Extreme vocality and the boundaries of song in the medieval crusades

Joseph W. Mason

Historians of Old French song are faced with significant challenges when studying the repertory of the trouvères. Over two thousand songs by the trouvères survive, composed between 1150 and 1310. Many of them were copied more than once in deluxe manuscripts with their melodies, and yet information about the performance and sound of Old French song is relatively scarce. This makes passages such as the following, from the autobiographical account of the Italian born trouvère Philip of Novare (b. 1190–5, d. 1261–4), all the more extraordinary:[1]

> Philip of Novare was hit one day in a lance attack that pierced right through his arm, including the sleeve of his hauberk and his flesh, so that the lance broke against his ribs with the broken haft and the blade still in his arm. Those in the castle cried out: "Your singer is dead, he has been killed!" And his enemies already had seized him by the reins, but his lord succored him and rescued him most vigorously. That evening he composed two stanzas of a song and had himself carried in front of the castle onto the rock and **sang and performed them *en haut*** [*les chanta en haut et dist*]. As a result, the people in the castle knew well that he was not dead.[2]

Here, Philip relates the story of his injury in front of the castle of Dieudamor (otherwise known as the castle of St Hilarion) during the war for the control of Cyprus (1228–32) while the forces of Philip's commander, John of Ibelin, besieged three of the five Imperial *baillies*, Amaury Barlais, Amaury of Bethsan, and Hugh of Gibelet, in the castle.[3] In the midst of this

This research was generously supported by the Irish Research Council and New College, Oxford. I am grateful to Elizabeth Eva Leach, Frank Lawrence, Matthew P. Thomson, Lachlan Hughes, and the anonymous readers who read and offered comments on this study. I thank Jacqueline Thompson for advice on the statistical analyses.

[1] Philip's dates are given at Laurent Brun, "Philippe de Novare" (2022), https://arlima.net/no/1839.

[2] Translation adapted from Merton Jerome Hubert and John L. La Monte, *The Wars of Frederick II Against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 106, with thanks to the anonymous reader for their suggestions for improvement. An edition of the Old French text may be found at Philippe de Novare, *Mémoires, 1218–1243*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1913), 39.

[3] Luca Barbieri, "RS 190a" (2014), https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs190a/#page2.

siege, Philip relates that he performed the two-stanza crusade song *Nafré sui, mais encore ne puis taire* (RS 190a) in a manner described as "en haut."[4]

To my knowledge, this event has not been discussed by music historians, despite the fact that this is one of the only witnesses to the performance of a crusade song. This study interrogates the mode of performance described by Philip, positing that the performance of a song *en haut* was an extreme sonic phenomenon that blurred the boundary between song and speech. Where the phrase "en haut" appears in Old French literature, translators render it in different ways. Sometimes the meaning given is merely "out loud," while other translations convey the sense that the sound produced is larger or more extreme than expected, such as "loudly," "on high," or "at the top of his voice." As the following discusssion will show, Philip's use of the phrase "en haut" may have invoked these meanings and others besides, namely a particularly declamatory, emotive, or violent use of the voice.

It has long been recognised that crusade songs such as Philip's tend to conform to one of two types: *serventois*-type songs, which encourage listeners to participate in a crusade, and *grands chants* in which the crusade is the primary cause of the poet-lover's frustrated desire for the lady.[5] While crusade *serventois* and crusade *grands chants* may all be considered ways of "speaking crusades," their poetry and music generally follow different conventions:[6] as I show below, it may be more useful to conceive of these two types of crusade song not as a single genre but rather as different genres that have crusade as their

---

For a summary of the war in Cyprus, see Linda Paterson, *Singing the Crusades: French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2018), 144–9.

[4] Songs are referred to by their RS number according to Hans Spanke and Gaston Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1955).

[5] The first to note that there are two types of crusade songs with different content and genre associations were Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, *Les Chansons de croisade* (Paris: H. Champion, 1909), p. ix. While acknowledging that some songs contain both political and amatory subject matter, scholars have generally accepted Bédier and Aubry's model, sometimes dividing the political category into *serventois* and propaganda songs: see, for example, Catharina Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade: étude thématique d'un genre hybride* (Amsterdam: Schiphouwer en Brinkman, 1995), 41; Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 9; and Uri Jacob, "Musical Responses to the Crusades in France and Occitania during the 12th–13th Centuries" (PhD Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2020), 12. I use the term "crusade song" loosely to describe *Nafré sui*: although the war for the control of Cyprus was not in the technical sense a crusade, it was composed and performed in a military setting by a poet-composer actively fighting in a conflict that took place at the eastern edge of the Mediterranean.

[6] Marisa Galvez, *The Subject of Crusade: Lyric, Romance, and Materials, 1150 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 2.

subject.[7] The *serventois* is a poorly defined genre in the Old French tradition, unlike the Occitan *sirventes*, which is described as a distinct form in Occitan poetic treatises and series of which sometimes appear in their own sections in manuscripts.[8] By the end of the thirteenth century, the French term *serventois* was regularly used for devotional songs to the Virgin Mary, and this genre label continues in the fourteenth century. Earlier in the thirteenth century, it would appear that *serventois* means roughly the same as the Occitan term *sirventes* — a song with political content.[9] Some political songs in Old French are, like the Occitan *sirventes* (as defined in treatises), contrafacts, though this is rarely the case for crusade *serventois*. Here, I use the term *serventois* for any song that has an explicitly political message.[10]

The song that Philip sang "en haut," *Nafré sui*, has many characteristics of a *serventois*:

[7] Although scholars tend to group these two types of song under the genre label "crusade song," there is little medieval evidence to support this. Unlike other genres of song, crusade songs are not placed in their own sections in manuscripts that are organised by genre, nor do scribes rubricate crusade songs with any such genre label. Manuscripts organised by genre include **AIRWZa** and manuscripts with rubrics or headings that label genres include **CIPRW**. Manuscript designations (in bold without prefix) refer to those used in Spanke and Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*.) Exceptions to this neat division of love song and *serventois* are two songs by Conon de Béthune whose first stanza is amatory and subsequent stanzas are political: *Ahi, Amours, con dure departie* (RS 1125) and *Bien me deüsse targier* (RS 1314). I discuss these below.

[8] On *sirventes* in Occitan treatises, see Elizabeth Aubrey, "Genre as a determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères," in *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, ed. William D. Paden (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 273–96, at 282–4. Troubadour manuscripts that have distinct sections for *sirventes* include **troubB**, **troubI**, **troubK** and **troubM**. Manuscript designations for troubadour sources have the prefix "troub" and refer to sigla in Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle (Saale): M. Niemeyer, 1933).

[9] For a detailed discussion of the term "serventois," see Marie-Geneviève Grossel, "Quand le monde entre dans la chanson: Chansons politiques, chansons de croisade, serventois et autres tensons de trouvères," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 11 (2004), par. 11–18. Of the thirteen trouvère songs in which the word *serventois* is used, seven are directed to the Virgin Mary (RS 198, RS 456a, RS 734, RS 873, RS 1207, RS 1391a, and RS 2053). At least four of the other six songs are explicitly political: RS 184a is named a *serventois* by Philip of Novare and relates to the actions of the five baillies in Cyprus; RS 1305 is a moral criticism of the activities of the French barons; RS 1729 is an attempt to persuade Louis IX not to give up on his crusade in the Holy Land; and RS 1835 is an account of a battle. The other two songs are less obviously political: RS 381 is a song of farewell by Alart de Cans to the people of Arras and RS 485 is a lament by Jehan Erart on the death of his friend Gerart. The latter may have been called a *serventois* because it is a contrafact (a defining feature of the Occitan *sirventes*).

[10] This is also the usage of the term by Grossel, "Quand le monde," par. 18 and Meghan Quinlan, "Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song" (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), 15.

1. Nafré sui [je], mais encor ne puis taire de dan Renart et (de) s'autre compaignie, qui pour luy est afamee et honie, dedens Maucrois, ou il maint et repaire. Mais se Renart a de son cors paour que ont mesfait li autre vavassour et ly sergent? Por quoi se laissent vendre? Come bricons leur fait aucuns atendre.	1. I am wounded, but still I cannot be silent concerning Sir Renart and the rest of his company, which because of him is starving and dishonoured inside Maupertuis, where he is taking refuge. But if Renart is in fear for his life, what harm have the other vavassors and the sergeants done? Why are they allowing themselves to be sold? Someone is keeping them waiting [for reinforcements] like fools.
2. Renart [en] sait plus de traïson faire que Guenelon, dont France fu traïe. A son eus a la tainere farsie. Là seüs est pour maistrier la terre et de la pais les chufle chascun jor. Bien est honis qui sert tel traïtor: pour luy servir le fait l'on sa hors pendre, et il les fait là dedens les saus prendre.	2. Renart knows more about treachery than Ganelon, who betrayed France. He has stuffed his den full of food: he has instated himself there to rule the land and dupes them every day concerning peace. Anyone who serves such a traitor is much dishonoured: the reward for serving him is to be hanged outside [his castle] or made to fall into wretchedness inside it.[11]

The song is overtly political, describing the war between the five *baillies* of Cyprus, who from 1228 fought to defend Frederick II of Hohenstaufen's claim over Cyprus, and the other claimants, Henry I of Cyprus and his regent, John of Ibelin. Philip, an ally of John of Ibelin against the *baillies*, documented the conflict and interpolated the texts of several songs (without their melodies) into his account. These were evidently included to serve Philip's political motives, as is especially apparent in the highly satirical *Nafré sui*.[12]

This article asks what Philip meant when he described his performance of *Nafré sui* as "en haut." Because Philip does not include the notation for his song in his account (the song's sole witness), this question must be approached from two directions. First, I analyse instances of the adjective *haut* in descriptions of sound in literary accounts of warfare. Although linguistic descriptors of sound are contingent and often imprecise, I argue that descriptions of a voice that is *haut* refer to speech that might be heightened in a number of ways. Second, I analyse the melodies of crusade *serventois* which, I shall argue, deliberately evoke both speech and song in order to exploit the advantages of each medium. This

[11] Text and translation adapted from Barbieri, "RS 190a," with thanks to the anonymous reader for suggesting a new translation of lines 15–16.
[12] One of the enemy *baillies*, Aimery Barlais, is represented by the treacherous Renart the fox, drawing on the well-known medieval stories about Renart and his political dealings in courts satirically populated by animals: Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 146–8.

analysis of melodies speaks to matters of genre, demonstrating that crusade *serventois* are generally more syllabic and recitational than crusade *grands chants*. While the literary evidence reveals the functions and meanings of *en haut* vocalisation, crusade songs provide evidence for the qualities of this sound. Together these bodies of evidence, distinct but for their coincidence in Philip's account, point to practices of vocalisation that challenge modern preconceptions about medieval song.

Voice, speech, and song in medieval theory and practice

As historians of the medieval period have amply demonstrated, medieval writers on grammar and philosophy discussed the sounds that could be produced by the human voice at length, frequently distinguishing between speech and song on the one hand and non-linguistic sounds on the other.[13] Though apparently a less pressing issue for medieval commentators, the differences between a singing voice and a non-singing voice were also theorised, most influentially by Boethius, whose treatise *De institutione musica* remained a central text in music education throughout the Middle Ages.[14] Boethius describes two principal types of voice: 1) a "continuous" voice that "hastens not to get caught up in high and low sounds" and that "hurr[ies] over words"; 2) a "sustained" voice which "measur[es] out differences of pitch."[15] The former type of voice is that of speaking or reading an oration aloud (*loquentes vel prosam orationem legentes*) and is characterised by a narrow ambitus and rapid movement between pitches, not lingering on a single pitch for any perceptible length of time; the latter consists of discrete pitches which are sustained and can be heard

[13] For a summary, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Grammar and Music in the Medieval Song School," *New Medieval Literatures* 9 (2009): 195–211, at 196–200; and Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 28–40.
[14] This can also be seen in the attempts by twelfth- and thirteenth-century clerical writers to police the singing voice, who worried either that it was dangerously musical or that poor performances were not musical enough: Timothy J. McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 22–8.
[15] Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, translated with Introduction and Notes by Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1989), 20. See also the discussions of Boethius in Sarah Kay, *Medieval Song from Aristotle to Opera* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2022), 4; and Calvin M. Bower, "Sonus, vox, chorda, nota: Thing, Name, and Sign," in *Quellen und Studien zur Musiktheorie des Mittelalters*, ed. Michael Bernhard (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 49–52 (on Boethius's use of the term *phthongos* to designate specifically musical sound).

when someone sings (*canendo*).[16] This distinction is evident in the use of music notation from the ninth century onwards, which scribes and bookmakers used to distinguish between the spoken word and more stylised ways of vocalising. Similarly, troubadours speak of songs as "words and sound" (*motz e·l so*), a conception of song that was presumably shared by the trouvères.[17]

The boundary between speech and song is sometimes difficult to define, however: John Stevens calls it "a sort of no man's land, in which move shadowy creatures of indeterminate allegiance."[18] Boethius himself supplements his two categories of voice with a third, "which can incorporate intermediate voices, such as when we recite heroic poems not in continuous flow as in prose or in a sustained and slower moving manner as in song."[19] This third kind of voice is documented variously during the Middle Ages, including in the oral delivery of letters, the recitation of liturgical and Classical texts, magical charms, and the performance of epic poetry.[20] French literary writers of the thirteenth century do not always

[16] The Latin is given in Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boetius, *De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo; De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1867), 199, on which Bower's translation is based.
[17] Elizabeth Aubrey, "References to Music in Old Occitan Literature," *Acta Musicologica* 61 (1989): 110–49, at 111–13. See also the distinction between words and music in Old French literature described in Christopher Page, "Music and Chivalric Fiction in France, 1150–1300," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 111 (1984–5): 1–27, at 14.
[18] John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 199. Stevens goes on to discuss the spectrum between speech and music in different medieval genres.
[19] Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, 20–1.
[20] Texts could be accompanied by a variety of signs to aid in declamation: see for example Malcolm B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 35–40. On the oral delivery of letters, see Martin Camargo, "Special delivery: were medieval letter writers trained in performance?," in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010),173–89. Camargo (180–1) analyses Bene da Firenze's *Candelabrum*, in which the author describes the use of signs within letters that direct the speaker to raise or lower their voice. Notably, Bene mentions that the liturgical recitation of psalms follows different rules. Numerous examples of chanting the liturgy in a particularly forceful or declamatory manner are given in Pascal Collomb, "*Vox clamantis in ecclesia*: Contribution des sources liturgiques médiévales occidentales à une histoire du cri," in *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, ed. Didier Lett and Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2003), 117–30. The Carthusian Order's *Statuta antiqua* (c. 1250) states that in monastic chant "it is the duty of a good monk to lament more than it is to sing [*plangere. . .quam cantare*]," an indication that liturgical vocalisation was not always considered the same as singing: McGee, *Sound of Medieval Song*, 25 and 182. On the neuming of Classical texts for recitation, see Marie-Elisabeth Duchez, "La Repŕesentation spatio-verticale du caractère musical grave-aigu et l'élaboration de la notion de hauteur de son dans la conscience musicale occidentale," *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979): 54–73, at 64–5; and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Nota bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), passim. On magical charms,

distinguish clearly between types of vocalisation, frequently using the verb *dire* (to speak) to describe the singing of a song and *chanter* (to sing) to describe an instrument playing a melody.[21] Notably, Philip of Novare states that he "sang *en haut* and spoke" (*chanta en haut et dist*) the *serventois Nafré sui*: might this therefore mean that Philip sang in Boethius's third voice, somewhere between speech and song? Equivocal uses of the terms *chanter* and *dire* in trouvère song also raise questions about the reliability of music notation, which attempts to fix aspects of a performance (relative pitch and text-melody alignment) that were variable or that notation cannot capture. I return to this issue in the analysis of crusade melodies below.

Speech, song, and sound, then, are not fixed categories. They have shifted in their ontologies throughout history and the boundaries of these types of sound are porous and open to negotiation. Grammarians, philosophers, and music theorists aimed to discipline the very broad range of sounds of the human voice out of a concern for the morality of human vocalisation, distinguishing between speech and song in order to approve or disapprove of music's special qualities.[22] Music notators similarly disciplined the musical object by fixing its pitches on the stave and dividing the continuity (in both pitch and duration) of the human voice into discrete units. If we look beyond these mediators of medieval sound, though, a variety of uses of the human voice emerge. Here, I set out the evidence from crusading environments for sounds that defy simple categorisation because they were more than speech but not quite music.

see John Haines, "Music," in *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*, ed. Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 371–82, at 371. The tradition of reciting epic poetry quasi-musically is discussed by Elena Abramov-van Rijk, *Parlar cantando: The Practice of Reciting Verses in Italy from 1300 to 1600* (Bern; New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 9; and Stevens, *Words and Music*, 199–267.

[21] Sylvia Huot, "Voices and Instruments in Medieval French Secular Music: On the Use of Literary Evidence for Performance Practice," *Musica Disciplina* 43 (1989): 63–113, at 69–73; and Emma Dillon, "Unwriting Medieval Song," *New Literary History* 46 (2015): 595–622, at 596.

[22] Leach, "Grammar and Music," 195.

The meanings of *en haut*

That phrases such as *en haut*, *à haute vois*, and *hautement* are translated in a range of ways indicates the difficulty of finding a single equivalent in modern English for these terms. The Latin adjective *altus*, from which the Old French *haut* derives, is a spatial descriptor and equates to the adjective "high" in modern English. Thus, Isidore of Seville describes the perfect voice as "high, so that it can reach the high range" (*alta, ut in sublime sufficiat*).[23] Yet the same adjective in the phrase *vox alta* and its cognates in romance vernaculars often appears to signify that the voice is loud rather than high. This ambiguity can be traced back to the period before music writing, when the human voice was not conceived in spatial terms: as Marie-Elisabeth Duchez notes there was a "confusion in the terminology for height and intensity" in music-theoretical texts written before the tenth century.[24] Although by the thirteenth century the idea that sounds could be high and low was well established, the linguistic ambiguity remained and persists in romance languages today.[25] Modern sonograms allow us to distinguish between volume (a soundwave's amplitude) and pitch (a wave's frequency), but in practice a human voice that is perceived as loud is often also high. Medieval instruments might be described as *haut* or *bas* in contemporary literature to indicate not only their volume but perhaps also their timbre.[26] Similarly, dictionaries for Old French offer translations of the phrase "en haut" that combine timbre, pitch, and volume such

[23] Latin: Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: E typographeo Clarendoniano, 1911), III.xx.14. English translation: Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 97. McGee, *Sound of Medieval Song*, 20 translates "alta" in this passage as "loud." Elsewhere in the *Etymologies* Isidore refers to tragic actors who "alta intonantique voce carmina cantaturi": Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, XIX.xxxiv.5. (They "chant poems in a deep, resonant voice": Isidore, *Etymologies*, 393.) The Latin adjective could thus mean differently according to context. It may be significant that in book 3, where *musica* is discussed, Isidore tends to use the adjective pair "acutus" and "gravis" to describe pitch rather than "altus."

[24] "la confusion de la terminologie de la hauteur et de l'intensité": Duchez, "La Repŕesentation spatio-verticale," 60.

[25] Duchez, "La Representation spatio-verticale," 63 notes that "haut et bas" can mean "high and low" or "loud and soft" in modern French. The phrases "ad alta voce" and "en voz alta" mean "aloud" in modern Italian and Spanish respectively. In modern English, speaking in a "low voice" can refer to quiet speaking.

[26] The classic study is Edmund A. Bowles, "Haut and Bas: The Grouping of Musical Instruments in the Middle Ages," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954): 115–40.

as “bright” or “with great intensity.”[27] Intensity is perhaps the most useful way to conceptualise *haut* or *altus* sound.

To explain Philip of Novare’s use of the phrase “en haut,” the following discussion examines one literary work from the period, the *Chanson d’Antioche* (hereafter *Antioche*). This long *chanson de geste* provides an account of events preceding and during the First Crusade, covering the period 1095 to 1099, and is a useful point of comparison since it has the same subject matter (warfare in the eastern mediterranean) as Philip’s account and was written down around the same time. The author of *Antioche*, one “Ricars li pelerin,” claims to have composed the work shortly after the crusade. Regardless of how reliable this is, there seems to have been a rich oral transmission of sung stories about the crusade during the twelfth century; some time around the end of the twelfth century or the start of the thirteenth, *Antioche* crystallised in writing, possibly through the efforts of someone the text names as “Graindor de Douai,” and survives in various textual versions.[28] It remained popular throughout the thirteenth century, as evidenced by the number of surviving manuscripts for *Antioche* (especially from north-eastern France, the heartlands of trouvère song) and the fact that it served as a model for William of Tudela’s *Canso de la Crozada*, an account of the Albigensian Crusade.[29] *Antioche* can therefore serve as a representative example of discourses about sound during the period when most crusade songs were composed (1190–1250) and when Philip of Novare gave his extraordinary battlefield performance (1229–1230). Furthermore, the song that Philip sings nods to *chansons de geste* such as *Antioche* in its use of decasyllabic lines and reference to Ganelon, the treacherous figure in the *Chanson de Roland*.[30]

[27] “hell” in the entry “haut” in Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925); “avec une grande intensité”: “haut” in the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/haut).
[28] For a comprehensive discussion of the authorship and textual history of *Antioche*, see Susan Edgington and Carol Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old-French account of the First Crusade* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 1–48. [Abbreviated *ES* from this point forward.]
[29] *ES* 13–14 and 39–42.
[30] I thank the anonymous reader for suggesting this to me.

The genre of *Antioche* makes it a rich text for studying wartime sounds. *Chansons de geste* are epic, sung accounts that are mostly concerned with warfare, often describing battles in bloody detail. Other genres such as *romans*, *fabliaux* or lyric songs only rarely feature descriptions of combat and, since sound is described as *en haut* much less frequently in these works, it would seem to be associated with violent contexts (see table 1).[31] For example, the most common genre of trouvère lyric in which somebody speaks or sings *en haut* is the pastourelle, in which sexual violence is a common feature. These trends are not surprising given that different literary genres prioritise different kinds of vocal utterance. Jean-Marie Fritz argues that there is a lyrical impulse in songs which emphasises singing (*chanter*), while *romans* are most concerned with speaking (*parler*); in *chansons de geste*, the most common vocal sound is crying (*crier*/*s'escrier*) and indeed many of the instances of the adjective *haut* in the *chansons de geste* in table 1 occur alongside the verb *crier*.[32] While it could be argued that crying *en haut* was stereotypical in *chansons de geste* and thus not particularly meaningful, the fact that *chansons de geste* were so saturated with cries and sounds *en haut* indicates the fundamental connection between heightened vocalisation and contexts of violence.

[31] The figures in table 1 should be considered broadly representative but only approximate. Different figures could be reached by counting instances in different editions; for example, figures for *Antioche* were calculated from Paulin Paris's edition, which omits several *laisses* that are included in Suzanne Duparc-Quioc's later edition. The figure for the *Chanson de Roland* is for the number of lines in the poem in which, in at least one source, the word "haut" is found. The editions consulted are as follows: Richard le Pelerin and Graindor de Douai, *La Chanson d'Antioche, composée par le pèlerin Richard, renouvelée par Graindor de Douay*, ed. Paulin Paris (Paris: J. Techener, 1848); Richard le Pélerin and Graindor de Douai, *La Conquête de Jerusalem faisant suite à la Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. C. Hippeau (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1868); Edmund Stengel, ed., *Das altfranzösische Rolandslied: Bd. 1. Text, Variantenapparat und vollständiges Namenverzeichnis* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung T. Weicher, 1900); Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Gustave Servois and Gaston Paris (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1893); Henri Victor Michelant and Paul Meyer, eds, *L'Escoufle: roman d'aventure*, (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1894); and Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, trans. Ernest Langlois, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1914). Figures for trouvère lyric were calculated from Paolo Canettieri and Rocco Distilo, "Trouveors" (2010), http://trouveors.lieuweb.eu/.

[32] Jean-Marie Fritz, *La Cloche et la lyre: Pour une poétique médiévale du paysage sonore* (Geneva: Droz, 2011), 51–2.

Table 1: Descriptions of sound “en haut” in different Old French genres

Literary work	Number of descriptions of sound using “haut”
CHANSONS DE GESTE	
Conquête de Jérusalem	64
Chanson d’Antioche	45
Chanson de Roland	24
ROMANS	
Renart, *Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*	6
de Lorris/Meung, *Le Roman de la Rose*	5
Renart, *L’Escoufle*	2
TROUVÈRE SONGS	
in pastourelles	28
in devotional songs	8
in love lyric (*grands chants*/ballettes)	8
in crusade songs	1
in *jeux-partis*	1

The most obvious translation of “en haut” is “out loud,” the first and sometimes only meaning given in modern dictionaries of Old French, Occitan, and Anglo-Norman.[33] The phrase often has this function in courtly literature and may be used to introduce a song interpolated into the text, or to make it clear that the interpolated song has just finished:

> And I found in my way
> A pretty shepherdess,
> Charming and gay and attractive
> And **singing aloud** [*a haute voix chantant*]
> With a pretty loving heart,
> *“Sweet friend, the pain I have*
> *I get from you!”*
>
> (anon., RS 1707, ll. 3–9)[34]

> *Alas you came from far away, and now my heart is captured led astray*. She **sang it very sweetly** [*ot chanté haut et bien*], and then said, “Now, please, that’s enough!”
>
> (Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, ll. 1190–3)[35]

[33] The dictionary entries consulted were “aut” in the *Dictionnaire de l’Occitan Médiévale* (http://www.dom-en-ligne.de/dom.php?lhid=2CgwItnSmkeZWISYO7aN7o); “halt” in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (https://www.anglo-norman.net/entry/halt); “haut” in Tobler-Lommatzsch and the *DMF*; and “alt” in Friedrich Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française* (https://num.classiques-garnier.com/index.php?module=App&action=FrameMain).

[34] William D. Paden, *The Medieval Pastourelle*, 2 vols. (New York; London: Garland, 1987), vol. 1, 250–1.

[35] Jean Renart, *The Romance of the Rose or Guillaume de Dole*, trans. Nancy Vine Durling and Patricia Terry (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 34. Italics are mine to indicate the interpolated song. The Old French may be found at Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, 37.

In both of these examples, the word *haut* is included to help the audience to distinguish between the voice of the narrator and the diegetic voice of the character; the audience would almost certainly have listened to these passages rather than read them, so the indication that a voice has been nested within the narrator's voice is especially necessary.[36] In most cases, however, the word *haut* cannot only have had this function because it is obvious from the verb that the vocal utterance is out loud:

> At this point their spiritual leader the bishop of Le Puy intervened. He **shouted to our men in a loud voice** [*Parla a nos barons et crie a hautes vois*]: "Noble knights and gentlemen, it would be a valiant deed if we were to charge those forces now.
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 1279–1282)[37]

It is implict that the bishop of Le Puy speaks out loud here, first because the verb *crier* signifies an utterance that cannot be inaudible, and second because the direct speech that follows is addressed to a large, listening crowd. Here and in the many other cases where it is paired with the verb *crier*, "a hautes vois" cannot simply mean "out loud."[38]

Writers might include the adjective *haut* to emphasise that an utterance is particularly audible and is intended to be heard by many. The *DMF* gives one meaning of the adjective as "resounding, so that one hears it from afar," while Tobler-Lommatzsch lists possible translations as "openly" or "insistently."[39] The word *haut* can also carry connotations of nobility and thus the authority to speak, to be heard, and to be obeyed.[40] Audibility and clarity were evidently important to the characters in *Antioche*, who cry and shout in order to communicate on the battlefield.

---

[36] The adjective "haut" may also have been used here to indicate that the singer's voice was aesthetically pleasing or alluring.
[37] *ES* 301. The Old French may be found in Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, *La Chanson d'Antioche* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Geuthner, 1976), 421–2 [hereafter *DQ*].
[38] All instances of the word *haut* in *Antioche* are listed in the appendix.
[39] "sonore, qu'on entend de loin": "haut," *DMF*; "offenkundig" and "nachdrücklich": Tobler-Lommatzsch, "haut."
[40] "in ehrenvoller Weise": Tobler-Lommatzsch, "haut."

> The Turks up in the towers inflicted heavy losses on them. Godfrey of Bouillon **shouted orders loudly** [*hautement lor cria*]: "Gentlemen and noble Christians, abandon your positions; the enemy are growing too strong for us."
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 6342–5)[41]

For Godfrey, a prominent nobleman and commander, it is important that his orders are heard by his fellow combatants near him. This goes beyond everyday communicative requirements. Modern testimony about warfare has shown that in combat zones aurality becomes a matter of life and death: in a study of the 2003 invasion of Iraq, J. Martin Daughtry argues that the demands of conflict make sound a more important perceptible phenomenon than the visual because auditors might hear the threat of violence before they see it.[42] Godfrey may not have been able to see all of his fellow combatants, but by shouting loudly he was able to communicate over a large distance in all directions to anyone listening, regardless of whether they were looking at him. To make himself audible, Godfrey may have altered not only the volume of his voice, but also its pitch, speed, and clarity of diction. Clarity is clearly a concern in the following passage:

> Orchenais spurred forward right across the battlefield, **yelling at the top of his voice in clear tones** [*A se vois qu'il ot clere molt hautement s'escrie*]: "Alas, Lord Soliman! Your forces are taking heavy losses. Your son Hisdent has met his end in the wasteland."
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 1480– 2)[43]

Orchenais's message, declaimed "hautement," is urgent and needs to be conveyed accurately to Soliman. By manipulating his voice—probably its volume, pitch and other aspects—Orchenais creates a sound that cuts through the complicated and chaotic sonic landscape.

[41] *ES* 252; *DQ* 315.
[42] J. Martin Daughtry, "Thanatosonics: Ontologies of Acoustic Violence," *Social Text* 32 (2014): 25–51, at 26.
[43] *ES* 141; *DQ* 88;.

Orchenais probably also spoke “molt hautement” because of his extreme emotional state. Tobler-Lommatzsch notes that “en haut” can signify a celebratory sound, as in the following passage:[44]

> The Franks cavorted with delight when they saw this, **screaming “Montjoie!” at the tops of their voices** [*fu Monjoie hautement escriee*].
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 3695–3696)[45]

In *Antioche* there are other heightened emotions that generate voices with high intensity. These are listed in the appendix and include indignation:

> At this Taticius nearly expired [with rage]: his face darkened at such appalling treatment, and **he yelled at the top of his voice** [*hautement parla que sa vois fu oïe*]: “By my faith, Emperor, I’m not going to hold back!”
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 947–950)[46]

fear: [47]

> The Turks inflicted bloody wounds with their bows of horn. The sergeants realised that all was lost and made their escape, **yelling at the tops of their voices to attract attention** [*A hautes vois s’escrient et prisent a hucier*]: “Hoy! [*Ahi!*] Lord Raymond, where are you? We desperately need help!”
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 3129–3132)[48]

and grief:

> At this Soliman was utterly beside himself with rage. He fainted four times flat onto the flower-strewn grass, one faint after another. When he finally got up **he lamented at the top of his voice** [*a hautes vois s’escrie*]: “Alas, [*Ahi!*] my good city! You were equipped to cope with anything!”
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 1765–1768)[49]

Extreme emotions lead characters to vocalise in extreme ways. The inclusion of the word *haut* in these examples implies human voices that exceed their usual bounds of decorum and restraint. It is notable that each utterance here begins with an exclamation that does not

[44] “feierlich”: Tobler-Lommatzsch, “haut.”
[45] *ES* 193; *DQ* 202. “Montjoie!” is Charlemagne’s battle-cry in the *Chanson de Roland* and is often used by the French as a battle-cry in *Antioche*.
[46] *ES* 127; *DQ* 59.
[47] Many instances of the phrase “en haut” in trouvère pastourelles are at the point in the narrative when the shepherdess cries out in fear that she is going to be attacked by the knight.
[48] *ES* 180; *DQ* 176.
[49] *ES* 148; *DQ* 102.

mean much beyond an expression of intense emotion: “Ahi!,” “By my faith,” or “Montjoie.” Sound threatens to overwhelm sense, suggesting that—contrary to connotations of clarity in other instances—a sound that is *haut* might communicate emotion but impede semantic meaning.

Related to these emotive vocalisations are cases when characters in *Antioche* cry out to encourage others to fight, or as part of an attack on their enemy.[50] The adjective *haut* might be translated as “daringly,” implying a kind of masculine bravado, or “noisily” and “deafeningly,” reflecting an aggressive and violent deployment of sound.[51] The following passage from early in *Antioche*’s narrative is particularly evocative of this:

> Every single one went forward **bellowing at the top of his voice, shouting “Montjoie!” in loud ringing tones** [*haut escriant, clerement, a haut ton, vont Monjoie huçant*]. “Come to the aid of the Holy Sepulchre, comrades! Forward!” They smashed their way through the pagans, killing many as they went and covering the ground with blood and brains.
>
> (*Antioche*, ll. 564–568)[52]

The translators of *Antioche* note here that although bloodily detailed, the description of blood and brains is a formula common in *chansons de geste*. Nevertheless, the violence is extreme in this passage and the *hauts* sounds produced by the French combatants are intrinsic to the violence. This is a medieval example of a phenomenon that Daughtry describes as the “essentially commingled terms” of sound and violence.[53] The aggressive force of the combatants is channelled through their voices, causing them to cry (*escrier*) and yell (*huer*) *en haut*, while they simultaneously use their bodies and weapons to kill their opponents.

Violence may cause the human voice to sound a certain way. Steven Connor proposes that

[50] These passages are listed in the appendix as “encouragement” and “aggression.”
[51] “verwegen” in Tobler-Lommatzsch, “haut”; “bruyamment” in “haut” in the *DMF*; “retentissant” in Godefroy, “alt.”
[52] *ES* 117; *DQ* 43.
[53] J. Martin Daughtry, *Listening to War: Sound, Music, Trauma and Survival in Wartime Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 159.

> in the exercise of vocal hostility. . . the voice seems to demonstrate its power to inflict harm by attacking itself, taking itself as an object or substance which may be subjected to injuring or exterminating assault. It may enact the envelopment or strangulation of its object; or it may scatter or pulverize its own forms and tonalities. The voice of rage must do this, because it is aimed at transcending its own condition, forming itself as a kind of projectile, a piercing, invading weapon, in order to penetrate, disintegrate, and abandon itself.[54]

Aggression, rage, and violence cause the voice to tear itself apart. The adjective *haut* might imply a voice that is imbued with a violence of its own, a violence that is heard in the way that the pure, aggressive sound of the voice subsumes its usual signifying function.[55] In other words, the sound made by the violent voice is not merely speech, nor merely sound: it exceeds language and yet it is also meaningful and organised. It has in common with song a sonic surplus beyond language that can move and affect the bodies of listeners. But it is also quite different from the singing voice—at least as Boethius defined it—in its self-destructive potential.

When, in the passage introduced at the opening of this essay, Philip of Novare describes his performance of a crusade song "en haut," he thus summons a range of associations that the phrase carries. Philip certainly sang out loud, but the testimony of *Antioche* suggests that he also sang in a way that ensured his song was particularly audible.[56] Philip's song was full of vitriol, which may mean that he sang *en haut* because he was so angry that he could not prevent his emotions shaping his voice. And finally, Philip's performance is aggressively directed against his enemies inside the castle; his voice may have been *en haut* because it carried a violence that threatened to destroy both his enemies and his own voice. Exactly what Philip's performance sounded like is hard to determine, but it is logical to conclude that it was loud, perhaps high in pitch, clearly declaimed and

[54] Steven Connor, *Dumbstruck: A Cultural History of Ventriloquism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 37

[55] Suzanne G. Cusick has noted the tendency for sound to lose is signifying ability when it is used for violence in "Musicology, Torture, Repair," *Radical Musicology* 3 (2008), par. 3–5.

[56] Philip states that "they knew well" (*sorent il bien*) that he was not dead, implying the song was pointedly audible. He also describes being carried onto the rock in front of the castle, probably to exploit the natural amplification that the castle walls and rock would have provided; I thank Sam Barrett for suggesting this.

aggressive in timbre. It is to traces of this kind of sound in other trouvère songs that I now turn.

Melodic style of crusade songs

Although they have been studied formally for over a century, little attention has been paid to the melodic characteristics of crusade songs. In a recent study, Uri Jacob noted the prevalence of recitation—several syllables set syllabically to the same pitch in succession—in a selection of exhortatory Latin, French, and Occitan crusade songs.[57] My examination of all extant Old French crusade songs expands on Jacob's discussion of crusade melodies through a corpus-wide analysis, showing that the melodies of crusade *serventois* tend to be closer to speech than those for crusade *grands chants*. Although Philip of Novare's *serventois* has no surviving notation, his description of its performance *en haut* may point to the differences in melodic style between these two types of song. To quantify these assertions, the following statistical analyses determine how speech-like or song-like each melody is. The analyses compare the corpus of twelve crusade *serventois* to the sixteen crusade *grands chants* that survive with melodies.[58] The latter are treated as a useful comparator, though it must be acknowledged that they may not be representative of melodic style in the *grand chant* repertory as a whole.

One measure of speech-like melody is the prevalence of syllabic text setting. Tables 2a–c list the twenty-eight crusade songs from the most to the least syllabic and demonstrate that *serventois* tend to be more syllabic than *grands chants*. The tables give the percentage of syllables that are set to a single pitch in each song.[59] In the most syllabic song in table 2a

[57] Jacob, "Musical Responses to the Crusades," 56.
[58] The corpus of crusade songs studied here consists of all songs transmitted with a melody that are listed by the Warwick University "Troubadours, Trouvères and the Crusades" project (https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades, accessed 30 Aug 2022) except for one song, *Chanterai pour mon courage* (RS 21), whose unusual features make it difficult to classify. I discuss this song further below.
[59] The percentage figure is calculated as the number of syllables set to one note divided by the total number of syllables. Manuscript designations as in Raynaud/Spanke except for **Erf.** (Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. Codex Amplonianus 8˚, 32) and **Harley** (London, British Library, MS Harley 3775). The following melodic versions were excluded from these calculations because they are incomplete or substantially different: RS 273 (**V**); RS 421 (**R**); RS 421 (**A**); RS 499 (**P**); RS 502 (**M**); RS 502 (**A**); RS 679 (**M**); RS 757 (**V**); RS 757 (**P**); RS 795 (**T**); RS 985 (**V**); RS 985 (**R**); RS 985 (**U**);

for example, *Dieus est ensi conme est li pellicans* (RS 273) by Thibaut de Champagne, of the one hundred syllables in the song, nintety-four are set syllabically and only six are melismatic (including plica). To account for differences between manuscript versions of a melody, table 2a gives the average syllabic percentage for each song and tables 2b and 2c list only the most and least syllabic version of each melody respectively.[60]

The data suggest that, by all measures, *serventois* tend to be more syllabic than *grands chants*. In the top ten most syllabic songs in each table, the majority are *serventois*: eight in table 2a, seven in 2b, and nine in 2c.[61] In 2a, the ten least syllabic songs are *grands chants*; in 2b this is true for the nine least syllabic and in 2c for the eleven least syllabic. Tables 2b and c also demonstrate that while *grands chants* and *serventois* may have several melodic versions that differ widely in their level of syllabic setting, *grands chants* are more likely to have a high degree of variance in the prevalence of melisma. The final column of table 2c measures the percentage points between the most and least syllabic versions of a song, with the greatest differences shaded in grey.[62] Six of these eight shaded songs are *grands chants*. The other two songs are *serventois* by Conon de Béthune, for which it is notable that the first stanzas are about love and the subsequent stanzas are political in focus. Perhaps some scribes or singers made the melodies of these two *serventois* more lyrical because of these initial amatory stanzas. In sum, the data suggests that the ideal *serventois* was syllabic and therefore closer to speech, whereas *grands chants* tended towards the melismatic and lyrical.

RS 1125 (**a**); RS 1125 (**R**); RS 1125 (**V**); RS 1126 (**R**); RS 1126 (**V**); RS 1204 (**V**); RS 1229 (**M**); RS 1314 (**O**); RS 1469 (**R** (two versions)); RS 1575 (**M**); RS 1575 (**R**); RS 1575 (**V**); RS 1576 (**M**).

[60] In table 2a, the average for each song is calculated as the average of all versions of the song's melody. The closely related sources **KNPX** often transmit the same version of the melody; where this is the case, they are counted as a single version. Each version is separated by (/) in table 2a.

[61] The **KPX** version of the *grand chant S'onques nus hom por dure departie* (RS 1126) appears high up in table 2b because its melody is based on a very syllabic version of RS 1125 (**KNX**).

[62] These data may be skewed by the fact that there are several *serventois* that survive in only one manuscripts, whereas most *grands chants* have multiple attestations.

Table 2a: prevalence of syllabic text setting in crusade songs (average of extant versions)

RS	Melodic versions	Incipit	Genre	Average (%)
273	**KX / M / O**	*Dieus est ensi conme est li pelicans*	*serv.*	94
1152	**KMX / O / R / V**	*Au tens plain de felonie*	*serv.*	84
1125	**KN / M / O / T / X**	*Ahi, Amours, con dure departie*	*serv.*	82
757	**KX / M / O**	*Dame, ensi est qu'il m'en convient aler*	*g. c.*	82
1314	**KNX / M / T**	*Bien me deüsse targier*	*serv.*	81
6	**KNX / M / O**	*Seignor, sachiés, qui or ne s'en ira*	*serv.*	81
1891	**KNX / O**	*Ja nus hons pris ne dira sa raison*	*serv.*	80
1030	**M / T**	*Maugré tous sains et maugré Dieu ausi*	*serv.*	79
1887	**V**	*Nus ne porroit de mauvaise raison*	*serv.*	76
499	**KN / T / X**	*Li departirs de douce contree*	*g. c.*	76
401	**o**	*Parti de mal et a bien atourné*	*serv.*	76
1548a	**Erf.**	*Chevalier, mult estes guaris*	*serv.*	75
1020a	**a**	*Oiés seigneur, pereceus, par oiseuse*	*serv.*	75
1154	**O**	*E cuens d'Anjou, on dit par felonie*	*g. c.*	73
1325	**M / T**	*Bele douce dame chiere*	*g. c.*	72
1126	**A / D / KPX / OaHarley / T**	*S'onques nus hom por dure departie*	*g. c.*	72
502	**KNPX / T / U / a**	*Tant con je fusse hors de ma contree*	*g. c.*	71
1576	**T**	*Jerusalem se plaint et le païs*	*serv.*	70
679	**A / KX / O / P / R / T / U / V**	*A vous, amant, plus qu'a nule autre gent*	*g. c.*	68
795	**M**	*Bien me cuidai de chanter*	*g. c.*	65
1204	**N**	*Se j'ai lonc tens esté en Romanie*	*g. c.*	64
1469	**KX / M / O / V / a**	*Li dous pensers et li dous souvenir*	*g. c.*	62
1575	**KNPX / L / T**	*Se j'ai esté lonc tens hors du païs*	*g. c.*	59
140	**KPX / N / T**	*Aler m'estuet la ou je trerai paine*	*g. c.*	57
985	**A / KPX / L / M / O / T / a**	*Li nouviaus tens et mais et violete*	*g. c.*	55
1229	**KNPX / O**	*Ja de chanter en ma vie*	*g. c.*	53
421	**KNP / M / T / U / a**	*Combien que j'aie demouré*	*g. c.*	48
1616	**M / T**	*Bele Ysabeaus, pucele bien aprise*	*g. c.*	46

Tables 2b and c: prevalence of syllabic text setting in crusade songs listing (b) the most syllabic; and (c) the least syllabic version of each song

(b):

RS	Melodic version(s)	Genre	% syllabic
273	**M**	*serv.*	95
1125	**KN**	*serv.*	92
1314	**M**	*serv.*	89
1152	**O**	*serv.*	87
6	**O**	*serv.*	83
757	**M**	*g. c.*	83
1126	**KPX**	*g. c.*	81
1030	**T**	*serv.*	80
1891	**KNX / O**	*serv.*	80
679	**R**	*g. c.*	78
499	**KN**	*g. c.*	77
401	**o**	*serv.*	76
1887	**V**	*serv.*	76
1020a	**a**	*serv.*	75
1548a	**Erf.**	*serv.*	75
1325	**T**	*g. c.*	74
502	**a**	*g. c.*	74
1154	**O**	*g. c.*	73
1576	**T**	*serv.*	70
985	**L**	*g. c.*	66
1575	**T**	*g. c.*	66
1469	**KX**	*g. c.*	65
795	**M**	*g. c.*	65
1204	**N**	*g. c.*	64
421	**T**	*g. c.*	59
140	**T**	*g. c.*	58
1616	**T**	*g. c.*	56
1229	**O**	*g. c.*	56

(c):

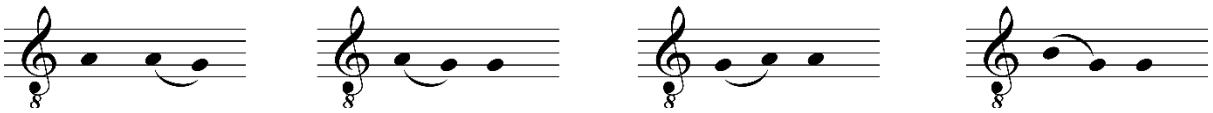
RS	Melodic version(s)	Genre	% syllabic	Diff. from (b)
273	**O**	*serv.*	92	3
1152	**V**	*serv.*	82	5
1891	**KNX / O**	*serv.*	80	n/a
757	**KX**	*g. c.*	80	3
6	**KNX**	*serv.*	79	4
1030	**M**	*serv.*	78	2
401	**o**	*serv.*	76	n/a
1020a	**a**	*serv.*	75	n/a
1887	**V**	*serv.*	76	n/a
1548a	**Erf.**	*serv.*	75	n/a
499	**X**	*g. c.*	74	3
1154	**O**	*g. c.*	73	n/a
1125	**M**	*serv.*	71	21
1576	**T**	*serv.*	70	n/a
502	**U**	*g. c.*	69	5
1325	**M**	*g. c.*	69	5
1314	**T**	*serv.*	66	33
1126	**T**	*g. c.*	65	16
795	**M**	*g. c.*	65	n/a
1469	**V**	*g. c.*	60	5
1204	**N**	*g. c.*	64	n/a
140	**N**	*g. c.*	55	3
679	**A**	*g. c.*	57	21
1575	**L**	*g. c.*	53	13
1229	**KNPX**	*g. c.*	50	6
985	**M**	*g. c.*	47	19
421	**U**	*g. c.*	31	28
1616	**M**	*g. c.*	36	20

A second measure of speech-like melody is recitation, a melodic characteristic that is less easy to quantify.[63] Recitation is defined here as a passage within a poetic line in which two or more of the same pitch are stated consecutively. They must be set syllabically (repetition within a neume is not counted), although I also count cases where the first pitch of a passage is the last pitch in a melisma, or the last pitch in a passage is the first pitch in a melisma. Where pitches are repeated as part of a cadential formula (see ex. 1a), these are omitted from the count, as are instances when the same pitch is heard twice in succession

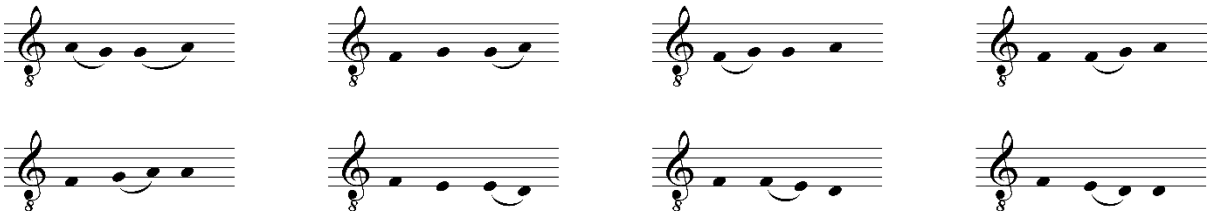
[63] Scholars have noted the presence of passages of recitation but have not investigated it systematically: Hendrik Van der Werf, "Recitative Melodies in Trouvère Chansons," in *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 231–40; and Mary J. O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 150–2.

and these two pitches belong to two consecutive melismas, or when one pitch set to a single syllable anticipates or is anticipated by the same pitch in a melisma within a three-note stepwise passage (ex. 1b).[64] Figures 1–3 present three different ways of measuring the level of recitation in a melody and how this differs according to the type of song.[65]

Ex. 1a: repetition at the end of poetic lines omitted from the data



Ex. 1b: repetition between melismas and within three-pitch stepwise phrases omitted from the data



[64] Discounting the figures in ex. 1b largely eliminates variants between versions of the same melody, which suggests that these instances of pitch repetition would have been considered a way of decorating a melody rather than a kind of recitation.

[65] For this analysis of recitation, the same melodies are omitted from the data as for the analysis of syllabic text setting because the melodic versions are substantially different. See n. 59.

Fig. 1a: number of songs in which each length of recitation passage is found

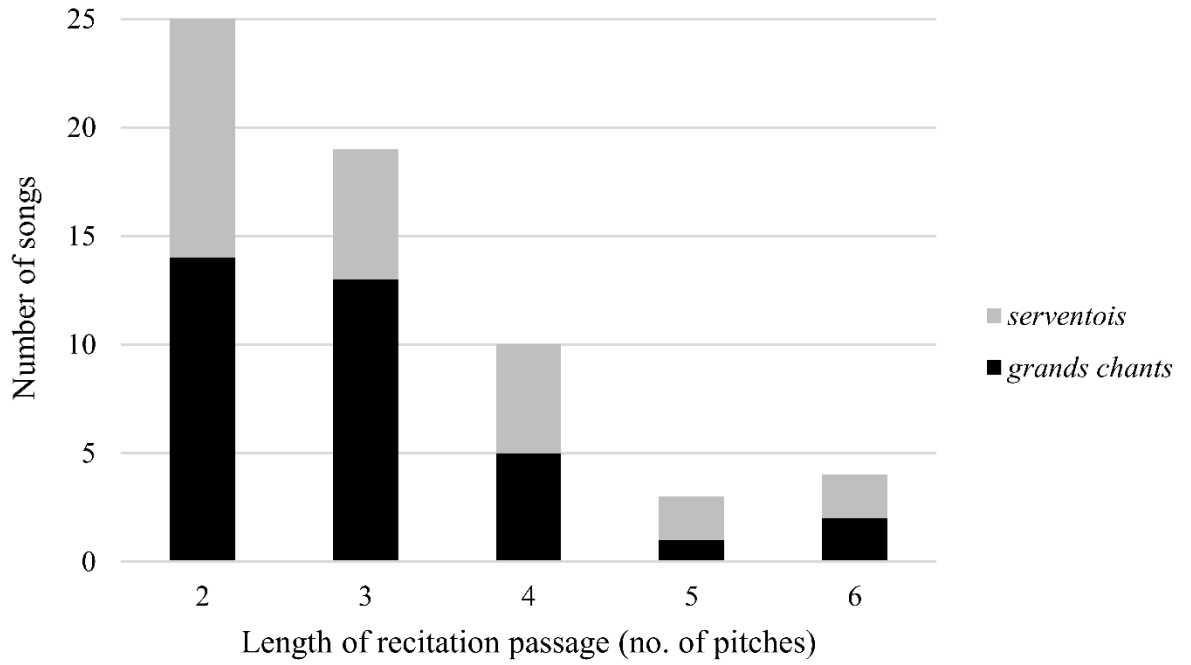
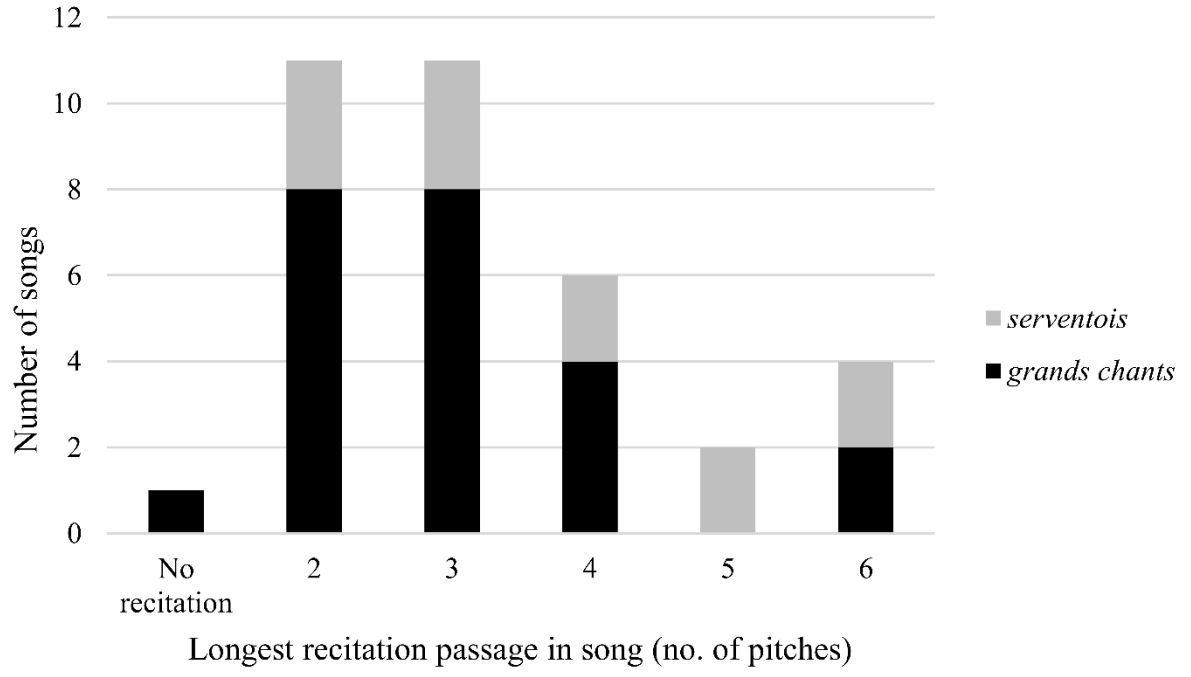


Fig. 1b: number of songs by longest recitation passage



At first glance, the data are equivocal. Figure 1a presents the number of songs in which a certain length of recitation passage is found in one or more of the manuscript versions. It shows that shorter passages of recitation are more common than longer

passages. All lengths of recitation passage occur roughly equally in both types of song, though since there are more *grands chants* than *serventois*, the latter are slightly more likely to have long passages of recitation. Figure 1b charts the longest recitation passage found in each song across all of its melodic versions and shows that *serventois* are more likely than *grands chants* to have longer recitation, but that the tendency is not particularly strongly marked.[66]

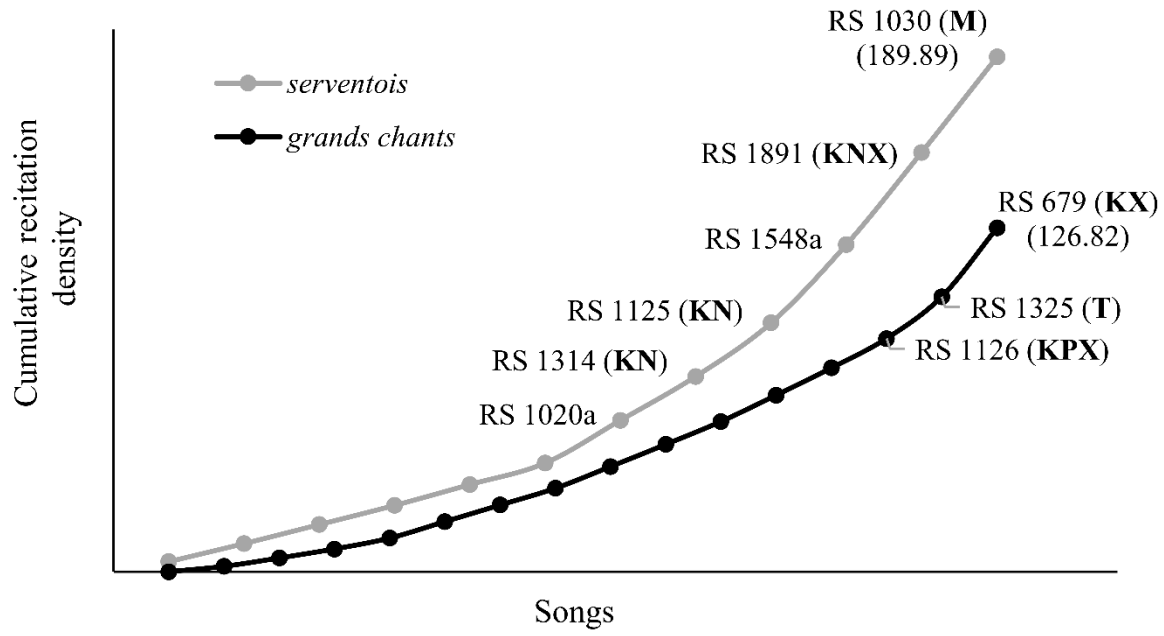
Because many of the songs exist in several melodic versions, the trends presented in figures 1a and 1b do not capture the complexity of the data. A song that in most versions has little recitation may have one version with an anomalous recitational passage, perhaps because of an error on the part of the scribe or a gap in the exemplar which the scribe had to fill.[67] Similarly, a song that generally seems to feature recitation might have its passages of recitation made more lyrical by shortening them or replacing them with conjunct motion.[68] To address this complexity, figures 2a and 2b measure recitation in a different way by counting the proportion of syllables in a melody that are sung to the same pitch as the previous syllable. I term the movement from one syllable to the next a "move." For each melody, a percentage is calculated by taking the number of moves for which the pitch does not change and dividing this by the number of countable moves.[69] Sorted from the least to the most recitational, a cumulative tally is taken for each type of song and scaled to take account of the different sample sizes of each type.[70] Figure 2a does this for the melodic version of each

[66] Full details of the pitch strings in each song and its versions are presented in section 1 of the supporting information: http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-y5qdjjv0a.
[67] For example, the version of the *grand chant Bele douce dame chiere* (RS 1325) in **M** has a medium amount of recitation but the version in **T** substitutes a conjunct passage for a recitation passage that lasts six syllables. Given that these are the only two versions of the song, it is difficult to know which is more accurate.
[68] Examples that exhibit this strongly include the *serventois* RS 1125 (versions in **MOT**), the *serventois* RS 1891 (**O**), and the *grand chant* RS 679 (**AOTU**).
[69] The move from the end of a line to the start of the next line is not counted; the total number of countable moves in a melody is therefore the total number of syllables minus the number of lines.
[70] To account for the different sizes of the samples (twelve *serventois* and sixteen *grands chants*), the adjusted cumulative tally for *grands chants* = 3*[cumulative tally]/4.

song that has the highest recitation percentage; figure 2b plots the version of each song with the lowest percentage.[71]

The two figures show that cumulatively *serventois* contain more recitation than *grands chants*; this general principle is securely attested by the data, since the lines for each subgenre increase at steady but different rates and do not cross at any point. Furthermore, the cumulative tally for the most recitational *grands chants* (126.82) is slightly lower than the cumuluative tally for the least recitational *serventois* (135.40). While melodic variance means that some versions of *serventois* have low recitation and some versions of *grands chants* have high recitation, *serventois* tend to be more recitational overall.

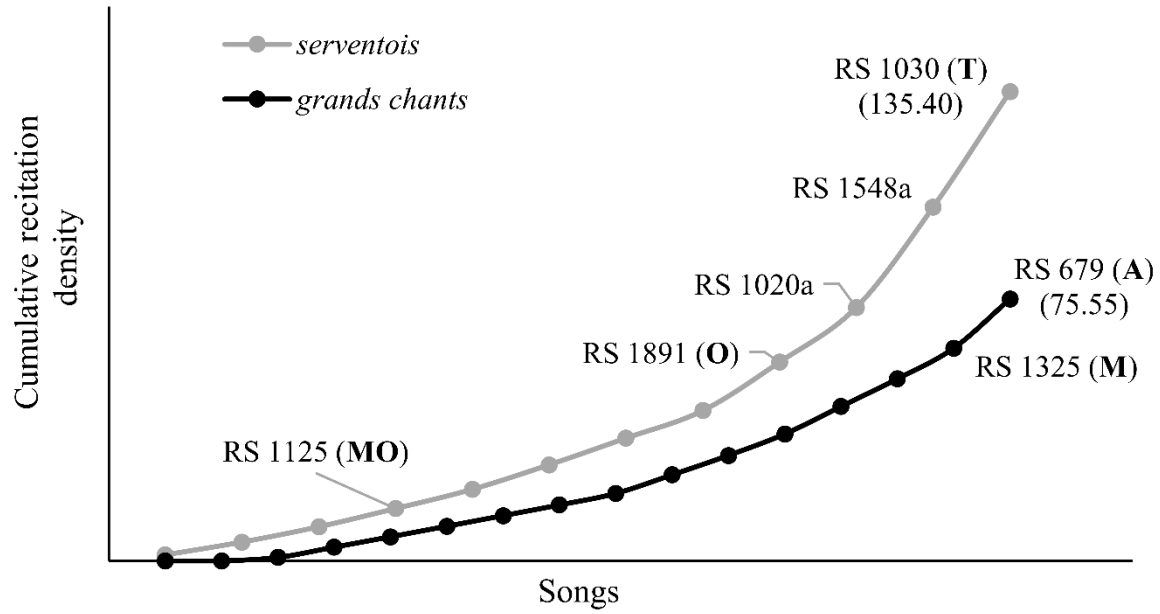
Fig. 2a: Cumulative recitation density for *serventois* and *grands chants* (versions with the most recitation)



[71] The data for figs. 2a and 2b is given in section 2 of the supporting information: http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-y5qdjjv0a.

Fig. 2b: Cumulative recitation density for *serventois* and *grands chants* (versions with the least recitation)

Figure



s

3a and 3b measure recitation in a similar way but give extra weight to longer passages of recitation.[72] The method used to generate figures 2a and 2b gives the same statistical significance to one four-syllable passage of recitation and three two-syllable passages of recitation, but the former is a much more striking feature of a melody than the latter. Figures 3a and 3b attempt to reflect the greater aural salience of longer passages of recitation, as indicated by the sharp increase in gradient of both lines for the most recitational songs (right-hand side). Figure 3a charts the melodic versions with the highest recitation and figure 3b those with the least. In both figures, the gradient increases sharply for the three most recitational *serventois* but only for the two most recitational *grands chants* in fig. 3a and imperceptibly for the *grands chants* in fig 3b. The cumulative tally for the least recitational

[72] These figures place greater emphasis on longer pitch strings. An exponential scale is used so that a pitch string of two of the same pitches is given value=1, a string of three of the same pitches is given value=2, a string of four of the same pitches is given value=4, a string of five of the same pitches is given value=8, etc. For the full data, see section 3 of the supporting information: http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-y5qdjjv0a.

serventois (170.12) is approximately the same as the tally for the most recitational *grands chants* (176.03) using this method.

Fig. 3a: Cumulative recitation density weighted towards longer recitation passages in *serventois* and *grands chants* (versions with the most recitation)

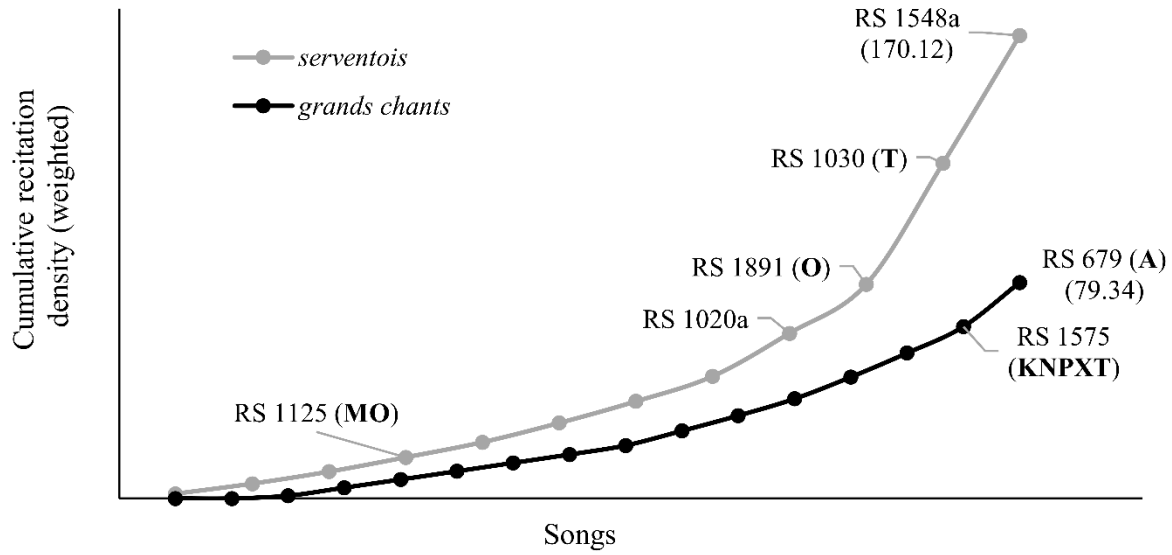
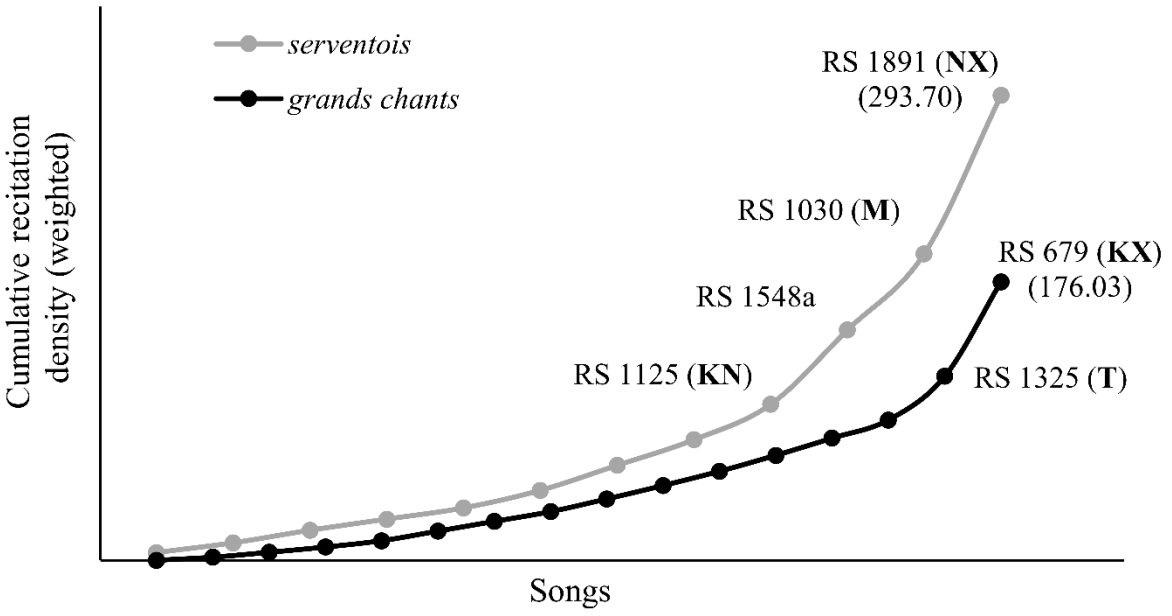


Fig. 3b: Cumulative recitation density weighted towards longer recitation passages in *serventois* and *grands chants* (versions with the least recitation)



Although figures 1–3 each measure recitation in a different way, they are unanimous in showing that *serventois*-type songs tend to be more recitational than *grands chants*. The data are significantly less stratified than for syllabic text setting (tables 2a–c), but nonetheless suggest that the ideal *serventois* was syllabic and laden with recitation and that the ideal *grand chant* was melismatic and replete with conjunct motion. *Serventois*-type songs always have some degree of recitation, unlike *grands chants* (fig. 1b). They are more likely to include longer passages of recitation (figures 1b and 3) and they have higher levels of recitation in total than *grands chants* (figures 2 and 3). I do not claim that *serventois*-type crusade songs were always highly recitational—figures 2 and 3 show that they were not—nor that other genres of song could not be recitational. But overall, the combination of syllabic text setting and passages of recitation in *serventois*-type crusade songs is suggestive of a declamatory, speech-like style of composing and singing that is particular to crusade *serventois*.

Four *serventois* stand out for their particularly high levels of recitation and consistently appear at the top of figures 2–3, though not in the same order: *Ja nus hons pris* (RS 1891), *Chevalier, mult estes guaris* (RS 1548a), *Maugré tous sains* (RS 1030), and (to a lesser extent) *Ahi, Amours, con dure departie* (RS 1125).[73] Examples 2–5 provide the melodies for these songs and use boxes to mark passages of recitation longer than two pitches.[74] They show just how saturated these songs are with recitation, and that recitation is not confined to the openings of songs, nor always the highest pitches, although a recitation passage is often on the highest or second highest pitch within a poetic line. These examples also show what future studies of recitation might explore: there are several passags in these songs for which the melody sits within a small range but not necessarily on one pitch. These

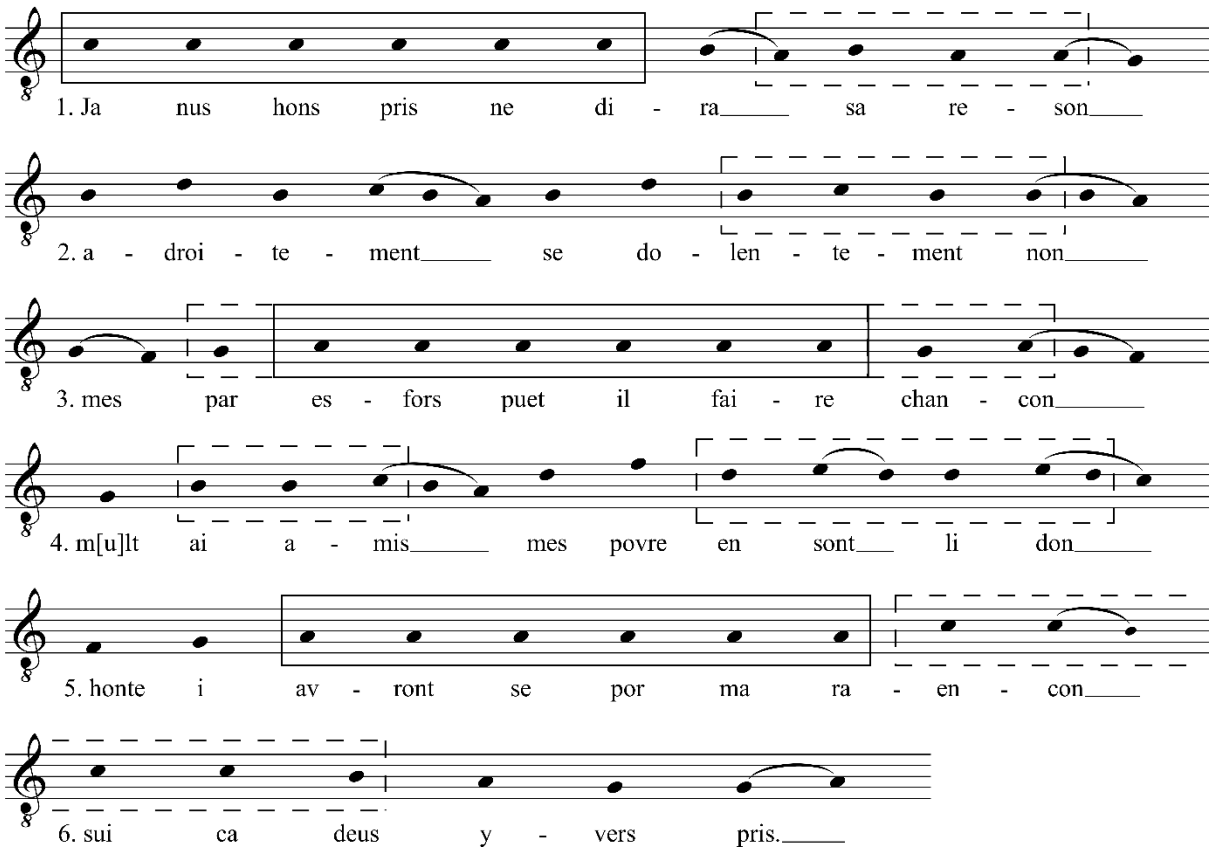
[73] This depends on the version of RS 1125: the song appears low down in figs. 2b and 3b. RS 1020a is a contrafact of RS 1125 (**MOT** versions) and is thus quite recitational on some metrics (see fig. 3b). The *grand chant S'onques nus hom por dure departie* (RS 1126) is also based on one of the versions of RS 1125 (**KNX**), which accounts for its high levels of recitation.

[74] Ex. 3 is adapted from the transcription in Uri Jacob, "*Chevalier mult estes guariz* and the 'pre-chansonnier' vernacular lyric," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 30 (2022): 119–40, at 135. Translations for exx 2–5 are from Warwick University, "Troubadours, Trouvères and the Crusades."

cases are marked by dashed boxes in the examples, and show passages which have a speech-like quality that is not captured by the statistical method outlined above. Notably in example 4 the recitation in line 3 is one step away from the recitation in line 5: this is significant because lines 3–4 are repeated almost exactly as lines 5–6, suggesting that the scribe attempted to notate the same melody in lines 3 and 5 but wrote down slightly different versions of the line because this speech-like passage did not have clearly defined pitches.[75] As more of the trouvère repertory is subjected to statistical analysis, which digital methods will greatly facilitate, a more nuanced understanding of recitational and speech-like melodic style and their prevalence will be possible.

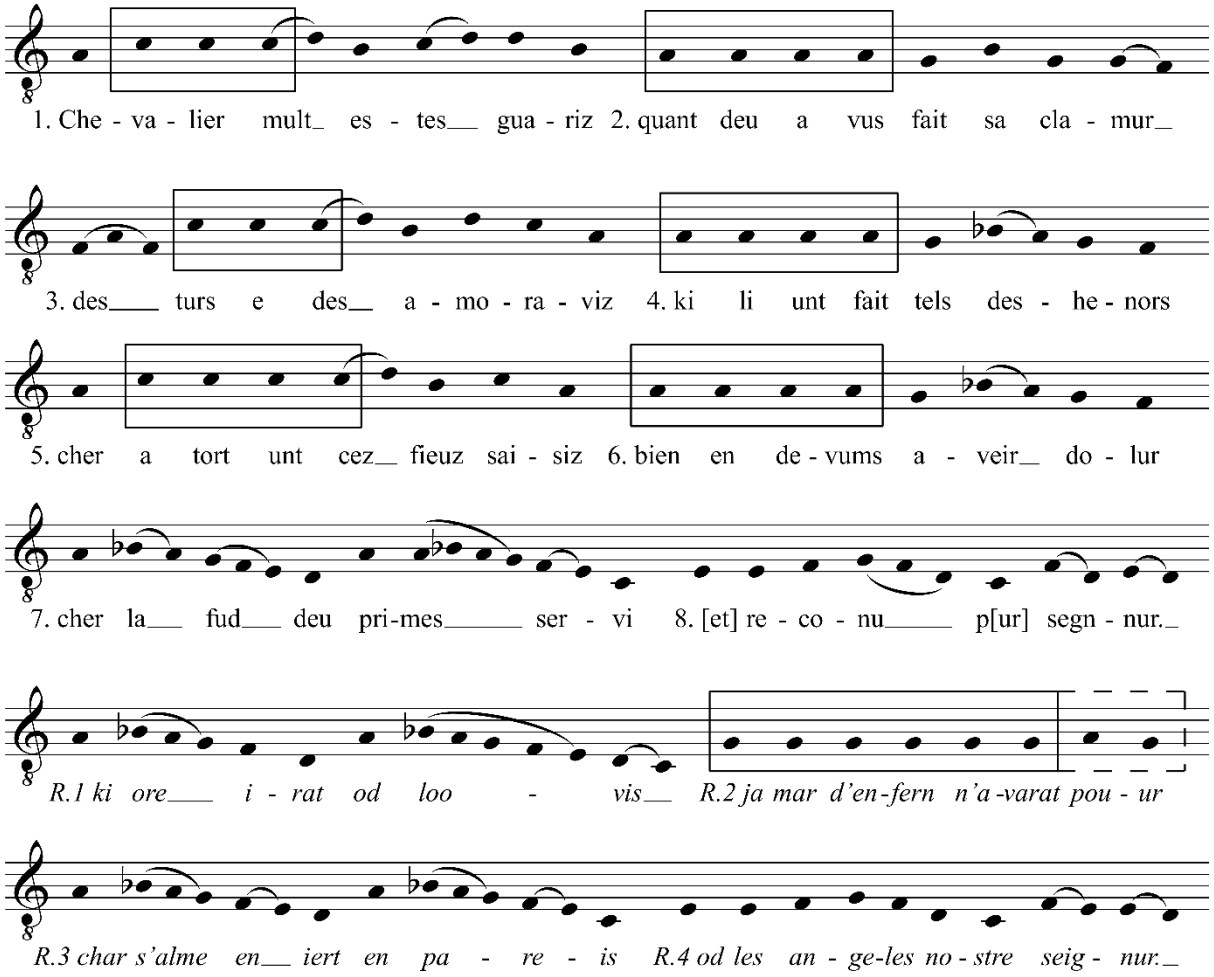
[75] In its current form, RS 1030 has the melodic structure ABCDC'D. All stanzas apart from its first stanza have eight poetic lines and RS 1030 was probably modelled (structurally and poetically) on Conon de Béthune's RS 1125, which has the melodic form ABABCDCD: Luca Barbieri, "RS 1030," https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs1030/#page2, accessed 8th February 2020; Suzanne Schöber, *Die altfranzösische Kreuzzugslyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1976), 149–61. It is therefore likely that RS 1030 was originally intended to have the melodic form ABABCDCD, with exact repetition between lines 5–6 (in its preserved form lines 3–4) and lines 7–8 (5–6 in the preserved form).

Ex. 2: Richard I of England, *Ja nus hons pris ne dira sa raison* (RS 1891, **X** version)



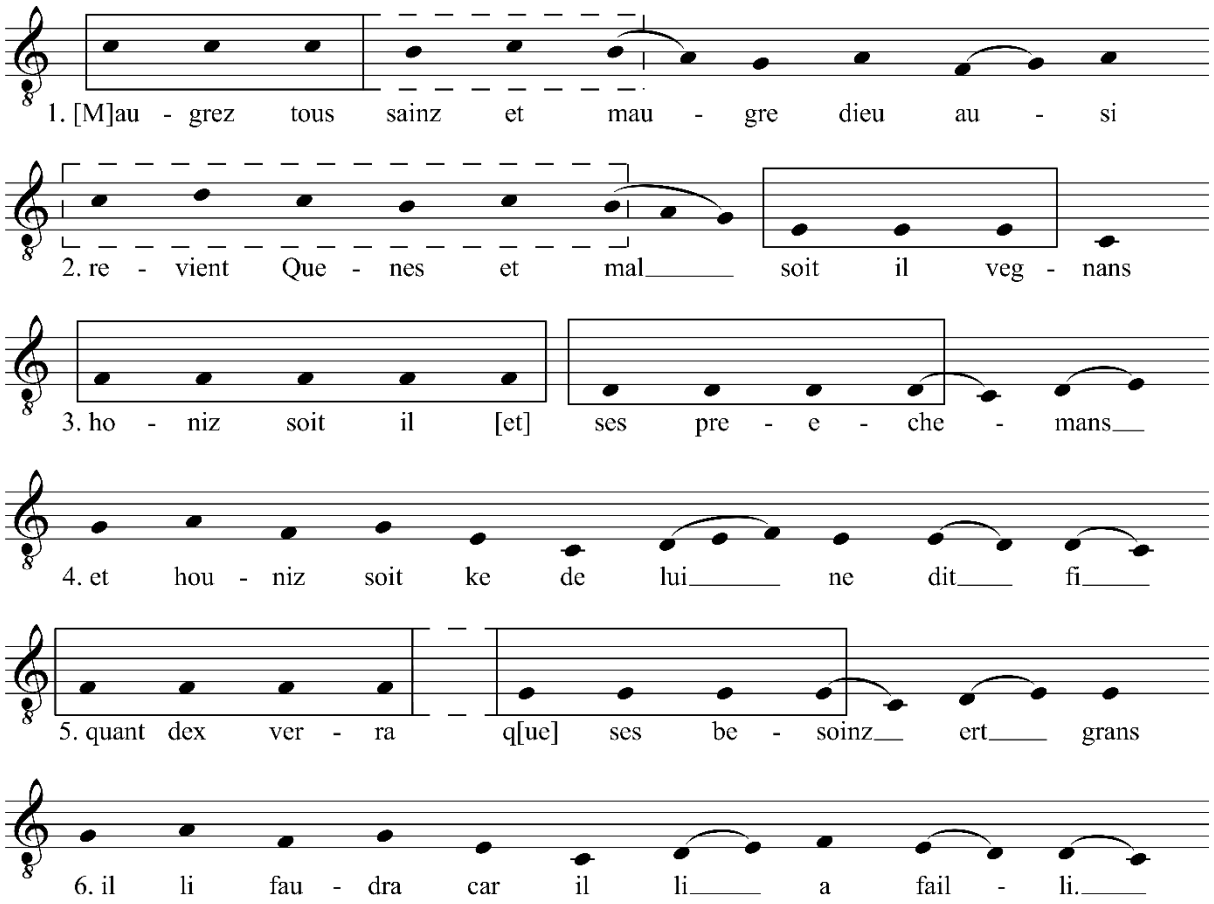
No prisoner will speak his mind fittingly unless he does so as a man in sorrow; but he can, for consolation, make a song. I have friends enough but the gifts are few; they will be shamed if for want of my ransom I am here for two winters a prisoner. (trans. Charmaine Lee)

Ex. 3: anon., *Chevalier, mult estes guaris* (RS 1548a)



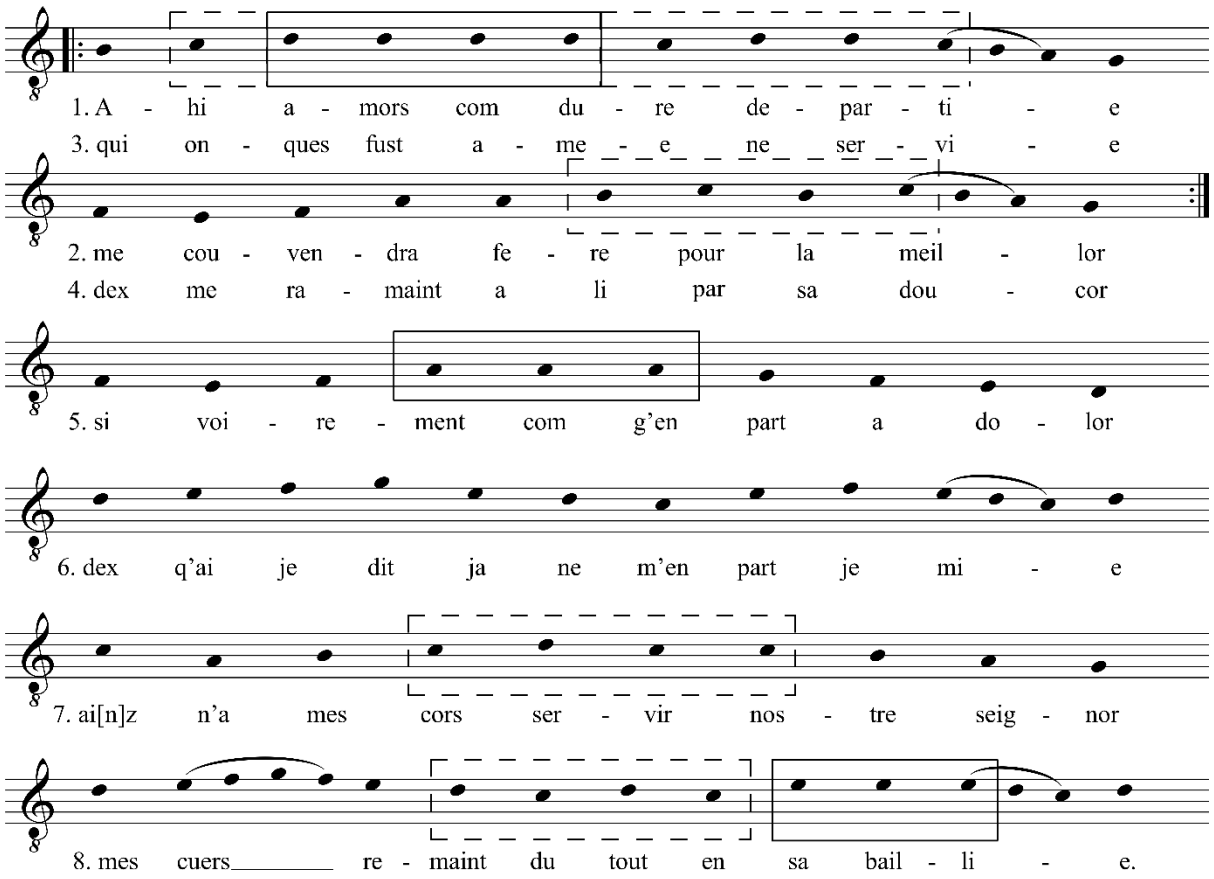
Knights, you are under sure protection since it is to you that God makes his outcry against the Turks and the Almoravids who have committed such outrages against him, for they have wrongfully seized his fiefs! We must surely grieve at this, for it is there that God was first served and acknowledged as lord. *Whoever now goes with Louis will never have fear of hell, for his soul will be in Paradise with the angels of our Lord.* (trans. Anna Radaelli)

Ex. 4: Huon d'Oisy, *Maugré tous sains et maugré Dieu ausi* (RS 1030, **M** version)



Despite all the saints and despite God Himself Conon is returning, and a curse on his return! Shame on him and his preaching, and shame on anyone who does not say to him "fie upon you!" When God sees him in great need He will not help him, just as he has not helped Him. (trans. Luca Barbieri)

Ex. 5: Conon de Béthune, *Ahi, Amours, con dure departie* (RS 1125, **K** version)



> Ah, Love, how hard it will be for me to part from the best lady who was ever loved and served! May God in his sweetness bring me back to her, as truly as I leave her in sorrow. Alas! What have I said? I am not leaving her at all! If my body goes off to serve our Lord, my heart remains entirely in her service. (trans. Luca Barbieri)

The date of composition of *serventois*-type songs may have significance for their style. Sharon Kinoshita argues that there was a moment of "epistemic rupture" with the Fourth Crusade, when crusading lost its singular aim of reclaiming the Holy Land.[76] Debts accrued by the crusading forces led some crusaders to sack the Christian cities of Zara and Constantinople; from this point on, the idea of crusading was diluted and crusades were summoned against any whom the church wanted to suppress, such as the Dualists in Occitania.[77] This loss of confidence in the enterprise of crusading may be the cause of some

[76] Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 2.
[77] Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 97–100; and Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007), 524–60.

poets' turn away from the composition of exhortational texts to *grands chants* or songs that blur generic boundaries.[78] The four most recitational *serventois* presented in examples 2–5 were composed in the twelfth century for the Second and Third Crusades.[79] Of the next two most recitational *serventois*, *Bien me deüsse targier* (RS 1314) was composed around 1188 for the Third Crusade; *Oiés seigneur, pereceus, par oiseuse* (RS 1020a) was probably composed between 1229 and 1239, but it takes its melody from RS 1125, composed around 1187. The other *serventois* are markedly less recitational, and—with the exception of *Parti de mal et a bien atourné* (RS 401, composed around 1188)—all were composed after 1217. There therefore appears to be a difference in the style of melodies composed before 1200 and those composed after, mirorring the change in textual composition and the loss of confidence in crusading in general.

I argued above that when Philip of Novare describes his performance of a crusade song "en haut," he refers to a form of extreme vocalisation that was highly audible, emotive, and aggressive, and that pushed his voice to its limits. I have also argued that the type of crusade song which Philip sang, the *serventois*, tended to be more syllabic and recitational than crusade songs that are about love. Since no melody survives for Philip's song, *Nafré sui*, it is impossible to know whether what made his performance *en haut* was due to speech-like qualities of syllabic text setting and recitation in the melody. Yet there is a suggestive coincidence between the descriptions of *en haut* vocalisations in *Antioche* and the melodic style of *serventois* — sounds of high intensity that would have been clear and audible. *Serventois* exhibit a musical style that can be imagined to sit at the boundary between music and speech. They have the clarity and intelligibility of speech, and yet also have a sonic excess, an intensity, which causes them to sit uneasily in modern categories of speech or music. This sonic excess perhaps explains why crusade propaganda was not only

[78] Luca Barbieri, "Le Canzoni di crociata e il canone lirico oitanico," *Medioevi* 1 (2015): 45–74, at 48–51 first locates this tendency slightly earlier in Conon de Béthune's *Ahi, amours, con dure departie* (RS 1125), composed around 1188, whose first stanza is amatory and subsequent stanzas are exhortational.
[79] All datings in this paragraph are taken from Warwick University, "Troubadours, Trouvères and the Crusades."

spoken but also sung in medieval France: the performance of these songs *en haut* would ensure that they were clearly heard, that they stirred the emotions, and that they incited violence.

Singing *en haut* in *Chanterai pour mon courage*

There is one song that does not fit neatly into the statistical picture that I have drawn: the crusade song *Chanterai pour mon courage* (RS 21), in which a female lover sings sorrowfully of her male beloved who has departed on crusade and prays for God's protection over him. In some versions of this song, its melody is strikingly syllabic and recitational (see examples 6 and 7 below).[80] Given the themes of love that run through the song's stanzas, *Chanterai* has widely been considered a *grand chant*, and it thus differs from other love-based crusade songs, which, as demonstrated above, tend to have little recitation.[81]

Recent analyses of *Chanterai* have drawn attention to its female poetic voice. Marisa Galvez notes that the song resists prevailing crusade ideology through "vocal protest" and by "invert[ing] the spiritualization of the body" that is found in male-voiced lyric.[82] Rachel May Golden reads the song as emblematic of female modes of grieving, situating it in a historical trope that associated women with lament.[83] Golden notes the high level of recitation in *Chanterai*, describing the song as "a kind of inflected speech, rather than an elaborately composed melody, thus referencing ritualistic lament practices, emotive speech, and nonmusical sounds."[84] The fact that *Chanterai* is voiced by a female subject may be enough

[80] See also the data for RS 21 in the supporting information: http://dx.doi.org/10.5287/ora-y5qdjjv0a.
[81] RS 21 is, for example, defined as a love lyric by Bédier and Aubry, *Les Chansons de croisade*, p. x; Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade*, 153; and implicitly by Galvez, *Subject of Crusade*, which includes discussion of the song (105–8) in a study that specifically investigates love lyrics around crusade (10). The other crusade *grand chant* with a high level of recitation is RS 679.
[82] Galvez, *Subject of Crusade*, 113 and 106. For a similar argument, see Lisa Perfetti, "Crusader as Lover: The Eroticized Poetics of Crusading in Medieval France," *Speculum* 88 (2013): 932–57, at 942–4.
[83] Rachel May Golden, "Gendered Grief, Temporality, and Reinvention in Two Northern French Crusade Songs," in *Gender and Voice in Medieval French Literature and Song*, ed. Rachel May Golden and Katherine Kong (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2021), 121–50.
[84] Ibid., 144.

to account for the song's unusual melodic profile.[85] But in light of the findings outlined above, there may be more to say about this melody. Golden herself notes that if *Chanterai* is a lament, it is unusual, since most medieval lament melodies are florid.[86] Instead, I propose that the static melody of *Chanterai* may come from its partial relation to *en haut* singing.

The refrain of *Chanterai* is the point in the song where *en haut* singing seems most apposite. Taken on its own, the refrain has the character of a *serventois*, calling out to God to aid the pilgrims (a euphemism for combatants) as they encounter the "cruel Saracens":

Dex, quant crieront "Outree!",	*Oh God, when they cry "Forward!",*
Sire, aidiez au pelerin	*help the pilgrim for whom I am*
por qui sui espoentee,	*afraid, for cruel are the Saracens!*
car felon sunt Sarrazin!	

(RS 21, refrain)[87]

Although the phrase "en haut" is not used here, various aspects of the refrain's text bear similarities to the examples of *en haut* vocalisations in *Antioche*. At the heart of the refrain is the crusaders' cry of "Outree," which historical evidence suggests was a popular exclamation at the time.[88] The poet specifies that the crusaders "cry" (*crieront*) their exclamation, a word for vocalising that is found very commonly in *Antioche* and almost always accompanies uses of the phrase "en haut" there. The verb evokes a spectrum of sounds that is not normally

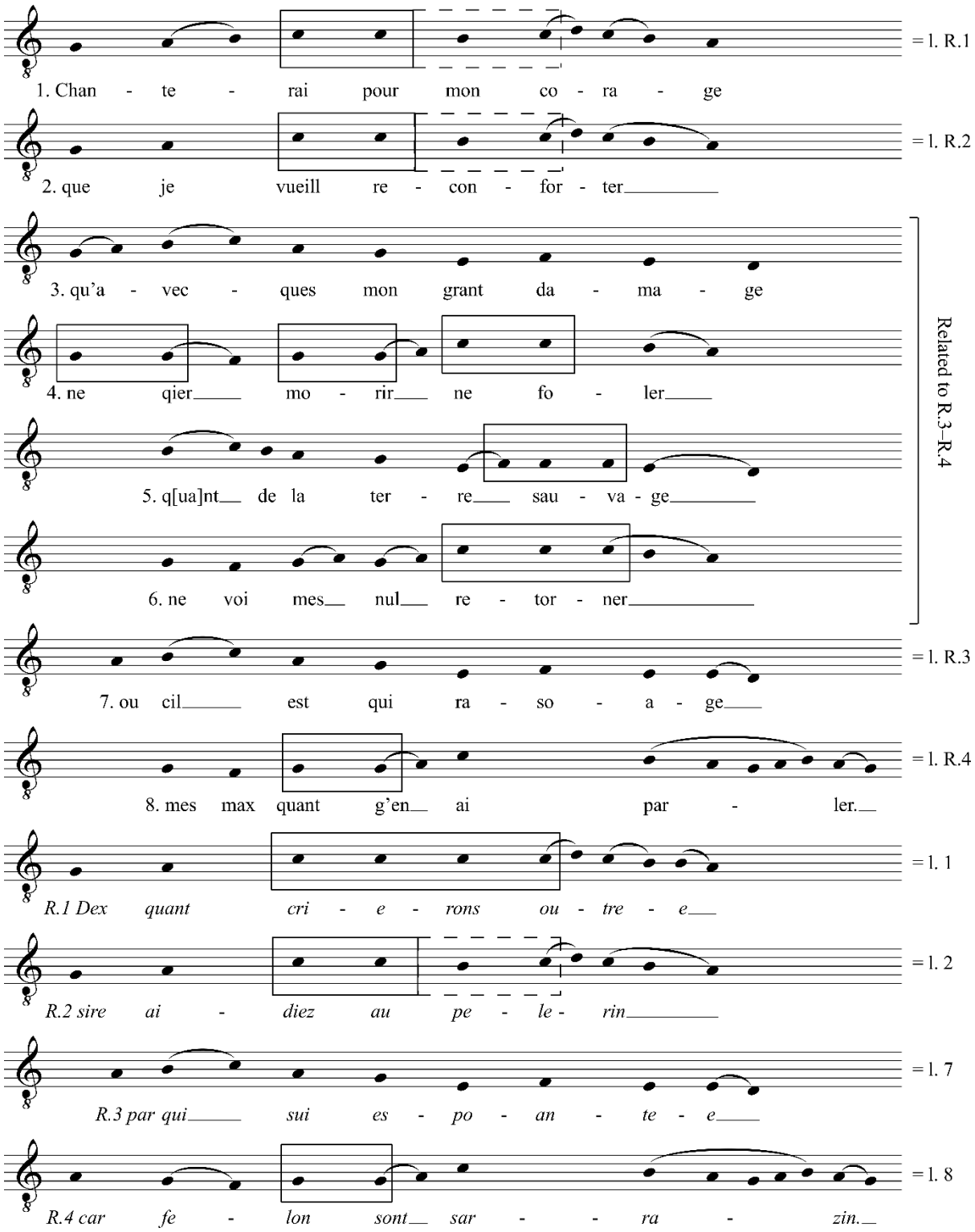
[85] See, for example, the suggestion that in medieval song, female voice and subjectivity are defined in contrast to the masculine in Anne L. Klinck, "Woman's Song in Medieval Western Europe," in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 521–54, at 525.
[86] Although Golden (p. 126) states that "lament songs of troubadour and trouvère traditions. . . [employ] small ranges, limited motion, repetition, and sighing gestures," I have not found many laments in the trouvère corpus that support this. Aside from the two songs treated by Golden (RS 21 and RS 358), no song labelled as a "Klage" by Spanke (in *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*) conforms to this pattern: these are RS 485, RS 1093, RS 1347, RS 1564, RS 1645, RS 1934, RS 1937. It is possible that the song of Richard the Lionheart from prison (RS 1891) could be considered a lament, and this song has a relatively restricted range and a high degree of recitation (see discussion above) but does not have repetition or gestures significative of sighing. Of the two troubadour *planhs* transmitted with music notation (PC 167,22, PC 248,63) both have short passages of recitation but otherwise do not conform to Golden's list of features, nor do the melodies of the models for four contrafact *planhs* (PC 82,15; PC 266,10; PC 299,1; PC 461,234). PC numbers refer to songs as they are listed in Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*.
[87] Text and translation from Maria Sofia Lannutti, "RS 21" (2015), https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs21/#page1.
[88] On the "Outree" or "Ultreia" refrain, see Bédier and Aubry, *Les chansons de croisade*, pp. xiv–xvi; Schöber, *Die altfranzösische Kreuzzugslyrik*, 29–33; Jacob, "Musical Responses to the Crusades," 7.

found in lyric song or romance, but often in literature about war.[89] This cry is nested within the *je*'s own vocal ejaculation, which starts with the empahtic "Dex," marking it, as for similar cases in *Antioche*, as highly emotive and exclamatory. The stanzas of the song, by contrast, have much more in common with crusade *grands chants*. *Chanterai* is thus generically hybrid and this hybridity is manifest in the setting of a recitational *serventois*-like melody to a text about love.

The reason for this unusual combination of poetry and music is the way that the refrain of the song provides the melody for the stanzas. There are two principal versions of *Chanterai*, represented here by the versions from **K** and **M** (examples 6 and 7).[90] The melody of the stanzas is drawn from the refrain in both versions by taking the two halves of the refrain's melody and using them for lines 1–2 and lines 7–8 of the stanza. It is in lines 3–6 of the stanza that the versions diverge. Still based on the refrain, these lines borrow material from the first half of the refrain in one version (**M**) but from the second half of the refrain in the other (**K**). As a result, the **M** version is significantly more recitational than the **K** version since the first part of the refrain has more recitation.

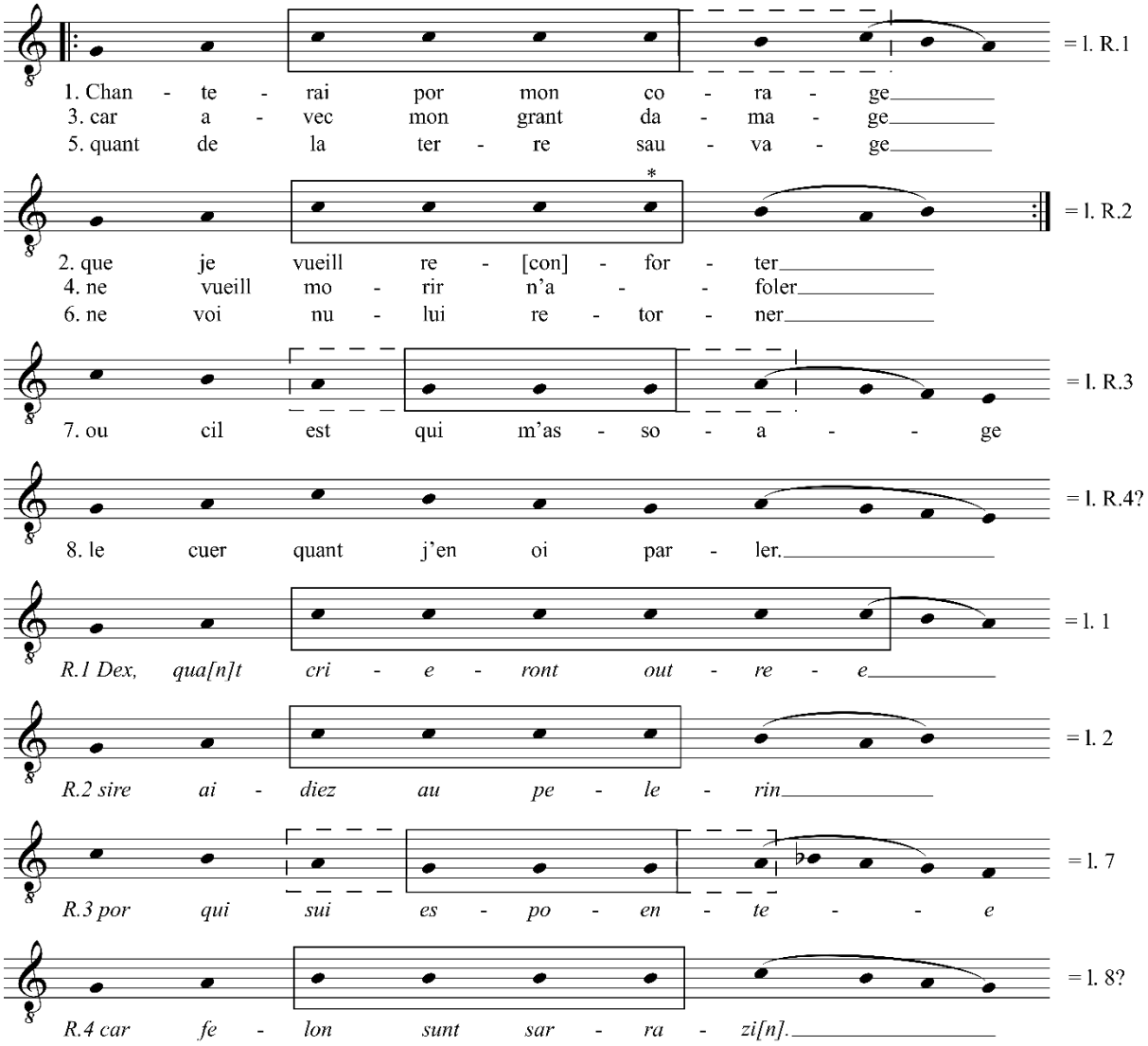
Ex. 6: Guiot de Dijon, *Chanterai pour mon courage* (RS 21), stanza 1 in **K**, aligned by pitch

[89] As shown extensively by Fritz, *La Cloche et la lyre*, 58–63.
[90] One version is recorded in **M** and **T**; the other version is in **K** and **X**, to which the version in **O** is closely related. For a comparative edition of RS 21, see Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols. (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1997), vol. 1, no. 16. The translation for examples 6 and 7 is from Lannutti, "RS 21."



I shall sing for my heart's consolation, for despite my great misfortune I do not wish to die when I see no man return from the wild land where is the one who soothes my heart/pains, merely when I hear him spoken of. *Oh God, when they cry "Forward!", help the pilgrim for whom I am afraid, for cruel are the Saracens!*

Ex. 7: Guiot de Dijon, *Chanterai pour mon courage* (RS 21), stanza 1 in **M**



* note missing in l. 4

Because the stanza melody in both versions is generated by the same principle of refrain manipulation but with different results—the structures abbbAB in **K** and aaabAB in **M**—and because the refrain is fairly similar across the two versions, it is likely that the refrain was the conceptual starting point for the song.[91] The refrain's *serventois*-like poetry and *en*

[91] The first two lines of the refrain are almost identical in each case and line 3 is similar if the version in **M** has a copying error. It is probable that the last two syllables of refrain line 3 in **M** should have been copied a third lower, not only because the refrain differs from the version in **K** at this point, but also because it diverges from the ending of **M**'s line 7. The discrepancy between line 7 and refrain line 3 suggests that both may be erroneous and originally ended on *D*, like the version in **K**. Similarly, line 8 may be related to refrain line 4 but corrupted by a scribal error, since the four-note ligature at the

haut sonic qualities are thus important to the interpretation of *Chanterai*—more important than readings to date have acknowledged. But the transformation of the refrain's recitational melody into the melody for the stanzas also exemplifies the complexity of tracing a phenomenon such as *en haut* performance. As the different melodic versions of crusade *serventois* demonstrate, the *mouvance* of medieval song meant that a scribe or performer could choose to replace recitation with conjunct melodic motion or to set a speech-like melody to a wholly or partially non-political text. There may have been a similar *mouvance* in performances of the melody. A performer could sing the refrain with heightened emotion and at the top of her voice in a way that connects, however indirectly, to vocalisations on the crusade battlefield. She could also, as Golden imagines, sing the melody quietly, perhaps erupting into a louder, more demonstrative grief (a type of sound that the author of *Antioche* may well have described as *en haut*) during the song's refrain.[92] Or the song could even be performed ritualistically, as a prayer that evokes the repetition and recitation of liturgy.[93]

Ultimately the descriptions of sound *en haut* by Philip of Novare, those of the poets of *Antioche*, and the notated melodies of crusade songs underline the slipperiness of sound (and sounding music) as an object of historical study. We can never really know what Philip's song sounded like when he sang it *en haut* because modern scholars' access to sounds of the past is mediated through linguistic descriptions and music notation. Both written language and notation can only ever give incomplete and vague information about past sounds, partly because the qualities of sound escape precise signification, but also because medieval writers and music notators were not concerned with providing the precision that modern scholars might wish for. Music notation also has a prescriptive function, disciplining sound by imposing the stave and fixed intervals of tones and semitones: one can only imagine the small fluctuations in pitch that might have inflected passages of recitation in crusade songs, and which could be notated in different ways. As a

end of the two lines differ by a third. For a contrasting analysis of RS 21, see Jacob, "Musical Responses to the Crusades," 205–11.

[92] Golden, "Gendered Grief," 121.

[93] I thank the anonymous reader for this suggestion.

style of vocalisation that shifted between speech, song, and sound, vocalising *en haut* demonstrates the porous boundaries of the sounds that we sometimes casually, unthinkingly describe as “music.” Lost as the sounds of the past are to us today, there is the strong possibility that singing *en haut* sounded nothing like what we would call music at all.

Appendix: Descriptions of sound as "haut" in *Antioche*

Listed here are all sonic descriptions in *Antioche* that include the word "haut." The number in the left column gives the *laisse* according to Duparc-Quioc and Edgington/Sweetenham. The Old French texts are from Duparc-Quioc, *La Chanson d'Antioche* and the translations are from Edgington and Sweetenham, *Chanson d'Antioche*. For *laisse* numbers followed by (*), the version of the Old French in Duparc-Quioc does not have the word "haut" but the corresponding passage in Paris's edition does.

COMMUNICATION/AUDIBILITY

30	Corbarans d'Oliferne a haut son ban crié	Corbaran of Oliferne proclaimed his orders loudly
65	A se vois qu'il ot clere molt hautement s'escrie	yelling at the top of his voice in clear tones
109	Quant Buiemons le voit a haute vois li crie	When Bohemond saw him he shouted at the top of his voice
119	Puis abaisce le pont a haute vois huçant	so that it [the bridge] dropped down. He called at the top of his voice
212	Il apela son pere a molt haute escriee	He called out to his father at the top of his voice
261	Godefrois de Buillon hautement lor cria	Godfrey of Bouillon shouted orders loudly
270	A hautes vois crioie c'on m'I laisast entrer.	and shouted loudly to be allowed in.
306	A haute vois li crie: "Chevalier, dont venés?	and shouted loudly: "Sir knight, where are you from?
346	Plus tost qu'il onques pot a haute vois escrie	As soon as he could, he cried in a loud voice

ANGER/INDIGNATION

38	Estatins l'esnasés est molt haut escriés	Taticius No-Nose bellowed to the emperor at the top of his voice
39	Si hautement parla que sa vois fu oïe	and he yelled at the top of his voice
161*	Par ire prant un cor, sel sona a un ton (Paris: à haut ton)	He seized a horn furiously and blew it
173	A haute vois escrie: "Que faites vos Persant?	He yelled at the top of his voice: "Come on, Persians! What are you waiting for?
183*	Garsions fu plains d'ire, a sa vois a crié	By this time Garsion had worked himself up into a rage. He yelled at the top of his voice

	(Paris: Garsions tout plains d'ire a hautement parlé)	
331	A haute vois escrie: "Fole gent que avés?	crying: "What on earth is going on, you idiots?
336	A haute vois escrie: "Mi home qu'en dirés?	He yelled at the top of his voice: "Men of men! What do you say to this?
347	A haute vois escrie: "Ces caitis ferai mas!	He shouted at the top of his voice: "I am going to make these losers suffer!

FEAR

65	Hautement escrierent: "Soliman de Surie	yelling at the tops of their voices, "Soliman of Syria
66	A se vois qu'il ot clere se vait haut escriant	shouting at the top of his voice in clear tones
74	A haute vois s'escrie: "Or t'enfui, Tornicant!	yelling at the top of his, "Tornicant, my brother, make your escape right now!
144	A hautes vois s'escrient et prisent a hucier	yelling at the tops of their voices to attract attention
205*	Mahon et Tervagant durement reclamer (Paris: hautement)	insulting Mahon and Tervagant
353	A hautes vois s'escrie: "Sainte Marie, ajue!	cried at the top of his voice: "Blessed Mary, come to our aid!

GRIEF

32	De .xv. mile pars s'escrient a haut cri	There were 15,000 loud cries
78	Et quant se redreça, a haute vois s'escrie	When he finally got up he lamented at the top of his voice
286	A hautes vois se clainme caitis, maleürés	crying at the top of his voice that he was the world's unhappiest man
359	A haute vois commence Mahon a reclamer	He began to invoke Mohammed at the top of his voice
163	Quant li Turc l'ont veü, cascuns haut s'escria	The Turks lamented loudly at the sight

JOY

52	Et parla hautement, oiant le baronie	He announced loudly in front of all the nobles
162	Adonques fu Monjoie hautement escriee	screaming "Montjoie!" at the tops of their voices
199	A haute vois s'escrie: "Mi home natural	shouting at the top of his voice: "Come on, men!

221*	Li Sarrasin carolent et cantent belement (Paris: hautement)	The Saracens sang and chanted tunefully

PAIN

185	Rainals brait et si crie clerement a haut ton	Rainalt bellowed out, shouting at the top of his voice

ENCOURAGEMENT

27	Hautement les apele dans Richars de Caumon	Lord Richard of Caumont addressed them in ringing tones
28	Quant li rois fu armés, hautement s'escria	once equipped the king proclaimed at the top of his voice
119	A haute vois escrie: "Chevalier, venés ant!	and shouted loudly: "Come on, my lords!
165	A haute vois escrient: "Chevalier, or avant!	shouting at the tops of their voices: "Forward, gentlemen!
335	Parla a nos barons et crie a hautes vois	He shouted to our men in a loud voice
362	A haute vois escrie: "Franc chevalier, estés;	shouted back loudly: "Act as noble knights!

AGGRESSION

26	Cascuns de nos barons se va haut escriant, / Clerement, a hout ton, vont Monjoie huçant:	Every single one went forward bellowing at the top of his voice, shouting "Montjoie!" in loud ringing tones.
52	A haute vois escrie: "Sains Sepucres, aïe!"	and shouted at the top of his voice: "Aid me, Holy Sepulchre!"
73	A haute vois escrie: "Franc chevalier baron	He yelled at the top of his voice: "My noble lords
146	Quant no baron l'entendent, cascuns en halt escrie	Their unanimous response was to shout
350	Corbarans a s'ensegne hautement escriee	Corbaran bellowed his battlecry at the top of his voice.
362	A haute vois escrie: "Cuvers, n'i garirés!	You coward! You will not save your skin here!" he shouted at the top of his voice
365	Dont oïssiés *Montjoie* hautement renomée	At this you might have heard them yelling, "Montjoie!"