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## Early Crusade Songs

Crusade songs came to us almost entirely from the repertoires of the troubadors and trouvères.<sup>1</sup> That in itself seems to be a fact of great importance, for coexisting in the musical spectrum of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were other important repertoires. Alongside the secular, vernacular chant of troubadors and trouvères there was, on the one hand, the Latin sacred chant still cultivated in the monasteries, and, on the other hand, an entirely distinct repertory, that of the new polyphonic or "part-music," which flourished not at court nor in the monastery but in the great urban cathedrals of the north, especially at Notre Dame de Paris. The remarkable aspect is that—as far as I can determine—this polyphonic repertory has practically no instance of Crusade songs, certainly none as explicitly connected with the Crusades as those we will see here.<sup>2</sup>

Let me explore this situation briefly. In the last half of the twelfth century, polyphony, heretofore practiced on an experimental basis, developed into a systematic musical style with artistic achievement and international recognition.<sup>3</sup> This development took place under stylistic conditions that can be called "Gothic," that is to say, in an environment shared with Gothic architecture and using musical techniques specifically analogous to those of the

new architectural style manifested at Saint Denis, Notre Dame de Paris, and elsewhere. Indeed the center of the new polyphonic art was at Notre Dame and remained in Paris for the next hundred years. This kind of music was characteristically composed and executed by clerics—but not monks—attached to urban cathedrals as permanent musical staff. Sometimes these musicians were associated also with the university, specifically the one on the Left Bank. The kind of music they cultivated required new skills and special training; it could not be sung by a traditional *trouvère*, and only slowly did it penetrate the courtly environment. After 1250 we find polyphonic works—*motets*—with secular vernacular texts and themes of courtly love, but with increasingly bourgeois tone. Up until that point, however, the new polyphony had apparently no contact with the courts, and it would seem that the virtual absence from the polyphonic repertory of references to the Crusades reflected a lack of interest on the part of northern urban, bourgeois, intellectual, and clerical circles. It suggests that the Crusades were simply not a concern of these segments of society, being rather associated with the landed baron and his entourage. The polyphonic repertory abounds with references to contemporary events—and with moral, political, and social satire and criticism, so it is not the case that polyphony was isolated from the world of events. Rather, I would guess it was the courtly *trouvères* who were becoming isolated: in purely musical terms the future belonged to polyphony, and the monophonic *trouvère* repertory was about to go out of existence. The same might be true, perhaps, of the social groups these repertories represented.

In general terms, the troubador repertory contains songs whose texts are Provençal. The repertory emerged around 1100 and continued past 1200, but was seriously inhibited by the Albigensian Crusade, which laid waste many of the southern courts where the art of the troubadors flourished. The art was under noble patronage, beginning with William IX of Aquitaine, and indeed some noblemen are credited with songs—which probably means the texts rather than the melodies. But it does not seem possible to equate troubador with noble singer, and there seem to have been

professional singers included under this term as well. Only around 270 troubador melodies are preserved, although the number of texts is much greater.

Trouvère songs have French (that is, northern French) texts. This repertory began about the same time, around 1100, but flourished uninterrupted through the thirteenth century. Noblemen were sometimes involved, but the professional element is perhaps more clearly apparent in the north than in the south; also apparent in the north toward 1300 is an eventual spread from the courtly environment to a bourgeois one, and in the course of this shift the trouvère repertory lost much of its aristocratic tone.

Both repertories are preserved in anthology manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century—manuscripts composed after the fact and several steps removed from whatever form the songs originally took. Upon this fact depend the various uncertainties concerning this kind of song. The uncertainties mostly relate to the music: the texts are fairly secure, except for the order of stanzas for a given song preserved in several sources, where the order may vary substantially. In the case of the melodies, however, there is enough variation in manuscript sources to make us wonder whether melody and text were ever composed as an inseparable unit, or whether instead a given text could be sung to whatever melody the performer fancied. There are a number of cases where one text is provided with three or four completely independent melodies. This circumstance casts certain aspects of the music in doubt.

During the past century scholars produced categorical answers to many of these questions, though more recently there has been a tendency to admit that during two centuries of development things might have been done differently at different times. The best example concerns the rhythm of the songs. The manuscripts, in most cases, give no indication of the relative length of notes in a song. Shortly after 1900 several scholars tried to read these songs in so-called modal rhythm, a system involving long and short notes known to have been used in other repertories—specifically polyphonic music—developing around 1200 in northern France. The modal interpretation was energetically pursued: in one of the

more spectacular episodes of musical research, two investigators, Jean Beck and Pierre Aubry, contested each other's priority in making the interpretation; when the question could not be resolved, they dueled. Aubry was killed; Beck came to this country and settled in Philadelphia. More recent interpretations, alas, tend to be nonmodal, and range from the declamatory mode of performance proposed by Hendryck Van der Werf to free, chantlike rhythms.

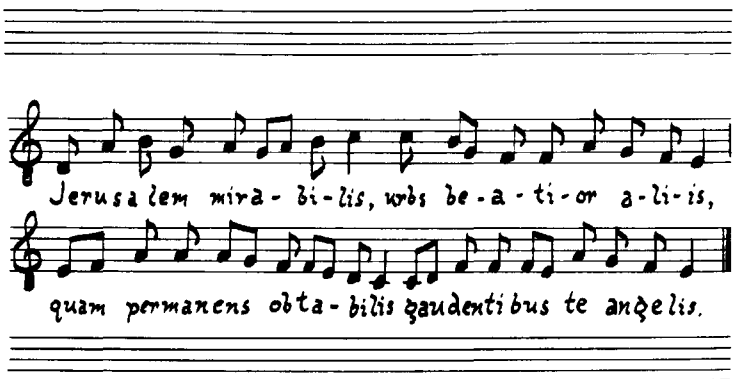
The matter of instrumental accompaniment has been—and still is—vigorously debated. You can hear modern recorded performances with elaborate instrumental preludes and accompaniment based upon a hypothesis of near-Eastern, specifically Arab, influence.<sup>4</sup> It is true, of course, that Western musicians made contact at this time with Arabs, both in the Iberian peninsula and on Crusade; whether this contact resulted in the transplant of instrumental practice is hard to say. It is admitted that the melodies themselves were not affected. In general, there is no hard evidence for any specific kind of instrumental practice at this time. I myself am a supporter of the indigenous Latin chant theory, which holds that the music of troubadours and trouvères can be satisfactorily explained as a consequence of the thriving, extensive repertoires of sacred Latin chant composed by Franks during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. And in spite of Arabian influence proposed for the rhyme schemes of Provençal verse, still the technique of rhyme and especially scansion have much in common with the eleventh century Latin *versus*.<sup>5</sup>

In considering transfer from one culture to another, an image, visual motif, or artifact being transferred as a self-contained detail is one thing; a musical idiom or technique is something quite different, for the meaning of a musical motif depends almost entirely on convention and context, and these require substantial periods of time for effective transplant. In any case, substantial Arabian influence on musical practice seems firmly documented only after the thirteenth century.

While the overall effect of Van der Werf's study may be felt to be negative, pruning back as it does a century's categorical and over-

enthusiastic conclusions, still Van der Werf provides a very believable picture: the texts are at the center of troubador and trouvère art; the text is what the named artist composes. This text is then sung by the professional musician as part of his personal repertory. He draws upon a stock of melodic formulas, which are as standardized in outline as the lengths of the lines of the poetry. Perhaps a text would acquire several different ones. In either case the melody was a vehicle for the text. These melodic formulas can be derived from, or at least understood in terms of, the vigorous repertory of sacred chant currently composed during the eleventh century.

Indeed, the earliest Crusade song I know about happens to be in Latin and comes from a monastery. The song, *Jerusalem mirabilis*, appears in the famous Aquitanian MS Paris B.N. Latin 1139 (early twelfth century), which also contains a dazzling collection of the new rhyming, scanning Latin *versus*, the first Provençal songs, the liturgical play *Sponsus*, and some early polyphony.<sup>6</sup> All



of this simply demonstrates the conflux of new ideas in art and music at the Abbey of Saint Martial in Limoges, where the manuscript originated. The song itself, said to have been written for the First Crusade in 1095, is a simple exhortation, set to a strophic melody characteristic of the eleventh-century hymn repertory. Typical emphasis is placed upon the Holy Land as the place where Jesus lived: then strophe 7 says,

Illic debemus pergere  
 nostros honores vendere  
 templum dei adquire  
 Sarracenos destruere.

[There must we go, selling our goods to buy the temple of God, and to destroy the Saracens.]

The most famous troubador Crusade song is surely that of Marcabru, the troubador with the most notorious character—self-conscious, self-assured, disdainful. The song, *Pax in nomine Domini*, has a Latin incipit; the rest of the text goes on to describe the *Lavador*—cleansing place—that God has prepared overseas, and also memorializes Marcabru's Duke William. The structure of the stanza is more complex than that of a hymn, and so is the melody.<sup>7</sup>

Pax in nomine Domini! Dist Marca - brus lou vers el so.

Au - jatz que di: Cum nos a fait par sa dou - sor,

Lo Seignourius celes - ti - aus Probet de nos un la - va - dor,

C'anc fors outra mar, no'n fon taus, En de lai deves Josaphas; —

E - d'a\_\_ quest de sai vos — co - hort. —

The rest of my examples are taken from the *trouvère* repertory, and from the basic study by Bedier and Aubry, *Les Chansons de Croisade*, which includes a collection of some thirty of the best, most representative Crusade songs; I am using the texts and melodies as established in that study. As with all aspects of the *trouvère* repertory, no systematic morphological treatment makes sense: basic lines of development are not known, basic laws or categories cannot be established. Individual songs can, however, sometimes be dated on internal evidence or on the basis of attribution (although both grounds are often shaky), and a presentation following the chronological order set out by Bedier seems preferable to a systematic one.

Songs from the earliest Crusades are rare; most date from the end of the twelfth century and after. *Chevalier, mult estes guariz* has been dated 1146, at the time of the Second Crusade (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 3–16). The text is an exhortation to follow King Louis VII on his Crusade to avenge the sack of Edessa (Rohais in the song) in 1144; this was the event that also evoked the participation of Saint Bernard. The lines of the text are relatively short—eight syllables instead of the more usual ten or eleven—while the stanza is relatively long—twelve lines, including a refrain. The refrain sets forth what seems to be the motto of Crusade songs:

He who goes with Louis, what has he to fear from hell? For surely his soul will dwell in Paradise with the angels of our Lord.

The simple idioms of the melody group the twelve lines into sixes, and beyond that into pairs. The simpler phrases show the kind of melodic idiom easily associated with the declamatory rhythm.

Another of the earlier songs, *He Amours! con dure departie* attributed to Conon de Béthune, typifies the love song, specifically the farewell song, that became popular with the Crusades (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 27–37). The song is dated after 1189; Conon died in 1204. The poet explores the conflict between commitment to the Crusade and love of his lady: his conclusion is embodied in the refrain,

Se li cors va servir Nostre Seingnour,  
Li cuers remaint du tout en sa baillie.

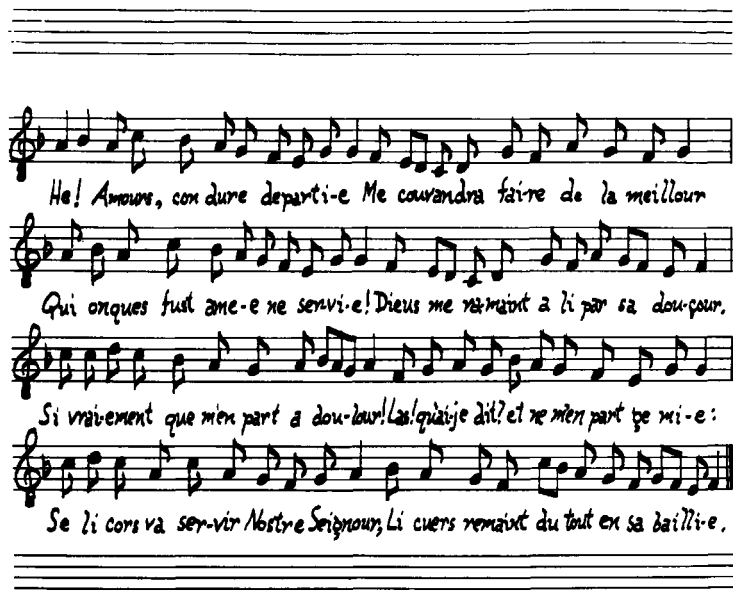
[If my body goes to serve our Lord, my heart remains faithful to her.]

The text alternates lines of ten and eleven syllables, in an eight-line stanza—one of the most favored arrangements. Masculine and feminine rhymes are paired, and the first two pairs are sung to the same music in a musical structure frequently encountered: this structure establishes a clear block of material at the opening of the

Che-va-lier, mult es-tes qua-riz, *Chant* Deus nus fait sa clamur  
Des Turs e des A-mo-ra-riz, Ki Li ont fait tel des-ho-nors.  
Cher, a tort unt ses, fieuz sai-siz, Bien en de-vons a-veir do-lur,  
Cher la fud Deus pri-mes servi E re-con-nu-[u] se-gneur.  
Ki ore i-ra-t od Lo-o-vis Ja n'ar d'enfern arret pour,  
Char s'aine en iert en pa-re-is Od les an-gles nostre Seignon.



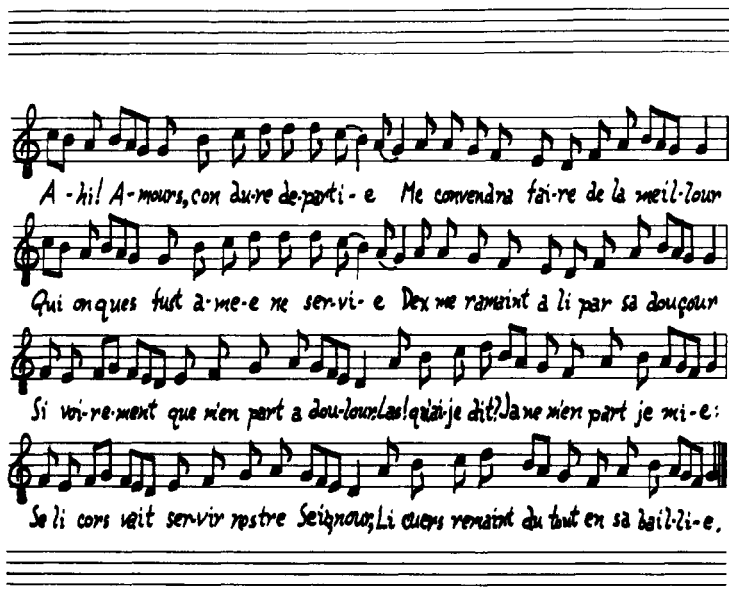
stanza—the opening couplet. The first pair ends “open,” that is, on a musical tone that requires continuation, while the second pair ends “closed.” The third and fourth pairs, in this particular piece, are similarly arranged.



He! Amours, con dure departi-e Me courandra faire de la meillour  
 Qui onques fust ame-e ne servi-e! Dieus me ramaint a li par sa dou-our,  
 Si vraiment que m'en part a dou-lour! La! qu'ai-je dit? et ne m'en part ge mi-e:  
 Se li cors va ser-vir Nostre Seignour, Li cuers remaint du tout en sa baillie.

The formal principles embodied here are characteristic of the trouvère repertory as a whole: articulation of the stanza, in text and music, is always foremost in the trouvère's mind. There is, on one hand, a wide variety of stanza constructions, on the other, a concentration on the particular form seen here.

This song comes to us with three melodies; in this second melody you can hear an analog of the stanza construction of the first, expressed in a completely different melodic inflection. From hearing *one* melody for a given song, we are impressed, I think, with the care and purpose with which text and melody are matched;



A - hi! A - mours, con dure de parti - e Me convendra fai-re de la meil-lour  
 Qui onques fust a-me-e ne servi- e Dex ne ramaint a li par sa douçour  
 Si vi-re-ment que rien part a dou-lour! (qu'ai-je dit?) Je ne mien part je mi-e:  
 Se li cors vait servir nre Seignour, Li cuers remaint du tout en sa bail-li-e.

but from hearing *two* melodies we can begin to understand how the matching is due not so much to individualized creation but rather to standardized, interchangeable parts. This modular quality of construction is characteristic of several things at once: first, of the end of a phase of development, in which the original impulse of Latin song spread out and spent itself in the secular repertories; second, characteristic of the Gothic style of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which maximized modular construction in many ways; and characteristic, finally, of the art of the *trouvère*, singing texts with the help of a standardized, memorized repertory of melodic settings.

Many of the Crusade songs are songs either of love or exhortation, such as the examples we have seen. Those on love are easily understandable as the perennially popular subject of song given added poignancy by the special event; those on exhortation are equally understandable as propaganda. A significant number of

other songs, however, include comment or even criticism—sometimes bitter—on circumstances attendant upon the management of the Crusades.

*Bien me deüsse targier*, also attributed to Conon and dated 1188, starts as a love song, then in a more obscure passage seems to refer critically to a tax levied on the Crusades by Phillip Augustus, but subsequently used in the struggle with Henry II (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 41–50).

I should put off to some other time the making and singing of songs, since I must leave my beloved; and I can make this boast—which is true—that I am doing more for God than any other lover; this gives me great joy for my soul, but for my body nothing but sorrow. . . . No, no matter how much I desire, I would not stay here with these tyrants who have taken up the cross so that they may tax clerks, citizens, and soldiers. Greed has made more Crusaders than has faith. But this cross that they bear will not be their salvation. In the case of this kind of Crusader, God will indeed be patient if he does not soon avenge himself

Bien me de-üs-se tar-pier De chançons faire et de moz et de chanz,  
 Quant je me doi esloigner De la meillor de toutes les vail-lanz,  
 Et si en puis faire voi-re van-tan-ce Que je faz plus, pour Dieu, que nus amanz,  
 Si en sui mult en droit l'ame joi-anz, Mes j'ai du cors et pi-tié et pe-sor-ce.

of them. You who tax the Crusaders, do not spend in this way the proceeds of this tax; for by that you become enemies of God. Alas, what will His enemies do, when the righteous tremble with fear before Him who never lies? The sinners will fare badly if His pity does not prevail on His power.

The melody is less problematic: there is a straight-forward opening couplet with open and closed endings, then four more phrases of different melodic substance.

Sometimes it is hard to distinguish songs of exhortation from moral criticism, especially if the song is addressed—as *Parti de mal* seems to be—to the barons (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 67-73).

Having renounced evil and turned to good, I wish to make my song heard by the people, for God has called us to help Him, and no *preudome* should fail Him; He has deigned to die for us on the cross, for which He should be paid back, for by His death are we all redeemed. Neither counts, nor dukes, nor kings with their crowns can easily divest themselves at their death; for when they have amassed

Parti de mal e a bien a-tur-né, Voil na chanson a la qent fere o - ir,

K'a sun besuing nus ad Deus a-po - lē, Si ne li deit nul prosdo-me fail-lir;

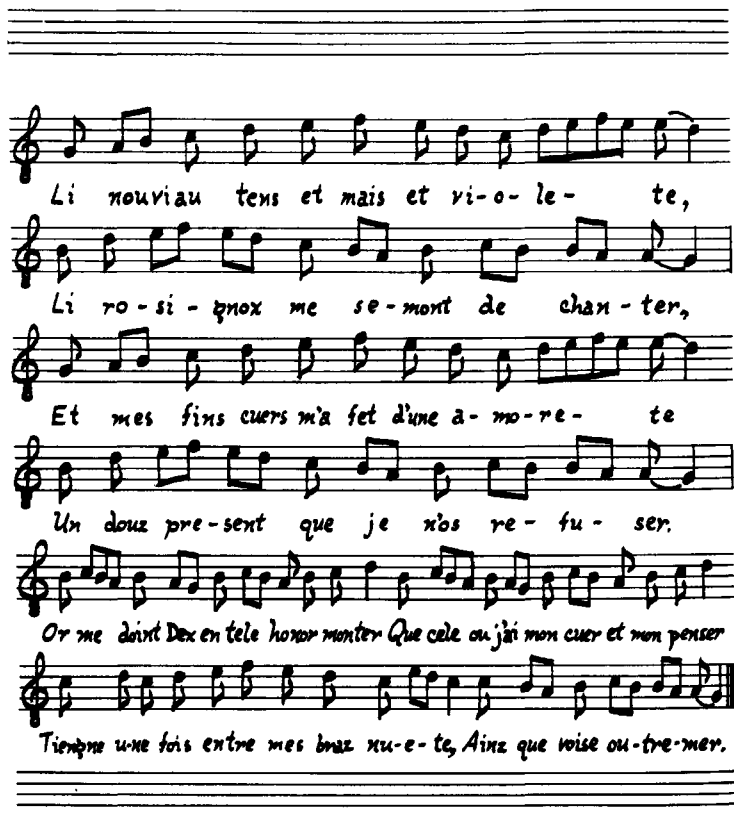
Kar en la cruiz deignat pur nus mair: Mult li doit bien estre que-re-do-ne,

Kar par sa mort su-mes tuz ra-cha - te.

such great wealth, it is only with the greatest pain that they must abandon it. It is better for them to depart in good faith, for when they are buried in the earth, what good is city or château?

This particular text is complex in thought and diction; it has a point to make. So it may be surprising, but is entirely characteristic, that the melody is relatively simple.

In contrast is *Li nouviaux tanz*, a love song attributed to the "Chatelain de Couci," that is, Gui II of Couci, drowned on Crusade shortly after 1200 (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 87-96). *Li nouviaux tanz* seems uncomplicated in thought, exhibiting all the rich sonorous language developed by several generations of trouvères.



Li nouviau tens et mais et vi-o-le-te,  
 Li ro-si-gnox me se-mont de chan-ter,  
 Et mes fins cuers m'a fet d'une a-mo-re-te  
 Un douz pre-sent que je n'os re-fu-ser.  
 Or me doint Dex en tele honor monter Que cele ou j'ai mon cuer et mon penser  
 Tiengne une fois entre mes braz xu-e-te, Ainz que wise ou-tre-mer.

Li nouviaus tanz et mais et violete  
 Et lousseignolz me semont de chanter,  
 Et mes fins cuers me fait d'une amourete  
 Si douz present que ne l'os refuser.  
 Or me laist Diex en tele honeur monter  
 Que cele ou j'ai mon cuer et mon penser  
 Tieigne une foiz entre mes braz nuete  
 Ainz que voise outre mer.

[Spring, and May, and violets, and nightengale, summon me to sing, and my fair beloved makes me a present of love so sweet that I cannot refuse. May God grant me grace to rise so high that I might hold her naked in my arms before I go overseas.]

The melody, then, is relatively elaborate, with ambitious arching phrases and complex stanza structure.

The musical score consists of a single melodic line on a five-line staff. The lyrics are in French and are written below the notes. The melody is relatively elaborate, with many arching phrases and complex stanza structure. The lyrics are: Seigneurs, sachiez qui or ne s'en i-ra En cele terre ou Dex fu mors et vis Et qui la croiz d'outre mer ne prendra A païres mès i-ra en pa-ra-dis Qui en soi a pi-tié ne remenbran-ce Au haut Seigneur doit querre sa venjan-ce Et de-li-mer sa terre et son pa-is.

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 Et de-li-mer sa terre et son pa-is.

A group of songs is connected to Thibaut IV, count of Champagne. Thibaut prepared for his Crusade between 1235 and 1239, then departed for Acre. We have perhaps four songs from him, two of exhortation, two of farewell to his lady.<sup>8</sup> *Seigneur, sachiez* is provided in one source with a sophisticated wide-ranging melody representative of the best—although not the most popular—of what the trouvères produced. Another farewell song by a poet in Thibaut's following, Chardon de Reims, has a melody somewhat less ambitious, but more songlike and more accessible—and thereby more typical of the great mass of trouvère songs. Chardon's thought is much like the previous farewell songs: "Just because my body goes to serve our Lord, that does not mean I forget my fair love."

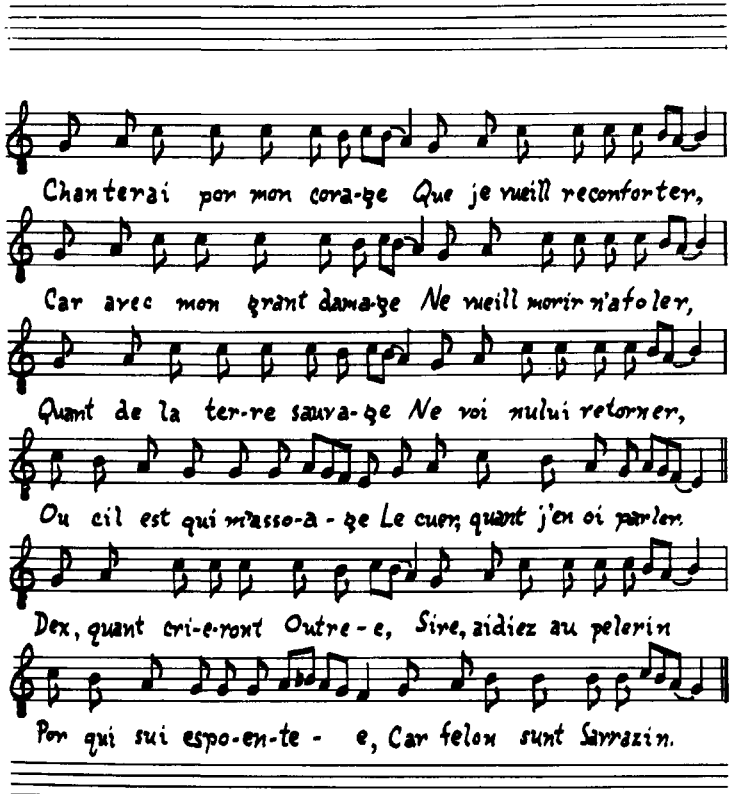
Li de partins de la douce contre-e Ou la bele est m'a mis en grant tristor,  
 Lessier m'eduet la riens qui ai plus ame- e Pour Dam-le-dieu servir mon cri-a-ton,  
 Et ne pourquant tot remaing a a-mor, Car tout li les mon cuer et ma pense- e;  
 Se mes cons va servir Nostre Seignor  
 Pour ce n'ai pas fine A-mor oubli-e-e.

As a last example of the love song, I would like to present a song put in the mouth of the girl left behind, but attributed by at least one manuscript to a male trouvère (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 109-17). She sings,

I will sing to comfort my heart, for in spite of my great misery I do not wish to die, and yet I see no one return from that savage land, where he has gone who quiets my heart when I hear news of him.

O, when they cry "Overseas," dear God, help the pilgrim for whom I tremble; for the Sarracens are bad.

The melody, though very simple and repetitive, has great charm.



Chanterai por mon cora-ge Que je vueill reconforter,  
 Car avec mon grant dama-ge Ne vueill morir n'afoler,  
 Quant de la ter-re sauva-ge Ne voi nului retourner,  
 Ou cil est qui m'asso-a-ge Le cuer, quant j'en oi parlen.  
 Dex, quant cri-e-ront Outre-e, Sire, aidiez au pelerin  
 Por qui sui espo-en-te - e, Car felon sunt Sarrazin.



Finally, Bedier and Aubry include several fascinating songs of circumstance dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. (Some of these have no melodies in the sources.) The texts depart from the themes of love and exhortation, responding to specific needs of the moment; they often take the form of complaints. They always continue to represent the high moral purpose of the Crusades, as understood by the ideal knight.

A song attributed to Huon de Saint-Quentin, *Jerusalem se plaint*, was shown to correspond closely to that poet's *Complainte de Jerusalem contre Rome* (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 145–51). The subject is the withdrawal of a crusading force under the counts de Bar, de la Marche, de Nevers, and the dukes of Bavaria and Austria against Cairo, 1219–21. After a long siege, the Crusaders were eventually harassed by the plague and had to withdraw, leaving behind prisoners. The song complains bitterly about the fate of these prisoners, as well as about mismanagement in high places, and especially about the arrangements countenanced by prelates in Rome to permit certain Crusaders—especially barons—to be “decrusaded” (*decroisié*) or relieved of their vows and allowed to return home. The issue of the POWs remained a difficult and a painful one.

In November of 1239 there was an ill-advised and disastrous raid by forces newly arrived in Syria; the raiders were ambushed, many were killed and many prisoners taken, among them Philippe de Nanteuil, who was taken to Babylon. He is credited with the song *En chantant veil mon duel faire*, which was apparently brought back to the West (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 217–25). The song laments the loss of the counts of Monfort and Bar, complains that the Hospitaliers and Templars might have saved the situation, and begs for rescue or ransom. Another song, anonymous, *Ne chant pas que que nus die*, complains further about the idleness of the barons subsequent to the same event (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 229–34). The poet fears that if the pilgrimage accomplishes nothing, the return will be shameful. He recalls the glory of the departure of the flower of France's nobility. It is not the fault of the knights, the lower echelons, who have sacrificed all to go on Crusade, and who have no one to redeem them when captured.

In December of 1244, King Louis, desperately ill, and confronted with the news of another disaster in the Holy Land, made his own resolve to go on Crusade. This dramatic event was celebrated in the song *Tous li mons doit mener joie*, (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 237–45). Another song, *Un serventois plaît de de-duit*, raised a call to arms to follow Louis; in elaborate rhymes but simplistic thought, the poet foretold how easily the king would conquer “Romanie,” baptize the sultan of Turkey, free the world (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 249–55). “May he reconcile Pope and Emperor, cross the sea with a great fleet; the pagans will not be able to resist him, he will conquer Turkey and Persia, and will be crowned in Babylon.” After the battle of Mansourah (8 February 1250) and retreat from Egypt, where Louis had been captured and ransomed, the expedition withdrew to Acre, again leaving behind prisoners. During June the king debated whether to return to France, hearing counsel from his barons. A song, written apparently during the deliberations, was circulated in an effort to influence the king’s decision. The song, *Nus ne porrois de mauvais raison*, begins

No one can make or sing a good song on a bad theme; nor do I wish to try. Yet I see the land of *outramer* so hanging in the balance that I want to beg the King not to believe the cowards when he should avenge his honor and God’s.

He goes on to say that the king will lose all if he forsakes the Crusade at this point, that it will be betrayal not only of the dead and the prisoners but also of Jesus for whose sake they were martyred. The song had its desired effect; at any rate, the king decided to stay.

If such was indeed the locale and purpose of the song, then we are here witnessing the Crusade song in its natural surroundings; it addressed the “flower of chivalry,” assembled in camp, and set forth the high ideals of that way of life. Even if this particular song was not used in this fashion, I think it is clear that the Crusade songs as a group were identified with this social group.

But I think it is also clear that the social group for whom the troubadors and trouvères spoke—the group of which they were an integral and characteristic part—was not all of society; its ideals

and ambitions should not be taken as representative of the society as a whole. That is to say, I do not think that, from the songs of exhortation, or from all the rest of the material that articulated the Crusaders' intent, we can conclude that the society as a whole approved of or was involved in the Crusades.

With that conclusion I address myself to the question of how "a culture formally dedicated to fulfilling the injunction to love thy neighbor as thyself could move to a point where it sanctioned the use of violence against the alien both outside and inside society." That is to say, I do not think one can conclude from the fact of the Crusades that "the culture" as a whole sanctioned this particular use of violence. But it also seems to me that the major premise is in doubt. I seriously question the commitment of the society as a whole to the Christian ethic as a real guide to action. This is certainly too much for a music historian to assert; but my observations of medieval culture from the ninth century on lead me to believe that neither peasants nor bourgeoisie nor barons—especially not the barons—ever gave up a basic Frankish orientation that can well be summarized in the words of Jeeves (speaking of a later political philosophy): "Collar everything you can and sit on it." The greed and violence apparent in the Crusades seem to me perfectly compatible with what I know of medieval society; indeed, eminently characteristic of it.

Nor would I think it unusually inconsistent for such a society to entertain, on the one hand, the ideals that Christian saints and martyrs tried to teach it, and, on the other hand, the ideals of the Crusades. For these ideals (the *trouvère* songs tell us) were not of violence. One of the important mechanisms of the Crusades must have been the insulation of the violent reality from the ideals expressed in the songs. Here the language of the songs, I think, is very informative. The Crusader did not really go forth to war, he went on a pilgrimage, as a pilgrim. He did not join an army—at least, not a secular one; rather he made a personal decision, more in the nature of a conversion, to join the sacred army of God's saints. The foes he was to fight were internal foes, those perennial temptations and obstacles to the pure life. The battle, perhaps its most

exciting part, might take place in France, at the time the Crusader makes his agonized decision, as in the case of King Louis. The external foes, the Saracens, are merely extensions of the inner ones; they are not a real people, not a real enemy—at least for the observer in France. This, it seems to me accounts for the naive conceptions, the never-never quality of language referring to the Crusaders' destination: he goes *outremer*; the Saracens are bad; the king will easily baptize the sultan. The Holy Land is the place where Jesus lived and died; the Crusader is to go where He went, live and perhaps die so as to be with Him in Paradise.

From the songs I get the impression that this inner spiritual experience was at the core of the popular understanding of the Crusades. Most important, this understanding seems perfectly at home in the courtly environment of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—and only there. Other conceptions were present too, of course: the material motivations, the booty, the fiefs to be carved out of Syria, were perhaps quietly discussed among the barons, and these motivations eventually surfaced in the *trouvères*' complaints; but even then they were felt to be sins against the faith as much as crimes against the state. Essential to an understanding of the Crusade songs, I think, is the distinction between what is the case and what can be said in an art form. Only certain things were given artistic form; we need both to accept those things, that inner spiritual experience for what it is, and at the same time recognize all the other things that were true, too.

1. The best recent account is Hendryk Van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972). A useful anthology (with reservations, however, about the rhythm of the transcriptions) is Friedrich Gennrich, *Troubadours, Trouvères, Minne- und Meistersang*, Das Musikwerk, eine Beispielsammlung zur Musikgeschichte 2 (Cologne: Arno, 1951). The special study by Joseph Bedier and Pierre Aubry, *Les Chansons de Croisade* (Paris: H. Champion, 1909), hereafter cited in the text as Bedier and Aubry, forms the basis for the present account. For examples 3–11 I have used the melodic versions established by Aubry, but have transcribed them from his "square-notation" into modern notation. All English translations are my own.

2. A recent recording, *Music of the Crusades*, Early Music Consort of London, David Monrow conductor (Argo 2RG 673, 1971), does indeed include several polyphonic works;

but of these some make only a tenuous and debatable reference to the Crusades, and the rest (as the record commentary ingenuously admits) have no connection with the Crusades.

3. For special studies, see William G. Waite, *The Rhythm of Twelfth Century Polyphony*, Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), and Ernest Saunders, "The Medieval Motet," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1973), pp. 497-573.

4. Hear the disc cited in note 2, and especially *Chansons der Troubadours* Studio der frühen Musik, Thomas Binkley, conductor (Telefunken SAWT 9567, 1971).

5. See the brief account in my *History of Musical Style* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 47-54.

6. Paris B.N. MS Latin 1139, fol. 50-50v. Even though the notation is diastematic, transcription is problematic and uncertain in several important respects; the version given here is only provisional.

7. Gennrich, *Troubadours*, p. 12, but in a different rhythmic interpretation.

8. *Seignor, saichiez* (Bedier and Aubry, pp. 169-74), *Au tans plains de felonie* (177-87), *Dame, ainsi* (189-95), *Li donz penser* (199-206).