



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *The poet Friedrich von Hausen on the Third Crusade and the performance of German Crusading Songs*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/82945/>

Book Section:

Murray, AV (2014) The poet Friedrich von Hausen on the Third Crusade and the performance of German Crusading Songs. In: John, S and Morton, N, (eds.) *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*. *Crusades - Subsidia*, 7 . Ashgate , 119 - 128. ISBN 978-1-4094-6103-6

Reuse

Unless indicated otherwise, fulltext items are protected by copyright with all rights reserved. The copyright exception in section 29 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 allows the making of a single copy solely for the purpose of non-commercial research or private study within the limits of fair dealing. The publisher or other rights-holder may allow further reproduction and re-use of this version - refer to the White Rose Research Online record for this item. Where records identify the publisher as the copyright holder, users can verify any specific terms of use on the publisher's website.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

To appear in: *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming 2014).

The Poet Friedrich von Hausen on the Third Crusade and the Performance of Middle High German Crusading Songs*

Alan V. Murray

One of the new forms of crusade propaganda which emerged in the course of the twelfth century was the vernacular crusading song, that is, a form of lyric poetry which called for participation in a crusade or otherwise encouraged support for it. Although the earliest surviving examples, written in Occitan, date from the time of the Second Crusade, the greatest flowering of crusade lyric occurred between the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and the conclusion of the crusade of Emperor Frederick II in 1229, a period of intensive crusade activity which produced numerous songs in Occitan, Old French and Middle High German. While it is generally accepted that crusade songs were employed as a means of raising support for expeditions to the Holy Land, there is no agreement about the circumstances in which they were publicly performed.¹ This essay suggests an answer to this question in respect of one author whose life and participation in a crusade are relatively well documented in comparison with contemporary German poets.

Friedrich von Hausen was one of the earliest composers of crusade songs, along with Hartmann von Aue, Albrecht von Johansdorf, Heinrich von Rugge, Otto von Botenlauben and Reinmar der Alte, who were active in the period between the Third Crusade (1189-92) and the crusade of Emperor Henry VI (1197). Most of their surviving songs expressed crusading ideas by employing the themes and motifs of *Minnesang*, the newly emerging Middle High German courtly love lyric which was itself based on forms and, in some cases, melodies deriving from French and Occitan models. These crusade songs were thus relatively new and quite different in content and style from existing pilgrim songs, such as the anonymous *In gotes namen fara wir* ('In God's name we journey').² While the main impetus for the effusion of German crusade songs during this period was undoubtedly the increased involvement of the kingdom of Germany and its monarchy, it also owed a great deal to the new chivalric culture of the time. The period from the Third Crusade onwards was one in which crusade leaders were increasingly trying to rely on the professional qualities of the noble and knightly classes. This can be seen in particular in the financial regulations

* The ideas contained in this paper were first presented at a workshop devoted to 'Crusade Preaching and Propaganda' at the University of Kent on 29-30 March 2013, organised by Mr Jan Vandeburie. I am grateful to the Kent Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and the Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies for financial support which enabled my participation in this event. I have followed the convention common among Germanists of using German forms for names of poets (e.g. Friedrich von Hausen) and literary characters, but used Anglicised forms for other personal names (e.g. Frederick I). Unless otherwise indicated, English translations of passages from sources in Latin and Middle High German are my own.

¹ Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugssdichtung des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1960); Ulrich Müller, 'Tendenzen und Formen: Versuch über mittelhochdeutsche Kreuzzugssdichtung', in *Getempert und Gemischt: Festschrift für Wolfgang Mohr*, ed. Franz Hundsnurscher and Ulrich Müller (Göppingen, 1972), pp. 251-80; Roswitha Wisniewski, *Kreuzzugssdichtung: Idealität in der Wirklichkeit* (Darmstadt, 1984); Catharine Th. J. Dijkstra, *La Chanson de croisade: Etude thématique d'un genre hybride* (Amsterdam, 1995).

² *Kreuzzugssdichtung*, ed. Ulrich Müller (Tübingen, 1969), no. 8.

proclaimed in advance of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's crusade in 1188-89, which were drawn up with the aim of excluding indigent crusaders who might prove burdensome to the expedition.³ It is thus understandable that calls to crusade which were designed to appeal to the military classes should be framed according to the existing conventions of aristocratic vernacular literary culture, in which *Minnesang* was the most popular lyric genre.⁴ We also find some poems or single strophes with crusading themes which share greater affinities with the genre of *Spruchdichtung*, that is poetry with primarily political or ethical content, but as a vehicle for crusade songs this only became prominent during the first three decades of the thirteenth century through the work of professional poets such as Walther von der Vogelweide, Bruder Wernher and others.⁵

The consensus among the majority of modern Germanists is that *Minnesang* was a genre which represents a form of role-playing. The first-person narrator (*lyrisches Ich*) who figures in a given love lyric is a fictitious persona who exists only within a song or a series of songs and should be regarded as distinct from the actual identity of the poet recorded as its author.⁶ The narrator persona most often appears in the guise of a male lover who tells of his relationship with a fictitious lady; equally, the narrator might personify the lady herself (in the sub-genres of the *Frauenlied* and *Wechsel*) or a messenger who facilitates communication between lovers (*Botenlied*). This dichotomy between author and poetic persona is complicated by the fact that crusade songs introduce elements which relate to real, contemporary events. Was the narrator of a crusade song simply the poetic persona of a crusader or potential crusader, or did the inclusion of realistic elements imply that the poet had taken the cross himself?⁷ A further problem relates to the circumstances in which crusade songs were performed. It is generally assumed that as they had propagandistic purposes, they were sung at gatherings which were organised to encourage prospective crusaders to take the cross, but it is unclear whether they were also performed during the course of crusade expeditions. The case of Friedrich von Hausen is pertinent to this question since we not only know a considerable amount about his life, but also have indisputable evidence of his participation in a crusade; several narrative sources report his death in a skirmish with the Turks near Philomelion (mod. Akşehir, Turkey) on 6 May 1190 during the march of Frederick Barbarossa's army across Anatolia.⁸

Friedrich von Hausen was the son of one Walther von Hausen, documented between 1140 and 1173 as a *homo liber*, that is, a free nobleman, who held estates in the area of Worms and

³ 'Historia Peregrinorum', in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. Anton Chroust, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 117-72 (here 126); Otto von St. Blasien, *Otonis de Sancto Blasio Chronica*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH Scriptores in usum scholarum, 47 (Hannover, 1912), p. 45; Alan V. Murray, 'Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa', in *In Laudem Herosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 357-68.

⁴ *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, nos. 23-33, 36-40.

⁵ *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, nos. 47-48, 51-52, 55-64.

⁶ Günther Schweikle, *Minnesang*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart, 1995), esp. pp. 192-95.

⁷ Thus Jeffrey Ashcroft, one of the leading experts on German crusading literature, states that 'We may assume that poet-singers who performed to their courtly public in the persona of crusader had themselves taken the cross': Jeffrey Ashcroft, 'German Literature', in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, 4 vols (Santa Barbara, 2006), pp. 514-19 (here 515).

⁸ 'Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris', in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, pp. 1-115 (here 79); 'Historia Peregrinorum', p. 159; *Chronica regia Colonensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatim editi, 18 (Hannover, 1880), p. 149.

Bingen in the central Rhineland. The place of residence implied by the locative surname borne by both father and son long eluded identification by historians and Germanists alike, but it has been shown by Norbert Wagner that it refers to a castle known as Rheinhausen, which once stood at the confluence of the River Neckar with the Rhine, within the present limits of the city of Mannheim in the north-western extremity of the modern state of Baden-Württemberg.⁹ Like his father before him, Friedrich appears in the entourage of Christian, archbishop of Mainz, between 1171 and 1175 but disappears from the sources until 1186. Between that time and the departure of the Third Crusade he is found in the service of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and his son King Henry VI. After serving in Italy for most of 1186-87 he was present at a conference held between the emperor and King Philip II Augustus of France at Mouzon during Advent of 1187. Before returning to Germany he acted as one of the assessors (*iudicatores*) appointed by Barbarossa to adjudicate on a legal question brought to the emperor by Count Baldwin V of Hainaut (d. 1195). Hausen's familiarity with the court of Hainaut and – one can in all likelihood assume – a practical knowledge of the French language must have been the main factors which determined that he was given a significant role in the negotiations which resulted in the emperor raising the count of Hainaut to the status of a prince of the empire in 1188. He was sent to Hainaut to accompany Count Baldwin to the imperial court at Worms, where the latter received the title of margrave of Namur on 22 December 1188.¹⁰ These negotiations were recorded in great detail by Gislebert of Mons, the chancellor of Hainaut, who describes Friedrich von Hausen in the context of these events as a *probissimus miles*; later, while enumerating the German participants in the crusade, Gislebert lists him as one of the *familiares et secretarii* of the emperor. In the period before the departure of the Third Crusade Hausen was thus a member of the Barbarossa's court and a trusted servant of the emperor.¹¹

Friedrich von Hausen is recorded as the author of four songs which include crusading themes. The single strophe poem *Si wænent sich dem tôde verzîn* ('They imagine that they have escaped death') seems to be primarily political in style, although it eludes definitive generic classification; it will be discussed below.¹² The other three employ many of the motifs of *Minnesang*, often in contrasting the demands of love with the desire or obligation to go on crusade. In the first of these, *Si darf mich des zîhen niet* ('She should not reproach me', 5 strophes), the narrator persona spurns the lady who had long accepted his service without offering any form of

⁹ Norbert Wagner, 'Zum Wohnsitz des Friedrich von Hausen', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 104 (1975), 127-30.

¹⁰ Hans Jürgen Rieckenberg, 'Leben und Stand des Minnesängers Friedrich von Hausen', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 43 (1961), 163-76.

¹¹ *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. Léon Vanderkindere (Bruxelles, 1894), pp. 202, 230, 231, 232, 272. For an English translation of the chronicle, see Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 111, 125, 126, 150. Gislebert lists Hausen among the imperial *ministeriales* (p. 232), which implies that he no longer held the free status of his father. Rieckenberg (pp. 167-68) assumes that this was because his father had married an unfree woman whose servile status would have been passed on to their son. A more recent study of the imperial *ministeriales* by Jan Ulrich Keupp, *Dienst und Verdienst: Die Ministerialen Friedrich Barbarossas und Heinrichs VI.* (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 138, simply states that Hausen had changed his social status (p. 138). A voluntary entry into the ministerialage would be thinkable, since it offered significant prospects for advancement, but whether Hausen was of servile or free status is immaterial for the issues discussed in this essay.

¹² *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, no. 26 (pp. 41-42); *Des Minnesangs Frühling unter Benützung der Ausgaben von Karl Lachmann und Moritz Haupt, Friedrich Vogt und Carl von Kraus*, 37th edn, ed. Hugo Moser and Helmut Tervooren, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), 1: 93. Where modern editions give variant textual readings I have preferred those given by Müller.

reward, announcing his intention to serve God, who alone can provide true rewards.¹³ *Mîn herze und mîn lîp diu wellent scheiden* ('My body and my heart want to part company', 4 strophes) starts from the dichotomy that while the narrator's body wishes to go and fight the heathen, his heart threatens to be detained by the love of a woman, even though he has taken the cross. He states that the heart is not concerned with the fate of his soul and ends up reversing the conventions of *Minnesang* by rejecting the object of his desire and the love which has held him back from God's purpose.¹⁴ Similar themes occur in *Mîn herze den gelouben hât* ('My heart holds the belief', 2 strophes), whose narrator states that if it were only for love, he would remain in the Rhineland; yet he himself has chosen 'God's journey' (*gotes verte*), hoping that the ladies he leaves behind will refuse to love those who are afraid to join the crusade.¹⁵ It is clear that these three texts are not simply love songs in which references to crusading serve only to provide some additional colour; rather, they adapt the conventions of the *Minnesang* in order to produce appeals to the aristocratic audience to join the crusade, while recognising how emotional ties made it difficult to leave one's home on a long campaign in the Holy Land.

These three songs must have been composed between the reception in Germany of Pope Gregory VIII's encyclical letter *Audita tremendi* (29 October 1187), which proclaimed the Third Crusade, and the departure of the German army from Regensburg on 11 May 1189. However, given Friedrich von Hausen's position at the imperial court, the most likely date of composition would be March 1188, when Frederick Barbarossa took the cross at the so-called *curia Jesu Christi*, the meeting of the imperial diet at Mainz held to maximise support for the crusade. This gathering would represent the most plausible venue for the first performance of these songs, since it brought together the greatest audience of potential crusaders in Germany.¹⁶ However, given the need to recruit well-financed and military experienced crusaders there was no reason why crusade songs would not continue to be performed; an obvious additional occasion would be the assembly of crusaders at Regensburg on St George's Day (23 April) 1189.

A question which can be raised at this point is whether Friedrich von Hausen performed his songs after the departure of the army from Regensburg, and one body of evidence which has not been fully considered in this question comprises the descriptions of his death in battle with the Turks in 1190. The most detailed account of this event is given in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, a narrative which is based on reports compiled by an author who was a participant in the crusade:

Pridie nonas maii in festo sancti Ioannis ante portam latinam Turcorum a tergo iterum nos infestantium plus quam viginti trucidantur. Ubi in persequendo ipsos Turcos Fridericus,

¹³ *Kreuzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, no. 23 (pp. 38-40); *Des Minnesangs Frühling* 1: 79-81; Ulrich Mehler, 'Friedrichs von Hausen *Sî darf mich des zihen niet*: Beobachtungen zur Form von *Hau V* [= MF 45,37], *Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 72 (1978), 323-31.

¹⁴ *Kreuzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, no. 24 (pp. 40-41); *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 1: 81-83; Hans-Herbert S. Räkel, 'Drei Lieder zum dritten Kreuzzug', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 47 (1973), 524-29. An English translation of this song is given at 'German Crusade Songs of the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries', trans. Jeffrey R. Ashcroft, in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4: 1307-8.

¹⁵ *Kreuzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, no. 25 (p. 41); *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 1: 83-84.

¹⁶ Josef Fleckenstein, 'Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum. Zur Bedeutung der großen Mainzer Hoftage von 1184 und 1188', in *Festschrift für Heinrich Heimpele zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, 3 vols (Göttingen, 1972), 2: 1023-41.

proh dolor, de Husen, egregius miles, subito casu de equo collapsus expiravit; sepultus est in spatioso pomerio. Quem planxit omnis multitudo utpote speciale solatium exercitus.¹⁷

This passage could be rendered in a fairly literal translation as:

On 6 May, the feast of St John ante portam Latinam, we were again harassed by the Turks from the rear, and more than twenty of them were cut down. During the pursuit of these Turks the excellent knight, Friedrich von Hausen – to our great sorrow – suddenly fell from his horse and died. He was buried in a spacious orchard. The entire host lamented for him, since he was the particular consolation of the army.

The other main narratives of the crusade lament his death in similar terms, describing him as a ‘vigorous and famous knight’ (*miles strenuus et famosus*) and an ‘excellent and noble man’ (*vir probus et nobilis*), phrases which echo the description *egregius miles* in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici*.¹⁸ However, the latter source concludes its description with a more unusual compound phrase, *speciale solatium exercitus*, which seems to convey the idea of a particular distinction for the poet.¹⁹ This formulation is interesting because the *Historia* uses precisely the same phrase on one other occasion, when it is applied to the emperor’s son Frederick V, duke of Swabia. The chronicle singles him out for particular praise for his conduct during the period of hostilities with the Byzantines during the winter of 1189-90:

Ipsis diebus inclitus dux Alemannie, speciale solatium exercitus, in progressionem pabulariorum et conportationem necessariorum indefessus ductor erat Christi peregrinorum; quapropter nonnumquam pio et simplici ioco economus seu dispensator exercitus nuncupabatur.²⁰

The duke was not only the emperor’s son and one of a handful of secular princes with the German crusade, but also took over the command of the army after the accidental death of Barbarossa at the River Kalykadnos (mod. Göksu, Turkey) in Cilicia on 10 June 1190.²¹ It can easily be understood that the description *speciale solatium exercitus* should be applied to someone who had such a prominent position. How can the same phrase be interpreted when used of the poet Friedrich von Hausen?

When trying to establish the intended meaning and connotations of any Latin phrase in a medieval narrative source it is always worth considering what the equivalent word or words may have been in the author’s mother tongue. The closest Middle High German equivalent of the Latin term *solatium* would be the word *trôst*. This abstract noun covers a relatively wide semantic field, including the core meanings ‘consolation’, ‘comfort’, ‘solace’, and ‘relief’; in a more figurative

¹⁷ ‘Historia de expeditione Friderici’, p. 79.

¹⁸ ‘Historia Peregrinorum’, p. 159: *Inter hos cotidianos bellorum strepitus die quadam accidit, ut, dum nostri Turcos in fugam propellerent, equus cui insedebat Fridericus de Husen omine sinistro corrueret inter hostes. Unde, proh dolor, quia miles strenuus et famosus lapsus in mortem nequivit resurgere; Chronica regia Coloniensis*, p. 139: *Occiditur etiam Fridericus de Husen, vir probus et nobilis, qui egregiae laudis et honestatis pre omnibus illo in tempore nomen acceperat.*

¹⁹ G. A. Loud in *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham, 2010), p. 103 translates the phrase when referring to Hausen as ‘a key figure in the army’. I do not think that this rendering quite catches the singularity of the Latin.

²⁰ ‘Historia de expeditione Friderici’, p. 58: ‘During this time the renowned duke of Swabia, the particular consolation of the army, was the indefatigable leader of the pilgrims of Christ in directing the foragers and obtaining necessities; because of this he was sometimes known, in a simple but pious in jest, as the steward and quartermaster of the army’.

²¹ Ekkehard Eickhoff, ‘Friedrich Barbarossa in Anatolien’, in *Stauferzeit – Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Karl-Heinz Rueß (Göppingen, 2011), pp. 58-85.

usage it could also be applied to persons, in the sense of ‘protector’ or ‘helper’.²² The last meaning occurs in German heroic poetry, where a king or war leader could be described as the *trôst* of his followers. Examples of this literary usage can be found in the *Nibelungenlied*, the great Middle High German epic written down around the year 1200, which tells how the lady Kriemhilt takes revenge on her brothers, the kings of Burgundy, for their heinous murder of her husband Siegfried.²³ When the Burgundian king Gunther and his followers (by this stage in the poem also known as Nibelungs) arrive at the court of Kriemhilt’s second husband, King Etzel of Hungary, they are met by Dietrich (von Bern), the exiled king of Verona, who has long known Hagen, the chief counsellor of the Burgundian kings. Dietrich attempts to make clear to the Burgundian leaders that Kriemhilt is still burning with desire to avenge Siegfried’s death, but after Hagen appears to play down the seriousness of the threat, he addresses Gunther directly:

‘Die Sîfrides wunden lâzen wir nu stên:
sol leben diu vrouwe Kriemhilt, noch mac schade ergên’.
sô redete von Berne der herre Dietrich.
‘trôst der Nibelunge, dô vor behüete du dich’²⁴

However, the word *trôst* is not only used of the Burgundian monarch; when the anonymous poet describes the difficult journey of the Nibelungs to Hungary, he applies the term to Hagen, who is leading the army through unfamiliar territory at the point that it reaches the River Danube:

Dô reit von Tronege Hagene z’aller vorderôst.
er was den Nibelungen ein helflîcher trôst.²⁵

In a reciprocal manner, the term *trôst* could be applied collectively to a group of warriors in the sense of ‘support’ or ‘refuge’ of their leader. Thus, when Kriemhilt finally unleashes her vengeance, the warriors of Dietrich von Bern are committed to the fight and slaughtered to a man by the Burgundians. Dietrich reproaches Gunther for the loss of his followers:

In leitlîchen sorgen sprach dô Dietrîch:
‘wie habt ir sô geworben, Gunther, künec rîch,
wider mich ellenden? waz het ich iu getân?
alles mînes trôstes des bin ich eine bestân’.²⁶

I suggest that the phrase *speciale solatium (exercitus)* in the *Historia de expeditione Friderici* may have been employed as the Latin equivalent of this specific meaning of Middle High German *trôst*, as found in the compounds *trôst der Nibelunge* and *den Nibelungen ein helflîcher trôst*. This equivalence would be quite understandable in the case of Frederick of Swabia, since his role as a

²² *Matthias Lexers Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, 34th edn (Stuttgart, 1976): ‘trôst stm. freudige zuversicht, vertrauen, mut; ermutigung, zusagen von hilfe; hilfe; aufbesserung einer pfründe; sicherheit, bürgschaft; persönl. schützer, helfer, helferin, geliebte’.

²³ For a recent conspectus of the *Nibelungenlied*, its sources and manuscripts, and the courtly environment of its time, see the exhibition catalogue ‘*Uns ist in alten Mären ...*’: *Das Nibelungenlied und seine Welt*, ed. Jürgen Krüger (Darmstadt, 2003).

²⁴ *Das Nibelungenlied*, ed. Helmut de Boor, 20th edn (Wiesbaden, 1972), strophe 1726 (p. 273): “‘Let us stop talking of Siegfried’s wounds now. / Yet as long as Lady Kriemhilt is alive, harm may still come of it”, / said Lord Dietrich of Verona, / “Protector of the Nibelungs, be on your guard against her””.

²⁵ *Das Nibelungenlied*, ed. de Boor, strophe 1526 (p. 243): ‘Hagen of Tronege rode at the head of the army. / He was a great comfort to the Nibelungs’.

²⁶ *Das Nibelungenlied*, ed. de Boor, strophe 2329 (p. 364). *The Nibelungenlied: A New Translation*, trans. Arthur T. Hatto, rev. edn (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 286: “‘Gunther, mighty king,” he said with a heavy heart, “why did you do this to me, wretched exile that I am? What have I done to you? I stand robbed of all that were my refuge””.

military leader in the crusade was similar to that of Hagen and even Gunther in the *Nibelungenlied*. However, the use of the term *speciale solatium (exercitus)* in connection with Friedrich von Hausen seems to be more than a literary trope. The *Historia* meticulously records distinctions relating to many individual named crusaders, especially in connection with various military or diplomatic activities, but none are given for Hausen; while his death is portrayed as tragic and lamentable, its manner could not be described as heroic. An obvious explanation for the praise conferred on him would be that it derives from a quite different distinction, namely the literary activity for which he had an established reputation. I would argue that the term *speciale solatium (exercitus)* is employed on this occasion precisely because its vernacular equivalent is associated with a literary environment, and that the distinction conferred by it on Friedrich von Hausen relates to his abilities and reputation as a poet and singer.

Since the description in the *Historia* specifically identifies Hausen as ‘consolation of the *exercitus*’, that is the crusade army, it is possible to regard this reference as implying that he not only sang his crusade songs at gatherings organised to encourage recruitment, but during the course of the crusade itself. There were many suitable occasions when songs could have been performed. One was the mustering of the army in the area known as the Vierfeld on the southern bank of the Danube near Preßburg (mod. Bratislava, Slovakia) in late May 1189, which coincided with the great religious festival of Whitsun, traditionally a time of celebration and entertainment. Another such was the lengthy period that the army spent in winter quarters on Byzantine territory, when it occupied a substantial stretch of territory in eastern Macedonia and Thrace around the city of Philippopolis (mod. Plovdiv, Bulgaria). While the emperor carried on long and difficult negotiations with the Byzantine authorities in order to arrange the shipping of the crusade forces across the straits to Anatolia, the German army was in a state of open war with its hosts, carrying out plundering expeditions as the only means of obtaining supplies. This long, frustrating period was a time when morale building activities such as the singing of crusade songs, or indeed other lyric genres, would have been welcome.²⁷

One of Hausen’s crusade songs seems to relate more to conditions after the departure of the army from Germany than to the foregoing period of recruitment. The single strophe *Si wænent sich dem tôde verzîn* takes up a theme already touched on in the song *Mîn herze den gelouben hât*, that is, those who failed to fulfil their crusade vows:

<i>Si wænent sich dem tôde verzîn,</i>	They imagine that they have escaped death –
<i>die gote erliegert sîne vart.</i>	those who abandon God’s campaign.
<i>dêswar êst der geloube mîn</i>	Yet it is my true belief that
<i>daz si sich übel hânt bewart.</i>	they have done themselves great evil.
<i>Swer daz kriuze nam und wider warp</i>	Whoever took the Cross and then turned back
<i>dem wirt doch ze jungeste schîn,</i>	will find at the Last Judgement
<i>swann im diu porte ist vor verspart,</i>	the gate of Heaven barred to him by God,
<i>die er tuot ûf den liuten sîn.</i>	who will open it up to His loyal followers. ²⁸

²⁷ Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 57, 69-77.

²⁸ *Kreuzzugsdichtung*, ed. Müller, no. 23 (pp. 41-42).

This poem has a purely moral and religious content, lacking any of the love themes which are found in Hausen's three other crusade songs. It is thus closer to the genre of *Spruchdichtung*, that is poetry dealing with political, religious or ethical themes, than to *Minnesang*. Hatto argues that its aim is 'to cause defectors and potential defectors to have second thoughts and to consolidate the morale of the steadfast by its hoped-for effect on backsliders and by its reassurance concerning damnation and salvation'.²⁹ We know that this was indeed a concern of contemporary crusaders. The *Historia de expeditione Friderici* makes a point of singling out for criticism the many *violatores* (i.e. those who violated their vows) who had taken the cross but either remained at home or turned back from their journeys. However, the conclusion of the song seems to be more intended to assure the faithful of God's favour, and as such it may be an example of a composition designed to sustain the crusaders' morale when they received news of defections or, as at the assembly at the Vierfeld, realised that many of their expected fellow crusaders had failed to appear.³⁰

Of course, this is not necessarily the only song which may have been performed during the crusade. It is quite plausible that a performer as noted as Friedrich von Hausen was asked to give repeat performances of songs which had been composed before the army's departure, whether they gave voice to the spiritual concerns of the crusaders or whether they were non-crusade lyrics simply offered as entertainment during the long campaign. My argument for the significance of the phrase *speciale solatium (exercitus)* as relating to literary activity is by no means conclusive, but it does provide circumstantial evidence which suggests that Friedrich von Hausen was celebrated for his role as a performer not only during the period of recruitment and propaganda, but in the course of the Third Crusade itself.

²⁹ Arthur T. Hatto, 'The Earliest Extant Middle High German Political Songs: Friedrich von Hausen's *Si weint dem tôde entrunden sîn* and *Ich gunde es guoten frouwen niet*', in *Mélanges pour Jean Fourquet: 37 essais de linguistique germanique et de littérature du Moyen Âge français et allemand*, ed. Paul Valentin and Georges Zink (Paris, 1969), pp. 137-45 (here p. 140).

³⁰ 'Historia de expeditione Friderici', p. 22.