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Germanic Poetry Surrounding the Third Crusade: The Role of Lyric in Portraying Crusade Attitude

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Abstract

When Jerusalem fell in the Battle of Hattin in 1187, a drastic shift occurred in Crusading mentality that had repercussions throughout Europe. Since the call of the First Crusade in 1095 by Pope Urban II, the fundamental motivator and goal of the movement was Jerusalem. Across Western Europe, mobilization occurred in kings and peasants alike. Enthusiasm swept through the classes, leading to massive, disorganized marches to the Holy Land with the purpose of liberating it from the Infidels. Crusading ostensibly allowed men from all walks of life a chance to absolve their sins. In practicality, it was a way to amass fortune and reputation in the East. Its motivation straddled the love of God and the love of worldly pursuits found in the East. The drive of the men, and at times women, involved was astonishing when one takes into account the hardships they faced along the way: starvation, thirst and formidable enemies. In 1099, Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders- it was moment of ultimate triumph. The former citizens of the city were slaughtered and the Crusaders believed they had achieved what God asked of them. The Second Crusade, called in 1145 in response to the fall of Edessa, shared much of the same enthusiasm as the first one did, building from the memory of that success.

GERMANIC POETRY SURROUNDING THE THIRD CRUSADE THE ROLE OF LYRIC IN PORTRAYING CRUSADE ATTITUDE

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When Jerusalem fell in the Battle of Hattin in 1187, a drastic shift occurred in Crusading mentality that had repercussions throughout Europe. Since the call of the First Crusade in 1095 by Pope Urban II, the fundamental motivator and goal of the movement was Jerusalem. Across Western Europe, mobilization occurred in kings and peasants alike. Enthusiasm swept through the classes, leading to massive, disorganized marches to the Holy Land with the purpose of liberating it from the Infidels. Crusading ostensibly allowed men from all walks of life a chance to absolve their sins. In practicality, it was a way to amass fortune and reputation in the East. Its motivation straddled the love of God and the love of worldly pursuits found in the East. The drive of the men, and at times women, involved was astonishing when one takes into account the hardships they faced along the way: starvation, thirst and formidable enemies. In 1099, Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders- it was moment of ultimate triumph. The former citizens of the city were slaughtered and the Crusaders believed they had achieved what God asked of them. The Second Crusade, called in 1145 in response to the fall of Edessa, shared much of the same enthusiasm as the first one did, building from the memory of that success.

It is not surprising then, the shock and horror felt by the Crusaders back home when Jerusalem fell to Saladin; God's plan was for European Christians to hold Jerusalem and so soon after capturing it (or recapturing, in their minds) they had lost their victory in the Holy Land. The call for the Third Crusade ensued; Pope Gregory VIII implored the leaders of Western Europe to answer it. Past efforts were based on wide popular support and were less organized. This time around, it was demanded by state leaders who encouraged reticent knights to go on a crusade.¹ This, combined with the loss of the battle of Hattin, meant that the Third Crusade came at a time when the idealized view of crusading was losing its appeal, affecting the attitudes

many held towards it. At this time of disappointment, a new surge of literature, courtly poetry, and songs occurred. It coincided with the development of a more cohesive knighthood across Europe, especially Germany.² This new Knighthood brought with it a new concept of chivalry more concerned with the notion of love and women, which was reflected in the literature of the time.³ This poetry was concerned with the women and homes the Crusaders were forced to leave, not the idealized and romanticized love of God and crusading. In this paper I will argue that the changing motivation for the Crusades, from grassroots enthusiasm to state-mandated campaign, combined with the new chivalry developed by these knights, served to drastically change Crusaders' opinions. In contrast, it made the temptations of home and worldly love stronger. Illustrated in works of Friedrich von Hausen, Hartmann von Aue and Albrecht von Johansdorf, these German poets' writings serve as examples of the changing social and political times of the Third Crusade.⁴

Soon after the Battle of Hattin, the Pope sent out entreaties for help in Jerusalem. Eraclius, a patriarch writing during the siege of the city, implored the Pope for compassion and asked him to "[stir] all the princes of the west to bring aid speedily to the Holy Land."⁵ What followed were waves of letters to European nobility requesting them to send aid, such as Terricus's letter to King Henry of England, describing the advance of Saladin into Jerusalem despite the last efforts of the soldiers remaining there and his advance towards Acre.^{6,7} The fall of Jerusalem came on the heels of the defeat of the Second Crusade. It had been long apparent to leaders such as Fredrick Barbarossa, of Germany that another crusade was imminent. Throughout the twelfth century, independent, wealthy men would journey east, but there was no centralized organization to the Crusades. The Battle of Hattin spurred the Pope and political leaders to action.⁸ Jerusalem fell on October 3 and the news reached Gregory mid-November.⁹ He immediately sent William of Tyre to France and England and Cardinal Henry of Albano to Germany with the hope of mobilizing King Henry II, King Phillip and Barbarossa to action.¹⁰

While kings led the Second Crusade, the governance and motivation for the Third came even more directly from the highest ranks. After the failure of the previous crusade, and with the challenge to recapture of Jerusalem, the formation of a structured, disciplined army was needed; military leaders actively discouraged the public from enlisting.¹¹ They favored highly trained knights, though this left little room for poor people to receive any type of absolution. Barbarossa had rescinded the reward of violence against Jews as atonement for sins and instead punished those who harmed them with the

loss of a hand.¹² Likewise, bishops threatened excommunication for violence against Jews, eliminating that avenue for remission of sins and forcing people to head east for absolution.¹³ The governor of Tyre sent home two paintings: one of an Arab defecating upon the temple of Jerusalem or another depicting Christ being beaten by Arabs.¹⁴ These two works further illustrated the popular support and propaganda for the recapture of Jerusalem, something largely ignored by military leaders who wanted a skilled army.

Barbarossa, who had been waiting to go on a crusade throughout his reign, was especially spurred on by the thought of Arabs in control of Jerusalem. He set about constructing an impressive army. It was not just religious zeal that played a large part in his desire to go, but the sense that as a king of a Christian nation, his duty was to defend the church.¹⁵ Henry of Albano did not, however, convince Barbarossa to go on a crusade. His time-worn argument that "since Jesus had taken up the Cross for us, we must now take it up for him" held no sway over Barbarossa.¹⁶ Instead, in December of 1187, Bishop Henry of Strassburg argued that it was a knight's duty to his feudal lord to take vengeance, just as it was Barbarossa's duty to answer the call of help by God.¹⁷ Bishop Godfrey of Würzburg also appealed to the feudal system, contending that knights should be given a chance for redemption through military service and this final argument spurred Barbarossa to take the cross and he set about assembling his army.¹⁸

To a large extent, Barbarossa overshadowed both Philip and Henry with his preparations for the crusade. Philip especially, reflecting the Pope's pressure on these rulers, only agreed to go under political and religious coercion; he returned to Europe as soon as he could. Certainly, crusading had its enthusiasts after the fall of Jerusalem, yet much of the excitement had dissipated. Not only did Barbarossa ignore popular support, but of all his knights, he only allowed men with a specific amount of property to join him. Through this he ensured an experienced and wealthy army that would be able to fight and be provisioned in ways early attempts at crusading had not been. Throughout the march east, Barbarossa insisted on discipline and chastity within his army, sending a groups of 500 thieves back home, and appointing judges to each unit.¹⁹ This reputation of Barbarossa's authority preceded him and Saladin of the formidable enemy he faced heard far before the army's arrival.²⁰ Barbarossa's army was a far different one than seen previously in the Crusades, more structured, more experienced and more disciplined, with the ultimate goal of recapturing Jerusalem.

Taking into account the various secondary sources surrounding the Third Crusade, one argument all scholarship supports is the declining enthusiasm for crusading after the Battle of Hattin. Of the call to arms by the

Pope, Tyerman writes that in persuading Henry of England all that he could offer was “money and empty promises” and only a “handful” of volunteers could be found, the rest persuaded to participate.²¹ Jerusalem’s patriarch, Heraclius, traveled west to seek support for his city, yet what many remembered from his visit was his jewelry, perfumes and extravagant wealth, not a pious plea for help.²² The call for the Third was a far cry from earlier ones and as Tyerman writes:

On the eve of the greatest defeat of western arms by a non-Christian army since the tenth century, at Hattin in Galilee on 4 July 1187, crusading appeared to have run its course, a model of holy war that, in the shape taken since 1095, had served its turn and lost its fierce popular resonances.²³

Tyerman goes on to state “the events of that summer’s day in the hills about Tiberias reignited them”²⁴ and while that may be true to an extent, in Germany especially, the Crusades lacked support from the general population. The way Barbarossa gathered his army, and enforced discipline within it, did very little to bolster morale. Another eminent crusade historian, Jonathan Riley-Smith, makes no mention of enthusiasm in preparations for the Third Crusade. He spends little time on preparations, only noting that Henry, Phillip and Barbarossa all did take up the Cross. Riley-Smith simply reinforces the impression of Barbarossa’s highly trained and disciplined army, as well as Barbarossa’s enthusiasm for the war.²⁵

While Munz does provide a certain presentation and argument of the events surrounding the calling of the Third Crusade, Riley-Smith and Tyerman do not greatly diverge from his interpretation. The only point of contention is Tyerman’s assertion that crusading enthusiasm was ‘reignited’ after the Battle of Hattin, something contradicted by examples of Germanic poetry. If Barbarossa and the peasants contributed to an enthusiasm for this crusade, the Germanic poetry of this time strongly disproved the argument that it was a shared feeling across the entire army. This poetry, written by the knightly class, was a far cry from enthusiastic, and clearly highlights the losses they suffered when forced to leave on a crusade. Tyerman makes a strong argument, but fails to take into account these examples of this genre of literature or look more closely at Germany at this time, for social developments contributed to a strong desire to stay at home, as seen reflected in these poet’s words.

The pool of knights Barbarossa was pulling from was changing. Greater social cohesion was occurring among these ranks even as knight-

hood was beginning to expand. Twelfth century Germany saw the rise of *ministeriales*, men emerging from servile rank and marrying into older families to gain social status.²⁶ *Ministeriales* throughout the twelfth century were able to achieve the status of nobility and must have amassed a certain amount of wealth to be enlisted in Barbarossa's army. They were considered 'unfree knights' and the influx of men into this particular rank caused them to become the majority of the German knighthood during this period, outnumbering their free counterparts four to one.²⁷ Their lack of freedom derived from the history of their social standing: they had a hereditary duty to serve the lord to whose service they had been born. Other knights in Europe, such as those in France, were able to contract their service as they wished.²⁸ The appeal of Würzburg and Strassbourg to Barbarossa reflected this Germanic system and the compulsion to serve one's lord, secular or religious, in their time of need, was Barbarossa's ultimate reason in joining the crusade. Later on, it would be seen in knights' reluctance to crusade as the choice was not up to them, their reluctance of which is reflected in their poetry.

It was within this new class of knight a new type of poetry, tied intrinsically to a new concept of chivalry, emerged in the German vernacular. As Peter Munz writes in his work on Barbarossa, the *ministeriales* were "protagonists of a new kind of culture, of courtly literature and the ideal of chivalry."²⁹ The new genre of poetry, called the *minnesange*, or 'love songs', originated in the area of the Danube in the 1150s.³⁰ It was during this period in the 12th century that increased international contact, through the calling of crusades, allowed influences from the East and from France to permeate German literature. Reflecting the rise of the *ministeriales*, the verses deal with the love of a man for a woman, normally of a higher social class; the speaker of the poems is always a knight.³¹ The peace that Barbarossa brought during his reign to Germany allowed cultural growth in a way unprecedented under former sovereigns. It was these stable conditions that allowed patterns of behavior to develop into a new concept of chivalry, reflected in period literature.³²

Previous writings and concepts of chivalry were rooted in a sense of a harder life, not new romanticisms. Munz calls it a life "which was coarse, naive and unsentimental" and which treated love as a *realistic* matter.³³ Examples of this can be found in the *Rolandslied*, where characteristics of kindly and refined manners were ascribed to Arabs only, making them specifically anti-Christian.³⁴ Likewise, the *Kaiserchronik*, written earlier in the 12th century, had no apparent interest in the theme of love or courtly honor, and instead dealt with rulers who can be considered good or bad in reference to Christianity, not any higher concept of chivalry.³⁵ Finally, in *Chron-*

icle of the Two Cities, Bishop Otto of Friesburg supplied this catalogue of contemporary culture and progress in the 12th century, “the Crusades; the conquest of Jerusalem, the new conception of knighthood according to St Bernard; the spiritual devotion of the new knightly orders; the papal victory embodied in the Concordat of Worms; and the growth of the new monastic orders.” References to love or chivalry went completely unmentioned.³⁶

In contrast, the *minnesange* dealt mainly with courtly love, beauty, both of body and soul, and the refined nature of man; worldly love played an increasingly central role in this new type of literature. Munz tells us that “instead of poets taking cold comfort, as Otto of Freisig had done, from the progress of the new monastic orders and the contemplative ideal, they were placing their emphasis upon man’s life on earth and thanked God for His Grace which put *minne*³⁷ for their mistress in their hearts.”³⁸ It was during the 1160s that the first examples of German romance can be found, such as *Tristan* by Eilhart von Oberg, a version of *Tristan and Isolde* which gained immense popularity, and *Graf Rudolf*, whose author has been lost.³⁹

The rise of the *ministeriales* allowed this new trend in literature to come to fruition, as it reinforced the rise of their social class and their focus on worldly love. A concept of chivalry based on a more refined character, instead of the coarse and harsh sense that had come before, underpinned their rise from the lower classes to the nobility. It was here that this new trend of knighthood and literature converged, mutually reinforcing their positions within this changing society. During the eleventh and twelfth century, vocabulary expanded to include terms such as the German *hövescheit* and *hövesch*⁴⁰, comparable to the Latin *curiales* and *curialitis*.⁴¹ This increased awareness of the court paralleled the rise of the use of *ritter*, derived from the verb ‘to ride’ in German, and similarly the rise of the knightly class.⁴² These social changes surrounded the call of the Third Crusade and directly influenced the desire of knights to join it. In a society where worldly love was becoming more and more important, and the Battle of Hattin had just dealt a crushing blow to Crusader morale, going on a crusade became an agonizing decision. The background of the *ministeriales* and *minnesange* is intrinsic to this change. The transition from Latin poetry must also be taken into consideration.

With the rise of the *minnesange*, the face of contemporary poetry change just as quickly as German social orders. The Battle of Hattin came at the turning point for German social developments. It also directly impacted the tone of poetry produced, a change that can be seen when one compares the works of early Latin poets to later German counterparts. As William Jackson argues in *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety*, “God,

who received very modest attention in the poetry composed while the Christian cause was going well, suddenly becomes the major focus of attention as the only sure resource of any hope.”⁴³ No longer idealized and romanticized as earlier crusading poems did, God was looked to for chance of winning back Jerusalem. While many of the Chronicles mention God quite frequently, Jackson points out earlier poetry did not place the same emphasis there. After the Battle of Hattin, a shift occurred: the Crusaders looked to Him for faith and assuredness of His plan for them in the East.

A dramatic change could be seen surrounding the Third Crusade, compared with earlier Latin poetry. In a poem written directly after Jerusalem’s fall to the Crusaders in 1099 called ‘*Iuraselm, laetare*’, the slaughter of the residents and the streams of their blood running through the streets was celebrated.⁴⁴ This poem an ‘*Exsultent agmina*’, both numbered the people who were now subject to European rule and exulted the turnover of power in the area.⁴⁵ The Crusaders gained a greater confidence at this point, as Jackson pointed out. In ‘*Ierusalem mirabilis*’, the defeat of the Saracens requires but a stanza: “We out to go there/ Wager our honor,/ Take over the temple of God/ And destroy the Saracens.”⁴⁶ Even at the time of the Second Crusade, when victory was not as effortless as had been hoped, the tone was still assured: “Let us fight here the fight of God!/ We will be rewarded there in our homeland,/ where soldiers will receive/ Good rewards and true joy.”⁴⁷ This confident manner pervaded poetry and songs written before the Battle of Hattin, when crusading fervor and enthusiasm was high and such a crushing defeat had not yet occurred. Marcabrun, an early troubadour writing in 1148, wrote “Pax in nomine Domini”, a call of support for the army of Alfonso VII of Castille against the Almohades in Spain. Energy and enthusiastic language infuse this piece, given privileges normally reserved for crusades to the East, not found in later German works.⁴⁸ In a direct contrast to the newer *minnesange*, earlier Latin poetry dealt with the brief nature of life, the meaning of which was only discovered in death.⁴⁹

With the necessary background of the nature of the Third Crusade, the development of *minnesange* and the rise of the *ministeriales* in Germany, and the setting of poetry against earlier Latin examples, consideration of just what did German authors write in the wake of the fall of Jerusalem can be undertaken. Hartmann von Aue, Friedrich von Hausen and Albrecht von Johansdorf demonstrate through their writing new concepts of courtly love while also illustrating the reluctance many Crusaders felt in Barbossa’s army. It was only a fervent love of God, not the former glory of crusading, that caused them to head east at all.

Hartmann von Aue, who referred to himself as a *ministeriale*, was a

native of southwestern Germany, born probably in 1160 and lived until around 1210.^{50,51} He took part in the Third Crusade under Barbarossa, and was seen as a leading German poet of the time, in addition to his longer narrative works such as *Erec* and *Iwein*.⁵² To look at his works that deal with the crusade, one can clearly see the tension that arose between worldly love, religious piety and the duty to leave home behind for a crusade.

In “*Ich var mit iurwen hulden, herren unde mage*”,⁵³ he recognized the pressure of crusading and the effect it will have on his life at home. As he prepared to leave, he wrote, “Blest be the land and folk I hold so dear,” his concern for those he must leave behind clearly expressed. He continued, “Love captured me, and let me go on my security./ Now she has sent me word that my pilgrimage is due./ So must it be; and for her sake all that she has bidden I do./ How could I break my plighted oat, and soil its purity?” At odds were his worry for those at home and his acknowledged duty to go crusading. It was not the joyous departure seen in earlier examples of Latin works or crusade chronicles, but a departure filled with a sense of obligation. While the love was not the worldly love of *minnesange*, it certainly is not love for crusading or expectant hope about what waits in the East. Instead it was a love for God that entreats Hartmann to crusade, a drastic change from earlier crusading literature.

Hartmann recognized and referred to the duty associated with crusading, yet what was not stated in this text, or these poems in general, was any mention (except perhaps the most oblique or implied) of the penitentiary nature of crusading and the idea of salvation. Instead, the sense of duty arose only from the more abstract sense of God and one’s personal loyalty to him. Hartmann made no mention of the motives of crusading, only that he must do so. This absence may allude to an implied duty that any contemporary reader would have been attuned to; what was more likely, considering the historical moment of the Third Crusade, was that the temptation of the remission of sins have given way in the face of worldly love to crusading as an act of loyalty to God.

Friedrich von Hausen expressed many of these same themes. Hausen, born in 1150, also participated in the Third Crusade but died in a battle near Philomelium in Syria on May 6, 1190, only weeks before Barbarossa’s death.⁵⁴ He had a high position in Barbarossa’s administration: he worked in Italy under both Archbishop Christian and King Henry VI, and went with Barbarossa to France as an envoy to King Philip in 1187.⁵⁵ Considered more of a poet than a knight, his work was known for being introspective, dealing with love for women and God.

Written from the perspective of one on crusade, “*Gelebt ich noch die*

lieben zit/ Daz ich daz lant solt aber schouwen...” dealt with the hardship of being so far away from love.⁵⁶ He wrote: “I fancied we were far apart/ Where I should now feel very near./ In a strange land, my constant heart/ Knows grief that makes old hardships dear./ Were I somewhere near the Rhine,/ I’d hear the news for which I pine/ Since I am planted here,/ Shut off beyond the mountain screen/ That stretches ruthlessly between.” These stanzas began with the recognition of distance, the longing to be nearer to his home and love. Instead, he was regulated to a ‘strange land,’ dealing with the grief of separation. Notably, the term ‘ruthless’ sticks out in the last line, perhaps the most evocative sense of the pain the speaker feels at the separation over which he has no control.

Similarly, in “*Mîn Herze den gelouben hat*,” the speaker contended with the tension of staying home in the spheres of worldly love versus leaving for piety.⁵⁷ He wrote “My heart believes, if ever a man/ Had good excuse to stay at home/ For friendship, or as love might plan,/ From the Rhine banks I should not roam.” He began this poem with the acknowledgement of the desire to stay at home. He continued, “So keenly did the parting thrill/ My heart with sorrow, as I bade/ My friends farewell.” Forced to leave his friends and family behind, the pain of leaving was almost too great to handle and in these first lines of the poem, he admitted such. By the second stanza, however, he had reconciled his duty to leave on crusade, writing that he could not “approve” of any man who would readily stay behind for such worldly cares. Here the courtly romance of the *minnesange* came to odds with the obligation imposed by Barbarossa to fulfill their duty to their secular and religious lord. Notably, however, it was not solely this commitment that caused the speaker to depart, but his lady’s reputation. He wrote (referring to the first stanza’s desire to stay), “This, on no count, could I approve,/ If noble ladies strove to keep/ Safe and at home the men they love,/ For naught could cure a shame so deep.”

The idea of shaming his love by remaining by her side, something they both desired, compelled the speaker to leave. Political and social pressures were keys to departing on crusade and the stigma associating with staying home outweighed the desire to do so. Again, as argued with Aue, absent from this poem was any mention or allusion to the salvation promised to Crusaders. Hausen recognized the disgrace associated with those who refused to crusade, or backed out for personal reasons. Here the necessity to crusade was associated with social pressures and he wrote nothing of rewards waiting in the East or in Heaven.

Albrecht von Johansdorf is the final poet presented here; from Bavaria, Johansdorf was known for his openness and honesty in his crusad-

ing songs. Few details of his life are clear; historians debate whether he crusaded in 1189 or 1197. The only sure fact that exists about him (besides his writings) is that he was a *ministeriales* of Wolfger, Bishop of Passau.⁵⁸

His piety was clear in his works and, more than Hartmann or Hausen, he recognized the need in Jerusalem for help. Yet at the end of “*Die Hinnen varn, die sagen durch got...*”, a poem ostensibly dedicated to the need to deal vengeance in the East and rush to God’s help, he wrote “I could renounce all sins but that alone: I love a woman more than all the world deep in my soul./ Lord God, direct to that a blessed goal!”⁵⁹ This line had particular resonance, coming at the end of six stanzas about his love for God and desire to crusade. Certainly, his worldly love had been on his mind this entire time and, in a place of prominence at the end of the poem, became its main focus and impetus. Similarly, in “*Wie sich mine hebt, daz wiz ich wol...*”⁶⁰ the speaker was most concerned with leaving his love. Johansdorf wrote “I shall feel love’s kindling a-glow,/ Spare me, Lord, the parting which I deem/ Bitterest thing of all./ This dread beyond the heaviest dream.” While he certainly looked to God to ease the transition, what weighed heaviest upon him was the necessity of leaving worldly love.

Even in “*Die Hinnen varn, die sagen durch got...*” Johansdorf only alluded to God’s need for Crusaders in the East, again, making no mention of salvation. He writes, “They who fare hence may in God’s name aver/ That Jerusalem the fair city and the holy land/ Never needed help more truly”⁶¹ and this emerged as the impetus he found to go. He went on to argue that even those who don’t care for the Cross or Jesus’ sacrifice of dying for man’s sin could find sympathy for the plight of Jerusalem.⁶² Here, as in all the other’s works, the motif of salvation was absent. The allure of the Holy Land no longer mitigated the sadness of leaving home; instead, Crusaders went East solely out of duty to God.

This was a great contrast to earlier examples of crusading works. Fulcher of Chartres, leaving on the First Crusade, watched many men say goodbye to their homes and families. He wrote of a man kissing his weeping wife goodbye,

He, having compassion, it seems, neither for the weeping of his wife, nor feeling pain for the grief of any friends, and yet having it, for he secretly suffered severely, unchanging went away with a determined mind. Sadness to those remaining, however, was joy to those going away. What, then, can we say? ‘This is the Lord’s doing; it is marvelous in our eyes.’⁶³

This knight, leaving his life behind, recognized that the rewards in the East were worth the sadness of this departure. While he felt the same sorrow upon leaving, as crusaders would throughout the movement, chronicles such as this were rife with mention of God's plan and the Pope's assurances of salvation. Fulcher devoted a lengthy part of his chronicle to recounting Pope Urban II's promise of remission of sins if one crusaded in the Holy Land. This notion of salvation and the worth of leaving behind one's home to crusade is greatly lacking from poet's works surrounding the Third Crusade.

Likewise, in later crusading work the same promises for salvation were apparent. Vilain de Villehardouin went on the Fourth Crusade and at the very beginning of his chronicle, wrote that the Pope wrote "an indulgence framed as follows: All those who take the Cross and remain for one year in the service of God in the army shall obtain remission of any sins they have committed, provided they have confessed them."⁶⁴ Even at this later juncture, the concept of salvation as a reward was stressed.

This signaled a departure in the conception of crusading surrounding the Third Crusade. The absence of salvation as a motif in these poems highlights the notion that it was solely duty to God and country that motivated Crusaders in this period. The Crusaders no longer went east for personal gain, for wealth or remission of sins, but because God needed them. However, this would change with the Fourth Crusade as Villehardouin showed us. For the first time crusading meant subjugating their actual, preferred desires of remaining at home with families and loves for what they must do for the sake of God. Judging from their poetry, these poets would have rather stayed home with their ladies; they saw no personal gain, from crusading anymore, only religious obligation and feudal duty.

Indeed, the main motif of these poems deals with the conflict between an obligation to leave on crusade and the desire to remain at home. As Jackson wrote,

What we have encountered, rather, is poetry as an expression of discomfort, of scarcely veiled doubt and indecision, of the love of home, and of the pain of parting from homeland. These poems are dominated by the ardent complaints of men who have enlisted in an undertaking for which enthusiasm is viewed as appropriate but difficult to master.⁶⁵

When examining the three poets together, as writers focused on the Crusades, much of their work has little to do with it. As Jackson pointed out, the enemy was mentioned very rarely. In only one poem by Johansdorf,

“*Die hinnen varn*” did he write of Jerusalem: “Those who are leaving say for God’s sake./ That Jerusalem and the whole country/ Were never in greater need of help,” providing the one mention of the Holy Land in these works.

⁶⁶ Instead, the works were rife with explicit statements and allusions to the difficulty of leaving behind their homes for the sake of a crusade. They did not elaborate on the glory and wonder of the crusade itself. Comparison to earlier and later crusading works illustrates that not only were the Crusaders doubtful and unwilling to leave their homes, but they no longer had hope of salvation and motivation was only found in their pious duty to God, according to Jackson. This observation most strongly signals the changing attitudes that surrounded the Third Crusade.

When one takes into account the historical context of the Third Crusade, the diverging attitudes surrounding it become apparent in the works of the three poets discussed. It was a time of social and political pressure to embark on crusade: Barbarossa was reminded of his duty to God, which reflects the feudal system of patronage extant in twelfth century Germany. Similarly, the knights, especially the *ministeriales* were likewise bound by duty to follow their lord. *Minnesange* and the introduction of a courtly love that concerned itself not with the older nature of chivalry but bodily, womanly and worldly love was coming into prominence at this time as well. Held in contrast to the jubilant poems of the Latin era, when crusading was going well, before the crushing blow of the defeat at the Battle of Hattin, these aspects combined to create a reluctance to leave home. This reticence was unprecedented; it was only piety and social pressures that spurred knights on. Furthermore, an intrinsic aspect to crusading, the impetus of remission of sins, was no longer focused on in these poems, illustrating that crusading had become about obligation. One can see that the enthusiasm for crusading was far from what it had been, despite solid support overall. The discouragement felt after the Battle of Hattin extended to the very roots of crusading. This feeling ran so deep that poets of the time focused on the worldly love around them over the former glory of the Crusades.

ENDNOTES

¹ Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa, a Study in Medieval Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969: 371, 387-88.

² W. H. Jackson, *Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Germany*. Maryland: University Press of America, 2003: 65

³ Munz 319-320.

⁴ All poetry from the following works: S. Allen and Emilile Amt., eds., *The Crusades: A Reader* (Broadview Press, 2003); Philip Scuyler Allen, *Medieval Latin Lyrics* (Chicago:

The University of Chicago Press, 1931); H.G. Richardson, G.O. Sayles, and H.T. Riley, *The Crusades: A Reader* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2003); Hugo Bekker, *Friedrich von Hausen, Inquiries into his Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); F. Brittain, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937); Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); Peter Dronke, *Poetry Individuality in the Middle Ages, New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1970); R.W. Fisher, *The Narrative Works of Hartmann von Aue* (Germany: Kümmerle-Verlage, 1983); Stephen J. Kaplowitt, *The Ennobling Power of Love in the Medieval German Lyric* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forham, *Medieval Political Theory—A Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400* (London: Routledge, 1993); J.W. Thomas, *Medieval German Lyric Verse, In English Translation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

⁵ Peter W. Edbury. *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade, Sources in Translation*. England: Scholar Press, 1997: 163.

⁶ the former grand preceptor of the Templars,

⁷ Ibid, 165-6.

⁸ Christopher Tyerman, *God's War*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2006: 341-342.

⁹ Letters of the siege were all ready sent in the summer and early fall before this.

¹⁰ Munz 371.

¹¹ The poorly trained and equipped peasants of the earlier Crusades were.

¹² Munz 371.

¹³ Ibid., 371.

¹⁴ Ibid., 371.

¹⁵ Ibid., 372.

¹⁶ F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugdichtung des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 19630, 139 in Munz 385.

¹⁷ Munz 386.

¹⁸ Ibid., 386.

¹⁹ Ibid., 387.

²⁰ Ibid., 387.

²¹ Tyerman, *God's War*, 642.

²² Ralph Niger, *De Re Militari*, p 193-4 in Tyerman, *God's War*, 342.

²³ Tyerman, *God's War*, 342.

²⁴ Ibid., 342.

²⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987: 110-111.

²⁶ Munz 318.

²⁷ Jackson 65.

²⁸ Ibid., 66.

²⁹ Munz 319-320.

³⁰ Jackson 167.

³¹ Munz 167, 170.

³² Jackson 2.

³³ Munz 320.

³⁴ Ibid., 320.

³⁵ Ibid., 321.

- ³⁶ Ibid., 321.
- ³⁷ This can be translated as courtly love
- ³⁸ Ibid., 323.
- ³⁹ Salmon. *Literature of Medieval Germany* 49-50
- ⁴⁰ Both can be translated as 'courtliness'
- ⁴¹ W. H. Jackson, *Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Germany*, 92
- ⁴² Ibid 93
- ⁴³ Jackson, William E. *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety*, 16
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, 11
- ⁴⁵ Ibid
- ⁴⁶ Ibid
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, 12
- ⁴⁸ Brittain,. *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300*, 103
- ⁴⁹ Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa, a Study in Medieval Politics* 321
- ⁵⁰ W.H. Jackson, *Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Germany* 65
- ⁵¹ Paul Salmon, *Literature of Medieval German*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967: 213.
- ⁵² Ibid., 213, 227.
- ⁵³ M.F. Richey, *Essays on Medieval German Lyrics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969: 59.
- ⁵⁴ M.F. Richey, *Medieval German Lyrics*. Edinburgh: Robert Cunningham and Sons, 1969: 33.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., 33.
- ⁵⁶ M. F. Richey, *Essays on Medieval German Lyrics* 40-41.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., 42
- ⁵⁸ Richey, *Medieval German Lyrics* 53.
- ⁵⁹ M. F. Richey, *Essays on Medieval German Lyrics* 46-47.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid., 47-48.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., 46.
- ⁶² Ibid., 46.
- ⁶³ Fulcher of Chartres in Edward Peters, *The First Crusade*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988: 59.
- ⁶⁴ Joinville and Villehardoin, trans. M.R.B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades*. New York: Penguin Books, 1963: 29.
- ⁶⁵ Jackson 74.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 23.