



Pour lou pueple resconforteir

(RS 886)

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Maistres Renas

I

Pour lou pueple resconforteir
ke tant ait jeut en tenebrou,
vos veul en chantant resconteir
4 lou grant damaige et la dolour
ke li païen font outremeir
de la terre Nostre Signor.
Cel païx devons nos clameir,
8 car tuit i irons a un jor!

*Jerusalem plaint et ploure
le secors ke trop demoure.*

II

A un jor? Ki le puet savoir?
12 Trop ai pairleit hardiement?
Certes, signor, je vos di voir:
cei iert a jor del jugement!
De celle terre sont cil hoir
16 ki ont resut baptisment,
ou li Fils Deu volt resevoir
por nos la poene et lou torment.

20 *Jerusalem plaint et ploure
(le secors ke trop demoure).*

III

Molt per est grans duels quant on pert
lou vrai sepulcre ou Deus fut mis,
et ke li saint leu sont desert
24 ou Nostre Sire estoit servis!
Saveis por coi Deus l'ait souffert?
Il veult esproveir ces amis,
ki servise li ont offert,
28 a vengier de ces anemis.

*Jerusalem plaint et ploure
(le secors ke trop demoure).*

I

To comfort the people who have long lain in darkness, I wish to tell you in song of the great damage and the grief that the pagans bring overseas in the land of Our Lord. We must claim back that land, for all of us will go there on the same day!

Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay in help!

II

On the same day? Who can know? Have I spoken too boldly? No, Lords, I am telling you the truth: it will happen on Judgment Day! All those who have been baptised are heirs to that land, where the Son of God consented to receive pain and torture.

Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay in help!

III

It is most exceedingly wretched for us to have lost the true Sepulchre where God was laid and for the holy places where Our Lord was served to be abandoned. Do you know why God allowed it? He wishes to test His friends who have offered their service in avenging Him against His enemies.

Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay in help!

IV

32 Tous iert li pueples desvoiés
 et torneis a perdition,
 maix la Croix les ait ravoïés
 et torneis a redemption.
 Li plux faus et li moins prixiés
 36 puet avoir absolution,
 maix k'il s'en voist et soit croixiés
 en Terre de Promission.

40 *Jerusalem plaint et (ploure
 le secors ke trop demoure).*

V

Terre de Promesse est nomeis
 Jerusalem, je le vos di!
 En Bethleem ou Deu fut neis,
 44 est li temples ou Deus soffri
 et la croix ou Il fut peneis
 et le sepulchre ou surrexit.
 Lai iert li boens luwiers doneis
 48 a ceauls ki l'avront deservit.

*Jerusalem plaint et ploure
 (le secors ke trop demoure).*

VI

52 Ke pensent li roy? Grant mal font
 cil de France et cil des Englois,
 ke Damedeu vengier ne vont
 et delivreir la sainte Croix!
 Quant il a jugement vanront,
 56 dont lor parrait lor bone foit,
 se Deu faillent, a Lui fauront:
 Il dirait: «Je ne vos conoix!».

60 *Jerusalem plaint et ploure
 (le secors ke trop demoure).*

IV

All the people had lost their way and were heading
 for perdition, but the Cross has brought them back
 to the right path and led them towards redemption.
 Even the most false and despised can receive
 absolution as long as he departs and takes the
 cross for the Promised Land.

*Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay
 in help!*

V

I tell you this: the Promised Land is named
 Jerusalem! In Bethlehem where God was born is
 the temple where God suffered, and the cross
 where He was tortured and the sepulchre where
 He rose from the dead. There the just reward will
 be given to those who have deserved it.

*Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay
 in help!*

VI

What are the kings thinking? Those of France and
 of the English are acting most wickedly in not
 going to avenge the Lord God and rescue the holy
 Cross! When they come to judgment, then their
 good faith will be apparent: if they fail Him, they
 will lose Him. He will say, 'I know you not!'

*Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay
 in help!*

VII

Prince, duc, conte, ki aveis
 en cest siecle tous vos aviaus,
 Deus vos ait semons et mandeis:
⁶⁴ guerpissiés villes et chaistiaus!
 Encontre l'Espous en aleis,
 et si porteis oille en vaixiaulz!
 S'en vos lampes est feus troveis
⁶⁸ li gueridons en iert molt biaux!

*Jerusalem plaint et ploure
 (le secors, ke trop demoure).*

VIII

Elais! ne cognoissent lor sen!
⁷² Ke sont lampes, oile dessus?
 Lampes se sont les bone gens
 dont Deus est ameis et cremus,
 ke son servixe font tous tens.
⁷⁶ Lai est bien alumeis li feus.
 Cil irait o les Innocens
 ki en bone oevre iert conxeüs.

*Jerusalem plaint et ploure
⁸⁰ lou secors ke trop demoure.*

VII

You princes, dukes, counts, who in this world have
 all your desires, God has called and summoned you:
 leave your cities and castles! Go to meet the
 Spouse and carry with you jars of oil! If the light is
 found in your lamps, the reward will be most
 wonderful!

*Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay
 in help!*

VIII

Alas, they do not understand their meaning! What
 are the lamps, the oil just mentioned? The lamps
 are the good people who love and fear God, who
 are always at His service. In them the light is well
 lit. The one who is intent on performing good deeds
 (when Christ arrives) will go to where the
 Innocents are.

*Jerusalem weeps and laments • for the long delay
 in help!*

Notes

- 2 *tenebroux*: the motif of the darkness in which Christendom lies motionless in torpor is also found in the first lines of the *Anonymous de nostre daime* (RS 1967): *Vous ki ameïs de vraie amor, / anveilliez vos, ne dormeis pais! L'aluête nos trait lou jor*.
- 7 *Cel païx devons nos clameir*. The verb is typical of vassalic language used in crusading appeals, but what is particularly interesting here is the link to Innocent III's bull *Quia major*, promulgated in April 1213, where the term is reiterated several times at the beginning: *ecce resumpto clamore clamamos ad vos, et pro illo clamamus qui moriendo voce magna clamavit in cruce ... Si enim rex aliquis temporalis a suis hostibus ejiceretur de regno, nisi vassalli ejus pro eo non solum res exponerent, sed personas, nonne cum regnum recuperaret amissum, eos velut infideles damnaret, et excogitaret in eos inexcogitata tormenta, quibus perderet male malos? Sic Rex regum ...* (PL 216, coll. 817-822, *De negotio terrae sanctae*).
- 8 *a un jor*: I agree with Bédier-Aubry (1909, p. 82) that this is an allusion to the valley of Josaphat. The expression *un jorn*, perhaps with the same meaning, is also present in the sixth stanza of *Chevalier mult estes guariz*, but the difficulty of restoring the text makes this uncertain.
- 9 *Jerusalem plaint et ploure*. The lamentation of Jerusalem is also found in Innocent III's speech delivered at the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council: *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte, si est dolor similis, sicut dolor meus* (PL 217, 673-676, *sermo VI*); as well as the *conductus* of Philip the Chancellor *Crucifigat omnes*, composed after the battle of Hattin, vv. 10-11: *plorat dotes perditas / sponsa Sion* (see Payne 1986, p. 238, n. 12, and Payne 2001, 19, p. 596). In the Old French crusade lyric corpus, see the opening lines of Huon de Saint-Quentin (RS 1576) *Jerusalem se plaint et li païs / u Dameldiex souffri mort bonement, / que deça mer a poi de ses amis / ki de secors li facent mais nient* and the incipit of RS 191 *Jherusalem, grant damage me fais*, and the note.
- 10 *le secors ke trop demoure*. On the theme of being slow to help the Holy Land, see Thibaut de Champagne RS 273, 11-13: *Li guerredons en est mauvais et lens, / que bien ne droit ne pitié nen n'a nus, / ainz est orguieux et baraz au desus*; and especially Huon de Saint-Quentin RS 1576, vv. 30-31, who however attributes the responsibility for the delay to the clergy. The theme is particularly frequent in the troubadours: see for example Bertran de Born BdT 80.4, 6: *Secora·l Deus, qe·l socors vai tardan!* and BdT 80.17, 20: *Dieus l'acorra, qe·l secors vai tardan*; Gaucelm Faidit BdT 167.36, 33-37: *E quar estauc que ades no·m empenh / ves Suria? Dieus sap per que m'ave: / que ma domna e·l reys engles mi te, / l'us per amor e l'autre per pauc faire / del gran secors que m'avïa en coven*; Elias Cairel BdT 133.11, 4-6: *e doncs per que se vai chascus tarzan / ni esloignan d'aquel Seignor servir / que volc per nos mort e pena soffrir?*; Lanfranc Cigala BdT 282.23, 34-35: *mas si·l deu far, fassa·l secors vivatz / car perduz es lo dos qu'es trop tarzatz*; Peirol BdT 366.29, 30-33: *e prec Dieu Jesus qe·m git / e qe trameta brieumen / entre·ls reis acordamen, / qe·l socors vai trop tarzan*, and 42-45: *Ires vos e·l rei no·i van? / Veias las gerras qe fan, / ez esgardas dels baros, / cossi trobon ochaizos* (composed in 1188-1189, as was Bertran de Born BdT 80.17).
- 21 *Molt per est grans*: for the intensifying particle of the superlative *per* followed by the verb 'to be', see for example Raoul de Cambrai, 1185: *Trop par sont bon por vuidier escuele* (Kay 1992).

- 26 *Il veult esproveir ces amis*: for this motif see *Chevalier mult estes guariz*, 51-53: *si mande trestuz ses amis / ki lui volent garantir / qu'il ne li seient failliz*; also *Maistre ricars in Oiés, seigneur, pereceus par oiseuses* (RS 1020a = 1022), 29: *Ki n'i venra, il n'ert pas ses amis*; and the Anonymous *de nostre daime in Vous ki ameis de vraie amor* (RS 1967), 10: *Dont vairait il ces amans vrais!* The theme is typical of sermons *ad crucesignatos*: see for example Jacques de Vitry, *Quod Dominus occasione Terre Sancte vult probare suos et de indulgentia et merito signatorum*, sermo I, 20: *Dominus per civitatem illam probat qui fortes sint animo et qui pusillanimes et qui sint amici eius [...] Dominus quidem affligitur in patrimonii sui amissione et vult amicos probare et experiri si fideles eius vasalli estis. Qui enim a domino ligio tenent feodum, si desit illi dum inpugnatur et hereditas sua illi aufertur, merito feodo privatur*, see Schneyer III, vol. 216, n. 413 and Maier 2000, p. 96.
- 35-36 *Li plux faus et li moins prixiés / puet avoir absolution*: the lines refer to the extension of the offer of benefits of the *votum crucis* (indulgence, absolution) to the sick and poor, and to the worst sinners ; see for example Innocent III's words to the deacon of Speyer in September 1213 concerning the absolution granted even to arsonists and the violent: *Et ut fructuosior valeat existere labor vester, ..., concedimus ut incendiariis et iis qui manus temerarias in clericos aut alias personas ecclesiasticas injecerunt, volentibus suscipere signum crucis, satisfactione passis injuriam exhibita competenti, auctoritate nostra libere absolutionis beneficium impendatis* (PL, 216, col. 905, *epistola* 108).
- 43-44 *En Bethleem ou Deu fut neis / est li temples ou Deus soffri*: Bédier corrects the readings *Bethleem* and the second *Deus*, with an emendation he himself declares to be uncertain, although apparently necessary: *En cele terre ou Deus fu neis / Est li temples ou il soffri*. Schöber 1976, pp. 185-204 follows him, as does Dijkstra 1995a, p. 90, with some reservations.
- li temples ou Deus soffri*: Bédier 1909, p. 83, queries what appears to him to be an incongruent element of the text, pointing out that the places of Christ's passion are the house of Caifa, the *Praetorium* and Golgotha, but not the Temple; he therefore suggests, without much conviction, that the song is referring to the *Grotta dell'agonia* on which a paleochristian church was later built. I think there is no direct allusion to the Passion here but rather to a site considered sacred by God's people, now suffering, namely the place that Christians call Temple Mount (or *Templum Solomonis*) because they believed it had arisen from the ruins of the Temple of Solomon. After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 it had become firstly the seat of the kings of Jerusalem and then a house of the Order of the Templars. From 1187, after the battle of Hattin and Saladin's reconquest, the temple was reconsecrated to Islam, becoming the al-Aqsa mosque. Compare RS 1729, 10-14: *Jerusalem, tant es desconfortee! / Sur toi en est le damage venu. / Cretientez t'a trop abandonee, / et le sepulcre et temple domini / qui fu jadis en grant chierté tenu*. Gontier de Soignies also speaks of the Temple in his song *L'an quant voi esclarcir* (RS 1404), 63-64: *Pour Dieu passerai mer / Au Temple converser*; Gröber 1902, p. 680, considers it an indication of a crusade, but Formisano 1980, p. LXI, note 3, thinks it may be 'un'ipotesi meramente fantastica, priva di un reale fondamento nel contesto (del resto la menzione del Temple al v. 64 può ben essere un'eco del Temple Salamo di Marcabruno, *Pax in nomine Domini!*)'.
- 47-48 *Lai iert li boens luviers doneis / a ceauls ki l'avront deservit*. The motif of the reward of eternal life with which the Lord repays those who have served him well is also found in *Jerusalem se plaint et li païs* (RS 1576), vv. 41-43: *ki en rendra cascun tel guerredon / que cuers d'ome nel poroit esprisier; / car paradis en ara de loier*, and in *Vous ki ameis de vraie amor* (RS 1967), vv. 35-38: *Saivez ke Deus n'ait an covant / a ceaz ke se vorront creusier? / Se m'eüst Il, mult bial luier: / Paradis par afaitement!* See also Jacques de Vitry, sermo I, 20 cited above: *Tanta et talia stipendia offert vobis quod sponte currere deberetis, remissionem cunctorum scilicet peccatorum quantum ad penam et culpam et insuper vitam eternam* (Schneyer III, 216, n. 413 and Maier 2000, p. 98).

- 51 *Ke pensent li roy?* This echoes *Chevalier mult este guariz* (RS 1548a), 17: *Chivalers, cher vus purpensez?*
- 56 *Dont lor parrait lor bone foi*: Bédier considers the line corrupt, both because of the erroneous rhyme ('parce qu'il faut une rime en -ois'), and especially because it makes no sense to say *la bonne foi*, which should be *la mauvaise foi*, of the two kings 'leur apparaîtra au jour du jugement dernier: elle doit leur apparaître dès l'heure présente; sans quoi elle n'est pas la mauvaise foi' (Bédier-Aubry 1909, p. 83). So while he admits his conjecture is arbitrary he suggests in a note emending the text to read *Lor estrelois*, which he thinks would fit the sense much better. Here I have understood the first *lor* as an adverb of time deriving from *illa hora* 'at that time'.
- 57 *se Deu faillent, a Lui fauront*: the author plays on two senses of *faillir*, 'to fail' and 'to lose' (see AND s.v.). For the expression, which has a biblical flavour, see especially Conon de Béthune, *Ahi! Amors, com dure departie* (RS 1125) 11-12: *ki li faura a cest besoig d'aïe, / saiciés ke il li faura a grignor*.
- 58 *Il dirait: «Je ne vos conoix!»*: this anticipates the last words of the Spouse in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matthew 25, 12-13: *At ille respondens ait: "Amen dico vobis: Nescio vos". / Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem neque horam*), which will be quoted and explained in the following two stanzas (vv. 65-68 and 71-76). There is an interesting parallel here, in the parable's clearly theatrical effect, with the *Sponsus*, the Latin liturgical drama with vernacular inserts of Limousin provenance (11th c., *unicum* of ms. Paris, BnF, lat. 1139), in the part in which Christ declaims: *Amen, dico, vos ignosco; nam caretis lumine / quod qui perdunt, procul pergunt huius aule limine. // Alet, chaitivas, alet, malaüreas! / A tot jors mais vos so penas liureas; / en efern ora seret meneias!*
- 64 *Guerpissiés villes et chaistiaus*: this directly echoes *Chevalier mult estes guariz* (RS 1548a), 29-30 in which Louis VII *deguerpit ad e vair e gris, / chastels e viles e citez*.
- 65-66 *Encontre l'Espous en aleis / et si porteis oille en vaixiaulz!* Compare Matthew, 25, 3-4: *Fatuae enim, acceptis lampadibus suis, non sumpserunt oleum secum; / prudentes vero acceperunt oleum in vasis cum lampadibus suis*. Here also it is interesting to compare the text with the psalm-like intonation of the song of the foolish virgins in the *Sponsus*, who did not forget to bring the oil but spilled it: *Partimini lumen lampadibus, pie sitis insipientibus, / paise ne nos simus a foribus, cum vos sponsus vocet in sedibus. / Dolentas, chaitivas, trop i avem dormit!* (vv. 39-40 and the refrain, see Avalle-Monterosso 1965).
- 67, 72 *lampes*. The motif of the ever-lit lamps, which represents the condition of the faithful who must always be ready for the coming of Christ, unites the parable of the ten virgins with that of the watchful servant (Luke 12, 35-40), those who remain wide awake for their master who will knock at the door on his way back from a wedding feast: *Sint lumbi vestri praecincti et lucernae ardentes, / et vos similes hominibus exspectantibus dominum suum, quando revertatur a nuptiis, ut, cum venerit et pulsaverit, confestim aperiant ei. / Beati, servi illi, quos, cum venerit dominus, invenerit vigilantes. / ... / Hoc autem scitote, quia, si sciret pater familias, qua hora fur veniret, non sineret perfodi domum suam. / Et vos estote parati, quia, qua hora non putatis, Filius hominis venit*. The motif is repeated in the *Roman de Charité* of the Renclus de Moiliens, st. 123, 4-5: *O Carités revien, ravole / Et rapareille a Diu s'escole; / Car si desciple ont fait le tour. / Lampes sont sans fu et sans ole, / Langues de prelat sans parole* (see van Hamel 1885).
- 71-72 *Elais! ne cognoissent lor sen! / Ke sont lampes, oile desus?* Bédier-Aubry 1909, p. 83 emends to *E! lais, n'en cognoissent lou sens; / Ke sont lampes, oile, ne feus?*, though admitting: 'Corrections incertaines. Entre autres difficultés *feus* serait deux fois à la rime dans la même strophe. Si on les accepte faute de mieux, on peut aussi songer à ponctuer ainsi: virgule après *sens*, point après *feus*'.

77 *o les Innocens*: the Innocents are the pure, those without sin. Schöber 1976, p. 201, identifies them with the children slain in Bethlehem by Herod the Great (Matthew, 2, 1-16), venerated as martyrs. Djikstra 1995a, p. 93, stresses that 'Si cette identification est correcte, Maître Renaut promet ici aux croisés le martyre'. This may, however, be an echo of the so-called 'Children's Crusade' (see Röhrich 1876 and Alphandéry 1916 and my notes on *Historical context and dating*). The movement began in June 1212 with the young shepherd Steven who at Saint-Denis petitioned Philip August to preach and proclaim a new crusade which Christ Himself had asked of him, appearing to him in a vision while he was tending his sheep in the fields. An expedition of a host of children then left Marseille in 1212, but two of the seven ships bearing the little crusaders to the Holy Land sank off the south-west coast of Sardinia. In memory of the shipwreck and the venture Gregory IX had a church built on the island of san Pietro in 1236 in honour of the *Novelli Innocenti*. The expedition of the Innocents is also mentioned in the *Annales Stadenses*: A. D. 1212. *Circa idem tempus pueri sine rectore, sine duce, de universis omnium regionum villis et civitatibus versus transmarinas partes avidis gressibus cucurrerunt, et dum quaereretur ab ipsis, quo currerent, responderunt: "Versus Iherusalem, quaerere terram sanctam!" [...] Papa auditis hiis rumoribus, ingemescens ait: "Hii pueri nobis inproperant, quod ad recuperationem terrae sanctae eis currentibus nos dormimus!"*; see *Annales Stadenses*, A. 1208-1213, p. 355, rr. 33-38.

Text

Anna Radaelli, 2016

Mss.

Ms.: C 179r-v (*maistres renas lai fist de nostre signor*).

Versification and music

8 abababab 7'CC (MW 752,8 = Frank 319); 8 *coblas singulares* + refrain; rhyme *a* : - eir , - oir , - ert , -(i) es , - eis , - ont , - eis , - en (s); rhyme *b* : - our (- or), - ent , - is , -(i) on , - i (t), - ois (- oit), -(i) aus (aulz), - us ; rhyme *c* : - oure ; links in *coblas capfinidas* , an aid to memory, between stanzas I and II *a un jor* and IV and V *terre de Promission / terre de Promesse* . The song is structured on a series of eight octosyllabic lines with two alternating rhymes and in this respect it makes a pair with another crusade song with octosyllabic lines and two rhymes, *Vous ki ameïs de vraie amor* (RS 1967), which can be linked to the homiletic activity in the Parisian environment of the first quarter of the 13th c. The versification to which *Pour lou pueple* belongs is no. 752 in the Molk-Wolfzettel repertory, which records 23 items all having a refrain formed from a final rhyming couplet (CC), almost all with eight- or seven-syllable lines on masculine rhymes. Because it is the only one to have a refrain of two seven-syllable lines with feminine rhymes, *Pour lou pueple* appears to be a *unicum* , but its close affinity to three of Gontier de Soignies' *rotrouenges* presenting the same syllabic structure with refrain in masculine octosyllables is undeniable: RS 265a = 309 *Se li oïsiel baisent lor chans* (transmitted by T with melody ABAB CDEF/GH), RS 1089 *Tant ai mon chant entrelassié* (MT and C, melody ABAB CDCE/FG; but also AAA'B/C added later in M), and RS 723, *Li xours comence xordement* , *unicum* of C. Gontiers' versification was probably the model for Thibaut de Blaison's *Chanter m'estuet, si criem morir* RS 1430 (2 *coblas singulares* with refrain and melody ABAB CDEF/C'D') and Vielars de Corbie's love-song *De chanter me semont amors* RS 2030, as transmitted by C, the only ms. to have the refrain (as opposed to KNPX, mel. ABAB CDEF; the same melody is in Gautier de Coinci RS 1677, see van den Boogaard 1971). Spanke 1936, 35-36, also adds to the group the monodic *conductus Dum medium*

silentium (AH XX,4, melody ABABCDCE/FG), the Nativity hymn which Strecker 1925 attributes to Walter of Châtillon. However, the most striking affinity seems to be between *Pour lou pueple* and *Chevalier mult estes guariz* (RS 1548a) with which it shares a responsory type of performance. Considered to be the oldest crusade song (composed after the second fall of Edessa), this one is also made up of (essentially) octosyllabic stanzas with alternating rhymes, ending with a refrain though of four lines (8abababab CDCD, MW 766, 2); in addition certain motifs of *Chevalier* (especially in vv. 17, 29-30, 51-53) are echoed in RS 886. The only possible Occitan analogy is with the versification in Frank 239 (in seven-syllable lines with refrain), found in texts later than RS 886, in Sordel's '*dansa*', *Ailas, e que•m fau miey huelh* (BdT 437.1 = 239:3), and the *retroenchas* of Guiraut Riquier, *Pus astres no m'es donatz* (BdT 248.65 = 239:1) and Peire Cardenal, *Vera vergena Maria* (BdT 335.70 = 239:4), with feminine seven-syllable lines (compare Chambers 1985, p. 243: 'Should we at least admit the possibility that Peire Cardinal's hymn to Mary, and possibly Sordello's "dansa" as well, were consciously written in a pre-existent retroencha framework?').

Previous editions

Jubinal 1838, 39; du Méril 1844, 757; Wackernagel 1846, 35; Paris (*Paulin*) 1856, 705 (5 stanzas only); Bédier-Aubry 1909, 77; Oeding 1910, 42; Guida 1992, 66; Dijkstra 1995a, 88.

Historical context and dating

Like *Vous ki ameïs de vraie amor* (RS 1967), this song should be dated to the specific period immediately preceding departure on the Fifth Crusade, in which the West was criss-crossed by doctors of Paris University preaching a new crusade. The essence of *Pour lou pueple* also lies in the spiritual and pastoral aspect of the expedition, and the only historical clue here is found in v. 52 addressed to the kings, *cil de France et cil des Englois*. On this basis Bédier has no doubts concerning the historical context of the song: 'Il est assuré (voy. les vers 21-2, 51-4) que la chanson a été écrite entre 1189 et les premiers mois de 1191' (Bédier 1906, 386 and Bédier-Aubry 1909, 77). Even later scholars have expressed no doubts about dating it to the period of the Third Crusade (for example Dijkstra 1995a, p. 90: the song 'doit avoir été composée entre avril 1189, première date prévue pour le début de la croisade, et juillet 1190, date à laquelle les croisés sont enfin partis'). However, the French and English monarchs' inertia as regards departure for the Holy Land was a continuing feature of the years following 1190. Line 77, *Cil irait o les Innocens*, may offer an important clue pointing to a date later than the end of the twelfth century. *Innocens* has generally been interpreted as referring to the episode in Matthew's gospel, 2, 1-16. However, in 1212 an event took place which made a great impression on its contemporaries, the so-called Children's Crusade, to which the Chronicle of the Anonymous of Laon refers (cfr. Bouquet 1879, p. 715). This was a popular movement which had attempted to revive people's spirits in the direction of a new crusade, and which resonated particularly in the Rhineland, but soon ended destructively in a mixture of indifference and dismissiveness on the part of the religious and politico-military authorities: '1212. Multa milia puerorum cruce signatorum versus mare iter arripuerunt; sed illa peregrinatio annichilata fuit' (cfr. *Flores Temporum. Imperatores*, in MGH SS, XXIV, p. 240, r. 13; see also *infra*, note to v. 77). The Innocents, alongside whom will stand those who have deserved God's reward, may therefore be the child crusaders (and hence 'without sin'), who died for the reconquest of the Holy Land; in this case the *terminus post quem* for the song's composition would be 1212. If we are then to identify a period of relative peace in which it would be possible for the kings of France and England to be asked to act together and take part in a new expedition, there are not many alternatives before the departure of the crusade in 1217 (which could be taken as the extreme limit *ante quem*). There is actually only one (uncertain) period of non-belligerence between the English and French kings. This falls after the battle of Bouvines, when King John, a vassal of the pope since 1213, agreed to the truce of Parthenay in September 1214 with Philip Augustus (and with Louis

VIII), which had been promoted by the manoeuvring of the papal legate Robert de Courçon (cfr. Teulet 1836, p. 405). At the end of the Fourth Lateran Council and with the promulgation of the constitution *Ad liberandam* on 14 December 1215, Innocent III pressed for John's promised aid for the crusade (the King had taken the cross on 4 March 1215), and at the same time condemned any support for the rebel barons in his kingdom who had invited Philip Augustus to claim the English crown. The truce, which was supposed to last for five years, was very short-lived: in the spring of 1216 the prospect of a new war between John and the Capetians loomed large. From the beginning of the year Louis had once more begun to prepare to invade England. So in 1216, preparations for attack and defence kept both French and English armies occupied, taking men and resources away from the crusade which had only just been announced (Cheney 1976, pp. 391-93). It was natural that this state of affairs should cause great anxiety to the Pope, the same anxiety as that expressed in the passionate tones of popular propaganda in *Pour lou pueple resconforteir*. Louis landed on the coast of Dover on 21 May 1216 and hostilities kept the two kings tied down for the next two years: this date therefore signals the latest date at which it would have been possible to exhort *cil de France et cil des Englois* to leave for the Holy Land under a single aegis (see Bolton 1991). In this case the song must date from after September 1214 (the truce of Parthenay), or March 1215 (when John took the cross; Louis VIII had already done so in 1213 for the crusade to the South), and before May 1216 (Louis' landing at Dover).

Who was *Maistres Renas*? Guesnon (1902, p. 140) suggests indentifying him with Renaut de Beauvais, on the basis of a quotation from Jean Bodel's *Congés* (*Ha! Maistre Renaut de Biauvais, / Ja est li siecles si mauvais!* (vv. 409-10), composed in c. 1202 (hence compatible with the generally accepted date of 1189-90), and on the evidence of the obituary of Arras which registers a contemporary *magister Reinaldus, canonicus Atrebatensis*. However his hypothesis has not been generally accepted since the proper name is extremely common, even if scholars unanimously agree that the poet belonged to the clergy of north-eastern France (see Bédier-Aubry 1909, p. 78, Dijkstra 1995a, pp. 99-100). It may be worth observing that in those same years a *clerc Renaut* wrote a *Vie de sainte-Geneviève*, a poem in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, for a *dame de Valois*, identified by Bohm 1955 with Eleonor of Vermandois, countess of Saint-Quentin, for whom Philip Augustus, through the treaty of Boves in 1185, had reserved the title of lady of Valois which she retained until her death in 1214 (see also Di Quero 1832, pp. 250-51).