

Some of the *trouvères* of our corpus are known to have been in contact with their Occitan counterparts. These include: Conon de Béthune and Bertran de Born, and possibly Giraut de Bornel, at the time of the Third Crusade; Conon de Béthune, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Elias Cairel in Greece during the aftermath of the Fourth;⁷ and Thibaut de Champagne, Falquet de Romans and possibly Peire Cardenal during the Albigensian wars of 1224–1233. During the Second Crusade Marcabru indicates his wish to send a song (BdT 293.15) overseas to the French. Gaucelm Faidit appears to have composed a song for French crusaders during a stopover as the Fourth Crusade was under way.⁸

Crusading terminology

After the First Crusade it took eighty to a hundred years before troubadours and *trouvères* felt the need to use specific terms for ‘crusader’ and ‘crusade’. ‘At their origins,’ Benjamin Weber remarks, ‘and indeed throughout the Middle Ages, crusades were usually referred to by terms, both in Latin and the vernacular, indicating movement or travel, such as *peregrinatio*, *iter*, *via*, *expeditio* and later *passagium*, and the corresponding verbs, often combined with a reference to Jerusalem, the Holy Land, the Holy Sepulcher, or the cross, and in the vernacular with *oultre mer* or *ober meer*.’⁹ Our lyric poets commonly speak of going (away, on their way,

de Narbonne et les Catalans’, *Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Anuari*, 1–2 (1909–1910), 571–87 (p. 574).

⁷ Conon and Raimbaut were both involved in the council held in Constantinople to decide on Boniface of Monferrat’s claim to Thessalonica: see Chapter 5, p. 113. They may have previously known each other: see L. Barbieri, ‘*A mon Ynsombart part Troia: une polémique anti-courtoise dans le dialogue entre trouvères et troubadours*’, *MR*, 37 (2013), 264–95.

⁸ See Chapters 3, 5 and 8. Walter Meliga has suggested that Jaufré Rudel’s song BdT 262.5, addressed to Hugh VII le Brun of Lusignan and the people of Aquitaine, Poitou and Berry, and the count of Brittany, was intended to send greetings to various contingents of crusaders about to leave for the Holy Land under the leadership of the king of France, and that this may be the first indication of the presence of a lyric in a crusading milieu, which would be well placed to favour the diffusion of this poetry (W. Meliga, ‘L’Aquitaine des premiers troubadours. Géographie et histoire des origines troubadouresques’, in *L’Aquitaine des littératures médiévales (XIe–XIIIe siècle)*, ed. J.-Y. Casanova and V. Fasseur (Paris, 2011), pp. 45–58, on p. 51 and n. 26). Aimeric de Belenoi appears to have referred to Thibaut de Champagne, perhaps in the hope of patronage, in BdT 9.10, though there is no evidence that this hope was fulfilled. See S. Melani, ‘Aimeric de Belenoi, Thibaut de Champagne e le crociate’, *RST*, 1 (1999), 137–57.

⁹ B. Weber, ‘Nouveau mot ou nouvelle réalité? Le terme *cruciata* et son utilisation dans les textes pontificaux’, in *La papauté et les croisades / The papacy and the Crusades. Actes du VIIe congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East / Proceedings of the VIIth conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Farnham and Burlington, 1988), pp. 11–25 (p. 11).

to serve, overseas, there, on a journey), following (God) or riding.¹⁰ If a crusade was a type of pilgrimage, up to and including the Third Crusade references in our lyrics to crusade as pilgrimage, or crusaders as pilgrims, are rare. The earliest secure examples occur in Conon de Béthune and Peire Vidal,¹¹ at the same time as the somewhat more specific *passar* ‘to cross [to the Holy Land]’, *passatge* ‘the voyage [to the Holy Land]’,¹² the personal nouns *crosatz* and *croisiés* (literally ‘those crossed, marked by a cross’) in Bertran de Born and Conon de Béthune, and the Occitan verb *crozar* (‘to take the cross’) in Bertran de Born and Folquet de Marselha.¹³

The vernacular term *crozada* is first recorded in a Navarrese charter of 1212 and in the Midi in 1210–1213 by Guilhem de Tudela, the Navarrese author of the first part of the *Song of the Albigensian Crusade*.¹⁴ Marjolaine Raguin has shown that the

¹⁰ *iront* CnBéth RS 1125, 32; *anava / lai* BtBorn BdT 80.3, 25–26; *irai m'en lai* Peire Vidal, 364.9, 43; *ains ke aille outremer* ChCoucy RS 985, 8; *aler en terre estraigne* ChCoucy RS 679, 12; *iront en cest voiaige* CnBéth RS 1125, 32; *s'en ala* HuOisy RS 1030, 15; *van servir* Mbru 293.1, 21; *aler Deu servir*, Anon RS 401, 23; *tenc ma via* (homewards) PBremTort BdT 361.2, 10; *siec en Belleen* JfreRud, 262.6, 37; *cavalguatz* PAlv, BdT 323.7, 18 (Spain); *chivauche sobre Serrazis* Cercam (Spain), BdT 112.2a, 42; *las ostz chevaucharan* GrBorn, 242.6, 75; also *l'anar / ç'avem empres / en lai on es comunals bainz* GrBorn, BdT 242.33, 67–69. See also D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 31–70, for a survey of crusading vocabulary in Old French literature as a whole.

¹¹ *Tous li clergiés et li home d'eage qui ens ausmogne et ens biens fais manront partiront tot a cest pelerinaige*, CnBéth RS 1125, 25–27; *fes de mi pelegri*, PVID BdT 364.2, 40; *Puois irai pelegrius part* Sur, AimPeg and ElUss, BdT 10.37 (early 1190s?). It is uncertain whether the word *pelegrius* in earlier troubadours has any crusading overtones: see GIPeit BdT 183.12, 19–20 (Guglielmo IX, *Poesie; edizione critica*, ed. N. Pasero (Modena, 1973); Cercam BdT 112.2a, 53–54; JfreRud BdT 262.2, 33). An occurrence in ChCoucy, RS 679, 36–37 (*mais ja de çou n'ere pelerins jor / ke ja vers aus boine volenté aie*) may date from either the Third or the Fourth Crusade. The earliest lyric examples of *romeria* / *romavia* = pilgrimage = crusade in 1201–1202 may occur in GcFaid BdT 167.9, 27 and 167.15, 53.

¹² *quan passar mi fes mar*, PVID BdT 364.2, 18; *Pour Dieu passerai mer* GoSoig RS 1404, 63; *blasmet [.l bon rey Richart] per so quar non passet dese* FqMars 155.3, 34; *pos lo reis Richartz es passatz*, GrBorn BdT 242.15, 52; *m'an mes vilan passatge*, *ibid.*, 242.30, 65–66. P. Hölzle, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Göppingen, 1980), p. 33, also mentions *perdon* and *romavia* / *romaria*.

¹³ Nouns: *mas per so-l fatz qe-ls crosatz vauc reptan / del passage q'an si mes en obli* (BdT 80.4, 24–25); *Vous ki dismés les croisiés, ne despendés mie l'avoir ensi* (CnBéth RS 1314, 17–18) and *a teus croisiés sera Dieus mout soffrans / se ne s'en venge a peu de demorance* (*ibid.*, 31–32); past participles / adjectives: *q'als reis crozatz es amta, qar non van* (BtBorn BdT 80.17, 38), *Pos can de Deu gaban / qar son crosat e d'anar mot no fan!* (BtBorn BdT 80.4, 20–21); *mas laissez m'en qan vi qe li plus gran / si croicavan, li rei e li primsi* (BtBorn BdT 80.17, 24–25); *Aras sai eu qu'adreitz vol esser reis / lo reis Felips, que dizen qu'es crozatz* (BtBorn BdT 80.30, 19–20); *e s'en dis ben al crozar, ieu dis ver* (FqMars BdT 155.3, 39).

¹⁴ S. A. Garcia Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de san Juan de Jerusalem: Siglos XII–XIII*, 2 vols (Pamplona, 1957), II, pp. 148–49, no. 145: *Facta carta sub era*

Anonymous Continuator (Guilhem Anelier de Tolosa?),¹⁵ who unlike Guilhem was profoundly hostile to the French invasion under Simon de Montfort, then used the word sarcastically to illustrate the way it was manipulated by the crusade's clergy. She notes that both authors use the term an equal number of times (five), but argues convincingly that this apparent balance needs to be considered alongside the word *guerra* (war), employed by Guilhem in five instances but omnipresent in the Continuator (forty-five occurrences). Guilhem's notion of crusade is supplanted in the Continuator's text by its insistence on the *guerra* between southerners and the French (or the foreigners), a lexical change showing how the *crozada* has become secondary for this author, and the word *crozada* only figures in the text to emphasise what the author sees as the clergy's travesty of the idea of holy war.¹⁶ The troubadours Tomier and Palaizi echo such usage when they excoriate the *falsa croisada* of the French (BdT 442.1, 18). Raguin shows how the Continuator also exploits the term *perdon*, which can mean 'indulgence' and then the crusade that leads to it, to denounce Pope Innocent III's distortion of the idea of crusading and to set up the idea of a counter-crusade on the part of the southerners.¹⁷

MaCCaLa mense octobris, in anno quo rex Sancius / fuit super sarracenos cum illa crozada (referred to in G. Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. E. Laiou (Washington, 2001), pp. 1–22, 11–12 and n. 52). For Guilhem de Tudela see E. Martin-Chabot, ed., *Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois*, 3 vols (Paris, 1931–1961), I, pp. vii–xi.

¹⁵ F. Zambon, 'Una nuova ipotesi sull'autore della seconda parte della *Canzone della Crociata Albigese*', *RPh*, 70 (2016), 267–81.

¹⁶ M. Raguin, *Lorsque la poésie fait le souverain. Étude sur la 'Chanson de la Croisade albigeoise'* (Paris, 2015), pp. 610–12. For Innocent's introduction of the crusade in his approach to heresy in the South see N. Housley, 'Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Developments, c. 1000–1216', in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 17–36, especially pp. 28–30.

¹⁷ Raguin, *Lorsque la poésie fait le souverain*, pp. 456–62. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature*, p. 70, concludes that the Old French authors' vocabulary is 'in general, superficial, and does not attempt to explore deeply the implications of either crusading ideology or of the juridical and technical consequences of the crusades', and that they 'are not unduly bothered about such details'. Those on the receiving end of the Albigensian Crusade, however, had good reason to be bothered.

For discussion of Innocent III's use of the term *crucesignatus* to designate a crusader, see M. Markowski, 'Crucesignatus. Its Origins and Early Usage', *JMH*, 10 (1984), 157–65, who argues that he 'appears to be the first pope to use the term *crucesignatus* officially and regularly in its fullest, substantive meaning of crusader', and that, although he seemed reluctant at first to use it to designate those fighting the Albigensians, 'this reluctance soon passed'. For a contrary view see W. R. Cosgrove, 'Crucesignatus: A Refinement or Merely One More Term among Many?', in *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. T. F. Madden, J. L. Naus and V. Ryan (Farnham, 2010), pp. 95–107.

The vernacular term *crozada* is transferred to papal usage only two centuries later, as the noun *cruciata*. Weber states that in the fifteenth century it is an Iberian word which the pope uses for the sake of convenience to designate a reality which has no name in his vocabulary.¹⁸ It refers first of all to a letter of indulgences, and then to a crusading expedition. He argues that by introducing the word *cruciata* to designate indulgences and the warfare waged thanks to those indulgences, popes justified their action by minimising their novelty. It was a way of legitimising their wars and the way they were waged: the new word was a political act aimed at imposing the right of popes to direct war, as they understood it, against the Ottomans. Weber raises the question of how far terms specific to oriental crusading appearing in narratives of the Albigensian Crusade represented a conscious move to justify that crusade, and how far it was just a 'simple rapprochement mental'. Guilhem de Tudela's use of the word *crozada* certainly incorporated the legitimising sign of the cross into the Albigensian war. Whether or not it was a conscious move on his part, the Continuator's scathing response to it shows he was fully conscious of its political implications.¹⁹

Christopher Tyerman has observed that 'The inability of an otherwise articulate and categorizing intellectual elite to agree or even propose a term for the activity which later was named "crusade" has tended to be noted without too much comment by modern observers. Yet the terminological vagueness of the twelfth century may be significant. To put it crudely, *we* know there were crusaders: *they* did not; or, if they did, their perception was far from the canonically or juridically precise definition beloved of some late twentieth-century scholars.'²⁰ The present book is not in fact concerned with defining what was or was not a crusade, and indeed the lyric poets themselves show little interest in this beyond arguing about the legitimacy of different Church-endorsed enterprises. The book adopts an inclusive approach to the crusading movement, and takes as its starting-point what medieval lyric poets composing in Occitan and Old French said, both about wars against Muslims in Spain and the Holy Land, and about wars against Christians in Greece, Occitania, Cyprus, Aragon and Italy which the Church sanctioned as holy wars.

¹⁸ Weber, 'Nouveau mot ou nouvelle réalité?', pp. 13–17 and 25.

¹⁹ Martin-Chabot generally translates *crozada* in Guilhem de Tudela's account simply as 'croisade' (12.19 *aisels de Proensa vengro a la crosada*; 42.5 *que tornec la crozada, co fai mantas sazoz*; 72.4, *cel mante la crozada, que li presta l'argiant*; 130.5, *que sia en la crozada, ni ja no sai vendra*), but is baffled by 17.19, *Can conosc li evesque la crozada es mesclea*. Here he translates 'Quand l'évêque vit que les hostilités étaient commencées avec la croisade', commenting (III, p. 53, n. 6) 'Les derniers mots du vers restent sans traduction possible'. It is unclear exactly what Martin-Chabot thought *crozada* or 'croisade' meant, but the emphasis in all five instances is on 'war' or 'fighting' rather than 'expedition'. So in the case of 17.19, one might translate as 'when the bishop learned that the [holy] war had started up again'.

²⁰ C. Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *EHR*, 110 (1995), 553–77, p. 555.