

Lyric allusions to the crusades and the Holy Land

1102 *tpq* Guilhem de Peitieu.

Reports of GIX's songs on return from his expedition to the East (Orderic Vitalis, V, 342).

Second Crusade 1145–49

1146–47 Cercamon, PC 112.3a, , ed. Tortoreto, VI.

*After fall of Edessa (1144) and launch of 2nd crusade (1146) (Tortoreto, pp. 44-45): a man can cleanse himself from great guilt if he makes his way towards Edessa. Presents love as compatible with **crusades**.*

1146–48 Jaufrè Rudel, PC 262.6, ed. Chiarini, VI.

Stanza VI in 5 of the 13 MSS urges the need to follow Jesus to Bethlehem; given Jaufrè's participation in the Second Crusade this is likely to be a call to go on crusade rather than a vaguer one to lead a spiritual life. Southern contingent of crusaders arrived Acre April 1148. Stanza VI could have been composed before or during Jaufrè's stay in the East.

1146–49 Marcabru, PC 293.7, ed. Gaunt *et al*, VII.

Attacks those who take the cross, most probably with Jaufrè Rudel in mind, who allow themselves to be duped by 'lurve'.

1146–47 Marcabru, PC 293.1, ed. Gaunt *et al*, I.

*A castellan's daughter laments the loss of her lover because of Louis VII's crusade. Dating Gaunt *et al*.*

1148 c. Marcabru, PC 293.21, ed. Gaunt *et al*, XIIa.

*Dating Gaunt *et al*. M. attacks 'false Christians': either Syrian Franks, or Greeks, or crusaders trapped at Attalia in the spring of 1148 who ended up throwing in their lot with the Muslims.*

1148–49 Marcabru, PC 293.15, ed. Gaunt *et al*, XV.

*Sends 'refined' song on love, criticising women who love more than one man (Eleanor?), to Jaufrè Rudel in Outremer. Dating Gaunt *et al*.*

1149 Marcabru, PC 293.35, ed. Gaunt *et al*, XXXV.

After the failure of Damascus, the conquest of Tortosa, and before Raymond of Antioch's death (Gaunt et al., p. 437). Contradicting Cercamon, M extols Spain over the East as a place of spiritual cleansing. Prays for the soul of a count, possibly Baldwin of Marash who went missing in action at Edessa in 1146.

Between Second and Third Crusades

1149–68, c. Peire d'Alvernha, PC 323.3, ed. Del Monte, II.

Refers to Saracens and Edessa.

1149–68, c. Peire d'Alvernha, PC 323.19, ed. Del Monte, V.

Uses expression 'from here to Tyre'.

1173 *taq* Raimbaut d'Aurenga, PC 389.27, ed. Pattison, XV.

Refers to Turks beyond Edessa as barbarians in love.

1173 *taq* Raimbaut d'Aurenga, PC 392.5, ed. Pattison, X.

Refers to Acre and Tyre as desirable possessions.

1173 *taq* Raimbaut d'Aurenga, PC 392.8, ed. Pattison, XIX.

Jokes about defeating a couple of Saracens or Christians anywhere from here to the river Jordan.

1176–77 Peire Bremon lo Tort, PC 331.1, ed. J. Boutière, I (p. 442).

*The piece relates to William Long-Sword of Montferrat, whom PBT me in Syria (but not necessarily on crusade), and who landed in Sidon in October 1176 & died at Ascalon in July 1177. It was composed after PBLT had left Syria (not necessarily for the West) with his lord Filippe de Montreal, = Philippe de Milly who was in possession of Mont-Réal in the **Holy Land** from 1161–1167/8, became Grand Master of the Templars, then went to Constantinople as ambassador of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1171. See Marshall, 'Peire Bremon Lo Tort'.*

1176–77 Peire Bremon lo Tort, PC 331.2, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, I, 516, following Boutière.

Laments leaving a lady behind in Syria. For dating see previous entry.

1183 or 1186 c. Guiraut de Borneil, PC 242.28, ed. Sharman, XXXV.

*Giraut refers to Alfonso II of Aragon's victories over the Saracens, & says he's bound to remain his servant when he's overseas in the **Holy Land**. Dating Ruth Harvey, page*

Kolsen and Sharman who considered GB was on his way to see Alfonso before leaving for 3rd Crusade (see Sharman, p. 211).

1182 Bertran de Born, PC 80.9, ed. Gouiran, 2.

Dating Gouiran. Corrozana mentioned as a desirable possession.

1182 Bertran de Born, PC 80.9, ed. Gouiran, 3.

Dating Gouiran. Edessa mentioned as a desirable possession.

1183 *taq* Guillem de Saint Leidier, PC 168.1a under Gauceran de Saint Leidier, ed. MW, 2, 44.

For dating see Stronski, Folquet de Marseille, p. 20, note 1. Stronski rejects Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', p. 358 (under PC 234.10) who thinks the piece is by Gauceran (Guillem's grandson) and that it refers to Richard of Cornwall and James I of Aragon, dating it 1267 taq. GSL wishes the 'clergues prezicadors' were overseas beyond Tyre, along with the English king & his brother Richard & the kings of Aragon & France.*

1184 Bertran de Born, PC 80.32, ed. Gouiran, 23.

Attacks Alfonso II of Aragon. Tells him to go off to Tyre when everyone's defeated him at home.

1186 (?) Bertran de Born, 80.2, ed. Gouiran, 26.

Dating Gouiran. Refers to Philippe-Auguste as the 'lord of Edessa', perhaps implying that he will lose his French domains as he has lost Edessa (fell to Zengi in 1144), which he should have inherited from his father (Gouiran, p. 549).

1187 *taq* Arnaut Daniel, PC 29.8, ed. Toja, XII.

Refers to king of Tyre and Jerusalem.

Third Crusade 1187–92

1187 *taq* Peire Vidal, PC 364.9, ed. Avalor ij.

*Announces intention to go to **Holy Land**.*

1187 *taq* Peire Vidal, PC 364.2, ed. Avalor, iij.

*PV in **Holy Land** (Avalor, p. 36), but would prefer a 'pauc cambo' in Provence rather than the castles of Lo Daron or Lo Toron, or of Ibelin in Palestine. Song composed before Oct. 1187, death of Raymond II of Tripoli, and before capture of Jerusalem by Saladin 3 Oct. 1187.*

1187 Bertran de Born, PC 80.30, ed. Gouiran, 33.

Refers to capture of True Cross. Probably early Nov. 1187, with additional stanza in Dec. 1187 when BB thought Philippe-Auguste had taken the cross (Gouiran, p. 664; Lewent sees this as post Jan. 1188).

1187 Peire Vidal, PC 364.11, ed. Avalle, xxxvj.

Probably originally written in Spain in 1174–80 (Avalle, p. 308), but new tornada (st. VIII) added in 1184, and another (st. VI) after 1187, referring to defeat by Saladin.

1187 (?) Peire Vidal, PC 364.45, ed. Avalle, xxx.

Dating: Crescini (after October); see Avalle, pp. 231–32. Probably refers to Raymond of Saint-Gilles' conquest of Tripoli, in mockery of Raymond V of Toulouse, who failed to claim Tripoli after the death of Raymond II (1152–87).

1187 *tpq* Peire Vidal, PC 364.4, ed. Avalle, xxxviii.

*Refers to capture of the True Cross at disaster of Hattin and the loss of the **Holy Sepulchre**.*

1187 *tpq* Bernat Alanhan de Narbona, PC 53.1, ed. Appel, *Inedita*, p. 21.

*Refers to the loss of the **Holy City**, hence after 1187, though how long after is not known.*

1187 *tpq* Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.41, ed. Sharman, LXIV.

Sharman (p. 424) follows Hoepffner's suggested date of 1190 (?). Exhortation to join crusade & deliver the 'monimen'.

1187–90 Peire Vidal, PC 364.43, ed. Avalle, xxxij.

*After the autumn of 1187 (fall of Tiberias and Jerusalem) and before the summer of 1190 when Richard & Philippe-Auguste left together for **Holy Land** (Avalle, p. 254).*

1188 *taq* Aimeric de Belenoi (or Folquet de Marselha?), PC 9.10, ed. Dumitrescu, XXII.

Dating Lewent (before Jan.), but see also Poli ed.. Refers to disaster of Hattin.

1188 Bertran de Born, PC 80.17, ed. Gouiran, 34.

Dating Gouiran (end of spring). Refers to Conrad of Montferrat's defence of Tyre against Saladin.

1188 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.18, ed. Sharman, XLIX.

Refers to treaty of Gisors (21 Jan. 1188) whereby Henry II and Philippe-Auguste undertook to go on 3rd Crusade.

1188 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.6, ed. Sharman, LXIII.

Early in the year (Kolsen); post 21 Jan. (Lewent). Exhorts rulers to stop squabbling, & praises Richard I who is about to set off.

1188 Peirol, PC 366.29, ed. Aston XXXI.

Dating Aston, p. 8. Love reproaches troubadour for neglect; poet says there is force majeure in the crusade if only the kings can stop quarrelling; and whatever happens, Dalfi (count of Clermont and Montferrand, 1168–1234) will go to help the marquis (Conrad of Montferrat). Love concludes that Saladin is causing many men to leave their lovers sorrowfully.

1188–89 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.32, ed' Sharman, LXVI.

*Dating Sharman (see note to 55). Refers to the period between Frederic Barbarossa taking the cross and setting out for Syria. Alludes to Germans and Castilians with an identical purpose, possibly two simultaneous crusading campaigns in Sapin and in the **Holy Land** (following Lewent).*

Ruth Harvey: not necessarily later than April 1188. Refers to betrothal of Barbarossa's son Konrad to Berengaria of Castile.

1188–89 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.58, ed. Mouzat, 52.

Taq 6 July 1189 as Richard is referred to as count, not king (Mouzat, p. 441). The ending exhorts all, especially princes, to go overseas to serve God who has been dishonoured, disinherited and ill-treated, and reminds Richard who had the honour of being the first to take the cross to make sure he fulfils his vow.

1189-90 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.36, ed. Mouzat, 54.

Dating Mouzat. He's held back from speeding to Syria by his lady and the English king (st. V).

1189–90 Bertran de Born, PC 80.4, ed. Gouiran, 34.

Reworked between July 1189 and Jan 1190, not necessarily for the only time. First version printed by Gouiran praises Conrad of Montferrat defending Tyre against the victorious Saladin & condemns delay of other leaders; BB claims he'd be on crusade but for this and the attractions of his domna. Attributes delay to mutual distrust of Richard & Philippe-Auguste (though see Gouiran's introduction). Version in MS M.

1189–90 Bertran de Born, PC 80. 3, ed. Gouiran, 31.

*Dating Gouiran. Reproaches Richard for delaying his departure to the **Holy Land**.*

1189–90 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.15, ed. Mouzat, 53.

For dating, see Mouzat, pp. 455–56, who discusses the possibility of dating to the 4th Crusade. GF has not yet crossed the sea beyond Lombardy (allegedly out of the desire for his lady's pardon for some fault).

1189–90 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 157.36, ed. Mouzat, 54.

GF is held back from the journey overseas by his domna & the English king. He's still going, but more slowly. Date: -/- Richard's proclamation as king, 6 July 1189, & 4 July 1190, departure of Richard & P-Aug from Vézelay (Mouzat, p. 457).

1189–90 Guiraut de Borneil, PC 242.33, ed. Sharman, LI.

Dating Ruth Harvey, unpublished; Kolsen dates this 1191. Ends with prayer to God to grant him deliverance from the Saracens 'En lai on es comunals bainz' (69) and for them to be driven beyond Edessa (80).

1190 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.9, ed. Mouzat, 55.

Mouzat sees this as a combination of 2 redactions, 1 at time of 3rd Crusade, another 4th. [See below under 1203.]

1190 Folquet de Marselha, PC 155.3, ed. Squillacioti, VI.

If anyone wants to blame Richard for not setting off immediately for the crusade, it's now clear he has 'reculé pour mieux sauter'. Date (Squillacioti, p. 38): July-Aug. 1190. Richard reached Marseille in July & waited for his fleet which joined him in August.

1191 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.15, ed. Sharman, LXIX.

*After Richard's arrival in **Holy Land** (Acre 1191). Kolsen: March; Harvey: May–June, composed in Syria.*

1191 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.24, ed. Sharman, LXX.

*Apparently in the **Holy Land** (1–2).*

1191 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.30, ed. Sharman, LXXI.

*Dating Kolsen. Giraut in **Holy Land**; defends courtly way of life against lack of interest and accusations that courtly songs are idle nonsense.*

Aftermath of Third Crusade

1192–93 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.19, ed. Mouzat, 56.

Homecoming after dangerous voyage.

1192–93 c. Gaucelm Faidit & Elias d’Ussel, *cobla* I, PC 136.3; II 167.13; III 136.2; IV 167.3a, ed. Mouzat, 57.

Elias mocks GF over his stay in Outremer.

1192–94 Monk of Montaudon, PC 305.12, ed. Riquer, p. 1036.

Refers to Richard’s captivity, 1192–94.

1193–94 Peire Vidal, PC 364.35, ed. Avallé, VI.

Feb. 1193–Feb. 1194 (Avallé, I, p. 67). PV Blames the sinfulness of the pope (Celestino III, 1191–98) and the ‘fals doctor’ for the rise of heresy; Philippe-Auguste for abandoning the Sepulchre to busy himself with trade; the HRE Henry VI for imprisoning Richard; and the kings of Spain (Alfonso II of Aragon, Alfonso VIII of Castile, Alfonso IX of León, and Sancho VI of Navarre) for acting cravenly in the face of the Moors.

1194? Dalfi d’Alvergne, PC 119.8, ed. Riquer, III, p. 1253.

After Richard I returned from captivity, & possibly in 1194, he addressed a sirventes in Poitevin French to Dalfi and to Gui, count of Auvergne, accusing them of siding with Ph-Aug. & blaming them for the loss of Issoire. Dalfi responded with this sirventes in Occitan (Riquer, p. 1251).

1194–95 Folquet de Marselha, PC 155.7, ed. Squillaciotti, XIV.

*Dating Nov. 1194–10 July 1195 (Squillaciotti, p. 39). FM urges Richard & Philippe-Auguste to follow example of emperor Henry VI who at Bari on Easter Day 1195 (April 2) had vowed to leave on a new expedition to the **Holy Land**, following renewed pressure by the Turks after the end of the 3rd Crusade. Taq is 19 July 1195, Christian defeat at Alarcos, not mentioned here despite many reverberations in troubadours. Absence of indications of war between Richard & Philippe-Auguste points to their truce Nov. 1194–July 1195.*

1195 Folquet de Marselha, PC 155.15, ed. Squillaciotti, XVIII.

*Dating Squillaciotti, p. 40 (shortly after July 19, the defeat at Alarcos). This exhortation to support the Reconquista refers also to the loss of the **Holy Sepulchre**.*

1196–97 Gavaudan, PC 174.10, ed. Guida, V.

Lewent dates this 1210–1212, but see the extensive discussion in Guida’s introduction (pp. 44–57), placing it shortly after the Christian defeat at Alarcos. G appeals for a crusade (in Spain) which will involve not only Hispanics but also Germans, French, English and so on. At the beginning of the song, G reminds listeners of Saladin’s capture of Jerusalem, part of the evidence of the increased power of the Saracens.

1199 Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.56, ed. Sharman, LXII.

Planh for Aimar V of Limoges. *GB* says he witnessed Aimar kiss the **Holy Sepulchre** (during Aimar's pilgrimage of 1179–80: Ruth Harvey).

1199 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167. 22, ed. Mouzat, 50.

Planh for Richard I who inspired unparalleled fear in Saracens, Turks, pagans and Persians.

1199 *tpq* Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.73, ed. Sharman, LXXV.

Mourns a king (probably Richard) who inspired fear among the pagans beyond Edessa. Sharman notes that Richard also had many opponents among the troubadours: see *LI*, 71–72 and Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', p. 63.

Fourth Crusade (1198–1204)

1198 (?) Anon, PC 323.22 (misattributed to Peire d'Alvernha), ed. Zenker, *Peire von Auvergne*, p. 798.

*Urges King Philip, lord Otto and King John to make peace between themselves to help regain the lordship of Syria from the county of Tyre to the kingdom of Egypt. Lewent (p. 353), unhesitatingly following Diez (Leben & Werke, p. 62) gives date of early 1213–July 1214, before battle of Bouvines. However, the events appear to correspond to Innocent III's proclamation of a new crusade in August 1198 when the kings of England and France continued to quarrel, while Philip of Swabia & Otto IV were both claiming the crown in Germany. See H. E. Mayer, The **Crusades**, Oxford, 1972, originally Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 196–97.*

1201 Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, PC 392.3., ed. Linskill, XIX.

Celebrates election of Boniface of Montferrat in 1201, at Soissons, as leader of the 4th Crusade.

1201 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.14, ed. Mouzat, 58.

Dating by Lewent. Exhortation to help recover God's lost rights in Syria.

1201–2 Peire Vidal, PC 364.8, ed. Avasse, xij,

Dating Avasse. Exhortation to accompany Boniface of Montferrat on 4th Crusade.

1202–12 c. Guiraut de Calanso, PC 243.1, ed. Jeanroy, *Jongleurs*, p. 67.

Claims love is more desirable than salvation through a crusade.

1203 Gaucelm Faidit, PC 167.9, ed. Mouzat, 55.

Dating Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', p. 345. Mouzat sees this as a combination of 2 redactions, 1 at time of 3rd Crusade, another during the 4th. Exhortation to go on crusade, in which GF will participate as a faithful pilgrim. Refers to Safadis and Antichrist. See above under 1190.]

1204 Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, PC 392.9a, ed. Linskill, XX.

Following the conquest of Constantinople & establishment of Latin Empire in May 1204, RV 'expresses extreme displeasure with the turn of events subsequent to the election of Baldwin of Flanders as first Latin Emperor' (Linskill, p. 229).

1204–5 Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, PC 392.24, ed. Linksill, XXII.

Dating Linskill. Celebrates war by patron marquis of Montferrat against Wallachians & Drogobites, & opening up of the routes from Brindisi to St. George's Straits (Bosphorus). Hopes for assault on Damascus, conquest of Jerusalem, and liberation of Syria.

Between Fourth and Fifth Crusades

1206 c. (?) Aimeric de Peguilhan & Elias d'Ussel, PC 10.37, ed. Marshall (unpublished); also Audiau, *Quatre troubadours*, XXIV.

Asked whether he would break his oath to his domna if she allowed him to spend the night with her provided he did not 'go all the way', Elias says he would—and then expiate his sin by going on a pilgrimage beyond Tyre.

1207–8 Elias Cairel, PC 133.9, ed. Jaeschke, p. 149 and Riquer, II, p. 1151.

Writing in Salonika, EC attacks Marquis William IV of Montferrat who failed to follow the example of his father Boniface I (d. 1207) & abandoned any undertakings in the East.

1211 Guiraut de Calanso, PC 243.6, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, II, p. 1085.

Planh for Fernando of Castile. Context is Reconquista, but refers to his fame from the river Jordan to the setting sun.

1212? Guilhem Ademar, PC 202.9, ed. Almqvist, p. 134.

Dating Almqvist. GA assures King Alfonso (VIII of Castile?) and 'the best count in Christendom' (Count Raymond VI of Toulouse?) of total forgiveness of sins if they take all the jealous husbands off to fight the Saracens (in Spain or the East?).

1213 Aimeric de Peguilhan, PC 10.11, ed. Riquer, II, p. 964 and Shepard & Chambers, 11.

Dating Lewent, p. 28, following De Bartholomaeis. AP urges the marquis of Montferrat to emulate his ancestors & take the 'pretz' and 'onor' of Syria.

1213 Pons de Capduoill, PC 375.8, ed. Napolski, XXVI.

*Dating Lewent (pp. 350–51), early part of year: refers to conflicts between English and French kings (John and Philippe-Auguste), the king of Apulia (Frederick II of Sicily) and the emperor (Otto IV). Exhortation to go on crusade, which offers an alternative to entry into **holy orders**.*

1213 Pons de Capduoill, PC 375.22, ed. Napolski, XIII.

Dating Lewent (pp. 351–52) (June). Refers to king (Frederick II) emperor (Otto IV) and king of Aragon (Peter II). Exhortation to go on crusade.

1213 c.? Pons de Capduoill, PC 375.2, ed. Napolski, I.

Exhortation to go on crusade; those too ill should give funds.

1215 Guilhem Figueira, PC 217.7, ed. Levy, 6.

Crusading song referring to King Frederick. Dating Levy (p. 2), followed by Lewent, 'Kreuzlied,' p. 353 (shortly after Frederick II was crowned king and took the cross, 25 July 1215).

Fifth Crusade, of Damietta (1217–21)

1218 Tomier & Palaizi, PC 442.2, ed. Frank, III (R, 78 (1957), 46–85 (p. 75).

*Dating Frank, p. 60. T&P attacks Guilhem del Baus, along with the clergy and the French, for abandoning the **Holy Sepulchre** in order to pursue the Albigensian crusade.*

1219 Elias Cairel, PC 133.11, ed. Jaeschke, 11.

Arabs & Persians, Kurds & Turks are trembling in Cairo where they'd be easily conquered. Dating Lewent (before August).

1220 *tpq* Peire Cardenal, PC 335.54, ed. Vatteroni, *SMV*, 39 (1993), p. 110.

Attacks preaching friars for materialism comfort instead of combating Turks and Persians.

1221 Peirol, PC 366.28, ed. Aston, XXXII.

*Dating Aston (pp. 16–17 and p. 22). Poem shows he visited the **Holy Land** (the river Jordan, Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, the Templars & Hospitalers). May have been there at time of 1st battle of Damietta (Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', p. 419); & since he states he was visiting Jerusalem, this could only have been after the conclusion of the 8-year truce between El-Kamil & the Christians on 30 August 1221. He may also have been present at final loss of Damietta 7 Sept. 1221 & have visited the **Holy Land** after this disaster before his return journey.*

Crusade of Frederick II (1228–29)

1220–26 Falquet de Romans, PC 156.2, ed. Arveiller & Gouiran, V.

*Dating Arveiller & Gouiran. Acc. to de Bartholomaeis, Poesia provenzale storiche, II, 40, this was composed at court of Otto count of Carretto. Falquet urges the emperor to rescue the **Holy Land**.*

1225 *tpq* Peire Cardenal, PC 335.12, ed. Vatteroni, *SMV*, 42 (1996), p. 218.

The reference to the recovery of Syria places text after marriage of Frederick II with Isabella, daughter of John of Brienne king of Jerusalem, celebrated by proxy in Acre and then in the cathedral of Brindisi 9 Nov. 1225, through which Frederick gained crown of Jerusalem (Vatteroni).

1226 Tomier & Palaizi, PC 442.1, ed. Frank, III.

*Dating Frank; refers to siege of Avignon in 1226. Attack on the false (i.e. Albigensian) crusade and the perfidious bishops indifferent to the fate of the **Holy Sepulchre** and those suffering in Damietta.*

1226 *tpq* Peire Cardenal, PC 335. 52, ed. Vatteroni, *SMV*, 40 (1994), 30.

Dating Vatteroni. Turkey as a distant place.

1227–28 Guilhem Figueira, PC 217.2, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, III, p. 1272.

Dating K. Städtler, 'The Sirventes by Gormonda de Monpeslier', in The Voice of the Trobairitz, ed. W. D. Paden, Philadelphia, 1989, pp. 129–55 (p. 147) (Sept. 29 1127–28 June 1228). Blames Rome for the loss of Damietta.

1228. c. Gormonda, PC 1771.1, ed. Rieger, *Trobairitz*, 46, p. 718.

Reply to PC 217.2. Blames fools for the loss of Damietta.

1228 *taq?* Falquet de Romans, PC 156.12, ed. Arveiller et Gouiran VIII.

Arveiller & Gouiran suggest (p. 99) that this appeal for crusade may be lamenting the sorry state of Christendom with Frederick II in conflict with the pope and the continuation of the Albigensian Crusade. In this case, the poem precedes Frederick's departure on crusade in 1228.

1228 Falquet de Romans, PC 156.11, ed. Arveiller & Gouiran, VII.

Refers to departure of Frederick II on crusade.

1229 Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, PC 330.20, ed. Boutière, Toulouse/Paris, 1930,

exchange of *coblas* with Gui [de Cavaillon], XIX.

Accuses Gui of abandoning the crusade of 1228–29: see Boutière, p. 117 and S. Guida, 'L'attività poetica di Gui de Cavaillon durante la crociata albigese', CN, 3 (1973), pp. 235–71 (pp. 235–36).

1229 or 1244–54 Peire Cardenal, PC 335.51, ed. Vatteroni 18, in *SMV*, 39 (1993), p. 184.

*Vague references to the advances of the Saracens in the **Holy Land**, and the lack of interest on the part of the princes & clergy. Vatteroni (p. 184) suggests the poem could either date from 1229, Frederick II's entry into Jerusalem, or from 1244–54 when the city was occupied by Kwarizmanian troops & re-entered the orbit of the sultan of Egypt and the abandonment of the 7th Crusade (1st crusade of Saint Louis) by Louis IX of France.*

1229–30 or 1245–46 Peire Cardenal, PC 335.31, ed. Vatteroni, 2, in *SMV*, 36 (1990), p. 107.

*Blames clergy for neglecting the **Holy Land** in favour of attacking Frederick at home. See Vatteroni's discussion for possible circumstances.*

Reminders of crusading goals (1230–47)

1233 Bertran d'Alamanon, PC 76.16, ed. Salverda de Grave, II.

Attacks Raimon-Berenguer for his treatment of his Provençal subjects, even though he's taken the cross.

1237? Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, PC 330.14, ed. Boutière, p. 121.

The 'king of Acre' is not identifiable; the 'sultan of Cairo' in Jerusalem may be the sultan of Egypt, Malak-el-Kamel (1218-38) who made peace with Frederick II in 1229. PBRN offers him the head of Blacatz if he'd accept baptism. A proposal of baptism was made to the sultan of Damascus post 1240. In c. 1229 Pope Gregory IX sent monks to try to convert Muslim princes, in vain. (Boutière, p. 124.)

1238 Guilhem Figueira, PC 217.8, ed. Levy, 7 (p. 52)

Dating Levy, p. 5. Praises Frederick II's successes including his conquest of Jerusalem and Ascalon, and his good peace treaty concluded with the sultan after the battle of Cortenuova in Nov. 1237.

1241 Peire del Vilar, PC 365.1, ed. MW, 3, 267 and A. Jeanroy in *Mélanges Léonce Couture*, Toulouse, 1902, p. 115.

For dating see Jeanroy, p. 115 (also Jeanroy in AdM, 16 (1904), 311–29 (pp. 311–12), who places it between the embarkation of Henry III of England for France (9 May 1241) and his defeat at Saintes 23 July. Refers to the Saladin tithe of 1188.

1242 Duran sartor de Paernas, PC 126.1, ed. Jeanroy, 'Le soulèvement', p. 315.

Excoriates leaders of 1242 uprising in Occitania against the French: in the region of Aleppo beyond Tyre the Turks have stung the French into squealing and yapping, while in the South the base leaders have failed to get the better of them.

1244–48 Guilhem Figuera, PC 217.1, ed. Levy, 1.

Dating Lewent, pp. 356–57. GF wishes the prelates and emperor would cease their quarrels and concentrate on the Turks and Arabs.

[1244–54? Peire Cardenal, PC 335.51. See above under 1229.]

1st Crusade of Saint Louis or 7th Crusade (1248–54)

1244–45 Lanfranc Cigala, PC 282.23, Ed. Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 350, and Branciforti, XX.

*Composed for Saint Louis' expedition to the **Holy Land** (Bertoni, p. 97). Louis took cross in 1244.*

1244–48 Granet & Bertran, PC 189.5, ed. Salverda de Grave, p. 117.

*Burlesque treatment of crusading theme involving the coming of Antechrist. Salverda de Grave (p. 119) suggests that this may refer to the Turkish occupation of Jerusalem after 1244, and that Granet may have had in mind as the enemy of human race the sultan of Egypt [as-Salih], whose allies the Kwarismanians had seized Jerusalem, which was now lost to the Christians for good. The Kwarismanians and the sultan then joined forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Christian army at Gaza (17 October 1244), which led to the re-unification of the Ayubid Empire (1245) and the loss of east Galilee and Ascalon (1247) (Mayer, **Crusades**, p. 259).*

1246–48 Lanfranc Cigala, PC 282.20, ed. Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 355, and Branciforti, XXII.

Dating Bertoni, p. 98 (Nov. 1246–spring 1248. Praises Louis for going on crusade, & castigates barons who don't.

1247 Bertran d'Alamanon, PC 76.9, ed. Salverda de Grave, IV.

Criticises Charles of Anjou for thinking of going off on crusade when he needs to deal decisively with his claim to Provence (Salverda de Grave, pp. 28–29).

1247 Bertran d'Alamanon, PC 76.15, ed. Salverda de Grave, V.

Dating Salverda de Grave. BA urges Charles of Anjou to take care of his own lands rather than going off to the East to conquer Turks and Khwarismanians.

1248 Sordel, PC 437.18, ed. Riquer, III, p. 1471, following Boni.

A burlesque 'counter-Xading song', possibly improvised orally: Sordel begs Charles of Anjou not to take him overseas as he's terrified of storms at sea. Among other Provençaux who abstained from accompanying Charles were Barral dels Baus & the troubadours Falquet de Romans & Blacasset (Salverda de Grave, p. 158).

1250 Austeroc d'Aorlhac, PC 40.1, ed. A. Jeanroy, 'Mélanges Chabaneau', *Romanische Forschungen*, 23 (1907), p. 81.

Composed shortly after Louis' defeat in 1250. Expresses amazement that God should bring such misfortune on the French king—not surprising Christians convert to Islam.

1254 Bernart de Rovenac, PC 66.2, ed. Bosdorff, III.

Attacks Henry III of England & James I Aragon for letting themselves be depossessed by the French while Saint Louis is in Syria. The allusion to Saint Louis is sarcastic as he'd been routed and captured at Mansurah. See Riquer, III, pp. 1370–71.

Between Saint Louis' crusades

1260–65 Bertran d'Alamanon, PC 76.8, ed. Salverda de Grave, VIII.

Dating Salverda de Grave. Christendom is becoming lost overseas.

1262–64 Luquet Gatelus, PC 290.1, ed. M. Boni, III.

Dating Bertoni, p. 111. Refers to Charles of Anjou's proposed invasion of Italy. Refers to Syria as (a) the eastern reaches of Charles' fame and (b) Conrad (III, king of Jerusalem 1254–68 born 1152?), who should ensure he lives up to his lineage, since his family possess Syria.

1265 *tpq* Templier = Ricaut Bonomel, PC 439.1, ed. G. Bertoni, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 34 (1910), p. 701.

Dating Siberry, Criticism, p. 153. A Templar in the East laments the pope's abandonment of the crusaders. Refers to the fall of Arsuf and Caesaria to the Mameluks.

1265–66 Guillem Fabre, borzes de Narbona, PC 216.2, ed. Appel, *Inedita*, p. 136.

*Censures squabbling princes who leave the heathen in possession of the **holy** places. For dating see Lewent, 'Kreuzlied', p. 358 (June 1265 to February 1266).*

Second crusade of Saint Louis (1267–70)

1267–69 Olivier lo Templier, PC 312.1, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, III, p.1475.

*Crusading song about James I of Aragon's expedition to the **Holy Land**, referring also to his conquest of Valencia & Mallorca. Riquer dates this poem to ...1269...; Lewent gives*

1269 as taq, though st. IV might suggest a couple of years earlier.

1268 Raimon Gaucelm de Beziers, PC 401.8, ed. Radaelli, VI.

Dating Radaelli (p. 14). Exhortation to support Louis' crusade, detailing the sorts of excuses men advance to avoid going.

1268 Calega Panza, PC 107.1, ed. A. Jeanroy, 'Un sirventes contre Charles d'Anjou (1268)', *Annales du Midi*, 15 (1903), 145–67.

Accuses Charles of Anjou of taking advantage of a truce with Turks & Persians in Syria in order to kill French & Germans at home.

1268–69 Guillem de Mur, PC 226.2, ed. C. Chabaneau, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 32 (1888), 124.

Dating by Chabaneau. Refers to a king of Aragon (James I?), an archbishop of Toledo, and a count of Rodez (Henry II?).

1269 Guilhem d'Autpol, PC 206.4, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, III, p. 1520.

Dating Riquer (shortly after James the Conqueror undertook a crusade in the East). Fictive tenso with God, in which GA accuses God of failing to help the Christians fighting in the East. Why doesn't he show the Saracens the errors of their faith?

1270 Raimon Gaucelm de Beziers, PC 401.1, ed. Radaelli, VII.

*Exhortation to serve God by going to the **Holy Land**. Laments death of the king of France. Criticises clerical avarice which encourages crusaders to redeem vows for money.*

1270 Bertolome Zorzi, PC 74.11, ed. Levy, 16, p. 77.

*Celebrates Louis's expedition to Africa, 16 March – 25 Aug. (Louis' death) (Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 117).*

1270 *tpq* Austorc de Segret, PC 41.1, ed. Appel, *Inedita*, p. 14.

Laments death of Saint Louis & the triumph of Saracens, Turks & Arabs.

1270 *tpq* Guilhem d'Autpol, PC 206.2, ed. Meyer, *Derniers troubadours*, p. 41.

Planh for Saint Louis.

After Saint Louis' **crusades**

1276 Matieu de Caerci, PC 299.1, ed. Appel, *Inedita*, p. 193 and Riquer, III, p. 1541

Planh for James I of Aragon, praises him for doing more than anyone to exalt the Cross

and defeat the 'gent canha' (27–28). James had fought in both the Reconquista and the Holy Land.

1276 Guiraut Riquier, PC 248.48, ed. MW, IV, p. 38.

Urges leaders to stop warring among themselves and to combat the Saracens.

1276 Guiraut Riquier, 248.87, ed. MW, IV, p. 44.

Christendom is collapsing because of the sins of the rulers.

1272–73 Folquet de Lunel, PC 154.1, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, III, p. 1552.

Between Feb. 1272 & Sept. 1273 (Riquer). Praises Alfonso X the Wise of Castile & defends his rights to be emperor. Urges kings to go & avenge Jesus Christ in Syria.

1280 PC 248.79, Guiraut Riquier, MW, IV, 50.

A wish that Christians would go to recapture the Holy Land.

1292 Guiraut Riquier, PC 248.17, ed. MW, IV, 78.

Fears double death from Saracens that threaten to overwhelm the Christians, and God's indifference in the face of the pride and wickedness of the latter.

Early 14th c. Rostaing Berenguier, de Marseilla, PC 427.4, ed. Meyer, *Derniers troubadours*, p. 89.

Dating Jeanroy, Poésie lyrique, I, pp. 426–27). See Meyer, in Hist. litt., 32, 75–78 (Jeanroy). Criticises Templars and Hospitallers who have allowed the Turkish occupation of Jerusalem and Acre.

1303 *tpq* Father of Raimon de Cornet, ed. Noulet & Chabaneau, *Deux manuscrits*, p. 77.

Dating Noulet & Chabaneau, p. xxviii; refers to loss of Acre in 1291, laments sinful state of the world & prays for a new crusade.

1326 Lunel de Monteg, PC 289.1, ed. E. Forestié, 'P. de Lunel dit Cavalier Lunel de Montech, troubadour du XIV^e s.' (Montauban, 1891), p. 59.

Complains that the king promises a crusade but does nothing.

1332 Raimon de Cornet, ed. Noulet & Chabaneau, *Deux manuscrits*, p. 82.

Dating Lewent: composed shortly after Philip VI of France took the cross in July 1332. Mentions preachers who will try to convert the Saracens and proposes the king should tax men who don't want to go on crusade; those who stay behind should pray two or three times a day for the crusaders.

1336 Raimon de Cornet, ed. Noulet & Chabaneau, *Deux manuscrits*, p. 137.

Lewent, p. 329: Raimon bitterly reproaches Philip VI of France for not carrying out the planned crusade.

Date unknown or vague

...1138–92... Guillem de Berguedà, PC 210.22, ed. Riquer, *Guillem de Berguedà*, XVIII.

Tyre (not Syria, pace Riquer) and Corrozana figure in a tirade against a certain friar Roger.

...1138–92... Guillem de Berguedà, PC 210.16, ed. Riquer, *Guillem de Berguedà*, XXVI.

Edessa a desirable possession.

...1193–1210...(?) Monk of Montaudon (?), PC 305.11a, ed. Routledge, XVI.

Women have so inflated the price of saffron by using it in their cosmetics that pilgrims speak of it 'oltramar'.

...1194–1221... Albertet, PC 16.11, ed. Boutière, V.

Plays on idea of pilgrimage and the foreignness of Edessa or Spain.

...1195–1217... Guilhem Ademar, PC 202.12, ed. MW, III, 185 and Almqvist, XII.

Domna would satisfy him with one smile even if he were oltramar.

...1195–1217 Guilhem Ademar, PC 202.10, ed. Almqvist, III.

Would rather have been a captive of the Saracens beyond Edessa than have been attracted to his domna.

late 12th–early 13th c.? Uc de Pena, PC 456.1, ed. A. Kolsen, *Trobadorgedichte* (Halle, 1925), pp. 66–68, poem 30, 33–40.

Refers to exploits of Gouffier de Lastours during First Crusade.

early 13th c. Uc de la Bacalaria, PC 449.3, ed. Riquer, *Trovadores*, II, p. 1060.

Dating Riquer. If he were in Antioch [i.e. in the furthest reaches of the world?] he would wish to die with his lover.

1st third 13th c. Cadenet, PC 106.5, ed. Zemp, V.

Dating Riquer. Damascus a desirable possession.

...1204... Guillem Magret, PC 223.2, ed. Naudieth, p. 104.

GM's only datable song is from 1204 (Naudieth, p. 94). Swears to domna on the Lord through whom many men are pilgrims, which has given rise to many shipwrecks.

1209?–45? PC 184.1, tenso -/- Count [Raimon Berenguer] of Provence ? [ruled 1209-45, JM] and Arnaut [Catalan? ...1220–55...]; ed. Riquer, III, 1353.

Burlesque treatment of crusading theme.

...1214–1282... Daude de Pradas, PC 124.5, ed. Appel, *Inedita*, p. 87.

Dating Riquer, Trovadores, III, p. 1545. Corrossana a desirable possession.

...1220–31... Gausbert de Puycibot, PC 173.1a; see PC references.

Dating Riquer. Damietta a desirable possession.

...1229–1266... Bertran d'Alamanon, PC 119.19, ed. Salverda de Grave, XXI.

BA says it would have been better to be imprisoned by the 'Masmutz' than by his domna.

mid-13th c.? Albert & Simon Doria, PC 436.2, ed. Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, LI, and J. Marshall, 'Deux *partimens* provençaux du chansonnier T', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Aurelio Roncaglia* (Modena, 1989), 809–17

Edessa a desirable possession.

...1252–1265... Bertran Carbonel, PC 82.12, ed. Routledge, XII.

*Wishes kings would come to an agreement between themselves & go to the **Holy Land** next year, with the pope as well, & do something to raise morale of Christendom. Routledge, p. 53: **allusions** can't be pinned down.*

? Olivier de la Mar, PC 311.1, ed. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprache und Literatur*, 34 (1863), 414.

Short fragment refers to killing Turks.

? Anon. (Peire d'Alvernha? Bernart de Venzac?), PC 323.5, ed. Zenker, *Peire von Auvergne*, p. 792.

Prays to St. Mary of the Orient to guide the king and emperor in their crusade against the Turks.

? Anon, PC 461.67a, ed. N. Zingarelli, *Intorno a due trovatori in Italia* (Florence, 1899), p. 71.

Troubadour says he doesn't want to go on crusade even if he were to recover the

Sepulchre, because his lover forbids it.

? Attributed, doubtfully, to Giraut de Borneil, PC 242.77, ed. Sharman, LXXVII.

Blames pope for abandoning the Sepulchre, & foresees arrival of Antichrist.

? Anon, PC 461.122, ed. D. Billy, *Deux lais en langue mixte: le lai Markiol et le lai nompar* (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 78–81.

Laments that Jerusalem has taken lover away.

? Anon, PC 461.35a (no ed. given in PC).

Antioch and Damascus desirable possessions.

? Jordan Bonel, PC 273.1b (see PC).

*Edessa and **Holy Land** represent the far reaches of the world.*

? Alexandre & Blacasset, PC 19.1, ed. Marshall (unpublished).

Refers to Syria. Marshall thinks the reference indicates the poem was composed there, but it is probably ironic.

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