
Myths of Exile and the Albigensian Crusade

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In early 1997, the Occitan-language magazine *Occitans!* published an interview with a new author, Sèrgi Gairal. Gairal's interview opened with the question: 'Sèrgi, is your Occitanism the product of exile?'¹ Gairal's response indicates that exile is a concept very much subject to interpretation:

Like many teachers, I had to head North - or rather, East. I spent three years in Luxeuil-les-Bains. [...] I wouldn't say that my Occitanism is the child of this exile, it wasn't a reaction against anybody at the outset, but of course, over those years, it revived, it grew stronger.²

Born in Castres (Tarn), 'exiled' in the Vosges, Gairal notes that the reasons for his departure from his native region were economic and professional. While he rejects the idea that his regional identity might have been formed in opposition to any external pressure, he does acknowledge that his awareness of the language and culture of the Languedoc was sharpened by the three years he spent elsewhere. On his return, he learned the language he had heard as a child and took to reading and writing in it. Later, he is asked to what extent he identifies his work with the *trobar*, the poetry and ethics, of the troubadours:

It isn't a question of approaching *trobar* at the close of the twentieth century as they did in the twelfth century, but this morality founded on Love, those values of *paratge*, of *convivencia*, could help us to lead better lives.³

Gairal ends with an interpretation of his novel in terms of its

depiction of an ancient building threatened with demolition, a vanished child and the last word of the novel is 'Oc.' He implies that he perceives Occitan cultural identity as a vanishing and fragile possession, which should be simultaneously preserved and nurtured. The insistence of the interviewer on an awareness of exile, and a direct line with the medieval troubadours furnishes another key element to this summary of Occitanisme.

However, another form of 'exile' consciousness is expressed in a more combative perception of the situation of the language, the region, and its historical heritage. An outline of these - the main issues to be explored in this article - may be found in a poem by Jean Larzac, the pen name of Jean Rouquette, a priest and a teacher of Scripture, who composed both mystical and political works. His collection Refus d'enterrer (A Refusal to inter, 1968) combines religious beliefs with revolutionary ideas. The poem 'L'Ora' (The Hour) crystallises the perception by some twentieth-century Occitanists of an identity made up of enforced cohabitation with (or colonisation by) northern France, and a religious ideology imposed against the popular will:⁴

They christen children who cannot speak
they give last rites to the unconscious old
and they make the dead vote.

And they say to the Occitans:

“You cannot despise
So many centuries spent together.
Like the worm in the fruit
like capital and labour
like the mind and its neuroses
we have a common history.”

Then the dead reply:

“Sure, we were very glad
to live side-by-side with France
and to die for her

at Wagram, Fontenoy, Marengo
Marignan, Diên-Biên-Phủ, Verdun,
the Dardanelles, Algiers, Béziers,
Carcassonne, Minerve and
Montségur ...”

The list of battles makes an explicit political point: the battles of Wagram (1806), Marengo (1800), Fontenoy (1745 and 1859) and Marignan (1515) were victories associated with French expansion into other territories. Verdun (1916) and the Dardanelles (1915) were campaigns remembered chiefly for their extreme futility, while Diên-Biên-Phủ (1954) and Algiers (1954-1962) are symbolic of the collapse of French colonial power and were regarded as humiliating defeats. The association of Algiers with Béziers is especially pointed. The Algerian war was noted for its military brutality and the abuse and torture of civilians. Béziers was the first city taken in the Albigensian crusade;⁵ the entire population of the city was massacred by the crusading army as it began its religious and/or political campaign in 1209. Larzac therefore equates Béziers with the beginnings of French colonisation of other territories and sets it beside the end point of this empire-building, as well as with one of its most shameful episodes.

Béziers is the first place name of the section of the poem dealing with the Albigensian crusade, which Larzac presents as a sequence of atrocities: Carcassonne fell peacefully in 1209, but its lord, viscount Raimon-Rogier Trencavel, who had abandoned Béziers, was believed to have been murdered in prison a few months later and became a symbolic figure for the war. Muret (1213) was a disastrous battle which sealed the fate of the Languedoc: Raimon VI, count of Toulouse was defeated, and Pedro II of Aragon, who had recently won a great victory in the Iberian Reconquista campaigns at Las Navas de Tolosa, was killed. Minerve (1210) and Montségur (1244) are sieges which ended with the mass executions of, respectively, 150 and 210 Cathars (*perfecti* in Minerve). Montségur has great symbolic value as the ‘last stand’ of the Cathar faith in the Languedoc.

Larzac’s poem is very much a product of a twentieth-century sensibility, and of the political Occitanist movement. The revival of Provençal culture and language by the Félibrige (founded in 1854)

and its leading figure, Frédéric Mistral, was one of the most influential of the nationalist literary revivals of the nineteenth century, but one which focussed on the production of a literary canon through a celebration and recreation of what was conceived of as a troubadour heritage. The *Félibres* tended to present a rural idyll of noble peasants which acknowledged the gap between the sophistication of the medieval courts, and the modern location of the language in rural, often illiterate, communities.⁶ However, they also revived the 'Jeux Floraux', poetry competitions which had been instituted in fourteenth-century Toulouse, and focussed on an identification of modern poets with the troubadours. As René Nelli later commented, 'for the first time since the Middle Ages, one saw Limousin and Gascon poets identify themselves in solidarity with those from the Languedoc or Provence, and feel part of the same humanist brotherhood'.⁷

By the end of the Second World War, it was obvious that a redefinition was needed in order to minimise the risk of being identified with the Vichy cult of ethnic nationhood. The Institut d'Etudes Occitanes was founded in 1945,⁸ and began to work at a more politicised and more pragmatic agenda, generally labelled Occitanisme. Occitanism sought to emphasise the extent to which Occitan regions suffered from 'internal colonisation', a form of internal exile, through which all Occitan expression and aspirations were automatically rejected as inferior to the northern French, specifically Parisian, dominant culture. The spread of regional tourism, and of the rural *résidence secondaire* as a status symbol among the urban middle classes, were perceived as a particular threat, especially by theorists such as Robert Lafont. While Mistral's refusal to move from Provence to Paris could have been mistaken for his predecessor Jasmin's cultivation of a Laforguesque 'worker poet' image, there was no mistaking the aggressive regionalism of the writings produced in the 1945-70 period.⁹

However, whatever the differences between the *Félibrige* and the Occitanisme movement, they are united in a single perception of how this internal exile came about. The myth underlying Larzac's poem is expressed in its crudest, but most revealing form, in a speech given by Frédéric Mistral in 1878, at the revived 'Jeux Floraux' at Montpellier.¹⁰

How did this sunburst cloud over? How was this splendour eclipsed? How, finally, did the ascension of our race, our pure race, towards the rising sun of nationhood, come to a halt?

The answer, gentlemen, the painful history of this terrible disaster, is written in dark letters on the burnt towers and the dismantled castles of Toulouse, of Béziers, of Carcassonne and of Beaucaire.

Mistral associates the destruction of an emerging sense of Occitan nationality in the thirteenth century with a list of cities and fortresses destroyed in the wars. He seems to miss the point that the only evidence of any sense of Occitania as a united concept emerges after the absorption of these regions into France. In other words, the act that destroyed his vision of an Occitan nation was in fact the one that constituted it. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are notable for warfare between the lords of Carcassonne and Toulouse; Mistral also conveniently forgets that the destruction of Béziers and the death of Raimon-Rogier Trencavel happened while Raimon VI, count of Toulouse, was on the side of the crusaders, and more than willing to destroy the lands of his rival and nephew.

However, this concern with place names may be related to similar concerns in the texts composed around the time of these events, in the early to mid-thirteenth century. The troubadour Bernart Sicart de Marvejols laments the destruction of the region:¹¹ 'Alas! Toulouse and Provence, and the land of Agen; Béziers and the Carcassès - how I saw you and how I see you now!' The first author of the Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise, though a partisan of the crusaders, makes the combination of destruction, dispossession and exile a key element in his entrance into song. Guillaume de Tudèle, as he names himself in the Prologue, came to Montauban from his native Navarre and lived there for eleven years, but left in the twelfth year:

...because of the destruction he knew of and saw in geomancy, which he has long studied; and he knew the country would be burnt and destroyed, because of the foolish faith they had consented to; and that the great burghers would be impoverished, losing their

great wealth, which had made them rich, and that the knights would go *faizit* [dispossessed/ landless], bereft, into other lands, grieving and distressed.¹²

This idea reappears as a notion of deserved punishment for heretical belief later in the text. Because of their heresy, and their refusal to listen to preachers, the people of Toulouse are condemned to be destroyed:

For this will they all end up dead and their land destroyed, and laid waste by foreign people, and sent into exile (*issilheia*), for the French of France, and the people of Lombardy, and of all the mountains, all hate them in their hearts more than they hate the Saracens.

Whatever the fate of the people of Toulouse, it is a historical fact that two major elements of this society went into exile. The Cathar priesthood, and many *perfecti*, seem to have moved into Lombardy and northern Italy in the 1220s; a growing number of dispossessed knights and lords, known as *faidits* (landless knights) also regrouped themselves in this area. In addition, from roughly 1250 onwards, the first of the manuscripts which record all the surviving troubadour songs are produced in the Veneto region. The earliest date given for such a collection is 1254, referring to a lost book, the *Liber Alberici*, and found in manuscript *D*, now in Modena.¹³ The point at issue has often been whether to read this development as a sign that troubadour poetry was itself being persecuted, and was forced to be cultivated outside the Occitan-speaking lands.

The Félibrige-Occitaniste reading of these historical events has tended to see this as evidence of exile. The nineteenth-century notion of a heretical 'religion of love' persecuted by the Inquisition has been more or less rejected today, but the fact that Guilhem Molinier's introduction to his treatise on lyric poetry, composed for the newly-formed Consistori del Gay Saber in 1323, in Toulouse, points out that he submitted his text for approval by the Inquisition and this may reinforce such a view. René Nelli concluded that there is next to no evidence of any link between the troubadour lyric and Catharism.¹⁴ It is striking, indeed, that there is not a single overtly pro-Cathar troubadour song extant, and that the narrative texts referring to this

period - contemporaneous with the compilation of some of the manuscripts - avoid any mention of heresy.

The troubadour lyric was popular in northern Italian lands from the late twelfth century onwards, and the years around 1190 to 1220 see a general trend towards poets in French, Catalan and Italian-speaking areas appropriating the troubadour lyric. While the production of these manuscripts may reflect a literary fashion, their presentation may reflect more political concerns. It would seem possible that the compilation of *chansonnières* was motivated by an awareness that the socio-cultural structure which had created the troubadour lyric - the Occitan-speaking court, and the landless knights who accounted for many poets - was under threat. Such an activity implies a certain degree of commitment on the part of the compiler, and cannot be devoid of political motives.

A number of these manuscripts also include biographies of poets, known as *vidas*, and short narratives, *razos*, associated with their songs. These short texts are overwhelmingly devoted to locating given bodies of songs in the historical and geographical location of a specific individual; they are very strong on place names.

The troubadour Uc de Saint-Circ (fl.c.1200-c.1257) is supposed to have been the composer of most - if not all - of the *vidas* and *razos*.¹⁵ Zufferey presents a plausible line of communication between Uc's patron the Dalfin d'Alvernhe and his court at the castle of Montferrand, near Clermont (now Clermont-Ferrand), and Uc, who from c.1220 to c.1257 seems to have been based in Treviso and the Veneto - Lombardy region.¹⁶ The earliest manuscript containing *vidas* and *razos*, MS B, is scripted by a hand from the upper Auvergne region, perhaps Aurillac, but its close relative, MS A, is from a Venetian workshop.¹⁷

Zufferey envisages a cross-fertilisation, or rather, a geographical exchange, whereby troubadours and jongleurs travelled to Northern Italy from the Auvergne with luggage (or memories) full of collections of songs, and returned later, armed with biographies and short stories, as well as the songs of Italian troubadours.¹⁸ This pattern has the merit of emulating the channels of communication then being elaborated for the surviving Cathar church; the bishops and major figures took refuge in the Lombardy and Venetian region, and messengers and secret

couriers circulated between these hiding places and Occitan lands.¹⁹

In her account of the *vidas* and *razos*, Elizabeth Poe points out that the unlikeliest events these texts report are often verifiable, and that geographical information is almost always accurate.²⁰ For example, she cites the description of events during the Albigenian crusade, given in a *razo* for a song by Raimon de Miraval:²¹

When the Count of Toulouse had been disinherited by the Church and by the French, and had lost Argence and Beaucaire, and the French held Saint-Gilles and the Albigeois and the Carcassès, and the Biterrois was destroyed, and the viscount of Béziers was dead, and all the good people of those lands were dead or had fled to Toulouse, Miraval was with the count of Toulouse [...]; and he led a life of great unhappiness, because all the good people of whom he [the count] was lord and master, and the ladies and knights were dead and disinherited; also he had lost his wife, as you will hear, and his lady had betrayed and tricked him; and he had lost his castle.

The only odd detail about this chronological line of events is that it is given backwards, from the Summer of 1211 or 1212 to the first events of the wars, in 1209. It is notable that the disasters of these three years are envisaged simultaneously in terms of the loss of lands and the exile and displacement of people; the troubadour's distress at his personal problems (the loss of his wife, and his betrayal by his *domna*) is compounded by the ultimate loss, that of his castle. Raimon, it is added later, has promised to compose no more *cansos* until he recovers his castle; however, his belief that further warfare may make this possible leads him to break this promise. He composes a song for the sister of the king of Aragon, whom he does not love, in order to inspire Pedro II to come to the assistance of the count of Toulouse. The king does so, and he and his army are killed at the battle of Muret (1213).

In a mocking poem composed around 1195, the Monk of Montaudon commented that Raimon de Miraval gave his castle away so often that he really didn't care who had it:

And the third is from the Carcassès: Miraval, who claims to be very courtly and often gives his castle away; and he doesn't even stay there a month a year, and he has never celebrated the Calends there, which is why he's not upset when it's taken away from him.²²

Raimon de Miraval's *vida* says he held a quarter of one small castle, with his siblings, in the Carcassès; according to Topsfield, this castle was taken by Simon de Montfort around 1209-11.²³

The fact that this *razo* seems to hold a love song responsible for the worst defeat of the entire conflict, and insinuates that Raimon's insincere *canço* for a lady to whom he has shown no *semblan d'amor*, as well as his wish to recover a castle which seems to have been regarded as a joke, are responsible for the death of Pedro II of Aragon, hero of the Reconquista, is highly provocative. In this respect, this text may be compared with the *vida* of Raimon Jordan, viscount of Saint-Antonin, a troubadour active around the year 1200. While the *vida* of *R* (a manuscript compiled in the Languedoc region) states that Raimon Jordan gave up poetry when his *domna*, falsely informed of his death, entered the 'order of the Patarines', the version in another manuscript extends the story considerably. The viscountess of *Pena d'Albeges*, Penna d'Albigeois, enters 'the order of the heretics'. When Raimon Jordan hears this, he gives up on poetry and goes into a decline. However, a certain Elis de Monfort hears of his distressed silence, caused by heresy, and offers to love him, without ever having seen him. Her influence is such that he recovers his happiness, health and ability to sing.

Two points are worth mentioning here. The sufferings of Raimon Jordan are caused by a viscountess of *Pena d'Albeges*; this could translate as 'suffering of/from the Albigeois'; he is saved by a lady of Monfort; while Hélis de Monfort, one of the three daughters of the viscount of Turenne, was a favourite addressee of the earlier generation of troubadours, it seems strangely appropriate that she should share a title with Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusading army. The manuscript compiled in the Languedoc region keeps the story to a grief-stricken silence after the conversion of his *domna*. Manuscripts which Zufferey associates closely with Uc de Saint-Circ and the Auvergne courts, offer an extended story of rescue from this silence.

The source of this story seems to be another stanza of the song by the Monk of Montaudon quoted above (vv. 13-18):

The second is the Viscount of Saint-Antonin, who has never enjoyed love; nor did he make a good start, for the first woman [he loved] became a heretic, and then he never sought another; his eyes weep all day and all night.

MS C, another Languedoc compilation, regarded as a close relative of R, reads for line 16, 'quab la primiera s'eretgi' (for *he* became a heretic *with* the first woman). In his notes to his edition, Michael Routledge regards this as a misreading, since R simply reads *que*. There is an intriguing possibility, therefore, that Raimon Jordan's withdrawal into silence was initially due to a conversion.²⁴

The *vida* of the Monk of Montaudon is a rare instance of an unreliable set of geographical locations. An unnamed figure, whose career is not easily datable, his editor was not able to trace any of the priories, courts or places named by the *vida* in the songs attributed to the Monk. It seems that he was active between c.1160 and c.1230 in the Auvergne; although he is said by the *vida* to have frequented the court of Le Puy-en-Vélay, there is no evidence of this in the songs. Suffice it to say that he was an Auvergnat poet. If Uc de Saint-Circ is proud to note that Peire d'Alvernhe was described to him by the Dalfin d'Alvernhe (*vida* of Peire d'Alvernhe), the work of a poet who copied Peire and moved in the same milieu a generation later may be supposed to have been transmitted along the same route.

Why, then, are two narratives, both taken from a song by an Auvergnat poet, both probably composed by another Auvergnat poet, who was writing either for an Italian audience or a community of exiles, susceptible of being read as subtle comments on the Albigensian crusade? One presents Raimon de Miraval's *cansos* as a major contributing factor in the destruction of the Languedoc and its nobility. The other shows Raimon Jordan's *cansos* silenced by heresy, only saved by the intervention of a lady of Monfort.

The *vida* of Savaric de Mauléon, seneschal of Poitou from c.1205-c.1230, is particularly interesting in this respect. In one of the four

vidas signed by Uc de Saint-Circ, Savaric's *vida* emphasises his lands; it lists the places he held, some of which are now quite obscure:

He was a great nobleman of the Poitou, the son of En Reois de Malleon. He was the lord of Malleon, Talamom, Fontenai, Castel-Aillon, Boet, Benaon, Saint Miquel en l'Ertz, the isle of Riers, the isle of Nives, Nestrine, Engollius and other very good places.

Malleon is Châtillon-sur-Sèvre or Mauléon near Saumur. His father (Raoul) was lord of Châtelailon, a favourite of Henry II, who gave him the Talmondais (an area now around les Sables d'Olonne, in the Vendée). These place names include Fontenay-le-Comte, Châtelailon-Plage, Bouhet, Benon and St-Michel-en'l'Herm. Significantly, the port of La Rochelle is never mentioned, despite Savaric's role there. He had surrendered his rights over it to the commune, but was in charge of its defense; the fact that he lost the port to France in 1224 after an ignominious siege may be another reason for the loud silence surrounding this locale, after all the most famous place name potentially on the list for an Italian-based audience.²⁵

Presented as the most perfect courtly, refined and popular of men, knights, lords and troubadours, Savaric is the ultimate in Occitan nobility. There is a passing mention of some war-like activity which was all right because: 'all the wars he fought were against the king of France and his men'. The author of the *vida* then continues:

... And from his good deeds and actions a great book could be made, should anyone wish to write it; it would be about he who bore the most humility, mercy and sincerity in him, and who accomplished the greatest number of good deeds of any man I have ever seen or heard of, and who wished all the more to accomplish them.

H.J. Chaytor took up Uc's challenge to produce a monograph of the life of Savaric de Mauléon, and produced quite a striking contrast. Savaric emerges as an accomplished mercenary, engaged in endless conflicts and alliances solely in order to acquire lands or to keep his

own in the Poitou which were permanently being reclaimed or confiscated. He moved allegiance from England to France at will, generally in response to the offices and payment on offer. His sole involvement in the Albigensian crusade on the southern side was his participation in the siege of Castelnaudary in the Summer of 1211.²⁶ However, his fervour (supposed from Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernay's violent attack) is doubtful;²⁷ called in by Raimon VI by letter, he subsequently demanded payment of expenses of 10,000 *livres* from the count, and when he was not paid, held Raimon's son to ransom. This lost him the favour of John, and Savaric promptly joined the French side he had just been fighting. The next appearance of Savaric in this conflict is in a planned invasion of Gascony by the French side in 1226; by this time he had fought in the service of John, Louis VIII, Henry III and the regency of Louis IX; been congratulated by Pope Innocent III on his loyalty to John precisely at the time he deserted his successor and been accused of surrendering La Rochelle to the French out of treachery. He was also a notorious pirate who plundered English cargoes he captured off the coast of La Rochelle and the Ile de Ré.

While the *vida* is undeniably correct in saying he led a swashbuckling life, and that a great book could have been made of it, the statement that all Savaric's wars were fought against the king of France is inaccurate. Savaric's major conflicts with the French side are located at sensitive moments: the siege of Castelnaudary and the fall of La Rochelle, and his loyalty to John in 1215-16 may have been remembered (though John's role in a *razo* featuring Savaric is as an evil king and a coward).²⁸ However, Savaric shifted his allegiance to the king of France whenever the occasion suited and was accused of having surrendered La Rochelle to Louis VIII in exchange for payment.

Returning to the list of place names, it may be asked why this *vida*, extant in the Venetian manuscripts *IK*, pays such extraordinary attention to such insignificant places? It may be explained as the fact that Uc de Saint-Circ was in Savaric's employ for part of his career.²⁹ It could also be a symbolic gesture. By the 1220s, the Occitan and Poitevin nobility were either engaged in chaotic wrangles over a system of loyalty that had been completely distorted, or dispossessed - the class of *faidits* emerged, dispossessed knights and noblemen either engaged in campaigns against the 'northern' side or going into exile in Lombardy

and Catalonia.

The question remains: what are the political interests served by Uc de Saint-Circ's fudging of heresy, his extolling of a notorious adventurer as a major patron, and his subtle message that troubadour love songs may contribute to the destruction of their own society? Does he whitewash Savaric de Mauléon - or does he gently hint that troubadour poetry is best served by mercenary cynics and pirates? Why does he pass in near-silence over the historical fate of the viscounts of Saint-Antonin, the heirs of Raimon Jordan, who were imprisoned and dispossessed on the grounds of heresy.³⁰

The *vidas* and *razos* construct an image in exile of a culture and poetry that their authors believed to be vanishing; the nobility that had supported the troubadour lyric was dispossessed; prominent troubadours had moved out of Occitan-speaking regions, and the best poets developing within these regions were either political or didactic. Love poetry from the 1250s onwards was increasingly cultivated in the courts of the Iberian peninsula and the cities of northern Italy. By the 1270s, even the political poetry cultivated in the courts of Provence, where the officials increasingly spoke northern French, was dying out; from 1288, there are isolated examples, but no more than that. It is a tantalising possibility that Uc de Saint-Circ and his collaborators were preserving the lyric in writing in order to attach the songs and their authors to a specific geographical concept which would have vanished politically by 1271. It is very likely, however, that in doing so, they were also engaged in an activity of selective criticism. Certainly, the three narrative texts examined in this article present an ambiguous attitude towards the loss of lands and castles, and towards questions of allegiance and of religion. Whatever its import may have been for its audience at the time, it now reads as testimony - if this is the appropriate term - that is infinitely more nuanced than the modern myths of noble ruins and the bitter dead.

In the interview quoted at the beginning of this article, the point was raised that an experience of exile, of whatever variety and whatever duration, may create or sharpen a sense of regional or cultural identity. It is interesting to note that the heritage to which Occitan regionalists most often point, that of the troubadours, may owe a significant part of its specificity to the fact that it too was fixed in

writing, and reformulated, as a consequence of some of its practitioners going into exile. There seems to be a political appropriation of the troubadour lyric at the heart of the compilation of *chansonniers*, and of the composition of the narrative texts which seem to provide it with such a strong sense of time and place. What is interesting is that this very recasting of the poems within this framework is accompanied by covert indications that the troubadours may, in the end, have been their own worst enemies - or at least, the enemies of the lost Occitania they have come to symbolise.

NOTES

- ¹ Alan Roch, interview with Sèrgi Gairal, on publication of Lo Barracon (Béziers, IEO Edicion, 1996), 'Ont es passada la Clotilda?', *Occitans!*, 77 (1997) 8-9. All English translations in this article are my own.
- ² Roch, 'Ont es passada', p.8.
- ³ Ibid., p.9.
- ⁴ Jean Larzac, 'L'Ora', in René Nelli, ed., La Poésie occitane: édition bilingue (Paris, Seghers, 1972), p.320, from Refus d'enterrar (Toulouse, 4 vertats, 1968).
- ⁵ The Albigensian crusade is a term which covers a set of wars which started in 1209 and ended officially in 1249, with the treaty of Meaux. The symbolic end date for Occitan independence is 1271, when the king of France became the count of Toulouse, and the Languedoc and Provence were effectively absorbed by France. See Joseph R. Strayer, The Albigensian Crusades (Ann Arbor MI, University of Michigan Press, reprint, 1992), Walter L. Wakefield, Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250 (London, Allen and Unwin, 1974).
- ⁶ Jules Arnoux, Les Troubadours et les félibres du Midi (Paris, 1889; Geneva, Slatkine reprint, 1972).
- ⁷ René Nelli, Poésie occitane, p.12.
- ⁸ The founders were Ismaël Girard (pen name Delfin Dario), Jean Cassou, Tristan Tzara, Max Rouquette and René Nelli.
- ⁹ Jasmin, pen name of Jacques Boé (1798-1864), published collections of poems from 1825. A hairdresser, he refused to leave Agen, despite his fame.
- ¹⁰ Cited by Diego Zorzi, Valori religiosi nella letteratura provenzale: la

spiritualità trinitaria (Milan, Società editrice 'vita e pensiero', 1954), p.229, n.2.

¹¹ C.-A.F. Mahn, Die Werke der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1846-1855) III, p.269, quoted by Zorzi, Valori religiosi, p.227.

¹² La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise, ed. Eugène Martin-Chabot, trans. Henri Gougaud (Paris, Livre de Poche, 1989), Prologue, vv.6-13.

¹³ François Zufferey, Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux (Geneva, Droz, 1987), pp.1-12.

¹⁴ Zorzi, Valori religiosi, pp. 223, 245-247, 233, n.1, René Nelli, 'Le catharisme vu à travers les troubadours', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 3 (1968) 177-197.

¹⁵ See Elizabeth W. Poe, 'The *Vidas* and *Razos*', in A Handbook of the Troubadours, ed. by F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995), pp.185-198, 188. See also her study From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal (Birmingham USA, Summa Publications, 1984). These texts are in Biographies des troubadours, ed. by Jean Boutière and A.H. Schutz, trans. Irénée-Marcel Cluzel and Michel Woronoff, 2nd edition (Paris, Nizet, 1973). At the time this article was written, I was not able to discuss William Burwinkle's refreshing new reading of this corpus in Love For Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus (New York, Garland, 1997).

¹⁶ François Zufferey, Recherches linguistiques, pp.60-63, Guido Favati, Le biografie trobadoriche (Bologna, Palmaverde, 1961), pp.33-42. See also the introduction to Poésies de Uc de Saint-Circ, ed. by Alfred Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave (Toulouse, Privat, 1913).

¹⁷ Zufferey, p.63.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.62.

¹⁹ Strayer, Albigensian Crusades, pp.158-59.

²⁰ Poe, 'Vidas and Razos', p.190.

²¹ Boutière and Schutz, LVIII, E, *razo* to PC 406, 12.

²² Les Poésies du Moine de Montaudon, ed. by Michael J. Routledge (Montpellier, Centre d'Etudes Occitanes Paul Valéry, 1977), XVIII, PC 305, 16, vv.19-24.

²³ Leslie Topsfield, ed., Les Poésies du troubadour Raimon de Miraval (Paris, Nizet, 1971), pp.15-23, 16-19.

²⁴ Moine de Montaudon, ed. Routledge, p.162.

- ²⁵ H.J. Chaytor, Savaric de Mauléon; Baron and Troubadour (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1939).
- ²⁶ Chanson de la Croisade, *laissez* 92, 100, 103.
- ²⁷ Petri Vallium Sarnii monachi Hystoria Albigensis, ed. by P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926-1939), pp.253-54 and 271-72 (siege of Castelnaudary, 1211), Boutière and Schutz, Appendix IV.
- ²⁸ *Razo* to PC 81,1, Bertran de Born *lo fill*, Boutière and Schutz, XII. This tells the story of Savaric's imprisonment by, escape from and entrance into the service of John, who is presented as an uxorious coward.
- ²⁹ Boutière and Schutz, XXXIII.7. This period would have been c.1211-c.1219, Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave, Poésies, p.xiii.
- ³⁰ Saint-Antonin fell to the crusaders in 1212, and the viscounts, Adémar and Pons, were imprisoned in Carcassonne, Michel Roquebert, L'Épopée cathare, 1198-1212: L'Invasion (Toulouse, Privat, 1970), pp.467-69. See also the introduction of Il trovatore Raimon Jordan, ed. by Stefano Asperti (Modena, STEM Mucchi, 1990).
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