross.

A main theme of Raimbaut’s poem, mentioned briefly above, is the Passion of Christ. Raimbaut uses the Passion as motivation to go on crusade. He states that “for our salvation God...accepted the Passion” [Dieus si laisset vendre per nos salvar...e.n receup

passion”].⁹¹ He continues to sing about how the Jews wronged God, and now, the Turks are doing the same since their purpose is “to hold the land where God willed to dwell, alive and dead” [“retener la terr’ on Dieus volc mortz e vius jazer”].⁹² The stanza ends, “It falls to us to wage a great war and a great combat” [“don nos n’eschai grans gerr’ e grans mesclaigna”].⁹³ Here, Raimbaut is using the Passion as a reminder of what Christ suffered to save mankind from sin, and that the Muslims, by holding the Holy Land, are hurting God.

Crusade songs use the theme of the Passion to show that the crusaders are Christ-like in suffering. Folquet de Romans, in his song *Quan lo dous temps*, demonstrates that anyone who suffers like Christ for Christ will receive eternal recompense:

Then it will be the day of grief, and pain and tears,
when God will say: “Go, unfortunate wretch,
into Hell where you will be tormented
forever with pain and suffering,
because you did not believe that I suffered cruel tortures;
I was killed for you, and you ill remembered it!”
But those who died, while on crusade will say:
“And we, Lord, we died in the same way for You!”

[Adoncs er fag l’ira e.l dols e.l plors
quan Dieus dira: “Anatz, malaürat,
yuns en infern on seretz turmentat
per tostemps mais ab pena e ab dolors,
quar non crezetz qu’ieu sufri greu turmen;
mortz fuy per vos, don vos es mal membrat!”
E poiran dir selhs que morran crozat:
“E nos, Senher, mort per vos eyssamen!”]⁹⁴

⁹¹ Linskill, 218 and 220.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Arveiller and Gouiran, 104-105.

Christo-mimetic suffering appears at the end of this passage, as crusaders can prove their true faith by dying for God in the Holy Land “in the same way” as Christ.

Comparison of the Jews to the Muslims occurs frequently in conjunction with allusions to Christ’s Passion. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras calls the Jews “felons” [“felon”], and later he reduces the Muslims to a “race of dogs” [“la gen canha”].⁹⁵ Raimbaut is not the only poet to compare the Jews to the Muslims. Aimeric de Peguilhan states that the Jews “slew [Jesus] for no fault” [“colpa l’auciron li Juzieu”].⁹⁶ Aimeric considers this to be a dishonorable act, which feeds into his description of the Muslims, who have “done violence to our Lord” [“aian forsat nostre senhor”], which is a “deadly dishonor” [“dezonor mortal”].⁹⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter to the nobility of France, states that the Jews represent Christ’s passion, and they are paying their penalty for killing Christ. However, Bernard implies that the Muslims are the new enemy of God and must be driven out of the Holy Land.⁹⁸ Jews and Muslims are both regarded unfavorably, and in crusading literature and song, the Jews and Muslims are depicted as enemies of God.

The Day of Judgment and the Antichrist

A prevalent theme in crusade documents is that of the Last Judgment. References to the apocalypse recur in many crusade sermons, and quoting the Book of Revelation is common. Maistre Renaut mentions the Last Judgment twice in *Pour lou pueple*

⁹⁵ Linskill, 218-220.

⁹⁶ Shepard and Chambers, 85 and 87.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Allen and Amt, 127.

resconforter, urging all Christians to go to the Holy Land as that will determine their fate on the Day of Judgment. Maistre Renaut, writing during the third crusade, turns his attention to the Kings of England and France. The third crusade was called by Pope Gregory VIII at the end of 1187. However, King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France did not leave on crusade until 1191. They delayed during this time because England and France were at war over Richard's inheritance of the throne. Many songs during this period criticize the kings for failing to go on crusade with the Holy Roman Emperor in 1189 (see Appendix A). Maistre Renaut states that the kings "do great damage...when they do not go to avenge the Lord and liberate the Holy Cross."⁹⁹ The *trouvère* then implies that the Kings are not showing their Christian faith, and they will show their faith only when they reach the Day of Judgment. However, since they did not take up the cross and aid God in the Holy Land, God will not help them enter Heaven: "He will say: I do not know you."¹⁰⁰

Most crusading sermons bring up the theme of the apocalypse to show that those who are not taking the cross are bringing about the end of the world. James of Vitry (c.1160-1240) was an adamant rhetorician for the crusades, preaching propagandistic material for both the Albigensian and Fifth crusades and accompanying the crusaders to Damietta.¹⁰¹ In his crusade sermon, James of Vitry states that the four angels of Satan "are allowed to *devastate the earth*[. This] means the lovers of worldly things...are held

⁹⁹ Bédier and Aubry, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Maier, 8-9.

back by worldly love, so that they do not care about taking the cross or about liberating the inheritance of the lord from the enemies” [italics in original].¹⁰² The idea that the lovers of worldly goods are aiding the Antichrist is also present in Gaucelm Faidit’s crusade song *Ara nos sia guitz*, in which Gaucelm states that “having wealth takes away Paradise, for you are greedy and feeble...which is why God will deny you.”¹⁰³ Gaucelm continues,

Henceforth, the Antichrist,
to the great displeasure of the world,
has emerged, because all Good has lost courage
and Evil has advanced:
he has seized the wealthy wrongdoers,
and has taken them and sent them to sleep;
and sin, which fills them with terror,
makes them unhappy and sad;
because the king of Paris
prefers, at Saint-Denis
or over there in Normandy,
to take all the pounds
that Saïf-al-Din possesses
and holds guard.

[Oimais es Antecristz
al dan del mon issitz;
que totz lo bes s’esmaia,
e-l mals es saillitz,
qe-ls fals rics a sazitz
e pres et endormitz;
e-l pecatz qe-ls esglaiá
los ten morns e tristz;
qe-l reis cui es Paris
vol mais, a Sain Daunis
o lai en Normandia,
conqerr’ esterlis
que tot cant Safadis

¹⁰² Ibid., 89.

¹⁰³ Mouzat, 468. For full text, see Appendix M.

a ni ten en baillia.]¹⁰⁴

In this passage, we not only see that the greedy are aiding the Antichrist but are also causing the apocalypse. While Gaucelm believes that the Antichrist has emerged (possibly alluding to the Saracens), his song ends on a lighter note of exhortation:

Now let us leave the abandoned
who remain disgraced...
we have served
the truthful Holy Spirit,
who prays that with
vigorous feats of arms we will
do great damage to the Saracens,
so that we conquer
the holy places, and the way
is open to pilgrims,
which Saladin took from us,
and the pious Virgin
blessed by god,
is our protection.

[Er laissez los giquitz
remazutz, escarnitz...
sia per nos servitz
lo vers Sains Esperitz,
eui pregem que.ns atraia
ab faitz afortitz
a dan dels Sarrazis,
si q'en sia conquis
lo Sains Luocs, e la via
faita als pelegris,
que nos tolc Saladis;
don la Vergena pia,
cui Dieus benezis,
nos sia garentia.]¹⁰⁵

In Gaucelm's song, those serving God have no reason to fear, because the Virgin Mary will protect and guide them from Saladin.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 461-462 and 468.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Portrayals of Saints and Biblical Persons

Multiple songs in the crusade repertory allude to or depict a saint or a biblical figure. These figures have certain connotations within crusading literature and song, and thus serve as useful devices for the troubadour or trouvère. Some utilize these figures as motivation to go to the East. Of the twelve songs that mention a saintly or biblical figure, eight of these reference the figure in the last three stanzas. If a troubadour or trouvère is specifically calling on a saint for intercession on their behalf, this occurs in the last stanza.

Crusade documents portray St. George as helping knights in battle and coming to their aid. Saint George was often depicted as a crusader, and crusaders widely regarded the saint as their protector.¹⁰⁶ This image was intensified by the eye-witness testimonies that describe Saint George as leading a military host into battle to ensure a Christian victory at the battle of Antioch during the first crusade.¹⁰⁷ The Old French Crusade Cycle depicts St. George riding out with knights into battle, and also tells the story of how he rescues Peter the Hermit from captivity.¹⁰⁸ In the anonymous crusade chronicle *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, the crusaders call on St. George for aid. In a rather dire situation, the Christians are surrounded by the Turkish army, yet they

¹⁰⁶ James B. MacGregor, "Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, ca. 1070- ca. 1200," *Church History* 73, no. 2 (2009), 333.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 324.

¹⁰⁸ Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2016), 344.

engage in battle “calling with loud voice for St. George’s aid.”¹⁰⁹ As a result, the crusaders achieve victory over the Turks. The troubadour Folquet de Marseille also calls on Saint George to aid the crusaders in *Consiros, cum partitz d’amor*. Folquet states that knights who go on crusade will not be alone:

They should be fearless,
secure, and good warriors,
those who go, for straight away on their side
will be Saint George, and God will be with them,
who has both absolved and commanded them.

[Molt devon esser ses paor,
segur e bon guerreyedor
silh qu’iran, qu’ades er de latz
Saint Jorgi, e Dieus er ab lor,
que los a absoutz e mandatz.]¹¹⁰

According to Folquet, those who go on crusade will automatically have Saint George on their side. The song text differs from the crusade chronicles, in which the crusaders need to call for the saint’s aid.

Other saints are also called upon for aid, including the Virgin Mary. In the Old French Crusade Cycle, various crusaders implore the Virgin for her intercession.¹¹¹ These prayers to the Virgin typically occur when the crusader is in great peril. Thibaut de Champagne follows this call for aid in *Seignor, sachiez, qui or ne s’en ira*. The trouvère ends with a prayer to the Virgin seeking assistance: “Sweet lady, crowned Queen, pray for us, Blessed Virgin, and nothing can harm us” [“Douce dame, roïne coronee, proiez

¹⁰⁹ Helen J. Nicholson, trans., *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 253.

¹¹⁰ Schulman, 241.

¹¹¹ Sweetenham, 104-105.

por nos, Virge bien aüree, et puis après ne nos puet mescheoir”].¹¹² In another chanson, Thibaut de Champagne laments that he must depart his love in *Dame, einsi est qu’il m’en couvient aler*, which follows the typical pattern of a departure song, wherein the trouvère depicts how cruel it is that he must leave his lover.¹¹³ The last stanza of Thibaut’s poem diverges from the departure song as he calls on the Virgin Mary:

Lady of the heavens, great and powerful Queen,
be my support in my great hour of need!
May I have the passion to love you!
When I lose a lady, a lady comes to my aid.

[Dame des cieux, grans roïne puissans,
au grant besoiing me soiez secorans!
De vos amer puisse avoir droite flame!
Quant dame pert, dame me soit aidans!]¹¹⁴

At the end of the chanson, Thibaut is happy to go on crusade because he is trading the worldly love of his lady for the spiritual assistance from Our Lady. In both of Thibaut’s songs, he calls on the Virgin for his personal aid.

Service to the Virgin is yet another reason to crusade, as seen in a *sirventes* by the troubadour Peire d’Alvernhe (fl. 1149-1170). Peire calls on “King Philip, and Lord Otto, and King John as well” to “serve Holy Mary whose Son has lost the lordship of Syria, from the county of Tyre to the kingdom of Egypt” [“Al rei Felip et a.n Oto...e servon a Sancta Maria, don sos fils pert la senhoria de Suria, del comte de Sur tro al regne

¹¹² Ibid., 173.

¹¹³ There have been several scholars who have done recent work on the lady/Our Lady connection. For more on this topic, see: David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., and partly translated by author.

d’Egipte”].¹¹⁵ Here, Mary takes the place of God as the reason for going to the Holy Land, a common trope in songs that mention Mary. Peire also mentions territories that have been lost to the Christians. This is seen throughout the crusade song corpus and serves a useful purpose of spreading news of the Latin Kingdom to the laity.

The name of the Virgin Mary also appears in conjunction with other saints, particularly Saint John, in crusade songs. There is a problem with these saintly references, as the two troubadours who mention Saint John do not specify which John they are describing—John the Evangelist, or John the Baptist. Guiraut Riquier, in his song *Karitzatz ez amors e fes*, mentions the Virgin along with Saint John:

May God exalt the faith and the work of salvation,
whatever else happens,
and may the Virgin pray help us in this
by praying with St. John to her Son.

La fe e l’obra de salut
yssause Dieus, com que l’als an,
e la Verges que ns y ajut,
pregan son filh ab Sant Johan.¹¹⁶

Guiraut is asking Mary and John to pray to God on the crusaders’ behalf. Remarkably, the highest pitch in Guiraut’s melody, as transmitted in Troubadour Manuscript R, occurs when mentioning the Virgin in the first *tornada*, and this would no doubt stand out to the listener, since there is no high D before this point in the melody (see Example 4).¹¹⁷ Mary

¹¹⁵ Peire d’Alvernhe, “Lo senher que formet lo tro,” Linda Paterson, trans., www.rialto.unina.it/PAuv/323.22%28Pulsoni%29.htm.

¹¹⁶ Guiraut Riquier, *Karitzatz ez amors e fes*, Linda Patterson, trans., <http://www.rialto.unina.it/GrRiq/248.48trad-note.htm>.

¹¹⁷ Troubadour Manuscript R is generally trustworthy in regards to musical transmission. This manuscript is one of the only two to transmit only troubadour melodies. R generally

and John occur in the *cauda*, and their respective musical verses are not similar to others (the form of this piece being ABABCDEF). The reference to Mary and John appears in the first *tornada*, meaning that the only music heard for this small stanza would be the music in the *cauda*.

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a series of quarter notes: e, la, Ver, ges, que.ns, y, a, jut. The second staff also begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody consists of a series of quarter notes: pre, gan, son, filh, ab, Sant, Jo, han. Both staves have horizontal lines indicating the pitch contour of the melody.

Example 4: The last two verses (E and F) of the eighth stanza in *Karitzatz et amors e fes* by Guiraut. Notice the range in the last two verses.

The last verse, which asks for Saint John’s intercession, includes the lowest pitch of the song—C. Since this is the concluding phrase of the entire song, one would expect the last pitch (D) to be important.¹¹⁸ However, since this stanza appears in the middle of the text, it is difficult to point out text-music relations (in regards to performance) and if these saints’ names would stand out in performance. Pons de Capdoill (c. 1190-1237) also mentions Mary and John in the same manner as Guiraut in his song *So c’om plus vol e plus es voluntos*. Pons calls on the saints to pray to God for the crusaders so that they may

conforms to melodies present in other manuscripts (R typically follows the same melodic contours as Troubadour Manuscript G, but this is not always the case).

¹¹⁸ See my comments in the introduction about modal analysis in troubadour song, and not assigning melodies a “final.”

“conquer that false people.”¹¹⁹ In these songs, the depiction of the Virgin is one of intercession and aid.

While most songs depict the Virgin in a positive manner, a unique, and unfavorable, portrayal of Mary is found in the song *Deus! Per qu’as facha tan gran maleza*. The troubadour Austorc d’Aurillac argues that God and Mary “will it that we be vanquished, contrary to all justice, and that the infidel carries off the honours.”¹²⁰ Here, the troubadour places blame on Mary and God for the loss of the territory in the Holy Land. He also claims that it is understandable that people “disbelieve in God” and worship “Bafomet in his stead, and Tervagan and his company.”¹²¹ Bafomet (Mahomet) and Tervagan are deities that appear consistently when European authors describe Islam. Austorc also mentions Saint Peter, which is common in crusade songs that criticize the clergy for delay, as Saint Peter has a direct connection with the papacy as the first bishop of Rome. The troubadour states, “St. Peter held to the right path, but the Pope has strayed from it.” To Austorc, the Pope is unjust since he wishes “evil upon so many folk” for the sake of money.¹²² Bertran Carbonel (fl. c. 1252-1265), in *Per espassar l’ira e la dolor*, also mentions St. Peter in the same manner as Austorc: “St. Peter never possessed property in France or practiced usury, but practiced within the law” [“Anc sans Peire non

¹¹⁹ Pons de Capdoill, *So c’om plus vol e plus es voluntos*, Lauren Mulholland, trans., <http://www.rialto.unina.it/PoChapt/375.22/375.22%28Mulholland%29.htm>.

¹²⁰ Peter Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254: Sources and Documents* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 177. For more on this song, see Chapter 4.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

tenc captal e Fransa ni fetz renou, ans tenc drech la balansa.”].¹²³ Bertran continues to criticize the clergy and the Pope for lining their pockets instead of practicing their faith. However, he states that they, too, can earn the crusade indulgence, amending their sins if they go to the Holy Land.¹²⁴ Saint Peter is most commonly seen in papal bulls which call a crusade. In Pope Innocent III’s call to the fourth crusade, Saint Peter protects the crusader’s worldly possessions when they are in the Holy Land.¹²⁵

Unique to crusade song is the reference to King James and the Spanish Reconquista. Matieu de Caerci (fl. 1275), in his *planh*, *Tant suy marritz que no.m puese alegrar*, transforms King James I of Aragon into a saintly figure. Matieu laments the death of King James during the Spanish Reconquista and describes the honorable deeds that the king accomplished in his life, stating that he should have a rightful place in paradise. However, Matieu believes all Christians should commemorate King James because “God has placed him in companionship with St. James, for indeed King James died on the day after St. James’s day, so that a double feast-day of two Jameses [sic] rightly falls to us.”¹²⁶ Saint James also has an implied connection to King James because of the saint’s ties to the Iberian Peninsula. Throughout the Middle Ages, the cult of Saint James was largely focused in the Iberian Peninsula, and many pilgrimages were taken to

¹²³ Michael J. Routledge, ed., *Le Poésies de Bertran Carbonel* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2000), 50-51.

¹²⁴ For a complete discussion on crusade indulgence in song, see Chapter 2.

¹²⁵ Andrea, 17.

¹²⁶ Matieu de Caerci, *Tant suy marritz que no.m puese alegrar*, Linda Patterson, trans., <http://www.rialto.unina.it/MatQuercy/299.1%28Paterson%29.htm>.

Compostela, the said resting place of the saint. Matieu's song elevates King James to an almost saintly status, and depicts both the king and the saint as equals.

Saints are not the only figures to be portrayed in crusade song, as there are also several allusions to figures and scenes from the Bible. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras combines Old and New Testament references, invoking God as Creator (Genesis) and the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem (Gospels) in *Ara pot hom conoisser*:

He who made air, sky, land and sea,
cold and heat, rain, wind and thunder
desires all good men to cross the sea under his guidance,
as He guided Melchior and Gaspar
to Bethlehem; for the Turks take from us
the plain and the mountain.

[Cel qui fetz air' e cel e terr' e mar
e freig e caut e ploi' e vent e tron
vol q'el sieu guit passon mar tuich li bon,
si cum guidet Melchion e Gaspar
en Bethleem, que.l plan e la montaigna
no stolen Turc]¹²⁷

Raimbaut starts this passage with a reference to the creation and the Book of Genesis, and ends with an allusion to the Gospels, implying that God will guide the crusaders in the same manner as he guided the Magi to Christ's birthplace

Other crusade songs mention figures from the Old Testament as motivations to crusade. Marcabru, in one of the earliest troubadour songs dating from the second crusade, compares those who do not go on crusade with Cain:

Of the lineage of Cain,
of the first treacherous man,
there are some here,
not one of whom ever brings honor to God.

¹²⁷ Linksill, 217 and 219.

Probet del lignatge Cai,
del primeiran home fello,
a tans aissi
c'us a Dieu non porta honor.¹²⁸

Marcabru, earlier in his song, calls to crusade those who are willing to “avenge God,” and likens those who would stay instead of helping God to Cain. This is similar to a reference to Cain in a crusade sermon by Gilbert of Tournai. Gilbert states that those who go on crusade should be followers of Christ, and lists qualities that should be avoided. One of these qualities is envy, which is “the sign of the devil” and “the sign of Cain.”¹²⁹ By being envious, one is like Cain, not honorable. Such a person should not follow Christ on crusade. Another allusion to an Old Testament figure occurs in *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*. The anonymous trouvère uses Moses as a rallying cry to crusade:

Let us go and conquer Moses,
who lies on Mount Sinai!
Do not leave him with the Saracens any longer,
nor the rod from which he separated, at one stroke,
the waters of the Red Sea
when the great People followed him

Alum conquere Moïses
ki gist el munt de Sinai;
a Saragins nel laisum mais,
ne la verge dunt il partid
La Roge mer tut ad un fais,
quant le grant pople le seguit.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Frede Jensen, *Troubadour Lyrics: A Bilingual Anthology* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 96-97.

¹²⁹ Maier, 195.

¹³⁰ Bédier and Aubry, 11-12

The trouvère mentions the biblical figure to show that the Saracens have taken over lands which belong rightfully to the Christians. All should go on crusade to avenge these wrongs. In the music, Moses is musically depicted in the first verse, which is set to the highest pitches in the entire melody. In previous stanzas, God and Louis are portrayed the same musically as Moses with a descent from F to D at the end of the first verse. This may have stood out to the listeners and created a connection among the three figures (see Appendix D).

The last song to portray an Old Testament figure is Peire Vidal's *Be.m pac d'iverns*, in which the crusade stanza neatly fits with the rest of the poem through the use of a biblical story in the Book of Daniel. Each of the previous stanzas in Peire's *canso* ends with a figure from the Old Testament, making the reference to Daniel not out of place. In regard to the crusade stanza, Peire links the story of Daniel destroying the Dragon of Bel to the crusaders:

Anyone who does not now rise up
against this wicked race
can never be compared to Daniel
when he destroyed the dragon (and the idol) of Bel.

Qui ara no.s revella
contr'aquesta gen fradella
ben mal sembla Daniel
que.l dragon destruis e Bel.¹³¹

The choice of Daniel and the Dragon of Bel is interesting because it has a very nuanced connection to the Muslims. The Dragon of Bel is mentioned in the Book of Daniel, where

¹³¹ Fraser, 196 and 199.

Daniel sways the King against practicing idolatry by defeating the dragon.¹³² In Peire's song, crusaders can be like Daniel if they go overseas and destroy the Muslims. Medieval European authors usually depict Muslims as practitioners of idolatry, therefore creating a unique connection between destroying the dragon and destroying the Muslim idolaters.¹³³

Be.m pac d'iverns is transmitted in two manuscripts, Troubadour Manuscript G and Troubadour Manuscript R. Throughout the song, Manuscript G is much more florid than Manuscript R, with multiple melismas occurring in every verse. This is one of the instances where Manuscript R is melodically different than Manuscript G. While the two manuscripts share notes in every verse (for instance, in verse 2, both manuscripts descend a third from B-G followed by a fourth leap to C), there are instances of where the music is completely different (verse five, for instance, starts on an E in R and a G in G). In the music, the two verses (v. seven and eight) that state "anyone who does not now rise up against this wicked race" both receive declamatory treatment of the text in the two manuscripts (see Example 5). In these two verses, both manuscripts treat the words similarly.

¹³² There is another version of this story in which Daniel proves that the idols the King is worshipping are not real. In the version Peire Vidal utilizes, the dragon is a metaphor for idolatry.

¹³³ Muslims as idolaters is depicted in *Le Roman d'Alexandre* and the *Old French Crusade Cycle*, among other texts.

7

e tot hoz que nos ri - ve - la
e qi ar' nos re - ve - lla

8

contr' a - quel - la gen fra - de - la
contr' a - qe - sta genz fra - de - lla

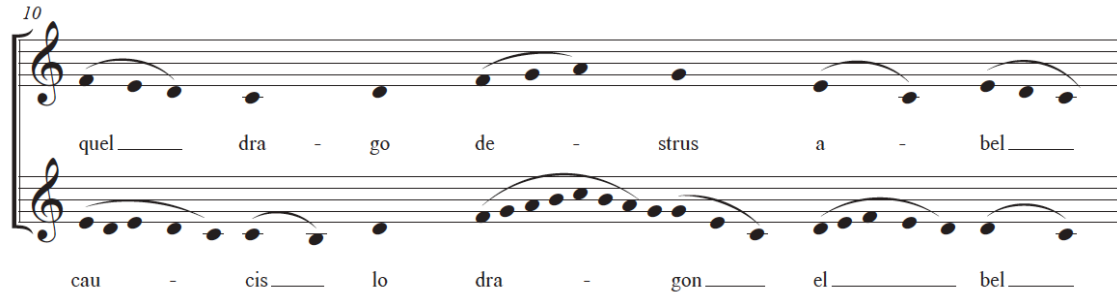
Example 5: The seventh and eighth verse of *Be.m pac d'ivers* by Peire Vidal. The top staff is Manuscript R and the bottom is Manuscript G.

In regards to the last two verses (9 and 10) there is a discrepancy in the two manuscripts.

Manuscript G clearly places an emphasis on the words “Daniel” and “dragon” with melismas, whereas Manuscript R does not (see Example 6).

9

re - se - mbla Da - ni - el
mal se - mbla san Da - ni - el



Example 6: The last two verses of stanza six. The top staff is R and the bottom is G.

Each manuscript also follows a slightly different form, Manuscript R having the form ABCDEB¹FGHI, and Manuscript G having the form ABCDEFGHIC¹ (see Appendix F). This discrepancy showcases the issue of transmission. Both manuscripts were copied at least a century after the song had been composed, and the song had traveled to different regions during this time. The performances of this song may have varied considerably from region to region, which is why we see these discrepancies in the manuscripts. However, the text emphasizes the need to go on crusade, and that those who go on crusade can be compared to Daniel, among the bravest of Old Testament prophets.

Conclusions

The holy and biblical individuals who permeate crusade documents—the suffering Christ, the Antichrist, the saints, and biblical persons—are echoed in crusade song. The Passion of Christ is most present in songs that aim to convey that the crusaders should endure Christ-like suffering for God in order to receive eternal life. Poets state that the people who remain and sin instead of serving God in the Holy Land are releasing the Antichrist and initiating the end of days. As seen, multiple saints are called on for intercession and aid in song, including Saint George, the Virgin Mary, Saint John, and

Saint Peter. Other holy figures are used as devices of propaganda, including Moses and Daniel.

The troubadours and trouvères transform the themes from these documents and turn them into their own unique and relevant motivational devices. These figures connect songs to the larger corpus of crusading documents, and the figures have connotations that connect them to the crusading movement. The target audience for crusade song was the clergy and nobility, and the poets present these themes in a manner which would allow the song to be understood by all.

CHAPTER 4

CHARLEMAGNE AND OTHER EPIC PERSONS REPRESENTED IN SONG AS THE IDEAL CRUSADER

References to epic figures and their deeds are found in both crusading literature and the songs of the troubadours and trouvères. Three epic figures in particular appear frequently in crusading literature and song: Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), Charlemagne (742-814 CE), and Roland (whose legend flourished in the 12th century and beyond). While these figures lived long before the crusades, medieval legends record their deeds that typify the ideal crusader. Despite the fact that these figures appear intermittently in crusading texts, the ways they are portrayed suggest that each figure had a specific significance for crusaders.

In crusade songs, Charlemagne, Roland, and Alexander the Great make multiple appearances that reflect attributes associated with them in crusade documents. In some instances, they do not appear by themselves, but together. For example, in his *planh* lamenting the death of King Richard I, Gaucelm Faidit compares Richard I to multiple epic figures. Gaucelm states: “For I do not think that Alexander, the king who defeated Darius, gave or spent as much; and never were Charlemagne and Arthur worth more.”¹³⁴ Why depict these specific figures, and what is their connection to the crusades? What can the histories and legends of these figures tell us about their idealization in crusade song? I suggest that songs mention these figures because each has specific attributes that would

¹³⁴ Jensen, 265. For full text, see Appendix M.

be useful to a crusader, including the power to amass a multi-national force and the ability to recognize which battles to fight.

In this chapter, I will examine how chronicles, *chansons de geste*, and song mention epic figures, and if these citations are similar across genres. To begin, I will analyze crusade literature and songs that refer to an epic person individually. Subsequently, I will examine crusade songs that mention multiple epic figures, to determine how they are linked. By analyzing crusade songs and literature simultaneously, I seek to show how similar references to these epic persons add an intertextual meaning to the songs that is glossed over by recent musicological scholarship.¹³⁵

The Nine Worthies in Crusade Literature and Song

Charlemagne and Alexander the Great are counted among the Nine Worthies, or the nine greatest knights in history; the first written account of all nine appears in the early fourteenth-century *chanson de geste*, *Vœux de Paon*.¹³⁶ The Nine Worthies were considered paragons of chivalry even before the fourteenth-century, and all play a large part in crusade narrative. There are three from the Old Testament (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus), three from antiquity (Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar), and three from the Middle Ages (Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon).¹³⁷ All

¹³⁵ Linda Paterson et al.'s new book *Singing the Crusades* simply mentions in passing that Alexander the Great (or any other epic figure) is referenced. There is no explanation or commentary as to why these figures would be referenced.

¹³⁶ Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d'Alexandre: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264: The Manuscript as Monument* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 160.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

nine can be found in crusading literature, while four appear in at least one crusade song, from each of the three categories.

The Nine Worthies make several appearances in crusade literature, influencing the crusaders and connecting the Worthies to the crusaders. It is easy to trace the three Old Testament figures as precursors to the crusaders, as all fought in the Holy Land for God.¹³⁸ Judas Maccabeus appears frequently in the central trilogy of the crusade cycle. In *La Chanson des Chétifs*, for example, the sultan gives Corbaran—a ‘Saracen knight’—a vessel that was once owned by Judas Maccabeus as a gift, and in *La Chanson d’Antioche*, the sword of Alexander the Great passes down to Judas Maccabeus.¹³⁹ In an anonymous chronicle of the third crusade, the crusaders are compared to David, as they want to “punish the Philistines who taunted the laboring hosts of the God of Israel with their Goliath.”¹⁴⁰ It is also possible to connect the three Worthies from the Middle Ages to the crusades. Arthur is tied to the crusades, since both he and his knights defend the faith and fight pagans and other demonic forces in his legends.¹⁴¹ Godfrey of Bouillon was a crusader and the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom in the Holy Land, and he is associated

¹³⁸ This is to say that these figures fought in the Holy Land during their own time, for God. This is in no way stating that these figures were present during the crusades. The crusaders could relate to these figures because of their chivalric virtues, as well as their purpose in fighting for God.

¹³⁹ Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson des Chétifs and Chanson de Jérusalem: Completing the Central Trilogy of the Old French Crusade Cycle* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016), 93 and Susan B. Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson d’Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 203.

¹⁴⁰ Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, Crusade Texts in Translation 3 (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 139.

¹⁴¹ Cruse, 160.

with Charlemagne, as the Old French Crusade Cycle describes Godfrey as a descendent of the Frankish king.¹⁴² Charlemagne's relevance to the crusades stems from various legends regarding his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as well as his invasion of Northern Spain, and he will be discussed in more detail in subsequent sections.

Four of the Nine Worthies appear in crusade songs: David, Alexander the Great, Arthur, and Charlemagne, representing all three categories of the Worthies. In some cases, poets mention multiple Worthies in the same song. Gaucelm Faidit's *Fort Cauza* mentions Arthur in conjunction with Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, the latter two of whom appear together in roughly three-fourths of the repertory.¹⁴³ The crusade songs that refer to these figures will be discussed in ensuing sections.

David makes a single appearance in a *sirventes* by Giraut de Borneil. Writing during the third crusade, Giraut de Borneil compares the Saracens to Goliath and the crusaders to David in *Era, quan vei reverdezitz*. He argues that, although the Saracens are better armed than the crusaders, they fight against God, and will be vanquished, just as Goliath was vanquished by David: "For the powerful giant whom David challenged, was equipped...with stronger armour than he, and yet...because he [the giant] had rebelled against God, it was the giant who lay vanquished on the field." ["Qu'el apodera.ls sols esmans; Que.l fortz iaians/Contra cui se levet Davitz/Era garnitz, So trobam, de forsor arnei, E, fe que.us dei, Car s'era contra Dieu levatz, Remas el camp apoderatz"].¹⁴⁴ Giraut

¹⁴² Edgington and Sweetenham, 277.

¹⁴³ For the crusade song which references Arthur in conjunction with Alexander and Charlemagne, see section 5.

¹⁴⁴ Sharman, 446. For full text, see Warwick, PC 242.15

equates the crusaders to King David as defenders of the faith who will protect the Holy Land because they are with God. The idea that the crusaders are defenders of the faith is applied to Charlemagne as well, as we will see.

Charlemagne as the Ideal Leader

Twelfth-century literature consistently invokes Charlemagne's name and deeds, especially the details of his campaign in Spain.¹⁴⁵ This century is significant to the legend of Charlemagne, because in this period, Charlemagne was canonized as a saint, his cult becomes popular, and the *chansons de geste* that recount Charlemagne's life flourish.¹⁴⁶ The crusade texts that describe Charlemagne depict him as a protector of the Christian faith and a powerful military leader. As we will see, these attributes are paired with Charlemagne throughout crusade literature and song.

The name of Charlemagne occurs frequently in texts that relate directly to the Holy Land and to the objectives and the ideology of the crusades. He is described as making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the anonymous *Descriptio qualiter Karolus Magnus*, which dates to the years preceding the First Crusade.¹⁴⁷ This legend is another version of Charlemagne's legendary trip to the Middle East, and is similar to *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. The portrayal of this pilgrimage is not peaceful, but is

¹⁴⁵ Jace Stuckey, "Charlemagne as Crusader? Memory, Propaganda, and the many uses of Charlemagne's Legendary Expedition to Spain," in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 139.

¹⁴⁶ Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2.

¹⁴⁷ Stuckey, 138.

instead a crusade for control of the Holy Land. In *Descriptio qualiter*, Charlemagne becomes a protector of Christendom, successfully defending the faith and protecting the Holy Land from the pagans.¹⁴⁸ This text begins a literary tradition that links Charlemagne irrevocably with the First Crusade and the crusading movement.¹⁴⁹

Throughout the crusading period, Charlemagne's forces were frequently described as unified. Charlemagne himself is depicted as capable of subduing any argument among his forces, and seeking out justice, thus making him a just king.¹⁵⁰ This myth originates from the various legends and epics of Charlemagne's conquests. Political unity and unity within one's forces were essential to crusaders, as the crusading movement was a multi-national event. Whatever disagreements kings may have had with each other—for example, the departure of the kings of France and England during the third crusade was delayed because of war between the two countries—these needed to be set aside for the glory of God in the Holy Land.¹⁵¹

Charlemagne is also consistently mentioned in chronicles of the third crusade. In his chronicle, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, Ambroise explicitly upholds Charlemagne's

¹⁴⁸ *Descriptio Qualiter Karolus Magnus*, in *Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. Und 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Rauschen (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890), pp. 103-125.

¹⁴⁹ The other texts with explicit references to Charlemagne in the First Crusade are the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*, Ekkehard of Aura *Chronicon*, William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, and *Historia Hierosolimitana* by Robert the Monk. For a detailed description of all of these first crusade documents, see Stefan Vander Elst, *The Knight, The Cross, and the Song* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

¹⁵⁰ Dominique Boutet, *Charlemagne et Arthur, ou le Roi Imaginarie* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1992), 87.

¹⁵¹ J. Evan Kreider, "Songs written by French Knights Between November 1187 and June 1190 as Propaganda for the Third Crusade," *Orbis Musicae, Studies in Musicology* 12 (1998), 141.

governance of his forces as a model of how disputes should be handled. He cites many examples of Charlemagne's legendary battles when discussing the discord between the French barons and Richard I. Ambroise first discusses Charlemagne's campaign to Spain in glowing terms: "the valiant King Charlemagne...went to campaign in Spain, taking with him the noble band who were sold to Marsile by Ganelon to the dishonor of France."¹⁵² He includes an explicit reference to the *Chanson de Roland* and the betrayal of Ganelon to Roland. Ambroise continues by referring to Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes*, which recounts Charlemagne's campaign to Saxony and the defeat of the Saxon king: Charlemagne "returned to Saxony, where he did many great deeds and defeated Guiteclin."¹⁵³ Ambroise also alludes to Agoland (Agolant), a Saracen king who invades southern Italy, from the *Chanson d'Aspremont*. Ambroise recounts the amazing feats of Charlemagne with a reference to one of the *chansons de geste* in the Old French Crusade Cycle: "when, in another war, Syria was lost and reconquered and Antioch besieged, in the great armies and the battles against the Turks and the pagan hordes, when many were killed and conquered, there was no bickering and quarrelling."¹⁵⁴ This description refers to the *Chanson d'Antioche*, which recounts the first crusade. Ambroise interweaves Charlemagne into this legend, again tying Charlemagne to the first crusade. After listing all of these different epics, Ambroise makes his point:

There was no malicious gossip nor insulting of one another; everyone came back with all honour and all were called Franks...and when through sin they disagreed

¹⁵² Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, vol. 2, trans. Marianne Ailes (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2003), 145-146.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

the princes brought them back into agreement with each other... This is how things should be done and the affairs of today dealt with, that men may follow this example and not attack each other.¹⁵⁵

Ambroise uses all of these examples to show that in an ideal army there is no “bickering and quarreling” and that if there is a disagreement, an ideal king would solve it.

The disagreement between the barons and Richard I, noted in Ambroise’s chronicle around November 1190, is treated similarly to how Ambroise treated the event in the anonymous *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardis*. The author states that Charlemagne conquered a vast amount of territory. However, there was no “contention” that “divided his army” and everyone in the army “showed the others mutual honour and friendship... Hence, the Franks once vanquished all other peoples. It would have been advantageous for our modern French to have imitated the example of those of old.”¹⁵⁶ Both the author of the *Itinerarium* and Ambroise tie Frankish victory specifically to unity within Charlemagne’s army, once again presented as the ultimate model for crusaders. The anonymous author believes that for the crusaders to succeed in their goals, they need to set aside their national differences and unite under Christianity. Both Ambroise and the author of the *Itinerarium* establish Charlemagne, specifically, as the example of ideal kingship.

This example of ideal kingship is used to compare Charlemagne to other kings. The troubadour Bertran de Born claims in *Nostre seigner* that King Philip has “proudly pledged that Charlemagne never climbed to such worth as he will” [“que dizen qu’es

¹⁵⁵ Ambroise, 145-146.

¹⁵⁶ Nicholson, 300.

crozatz/et anc Carles en tal pretz no s' empeis/ cum el fara, d' aiso s' es ben vanatz.”¹⁵⁷

This reference is especially significant because the French king is comparing himself to Charlemagne, tying previous victories of the Franks with the coming victory of the French. Bertran de Born wrote *Nostre seingner* before the French and English sailed out on crusade in 1190.¹⁵⁸ Bertran believes that King Philip II surpasses Charlemagne and that he will be successful in the Holy Land, becoming the new defender of the faith.

It is unique that Bertran's *sirventes* commends the King of France. During his life, Bertran de Born was a governor of Autafort (now Hautefort in southwestern France) and was a known supporter of the king of England; he claimed that the English were his only lords.¹⁵⁹ Bertran's favor for the English comes from the grant, signed both by Henry II and Richard I, that gave Autafort to Bertran.¹⁶⁰ Surprisingly, Bertran compares King Philip II rather than Richard I to Charlemagne in his *sirventes*, which is the only time that this comparison occurs. King Philip was not viewed favorably by many because of the heavy tax he levied on the people before the third crusade, which he called the Saladin Tithe.¹⁶¹ The French king was also criticized for the war with King Henry II which delayed the crusade's departure. Typically, as seen in literature, and as we will see in

¹⁵⁷ William D. Paden, Jr., Tilde Sankovitch, and Patricia H. Stäblein, eds., *The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 386.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁶¹ The Saladin Tithe is one of the main subjects of Conon de Béthune's crusade song, *Bien me dëusse*, which is a satire on the political climate in France before the third crusade.

song, the text compares Charlemagne to Richard, and it is usually Richard who is the subject for comparison of epic figures.

Roland as the Ideal Warrior

Charlemagne is not the only figure to make an appearance in crusade literature and song. Roland also appears in several different crusade sources. By the time of the crusades, the legendary hero was represented in a number of *chansons de geste*, most famously in the *Chanson de Roland*, which depicts the Battle of Roncevaux Pass. Roland was often characterized as a valiant, strong, and courageous knight—a model of chivalric values. Crusade sources compare him to other knights, the authors stating that these crusaders are either as strong as, or stronger than, Roland. Roland often accompanies his friend, Oliver, while his nemesis Ganelon is a knight who betrays Roland to the Muslims.¹⁶²

There are several comparisons to Roland in the chronicle of the third crusade by Ambroise. *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* compares the crusader Geoffrey of Lusignan to Roland and Oliver. According to Ambroise, never since Roland and Oliver has there been such a “praiseworthy knight.”¹⁶³ Another, slightly different, comparison occurs when Ambroise states that the ruler of Cyprus was a tyrant who was “more treacherous and

¹⁶² The *Chanson de Jérusalem* in the Crusade Cycle mentions Roland’s death several times. The epic poet, on the death of the crusader Enguerrand, states that Roland did not receive as much lamentation. The poet links Enguerrand to chivalric legend, and also links Roland to the crusades. See Sweetenham, 350.

¹⁶³ Ambroise, 96.

more evil than Judas or Ganelon.”¹⁶⁴ Here, Ambroise implicitly compares the betrayal of Roland by Ganelon to that of Christ by Judas.

The trouvère Huon de Saint-Quentin (fl. c. 1219) portrays Roland in his song *Jerusalem se plaint et li pais* to vitalize the call to crusade. By the time this song was composed, during the fifth crusade, the story of Roland would have been widely circulated and well known. Speaking of the prelates who delay helping God, Huon de Saint-Quentin likens Roland to God and Ganelon to the prelates who turn their back on God for not preaching the crusades in their sermons.¹⁶⁵ As we will see, Huon de Saint-Quentin uses music to connect textual ideas of betrayal.

The song, *Jerusalem si plaint et li pais*, is strophic, which is typical for trouvère and troubadour songs. There are four stanzas; three of them are composed of eleven lines of text, while the third stanza has only ten lines. Bédier and Aubry believe that this is a mistake on the part of the scribe, as each verse follows a specific rhyme scheme (ABABBBAABBA), and suggest that the fourth line of the text is missing from the third stanza.¹⁶⁶ If this is true, an interesting musical connection between stanzas appears in trouvère manuscript T (see Appendix J).¹⁶⁷ *Jerusalem si plaint et li pais* follows the typical trouvère form of ABABx (ABABCDEF GHI). Unique in *Jeruslaem* is internal repetition in the *cauda*, with repetitive opening motifs in verses six and eight, and nine

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 50.

¹⁶⁵ Bédier and Aubry, 150. For full text, see Warwick, RS 1576.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 149.

¹⁶⁷ This melody was also preserved in French Manuscript M. However, an excision of the miniature has destroyed most of the melody on the folio.

and eleven.¹⁶⁸ There is also a musical connection between verses ten and eleven, as verse eleven borrows the last descendering motion from D to G from verse ten. The last verse (v. eleven) recycles material from verse nine, starting with the ascending C-D-E to the E midway through the verse (see Appendix J). This creates a textual connection between the two verses, and ultimately between stanzas. In the first stanza, verse nine states that for us God was put on the cross and verse eleven states that because of his betrayal to Christ, Judas lost Paradise. These two lines connect the betrayal of God by Judas. In the third stanza, verse nine states that the prelates are delaying to help God, and in doing so (verse eleven), they are like Ganelon. In these two verses, the betrayal of Roland by Ganelon is equal to the “betrayal” of God by the prelates. The connection between the two betrayals (God by Judas and Roland by Ganelon) may have been emphasized in performance, since the music for the two is similar. In this crusade song, there is a textual connection between the betrayal of Christ by Judas to the betrayal of Roland, the same connection seen in Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*. In other crusade songs, epic figures and current crusade leaders are made musically equivalent through shared melodies.

Alexander the Great as the Ideal Crusader

Of all the epic figures that crusade sources mention, Alexander the Great appears the most. He is known for conquering the East and there are numerous variations of his legend written throughout the Middle Ages. The medieval Alexander represents

¹⁶⁸ Internal repetition in the *cauda* is not extremely rare in trouvère music, but it should be noted.

imperialism, the search for knowledge, and the discovery of the world.¹⁶⁹ Many chronicles compare Alexander the Great to various crusaders. The leader first appears in crusade literature during the first crusade and is mentioned in several chronicles. The *Dei Gestorum per Francos* begins by listing the destruction Alexander the Great causes in the East.¹⁷⁰ The Old French Crusade Cycle ties Alexander the Great to certain objects that illustrate he was in the East and had already conquered the territories the crusaders had set out to conquer themselves.

Alexander the Great appears twice in the anonymous *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*. The first reference is a favorable comparison of King Richard I with various epic figures: “King Richard had the valour of Hector, the heroism of Achilles; he was not inferior to Alexander, nor less valiant than Roland. No, he easily surpassed in many respects the most praiseworthy figures of our times.”¹⁷¹ This passage mentions four figures: three from antiquity and one from medieval literature. Two of these figures—Hector and Alexander the Great—are found among the Nine Worthies. The passage pairs Hector with Achilles, which is reasonable considering both men fought in the Trojan War, a clash that resulted in Achilles killing Hector. The pairing of Alexander and Roland is somewhat less transparent. Both Alexander and Roland, in their respective legends, fought against ‘non-believers.’ Alexander conquered the lands to the East, including the Holy Land, while Roland fought the Muslims in Spain. Though Alexander

¹⁶⁹ Boutet, 8.

¹⁷⁰ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), 123. Other first crusade chronicles that mention Alexander include *Historia Gottefridi* and William of Tyre’s *History*.

¹⁷¹ Nicholson, 145.

himself was not a Christian, he becomes a sort of prefigure to Christ in medieval legends, such as *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, and thus became a part of salvation history. The four figures in this passage are associated with epic military battles, which allows for an adequate comparison to Richard I, who was about to embark on a military adventure to the East of his own.

The second reference in the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi* makes the point that a king is powerless without his forces. The author of the *Itinerarium* describes Alexander as undertaking “difficult ventures” and winning “countless battles with a force of elite knights; however, all his strength was in his vast forces.”¹⁷² In this statement we see that a king is nothing without his knights. However, Richard I is different. The author describes in the chronicle that Richard I is cut off from his forces. Yet, he still proceeds to perform legendary feats, killing the leader of the Turks. Upon seeing this, the rest of the Turks “hardly even tried” to kill the king.¹⁷³ In this chronicle Richard I becomes greater than Alexander, as Alexander needs his forces to conquer his enemies. Richard I stands alone.

The Crusade Cycle mentions two items belonging to Alexander. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the poet mentions a sword, forged by Wayland, a Norse hero, and belonging first to Alexander.¹⁷⁴ It then passes on to other people (including Judas Maccabeus, another Worthy) in the Holy Land. The second item in the Crusade Cycle is the tent of

¹⁷² Ibid., 366.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 367.

¹⁷⁴ Edgington and Sweetenham, 203.

Alexander. This tent is described in *Le Roman d'Alexandre* as being decorated with gold and crystals.¹⁷⁵ In the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, the tent is described as having art depicted in “pure gold with crystal and gilding.”¹⁷⁶ Carol Sweetenham believes that the author of the *Chanson de Jérusalem* is intentionally evoking the description of the tent in *Le Roman d'Alexandre*.¹⁷⁷ These items reinforce Alexander’s successful conquest of the Holy Land before the crusaders arrived. It is not surprising that the crusaders want to be like Alexander, or even to surpass him by taking the Holy Land and protecting it selflessly for God.

The troubadour Peire Vidal mentions Alexander the Great in his crusade song in which he compares himself to the great leader. Peire was a master of satire in his poetry, and in his poem *Si.m laissava de chantar*, the troubadour fantasizes that he could be greater than Alexander if he went on crusade: “If I could accomplish what my overpowering desire has made me begin, Alexander would be nothing compared to me” [“E s’ieu podi’acabar so que m’a fait comensar mos sobreforcus talens, Alexandres fon niens contra qu’ieu seria”].¹⁷⁸ He continues this ruse by stating that if he went on crusade he would be able to regain the True Cross in a very short amount of time. In fact, Peire did make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and wrote this song after returning from the Holy

¹⁷⁵ Laurence Harf-Lancner, trans., *Alexandre de Paris: Le Roman d'Alexandre* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1994), 195-196.

¹⁷⁶ Sweetenham, 285.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Fraser, 182 and 184. For full text, see Warwick, PC 364.43.

Land in 1187, the same year as the fall of Jerusalem and the loss of the True Cross.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps the troubadour wrote this song to mourn the loss of the land he just visited. Moreover, this is the only instance that a troubadour believes he can be greater than Alexander, or any epic figure. This is quite the opposite from Huon de Saint-Quentin's song, which employs the epic figures to try to solve a problem that the prelates have created and which becomes a call to arms. Peire, on the other hand, uses his poem to showcase his 'grandeur,' which is seen in his other works. In his satirical poetry, he describes himself as a knight. However, not much is actually known about the poet, except for the *Vida* that was composed around the year 1240.¹⁸⁰ The *Vida* is a compilation of fictitious tales of grandeur, similar to those found in his poetry. The only certain truth is the first line of the *Vida*, which states that he was from Toulouse and was the son of a furrier.¹⁸¹ From what we do know, Peire was an itinerant musician, serving several courts in his lifetime, and there is no evidence that he ever engaged in battle.¹⁸² The knightly persona in his poetry certainly may have been greater than Alexander, but, from all accounts, the poet himself was definitely not.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 182.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 28.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁸² While Peire did make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, there is no evidence to suggest that Vidal went with an entourage as a crusader. Crusaders of the time did call themselves "pilgrims" but nothing suggests Peire fought in the Holy Land.

The Use of Charlemagne, Roland, and Alexander the Great in Crusade Song

Of the 104 crusade songs, eight make reference to Charlemagne, Roland, or Alexander the Great.¹⁸³ Three of these have been referred to in previous sections of this chapter. The rest of these songs show the greatness of a specific crusade leader by mentioning multiple epic figures.

In Gaucelm Faidit's *Fort cauza es que tot lo major dan*, Richard I becomes greater than three of the Nine Worthies: Alexander the Great, Arthur, and Charlemagne:

And there will never be a man similar to [Richard I],
so generous, so noble, so daring, so munificent,
for I do not think that Alexander, the king who defeated Darius,
gave or spent as much;
and never were Charlemagne and Arthur worth more.¹⁸⁴

Ni mais non er nulls hom del sieu semblan,
tan larcs, tan pros, tan arditz, tals donaire;
qu' Alixandres, lo reis qui venquet Daire,
no cre que tan dones ni tan mezes
ni anc Charles ni Artus plus valgue.¹⁸⁵

In this passage, Richard I exceeds Charlemagne and Alexander as the ideal crusader king.

To Gaucelm, the ideal crusader king is generous and daring, qualities that Richard I shows on his valiant expedition. Gaucelm says that Alexander never “gave or spent as much” as Richard I. It was common in the Middle Ages to mention Alexander as a

¹⁸³ One song that is not discussed in this thesis is Peirol's *Pus flum Jordan ai vist e.l monimen*. The other song, by Pons de Capdoill, will be examined in the conclusion of this thesis.

¹⁸⁴ Jensen, 265. Jensen's translation is similar to other translations of Faidit's text. One difference occurs in the line “so generous, so noble, so daring, so munificent.” The Occitan words “larcs” and “donaire” both mean generous. Jean Mouzat translates this line somewhat differently, “si libéral, si puissant, si hardi, si prodogue.” For Mouzat's full translation, see Jean Mouzat, *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit: Troubadour du XII^e Siècle*, 423.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

symbol of generosity. Here, Gaucelm is relying on a medieval trope to describe the dead king. *Fort cauza* is typical of the *planh* genre of troubadour song. It laments the death of Richard I, who died traveling back to England after the crusade. It also exaggerates the qualities of the deceased. In Gaucelm's poem, Richard I becomes more daring than the great conqueror Alexander. However, it may be argued that, to Gaucelm, Alexander the Great is inherently lesser when compared to Richard I because Alexander is a pagan, and Richard I is a Christian who fought and died for God.

Gaucelm's *planh* is musically significant as it is the only troubadour song of lament to survive with a melody. Of the twenty manuscripts that transmit Gaucelm's song, four contain music (Troubadour G, W, X, and η).¹⁸⁶ Typical of Gaucelm's musical style is a neumatic melody. The form of the piece is varied depending on the manuscript. Three of the manuscripts (G, W, and X) have no internal repetition, and the form is graphed as ABCDEFGHI. Manuscript η is slightly different with a single repetition: ABB¹CDEFGH. A melodic similarity among all four manuscripts occurs when the troubadour mentions King Richard I. All four melodies portray Richard with a descending leap from A to D, showing stability in transmission (see Example 7). While there are variants in all four manuscripts, the fifth on Richard is the same.

¹⁸⁶ These melodies have some unique differences (see Appendix K). For example, in the first phrase, manuscripts G and X contain a b-flat, but no such accidental is found in G or η

1659
8 lo riş va - lenz Ri - charz roi des En - gleis

R 71
8 lo ric va - len Ri - chart rei dels En - gles

844
8 lou reis va - lens Ri - chars reis des En - gles

20050
8 li rich va - lens Ri - chars reis des En - gles

Example 7: The depiction of Richard in all four manuscripts, η , G, W, and X.

The three epic figures in Gaucelm's poem occur in stanza two. The name Charlemagne is heavily ornamented in manuscripts η , G and W, whereas in manuscript X, Charlemagne occurs in a more syllabic setting with two pitches, D and C (see Example 8). There is a musical parallel between verses six (Richard) and seven (Charlemagne) in manuscripts G and W. In verse six, there is the descending fifth from A to D followed immediately by a descending motive from E to C (see Example 7, above). In verse seven, Charlemagne is ornamented with an A descending to a D, followed by a descending E to C motive on Arthur.

1659 ni onc Kar - les ne Ar - tur lo vau - sist

R 71 ni anc Kar - le ni Ar - tus tan val - gues

844 non fist Char - lous ni Ar - tur tan non mes

20050 non cuit Char - les ni Ar - tus lo vol - gues

Example 8: The musical depiction of Charlemagne (Karles) and Arthur (Artus) in η , G, W, and X.

While Gaucelm’s musical depiction may not have been intentional, as Richard and Charlemagne occur in different stanzas, these names may have stood out in performance, especially as transmitted in manuscripts G and W, and the listener may have linked the two figures through their similar musical structure.

Gaucelm is not the only troubadour to utilize more than one epic person in his song. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras depicts all three epic persons in his song *No m’agrad iverns ni pascors*. The poem discusses the campaign of Raimbaut’s patron, the Marquis de Montferrat (Boniface I, the same as Peire Vidal), and the attacks against Eastern Europeans during the fourth crusade.¹⁸⁷ The music of *No m’agrad* is characterized by repetition, and is strophic, as we have seen with previous crusade songs (see Appendix L). The overall form of the piece is Rounded Form (ABA), with each section composed

¹⁸⁷ Raimbaut’s poem says that the Marquis is fighting “Blacs e Drogoiz” [“Wallachians and Drogobites”] two groups from present-day Romania. The Fourth Crusade is noted for the Sack of Constantinople, which caused great duress in the region. Most crusaders never made it to the Holy Land, and instead fought in or near Constantinople, which was now part of the Latin Empire.

of four verses. The last verse of each section uses the same music.¹⁸⁸ In the fifth stanza of text, Raimbaut mentions five figures within the first iteration of A. Speaking of his patron, he says “Never did Alexander or Charlemagne or King Louis lead such a glorious expedition” [“Anc Alixandres non fetz cors ni Carles ni·l reis Lodoics tan honrat.”]¹⁸⁹ We have seen how Alexander the Great and Charlemagne connect to the Holy Land. King Louis VII is also connected with the Holy Land because he had taken the cross and led the second crusade. Here, the troubadour is claiming that his patron’s campaign is better than any of the ones before his. Raimbaut boasts of his patron’s campaign that “[never] could the valiant lord Aimeri or Roland with his warriors win by might, in such noble fashion, such a powerful empire as we have won” [“ni·l pros n’Aimerics ni Rotlans ab sos poignadors non saubron tan gen conquerer tan ric emperi per poder cum nos.”]¹⁹⁰ In the text, Raimbaut advertises the accomplishments his patron has achieved on campaign. He states, “we have created emperors and dukes and kings, and have manned strongholds near the Turks and Arabs, and opened up the roads and ports from Brindisi to St. George’s Straits” [“q’emperadors e ducs e reis avem faitz, e chastels garnitz prop dels Turcs e dels Arabitz, et ubertz los camins e ls ports de Brandiz tro al Bratz Sain Jorz”].¹⁹¹ As mentioned, there is a recurring verse at the end of each section. In the fifth stanza of text, this musical repetition emphasizes the greatness of Boniface I’s campaign. The first

¹⁸⁸ A more detailed graph of the form would appear as ABCD EFGD ABCD.

¹⁸⁹ Linskill, 244-246.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. Aimeri is a knight who is also mentioned in the *Matters of France*

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

iteration of D tells that Boniface's campaign is better than anything Roland could accomplish. The second time D occurs, Raimbaut boasts that Boniface has created "emperors, dukes and kings" and the last time D occurs, Raimbaut brags that the campaign has opened the roads and ports from "Brindisi to the St George's Straits." Raimbaut de Vaqueiras is essentially advertising, both textually and musically, not only the greatness of the campaign, but also the valor of his patron and how he exceeds the epic persons.

Austorc d'Aurillac mentions the epic persons in his *sirventes Dieus! per qu'as facha tan gran maleza*. In the poem, Austorc d'Aurillac laments the capture of King Louis IX during the seventh crusade and calls on the king to avenge his capture. There have been arguments amongst scholars over the date of the poem, and whether Austorc is lamenting the capture or the death of the king. Jeanroy dates this poem to the seventh crusade, and not to the eighth crusade, which ended with King Louis IX's death, because Austorc mentions the Holy Roman Emperor.¹⁹² Implying the capture of the king, Austorc states:

Ah! Valiant King, if you had the greatness of Alexander, who conquered the whole world, you would avenge the humiliation you have suffered. Ah, remember Charles, remember the Marquis Guillem, remember Gerard and his victories. Ah, noble King! If you call these to mind, the wicked Turks will be at your mercy, for God lends ready aid to a firm resolve.¹⁹³

¹⁹² A. Jeanroy, "Le troubadour Austorc d'Aurillac et son sirventés sur la septième Croisade" in *Romanische Forschungen* 23 (1907), 85. Jeanroy suggests that the Emperor mentioned in d'Aurillac's song is Frederik II, who promised to go back to the Holy Land after his crusade in 1228. The crusade in this song has to be the 7th, according to Jeanroy, because in 1270 (the date of the 8th) there was no emperor.

¹⁹³ Peter Jackson, 122. This is an English translation of Jeanroy's French translation of the Occitan.

Ai! valens reys, [s'avias la] largueza d'Alex [andre, que tot] lo mon conqués,
[Vengarias] la gran anta qu' [as preza; Ai! mem]bre te de Karle, [del marques
Guillem], de Girart cum v[encia. Ai! francs reys, s'o be-t sovenia, [Leu fo]ran
Turc fello [en ton poder, Quar] bon secors fai Dieus a ferm voler.¹⁹⁴ *Brackets in
original*

There are multiple references in this passage. The first is to Alexander the Great and his conquest of the East. Austorc believes that if King Louis IX was similar to Alexander the Great, he would not have to face the humiliation of captivity. Austorc mentions Charlemagne, Guillaume d'Orange, and Gérard de Roussillon as examples of valiant knights who would have no trouble in defeating the Turks, and that King Louis IX should act in a heroic manner and avenge his capture.

Conclusions

Charlemagne, Roland, and Alexander the Great make many appearances throughout the corpus of crusading literature. They appear in chronicles describing the events of the crusades, in the Old French crusade epics, as well as in the songs of the troubadours and trouvères. These epic figures can be connected to the crusades through their legends, and they have several attributes that make them ideal crusaders.

Charlemagne is a powerful leader who is able to unite his forces under one goal. Crusade leaders could look to Charlemagne as an example of how to lead, since the leaders of the crusades had to fight alongside people from other European nations. A united front against the Saracens was needed in order to succeed. Roland's courage and Alexander's wisdom and strength would no doubt resonate with the crusaders as well.

¹⁹⁴ A. Jeanroy, 83.

Many of the troubadours and trouvères who wrote crusade songs compare epic figures in order to elevate crusade leaders, who become more daring than Alexander, stronger than Roland, and better leaders than Charlemagne. Through this literary device, the goals of the crusade become more pertinent than the legendary events of the epic heroes. The goals of the crusade are for God and eternal life in heaven. Since the crusaders are arming themselves and answering the call of God to save the Holy Land, they have a higher place than Alexander the Great, or any other epic figure. The importance of crusade over the epic persons is seen in Raimbaut's crusade song, *No m'agrad*, which depicts the goals and leaders of the fourth crusade as more important than the epic figures.

While the number of crusade songs that depict these figures is only a small fraction of the entire crusade song corpus, they provide valuable insight into the influences of literature on troubadour and trouvère song. These references are not only important because they show a common practice among various texts (chronicles, epics, and song), but also because they shed light on crusade ideals and the depictions of these figures outside of their corresponding legends. While the references to the epic figures in each crusade song are brief, there is an entire history and background behind the reference that would have been understood by the nobility versed in that history. Through crusade song, these epic figures become ideal crusaders who should be emulated or even surpassed.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Numerous questions arise when studying crusade song; most importantly, what constitutes a crusade song? It should be recalled that the definition of a crusade song I propose in this study attempts to bridge the gap in remaining in previous scholars' definitions. Furthermore, several recurring themes characterize both crusade song and literature: sacred motivations, biblical figures, and epic persons.

The themes analyzed in this study should not be understood in isolation, but as part of the larger context of the song. In fact, these themes intermingle in song throughout the crusade corpus. The crusade song *Ar nos sia capdels e garentia* by Pons de Capdoill combines elements of all three thematic categories—biblical figures, God as proclaimer of the crusade, the crusade indulgence (remission of sin and eternal life), Christ's Passion, an epic person, recovery of the true cross, and Judgment Day—in a continuous narrative.¹⁹⁵

Now may He lead and protect us,
He who guided the three kings to
Bethlehem for His mercy has shown us
the path
by which [even] the worst who will follow
Him loyally with a good heart will come
to salvation.
But whoever, because of land or wealth,
remains here, will commit great folly,
for I certainly do not consider as wealthy
[even] the richest man
if he loses a sense of shame, and God, on
account of base intentions.

Ar nos sia capdels e garentia
cel qui guidet tres reis en Betleem
que s amerces nos a mostrat tal via
per qe.ll peior vendran a salvamen
qui lo segran de bon cor leialmen.

E qui per terra ni per manentia
remandra chai, molt fara grant folia,
q'eu non teng ges lo plus rics per manen
qui pert vergoigna e Deu per avol sen.

¹⁹⁵ This song has not been previously discussed and gives the reader exposure to more crusade songs.

Consider whether the man who remains
behind commits great folly:
for Jesus truly said to the apostles that he
should follow Him, and anyone who were
to follow Him should abandon all his
friends and his rich fief.
Now is the time for us to carry out his
commandment,
because whoever dies there [in the Holy
Land] has more than if he lived,
and whoever lives here has a worse fate
than if he died,
for a base life is worth little, and whoever
makes a good death kills his death and
then lives without torment.

Whoever humbles himself before the cross
with a good heart will humbly receive
pardon from the cross;
and with the cross our Lord,
who had sincere pity on the good thief
and made the wicked one sorrowful,
and who forgave the repentant Longinus,
destroys wrongs and felony; and on the
cross He recovered those whom He was
losing and suffered death for our
salvation:
anyone who gives Him no recompense
will be wretched.

If someone were to conquer all on this
side of the sea, it is of no benefit to him if
he fails God or lies to Him;
for Alexander, who owned the entire
world, took nothing with him [when he
died] but a single shroud.
So someone who sees the good and takes
the bad, and abandons that joy which fails
neither night nor day, for fear of losing
something of which he never has control,
is really mad. These are the false, greedy,
ignorant people, whom greed deceives to
no purpose.

Gardatz si fai qui reman gran folia:

q'als apostols dis Jesus veramen
q'om lo segues e laisses, qi.l segria,
toz sos amics e son ric chasamen.

Ar ez sazos facham son mandamen,

car qui lai muor, mais a que si vivia,

e qui chai viu piegz a que se moria,

q'avols vida val pauc, e qui muor gen
auci sa mort e pois viu ses tormen.

Qui ves la croz de bon cor s'omelia
perdon aura per la croz humilmen;

et ab la croz deli torz e feonia
nostre Seigner, que ac franc chausimen
del bon lairon el felon fez dolen,
e perdonet Longis qi.s repentia,
et en la croz cobret cels qe perdia;
e suffer mort per nostre salvamen:

malastrucs er, qui guierdon no.ill ren

Qui tot quant es de sai mar conqueira
no.ill ten nuill pro si faill a Deu ni.l men;

q'Alexandres, qui tot lo mond avia,
non portet ren mas un drap solamen.

Dunc ben es folz qui ben ve e mal pren,
ni laissa.l joi qui no faill nuoit ni dia,
per cho qe pert, don non a mais bailha.
Cho son li fals cobe desconoissen
cui cobeitaz engana per neien.

Let no nobleman boast that he is valiant if he does not now help the cross and the sepulchre;
 for along with fine armour, with merit, with courtliness,
 and with all that is beautiful and pleasing, we can [also] have honour and joy in paradise. Therefore, consider what more a count or a king could seek, if through honoured deeds he could escape hell and the stinking, raging fire where many miserable captives will live in sorrow for all time.

Anyone who, due to old age or illness, remains here should give his money to those who will go: he does well who sends [it],
 provided that he does not remain behind because of a cowardly heart.
 Ah! On the Day of Judgment what will they say, those who stay behind for the sake of something unwise,
 when God says: “False man, full of cowardice,
 for your sake I was killed and cruelly beaten?”
 Then the most just will feel terror.¹⁹⁶

Jamais no.s gab negus bars qe pro sia s’ar non socor la crotz el monument;
 c’ab gent garner ab pretz, ab cortezia,
 et ab tot cho q’es bel et avinen,
 podem aver honor e jauzimen en paradis. Gardaz dunc que quera plus coms ni reis, s’ab honraz faiz podia
 fozir enfern e.l pugnais fuoc arden on maint caitiu viuran toztems dolen.

Toz hom cui fai velersa o malautia remaner chai deu donar son argen a cels q’iran, qe ben fai qui envia,
 sol non remaingna per cor regcregen.
 Ha! Qe diran al jor del juzamen ceill qu’estaran, per cho que ren non tria,
 quant Dieus dira: “fals, plen de choardia, per vos fui morz e batuz malamen?”
 Adunc aura lo plus just espaven

The troubadour starts his *sirventes* by alluding to the Nativity and the three wise men, similar to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (see Chapter 3): “He who guided the three kings to Bethlehem.” In the second stanza, the troubadour calls on men to be like Jesus’ apostles and follow him to the Holy Land. He continues, alluding to God as proclaimer of the crusades: “Now is the time for us to carry out his commandment, because whoever dies

¹⁹⁶ Pons de Capdoill, *Ar nos sia capdelhs e garentia*, Linda Patterson, trans., <http://www.rialto.unina.it/PoChapt/375.2/375.2%28Mulholland%29.htm>.

there [in the Holy Land] has more than if he lived.” Those who do not—similar to songs by Folquet de Romans, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, and others—will suffer eternal torment (see Chapter 2). The third stanza invokes the crusade indulgence and Christ’s passion. There is also a slight allusion to many of the crusade sermons which call the cross a weapon of Christ.¹⁹⁷ The crusaders can use the cross to destroy “wrongs and felony.” In the fourth stanza, Pons de Capdoill alludes to those waging war in Europe, and then mentions Alexander the Great, to show that when one dies, the worldly lands and goods that they have conquered will not go with them into the afterlife. We see the recovery of the true cross and the holy sepulcher in the fifth stanza: “help the cross and the sepulchre.” Another theme in this stanza is eternal life in paradise, part of the crusade indulgence. Similar to *Ahi! Amours con dure departie* by Conon de Béthune, even the old or the ill can take part in the crusade (see Chapter 2). The last stanza mentions the Day of Judgment as well Christ’s Passion. It is similar to the usage of the two themes that is employed in Maistre Renaut’s crusade song (see Chapter 3). This song shows that the themes that have been minutely detailed in this thesis come together in song as a series of motivations to take the cross.

Each of the melodies studied in this thesis have highlighted at least one aspect of crusading. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s melodies emphasize the exceptional campaign of his patron and the importance of the cross in crusading. The anonymous *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* strengthens the call to crusade through the recurring refrain, specifically alluding to the papal bulls in that all who follow Louis VII will have a place in paradise.

¹⁹⁷ Maier, 87.

Conon de Béthune stresses that those who cannot physically go on crusade can still contribute to the cause. Despite the problems of manuscript transmission, text and music relationships still occur in the performance of these songs that would place an emphasis on all of these crusading themes.

Questions of patronage and the historical narrative in song were not addressed in this study, and more research is needed on these topics. Does the patron affect the content of the song, or the amount of crusade propaganda present? How do crusade songs tell a narrative of the crusading movement? My goal in this study was to show that crusade songs are similar to crusade literature, and that the narrative in song transforms the themes that are present in these documents. However, this study could not address every aspect, and the transformation of themes still requires more study. This thesis highlighted the themes that have been overlooked by musicologists, which showcase the ideals that perpetuated the crusade movement and that were present in crusade culture in medieval Europe.

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APPENDIX A

TIMELINE OF CRUSADE EVENTS AS WELL AS DATES OF TROUBADOURS,
TROUVÈRES, AND THEIR PATRONS

Crusade Event	Date	Troubadours, Trouvères, and their Patrons
Pope Urban II calls first crusade	1095	
First crusade starts	1096	
Conquest of Jerusalem	1099	
	1126	Marcabru, under patronage of Guillaume X of Aquitane (r. 1126-37)
	1127	
	1135	Alfonso VII of Léon becomes Marcabru's patron
Muslims take Edessa	1144	
Pope Eugene III issues Papal Bull calling second crusade	1145	
Second crusade starts	1147	
	1149	Peire d'Alvernhe was an active poet from 1149-70.
	1170	Folquet de Marseille wrote his songs between 1170- 1195, when he stopped after a religious experience changed his life.
	1181	Bertran de Born wrote his first works during 1181-83. He was the lord of Autafort.

Battle of Hattin Loss of Jerusalem Pope Gregory VIII calls the third crusade	1187	Peire Vidal makes pilgrimage to Holy Land
Frederick Barbarossa leaves for the Holy Land	1189	
Old French Crusade Cycle written around the time of third crusade		
Richard I and Phillip Augustus leave for the Holy Land	1191	
	1192	Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Gaucelm Faidit and Peire Vidal were all under the patronage of Boniface I
Fourth crusade	1202	Boniface I chosen as leader of fourth crusade
Sack of Constantinople	1204	Both Conon de Béthune and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras are present at the Sack of Constantinople
Albigensian crusade	1209	Aimeric de Peguilhan and patron Raimon V of Toulouse flee Occitania with the threat of the Albigensian crusade.
Pope Honorius III calls the fifth crusade	1217	
	1220	Folquet de Romans patron is the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. It was between 1220-1226 that he wrote his sirventes calling on the emperor to rescue the Holy Land.
Start of sixth crusade	1228	

Baron's crusade	1239	Thibaut de Champagne led the baron's crusade and wrote two songs in Holy Land
End of Baron's crusade sees return of Jerusalem	1241	
Loss of Jerusalem	1244	
Seventh Crusade starts	1248	
Eighth crusade starts	1269	
French King Louis IX dies in Tunisia	1270	Multiple songs are written lamenting Louis IX's death

APPENDIX B
LIST OF CRUSADE SONGS

Troubadour

Aimeric de Peguillan	Ara parra qual seran enveyos
Austorc d'Aurillac	Dieus! Per qu'as facha tan gran maleza
Bernart de Rovenac	D'un Sirventes m'es grans volontatz
Bertolome Zorzi	No laisserai qu'en chantar non atenda
Bertran d'Alamano	D'un sirventes mi ve grans volontatz Pos chanso far no m'agensa
Bertran de Born	Anc no.s poc far major anta Ara sai en de pretz quals l'a plus gran Foilleta, pos mi pregatz que en chan Nostre seigner somonis el meteis
Bertran Carbonel	Per espassar l'ira e la dolor
Elias Cairel	Qui saubes dar tan bo conseil denan
Folquet de Marseilla	Chantars mi torn' ad afan Huimais no.y conosc razo Consiros, cum partitz d'amor
Folquet de Romans	Quan cug chantar, eu plaing e plor Quan lo dous temps, ven e vai la friedors
Gaucelm Faidit	Ara nos sia guitz Fortz cauza es que tot lo major dan Mas la bela de cui mi mezeis teing Tan sui ferms e fis vas amor Chascus hom deu conoisser et entendre
Gaucelm Faidit and Elias d'Ussel	Dels grand golf de la mer
Gormonda de Monpeslier	Greu m'es a durar
Guilhem Admar	S'eu conogues que.m fos enans
Guillem Fabre	Pos del majors
Guillem Figueira	Del preveire major

	D'un sirventes far Totz hom qui be comens' e be fenis Un non sirventes far mi sia Deus guitz
Giraut de Borneil	A l'onor Deu torn en mon chan Era quan vei reverdezitz Dels bels digs menutz frais Jois sia comensamens
Guiraut Riquier	Karitz et amors e fes S'ieu ja trobat non agues Xristias vei perillar
Lanfranc Cigala	Quan vei far bo fag plazentier Si mos chans fos de joi ni de solatz
Cavalier Lunel de Monteg	Mal veg trop apareillar
Marcabru	A la Fontana del vergier Pax in Nomine Domini
Matieu de Caerci	Tan sui marritz que no.m posc alegrar
Olivier lo Templier	Estat aurai lonc temps en pensamen
Peire d'Alvergne	Belha m'es la flors Bel m'es quan la roza floris Lo foills e.l flors e.l frugz madurs
Peire Bremon Ricas Novas	Pos partit an lo cor en Sordels e'n Bertrans
Peire Bremon lo Tort	En abril, quan vei verdejar Mei oill an gran manentia
Peire Cardenal	Be volgra, si Deus o volgues Si tot non ai joi ni plazer
Peire Vidal	Anc no mori per amor ni per al Bels Amics cars, ven s'en ves vos estius Baro, Jezus, qu'en crotz fo mes Bae.m pac d'ivern et d'estiu Si.m laissava de chantar
Peirol	Pos flum Jordan ai vist e.l monimen Quant amors trobet partit

Pons de Capdolh	Ar nos sia capdelhs e garentia En honor del pair' en cui es So qu'om plus vol e plus es voluntos
Raimbaut de Vaquieras	Conseil don a L'Emperador Ara pot hom conoisser e proar Ar vei escur e trebol cel No.m agrad' iverns ni pascors
Raimon Gaucelm de Beziers	Ab grans trebalhs et ab grans marrimens Qui vol aver complida amistansa
Serveri de Girona	En breu sazo
Templier (Knight of the Temple)	Ir' e dolors s'es dins mon cor asseza
Tomier e Palazi	De cantar farai, una esdemessa Si co.l flacs molins torneja
Uc de Pena	Cera que.m desplagues amors
Anonymous	Finament
Trouvère	
Chardon de Croisilles	Li departirs de la douce contree
Conon de Béthune	Ahi! Amours con dure departie Bien me deüsse targier
Guiot de Dijon	Chanterai por mon corage
Hugues de Berzé	Bernarz, di moi Fouquet, qu'on, tient a sage S'onques nus hom por dure departie
Huon d'Oisi	Maugre touz sainz et maugre Dieu ausi
Huon de Saint-Quentin	Jerusalem se plaint et li païs
Le Châtelain d'Arras	Aler m'estuet la u je trairai paine
Le Châtelain de Couci	A vous, amant, plus qu'a nule autre gent Li nouviaux tanz et mais et violete
Maistre Renaut	Pour lou pueple resconforter

Philippe de Nanteuil	En chantant viel mon duel faire
Phillippe de Navarre	L'autrier gaitay une nuit jusque au jour Nafré sui, mais encore ne pui taire
Thibaut de Champagne	Li douz penser et li douz souvenir Dame, ainsi est qu'il m'en couvient aler Au tans plain de felonie Signor, saichies qi or ne s'en ira
Anonymous	Chevalier, mult estes guariz Vos qui ameis de vraie amor Parti de mal et a bien aturne Ne chant pas, que que nus die Tous li mons doit mener joie Nus ne porroit de mauvese reson Novele amors s'est dedanz mon cuer mise Jherusalem, grant damage me fais Pour joie avoir perfite en paradis Douce dame, cui j'ain en bone foi Oiés, seigneur, pereceus par oiseuse Bien mostre Diex apertement

APPENDIX C
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

Old French Manuscripts that Contain Crusade Song

(* denotes musical manuscripts)

With Trouvère Sigla

A	Arras, Bibliothèque de l'Arras	657
C	Bern, Burgerbibliothek	cod. 389
H	Modena, Biblioteca Estense	45 L, R, 4. 4.
K	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal	MS-5198, réserve*
M	Paris, Bibliothèque National de France ¹⁹⁸	Français 844*
N	Paris, BNF	Français 845*
O	Paris, BNF	Français 846*
P	Paris, BNF	Français 847*
R	Paris, BNF	Français 1591*
S	Paris, BNF	Français 12581*
T	Paris, BNF	Français 12615*
U	Paris, BNF	Français 20050*
V	Paris, BNF	Français 24406*
X	Paris, BNF	Français 1050*
a	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	Reg. Lat. 1490*

Without Any Attributed Sigla

British Museum	Harley 1717*
Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Dep. Erf.	Codex Amplonianus 8°, 32*
Turin, Biblioteca Reale	Varia 433
Paris, BNF	Français 6680
University of Cambridge	Dd. XI 78
Paris, BNF	Français 22495

¹⁹⁸ Hereafter, BNF

Occitan Manuscripts that Contain Crusade Song

A	Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana	5232
C	Paris, BNF	Français 856
D	Modena, Biblioteca Estense	a, R, 4. 4.
G	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana	R 71 Sup. *
J	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale	F. 4. 776
K	Paris, BNF	Français 12473
M	Paris, BNF	Français 12474
R	Paris, BNF	Français 22543*
T	Paris, BNF	Français 15211
W	Paris, BNF	Français 844*
X	Paris, BNF	Français 20050*
a ¹	Modena, Biblioteca Estense	Càmpori γ. N. 8. 4; 11, 12, 13
δ	Paris, BNF	Français 12615*
η	Rome, B. Vaticana	Reg. 1659*

APPENDIX D

CHEVALIER, MULT ESTES GUARIZ

Chevalier, mult estes guariz

Anonymous Trouvère

Manuscript: Erfurt, Bibliothek Amplonianus, cod. 8°, 32

Orthography according to Erfurt

1. Che - va - lier mult es - tes gua - riz
2. Pris - est Ro - hais ben - le sa - vez
3. Per - nez ess - ample a Lo - de - viz
4. Deus li - vrat sun cors a Ju - deus
5. Deus ad - tur nei - en - pris
6. Char le fiz Deu al Cre - a - tur
7. A - lum con - quere Moï - a - ses

quant deu a vus fait sa cla mur
dunt cre sti ens sunt es mai ez
Ke plus ad - ens sunt es mai ez
pur me tre que nus fors nen a vez
en - Ro En fern e Pa re is
ad - gist hais el munt tre de Si na - jorn mis
ki el turt de Si na - t

des Turs e des A - mo - ra - viz
les mu - tiers ars e po - de - ser - tez
Ri - ches est e - es - te - iz
Pla - ies li fi - rent en cinc lieus
si - man - de tre - stuz ses a - mis
la - se - runt salf le pec - ce - ür
a - Sa - ra - gins nel lai - sum - mais

ki li unt fait tels des he - nors
deus n'i est mais sa - cri - fi - ez
sur n'tuz al tres reis cu - ru - nez
que mort suf - frit e pa - pa - ssi - un
ki lui vo - lent gua - ra - ntir
ne - la - verge dunt il pa - rtid

cher a tort unt cez fieuz sai - siz
chi - va - lers pit cher vus pur pen - sez
De - guer - pit ad e - vair e - sez
or - vus man - de que Cha - ne - gris
qu'il ne li ient fai - lliz - leus
ki bien fer - runt e - pur un s'a - mur
la Roge mer tut ad un fais

8
 bien en de - vums a - veir do - lur
 vus ki d'arm - es les tes prei - sez
 cha - stels e vi - les e ci - tez
 E la gent Sa - nguin le fe - lun

i quant - runt le en grant cel - be soin ser - vir
 le grant po - ple le se - se - guit

8
 cher la - fud - Deu pri - mes - se - rvi
 a ce - lui - voz cors - pre - sen - tez
 il est - tur - nez a ic - e - lui
 Mult li - unt - fait des vi - lains - jous

e Pha - ra - on re - vint a - près

8
 et re - con - nu u pur segn - nur
 ki pur vus fut - en cruiz dre - crez
 ki pur lus nus fut - en en croiz pe - nez
 or lur re - ndez lur guer - re - dun

pur la ven - gance deu fur nir
 il e li suon - fu - rent pe - rit

8
 Ki ore - i - rat od Loo - vis

8
 ja mar d'en - fern n'a - vrat pov - ur

8
 char s'alme en iert en pa - reis

8
 od les angles nostre segnor

APPENDIX E

OIES, SEIGNEUR, PERECEUS

Oies, Seigneur, pereceus

Maistre Ricars

Manuscript: Vatican Reg. Lat. 1490

Orthography according to Vatican Reg. Lat. 1490

1. O - ies sei - gneur pe - re - ceus par oi - seu - se
2. Hel cuers fai - llis mau - vai - se chars hon - teu - se
3. au pe - sme jour cou - re - cous et plain d'i - re
4. Ou - tre la mer en ce - le sain te te - rre

qui - de - mou - res sou - frai - teus de tous biens
a - ves li vous dont de mo - rir pa - our
ou Dieus fu nes et ve - nra fiers et mors et vis

sou - vie - gne vous de la mort an - goi - seu - se
sou - vie - gne vous de la mort do - le - reu - se
et mou - ste - rra ses pla - ies a - le - de - li - our
de - vons a - ler no - stre i - re - taje qu - rre

que li feux Dieu sou - fri au pre - me - rain
ki ert sans fin et tous jours iert poi - ours
en ses co - stes en ses mains en ses pies
car a grant tort en fu pour nous hors mis

il fu li - es en l'es - tache au li - en
ra co - rdons nous a no - stre cre - a - tor
qu'il ot pour nous et fe - ndus et pe - rcies
ki n'i ve - nra il n'ert pas ses a - mis

et fu ba - tus d'es cor - gi - es nou - eu - ses
qui nous vi - ent querre a - grant ci - ere joi - use
n'i car av - ra n'i saint qui pais ost un seul mot di - re
il n'i car av - ra n'i saint qui pais ost un seul mot di - re

nous sa - vons bien qu'il fu en la crois mis
et dit plus "ca har - dis vau - li boin et es - li mei - llour
Dieus nous har - dis vau - li boin et es - li mei - llour
nous har - dis vau - li boin et es - li mei - llour

pour nous ge - ter des pai - nes do - le - reu - ses
k'en dou - ra - dis a mout grant place oi - seu - se
tant pa - te - ront son - mau - fa - lent et s'i - se
k'en pa - ra - dis pui - ssons a - ler sans gue - rre

APPENDIX F

BE.M PAC D'IVERNS

Be.m pac d'iverns

Peire Vidal

Manuscripts: BNF Fr. 22543, and Milan, B. Ambrosiana R 71 sup.

Orthography according to each manuscript source

BNF Fr. 22543

1. Bem _____ pac _____ d'i - vern et et des - tiu _____
6. Quen _____ Fran - sa et in Be - rri _____

Milan R Sup 71

1. Ben _____ pauc _____ di - uern _____ ed' _____ sti - u _____
6. En _____ Fran - za et in Be - riu _____

e de freg e de ca - lor
et vas Pei - neus e vas - Tors

e de freig e de cha - lors
E a pei - teu e a - Tors

et am ai - tan neu com flor
quer no - stre Sen - hor se - cors

et am neus ai - tan com flors
quer Deus ai - de i se - cors

et am mai mort c'a - vol vi - da
pel turcs que te - non fa Dieu - car

e Dels pro mors mais ca uol vi
Dels turchs qel te no fai - viu
diu

may ai - si.m ten es - for sjeu
 el rieu

q'e n'ais sim ten ef for tiu
 Ei llan tolt el vas el riu

e gai jo ven e va lors
 on mon ta ven pe cha dors

e dond gais jo vend e va lors
 mo nda val pe cha dors

e car am do na no ve la
 e tot hoz que nos ri ve la

car am do na no ve lla
 e qi ar' nos re ve lla

so bra vi nen e plus be la
 contr' a quel la gen fra de la

so bra vi nez e plus be lla
 contr' a que sta genz fra de lla

se mbla.m ro za en tre.l jel
 re se mbla za Da ni el

pa rom ro sas in tre gel
 mal se mbla san Da ni el

e clar tams am tre bol sel.
 quel dra go de strus a - bel

e clar tams a tre bol cel.
 cau cis lo dra gon el bel

APPENDIX G

AHI! AMOURS CON DURE DEPARTIE

Ahi! Amours con dure departie

Conon de Béthune

Manuscripts: BNF Fr. 1591, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1490, BNF Fr. 844, 12615, 846, 5198, 845, 847, 1050, and 24406

Orthography according to each manuscript source

BNF Fr. 1591
8
I.He! _____ a - mours con du - re de - par - ti - e

Vatican 1490
8
I.A - hi! a - mours con du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 844
8
A - hi! A - mours com du - re de - par - ti - e _____

BNF Fr. 12615
8
A - hi a - mors com du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 846
8
O - mi a - mors si du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 5198
8
A - hi a - mors com du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 845
8
A - hi a - mours con du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 847
8
A - hi a - mors con du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 1050
8
A - hi a - mors con du - re de - par - ti - e

BNF Fr. 24406
8
Hai a - mours con du - re de - par - ti - e

1591 me cou - va - ndra fai - re de la mei - llour

1490 moi co - ve - ndra fai - re de la mei - llour

844 me cou - ve - ndra fai - re de la mei - llour

12615 me cou - ven - dra fai - re de la mi - llor

846 me co - ve - ndra fai - re de la moi - llor

5198 me cou - ve - ndra fe - re pour la mei - llor

845 me cou - ve - ndra fe - re pour la mei - llor

847 me cou - ve - ndra fe - re por la mei - llor

1050 me cou - ve - ndra fai - re por la mei - llor

24406 me cou - ve - ndra fe - re pour la mei - llour

1591 qui on - ques fust a - me e ne se - rvi - e

1490 ki on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

844 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

12615 ki on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

846 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

5198 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

845 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

847 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

1050 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

24406 qui on - ques fust a - me - e ne se - rvi - e

1591 Dieus me ra - maint a li par sa dou - çour

1490 Deus me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cour

844 Dex me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cour

12615 Dieux me ra - maine a li par sa dou - cour

846 Dex me - ra moint a li par sa dou - cour

5198 Dex me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cor

845 Dex me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cor

847 Diex me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cor

1050 Diex me ra - maint a li par sa dou - cor

24406 Diex me ra - maint a lui par sa dou - cour

1591 si vrai - e - ment que m'en part a dou - lour

1490 si vrai - e - ment con m'en part a do - lour

844 si voi - re - ment que men part a - do - lour

12615 si voi - re - ment ke m'en part a - do - lor

846 si voi - re - ment que j'en part a do - lor

5198 si voi - re - ment con gen part a - do - lor

845 si voi - re - ment con gen part a - do - lor

847 si voi - re - ment con j'en part a - do - lor

1050 si vrai - e - ment con gen part a do - lor

24406 si vrai - e - ment con j'en pert a - do - lour

1591

 las qu'ai - je dit et ne m'en part ge mi - e

1490

 Dieus q'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

844

 las qu'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

12615

 las ka je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

846

 Dex qu'ai je dit je ne m'en part je mi - e

5198

 Dex q'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

845

 Dex qu'ai je dit je ne m'en part je mi - e

847

 Dex qu'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

1050

 Dex qu'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

24406

 Diex qu'ai je dit ja ne m'en part je mi - e

1591 se li cors va ser - vir No - stre Sei - gnour

1490 se li cors va se - rvir No - stre Sei - nor

844 se li cors vait ser - vir No - stre Sei - gnour

12615 se li cors va ser - vir No - stre Si - gnor

846 se li cors va ser - vir No - stre Sei - gnor

5198 liz na mes cors ser - vir No - stre Sei - gnor

845 ? ? mes cors se - rvir No - stre Sei - gnor

847 ? va mes cors se - rvir No - stre Sei - gnor

1050 ? va mes cors se - rvir No - stre Sei - gnor

24406 ? va mes cors ser - vir No - stre Sei - gnour

1591 li cuers re - maint du tout en sa bai - li - e

1490 li ___ cuers re - maint du tout ___ en sa ___ bai - lli - e ___

844 li cuers re - maint du ___ tout en sa bai - lli - e

12615 li cuers re - maint del tot en sa bai - lli - e

846 touz li miens cuers re - maint en sa ___ bai - lli - e

5198 mes cuers ___ re - maint du tout en sa bai - lli - e

845 mes cuers ___ re - maint du tout en sa bai - lli - e

847 mes cuers ___ re - maint du tout en sa bai - lli - e

1050 mes cuers ___ re - maint dou tout en sa bai - lli - e

24406 mes cuers re - maint du ___ tout en sa bai - lli - e

APPENDIX H

ARA POT HOM CONOISSER

Ara pot hom conoisser
 Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
 Manuscript: BNF Fr. 22543
 Orthography according to BNF Fr. 22543

8
 1. A - ras___ pot___ hom co - noi - sser___ e___ pro - ar
 2. Tant a___ do - nor e - noi vol - hon - ratz___ es - tar
 3. Mas tan___ nos___ fai no - stre pe - ccatz___ tor - bar
 4. Dieus si___ lai - sset ven - dre per___ nos___ sa - lvar
 5. Sel que___ fes___ aer e cel e___ terr'___ e___ mar
 6. Nostr' es - tol___ guit sains Ni - cho - laus___ de___ Bar

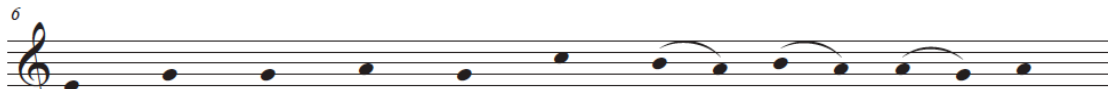
2
 8
 que___ de bos___ fag ren Dieus bon___ gui - zar - do
 q'el___ hon - ra___ ra___ Dieu e pretz e___ mes - sion___
 que___ mortz ve - zen e muers no___ sal - rim___ co
 e.n___ so - ffri___ mort e.n re - ceup___ pa - ssi - on
 e___ caut e___ frieg e vent e___ ploi e___ tron
 e.il___ Ca - mpa - nes drei - sson lor___ go - nfa - non

3
 8
 c'al pros___ mar - ques n'a fag e - mend - e___ do
 e si___ me - teys que tant s'e - ron___ mil___ ba - ron
 car non___ y___ a gai - llart___ ni___ tant___ pro
 e l'au - ni - ront per nos Ju - zeu___ fe - flon
 vol q'el___ sieu___ guit pas - son mar___ tuich___ li___ bon
 e.l ma - rques___ crit "Mo - nfe - rrat___ e.l___ le - on"

4
 8
 que___ fa son___ pretz so - bre.ls me - lhors pu - jar
 en - sems ab___ lui de totz si___ sap hon - rar
 si___ a pla - zer non ai au - tre pe - sar
 e.n___ fon ba - tutz e li - atz___ al pi - lar
 si___ cum gui - det Mel - chi - on___ e Ga - spar
 e.l___ coms fla - mencs "Fla - ndres!" als___ grans colps___ dar

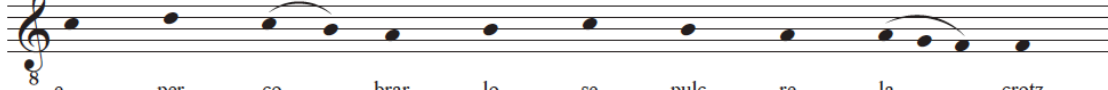
5
 8
 si que.ls cro - zatz de Fran - se___ de Cam - pa - nha___
 q'el hon - ra.ls___ sieus et hon - ra___ gen es - tra - gna___
 e sa ho - nors que an - ta___ nol s'a - frai - gna___
 e.n fon le - vatz el trau q'er'___ en la fai - gna___
 en Be - thle - em que.l plan e___ la mon - tai - gna___
 e fiei - ra.i___ qecs d'e - spaz' e___ lan - sa.i frai - gna___

6



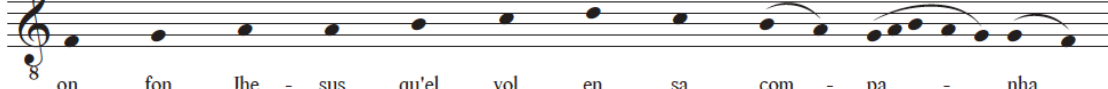
8
l'an quist a Dieu per lo me lhor de totz
per q'es de sus qan l'au tre son de sotz
car con - tr'un toy al plus rics or co rrotz
e co - rre - jatz de co - rre - jas ab - noz
nos to - len Turc e Dieus no.n vol dir motz
que leu au - rem los Turcs totz mortz e rotz
7. Bels Ca - va - liers per nos cui faitz sos e motz
8.No - stre Se - nher nos mand' e.ns ditz a totz

7



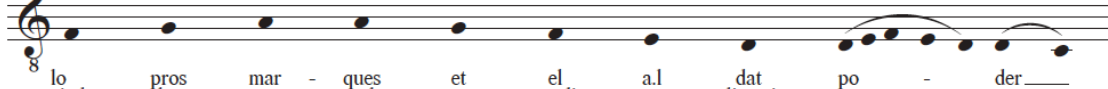
8
e per co - brar lo se - pulc - re la crotz
c'a tal ho - nor a le - va - da la crotz
e Dieus es - gais que son me - zes la crotz
e co - ro - natz d'e - spi - nas en la crotz
mas a - nos taing per en cui fo mes en crotz
e co - bra - rem en camp la ve - ra crotz
8 non sai si.m - lais per vos o.m leu crotz
qu'a - nem co - brar lo se - pul - cr'e la crotz

8



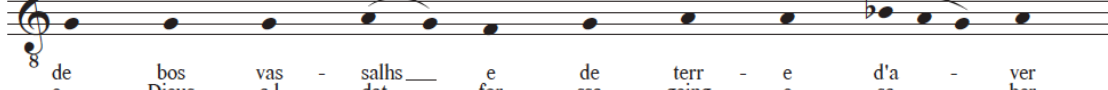
8
on fon Jhe - sus qu'el vol en sa com - pa - nha
que non par ges mais ho - en li so - frai - nha
per que non pot - dre nors qui ga - frai - nha
que q'a dur cor totz e hom que.l dan non pla - nha
c'a - vem lai pa - ssem qui re - mai - nha
ni ni pe - rdut e.il va - len rei d'E - spai - nha
9 e sai qui vo - lra e - sser co - de - men sa co - mpa - nha

8



8
lo pros mar - ques et el a.l dat po - der
c'ad ho - nor - ques est segl' e l'autr' a - ver
per q'ieu fant am li Turc vol s'a ven l'au - tra pla - ver
qe.ns s'a - vol vid' que e sa - lont re - a - pla - ver
vol s'a - vol vid' que e sa - lont re - a - pla - ver
fa - ssant grans ostz so - bre.ls Mours mort - ve - zer
que tant mi fai vo - stre Mours cors nque - rer
10 mue - i - ra per lui si vol vius ma - pla - zer
ner

8



8
de bos vas - salhs e de terr e d'a - ver
e Dieus a.l dat for - ssa geing e sa - ber
de lai mo - rir que sai vius re - ma - ner
la terr' on - rir que sai vius re - ma - ner
q'en laig pe - chat es - tam c'om deu te - mer
que.l mar - ques vai - ost e qand se - re - tge te - ner
q'ieu muor s'ei.us vei e qand se - re - tge te - ner
em pa - ra - dis e fa - ssa som po - der



e	de	ri	-	cor	per	mielhs	far	so	que.l	ta	-	nha.	__
co.ls	ai'	am	-	dos	e	tant	qant	pot	s'en	lai	-	gna	__
en	av	en	-	tu	ra	fos	mi'	Al	a	mai	-	gna	__
don	nos	n'e	-	schai	grans	gerr'	e	grans	me	sclai	-	gna	__
don	qecs	er	__	soutz	si.n	flum	Jo	rdan	si	bai	-	gna	__
so	bre.l	sou	-	dan	e	pass'	en	breu	Ro	mai	-	gna	__
cuich	mo	rir	__	sols	ab	tot'	au	tra	co	mpai	-	gna	__
de	pa	sser	__	mar	e	d'au	cir	la	gen	ca	-	nha	__

APPENDIX I

KARITATZ ET AMOR E FES

Karitzatz et amor e fes

Guiraut Riquier

Manuscript: BNF Fr. 22543

Orthography according to BNF Fr. 22543

1. Ka - ri - tatz et a - mor e - fes
2. Quar ba - ratz a lo - pus per - pes
3. Le mal - vatz mons fals d'en - jan ples
4. Mas gar - datz quon es - Dieus cor - tes
5. Dieu vol - patz mas gue - rra pro - mes
6. Re - co - bratz fo - ra - qui.s vol - gues
7. Si pre - latz reys com - tes mar - ques

e - dre - chu - ra - e - li - al - tatz
per - que.l - mais - ne - va - ga - li - atz
des - li - als - fons - de - mal - ve - statz
qu'el - nos - es - ta - app - a - rell - atz
als - sieus - doncx - qui - er - geu - rrei - atz
lo - luecx - on - Jhe - sus - Cristz - fon - natz
e - to - tas - au - tras - po - zes - tatz

e - chau - zi - men - e - pi - e - tatz
que.l - mals - es - pla - zens - e - pri - vatz
fa - co - be - ze - jar - los - pe - ccatz
ja - tant - no.ns - tro - ba - ra - ta - catz
per - luy - guan - ditz - er - e - sal - vatz
e - vis - e - fon - en - crotz - le - vatz
po - gues - hom - tro - bar - a - cor - dat

e - co - nois - sen - sa - e - mer - ces
tant - que - per - paucx - es - faitz - le - bes
e - per - do.l - tost - tug - sey - con - ques
sol - gar - dem - qui - em - e - qui - es
sol - no.s - re - cre - za - quon - que.l - pes
e.l - sans - se - pul - cres - on - fon - mes
que - plag - ni - gue - rra - no.y - a - a - gues

son - ab - pauc - del - tot - a - ba - tut
pe - ro - am - duy - son - co - no - gut
e - qui - pus - l'a - son - vat - a - ten - vut
quar - elh - nos - ten - pri - bras - a - ten - dut
e - qual - son - a - quist - com - ba - ten - tut
mas - en - mer - cat - o - an - ten - gut
e - fo - sson - tot - li - tort - ren - dut
8. La fe - e - l'o - bra - de - sa - lut
9. Reys n'An - fos - Dieu - per - sa - ver - tut

8
 car le mons es per - pres d'en - jan
 e cre - zem que me - rit se - fan
 mais a gan mul - ti pli - cant son dan
 per gan - dir del mor - tal a - fan
 sylh que.l mon de - sam - pa - ra - tan
 li ric em pren - den que n'au - ran
 e pa - sse - sson de bon ta - lan
 y - ssau - se Dieu com que l'als an
 vos cre - sca po - der e ta - lan

8
 tant que.l pos l'o - bran a sau - butz
 mort que.l si mal e - per a ben sa - lutz
 quar si pert ez per a elh sa - lutz
 ab que.l nostr' es - ta mens se mutz
 e de bo - na na fe fan es - cut
 per que Dieu non lur a val - gut
 tost fo - ran Sa - rra zin ven - cut
 e la Ver ges que.ns y a - jut
 del pretz que qu'ie.l a vetz man ten gut
 10.E.m don qu'ie.l fa - ssa selh tra - ut

8
 c'a pe - nas n'es - dic - pauc - ni - gran
 per Dieu - a - qui.s - ra - tot - de - nan
 per qu'es - pus - folhs - qui - mais - lo - blan
 fort pe - ne - den - e - ben - o - bran
 Dieu ser - van e - lur - crotz - por - tan
 quar pe - tit - per - s'a - mor - hj - fan
 o com - ba - ten - o - pre - zi - can
 pre gan - son - filh - ab - Sant - Jo - han
 luy ser - ven e - ne - micx - so - bran
 que.l ve - ray pe - ne - den - li - fan

APPENDIX J

JERUSALEM, SI PLAINTE ET LI PAÏS

Jerusalem, si plaint et li païs

Huon de Saint-Quentin

Manuscript: BNF Fr. 12615

Orthography according to BNF Fr. 12615

1. Je - ru - sa - lem si - plaint et - li - pa - ïs -
2. No - stre pa - stour gar - dent mal leur pa - ber - bis -
3. Ki o - se - ra ja - mais en nul ser - mon -
4. En ce lui n'a me - su - re ne rai - son -

u quant da - mel - diex souf - fri - mort dou - ce - ment -
de pour Dieu de - par - niers cas - cuns al leu - les - vent -
ki se co - noist s'il n'aie a ven - gi - er -

que de - ça mer a poi - de ses a - mis -
mais li pe - chies les a - a - si - tous sou - spris -
ne an - on - cier ne bien fait ne par - don -
ceuls ki pour Dieu sont de la em pri - son -

ki de son - cors li fa - cent mais ni - ent -
k'il ont mis Dieu en ou - bli pour l'ar - gent -
et pour os - ter lor am - es de dan - gier -

S'il sou - ve - nist cas li - cun del ju - ge - ment -
que sou - ven - ront li - cun ri - che - ni - ment -
puis chose qui puist ront No - stre Seg - neur ai - di - er -
puis c'on muert No - ci on ne doit re - soig - nier -

et del saint lui u il souf - fri tor - ment -
k'il a la - que - rent con - ass - és vi - lai - ne - ment -
a pai - ne n'a - nui querre hon - te ga - aig - ni - er -
ne des - tor - bier -

Quant il faus par - don fist de sa mort Lon - gis -
des u pour Dieu son est k'il sanc tout pa - ia no si - és - pris -
pour Dieu est tout quan c'on fait en en son - çon - non -

le sai - des - croi - sier fe - sis - sent mout en - vis -
se - gneur de - voir k'il ce en - se - ront re - pris -
ki en ren - dra ce cas - cun tel guer - re - don -

8
car se que ki loi son cuers pour au se d'o Dieu tés cors me prent et fai nel le Dieus et tes po crois et si roit pu fois de es re ne tri pri ment ment ier sier

8
il re vos car le to a pa re lu a ra nie ont fait dis au et ce en jor et ce poe a que et on ra il Be tes de le moi lo rent ent gnier ier

8
et ce n'ainc Ji que Deu n'ainc u cas Ro si das cuns lant peu fau a et n'ot ra voit de nus a vos si pa Diu Gue rich ra pra he e dis mis lon don

APPENDIX K

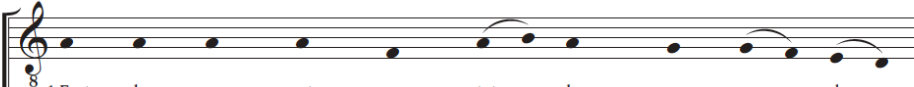
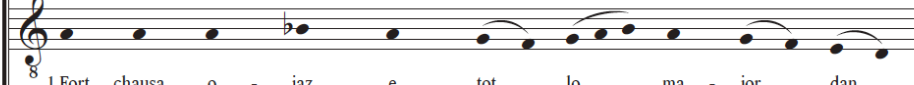
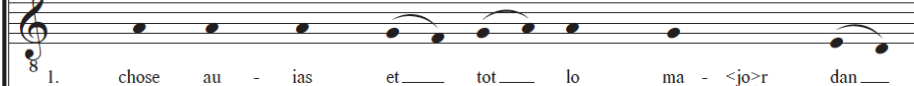
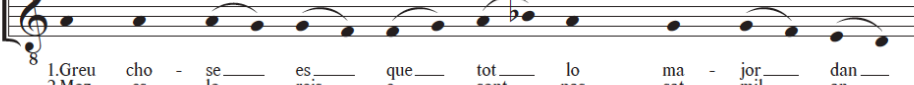
FORT CAUZA ES QUE TOT LO MAJOR DAN


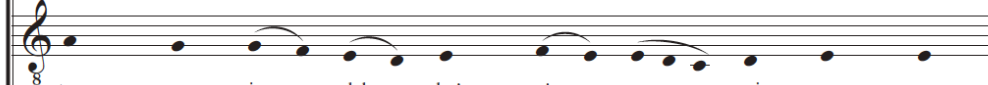
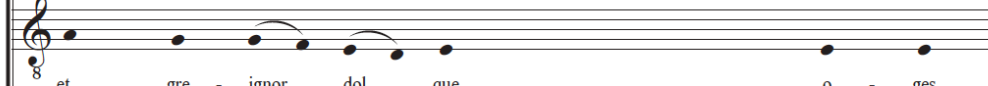
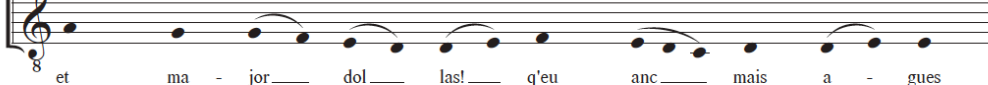
Fort cauza es que tot lo major dan

Gaucelm Faidit

Manuscripts: Vatican Reg. 1659, Milan, B. Ambrosiana R 71 sup., BNF Fr. 844 and 20050

Orthography according to each manuscript source

Vatican Reg. 1659	
	1.Fort cho - se est que tot le ma - ur dam 2.Mort est li rois et sunt pa - sse - ur mil an
Milan R 71 Sup	
	1.Fort chausa o - iaz rei e tot lo ma - jor dan 2.Morç es lo rei e son pas - sat mil an
BNF FR 844	
	1. chose au - ias et tot lo ma - <jo>r dan 2.Mors es lou reis et sont pas - sat mil an
BNF FR 20050	
	1.Greu cho - se es que tot lo ma - jor dan 2.Moz es lo reis e sont pas - sat mil an

1659	
	e le ma - ur doel las! que onc mes a - ges qu'anc tal - puer - dom ne fu ne nel a - ges ne
R 71	
	et ma - jor dol las! q'eu anc mais a - ges qu'anc sig - norz dol non fo ni no ui - ges res
844	
	et gre - ignor dol que non fu ne non o - ges que fals igno - preu - dom non fu ne non ier - ges mes
20050	
	et ma - jor dol las! q'eu anc mais a - ges non non mo - jut hom don fals p(?) - te vien - gues guez

1659
 8 et ja - co dont dei toz jorz plein - dre en plo - rant
 ja - meis nert de son sem - blant

R 71
 8 e ni so que eu de - gra dir en plo - ran
 ja no er mais hom del seu sem - blan

844
 8 que ce c'om deit toz jor de son plo - rant
 ja - mais nus hom non er de son sem - blan

20050
 8 e ne tot qan c'on deu - roit plaindre en plo - rant
 ja - mais nus non roit de son sam - blan

1659
 8 m'a vi - ent a dir en chan - tant et re - trai - re
 tant lars tant pui - sse en chan - tant tal do - nai - re

R 71
 8 m'a - ven a dir en chan - tan e re - trai - re
 tan larcs tan rics tan ar - diz tal do - nai - re

844
 8 m'est bel a dir en chan har - dis taus do - trai - re
 tan larcs tan prous tan har - dis taus do - nai - re

20050
 8 co - vent o - ir en chan - tant e re - trai - re
 tan larcs tan prouz tan har - dis tals do - nai - re

1659 que cil qui est de va - lur chi - efs e pai - re
 a Al - ix - an - dre de lo rei qui ven - qui Dai - re

R 71 que cil q'e - ra de va - lors caps e pai - re
 q'Al - ix - an - dre de lo rei qi ven - qet Dai - re

844 que cil qui es des va - lens qui ven qui Dar - re
 Al - ex - an - dres de lou reis qui ven qui Dar - re

20050 qan cil q'es - tait de va - lor chief et pai - re
 Al - ex - an - dres de lo reis qui con - quart Dai - re

1659 lo ris va - lenz Ri - charz roi des En - gleis
 ne quit qanc tant van charz fist ni tant me - gles

R 71 lo ric va - len Ri - chart rei dels En - gles
 no cre qanc tan do nes ni tan mi - ges

844 lou reis va - lens Ri - chars reis des En - gles
 non cre que tan do nas ni tan me - gles

20050 li rich va - lens Ri - chars reis des En - gles
 non rich do - na lens tan on - ques au - tant ne - gles mais

1659
8
est morç! o i Deu! quex per te et que dams est
ni onc Kar les ne Ar tur lo vau sist

R 71
8
es morç! a Deu! qal perdra e qal dan es
ni anc Kar le ni Ar tus tan val gues

844
8
es mors! he las! qual dol et com per dens
non fist Char lous ni Ar tur tan non mes

20050
8
es morç! he Diex! qals dous e qals per te
non cuit Char les ni Ar tus lo vol gues

1659
8
e cum dur mots cum sau vage a u ir
qu'a to le monde se fist qua veist veir dir

R 71
8
com es - traing mot con sal vage a au zir
qu'a tot lo mon se fes qi vol ver dir

844
8
com es - traig mot et sal vage ad au zir
qua tot lou mout a fer qui viaut veir dir

20050
8
con es treins moz sal va ges a o ir
plus tot lo mon se fist ges que veir volt dir

1659
8
bi - en a - dur quer toz hom qui
as - vus do - mar et as au - tres grazir

R 71
8
ben als a un dur cor toz hom qe.l pot sos - frir
als do - tar et als au - tre gra - çir

844
8
com as a vus dur dou - cor tals hom qui pot su - frir
as vus dou - tar et as au - tres gra - zir

20050
8
molt as a vus dur dou - cuer nus et hom qe.l pot sof - frir
as vus dou - tar et as au - tres gra - zir

APPENDIX L

NO M'AGRAD IVERNS NI PASCORS

No m'agrad iaverns ni pascors

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras

Manuscript: BNF Fr. 22543

Orthography according to BNF Fr. 22543

8

1.No m'a - grad i - verns ni pas - cors
 2.Car d'amors m'es fall - i - da. - flors
 3.Pe - ro no.m co - man - da ho - nors
 4.Bels ar - matz e bos da ri - dors
 5.Anc Al - ey - san dres - fe no fes - cors
 6.Doncx que nos val con - quitz ri - cors

8

ni clar temps ni fuelhs de gua ricx
 e,ls dos grans el frug els es - ricx
 si be.m sui i - ratz ni e - picx
 set ges e ca - la bres e - picx
 Car les ni.l lo rey Lo do ycx
 qu'eu ja.m te - ni - a per plus - ricx

8

car don mos e - nans me par de - sricx
 q'ieu gau - zi' ab - zens pre - zicx
 e don don gaug a mos e - ne - micx
 tan trou - car murs nous et an - ticx
 qand er' am - atz e n'Ay n'fis - me - ricx
 a - micx

8

e tug miçy ma - jer gaug do - lors
 e tro - ba - va pretz e vi - lors
 tan q'en per - da pretz ni lau - zors
 e ven - sser ba - pretz tai - llas e tors
 ni Rot lan ab fos po nhe - dors
 e.m pai - ssi' ab n'En gles a - mors

8

e son mal - trag tug miçy le - zer
 e,n sa - bi' en - tre.ls pros ca - ber
 q'an - car puosc dan e - non pro te - ner
 vei et aug e non puosc a - ver
 no sau - bron tan gen con que - rer
 n'am a - va mais un sol pl - zer

8

e des - es - pe - rat miçy es - per
 er a.m fai - d'aut en bas ca - zer
 e sai d'i rat joi - os pa - rer
 ren qe.m puosc' ad ad am - or va - ler
 tan ric em pe - ri - per po - der
 qu sai gran terr' e gran gran a - ver

8 c'ay - si.m sol a - mors e dom - neys _____
e sai en no.m sem - bles es - freys _____
e vau tre.ls cer - can - tins Gre - zecx _____
cum nos don - po plus - ja mos no - stra neys _____
c'a des on on plus mos po - ders leys creys _____

8 te - ner gay co fay l'ai - ga.l peys _____
anc fla ma plus tost non s'es - teys _____
el mar que que l'es pa - za.m seys _____
ge rras e coi tas e ducs tor - neys _____
q'em pe - ra dors e mi me - reys _____
ai ma - jor ir' ab mi me - zeys _____

8 e pus d'am - duy mi soi par - titz _____
q'ieu re' rrey - es a - teins e soi par - titz _____
gue - rrey - a - lay Blancx re - Dro - gitz _____
don sui con que ren en ri - gitz _____
a faitz e cha - en stels gar - nitz _____
pois vem mos Bels Ca - va - lliers gra - zitz _____
7.Per nos er Do - mas en en va - zitz _____

8 com homs is - si - lhatz e mar - ritz _____
e per anc - dutz en faitz et fon en - digz _____
e pois jois d' - mor m'es bas - titz _____
prop dels Turcx e dels A - ra fai - litz _____
e jois m'es e gnatz e fu - bitz _____
e Je - ru - za - lem con que - ritz _____

8 tot' au - tra vi - da.m sem - bla mortz _____
lo jorn - qe.m lo de sco - nortz _____
nul ha gen non fetz tant d'es - nortz _____
totz los mons no.m pa - rri' us - fortz _____
et u - bertz los nai - ca - mins e.ls portz _____
don mais no.m nai - sser - a co - nortz _____
e.l reg - nes de Su - ri' es - tortz _____

8 e tot au - tre joy des - co - nortz _____
que non mer - ma cum qe.m re - fortz _____
cum nos cuy - Dieu a gent es - fortz _____
ni mos chans no m'es mais con - fortz _____
de Bra - ndis tro al mais Sant - Jors _____
per q'es ma - jer - l'ir' e plus fortz _____
que.ls Turcx o tro - bon en lur - sortz _____

APPENDIX M

SELECTED TEXTS OF CRUSADE SONGS

Anonymous Trouvère, *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*

Orthography according to Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Dep. Erf. Codex Amplonianus 8°

Knights, you are under good safeguard, Since it is before you that God introduces his trial Against the Turks and the Almohads, Who have greatly shamed Him. Certainly, it is wrong that they have seized his fiefs: It is right that we feel pain, Because that is where God was first served And acknowledged as our Lord.	Chevalier, mult estes guariz, Quant Deu a vus fait sa clamor Des Turs e des Amoraviz, Ki li unt fait tels deshenors. Cher a tort unt ses fieuz saiziz; Bien en devums avoir dolor, Cher la fud Deu primes servi E reconuu par segnuur.
--	---

Whoever will go with Louis Will never have fear of Hell, Because his soul will be in Paradise With the angels of our Lord.	Ki ore irat od Loovis Ja mar d'enfern avrat pour, Char s'alme en iert en pareis Od les angles nostre Segnor.
---	---

Rohais ¹⁹⁹ is taken, you know it well, Christians are dismayed by this, The Churches are burned and ruined: God is no longer worshipped ²⁰⁰ Knights, think of it, You who are prized in arms, Offer your bodies as a gift To Him who, for you, was drawn up on the cross.	Pris es Rohais, ben la savez, Dunt crestiens sunt esmaiez, Les mustiers ars e desertez: Deus n'i est mais sacrifiez Chivalers, cher vus purpensez, Vus ki d'armes estes preisez, A celui voz cors presentez Ki pur vus fut en cruiz drecez.
---	--

Whoever will go....	Ki ore irat....
---------------------	-----------------

Take the example of Louis, Who has more possessions than you; He is rich and powerful, Crowned above all the other kings: He left furs of vair and gray, Castles and towns and cities: He left these for the One who, For us, was tortured on the cross.	Pernez essample a Lodevis, Ki plus ad que vus nen avez: Riches est e poesteiz, Sur tuz autres reis curunez: Deguerpit ad e vair e gris, Chastels e viles e citez: Il est turnez a icelui Ki pur nus fut en croiz penez
---	---

Whoever will go....	Ki ore irat....
---------------------	-----------------

¹⁹⁹ Rohais is another name for the city of Edessa.

²⁰⁰ This is how I've chosen to interpret this phrase. Others have said "the Eucharist is no longer celebrated" or "God is no longer sacrificed."

God delivered his body to the Jews
For us to take us out of prison.
They wounded him in five places,
So that he endured death and passion.
Now He tells you that the Canaanite
And the Sanguin people, these felons,
Have fought Him with awful weapons.
Now pay them their reward!

Whoever will go....

God has started a tournament
Between Hell and Paradise,
And he asks all of his friends
Who want to defend Him
That they do not fail Him....

Whoever will go....

Now the son of God the Creator
Has set a day to be at Rohais:
There sinners will be saved

.....
Who will strike will and who,
For the sake of Him, will serve Him in
this need

.....
To procure the vengeance of God.

Whoever will go....

Let us go and conquer Moses,
Who lies on Mount Sinai;
Do not leave him with the Saracens any
longer
Nor the rod from which he separated
The waters of the Red Sea at one stroke
When the great people followed him;
And the Pharaoh came after him:
He and his men perished.

Whoever wil go....²⁰¹

Deus livrat sun cors a Judeus
Pur metre nus fors de prisun ;
Plaies li firent en cinc lieus,
Que mort suffrit e passiu.
Or vus mande que Chaneleus
E la gent Sanguin le felun
Mult li unt fait des vilains jeus :
Or lur rendez lur guerredon !

Ki ore irat....

Deus ad un turnei enpris
Entre Enfern a Pareïs,
Si mande trestuz ses amis
Ki lui volent garantir
Qu'il ne li seient failliz....

Ki ore irat....

Char le fiz Deu al Creatur
Ad Rohais ester ad un jorn mis:
La serunt salf li pecceür

.....
Ki bien ferrunt e pur s'amur
Irun ten cel besoin servir

.....
Pur la vengeance Deu furnir.

Ki ore irat....

Alum conquere Moïses
Ki gist el munt de Sinaï;
A Saragins nel laisum mais,

Ne la verge dunt il partid
La Roge mer tut ad un fais,
Quant le grant pople le seguit;
E Pharaon revint après:
Il e li suon furent perit.

Ki ore irat....

²⁰¹ Translation of Bédier and Aubry, 8-12.

Maistre Renaut, *Pour lou pueple resconforteir*
Orthography according to French Manuscript C.

To comfort the people
Who have been in darkness for so long,
I want to sing to tell you
Of the great damage and pain
That the pagans are doing overseas
To the land of Our Lord.
We must reclaim this land as ours,
Because all of us will go there on the same
day.

Jerusalem laments and cries
For help, he delays too long.

On the same day? Who can know?
I have spoken too boldly.
No, Lords, I tell you the truth:
It will be the day of judgment.
This land belongs to the heirs,
Those who have been baptized,²⁰²
Where the son of God wanted to suffer
For us, pain and torment.

Jerusalem....

It is great mourning when we lose
The true Sepulchre where God was placed,
And when the holy places are deserted
Where our Lord was served.
Do you know why God supported it?
He wishes to test his friends,
Who have offered him their service
To avenge Him against His enemies.

Jerusalem....

All the people had lost their way
And were heading towards perdition;
But the cross put them on the true path
And turned them towards redemption.
The most felonous and the least prized

Pour lou pueple resonforteir
Ke tant ait jeut en tenebrou,
Vos vuel en chantant resonteir
Lou grant damage et la dolour
Ke li païen font outre meir
De la terre Nostre Signor.
Cel païx devons nos clameir,
Car tuit i irons a un jor.

Jerusalem plaint et ploure
Lou secors, ke trop demoure.

A un jour? Ki le puet savoir?
Trop ai pairleit hardiment.
--Certes, signor, je vos di voir:
Ceu iert a jor del jugement.
De celle terre sont cil hoir
Ki ont ressent baptissement,
Ou li filz Deu volt reservoir
Por nous la peine et lou torment.

Jerusalem....

Mout par est grans duels quant on pert
Lou vrai sepulcre ou Dues fut mis,
Et ke li saint leu sont desert
Ou Nostre Sire estoit servis.
Saveis por coi Deus l'ait souffert?
Il vault esproveir ces amis,
Ki servise li ont offert
A vengier de ces anemis.

Jerusalem....

Tous iert li pueples desvoiés
Et torneis a perdition;
Mais la croix les ait ravoïés
Et torneis a redemption.
Li plus faus et li moins prixiés

²⁰² Logically, these two lines should be switched—Those who have been baptized are heirs of this land where the son of God...

Can be absolved,
Provided he goes away, having taken the
cross,
In the promised land.

Jerusalem....

The promised land is named
Jerusalem, I tell you this.
In this land, where God was born,
Is the temple where he suffered
And the cross where he was tortured
And the sepulcher where he was
resuscitated.
There will be given a good reward
To those who have earned it.

Jerusalem....

What do the kings think? They do great
damage
That of France and that of England,
When they do not go to avenge the Lord
And liberate the Holy Cross?
When they come to judgement,
Only then will they show good faith:
If they miss God, He will miss them.
He will say: "I do not know you."

Jerusalem....

Princes, dukes, counts, who have
In this century all of your enjoyments,
God has summoned you and asked you:
Leave your cities and castles.
Leave to meet the Spouse,
And carry with you jars of oil:
If the light is found in your lamps,
The reward will be most wonderful.

Jerusalem....

Puet avoir absolution,
Maix k'il s'en voist et soit croixiés
En terre de promission.

Jerusalem....

Terre de promesse est nomeis
Jerusalem, je le vos di.
En cele terre ou Deus fu neis
Est li temples ou il soffri
Et la croix ou il fu peneis
Et le sepulcre ou surrexit.

Lai iert li boens luyiers doneis
A ceauls ki l'avront deservit.

Jerusalem....

Ke pensent li roi? Grand mal font
Cil de France et cil des Anglois,
Ke Damedeu vengier ne vont
Et delivreir la sainte croix?
Quant il a jugement vanront,
Dont lor parrait lor bone foi;
Se Deu faillent, a lui fauront.
Il dirait: "Je ne vos conois."

Jerusalem....

Prince, duc, conte, qui aveis
En cest siècle tous vos aviaus,
Deus vos ait semons et mandeis:
Guerpissiés villes et chaistiaus.
Encontre l'Espous en aleis,
Et si porteis oille en vaixialz:
S'en vos lampes est feus trouveis,
Li gueredons en eirt mout biaux.

Jerusalem....

Ah! They do not know the meaning of these words;
What are these lamps, oil, or fire?
The lamps are good people
Who love and fear God,
And always do his service:
There is a well-lit fire.
He will go with the innocents
The one who is intent on performing good deeds.

Jerusalem...²⁰³

E! lais, n'en cognoissent lou sens;
Ke sont lampes, oile, ne feus?
Lampes, se sont les bones gens
Dont Deus est ameis et cremus,
Ke son servixe font tous tens:
Lai est bien alumeis li feus.
Cil irait o les innocens
Ke en bone oeuvre iert conxeüs

Jerusalem...

²⁰³ Bédier and Aubry, 78-82.

Folquet de Romans, *Quan lo dous temps*
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript C

When the gentle season arrives and the
cold departs
and I find a great number of subjects,
it makes me want to sing, because I have
abstained from it for too long;
But I have been prevented from sorrow
and grief
when I see the disaster
and the destruction of Christendom
and see the whole world in turmoil;
This is why I cannot make myself feel
great gladness.

Counts and kings, dukes and emperors
and many barons and many rulers
I see waging war out of sheer caprice
and the strong are robbing the weak of
their goods.
But we shall all die, as we well know;
everyone will abandon their heritage
and all the wrongs and sins
we shall rediscover on the day of
judgment

Alas! Wretch, how bitter will be the pain
and what shall we say when we are
gathered together
on the flowery meadow where we shall
see
God on the cross for all of us sinners
and so cruelly wounded in the side
and crowned with piercing thorns!
The we shall all wish we had
recovered the true cross and the holy
sepulcher.

Quan lo dous temps ven e vay la freydors
e de razo atruep mout gran viutat,
ben dey chantar, quar trop n'aurai estat;
e a m'o tout marrimentz e dolors
que ai quan vey anar a perdemen
e destruyr sanhta crestiantat
e tot segle vey perdut e trobat;
per qu'ieu no.m puesc dar gran
esbaudimen.

Comtes e reys, ducs et emperadors
e manh baro e manhta poestat
vey guerreyar per plana voluntat
e.l fort tolon als frevols lurs honors.

E morrem tug, so sabem veramen;
Doncx laissara quascus sa heretat
e so qu'avem de tort e de peccat
trobarem totz al jorn del jutjamen.

Ailas! caitiu, con grieus er la dolors
e que direm quan serem ajostat

en camp florit on veyrem clavellat

Dieus en la crotz per totz nos peccadors
e pel costat naftrat tan malamen
e de ponhens espinas coronat!
Adoncx volgram quascus aver cobrat
la vera crotz e.l sieu sanh monimen.

When God says: "Those who have suffered cold and heat on my account and spilled their blood and have revered and feared and loved me and have served me and done good to me and honoured me, those people will live in joy, without sorrow, and those who have wronged and sinned against me will ineluctably -for [their sin] will not be forgiven them- fall into the burning fire of Hell."

Then it will be the day of grief, and pain and tears, when God will say: "Go, unfortunate wretch, into Hell where you will be tormented forever with pain and suffering, because you did not believe that I suffered cruel tortures; I was killed for you, and you ill remembered it!" But those who died while on crusade will say: "And we, Lord, we died in the same way for You!"²⁰⁴

Quan Dieus dira: "Selhs qu'an freyzt ni calors sufert per mi ni lur sanc escampat e m'an blandit e temsut et amat e m'an servit e fag be et honors,

aquilh seran ab gaug, ses marrimen,

e selhs qu'auran de mi tort e peccat,

ses falhimen, que no.ls er perdonat, cayran laÿns el foc d'ifern arden."

Adoncs er fag l'ira e.l dols e.l plors quan

Dieus dira: "Anatz, malaürat,

yns en infern on seretz turmentat per tostemps mais ab pena e ab dolors, quar non crezetz qu'ieu sufri greu turmen;

mortz fuy per vos, don vos es mal membrat!"

E poiran dir selhs que morran crozat:

"e nos, Senher, mort per vos eyssamen!"

²⁰⁴ Arveiller and Gourian, 104-105.

Conon de Béthune, *Ahi! Amours con dure departie*
Orthography according to French Manuscript M

Ah! Love, what hard parting
I will have to make from the best lady
That one has ever loved and served!
May God in his goodness bring me back
to her
As surely as I leave her with grief!
Ah! What have I said? I do not part from
her:
If my body goes to serve Our Lord,
The heart remains wholly in her service.

Sighing for her love, I am going to Syria,
Because I must not fail my Creator.
Whoever fails him in this need,
Know that God will fail him in greater
distress;
And know well, the high and the low,
That this is where we must have chivalry,
Because we conquer paradise and honor
And praise and worth and love of lady.

God! We have idled so long without doing
anything!
Now we shall see who is valiant,
We shall go to avenge the painful
dishonor
Which makes everyone angry and
ashamed
For in our times the holy place
Where God suffered death for us has been
lost;
If we now leave our mortal enemies,
Our life will be forever shameful.

He who does not want to lead a
humiliating life,
Should seek to die for God, uplifted and
rejoicing
For this death is sweet and agreeable
By which one gains the precious kingdom;
Not one person will die from death,
But all will be reborn into a glorious life;

Ahi! Amours, con dure departie
Me convendra faire de la meillour
Qui conques fust amee ne servie!
Dex me ramaint a li par sa douçour
Si voirement que m'en part a douleur!
Las! qu'ai je dit? Ja ne m'en part je mie:
Se li cors vait servir Nostre Seignour,
Li cuers remaint du tout en sa baillie.

Pour li m'en vois souspirant en Surie,
Quar nus ne doit faillir son Creatour.
Qui li faudra a cest besoig d'aïe,
Sachiez que il li faudra a greignour;
Et sachiez bien, li grant et li menour,
Que la doit on faire chevalerie,
Qu'on i conquiert paradis et honor
Et pris es los et l'amour de s'amie.

Dex! tant avom esté preu par huiseuse!
Or i parra qui a certes iert preus,
S'irom vengier la honte dolereuse
Dont chascuns doit estre iriez et honteus,
Car a no tanz est perduz li sains lieus
U Dieus souffri pour nous mort
angoisseuse;
S'or i laissom nos anemis morteus,
A touz jours mais iert no vie honteuse.

Qui ci ne veut avoir vie anuieuse,
Si voist pour Dieu morir liez et joieus,
Que cele mors est douce et savereuse
Dont on conquiert le regne precieus;
Ne ja de mort nen i morra uns seus,
Ainz naistront tuit en vie glorieuse;

Anyone who returns will be happy
Glory will for evermore be his spouse.

All of the clergy and the old men
Who stay behind performing acts of good
Will also participate in this pilgrimage,
As well as the ladies who live chastely
And remain faithful to those who go
And if by evil counsel they sin,
They will sin with cowardly and evil men,
For all the good men will go on this
journey.

God is beseiged in his holy heritage;
Now it will manifest how those will aid
him whom
He released from the dark prison,
When he was put on the cross the Turks
have.
Shamed will be those who stay at home,
Unless they are poor, old, or diseased;
And those who are healthy, young, and
rich
Cannot remain without shame.

Alas! I go weeping to that place
Wher God wants to purify my heart;
I know well that, of the best lady in the
world,
I will think more of than this voyage.²⁰⁵

Qui revendra mout sera eüreus:
A touz jours maiz en iert Honors
s'espeuse.

Touz li clergie et li home d'aage
Qui en aumosne et en bienfaiz manront
Partiront tuit a cest pelerinage,
Et les dames qui chastement vivront,
Se loiauté font a ceus qui i vont,
Et s'eles font par mal conseil folage,
A lasches genz et mauvais le feront,
Quar tuit li bon iront en cest voiage.

Dieus est assis en son saint hiretage;
Or i parra con cil le secourront
Cui il jeta de la prison ombrage,
Quant il fu mors en la crois que Turc ont.

Sachiez cil sunt trop honi qui n'iront,
S'il n'ont poverte u vieillece u malage;
Et cil qui sain et joene et riche sunt

Ne pueent pas demorer sanz hontage.

Las! je m'en vois plorant des ieus du front
La u Dieus vuet amender mon corage;
Et sachiez bien qu'a la meillour du mont

Penserai plus que ne di au voiage.

²⁰⁵ Bédier and Aubry, 32-36.

Anonymous, *Un serventois, plait de deduit, de joie*
Orthography according to French Manuscript H

A *serventes*, a plea of pleasure, and of joy,
I will start at God's command,
So that He may teach us the way and the
path
To go to Him without any difficulty.
Let us all go quickly
with Him, who calls and exhorts us,
prepared to assemble His troops:
And the reward He gives us is paradise
Forevermore for our salvation.

Un serventois, plait de deduit, de joie,
Commenceraï au Dieu comandement,
Qu'il nos enseint le chemin et la voie

D'a li aler sanz nul ecombement.
Alon en tuit et très isnelement
Avec celui qui nos apele et proie,
Amanevi a son asenblement:
En guerredon paradis nos otroie
A toz jors mais por nostre salvement.

Stanza lost.

Jerusalem, you are discouraged!
Misfortune has come upon you.
Christendom has abandoned you!
The sepulchers and temples are lost,
Which once were held in veneration
You were once served and honored:
It is in you that God was crucified.
Now the Pagans have devastated and
destroyed you:
Bad reward will be their recompense!

Jerusalem, tant est desconfortee!
Sur toi en est li damages venuz.
Cresientez t'a trop abandonnee!
Li sepulcres et temples est perduz,
Qui fu jadis en grant chierté tenuz.
Bien fus a droit servie et onoee:
Dieux fu en toi cloffichiez et penduz.
Or t'ont païen essilliee et gastee:

Mals gueredons lor en sera renduz!

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When the king of Paris is disparaged,
That they thought his soul had left him;
And when he returned to life,
He requested the cross and one gave it,
Who witnessed such a beautiful miracle.

Quant li rois de Paris fu esperduz,
Qu'il cuidoient que l'arme en fust alee;
Et quant il fu en vie revenuz,
La croiz requist et cil li a donee,
Qui tesmoinz fu de si beles vertuz.

France, you should have great dignity;
Above all you deserve to be honored:
God requests your aid and assistance
To deliver his land from the pagans:
This is why he resurrected the king.
He took the cross to purify his live,
And so, he goes, if God wills, overseas.

France, bien dois avoir grant seignorie;
Sur totes riens te doit on enorer:
Diex te requiert et secors et aïe
Por son païs de païens deliverer:
Por ceu a fait le roi resuciter.
Pris a la croiz por amender sa vie,
Si s'en ira, se Deu plaist, outre mer.

All his barons will be his companions;
The count of Artois will lead his host.

Tuit si baron lui feront compaignie;
Li cuens d'Artois ira ses oz guier.

To the noble king who rules France
Go, *sirventes*, relay your message,
That he does not forget the land of Syria:
He can no longer delay here.
Paris advises him loyally
That he quickly leads his armies to the land
of Romania.
Easily he will be able to conquer them
And baptize the sultan of Turkey;
Then he will be able to liberate the whole
world.

Au riche roi qui France a en baillie
Va, serventois, ton message conter,
Qu'il n'oblit pas la terre de Surie:
Ne puet pas ci longement demorer.
Paris lui veut en bone foi loer
Qu'il maint ses oz gran terre en Romanie.

Legeierement la porra conquerer
Et batisier le sodant de Turquie;
Par ce porra tot le monde aquiter.

He will reconcile the emperor and the pope,
Then he will cross the sea with a great
navy;
The pagans will not be able to resist him;
He will conquer all of Turkey and Persia:
And he will go to Babylon to be
crowned.²⁰⁶

L'empereor face au pape acorder,
Puis passera la mer a grant navie;
Ne le porront li païen endurer;
Tot conquerra et Turquie et Persie:
En babiloine ira por coroner.

²⁰⁶ Translation by Victoria Choin.

Gaucelm Faidit, *Ara nos sia guitz*
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript C

Now may our guide
be the true God Jesus Christ,
since noble and joyful people
I have left for Him,
among whom I have been brought up,
honored and appreciated—
So I beg him not to be displeased
If I go away in sadness—
Ah! you noble Limousins,
in your honored land
I leave fine companions,
lords and neighbors
and ladies of refined merit,
excellent, of great courtliness,
and this makes me lament and languish
and sigh night and day!

But whatever appeal is heard
to stay behind,
nothing will stop me
no riches I may have
no lands, no conquests,
If I fulfill my vows
after the start of May
I will be ready
to return, if god allows it,
but, if my death pleases Him
on this pilgrimage;
I thank him for everything!
With hands joined together in submission
I turn towards his sovereignty
so that the ports and paths
He will make ready in Syria.

Honored and rewarded is
the one whom God does not forsake,
for God desires and tests
the brave and the bold;
and has chosen these
and abandoned the unworthy
and the wicked people
by whom He is betrayed.

Ara nos sia guitz
lo vers Dieus Jhesus Cristz,
car de franca gen gaia
soi per lui partitz,
on ai estat noirtiz
et onratz e servitz—
Per so.il prec no.il desplaia
s'ieu m'en part marritz—
Ai! gentis Lemozis,
el vostre dous païs
lais de bella paria,
seignors e vezis
e dompnas ab pretz fis,
pros, de gran cortesia,
don planc e languis
e sospir nuoig e dia!

E cals que sia.l critz
de remaner auzitz,
ja nuills bes qe.m n'eschaia
ni rics luocs aizitz
no.m tenra, ni conquistz,
s'avia.ls votz complitz
c'apres calenda maia
no sia garnitz
del torn, si Dieus m'aizis,
e, s'a lui platz, ma'fis
en leial romavia;
lo tot li grazis!
pero, mas joins, aclis,
prec vas sa seignoria
qe.ls portz e.ls chamis
nos adreis vas Suria.

Honratz es, e grazitz,
cui Dieu non es faillitz,
car Dieus vol et essaia
los pros e.ls arditz;
et aquels a chauzitz,
e laissa los aunitz
e l'avol gen savaia
per cui es trahitz.

Ah! Unlucky wretches,
you cause your own death!
For wealth and riches
deprive you of paradise;
you are greedy and feeble
to the point of not one of you
being able to please God,
so God disowns you.

Henceforth, the Antichrist
to the great damage of the world;
has emerged, because all Good has lost
courage
and Evil has advanced:
He has seized the wealthy wrongdoers,
and has taken them to sleep;
and sin, which fills them with terror,
makes them unhappy and sad;
because the king of Paris
prefers, at Saint-Denis
or over ther in Normandy,
to take all the pounds
that Saïf-al-Din possesses
and holds guard,
He is certain that things
will be as they should!

Now let us leave the abandoned
who remain disgraced;
and, by sincere
and good works,
we have served
the truthful Holy Spirit,
who prays that with
vigorous feats of arms we will
do great damage to the Saracens,
so that we conquer
the holy places, and the way
is open to the pilgrims,
which Saladin took from us;
and the pious Virgin,
blessed by god,
is our protection!

Ai, chaitiu, mal assis.
vos eis vos etz aucis!
c'avers e manentia
vos tol paradis;
q'avar etz e ressis
tan c'us far non poiria
q'a Dieus abellis,
per qe Dieus vos desfia.

Oimais es Antecristz
al dan del mon issitz;
que totz lo bes s'esmaia,

e.l mals es saillitz,
qe.ls fals rics a sazitz
e pres et endormitz;
e.l pecatz qe.ls esglaia
los ten morns e tristz;
qe.l reis cui es Paris
vol mais, a Sain Daunis
o lai en Normandia,
conquerr' esterlis
que tot cant Safadis
a ni ten en baillia,
don pot esser fis
c'aissi cum deura sia!

Er laissem los giquitz
remazutz, escarnitz;
et, ab l'obra veraia
de bona razitz,
sia per nos servitz
lo vers Sains Esperitz,
cui pregem que.ns atraia
ab faitz afortitz
a dan dels Sarrazis,
si q'en sia conquis
lo Sains Luocs, e la via
faita als pelegris,
que nos tolç Saladis;
don la Vergena pia,
cui Dieus benezis,
nos sia garentia!

Fair, precious Emerald,
May you and the brave Poitevins
be saved by God, and lady Maria
who has won noble worth
and may my lady Elis
know well, and truly,
that I am her subject
wherever I go or stay.²⁰⁷

Bels dous Maracdes fis,
vos e.ls pros Peitavis
sal Dieus, a Na Maria
qu'a bon pretz conquis
e ma domna Elis
sapcha be, ses bausia
qu'eu li sui aclis
on qu'eu an ni estia

²⁰⁷ Mouzat, 461-468.

Folquet de Marseille, *Chantars mi torn'ad afan*
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript C

I become grieved singing,
when I remember Sir Barral,
and then love no longer concerns me.
I do not know how, or about what, to sing,
but everyone demands a song
without concerning themselves about its
theme
which I must create
from scratch – both the words and the
tune.
And so, forced and without desire,
I sing madly, out of obligation;
my song will be worthy and proper,
if it is neither good nor bad.

Lovers bear a resemblance
to a rich man, envious of another;
for they always, with heartfelt grief,
reduce their joy when they possess more
of it –
just as the aperture of a window
diminishes if one places [things] in it.
The more a man acquires of what he seeks
the more does he have of the
consequences.
Hence, I hold as better
than a king or an emperor
the man who overcomes both these faults,
which overcome most barons.

It would be good if man were to value
God as much as himself, or Good as much
as Evil!
But man values things without merit,
And clings to material gain – to his own
loss.
Hence, on the topic of your profit, I do not
dare
sing to you, for it is not known as a good
thing
in this world and I do not believe he would
please

Chantars mi torn'ad afan
quan mi soven d'En Barral,
e pos d'amor plus no'm cal;
no sai com ni de que chan,
mas quex demanda chanso;
e no.lh cal de la razo,

qu'atressi m'es ops la fassa
de nou, quom los motz e.l so;

e pos, fortaz, ses amor,
chan per deut'e de follor,
pro er mos chans cabalos,
si non es avols ni bos.

Amador son d'un semblan
e.l ric cobe d'atretal,
qu'ades ab dolor coral,
mermon lor ioi on plus n'an -

qu'en luec de fenestra so
que merma s'om i apo,
q'on plus pren quex so que cassa
plus a del segr'ochaiso;

per qu'ieu tenh sel per melhor
ques rey ni emperador,
qui cels mals aips vens amados
que venso.l plus dels baros.

Bon fora s'om prezes tan
Dieu com si ni ben com mal!

Mas so prez om que no val,
e so pro ten hom a dan;

per qu'ieu no.us aus vostre pro
dir chantan, que no sab bo

al segle ne cre que.l plassa
qui.l di ren si so mal no;

who spoke of things that were bad.
However, of the dishonour [there will be]
I can speak, if the Turks (who by
themselves were conquered and are now
brought low),
although conquered, conquer us!
They certainly vanquished us,
and we do not contest the mortal shame of
it.

If we were loyal,
this would direct us towards a great
honour.
For it was God's gracious plan for us
That the wealthy might find forgiveness
(they who act more fragile than glass
at the demand for abstinence)
and fight with praise.
God has taken into his service
many whose confession alone
would not have pleased him, had this not
existed.

And so, what are our barons doing,
as well as the kind of England (whom God
saves)?
Do they believe they have done their job?
It would be a very base trick
if they acted generous
but others were to pay for it!
The Emperor sought
with God to reclaim his kingdom,
and to the first who follows, and assists, to
him God grants His own kingdom,
which is good and proper – the gift is so
precious
that the reward should be too.

To the French king, reestablish your glory
by redoing that which did not hold firm!
I say, were there the assistance
that is needed, that he is not frightened of
it;
and if he does not go now that it is the
proper time,

mas pero la desonor
puosc dir, si.l Ture (entre lor
son vencut ni baissa jos),

son vencut venson nos!
Be.ns venson, pos nuilh deman
non fam de l'anta mortal.

e si nos fossen leyal
tonnera.ns ad honor gran;

qu'us cortes gienhs de Dieu fo
que.lh ric trobesson perdo -
qui.s fan pus frevol de glassa
qui d'estenensa.ls somo -

mas combatten ab lauzor;
n'a Dieus pres enson labor
mains que ja confessios
no.il plagra, s'aquo no fos.

Doncx, nostre bar que fan
ni.l reys engles cui Dieus sal?

Cuid'aver fait son jornal?
Mout i aura lag engan
s'el a fag la messio
et autre fan la preiso!
Que l'empeaire.s percassa
cum Dieus cobres sa reio,
que primiers cre que.i secor
si Dieus li rent sa honor,
be.s tang - tan es tix lo dos

qu'aitals sia.l guizerdos.

Al rei frances, lau refassa
.l tornar c'om no.lteng'a bo!
Per qu'eu dic, s'era.i secor
qu'es ops, que no.s don paor;

e s'ar no.i vai qu'es saisos,

I say that he is shamed twice over!

dic c'aunitz es per un dos!

Sir Azimans knows me very well,
and I value him even more fir his merit
because with my lord Sir Barral
merit and generosity died,
just as if there had never been such things.

N'Azimans mout mi sap bo,
e mout enpretz mais valor,
c'ab En Barral, mon seignor,
es mortz pretz e messios
aissi cum s'anc res no fos.

Sir Tomstemp, you and I,
we are each joyful for the other.²⁰⁸

En Totztemp, et ieu e vos
em l'us per l'autre joios.

²⁰⁸ Schulman, 233-235.

Folquet de Marseille, *Consiros, cum Partitz D'amor*
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript C

I am troubled, as though separated from
love;
I sing torn between joy and tears.
My grief, tears and piteousness
come to me from my lord, the count
who became a crusader to serve God.
But I am joyous since God exalts him
and wants Christianity
to return through him to joy!
May God be thanked and praised for it!

And since God, in his great sweetness,
gives us such a leader,
truly cowardly, miserable and bereft of
honour,
is he who remains, while honoured,
and thanked is he who goes -
since, for the one going, there is the
expectation of goodness, joy, grace,
valour, and honour
and remission of sin.

And the conquests that our ancestors
won in terra Major,
we, who do not step to his aid, are losing -
including the cross where Jesus suffered,
and died, and arose for us,
which I know to be in jeopardy!
If one has the ability, and the inspiration
seizes him
to go to its deliverance,
[.....] if it is pleasing to God.

And so, as a lofty prince
God has given them more valour.
It is he, who remains who is therefore
guilty.
He who, to augment his wealth,
when he hears about what others endure,
remains and belittles them,
murmuring against God,

Consiros, cum partitz d'amor,
chant mesclatz de joy e de plor;
quar dols e plors e pietatz
me ve del comte mo senhor
quez es per Dieu servir crozatz,
et ai joy quar Dieus l'enansa
e vol que la crestiandatz
torn per luy en alegransa!
E sia.n Dieus grazitz e lauzatz!

E pus Dieus, per sa gran doussor,
nos baylha tal capelhador,
ben es recrezens e malvatz
qui rema e partitz d'onor,
e qui vai grazitz et honoratz -
que l'anars es esperansa
de ben e de joy e de gratz
e de valor e d'onoransa
e desliuramens de peccatz.

Que.l conquist que nostr'ansessor
conquisteren Terra Major
perdem qui no.l secor viatz -
e.ill crotz on Ihesus pres dolor
e mort, e.y fo per nos lecatz,
e qui sai rest'en balensa!
Si n'a poder e.l te foudatz

d'anar a sa desliuransa,
....., si a Dieu platz.

Qu'aissi cum son princep aussor
e Dieus lur a dat mais valor;
es qui rema pus encolpatz,
e qui, per creysser sa ricor
quant auzira.ls autres passatz,
resta, e los dezenansa,
contra Dieu s'es aconselhatz,

[it is he who] God will take vengeance upon -
such that he will be cornered and check-mated.

They should be fearless,
secure, and good warriors,
those who go, for straight away on their side
will be Saint George, and god will be with them,
who has both absolved and commanded them.
and whoever dies, without a doubt,
will be crowned in heaven as a martyr,
for the Lord guarantees it for him -
He who is called "God" and "King" and "Man."

The man in whom God recognizes wisdom and vigour,
also has the honour of all good worth,
for he is a count, and will be called King;
he is first in saving
the Sepulchre where God was placed.
And may God by his great mercy, as he is indeed the Trinity,
guide him, and protect him
against the false and unbaptized Turks.

And whoever does not run to the rescue
will hardly be delivered by Him.
and God will easily remember
those who forgot Him,
for they remain in his mind
for doing wrong instead of acts for peace.²⁰⁹

e Dieus penra en venjansa -
tal qu'e.l corn del taulier n'er matz.

Molt devon esser ses paor,
segur e bon guerreyedor
silh qu'iran, qu'ades er de latz
Saint Jorgi, e Dieus er ab lor,
que los a absoutz e mandatz;
e qui murra, ses doptansa
er e.l cel martir coronatz;
qu.l Senher l'en fay fiansa
qu'es Dieus e Reis e Hom clamatz.

Selh cui Dieus set sen et vigor
et a de totz bos pretz l'onor,
qu'es coms et er reys apellatz,
ajuda premiers e secor
al Sepulcre on Dieus fo pauzatz;
e Dieus, per sa gran pitansa,
si cum es vera Trinitatz,
lo guid e.ill fass'amparansa
sobre.ls fals Turcs desbateiatz.

E qui al desliurar non cor
greu sera per lui desliuratz;
e greu n'aura Dieus membransa
d'aquels per cui es oblidatz,
que reston a sa pezansa
per mal far e non ges per patz.

²⁰⁹ Schulman, 239-241.

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *Ara pot hom conoisser*
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript A

Now men may know and prove
that for fair deeds God gives a fair
guerdon,
for He has bestowed on the noble Marquis
a recompense and gift,
granting him to surpass in worth even the
best,
so that the Crusaders of France and
Champagne
have besought God for him, as the best of
all men,
to recover the Sepulchre and the Cross
whereon lay Jesus, who would have him
in His fellowship;
and God has given him (the Marquis)
true vassals and land and riches
and high courage in abundance, so that he
may the better perform his task.

So great is his honour and his wish
to be honoured that he honours God
and worth and munificence and himself,
and were there a thousand barons in his
company,
he would know how to be honoured by all
for he honours his own and he honours
strangers,
so that he is exalted when the others are
abased.
With such honour has he taken the cross
that no further honour seems wanting,
for it is with honour that he would possess
this world and the next,
and God has given him the power, the wit,
and the wisdom to possess both,
and for this he strives his utmost.

He who made air, sky, land and sea,
cold and heat, rain, wind and thunder
desires all good men to cross the sea under
his guidance,
as He guided Melchior and Gaspar

Ara pot hom conoisser e proar
que de bos faitz rend Dieus bon guizerdon
c'al pro marques n'a faich esmend' e don
q'el fai son pretz sobre.ls meillors pojar
tant qe.il crozat de Frans' e de Campaigna
l'an quist a Dieu per lo meillor de totz
e per cobrar lo sepulcr' e la crotz
on Jhesus fon, q'el vol en sa compaigna
l'onrat marques, et a.il Dieus dat poder
de bons vassals e de terr' e d'aver
e de ric cor per far miels so que.il taigna

Tant a d'onor ecol honratz estar
q'el honra Dieu e pretz e mession
e si mezeis, que s'eron mil baron
ensem ab lui, de totz si sap honrar,
q'el honra.ls sieus et honra gen straigna,
per q'es desus qan l'autre son desotz;
c'a tal hnor a levada la crotz
que non par ges mais honors li sofraigna,
c'ad honor vol est segl' e l'autr' aver,
e Dieus a.l dat forssa, geing e saber
co.ls ai' amdos, e tant qant pot s'en laigna.

Cel qui fetz air' e cel e terr' e mar
e freig e caut e ploi' e vent e tron
vol q'el siu guit passon mar tuich li bon
si cum guidet Melchion e Gaspar

to Bethleem; for the Turks take from us
the plain and the mountain, and God has
no mind to break silence.
But it behoves [sic] us, for whom He was
put on the Cross,
to go yonder, and whoever remains here
will live an ignoble life and die a perilous
death,
for we stand in great and fearful sin,
from which each will be delivered if he
bathes in the river Jordan.

For our salvation God permitted Himself
to be sold,
and He suffered death and accepted the
Passion,
and for us the felon Jews outraged Him,
and He was beaten and bound to the
column,
and was raised on the beam which stood in
the mire,
and was scourged with knotted scourges
and crowned with thorns on the Cross;
wherefore he is hard of heart who does not
grieve
for the hurt done to us by the Turks,
who[’s] purpose [it is] to hold
the land where God willed to dwell, alive
and dead.
So it falls to us to wage a great war and a
great combat.

But we are so troubled by our sin that we
live as though we were dead,
I know not how.
For there is no man so bold and so valiant
but that his every joy is countered by a
sorrow,
and there is no honour which does not turn
to shame,
for even the most fortunate pays for each
pleasure with a thousand vexations.
But God, for whom we make the sign of
the cross,
is joy, and he who wins Him cannot lose.

en Bethleem, que.l plan e la monaigna
nos tolen Turc, e Dieu no.n vol dir motz.

Mas a nos taing, per cui fo mes en crotz,
que lai passem, e qui que sai remaigna
vol s’avol vid’ e sa greu mort vezer,
q’en laig pechat estam c’om deu temer,
don qecs er soutz si.n flum Jordan si
baigna

Dieus si laisset vendre per nos salvar,
e.n soffri mort e.n receup passion,
e l’auniront per nos Jezue fellon,
e l.n fon batutz e liatz al pilar,
e.n fon levatz el trau q’er’ en la faigna
e correjatz de correjas ab noz
e coronatz d’espinas en la crotz
per q’a dur cor totz hom qe.l dan non
plagna
qe.ns fant li Turc que volont retenir
la terr’ on Dieus volc mortz e vius jazer,
don nos n’eschai grans gerr’ e grans
mesclaigna.

Mas tant nos fai nostre pechatz torbar
que mort vivem e no sai dire com,
c’un no i a tant gaillart ni tant pro,
si a un gauch non ai’ autre pesar,
ni es honors q’ad anta no s’afraigna,
car contr’un gauch a,l plus rics mil
corrotz.
Mas Dieus es gaugz per c’om si seign’ en
crotz,
per que non pot perdre qui lui gazaigna;

So, if it please Him,
I would rather die yonder than remain
alive here in peril,
though I were a lord of Germany.

May Saint Nicholas of Bari guide our
fleet,
and let the men of Champagne raise their
banner,
and let the Marquis cry "Montferrat and
the lion!"
and the Flemish Count "Flanders!" as they
dealt heavy blows;
and let every man strike then with his
sword and break his lance,
and we shall easily have routed and slain
all the Turks,
and will recover on the field of battle the
true cross which we have lost.
And let the valiant kings of Spain ensure
that great armies vanquish the Moors,
for the Marquis prepares to assemble his
host and lay siege against the Sultan,
and will soon pass through Romagna.

Our Lord commands and tells us all to go
forth and liberate the Sepulchre and the
Cross.
Let him who wishes to be in His
fellowship
die for His sake, if he would remain alive
in Paradise, and let him do all in his power
to cross the sea and slay the race of dogs.

Fair Knight, for whom I compose
melodies and verse,
I know not whether for your sake I should
refrain or should take the cross,
nor do I know how I am to go
or how I am to remain;
for your fair person delights me so greatly
that I die if I look on you,

per q'ieu am mais, s'a lui ven a plazer,
de lai morir que sai vius remaner

en aventura, fos mi' Alamaigna.

Nostr' estol guit sains Nicholaus de Bar,
e.il Companes dreisson lor gonfanon,
e.l marques crit "Monferrat e.l Leon!",
e.l coms flamencs "Flandres!" als grans
colps dar,
e fieira.i qecs d'espaz' e lansa.i fraigna,
que leu aurem los Turcs totz mortz e rotz
e cobrarem en camp la vera crotz
c'avem perdut;
e.il valen rei d'Espaigna fassant grans ostz
sobre.ls Maurs conquerer,
que.l marques vai ost e setge tener
sobre.l soudan e pass' en breu Romaigna.

Nostre Senher nos mand' e.ns ditz a totz
qu'anem cobrar lo sepulcr' e la crotz;

e qui volar esser de sa companha
mueira per lui, si vol vius remaner
em paradis, e fassa som poder
de passer mar e d'aucir la gen canha.²¹⁰

Bels Cavalliers, per cui fatz sos e motz,
non sai si.m lais per vos o.m leu la crotz,
ni sai cum an ni sai comen remaigna,
que tant mi fai vostre bels cors plazer

²¹⁰ Linksill, 217-220.

and when I cannot look on you I think I
die again,
companionless in every company save
yours.

q'ieu muor s'ie.us vei e, qand no.us puosc
vezer,
cuich morir sols ab tot' outra compaigna.

Austorc d'Aurillac
Orthography according to Troubadour Manuscript C

Oh God! Why did you bring this great
misfortune
on our generous and courtly French King,
when you allowed him to suffer such
humiliation?
Him, who labored to serve you with all
his power,
He devoted his heart and mind
to you and by night and day served you,
and strove to do what would please you
for this you have given him poor
recompense.

Ah! You find folk, gracious and courtly,
who crossed the sea! So well fitted!
We shall never see you return to this land,
For this has great grief spread throughout
the world
May Alexandria be cursed,
cursed be all the clergy,
and the Turks who have caused you to
remain!
God has done badly in so empowering
them.

I see Christendom completely shamed;
It has never suffered such as loss.
This is the reason why men disbelieve
God,
and why we worship Bafomet in his stead,
Tervagan and his company,
for God and Holy Mary
will it that we be vanquished, contrary to
all justice,
and that the infidel carries off the honours.

I would that the emperor had taken the
cross,
and that the Empire had been left to his
son,

Ai Dieus!, per qu'as facha tan gran maleza
de nostre rey frances larc e cortes,
quan as sufert qu'aital ant'aia preza?
Qu'elh ponhava cum servir te pogues,
que.l core e.l saber hi metia
en tu servir la nueg e.l dia,
e cum pogues far e dir tom plazer
Mal guizado l'en as fag eschazer.

Ai, bella gens avinens e corteza
que outra mar passetz! Tam belh arnes!
May no.us veyrem tornar sai, de que.m
peza,
don per lo mon s'en es grans dols empres.

Mal dicha si' Alexandria,
e mal dicha tota clercia,
e mal dig Turc que.us an fach remaner!

Mal o fetz Dieus quar lor en det poder.

Crestiantat vey del tot a mal meza;
tan gran perda no cug qu'anc mais fezes.
Per qu'es razos qu'hom hueymais Dieus
descreza,
e qu'azorem Bafomet lai on es,
Sercagan e sa companhia,
pus Dieus col e Sancta Maria
ques nos siam vencutz a non-dever,
e.ls mescrezens fai honratz remaner.

L'emperaires volgr'agues la crotz preza,
e qu'a son filh l'emperis remazes,

and that the French nation had rallied to
him
against the false clerics in whom
Faithlessness holds sway:
and who have slain Worth and Chivalry,
slain all Courtliness,
and care little for what afflicts others,
provided only that they can lie amid
luxury.

Ah! Valiant king, if you had the greatness
of Alexander, who conquered the whole
world,
you would avenge the humiliation you
have suffered.
Remember Charles.....
.... Gerard and his...
....., if you call these to mind,
the wicked Turks will be at your mercy...,
for God lends ready aid to a firm
resolve.²¹¹

Saint Peter held to the right path,
but the Pope has strayed from it
he and the false clerics who he holds in
his power
and who, just for money's sake, wish evil
upon so many folk...²¹²

e que.s tengues ab luy la gens franceza
contra fals clercx en cuy renha no-fes;
qu'an mort pretz e cavalairia,
e morta tota cortezia,
e prezo.s pauc qui a son desplazer,
sol qu'ilh puesco sojornare jazer.

Ai, valens reys, s'avias la largueza
d'Alexandre, que tot lo mon conques,
vengarias la gran anta qu'as preza:
remembre te de Karle.....
.....de Girart cum v....
....., s'o be.t sovenia,
tost veiram Turcx fello.....,
quar bon secors fai Dieus a ferm voler.

Sanh Peire tenc la drecha via,
mas l'apostolis la.lh desvia
de fals clergues que ten en som poder
que per deniers fan manh.....

²¹¹ This stanza has been filled in by A. Jeanroy.

²¹² Jackson, 176-177.