

CHAPTER 6

THE VOICE OF THE UNREPENTANT CRUSADER: “ALER M’ESTUET” BY THE CHÂTELAIN D’ARRAS

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Is it possible to hear the inner voice of the medieval crusader?

Although far from the genre of modern war literature in which one might hear a soldier’s inner conflict between a greater moral cause and personal beliefs, vernacular crusade love songs composed in Old French from the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century can exhibit an interior complexity of a departing crusader.¹ These songs lament the poet’s departure from his lady and reflect an effort to domesticate an unknowable situation using the conventional tropes of courtly lyric. I argue that the crusade songs of the Northern French *trouvères* warrant closer study because they internalized ecclesiastical ideology and translated it into a courtly code specific to the needs of an elite class of crusading noblemen. Rather than focusing on how these songs portray different lay attitudes toward the crusading movement,² this chapter focuses on the poetics of these songs—courtly tropes, metaphors, the *translatio* of penitential discourse—that while often seen as simply conventional, represent conflicting moral values regarding crusade and complex attempts to personalize and valorize this internal conflict in an independent courtly voice. As often noted, the *trouvères*’ counterparts, the troubadours and *Minnesingers*, also composed crusade lyric but were not uniformly of the same high rank and not expected to go on crusade. In order to hear the ambivalent voice of the crusader in these songs, I read them against various penitential and confessional texts of the period related to crusading. Participating in a penitential discourse developed by key figures such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Innocent III, and University theologians, as well as preachers such as Bishop Maurice of Sully, crusade love songs develop what I call a courtly “voice-text” that responds to emerging debates about confessional self-representation and the expression of sincere penance. I will develop this concept further using specific examples.

In this essay I focus on “Aler m’estuet” (“I must go”) by the Châtelain (or Huon) d’Arras, dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.³ Although knowledge

of the Châtelain is scarce, he shares the same courtly aesthetic as other trouvères of crusade songs such as Conon de Béthune, the Châtelain de Couci, and Thibaut de Champagne. Joseph Bédier assumes that he was from a noble family of Artois and took part in the crusade movement at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries.⁴ The Châtelain belongs to the same cultural and social milieu as the other aforementioned trouvères, all high-ranking nobles primarily from northern France active in crusade expeditions, and their songs would have been known during a time of ecclesiastical reform that affected the preaching and practice of crusading. As leaders of expeditions abroad, trouvères were invested in how they fashioned themselves as crusaders.⁵ The transmission of these crusade love songs in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *chansonniers* attests to their creators' prestige. This transmission also makes it likely that these works would have been performed in public and reached a large audience either at home or abroad long after their production, at a time when the crusading movement is generally perceived to have come of age.⁶ Perhaps because of the shared background of these poets, these lyrics reflect a standardization of courtly tropes applied to crusade.⁷ In his crusade love song, the Châtelain d'Arras creates his own "crusade voice" that promotes an aristocratic idiom of crusade intention, an affirmation of his piety as a crusader.

As has been recently argued by Lisa Perfetti, the figure of the "crusading lover" in these songs reflects various political, social, and material motivations for taking up the cross.⁸ Despite the problems inherent in identifying a corpus of crusade poems, scholars have generally divided the Old French songs that treat some aspect of crusade into two categories: exhortational poems that encourage men to take the cross or criticize those who are reluctant or fail to complete fulfill their vows; and love songs in which the crusader laments a lady left behind.⁹ While the eroticized poetics of crusade love songs can "enhance the image of the crusader,"¹⁰ I also see the love songs of trouvères as expressing ambivalence about the penitential aspect of crusading through a courtly code. Crusading having by now become a normal feature of the European scene and inflected with secular ideals—recruitment increasingly concentrated in circles of vassals for instance¹¹—powerful lords and leaders of crusade expeditions were invested in crafting a crusading voice that espoused both the earthly virtues of their class and the proper piety of a crusader. At stake was the articulation of sincere intention to go on crusade that at once professes the repentance of a Christian soldier and asserts the chivalric values of a restricted social group, these values being significant for maintaining mutual service and feudal obligation at home and abroad. Reading "Aler m'estuet" against the penitential discourse of the period, I will show how the Châtelain's voice emerges through that of the ventriloquized lady and is formed in opposition to the silent voice of interior reflection that one was supposed to have as a crusader embarking on a penitential journey. The Châtelain distinguishes and authorizes his crusading voice by claiming at once to be a pious crusader and an unrepentant courtly lover. By looking at various examples of pastoral literature, I will explain how the immediate cultural climate of penance and confession demands and produces the Châtelain's self-authorized crusading voice.

Intentio Recta vs. Courtly Intention: The Voice of the Lady as Inspiration

Evident in theological writings, pastoral literature, and visual culture, penance formed the immediate context of crusade lyric composed at this time. The pastoral reform movement, culminating in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), reaffirmed penance as a prerequisite for salvation. In penitential sermons related to crusade, ecclesiastical authorities and preachers invoked the voice of the Lord or honed their own voices to incite a lay audience to crusade. Pope Innocent III's official decrees and legislation represent the Western Church's concern for a centralized spiritual reform among laity inherently related to crusading. In his first general crusade letter issued in 1198, *Post miserabile*, Innocent explicitly established crusading as a penitential activity in that those who went on crusade who have "done penance [for sins] with voice and heart" would receive the reward of eternal salvation. Following contemporary theological discussions, he emphasizes both inner contrition and confession.¹² In his encyclical *Quia maior* of 1213, the famous letter viewed by historians as the culmination of crusading propaganda, Innocent summoned believers to a new crusade, the Fifth Crusade, and referred to crusade as not only an opportunity but a means for salvation.¹³ Innocent describes crusade as a divine test and the Holy Land as Christ's patrimony. A model sermon for use in his newly established system for preaching the cross, the letter shows how Innocent guides preachers to invoke God's voice in need. I have included the relevant Latin:

We cry out on behalf of him, made obedient to God the Father even to the death on the cross, who, *while dying on the cross called out in a loud voice [moriendo voce magna clamavit in cruce]*, crying out that he might save us from the torture of eternal death [Mt 27:50; Lk 23:46; my emphasis]. And he cried out also for himself and said, "If anyone wishes to follow me, he should deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." (Mt. 16:24)

Here Innocent invokes not only the image of the Lord on the cross but his voice: the Lord calls out to his followers to take up the cross. Hearing God's voice in need, crusaders should respond in a spirit of penance, conversion, and action.

Before this encyclical was issued, *trouvères* were already embracing crusade as a penitential activity in their lyrics, apparently having absorbed contritionist sermons and taking up the position of preacher. The twelfth-century *trouvère* Conon de Béthune, a participant in the Third and Fourth Crusades, exhorts all people, including clergy, the elderly, and women, to go on crusade in their own ways as a penitential activity in "Ahi! Amour, con dure departie" (Ah, Love, what a cruel separation). In "Bien me deüsse targier" (I should defer to another time) he encourages an internal and physical process of self-denial: "On se doit bien efforchier / De Dieu servir, ja n'i soit li talans, / Et la char vaintre et plaissier" (One must force oneself to serve God, even if you have desires elsewhere, and vanquish and break corporeal desires, l. 9–11).¹⁴ As Jean-Charles Payen notes, the penitential language here likely alludes to the doctrine of double penitence espoused by Hughes of Saint Victor that instructs internal and external acts of penance.¹⁵ For those who might

hesitate to go on crusade (or the equivalent of the physical journey to the Holy Land) because of their earthly attachments, Conon suggests the ascetic training of “vaintre” and “plaissier” to overcome that weakness.

Crusade chronicles and the writings of clerical apologists affirm Innocent’s exposition of crusading as successful only if accompanied by a spiritual reawakening. Crusaders understood that divine aid would be forthcoming if soldiers carried out religious obligations, particularly confessing sins before battle. They participated in penitential activities to maintain morale. In his chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, Henri of Valenciennes reports that crusaders participated in penitential activities directed by clerics before battle. After assuring the men that divine aid would come to those who were sincerely repentant, the cleric Philip commands them to “in the name of penitence to fight against the enemies of Jesus Christ” (“Je vous commanc a toz, en non de penitence, que vous poigniés econtre les anemis Jhesu Crist”).¹⁶ Not only would victory come to those who were properly repentant, but attacking the enemy was also viewed as a form of penance.

Innocent and his followers were influenced by the most significant preacher of the Second Crusade, the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, who formulated “right intention” (*intentio recta*).¹⁷ Although crusade as an act of love formed a part of religious orthodoxy at the time, Bernard’s crusade sermons cultivated an affective piety that served as an important template for crusade love songs, especially in his emphasis upon expressing sincere love.¹⁸ Bernard insists that the physical *imitatio Christi* is of little value unless accompanied by an internal, spiritual imitatio. This imitatio takes the form of a moral regeneration that is a mark of true repentance.¹⁹ In “De laude novae militiae” (ca. 1128–1137), a treatise addressed to the Templars but applicable to aristocratic crusaders, Bernard emphasizes that with pure conscience and *intentio recta* the true soldier of Christ accepts death as a martyr and is therefore fearless.²⁰ He warns that the knight must fight for no cause other than Christ, even though among noblemen, religious motivations were balanced with chivalric ideals of lordship, honor, and renown. In a recruitment letter to the duke and people of Bohemia from 1147, he portrays crusade as a test and act of love, an opportunity for laymen to set aside earthly cares and gain salvation. In addressing potential soldiers of Christ, he uses affective language that enlists the heart, voice, and desire:

I am urged by this zeal to write to you what I would prefer to try to *inscribe in your hearts with my voice* and I would do that if I had the means [*voce cordibus vestris inscribere laborarem*]... But the part of me about which I have been complaining is not with you; the part which will be of more use to you, my heart, is brought straight to you, in spite of the distance which separates our burdensome bodies.²¹

Bernard’s effort to inscribe his voice within the hearts of his listeners parallels his preaching of the crusader as desiring bodily union with Christ in “De laude novae militiae”:

What in fact is there to fear for the man, whether he is living or dying, for whom to live is Christ and for whom it is gain to die? He remains in this world faithfully

and willingly for Christ; *but his greater desire is to be dissolved and to be with Christ [sed magis cupit dissolvi, et esse cum Christo]; this in fact is better.*²²

Bernard appeals to his listeners by first vividly stressing the emotional and spiritual relation between himself and his listeners: he inscribes himself within their hearts. This affective relation between preacher and would-be crusader corresponds with the second image of a desired union between Christ and penitent soldier of Christ. The knight with “right intention” has no earthly cares and therefore enters fearlessly into battle.

The Châtelain d’Arras’s “Aler m’estuet” transforms Bernard’s emphasis on a crusader’s heartfelt contrition: the expression of sincere repentance as motivation for crusade becomes the courtly unrepentance of *fine amour* (refined, pure love) as the basis of crusading intention. The Châtelain responds to Innocent’s call to hear the voice of Christ, as well as Bernard’s emphasis on the voice reaching hearts, and desire for spiritual union with Christ. The desirous *intentio recta* of the penitent crusader who longs to dissolve himself with Christ becomes the desirous courtly intention of the unrepentant crusader who longs to be with his lady. Both Bernard and the Châtelain form a crusade intention based on longing and corporeal distance and rely on the heart’s transmission through the voice to create the crucial affective relation between crusader and other as either Christ or lady. The opening strophe of “Aler m’estuet” demonstrates how the Châtelain d’Arras has internalized the homiletic message of crusade as penitential activity through the image of God’s suffering. However, at the same time that he proclaims his willingness to suffer *Outremer*, he declares his love for his lady left behind:

Aler m’estuet la u je trairai paine,
 En cele terre ou Diex fu travelliés;
 Mainte pensee i averai grevaine,
 Quant je serai de ma dame eslongiés; 4
 Et saciés bien ja mais ne serai liés
 Dusc’a l’eure que l’averai prochaine.
 Dame, merci! Quant serai repariés,
 Pour Dieu vos proi prenge vos en pitiez. 8

[I must go there where I will endure suffering / In that land where God was tortured; / I will have many heavy thoughts / because I will be away from my lady; / And know well that I will never be happy / Until the time I will have her close to me. / Lady, have mercy! When I will have returned, / I beg you by God that pity takes you.]

The Châtelain opens his song with an image of Christ’s suffering that ought to inspire the pious crusader with right intention. Yet the external physical suffering that will earn him salvation conflicts with his “pensee” or thoughts that are focused on his lady and his hoped for reunion with her upon his return. This hope replaces the internal *imitatio* of Christ, the internal activity of desiring spiritual union with Christ preached by Bernard. Like Bernard, he thinks about how voices can reach

hearts, but now in an earthly context: the memory of her voice, which at first resembles a dangerous siren that tempts him from the moral path, gives him the fortitude to be a good crusader:

Douce dame, contesse et chastelaine
 De tout valoir, cui sevrance m'est griés,
 Si est de vos com est de la seraine
 Qui par son chant a plusors engigniés; 12
 N'en sevent mot, ses a si aprociés
 Que ses dous cans lor navie mal maine;
 Ne se gardent, ses a en mer plongiés;
 Et s'il vos plaist, ensi sui perelliés. 16

En peril sui, se pités ne m'aïe;
 Mais, se ses cuers resamble ses dous oex,
 Donc sai de voir que n'i perirai mie:
 Esperance ai qu'ele l'ait mout piteus. 20
 Sovent recort, quant od li ere seus,
 Qu'ele disoit; "Mous seroi esjoïe,
 Se repariés; je vos ferai joïex;
 Or soiés vrais conme fins amoureux." 24

Ha! Diex, dame, cist mos me rent la vie;
 Biaus sire Diex, com il est precieus!
 Sans cuer m'en vois el regne de Surie:
 Od vos remaint, c'est ses plus dous osteus. 28
 Dame vaillans, comment vivra cors seus?
 Se le vostre ai od moi en compaignie,
 Adès iere plus joians et plus preus.
 Del vostre cuer serai chevalereus. 32

[Sweet lady, countess and baroness / of high worth, the separation from whom grieves me, / it is with you as the siren / who by her song deceived many sailors. / They didn't understand [lit.: know her words], she approached them in such a way / that her sweet song made their ship go off on a bad course; / they weren't careful, and so she made them drown at sea. / And so it pleases you, in this way I am in the same peril.

I am in peril, so pity does not rescue me. / But if her heart resembles her sweet eyes, / I know in truth that I will never perish by it; / having hope that she has a pitiful heart. / Often I remember when, being alone with her, / she said, "I would be very happy / If you returned, I will make you joyous; / for now be loyal like a true lover."

Ah! God, lady, these words give me life; / Good lord God, how they are precious! / Without a heart, I go away for the kingdom of Syria: / With you it remains, its sweetest refuge. / Worthy lady, how will a body live without a heart? / If I have your heart with me in company, / I will be the most joyful and brave. / By your heart, I will be valiant.]

Replacing the preacher's voice that inspires *intentio recta*, the lady's voice inspires crusading chivalry. While the poet narrator begins the song thinking of Christ's suffering, in the process of "recorder" or remembering, the lady's voice begins to inhabit

[You who love with true love, / awake! Sleep no more! . . . the day of peace has come / Which God, in his great tenderness, / Will give to those who for love of him / Take the cross and for their burden / Suffer pain both night and day. / Then he will see who truly love him.

Anyone deserves to be condemned / Who has deserted his lord in need.]

In light of ecclesiastical efforts to make crusade ideology more accessible through the appropriation of feudal language and invocation of crusade service as an act of Christian love or “*vraie amor*,”²⁶ the Châtelain d’Arras distinguishes his intention through courtly *fine amour*. He combines two competing spiritualities through the craft of lyric: continual devotion to the lady and a willingness to physically fulfill a crusade vow that brings spiritual redemption. The upholding of these spiritualities cleansed by penitential acts such as crusading demonstrates what Richard Kaeuper has called a “chivalric independence” within an “undoubted piety.”²⁷ Indeed, in his study of chivalric romances Kaeuper explains how the constant theme of necessary confession and penance shows both that knightly views “were not fully in accord with ecclesiastical precepts” and that the “aristocratic capacity to make use of all religious options” shows how “knightly ideology fused elements of current theological thinking on confession and penance in a manner best calculated to advance chivalry.”²⁸ In “*Aler m’estuet*” the Châtelain asserts his own voice through the voice of the lady: he ventriloquizes her voice in order to demonstrate a piety that outwardly devotes itself to Christ, yet inwardly maintains an *intentio* of earthly love.

Confessional Discourse and “*Aler m’estuet*”

So far I have attempted to show how “*Aler m’estuet*” responds to the reform movement’s emphasis on crusading as a penitential activity, as seen from Innocent’s sermons and the affective exhortation of Bernard’s sermons for crusaders. Furthermore, the crusading voice that relies on the lyrical form and poetics of the *chant* or song (l.41) responds to the new theological and pastoral understandings of the sacrament of penance in several ways. By the end of the twelfth century, theologians and canonists had been revising the doctrine of penance for nearly a century. Replacing the ancient penitential system practiced into the eleventh century, in which penalties calibrated to the crimes were administered publicly upon sinners,²⁹ the new penance was administered privately and secretly according to the circumstances of the individual sinner. Twelfth-century theologians such as Peter Abelard scrutinized the three parts of penance—*penitentia*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio*—inherited from several centuries of Christian teachings on penance. Thinkers such as Peter Lombard and Gratian at midcentury lay weight on actual declaration, rather than the Abelardian sufficiency of intention; these debates over the sacrament of penance and confession shaped the canons of the Fourth (=Lateran) Council of 1215.³⁰ As a participant in the theological conversation about the outward and inward practice of penance, Abelard emphasized *penitentia* as the “sorrow of mind over what it has done wrong,” what was later termed repentance or contrition.³¹ No forgiveness of sin could occur

without true contrition of the heart or interior penance, and the period stressed the intensity of a sincere repentance: when tears spontaneously emerge from the depths of the sinner's heart, it is the sign of divine grace.³² From the writings of Abelard and later theologians who taught in the cathedral school of Notre-Dame of Paris, Lateran IV legislated new ethical and intellectual demands of religious knowledge and practice upon the laity, especially the idea of complete and true confession guided by confessors' manuals and pastoral works for the *cura animarum* (ecclesiastical care of the souls) focused on the penitents' personal needs.

As evident from the first strophe of "Aler m'estuet" that refers to Christ's passion, crusading trouvères internalized the heightened reflection upon penance to be seen in not only ecclesiastical literature, but also in vernacular genres of narrative and lyric during the decades before and after Lateran IV. With the Council's transmission of codified religious knowledge to the laity and legislated reform outside of monastic and university circles, the thirteenth century saw the production of vernacular confessional manuals, sermons, and collections of *exempla* meant for spiritual instruction, especially the proper practice of confession. In addition to *Summae* dedicated to the practical application of the sacrament produced at the turn of the century by Peter the Chanter and his school, vernacular penitentials adapted from Latin confessor manuals proliferated in Anglo-Norman and French, such as the late thirteenth-century *Manuel des péchés* of William of Waddington.³³ The pastoral reform movement affected vernacular and popular expression in courtly and moral literature, as seen from the appearance of major collections of exempla, as well as the confessional scenes with hermits that punctuate Arthurian romance.³⁴ "Aler m'estuet" responds to the new penance and its emergent repercussions in pastoral and vernacular literature. The trouvère participates in these debates about the practice of sincere repentance by crafting his own crusading sincerity. In response to theologians and priests' concern for confession by voice and its relation to contrition and satisfaction, the Châtelain professes—rather than confesses—crusade in order to create an alternative penitential mode that affirms the chivalric values of secular knights. As we will see, the sincerity of his profession depends on his ability to profess his crusade intention through the voice of his lady.

Penitential Self-Representation

For our comparison of secular lyric and pastoral texts, what was more important than the legislation of mandatory confession was how the Council codified what, how, and to whom all Christians should confess.³⁵ Alongside the emphasis on inward reflection, vernacular pastoralia stressed confession as a dialogue between priest and sinner, one that involved the representation of sin and the translation of religious truth. For instance, Aden Kumler's study of late thirteenth-century illuminated manuscripts intended for the spiritual instruction of elite laity shows how the "performance" of images in such manuscripts relies on a dialogic relationship between painting and viewer, consistent with contemporary paradigms for the *modus confitendi* or proper conduct of confession.³⁶

The trouvères would have been expected to take confession and communion before every military engagement, yet they also formed their own courtly voice of ambivalence in response to the penitential love of God that they should express as a crusader. In his poem's *envoi*, the Châtelain professes an "amour vraie enterine" (true, sincere love l. 42) that asserts Christian piety undergirded by the courtly code: his love is both "liés et dolans" (joyful and sad, l. 43). Although his body goes on crusade, he is joyous in hopes of returning to her and at the same time sad to be apart from her. His contradictory intention claims a different kind of sincere love by virtue of refusing to repent earthly cares, the "vraie amors" of perfect contrition (see "Vos qui ameïs").³⁷ This "amour vraie enterine" articulates the paradoxical psyche of the pious crusader as incapable of relinquishing earthly cares.

Comparing the Châtelain's use of "heart" and "voice" to articulate intention reveals a close engagement with contemporary sermons. In the first strophe, and in the Châtelain's departure "without a heart," the trouvère constructs his own crusading voice against a penitential discourse that is increasingly more explicit in mapping the process of inward contrition and external confession. The Châtelain's anticontritionist *vox* emerges more clearly when read against a thirteenth-century Old French translation of Bernard's *Sermones per annum*. The example later illustrates how Bernard's ideas were being translated into the vernacular during the first decades of the thirteenth century, a period that saw a proliferation of homiletic texts in the vernacular focusing on confession. Bernard explains the connection between the compunction (remorse, regret) of the heart and oral confession using various bodily instruments and external signs such as tongue (*lingua*), words (*verba*), and oral confession (*confessio oris*).

Li premiere oyvre de la foyt que per amor oyvret, est li compuncions del cuer, per cai om getet sens dotte les diaules fors, quant om raiet ler pechiez del cuer. Apres parollent de noveles langues cil qui croient en Crist, quant les envizieies parolles se departent de lor boche, et quant il ne parollent mais de la viez lengue des premiers peres, qui chëurent en parolles de malice, quant il escusarent lor pechiet. Et quant li premier pechiet sunt destruit per la compuncion del cuer et per la confession de la boche, si est apres mestiers qu'il ostant les serpenz, c'est qu'il estignent les enve-limeies semontes, por ceu qu'il ne rechecent.³⁸

[The first work of faith that one undertakes in love is the compunction of the heart, so that man throws out the devils without hesitation, when he extracts the sins of the heart. Afterward those who believe in Christ speak the new tongues, when the defiant (or reluctant) words leave from their mouths, and when they no longer speak the former language of the first fathers, falling into words of malice when they excuse their sins. And when the first sins are destroyed by the compunction of the heart and through oral confession, so afterward it is useful that they remove the serpents, that they extinguish the poisonous suggestions, so that they do not fall again.]

Here expressing the remorse of the heart through confession makes the sinner speak with "noveles langues," new tongues as a penitent. He or she no longer speaks the malicious words or "parolles" (in the Latin, "in verba malitiae") that attempt to excuse one's sins, the "viez lengue" of the forefathers. The emphasis

on the tongue ensures the proper representation of penitence: Bernard makes the process of conversion more vivid by representing the tongue as metonymy for a penitential language (*parolle*) that expresses the contrite heart. As private confession always understood the exterior performance of self-disclosure, the transformed tongue implies the social and ethical implications of “the secret world of the soul.”³⁹ Dissimulation through language—an unrepentant tongue speaks “*parolles de malice*” to excuse sins—has social impact beyond the private reconciliation with God conferred through the sacrament. Further, the use of the different words *parolles*, *lengue*, and *boche* demonstrates how confessors were concerned about the accordance of external instruments and the repentant heart: focusing on the instruments of language demonstrates that the heart must control the words that emerge from the mouth (*boche*), thereby resulting in a transformation of the tongue (*noeves langues* as unified heart and language). Bodily instruments can stray because of a wayward intention. The training of the former tongue (the sinful self) into a new tongue through the dialogic practice of confession indicates efforts to shape the performance of confession by explicitly describing the relation between the heart and the tongue or voice that materially manifests sincere contrition.

A pious, repentant crusader about to depart should have a voice that arises from a contrite heart. In the *Sermones per annum* Bernard explains that the voice (*vox*) should come from the contrition of the heart (*contritio cordis*), as oral confession should proceed from a humble, simple, and true heart (“*ex voce confessionis corde humili, simplici fidelique processerit illa confessio*”), and that true remorse should be manifested through tears.⁴⁰ In a public performance among peers, and in addressing a lady (“*Dame, merci!*” 1.7), instead of reflecting inwardly and repenting his sin, the Châtelain instead reflects outwardly and professes his continual service to his lady. That is, his voice of crusading intention comes from a place from *without an* Other rather than from *within* a repentant heart, which results in his decision to go to Syria *without* his heart. The Châtelain constructs a crusading voice against Bernard’s contritionist view in which external signs (ideally tears, but also tongue and voice) should *ac-cord* with the heart. His body contradicts his intention, which is to remain with his lady; this intention ultimately makes his heart leave his body.

In addition to focusing on bodily instruments, such as the tongue to qualify and emphasize true contrition, preachers also qualify what constitutes sincerity by describing the efficacy of signs such as tears and penitential works. For instance, in an Anglo-Norman collection of anonymous sermons from the thirteenth century, the preacher explains that sincere tears have a voice that reaches God, but vain tears do not:

Il sut larmes qui unt voiz et altres qui n'unt nule voiz. Les larmes que home plore pour vanité si cum pur perte d'aucun avoir u de aucun mal talent u par carnal amor, u par carnal haenge celes larmes n'unt nient de voiz. . . mais celes larmes sunt raisonnables e unt grant voiz devant deu qui vienent del celestel.⁴¹

[There are tears that have a voice and others that don't have a voice. The tears that man cries out of vanity as for the pure loss of not having something or of some bad

desire or carnal love, or by carnal hate, these tears have nothing of a voice . . . but when they come from the heavens, those tears are reasonable and have a great voice before God.]

Sinners have many instruments at their disposal with which to express their devotion; the heart and works can pray if the tongue cannot, as a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Lenten sermon in Walloon dialect explains:

Se la langue ne puet tant orer, si (hore) li cuers et nos ueures soient teles qu'eles orent por nos a Deu, et ensi porons orer sens entrecessement et par langue u par cuer et par bones oeures.⁴²

[If the tongue cannot pray, so then the heart and our works are such that they pray to God for us, thus we can pray incessantly by either tongue or heart and by good works.]

The practical emphasis on bodily instruments reveals a pastoral wariness of corporeal or material signs (tongue, voice, tears) constitutive of subjective expression. In striving to explain how the tongue, voice, and a penitential act can function as signs for the heart, these pastoral texts encourage the lay penitent to think of these signs as subjects that can efficaciously express the inner repentance of the sinner before God or the priest.

The Châtelain replaces the proper textual object of confession—the sincere voice or external sign—formed through the sacramental encounter, with a penitential self-presentation formed through the code of courtly lyric. Having his lady's heart with him as he goes on crusade, he compares himself to Lancelot, who wins the double reward, or "double gueredonans," of earthly fulfillment and salvation.

Se le vostre ai od moi en compaignie
Adès iere plus joians et plus preus.
Del vostre cuer serai chevalereus. 32

Del gentil cuer Genievre la roïne
Fu Lancelos plus preus et plus vaillans;
Pour li emprist maine dure aatine,
Si en souffri paines et travas grans; 36
Mais au double li fu gueredonans
Après ses maus Amors loiaus et fine:
En tel espoir serf et ferai tous tans
Celi a cui mes cuers est atendants. 40

[If I have your heart with me in company, / I will be the most joyful and brave. / By your heart, I will be valiant.

With the noble heart of Guinevere the queen, / Lancelot was the most brave and bold; / for her he endured many hard conflicts, / he suffered pains and great tortures; / but he earned the double reward / after these hardships, from loyal and true Love, / in such a hope I serve and will always serve / She to whom I have entrusted my heart.]

He endures hardship for his lady, and these chivalric, courtly acts in turn serve the Lord. The joyfulness and sadness that comprise his “amour vraie enterine” come from the hope of return and the sense that she will continue to remember him (lines 25–40), not from the hope of redemption in service of the lord as seen in Bernard’s description of the crusader who hopes to “be dissolved with Christ.” Like private confession that is actually public and social in returning the penitent back to the Christian community and engaging the sinner in the discourse of the confessional project,⁴³ the courtly crusade avowal purports to be a private confession to an unnamed, unattainable beloved but functions as witness and public performance of his authentic intention as courtly crusader. His credibility assumes his public’s valorization of both earthly and spiritual sacrifice for crusade. Both confession and courtly profession are public secrets in this sense.

The sincerity of this crusading voice, his professed “amour vraie enterine” that inspires crusade, opposes the sincere repentance stressed by preachers. In explaining how such repentance should transform the voice or tongue and the relation between heart and voice, theologians and reformers were drawing from the Augustinian tradition of signs as something beyond the senses, as Augustine explains: “A sign is a thing which causes us to think of something beyond the impression the thing itself makes upon the senses.”⁴⁴ The concept of sincere tears as having a silent voice that reaches God follows Augustine’s description in *Confessions* 11.27–28 of the bodily voice (*vox corporis*) in contrast to silent, noncorporeal speech (*vox mentis*). Indeed, as Stephen G. Nichols notes in his discussion of Augustine and troubadour lyric, the bodily voice is precognitive until it becomes silent as a mental image. In a celebrated passage of the *Confessions* (11.28–38), Augustine uses the example of the oral recitation of a psalm to show how as the mind turns inward and commits bodily expression to memory, the bodily voice becomes silent and points back to the image of the psalm. Nichols draws our attention to Augustine’s fundamental distrust of the “free play of vocal expression” and the conversion of oral performance to an anterior written text (referring to the model of Scripture) in Book 11. In establishing a “link between oral performance, the body and its passions” Nichols argues, Augustine shows how these things should be “perceived as transitive markers of material life” because they “give way once they have transmitted their content to memory.”⁴⁵ The conversion from “former” to “new” tongue and the voice of tears each represent priests’ efforts to incorporate such sign theory into the practice of confession. How does the confessor collaborate with the penitent to invent a sincere repentance in language and external signs? How does the penitent recollect private memory toward the proper, silent textual object that signifies reconciliation with God? These examples indicate rhetorical and metaphorical strategies to avoid imperfect (forced or mechanical) confession that lacks true sorrow.

Moreover, the Châtelain’s unrepentant avowal responds to what modern readers might recognize as the “literariness” of penitential self-representation invented in the sacramental encounter between priest and sinner. It is almost as if, in seeing the vagaries of the external expression of contrition or repentance that preachers try to explicate in the earlier examples, the trouvère instead professes an authentic avowal that comes from the poetics of sincere intention valorized among his peers—*fine*

amour, in this context, a true, perfect love that balances chivalric–courtly ideals with spiritual ambitions. The awareness of this literariness is clear in Bishop Maurice of Sully’s sermon on penance (transmitted in the vernacular during the thirteenth century), where he explains how the sinner might shape the confessional narrative as a proper textual object of penitential self-representation. Sully’s detailed description of the formal structure of the sacrament demonstrates the practice of confession as producing a penitential “voice–text,” a representation of interior repentance that emerges in the dialogue between priest and sinner, the event of confession structured by the pastoral syllabus of interior contrition (*la repentance del corage*), oral confession (*la confessions de la bouce*), and performance of penance (*la penitance*).⁴⁶ After describing how the sinner must reflect inwardly and bitterly repent of his sin (*asprement repentir*), he stresses how oral confession must accord with interior repentance so that the penitent does not fall into the trap of an imperfect confession.

Après la repentance del cuer, si est la confessions de la bouce par coi on se doit acorder a Deu; quar lues qu’il s’en repent en son cuer de son peccié: ne se doit il pas iluekes arester, ançois doit tost venir a son provoire, e soi humilier e ageneillier devant lui, e crier li merci, e regeher li son peccié par sa bouce, e dire comment e quant il l’a fait. Il i a de tels qui vuelent metre essonie en lor peccié, e dire: “Sire, jo n’en puis mais, jo sui en tele compaignie que jo ne m’en puis garder ne tenir de cest mesfait faire,” e par ço veulent *dauber e dorer lor peccié*. Mais ce ne doit pas prodrom faire qui se veult acorder a Deu; mais ausi com il vult parfitement conquerre l’amor Deu, issi doit il parfitement regeher son peccié.⁴⁷

[After the repentance of the heart, then it is confession by mouth by which one must reconcile himself with God; because as soon as he repents of his sin in his heart, he must not stop here, but right away he must soon go to his priest, and humble himself and kneel before him, and cry to him mercy, and confess to him his sin by his mouth and say how and when he did it. There are those who want to place an excuse on their sin, and say, “Lord, I can never stop this, I am in such company that I can not help myself nor hold back from committing this fault,” and by that they want to *amend and adorn* their sin. But this thing a good man must not do who wants to reconcile himself to God; but just as he wants to sincerely seek the love of God, in this way he must sincerely confess his sin.]

Inward reflection and repentance should be quickly followed by “perfectly confessing one’s sin” (*parfitement regeher son peccié*) without “amending or adorning it” (*dauber et dorer*). The sinner must relate the circumstances of his sin (*dire comment e quant il l’a fait*) and perform the ritual of acts of penance such as kneeling before the priest. In keeping with theological discussions over the sacrament, Sully concedes that to “parfitement regeher son peccié” presents a problem during the sacramental encounter: the external form of contrition that emerges from the dialogue between confessor and sinner is subject to interpretation by sinner and priest as a representational oral text, what Robert Grosseteste describes in a treatise dated around 1215 as a mediated “narratio” of intermediary status.⁴⁸ The priest not only possesses sacerdotal authority but interprets the outward sincerity of inward repentance—the extent to which the sin is confessed “perfectly” and the extent to which bitterness appears in the penitent’s self-presentation.

(Grosseteste describes a “sufficient narration” as one that is “true, complete, full, plain, better and modest,” guided by appropriate questions from the priest.⁴⁹) Because they can help ensure that the oral confession signifies sincere repentance, Sully stresses the performative qualities of confession concerning time and gestures. In quoting what the penitent might say when he or she misrepresents sins, and describing how the sinner might edit his sin—as a voice-text—in confession, he recognizes the problematic nature of penitential self-representation.

Bishop Sully anticipates these later attitudes about personal confession as a narration of one’s sins and the inaccessibility of the penitent’s inward thoughts to the confessor and to the penitent himself. As Dallas Denery explains, “confessional self-examination removed the penitent outside of himself, the opacity of intention rendering true self-knowledge and one’s true self always just out of reach.”⁵⁰ As we saw in homiletic examples where tears are depicted as having a silent voice that reaches God, the expression of repentance should fall silent as a mental image reaching toward God and *caritas* (the conversion to the new tongue of reconciliation, the tears that have a voice that reaches God). Sully recognizes confession as producing a verbal text in a dialogic encounter between confessor and penitent; that is, he recognizes oral confession as a form of representation. By emphasizing the possibility of editing the voice-text (*dauber et dorer*), he concedes that this literariness of confession might be in tension with Augustinian hermeneutics. In practice, one must develop techniques (e.g., the pastoral syllabus that presents a common framework for both priest and penitent) that recognize the arbitrary relation between the signifier (*signifiant*) and signified (*signifié*) that constitutes the confession as sign or *narratio*.⁵¹ The representation and interpretation of self-disclosure between priest and penitent can be seen as an arbitrary relation between the signifier and the signified: that is, an arbitrary relation between the confession as text and inward repentance. The penitent and priest hope to discover the penitent’s inward vision through the process of recollection and reflection according to the pastoral syllabus and prescribed interrogation.

Over the course of the thirteenth century, the sincerity of the confessional voice-text as sign was qualified within an increasingly prescribed system of other signifiers of the sacrament such as the circumstances of sin, the pastoral syllabus of interrogation, ritual performance, or the priest’s words of absolution.⁵² Sully, Grosseteste, and others recognized the problematic “narratio” of penitential self-representation as a voice-text that may deviate from Augustine’s idea of a voice that falls silent into memory. The insistence on correct or perfect expression (*parfitement regeher*) of sin and repentance reflects the work involved to invent a confessional text in the performance of confession. More precisely, these descriptions of how confession should represent the “repentance de corage” reveal a pastoral concern about the severance of a natural connection between language and interiority. Sully’s efforts to discern a sincere confession during the event of confession indicate the syntagmatic (articulation present in time) and associative (present in mind but absent in sequence) elements of confession as sign. Just as Bernard explained that the “former tongue” might excuse sins and prevent the emergence of the “new tongue,” Sully warns the penitent against embellishing his sins and describes the process of a literary activity. Sully’s use of “dauber” and “dorer” indicates a heightened awareness of a supplemental meaning and arbitrary nature

of the confessional voice-text beyond the repentance it should denote. Returning now to further analysis of “Aler m’estuet,” we see that the Châtelain responds to this emergent awareness of the literariness of confession—especially the dialogic voice-text that emerges in the event of a performance with an interlocutor—using courtly tropes. He establishes a different kind of penitential voice outside of an increasingly codified framework of penance transmitted in pastoralia.

The Penitential Mode of “Aler m’estuet”: Memory, Voice, and Song

Given this pastoral awareness of penitential self-representation as literary text and discursive sign, the Châtelain d’Arras produces a different kind of penitential text. By crafting a penitential self through multiple voices and an embodied memory, he refuses a confessional text that strives toward the Augustinian silent, disembodied voice when the memory turns toward the intellect. The act of remembering (*recorder* l.21) the lady is an embodied performance of song (*chant*). If the goal of confession is recognition and sorrow for one’s sins leading to reconciliation with God (and return to the Christian community) then the poet avoids this confession and establishes his penitential intention through the remembrance of the lady. His unrepentant, personalized avowal valorizes and authorizes his crusade intention. He embraces the literariness of a penitential mode seen in the autonomy of external signs.

We have already seen how the Châtelain remembers (*recorder*) his lady’s voice as a direct quotation (lines 22–24). As he departs for crusade, the voice of the lady’s request that he remain true to her replaces the repentant inner voice that should emerge in the confessional dialogue, following the pastoral syllabus and rhetorical formulas of interrogation that prompt the circumstances of sin to which Sully alludes (“e dire comment e quant il l’a fait,” and say how and when he did it). The Châtelain d’Arras constructs a voice that orders him to be loyal as a true lover, “vrais” as a “fins amourex” through direct quotation. This kind of professional voice of erotic self-constraint, as opposed to the confessional voice, inspires him for crusade without having to repent the courtly code of *fine amour*.

The imagined dialogue with the lady allows the Châtelain to regulate his own intention and to replace penitential self-representation with courtly servitude, as he says in his closing *envoi*:

Li chastelains d’Arras dit en ses chans
 Ne doit avoir amour vraie enterine
 Ki a la fois n’en est liés et dolans:
 Par ce se met del tout en ses comans.

[The châtelain says in his songs that / he must not have a true sincere heart / who at the same time is not joyful and sad: / this is why he places himself entirely under (Love’s) commands.]

The memory of the lady, as an external voice that calls for his obedience, allows the poet to create and morally justify a paradoxical crusade avowal that is both “liés et dolans.” By being a servant of Love and following her

Further, by bringing his loved one to heart (literally: *recorder*)⁵⁴ through her envoiement, and then removing his heart in exchange for hers, the poet-narrator defers the need to turn within himself to cleanse and purge himself of sin. He practices a memorial bodily engagement *with* his lady through the voice, rather than a penitential distancing *from* her. The lady's voice as sign of earthly desire should fall silent when the penitent bitterly repents of carnal attachments as he embarks for crusade. In contrast, he embodies her voice in order to cause a fragmentation of his body and consciously foregrounds his earthly self as a constructed sign: a self-representation embodied through the corporeal envoiement of will and ambivalence. Not a silent voice that returns to the anterior text of Logos, this double voice sings of hopeful return.

Courtly Recorder as Notation and Witness

The Châtelain must go there: he transforms the *record* of his leaving his lady from a penitent act of Christian love into a chivalric boast from a penitent. By portraying his psychological process of departure and attachment to the courtly codes, he affirms an amorous sincerity higher—Lancelot's double reward—than the self-disclosure that emerges and is authorized in the sacramental encounter. By the time such lyrics were transmitted in *chansonniers* and inserted in romances in the thirteenth century, *recorder* could mean alternatively to remember something by heart, like a song, or a text to be written down.⁵⁵ Although authentic confessions were not to be written down, in exempla from the thirteenth century, confession was frequently described in relation to written texts intended to instruct the laity about the efficacy of confession; sins were “written in the Book of Damnation” and erased (*effacié*) upon confession.⁵⁶ In comparison to this idea of confessional notation and erasure, lyrical remembering (*recorder*), whether in performance as song or through written transmission in *chansonniers* or lyric romances, produces a self-authorized penitential textuality. The trouvère produces and memorializes an intermediary text—the voice of the lady, a lyrical record that guarantees the truth-value of his crusade intention apart from the confessional encounter. His *record* or remembrance of her exposes the extent to which crusade intentionality does not precede language but is constituted by it.

In conclusion, the Châtelain d'Arras creates a *chant* that situates the heart in the relational embodied voice. This song goes against the authorized confessional voice that should translate a contrite heart, or *contritio cordis*. Concerned about forced or mechanical confession and stressing the sincerity of external signs of contrition, theologians and parish priests alike betray an awareness of the literariness of the confessional voice-text when judging the translation of a “contrition vraie” or “vraie amors.”⁵⁷ Confessing “parolles de malice” a sinner might amend and adorn (*dauber et dorer*) sins in order to excuse them, might have a tongue in conflict with his heart, or tears that fail to reach God. In reaction to the emergence of a confessional voice-text that emphasizes the ritual of the sacrament, and the proper qualities of Bernard's *vox confessionis* that implies the sacerdotal authority of the priest who collaborates in the production of the confessional voice-text, the Châtelain creates his own professional idiom of intentionality, his own voice as song. It is a voice filled with another's voice whose embodiment and discursiveness articulates

an ambivalence about crusade. The poet inhabits the voice of his lady in order to justify his paradoxical position as a crusader-lover and to extol aristocratic values of courtliness and chivalry. Through the act of *recorder* and the exchange of hearts, he refuses the inner reflection, remembrance, and distancing from earthly love necessary for the emergence of the confessional voice and a crusader's right intention (*intentio recta*). Because he remains apart from her and envoices her memory, the lady guarantees his crusading intention. The Châtelain thus maintains the dissonance of an external voice even as he justifies his right intention as an "amour vraie enterine." Where the confessional voice's sincerity relies on conversion, and the expunging of sin and silencing of earthly voices in order for the inner voice of repentance to emerge as a "new tongue," the Châtelain relies on an external voice to formulate his intention that is "liés et dolans," a voice of contradictory intentions that nevertheless establishes his credibility as crusader.

Notes

1. For a general overview of vernacular crusade lyric, see Michael Routledge, "Songs," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 91–111. The Old French corpus is well represented in the anthology *Les Chansons de croisade*, ed. Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry (Paris: Champion, 1909). All translations my own unless otherwise noted. Citations are indicated by line numbers in cited editions. More specific analyses of the genre in French include D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Geneva: Droz, 1987), which contains a useful review of the scholarship concerning non-narrative crusade poems, 172–227; and C. T. J. Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade: Etude thématique d'un genre hybride* (Amsterdam: Schiphouwer en Brinkman, 1995).
2. For a summary of themes, see Elizabeth Siberry, "Troubadours, Trouvères, Minnesingers and the Crusades," *Studi medievali* 29 (1988): 19–43.
3. For "Aler m'estuet" I use the edition of Bédier in *Les Chansons de croisade*, 137–39. The song is attested in five manuscripts and was most likely written before the poet's participation in the Fifth Crusade around 1218 (see Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade*, 153–54).
4. Bédier, *Les Chansons de croisade*, 135–37. See also Jean-Charles Payen's analysis of songs of departure in "'Peregris': De l'amor de lonh' au congé courtois," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 17.67 (1974): 247–55; and Jean-Charles Payen, *Le Motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale des origines à 1230* (Geneva: Droz, 1967), 274–76.
5. For an overview of crusade as a knightly enterprise imbued with secular ideals, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The State of Mind of Crusaders," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Riley-Smith, 84–90.
6. See Caroline Smith's discussion of the Old French corpus of crusade songs and of Bédier's editorial decision to cast a genre collection despite most *chansonniers'* organization by author or opening line, in Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 18–22; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 135.
7. For a review of the scholarship concerning non-narrative crusade poems, see Trotter, *Medieval French Literature*, 172–227; Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade: Etude thématique*; Suzanne Schöber, *Die altfranzösische Kreuzzugslyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1976), 13–24; Dorothea Carolyn Martin, "The Crusade Lyrics:

- Old Provençal, Old French and Middle High German, 1100–1280,” PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1984.
8. Lisa Perfetti, “Crusader as Lover: The Eroticized Poetics of Crusading in Medieval France,” *Speculum* 88.4 (2013): 932–57.
 9. See Perfetti’s discussion of the different definitions of “crusade poem” in “Crusader as Lover,” 931–32. I tend to agree with Routledge (“Songs”) and Trotter (*Medieval French*) that there is limited usefulness in trying to establish a legitimate corpus.
 10. Perfetti, “Crusader as Lover,” 934.
 11. Riley-Smith, “State of Mind,” 84–87.
 12. Innocent III, *Post miserabile*, in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868–1871), 4:70–75; translation from Jessalyn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 35.
 13. Innocent III, *Quia Maior*, in *PL*, 216, col. 817–21; citation from *PL* 216, col. 817B; translation from Bird, *Crusade and Christendom*, 107.
 14. Conon de Béthune, *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. Axel Wallensköld (Paris: Champion, 1921), 8.
 15. Payen, *Le Motif du repentir*, 271.
 16. Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l’Empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. Jean Longon (Paris: Geuthner, 1948), 37–44. For crusades and confession in the aristocratic context, see John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), esp. 194–247; and for military religion among crusaders, see David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2003).
 17. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, and Ch. H. Talbot (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), 3:215.
 18. See Routledge, “Songs,” 102.
 19. Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading: 1095–1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 96; E. O. Blake, “The Formation of the ‘Crusade Idea,’” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21.1 (1970): 11–31, esp. 25–30; Ralph [Radulfus] Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane, 1187–88*, ed. Ludwig Schmutge (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 92, lines 18–25.
 20. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera* 3:213–39; *PL* 182, col. 921–23.
 21. Translation from Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), 97. Original text in Bernard of Clairvaux, “Epistolae,” *PL* 182, col. 652–54. Emphasis mine.
 22. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera* 3: 214–15, and *PL* 182, col. 922; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, 102. Emphasis mine.
 23. Perfetti, “Crusader as Lover,” 940.
 24. Bird, *Crusade and Christendom*, 108.
 25. Bédier, *Les Chansons de croisade*, 20–22; trans. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality*, 89.
 26. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love,” *History* 65.214 (1980): 177–92.
 27. Richard W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 93.
 28. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, 184.

29. Baldwin discusses how the new sacrament of penance influenced courtly romance in the French context, *Aristocratic Life*, 223–34. The main study of penance in vernacular French is Payen, *Le motif du repentir*. Mary C. Mansfield discusses the practice of public penance vs. private penance in *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
30. Abelard, *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. and trans. D. E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 76. For an overview of the “New Penitential Regime,” see Aden Kumler, *Translating Truth: Ambitious Images and Religious Knowledge in Late Medieval France and England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 46–50. Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), discusses confession as a form of social control. For the history of penance and confession, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea Bros., 1896); John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal “Libri Poenitentiales” and Related Documents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938); Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au Moyen Age (XII-XVI siècles)* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1962); Alexander Murray, “Confession Before 1215,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1993): 51–81; Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance: 900–1050* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2001). In this volume, the chapters by Bruno Lemesle and Babette Hellemans also offer complementary perspectives on the place of voice in the context evoked.
31. Abelard, *Peter Abelard's Ethics*, ed. Luscombe, 77.
32. Payen, *Le Motif du repentir*, 10.
33. Pierre le Chantre [Peter the Chanter], *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, ed. Jean-Albert Dugauquier (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1954–67), 2:3. See Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession*; William of Waddington, *Manuel des pechiez*, in *Le Manuel des péchés: étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIIIe siècle)*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Paris: Droz, 1940).
34. For example, see confessional scenes with hermits in Chrétien de Troyes's *Le Conte du Graal* and in *La Queste del Saint Graal*, moral tales such as *Le Chevalier au barisel*, and thirteenth-century exempla in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*. For the *exemplum* as genre, see Alexander Murray, “Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Writing of the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 275–322.
35. Kumler, *Translating Truth*, 33; see Dallas G. Denery's discussion of confession as a representation practice in *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39–74; on pastoral reform movement, 46–49.
36. Kumler, *Translating Truth*, 45, takes into account the discussions within the monastic community, such Peter the Chanter and his “circle” and the inheritance of the system of tariffed penance codified by the *libri paenitentiales* since the sixth century.
37. Leo Charles Yedlicka, *Expressions of the Linguistic Area of Repentance and Remorse in Old French* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1945), 28–30.
38. Alfred Schulze, ed., *Predigten des H. Bernhard in Altfranzösischer Übertragung aus einer Handschrift des Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Tübingen, 1894), 158–59.
39. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 59.

40. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, 1:94.
41. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 13316 (f. 1r). See Michel Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1976), 49–50, 445.
42. Emmanuel Pasquet, ed., *Sermons de Carême en dialecte wallon: Texte inédit du XIII^e siècle. Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, collection in 8°, vol. 41 (Brussels, 1888), 30.
43. See Mansfield's discussion concerning public and private *fora*, private penance and offences against the church in *The Humiliation of Sinners*, 49–55.
44. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), Book Two, Chapter 1, 34; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana libri quattuor*, ed. William M. Green (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1963), 33.
45. Stephen G. Nichols, "Voice and Writing in Augustine and in the Troubadour Lyric," in *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 137–61 at 150.
46. C. A. Robson, ed., *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter Ms.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 98; French versions of Latin sermons transmitted during the thirteenth century.
47. Robson, *Maurice of Sully*, 98; my emphasis.
48. Robert Grosseteste, *Deus est*, edited in Siegfried Wenzel, "Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, 'Deus Est,'" *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970): 218–93. Thomas Aquinas's allusion to confession as narration and problems arising out of its intermediary role in *Sent.*, Book 4, distinctio 17, q. 3, a. 4, sol 1 in *Opera omnia*, 25 vols. (Parma: Petri Fiacadori, 1852–73); see Denery's discussion in *Seeing and Being Seen*, 50–51.
49. "Sufficiens quidem erit narratio cum vera fuerit, integra, plana, nuda, amara, verecunda," Grosseteste, *Deus Est*, ed. Wenzel, 247; see also Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen*, 66–67.
50. Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen*, 65.
51. Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye, and Albert Riedlinger, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1959), 11–122; esp. 65–70.
52. See Michel Foucault's master narrative of the modern self emerging through the power structures of confessor and confessee (since critiqued), *Histoire de la sexualité. I: La volonté du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), esp. 78–84; and Tentler, *Sin and Confession*.
53. Simon Gaunt, *Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Helen Solterer, "Dismembering, Remembering the Châtelain de Coucy," *Romance Philology* 46.2 (1992): 103–34. The poetic convention or topos of remembering the lady left behind is a common one in crusade love lyrics, most notably in the Châtelain de Coucy's "A vous, amant" (ca. 1188), a song that, judging from its transmission in 11 *chansonniers* and its insertion in Jakemes's late thirteenth-century romance, *Le Castelain de Couci* (ca. 1280), was very popular.
54. Solterer, "Dismembering, Remembering the Châtelain de Coucy," 107.
55. See Gaunt, *Love and Death*, 104.
56. *Ci-nous-dit*, ed. Gérard Blangez (Paris: Picard et Cie, 1979), 1:303.
57. Yedlicka, *Expressions of the Linguistic Area of Repentance and Remorse*, 28.