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**Storia Militare Medievale**

a cura di

MARCO MERLO, FABIO ROMANONI e PETER SPOSATO



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Stamp of the Teutonic Knights from the 14th century. (“Visitatorum Magister in Allemaniae”). Material: brass Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv, Singerstraße 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria Foto Frank Bayard 2012 Wikimedia Commons CC SA 3.0

# Richard Musard and the Origins of the Savoyard Crusade

by TAMÁS ÖLBEI

**ABSTRACT.** After the Treaty of Brétigny, thousands of long-serving mercenaries suddenly found themselves without employment and moved south, occupying Pont-Saint-Esprit near Avignon. These multiethnic great companies—already active in Italy and emerging in France around 1360—posed a direct threat to the papal court, and one such force was led by the Englishman Richard Musard. The papacy attempted to contain the crisis through excommunication and even by proclaiming a crusade against the companies, but ultimately was compelled to negotiate, allowing many mercenaries, including Albert Sterz, John Hawkwood, and Richard Musard, to enter Italy. By the mid-1360s Pope Urban V sought a different solution: to redirect the companies toward a holy war against the infidels, promising salvation in exchange for military service. Between 1362 and 1365 four crusading expeditions were prepared in this spirit, among them the Balkan campaign of Amadeus VI of Savoy. Musard—first excommunicated, then targeted by a crusade, later reconciled—distinguished himself as the Green Count’s body-guard during the campaign. His career illustrates the process by which the small Savoyard crusading force ultimately sailed from Venice.

**KEYWORDS.** HUNDRED YEARS WAR, LATE MEDIEVAL CRUSADES, MERCENARIES, GREAT COMPANIES, AMADEUS VI, SAVOY, PONT-SAINT-ESPRIT, TREATY OF BRÉTIGNY

## *Introduction*

**R**ichard Musard was a bastard, and like many illegitimate nobles in the mid-fourteenth century,<sup>1</sup> a career as a mercenary offered an obvious path to advancement.<sup>2</sup> The French even had a specific term for such

1 Bastards were common among noble families of the time. Among the noble families of Savoy in the 14th century, for example, there were some where 40% of the children born were illegitimate. see: Luisa Clotilde Gentile, «Les bâtards princiers piémontais et savoyards» *Revue du Nord*, N. 31. Hors serie collection histoire, 2015. p. 390.

2 The reasons why someone became a mercenary and what motivated them can be found in

men: bourc. Numerous mercenary captains active during the Hundred Years' War appear under this designation in chronicles and archival sources. Dimanche de Vitel of Dijon, for example, lists several bourcs among the captains who joined Arnaud de Cervole's crusade: bourc Camus, bourc d'Aussin, and bourc de la Rouque.<sup>3</sup> Ernest Petit cites further examples from the 1350s and 1360s, including Bourc de Lamit and Bourc de Breteuil.<sup>4</sup> These men ranked among the most influential routiers of their age, many commanding companies of several hundred or even several thousand soldiers. Bourc de Breteuil, for instance, entered Auvergne in late 1364 with 2,000 men,<sup>5</sup> while Bourc Camus, together with Naudon de Baugeran and Bérard d'Albret, led the vanguard of a force of 4,800 mercenaries and 30,000 looters and camp followers during their attack on Bourbonnais and Nivernais in December 1367.<sup>6</sup>

Regardless of the size of the forces they commanded, most bastards among the first generation of great-company captains met violent ends. Bourc Camus and Bourc de Breteuil were executed in 1369, and Bourc Lamit fell in battle in 1364. Only a few died peacefully, among them Bertucat d'Albret, who passed away in 1383 after a long and eventful career, and Richard Musard.<sup>7</sup> Yet the trajectories of Musard and Bertucat d'Albret diverged sharply. Bertucat d'Albret, following the usual pattern of mercenary captains, continued to lead his own company—either independently or in coalition—until his death. Musard, by contrast, left the great company he had helped command and entered the service of Amadeus VI, the Green Count of Savoy, without bringing a substantial retinue. In this respect, his career was unique among mid-fourteenth-century mercenary leaders. Some

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Guilhem Pépin's excellent study. Guilhem Pépin, «Les routiers ganscons, basques, agenais et périgourdin du parti anglais: motivations, origines et la perception de leurs présence (v. 1360-1440)» Guilhem Pépin, Françoise Lainé et Frédéric Botoulle (eds.) in: *Routiers et mercenaires pendant la guerre de Cent ans. Hommage à Jonathan Sumption. Actes du colloque de Berbiguières (13-14 septembre 2013)*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2016. pp. 25-29.

3 Archives départementales de Côte d'Or (ADCO) B. 1423 f. 31v

4 Ernest Petit, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la race capétienne avec des documents inédits et des pièces justificatives, IX: Règne de Philippe de Rouvre, 1349-1361. La Bourgogne sous le roi Jean II, 1361-1363*, Dijon, Imprimerie Daranière, 1905. p. 180.

5 Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries, vol. I: The Great Companies*, Oxford, Blackwell Press, Massachusetts, 2001. p. 83.

6 Nicolas Savy, *Bertrucat d'Albret ou le destin d'un capitaine gascon du roi d'Angleterre pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, Archeodrom, 2007. p. 18.

7 Savy, *Bertrucat d'Albret*, pp. 423-424.

captains, like the Italian Bertrand Gasc, did serve a single lord for decades, but they always did so at the head of their own companies. Even Gasc's force—twelve horsemen and 182 foot soldiers in 1359—was modest compared to the great companies that seized Pont-Saint-Esprit, where Musard served as one of the connestables.<sup>8</sup> Musard's decision is therefore striking and difficult to explain. Yet it ultimately proved successful: after joining Amadeus VI, he endured numerous dangers, enjoyed a long and prosperous career, acquired an estate and castle, married a noblewoman, and outlived his lord and friend by several months following Amadeus VI's death in 1383.<sup>9</sup>

This study examines a crucial period in Richard Musard's life, which offers insight into the processes and motivations behind the four crusades of the mid-1360s—campaigns that affected hundreds of thousands of people from Portugal to Bulgaria and from Alexandria to Strasbourg. During these expeditions, Arnaud de Cervole's unprecedentedly large mercenary army devastated the borderlands of the French kingdom and the Holy Roman Empire; Peter of Lusignan plundered Alexandria, the jewel of the Mamluk Sultanate; Hugh Calveley and Bertrand du Guesclin's intervention in Iberia enabled Enrique of Trastámara to seize the Castilian throne; and Amadeus VI, after capturing Gallipoli, ravaged the frontiers of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

Although the literature still treats these campaigns separately, they shared a common origin, preparation, planning, and personnel. One such participant was Richard Musard. Pope Urban V organised the four crusades between 1362 and 1365 specifically to remove the great companies that were crippling Italy and the kingdom of France. Since the mercenaries could neither be excommunicated nor defeated by force, the papacy sought instead to persuade them to seek spiritual salvation by joining crusades to Europe's peripheries or to Africa. Musard himself was excommunicated, a crusade was proclaimed against his company, and he ultimately took part in the Savoyard crusade as Amadeus VI's bodyguard and standard-bearer.

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8 Bertrand Schnerb, «Un capitaine Italien au service de Jean sans Peur: Castellain Vasc», *Annales de Bourgogne*, LXXIV, 1992, 5-27. p. 6.

9 Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth-Century*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1967. p. 338.

*Bastardum Musardi, Armigero Nigro*

No trustworthy details were identified in my research about Richard Musard's origins or about the years prior to the creation of his great company in Champagne. His illegitimacy is confirmed by a letter written by Bernabò Visconti in Milan on 27 September 1380 and sent to Amadeus VI:

«Audivimus ambasciatam vestram portatam illustri filio nostro carissimo domino comiti virtutum per egregios milites dominos Gasparem de Montemajori et Bastardum Musardi.»<sup>10</sup>

Contemporaries rarely erred in such matters. His English identity is likewise clear: Servion calls him a «vaillant chiuallier d'Engleterre»,<sup>11</sup> and this is also evident from his oath of loyalty to Amadeus VI.<sup>12</sup> His noble background is suggested by a letter of Pope Innocent VI, who addressed him as «Ricardo Mussato, armigero nigro.»<sup>13</sup> The lack of sources prevents firmer conclusions, but this aligns with the genealogy of the noble Staveley Musard family, in which Richard does not appear in the fourteenth century, as shown in the nineteenth-century *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*. According to Kathryn Warner, who studies the thirteenth-century Musards, Richard may have been the natural son of Malcolm Musard, born in the 1270s and dead around 1344. Malcolm, a younger son of Nicholas Musard, Lord of Staveley, did not inherit Staveley. If this assumption is correct, Malcolm's heir—Richard's half-brother John Musard—was

10 Francois Mugnier, *Lettres des Visconti de Milan et de divers Autres Personnages aux Comtes de Savoie Amédée VI, Amédée VII, et Amédée VIII (1360-1415)* Paris:H. Champion, Libraire, 1896 pp. 42-43.

11 Federico Emanuele Bollati di Saint-Pierre, (ed.), Jean Servion, *Geste et croniques de la mayson de Savoye*, II, Turin, F. Casanova, 1879. p. 115.

12 «Richardus Musardi anglicus domicellus» - Fidelitas Ricardi Musardi Anglici. Gaudenzio Claretta, «Sulla vera patria e sulle principali geste di Riccardo Musard uno dei primi Cavalieri dell'Ordine Savoio del Collare.» in: *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, XIX, Torino, 1888 p. 958. n. 1.

13 Epistola XLVII «Ad Walterum militem, Johannem Scakaik et Ricardum Mussatum.» *The-saurus Novus Anecdorum*, II Lutetiae Parisiorum, Bibliopolarum Parisiensium, 1712. Col. 882-883. Regarding his noble origins, there is a similar opinion: Claretta, *Sulla vera patria* p. 957, Dino Muratore, «Les origines de l'ordre du collier de Savoie dit de l'Annonciade» in: *Archives héraldiques suisses = Schweizerisches Archiv für Heraldik = Archivio araldico Svizzero*, XXIV, 1910. p. 15. Ferdinando GABOTTO, «L'età del Conte Verde in Piemonte, secondo nuovi documenti (1350-1383)» in: *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana, Terza Serie*, II. (XXXIII della Raccolta), Torino, 1895, «Lettera del conte Verde al Musard» Appendice n. CVIII. p. 226.

appointed sheriff of Staffordshire in April 1361 and died before May 1362.<sup>14</sup>

In his letter, Pope Innocent VI also mentions Walterum Militem, who appears alongside Richard Musard and John Hawkwood. He may have been Sir Walter Leslie, whom Froissart refers to as «Scottish» or «Hagre.»<sup>15</sup> Leslie commanded the German-Anglo great company that set out from Champagne and captured Pont-Saint-Esprit, while Musard served as its constable-general, a senior rank within a great company commanding several lances or even an entire company.<sup>16</sup>

### *En route to Pont-Saint-Esprit*

Following the Peace of Brétigny, dated May 8, 1360, which ended the first phase of the Hundred Years' War, both Edward III and John Good freed themselves from unnecessary mercenaries. Frédéric Boutoulle and Guilhem Pépin refer to these years as a low-intensity war, in which the number of “officially” participating belligerents was limited.<sup>17</sup> The extent of this is evidenced by Edward III's letter, which is preserved in the Lille archives. In his letter dated October 24, 1360, the king, referring to the Treaty of Brétigny, informs the captains of the garrisons to be handed over to the French king.<sup>18</sup> Froissart notes that one such force gathered in Champagne in May 1360, under the the captaincy of «Hagre, or l'Escot.»<sup>19</sup> in which Richard Musard also served. The companies dispersed across Champagne, aided by the fact that several English strongholds still held out in June.<sup>20</sup>

14 I would like to take this opportunity to thank Kathryn Warner for her selfless and much appreciated assistance in preparing this study.

15 Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, v p. 36.

16 Kenneth Fowler, «Great Companies, Condottieri and Stipendiary soldiers. Foreign Mercenaries in the Service of the State: France, Italy and Spain in the Fourteenth Century», in Miguel Ángel and Ladero Quesada (eds.), *Guerra y diplomacia en la Europa Occidental*, Pamplona, 2005, p.143.

17 Frédéric Boutoulle, Guilhem Pépin, «Avant-propos» Guilhelm Pépin, Françoise Lainé et Frédéric Botoulle (eds.) in: *Routiers et mercenaires pendant la guerre de Cent ans. Hommage à Jonathan Sumption. Actes du colloque de Berbiguières (13-14 septembre 2013)*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2016. p. 10.

18 Archives du Nord (ADN), B. 268. n. 8497.

19 Siméon Luce, (ed.), *Chroniques de J. Froissart 1360-1366*, VI, Paris, Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1876. p. 61.

20 Copie de la response faicte par les habitans de Reims à monsieur le duc [Philippe] d'Or-

They ravaged the regions around Toul and Verdun before reaching Joinville and Saint-Nicolas-de-Port in the Duchy of Bar, spreading «*great fear*.»<sup>21</sup> Robert, Duke of Bar, and the border lords of France and the Empire anticipated such consequences, especially after English captains remaining in Burgundy attacked the duchy earlier that year. On 4 May 1360, shortly before the treaty was signed, Robert formed an alliance in Metz with the Duke of Luxembourg, the city of Metz, and the Bishop of Metz to defend the Meuse Valley with sixty armed men until 11 November. The force was to remain constantly alert, and all contact with mercenaries was forbidden.<sup>22</sup>

The alliance proved insufficient against the Tard-Venus companies led by Walter Leslie, Richard Musard, John Hawkwood, Albert Sterz, and others, numbering several thousand. From late May to late June 1360, records describe widespread atrocities. The Tard-Venus effectively occupied the Duchy of Bar. Travel became dangerous; people hid in fortified towns. Travellers risked the fate of Jean de Flirey, Henri de Bar's tax collector, robbed of his horse, weapons, money, and collected taxes.<sup>23</sup> Village leaders were executed, populations displaced, and looting was extensive.<sup>24</sup> The companies reached Ische, rested briefly, then moved to Montigny in Burgundy.

Advancing towards Pont-Saint-Espirit, the companies spread across the plains of the Ain and Beaujolais.<sup>25</sup> Local forces achieved little. On 8 June, the Duke warned the lords of Mirebel and Saint-Georges of the approach of some 4,000 men. Meanwhile, he attempted to retake Pierre-Perthuis and Lormes. On 1 August, the troops amassed at Semur and laid siege to Pierre-Perthuis. However, it

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léans [oncle du roi Jean], sur la demande qu'il faisoit auxdits habitans pour racheter la forteresse de Ouchy, tenue par les Anglois en l'année mil trois cent soixante et un. DCCXXXIII., Pierre Varin (ed.), *Archives administratives de la ville de Riems*, III, Paris, De L'imprimerie de Chapelet, 1868. pp. 177-178.

21 Lettre des habitants de Joinville à ceux de Troyes, vers 1361. H. d'Arbois Jubainville, *Voyage paléographique dans le département de l'Aube*, II, Troyes, 1855. Pièces justificatives I. pp. 134-135.

22 Archives municipales du Metz (AMM) AA 49. f. 15.

23 Archives départementales de la Meuse (ADM) B 1511 f. 21v

24 Victor Servais, *Annales historique du Barrois de 1352 à 1411 ou historique, politique, militaire et ecclésiastique du duché de Bar sous le règne de Robert, duc de Bar*, Bar-le-Duc, Contant-Laguerre et Cie, 1865. p. 102.

25 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 200.

was Nicolas Tamworth,<sup>26</sup> one of the two great winners of the 1360s,<sup>27</sup> who saved the defenders. Due to his intervention, the duke of Burgundy eventually bought back the besieged fortress not by force but rather for 4500 florins. Guillaume de Clugny, bailiff of Auxois, was entrusted with the responsibility of collecting the funds expeditiously and delivering them to the fortress. «His own grey horse, in a frenzy, carried the ransom demanded for Pierre-Perthuis»<sup>28</sup>

Richard Musard was not the only Englishman employed by the border lords to liaise with the mercenaries. Border lords also employed English intermediaries to negotiate with the companies. Philippe of Rouvres, the last Capetian Duke of Burgundy, instructed his interpreters on 24 June to contact the marching forces while he concentrated troops on the northern frontier. Newly hired mercenaries under Bertrand Gasc of Alexandria joined him in July. Negotiations succeeded: on 23 July, near Heulley-sur-Saône, the captains swore on the Bible to refrain from further aggression, though they reserved the right to join other companies.<sup>29</sup> Their troops then left Burgundy and moved south.

The bailiff of Auxois, Guillaume de Clugny, the's accounts from summer 1360 record numerous English atrocities and local collaborators.<sup>30</sup> The companies devastated the countryside from north to south, as was typical of fourteenth-century armies. Edward III's military operation in the border region during the years 1359-1360 and Arnaud de Cervole's crusade exhibited a similar pattern: a strip of land measuring approximately 30-40 km in width was required to provision an army of 10-20,000 men. The companies heading towards Pont-Saint-Esprit numbered close to 10,000. By 31 May 1360, their vanguard had occupied Beaujeu, south of Mâcon, and besieged the castle.<sup>31</sup> Their route is traceable through

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26 First as an interpreter, then as a broker between the English mercenaries and the Duke, and later as an adviser to Phillip of Rouvres, he not only managed to save a considerable sum of money, but also acquired valuable estates in Burgundy.

27 The other was Guillaume de Granson.

28 ADCO B. 2748, f. 18r

29 Promesses et serments faits par par les Officiers Anglois a ceux du Duc de Bourgogne, de ne faire aucun acte d'hostilité durant la Trêve, et de vuidier incessamment le Pays du Bourgogne, etc. Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne, avec des notes, des dissertations et les preuves justificatives*, II, Dijon, 1741. N. 300. p. CCLVIII.

30 ADCO B 2748 f. 13r-v, 14r-v

31 Georges Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus de Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais, 1356-1369*, Lyon, Aug. Brun, Libraire de la société Littéraire, 1886. p. 46.

the towns they plundered. In the County of Burgundy, part of the Holy Roman Empire, they seized garrisons around Besançon, Dijon, and Beaune, including Vergy and Gevrey-en-Beaunois.<sup>32</sup>

Tension increased in August 1360 when the mercenaries captured Jean de Rye, Marshal of Burgundy, during the fall of Chariez near Vesoul.<sup>33</sup> All of this took place during the capture of Chariez, a stronghold located near Vesoul and north of Dijon.<sup>34</sup> In mid-August, successive companies occupied Montsaugéon, Dole, and Auxonne. Guillaume Granson and Nicolas Tamworth again negotiated with the companies, securing peaceful passage in exchange for payment.<sup>35</sup> Yet the influx continued: even in September, new companies arrived.<sup>36</sup> Life in both Burgundies came to a halt. Travel ceased; those who ventured out were robbed, ransomed, or killed.<sup>37</sup> In November, Montcenis was burned. The threat peaked when a company of 6,000 horsemen camped near Villaines-en-Duesmois, devastating the region.<sup>38</sup> Shortly before the capture of Pont-Saint-Esprit, several companies abandoned the castles they held in Burgundy and moved south on Edward III's orders, surrendering Beaufort, Ligny, Regennes, and Bragelogne.<sup>39</sup>

A foothold north of Lyon was secured by capturing Gratedoz and Oliberne.<sup>40</sup> The companies continued their violence in the Lyonnais, storming and burning Albigny.<sup>41</sup> Companies arrived lately followed the Tard-Venus vanguard southwards, devastating Saint-Symphorien-le-Châtel, Forez, and Estivareilles.<sup>42</sup> The destruction was so severe that communities sought tax relief years later.<sup>43</sup> By

32 ADCO B 5498 16r

33 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 209.

34 ADCO B 11925 f. 22v

35 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 214.

36 ADCO B 1408 f. 47v

37 ADCO 1410 f. 66r-v

38 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 220.

39 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, p. 223.

40 Jules-Joseph Vernier, «Le duché de Bourgogne et les Compagnies dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle» *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles-Lettres de Dijon*, 1901-1902, 4th series, VIII, p. 235.

41 «fut attaqué, bruslé, et ruiné en partye par les Anglois» *Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum*, vol II. col. 848-853.

42 Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus de Lyonnais*, pp. 50-53.

43 «propter focagia et alia onera per vos et predecessores vestros eisdem indicta et alia que propter inimicos qui fuerunt in partibus habuerunt sustinere in corporibus et in bonis et

then, some companies had already taken Pont-Saint-Esprit and sent reinforcements to those ravaging the Lyonnais. The concentration of companies in the town enabled raids in all directions, in the direction of Montpellier, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Carcassonne.<sup>44</sup>

Pont-Saint-Esprit, north of Avignon, was seized after spies learned that 46.5 kilograms of gold—part of John the Good’s ransom<sup>45</sup> from Languedoc—was expected there at the end of December 1360.<sup>46</sup> The companies attacked prematurely, unaware of the shipment’s delay.<sup>47</sup> Though they failed to capture the gold, they terrorised the Holy See for months by plundering the surrounding region.<sup>48</sup>

The capture of Pont-Saint-Esprit followed the companies’ strategy of advancing along rivers and seizing small bridge towns to control both banks. As one of the four Rhône crossings, Pont-Saint-Esprit gave them command of the main supply routes to the papal residence.<sup>49</sup>

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de die in diem sustinent, sunt adeo oppressi et gravati quod dictas expensas non possent sine magna penuria sustinere.» Supplique au roi des habitants de Condrieu, d’Anse et de Saint-Symphorien-le-Chatel, demandant décharge de l’imposition pour l’entretien des otages. — Vers 1366 - Pièces Justificatives XXIII. Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus*, pp. 266-267.

44 «et non solum illam urbem, sed alias villas et fortalia patriae supradictae usque ad Montempessulanum et Tholosam, Narbonam, Carcassonam et caeteras partes illas.» Géraud, H. (ed.), *Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs* Vol II. Paris: L’imprimerie de Crapelet, 1863, p. 316.

45 Géraud, (ed.), *Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs*, p. 317.

46 Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 134.

47 Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 134.

48 «Item, aquel meteys an LX, la nuog dels Innocens, fo pres lo luoc de Sant Esperit sus lo Roze per una companha d’Engleyes et de fals Fran cezes et era dedens mossen Johan Sovanh[1], cavalier, senescal de Belcayre, am certas gens d’armas et, en lo com- batement, lo senescal tombet d’un cadafalc de fusta | ont era et rompet se la cuyssa ; et puoys prezeron Codolet et fero mot de mals ; e adoncs nostres’ lo i[m] papa los fés amonestar que layssesson los luocs ; e car non o volian far, el fes sos processs contra els coma obstinatx en lur malicia et[n] donet la crozad” Équipe projet Thalamus, «Les annales occitanes (800-1426) : année 1362», dans Édition critique numérique du manuscrit AA9 des Archives municipales de Montpellier dit Le Petit Thalamus. Université Paul Valéry Montpellier-III, Online

49 Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 32.

### *The Papal Response to the Pont-Saint-Esprit Crisis*

Innocent VI's correspondence on the occupation of Pont-Saint-Esprit shows the papal response to the rise of the great companies. The first measure was excommunication, repeatedly expressed in early 1360 letters with the formula:

« Otherwise, we would take care to proceed against them and their followers and accomplices, both spiritually and temporally, just as all these matters are more fully contained in the process drawn up thereafter.»<sup>50</sup>

The excommunication had no effect. In letters to the Duke of Normandy,<sup>51</sup> Emperor Charles IV,<sup>52</sup> Peter the Ceremonious of Aragon, and Queen Eleanor, Innocent VI stated that the mercenaries feared neither God's punishment nor the judgement of the Apostolic See.<sup>53</sup> Innocent VI organised the defence of Avignon, appointing Canon Petrus Sicardi to levy special taxes for strengthening the city walls.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile, the Holy Roman Empire, France, Aragon, and Italy issued letters recruiting crusaders.<sup>55</sup> The Crusaders could be redeemed by fighting against mercenaries and giving their lives in battle.<sup>56</sup> From 8 January 1361, those taking up the cross against the excommunicated companies occupying Pont-Saint-Esprit received the same indulgence as participants in the liberation of the Holy Land.<sup>57</sup> Sermons were preached across Europe, giving Cardinal Pierre Bertrand a large crusading force.<sup>58</sup> Aragon alone sent 600 men-at-arms and 1,000 infan-

50 «alioquin contra eos et eorum sequaces et complices spiritualiter et temporaliter procedere curaremus, prout haec omnia in processu exinde confecto plenius continentur.» Epistola VIII, XII, XIV Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum, Col. 848-854.

51 «nec districti iudicis vereri sententiam, nec deferre sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae et sedi apostolicae» Epistola XII. Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum, Col. 851.

52 «nec districti iudicis verendo sententiam, nec sedi apostolicae deferendo...» Epistola XIII. Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum. Col. 853.

53 «Deum offendere, et nostras ac sedis apostolicae incurrisse sententias non verentur» Epistola XXVIII. Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum, Col. 868.

54 «super constructione moeniorum seu murorum clausura civitatis nostrae Avinionensis provisorem & praesidentem duximus deputandum...» Epistola XXIX. Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum, Col. 869.

55 Epistola XII-XXIII Thesaurus Novus Anecdorum, Col. 851-864.

56 Odorico Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, XVI, Cologne, 1691. p. 412.

57 Germain Butaud, «L'Excommunication des Agresseurs des terres de l'église (Avignon, Comtat Venaissin) aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles.» in: DESSI, Rosa, Maria (ed.), *Prêcher la paix et discipliner la société Italie, France, Angleterre (XIIIe-XVe siècles) (Collection d'Études Médiévales de Nice, 5.)* Turnhout, 2005. p. 229.

58 Butaud, L'Excommunication, p. 229.

try.<sup>59</sup> Contingents from Languedoc, Beaucaire, Gévaudan, Velay, and Vivrais also joined or contributed financially.<sup>60</sup> Aymon de Cossonay, bishop of Lausanne, following papal instructions of 17 January 1361, imposed a tax on all clergy and monasteries of his diocese.<sup>61</sup> The Pope appointed the Cardinal Legate of Ostia to lead the campaign,<sup>62</sup> and between January and 13 February 1361 crusaders gathered at Carpentras on the Rhône, led among others by Marshal Arnoul d'Audrehem.<sup>63</sup>

Difficulties soon appeared. The Pope believed the crusaders should serve at their own expense, without papal pay, which affected the campaign.<sup>64</sup> The Cardinal Legate struggled with a constant shortage of funds, and many left the crusade to return home. Others chose a more lucrative worldly solution instead of saving their souls: they defected to the companies.<sup>65</sup> The plague spreading through the Rhône Valley further complicated matters. A peaceful solution was preferred, so the collected funds were used to pay the companies to depart.<sup>66</sup> The legate likely judged his force's limited combat value correctly and avoided open battle. The Pope negotiated individually with the captains, offering payment in return for evacuating Pont-Saint-Esprit. Many English and German mercenaries then went to Italy to fight against Visconti-ruled Milan in the service of the Marquis of Monferrat, including Albert Sterz and Sir John Hawkwood. Richard Musard was hired for a private war in Italy, not by the Marquis of Monferrat but by Amadeus VI.

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59 Émile Molinier, *Étude sur la vie d'Arnoul d'Audrehem, maréchal de France 130-1370*, Paris, 1883. p. 89.

60 Molinier, *Étude*, p. 90.

61 Staatsarchiv des Kantons Bern (SKB), SCB Fontes 8. 409, 1084.

62 Fowler, *Medieval mercenaries*, p. 34.

63 Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus* p. 56. FOWLER, Kenneth, *Medieval mercenaries*, p. 35.

64 Fowler, *Medieval mercenaries*, p. 35.

65 «et retenoit toutes manières de gens et de saudoiers qui venoient devers li et qui voloient sauver leurs ames et acquerre les pardons de le croisierie, Pluseur s'en alèrent celle part, chevaliers et escuiers et aultres, qui cudoient avoir grans bienfais dou pape, avoeh les pardons desure dis, mès on ne leur voloit riens donner...Li autre retournoient en leurs pays, et li aultre se mettoient en le mauvaise compagnies qui toutdis accroissoit de jour en jour.» Siméon Luce, (ed.), *Chroniques de J. Froissart 1360-1366*, VI, Paris, 1876. VI, p. 74.

66 Stephan Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner im Italien des Trecento*, Tübingen, 2001. p. 369.

### *Richard Musard, Our Beloved Knight*

Richard Musard next appears as the representative of the companies occupying Pont-Saint-Esprit and threatening Avignon. During the negotiations for the town's surrender, he, John Hawkwood and Walter Leslie received a letter from Pope Innocent VI.<sup>67</sup> Marco Merlo showed how Musard reached Italy and entered the service of Amadeus VI after Pont-Saint-Esprit. A group of English mercenaries—part of Hanneken von Baumgarten's company, which included Hungarian light cavalry—were hired by Amadeus VI to fight his relative Giacomo of Savoy-Achaea.<sup>68</sup> Amadeus VI frequently employed the German condottiere in the 1360s,<sup>69</sup> this explains Musard's participation in the siege of Carignano in 1361.<sup>70</sup> He thus entered Savoyard service before Albert Sterz and John Hawkwood.<sup>71</sup> Musard likely first met Hungarian mercenaries in Italy during the Trecento, and he had a lasting relationship with Hungarians also joined Amadeus VI's crusade.<sup>72</sup>

Why he left his influential position at the head of a great company to pledge loyalty to Amadeus VI is unclear, but mutual sympathy likely played a role, as they remained close throughout their lives.<sup>73</sup> More than ten years later, in 1373, Amadeus VI addressed him as «*A Mos. Ricard Moysard nostre feal et bien ame chivalier.*»<sup>74</sup> After Musard's oath of 17 September 1361, the Green Count entrusted him with important tasks, using his origins and connections with English arrivals. Musard often mediated between Amadeus VI and English mercenaries,

67 Epistola XLVII «Ad Walterum militem, Johannem Scaikaik et Ricardum Mussatum.» *The-saurus Novus Anecdorum*. Vol. 2. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1712. Col. 882-883.

68 Marco Merlo, «Il castello di Baratonìa e le strutture difensive del XIV secolo» in: *Bara-tonia. Dinastia e castello*, a cura di CHIARLE, G., Borgone di Susa, 2012, p. 66.

69 Robert Biolzi, «*A J'ay grand envie de veoir assaillir*» *Guerre, guerriers et finances dans les États de Savoie à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* Rennes, 2024. p. 242.

70 Gaudenzio Claretta, «Sulla vera patria e sulle principali geste di Riccardo Musard uno dei primi Cavalieri dell'Ordine Savoiano del Collare.» in: *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, XIX, Torino, 1888, p. 959.

71 Merlo, *Il castello di Baratonìa*, p. 66. n. 59.

72 Federico Emanuele Bollati di Saint-Pierre, (ed.), *Illustrazioni della spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI. (Il Conte Verde)*, Turin, 1900. p. 151. n. 629, 630, 631.

73 I would also like to thank Florian Chamorel for his invaluable assistance in preparing this study. Florian Chamorel, *Un Destin Méditerranée: Les Princes de la Maison de Savoie en Méditerranée Orientale (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle) Études d'Histoire médiévale 18*. Paris, Honoré Champion, 2023. p. 220.

74 Ferdinando Gabotto, *L'età del Conte Verde in Piemonte*, pp. 300-301.

including before the failed banquet in Lanzo, when he was tasked with persuading the English to leave the county.<sup>75</sup> Amadeus VI gave him the same mission after the 1368 crusade, when routiers from Lyon and Forez threatened the region,<sup>76</sup> including a company led by his old comrade Bernard de la Sale,<sup>77</sup> with whom he had travelled from Champagne to Pont-Saint-Esprit.<sup>78</sup> The people of Lyon sought Amadeus VI's help after two companies disguised as peasants and craftsmen attempted to seize the port of Thoissey.<sup>79</sup> Musard's English origins and language skills were again used when Amadeus VI sent him to Duke Lionel—son of Edward III—after Lionel's marriage to Violante Visconti,<sup>80</sup> hoping Lionel's presence at the duel site with Filippo of Savoy-Achaea would aid his plans.<sup>81</sup> During the crusade, Amadeus VI also used Armigero Nigro's background, with

75 Ferdinando Gabotto, «Contrabuti alla Storia del Conte Verde negli anni 1361-1362» in: *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, XXXIV, 1898-199. Torino, 1898, p. 233.

76 «Liberavit die XVI mensis Februarii Johanni Manissonis, qui ducit quendam famulum, quem dictus Richardus Musardi mittebat domino pro notificando nova de dictis societatibus, ubi dominus ipsum miserat, et allocantur dicto nuncio de mandato dicti domini Humberti vin den. parvi.» ADCO, B 8554, Montluel, 1368-1369, peau 11, Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus de Lyonnais*, p. 172.

77 See details about Bernard de la Sale. Armand Jamme, «Routiers et distinction sociale: Bernard de la Sale, l'Angleterre et le pape» Guilhelm Pépin, Françoise Lainé et Frédéric Boutillet (eds.) in: *Routiers et mercenaires pendant la guerre de Cent ans. Hommage à Jonathan Sumption. Actes du colloque de Berbiguières (13-14 septembre 2013)*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2016. p. 63.

78 Luce, (ed.), *Chroniques de J. Froissart* p. 62.

79 «Liberavit die xvii mensis Februarii dicto Belcol, pro portando quandam litteram dicto domino nostro comiti apud Acquianum, pro notificando dicto domino nostro comiti quod duo de societatibus indutis pannis de lucratoribus seu agricolis crediderunt capere portum de Toissia, et plures alia nova sibi notificavit.» ADCO B. 8554. Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus*, p. 171.

80 Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 252.

81 During the wedding, the Green Count provoked the young Filippo of Savoy-Achaea so much that he lost his cool and challenged him to a duel. Amadeus VI apparently agreed, but arranged for Galeazzo Visconti to forbid Filippo from participating in the duel. To emphasize the prohibition, Edward III's son appeared at the scene of the duel. After this, it is no wonder that Filippo did not dare to appear at the agreed time. Shortly afterwards, on the basis of partly fabricated and partly real accusations, Amadeus VI condemned and then executed Filippo, thus uniting Piedmont and Savoy under his own rule. See: DATTA, Pietro Luigi (ed), *Storia dei principi di Savoia del ramo d'Acaia : signori del Piemonte dal 1294 al 1418. Documenti*, II, Torino, 1832. Documenti N. XI. Supplica di Margarita principessa d'Acaia al conte di Savoia contro Filippo d'Acaia. pp. 244-248. Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 257.

Musard arranging payments for the «poor» Englishmen hired for the campaign.<sup>82</sup>

Before the crusade, Musard served not only as interpreter but also took part in Amadeus VI's campaigns. He proved an exceptional duelist and highly skilled fighter in tournaments, battles, and sieges.<sup>83</sup> By 1362 he was the Green Count's bodyguard and later his standard-bearer during the crusade, raising the Green Count's flag on the tower of Sozopol Castle.<sup>84</sup>

Although Avignon temporarily rid itself of the Tard-Venus, the situation in Italy worsened with the arrival of the English and thousands of Hungarian mercenaries, who appeared after Innocent VI sought help from King Louis I of Hungary.<sup>85</sup> Amadeus VI experienced this at Lanzo, where he awaited his army to confront Robin du Pin's company<sup>86</sup> while hosting a party.<sup>87</sup> Feeling secure in Lanzo, which lacked defensive walls except around the castle,<sup>88</sup> he and his followers were surprised by the companies.<sup>89</sup> Many nobles sought refuge in fortified houses, which the companies preferred to negotiate over due to ransom potential. Antoine, lord of Beaujeau, secured release by exchanging a palfrey and a warhorse worth 120 florins.<sup>90</sup> Amadeus VI was less fortunate: the castle lacked food and water, forcing surrender, and he may have paid a ransom of 180,000 florins.<sup>91</sup> His escort later

82 «Libravit ibidem, dicte die, de mandato Domini, Guillelmo Finarii, englico, quos Dominus sibi donavit manu domini Richardi Musardi XX parperos auri, dicti Ponderis.» Federico Emanuele Bollati di Saint-Pierre, (ed.), *Illustrazioni* p.134. n. 559, Florian Chamorel, «*Ad partes infidelium*»: *la croisade d'Amedée VI de Savoie, juin 1366 - juillet 1367*, Lausanne, 2016. p. 99. n. 308.

83 Bollati (ed.), Jean Servion, *Geste et croniques* p. 137.

84 Chamorel, *Un Destin Méditerranée*, p. 83. n. 78.

85 Tamás Ölbei, «Hungarian mercenaries in the service of the Signoria Fiorentina (1360-1365)» in: Attila Bárány (ed.), *Mercenaries and Crusaders, HUN-REN-DE Középkori Magyarország és Közép-Európa Hadtörténete Kutatócsoport*, Debrecen, 2024. pp. 209-238.

86 <sup>111</sup> Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 158.

87 Bollati (ed.), Jean Servion, *Geste et croniques* p. 119.

88 ADCO B. 1412. fol. 40r

89 «la compagnia bianca, la quale era vicina a quelli paesi, si mosse una notte facendo molto lungo e disordinato cammino, e soprese il conte e' baroni» MOUTIER, Ignazio (ed.), *Cronica di Matteo Villani*, V, Firenze, 1826. Libro Decimo, Cap. LXXXIV.

90 Guigue, *Les Tard-Venus*, Pièces justificatives XLII.

91 This amount appears in Villani's chronicle, but it is important to note that there is no archival evidence of such a large sum being paid.

held him responsible for their own ransom.<sup>92</sup> Musard likely escaped, as sources do not mention him. By 1362 he had amassed wealth, evidenced by a loan of 100 Florentine florins to Georgius Palestorti on 10 February 1362.<sup>93</sup>

Amadeus VI formally recognised Musard's service, making him the only foreign member of the Order of the Collar.<sup>94</sup> Before the crusade, Amadeus VI entrusted him with the castle of Aiguebelle (1364–1365).<sup>95</sup> Although details of his service before the crusade are scarce, Amadeus VI—and probably Musard—faced mercenary problems on the French side of the Alps. In 1364 Seguin de Badefol occupied Anse, and chevauchées struck both Savoyard and French territory.<sup>96</sup> The severity of the great companies' threat is shown by Pope Urban V's attempt in early 1364 to form a league against them, hoping for Amadeus VI's participation.<sup>97</sup>

### *From «Pestifera Societas» to Soldiers of God*

Innocent VI's measures against mercenaries failed: excommunication, defensive alliances and the crusade at Pont-Saint-Espirit proved ineffective. Urban V therefore adopted a third option in 1363: using mercenaries' military experience against the infidels. From the moment the cross was taken up in Avignon Cathedral on 31 March 1363,<sup>98</sup> their participation was treated as certain. On 25 May 1363, Avignon wrote to captains in France and neighbouring regions urging them to join.<sup>99</sup> Urban V's letter outlined the plan: crusaders led by John the Good and

92 Archivio di Stato di Torino (AST), Gonans prt. 23 fol. 42v

93 Claretta, *Sulla vera patria*, p. 960.

94 Dino Muratore, «Les origines de l'ordre du collier de Savoie dit de l'Annonciade» in: *Archives héraldiques suisses = Schweizerisches Archiv für Heraldik = Archivio araldico Svizzero*, XXIV, 1910 I p. 14.

95 Fréd.-Th. Dubois, «Les chevaliers de l'Annonciade du Pays de Vaud» in: *Archives héraldiques suisses = Schweizerisches Archiv für Heraldik = Archivio araldico Svizzero* XXV, 1911. 2. p. 86.

96 Tamás Ölbei, «The Importance of River Valleys in the Overall Strategy of the Mercenary Companies 1357-1366», *British Journal for Military History*, 2022, VIII, n° 3, pp. 28-32.

97 Carlo Ciucciiovino, *La Cronaca del Trecento Italiano*, vol. III, 1351-1375, Rome, 2019. p. 551.

98 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571). The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, vol. I, Philadelphia, 1976. p. 245.

99 Norman Housley «The mercenary companies, the papacy, and the crusades 1356-1378,»

Peter I would be joined by mercenary companies.<sup>100</sup> The Pope named «*Turks and Saracens*»<sup>101</sup> as targets but focused on the eastern Mediterranean, analysing the plight of Christians in the Armenian kingdom.<sup>102</sup> He summarised earlier successes and Peter I's journey, showing that the *passagium generale* followed Peter's strategic aims.<sup>103</sup> Captains were asked to prepare for departure on 13 March 1365 and inform Brother Nicholas Brohom of the Order of St Augustine. Full absolution was offered.<sup>104</sup> Another letter confirmed that mercenaries would serve under the French and Cypriot kings,<sup>105</sup> with an army of 200 French knights, 2,000 other knights and 6,000 infantry.<sup>106</sup> Norman Housley noted that without the companies the crusade would fail, since nobles could not leave their lands undefended.<sup>107</sup> In August 1363, John the Good summoned Juan Fernández de Heredia, the Hospitaller Castellan of Amposta, to his court in Paris for advice on the upcoming Crusade.<sup>108</sup> However, Urban V refused this journey, insisting Heredia remain to fight companies amid rumours of Catalan and Spanish arrivals.<sup>109</sup>

The Pope's initiative was poorly received in France, but the first positive response came in April 1364 from Italy, from Albert Sterz's company. Sterz had entered northern Italy in 1361 and fought for Pisa in 1363.<sup>110</sup> Pisa replaced him with John Hawkwood, whom the company soon elected captain. In 1365, Sterz founded the Company of the Star with Hanneken von Baumgarten.<sup>111</sup> But in April

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in: Norman Housley, *Crusading and Warfare in the Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2001, p. 272.

100 Lecacheux, Paul, Mollat, Guillaume (eds.), *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V (1362-1370) se rapportant a la France. Extraites des registres d'Avignon et du Vatican*, Paris, 1965. (LSCU) pp. 63-64. n. 487.

101 LSCU pp. 63-64. n. 487.

102 LSCU pp. 63-64. n. 487.

103 LSCU pp. 63-64. n. 487.

104 «dicto penitenciaro absolventi illos ex vobis, qui humiliter a suis reatibus absolvi petierint et ab eo voluerint signum crucis recipere ac sponte transfretare, certam dedimus potestatem» LSCU pp. 63-64. n. 487.

105 LSCU p. 65. n. 488.

106 LSCU p. 65. n. 488.

107 Housley, *The mercenary companies*, p. 272.

108 Housley, *The mercenary companies*, p. 272.

109 LSCU p. 80. n. 596.

110 Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner*, p. 371.

111 Selzer, *Deutsche Söldner*, p. 371.

1364, during the Pisa–Florence war, the English mercenaries of the White Company held direct talks with Urban V.<sup>112</sup> Albert Sterz expressed an interest in participating in the crusade.<sup>113</sup> On 18 April 1364, Robert Wodhavos<sup>114</sup> informed the Pope that the company was ready to join the crusade for the salvation of their souls.<sup>115</sup> From his letter to Gil de Albornoz, it seems that the Pope welcomed the news of the White Company's envoy after receiving the bad news from France. After all, it was in April 1364 that John the Good died, making the idea of a crusade increasingly unlikely due to a lack of interest from the companies. He informed Gil de Albornoz that he would seek out other companies in Tuscany:

«We, therefore, noting that other companies, which are in those regions, will likely be induced by this to act similarly or at least will be so weakened that effective resistance can be offered to them, and desiring with full wishes that the safety and liberation of the Italy Itself and the aforementioned company through a general passage ...»<sup>116</sup>

Sterz had a close relationship with Urban V, with envoys and letters exchanged since at least summer 1363. On 5 September 1363, the Pope wrote:

«And he [Gil de Albornoz] knows that neither you nor the said companies have offended the same Church, but rather you are devoted to it and intend to be faithful and valiant defenders.»<sup>117</sup>

Within a month of Wodhavos's visit, concrete plans emerged. With English nobles such as William de la Pole and Thomas Ufford, the Pope sought broad participation of the companies.<sup>118</sup> A letter to Ufford of 17 April 1364 stated:

112 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood, An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy*, Baltimore, 2006. p. 108.

113 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 108.

114 «Dilectus filius nobilis vir Robertus Wodhavos» LSCU p. 133. n. 886.

115 LSCU p. 133. n. 887.

116 «Nos igitur, attendentes quod alie societates, que sunt in partibus illis, ad simile agendum per hoc verisimiliter inducentur vel saltem adeo debilitabuntur quod eis fieri poterit resistentia oportuna, dictamque salutem ac liberationem ejusdem Italie et prefate societatis magnum auxilium adici generali passagio plenis desideris cupientes» LSCU p. 133. n. 886.

117 «et novit tu quod et dicta societas eandem non offendistis ecclesiam sed potius estis eius devoti ac esse intenditis fideles et strenui defensores» 5. september 1363. Letter to Albert Sterz, Capitaneo societatis Anglicorum. Albert Sautier, *Papst Urban V und die Söldnerkompagnien in Italien in den Jahren 1362–1367*, Zürich, 1911. Urkunlicher Anhang. pp. 104–105, n. 2.

118 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 117.

«Recently your nobility explained to us that you, inflamed with zeal for devotion, intend to cross the sea for the recovery of the Holy Land and otherwise for the attack upon the infidels of the eastern regions, and that you hope to persuade to this purpose the company of Englishmen residing in the parts of Italy, and in this matter you propose to do what lies within your power.»<sup>119</sup>

William de la Pole received the cross in Avignon. On 9 May 1364, Urban informed Queen Joanna I that he intended to bring many English mercenaries from Tuscany, planning to pass through Otranto if she granted permission and provisions.<sup>120</sup> The English crusaders needed to cross the Mediterranean, and so a request was made to Doge Lorenzo Celsi on 15 May 1364 to provide galleys for the mercenaries recruited in Tuscany for the crusade.<sup>121</sup> Four days after the visit of Robert Wodhавos, on 18 April,<sup>122</sup> Urban issued a bull thanking the White Company:

«Indeed, no one seems to fulfill these things more perfectly than he who, for the love of God, having renounced earthly pleasures, forsakes father, mother, sister, children, friends, and homeland, and taking up the cross of weariness, danger, and toil, fearlessly follows Christ, serving as a soldier in his orthodox faith, dedicating his own resources, and shedding blood for Him who, not fearing the shedding of His own blood, redeemed him.»<sup>123</sup>

Penances were remitted, full indulgence granted, participants protected from extraordinary levies, and creditors required to refund sums previously forced

119 «Nuper vestra nobilitas nobis exposuit quod vos, zelo devotionis accensi, pro recuperatione terre Sancte et alias ad impugnationem infidelium orientalium partium intenditis transfretare ac speratis ad hoc inducere comitivam Anglicorum, in partibus Italie consistentem.» LSCU pp. 134-135. n. 890.

120 Regesta 246: 1363-1364', in: *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 4, 1362-1404*, ed. W H BLISS and J A TWEMLOW (London, 1902) 5-13. British History Online

121 Regesta 246: 1363-1364', in: *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 4, 1362-1404*, ed. W H BLISS and J A TWEMLOW (London, 1902) 5-13. British History Online

122 Sautier, *Papst Urban V und die Söldnerkompagnien*, p. 42.

123 «Hec profecto nemo perfectius videtur implere quam qui pro Dei amore, terrenis delectationibus abdicatis, patrem, at matrem, sororem et filios ac amicos et patriam derelinquens, crucemque tedii periculi et laboris assumens, Christum intrepide sequitur, in ejus sueque orthodoxe fidei servicio militando, proprias facultates impendere et cruorem effundere pro illo qui eum redemit sui sparsione sanguinis non formidans.» LSCU pp. 134-135. n. 891.

from mercenaries.<sup>124</sup> Participants in the Crusade are protected from extraordinary collections or levies from the time they depart until they return or die. They are placed under the protection of the Church and its appointed leaders. Anyone who transgresses against them will face ecclesiastical censure.<sup>125</sup> On 20 April, another letter allowed nobles of the White Company to carry a portable altar and choose their confessor.<sup>126</sup>

On 25 June 1364, Urban informed Bernabò Visconti that Hanneken von Baumgarten's company also wished to join, describing them as

«That same Anechinus and his associates, who fight against God and justice and against the salvation and honor of their own souls, and who wage war for the destruction of almost all Italy, assail the Roman Church just as they did before, and would wickedly wish to carry out the treachery of hostility.»<sup>127</sup>

Baumgarten's ties to Sterz likely influenced his decision. Nine months remained until the planned departure in March 1365, but the deaths of John the Good and Cardinal Talleyrand delayed the crusade,<sup>128</sup> which eventually split into four separate expeditions. Charles IV's visit to Avignon marked a new phase: Urban sought to send companies from eastern France and Italy simultaneously. By then, Amadeus VI and Peter I had separated their plans into two crusades. On 9 June 1365,<sup>129</sup> Urban wrote to Florence to arrange for Italian mercenaries

124 LSCU pp. 134-135. n. 891.

125 LSCU pp. 134-135. n. 891.

126 Sautier, *Papst Urban V und die Söldnerkompagnien*, p. 43.

127 «idem Anechinus et socii qui contra Deum et iustitiam ac suarum animarum salutem et honorem ad destructionem totius fere Italie militant grassantur contra Romanam Ecclesiam sicut aliud fecerunt, vellent inique hostilitatis perfidiam exercere...» Sautier, *Papst Urban V und die Söldnerkompagnien*, pp. 113-114. n. 9.

128 Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, p. 120.

129 «Urbanus episcopus servus servorum dei dilectis filiis prioribus artium ac vexillifero iusticie necnon regimini ac communi civitatis Florentinensis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sicut iam venit in publicam notionem carissimus in Christo filius Carolus Romanorum imperator semper augustus et Boemie rex, tanquam princeps Christianissimus, nuper ad apostolicam sedem accedens nobis sui sancti propositi quod habet ad pacem et tranquillitatem totius populi Christiani et ad depressionem infidelium, exaltationemque Catholice fidei archana detexit nosque cum ipso super hiis, votis ardentibus concurrentes et pluries conferentes, communi voluntate decrevimus, ut ad pravaram comitivarum devastantium nonnullas partes ecclesie et imperii Romani totalem exterminationem prius efficaciter intendatur, ita quod voluntarie pergant vel cogantur invite ad partes Turcharum vel

to march against the Turks and requested Florence's legates attend a meeting in Bologna to optimise overseas departure,<sup>130</sup> linking Italian companies with Arnaud de Cervole's crusade.<sup>131</sup>

The mercenaries were to cross the Rhine at Strasbourg and continue to Hungary; if not, Arnaud de Cervole's crusaders would march south to meet Amadeus VI in Venice and sail for the Balkans. The Pope therefore asked Florence to send envoys to the White Company under John Hawkwood.<sup>132</sup> Meanwhile, Sterz had left the company, casting doubt on their participation. In his book on John Hawkwood, William Caferro provides a detailed account of the envoys. One of them was Doffo di Bardi, the son of the founder of the renowned Bardi banking house. He had resided in London for an extended period, had a personal acquaintance with Edward III, and was proficient in English.<sup>133</sup> Their task was to negotiate the lowest possible sum to persuade Hawkwood.<sup>134</sup> Hawkwood considered but declined participation.<sup>135</sup> Others joined: Walter Leslie, Richard Musard's former comrade, took the cross and joined Peter I in Alexandria with his brother, where Norman likely died.<sup>136</sup>

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aliorum infidelium poficisci, et ad hoc nos et prefatus imperator mutuum fecimus unionem. Igitur cum tantum tamque pium et necessarium negocium civitatem vestram Florentinensem non parum contingat tam nos quam idem imperator scribimus dilecto filio Andrayno tt. sancti Marcelli presbytero cardinali apostolice sedis legato, quod nos et alios nobiles communia civitatum ac magnates et gubernatores terrarum partium Italie, ex parte utriusque nostrum requirat, ad certum super hoc habendum in civitate Bononiensi colloquium, in quo per rpm legatum, nomine ecclesie, ac per nuncios vestros, et aliorum requirendorum ad hoc mandatum habentes, fiat colligatio contra societates easdem, idemque [im]perator in hoc negotio, presertim si dicte comitive ire voluerint extra mare, tale obtulit auxilium, quod congruum extimamus. Quare sinceritatem vestram requirimus et roga[mus] attente quatinus cum per dictum legatum ad hoc fueritis requisiti, vestros nuntios, cum sufficienti mandato, ad huiusmodi colloquium, pro dicta facienda colligatione transmittere [facia]tis. Datum Avinioni V Idus Junii pontificatus nostri anno tertio» Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Diplomatico, Riformagioni atti pubblici, 1365 Giugno 9.

130 ASF Diplomatico, Riformagioni atti pubblici, 9 Giugno 1365

131 The details of Arnaud de Cervole's crusade preparations are described in the chapter Crusade of the Great Companies towards Hungary.

132 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 118.

133 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 118.

134 ASF, Missive I Cancellaria, 13. f. 50v

135 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 118.

136 Caferro, William, *John Hawkwood*, p. 119.

*One equals four: the origin of the four crusades*

Peter I, King of Cyprus, was the catalyst for the whole process from the start, and who, travelling through the courts of Europe from England to Poland, championed the initiative of the crusades. Two letters reveal his attitude: one to Florence, invoking the fall of Jerusalem under Henry II and expressing «*his desire and fervent will*»<sup>137</sup> to recover the holy city,<sup>138</sup> another to Niccolò Acciaiuoli (15 September 1362), thanking him and promising to use the bank-financed ships against the infidels.<sup>139</sup> Peter needed allies, and found them in John II of France and the newly elected Urban V. On 29 March 1363, Good Friday, Urban proclaimed the *passagium generale* in Avignon and appointed John II «*rector and captain-general*».<sup>140</sup> Peter then travelled through Europe seeking support for the planned departure on 1 March 1365.<sup>141</sup> On 31 March 1363, Urban wrote to the archbishops of Zara, Spalato, Ragusa, Esztergom and Kalocsa to assist Peter against the Turks and the Holy Land, granting pardon to participants.<sup>142</sup> On 15 April 1363, he sent Master Simon of the Dominican Order to Buda to inform Louis of Hungary of the Church's situation and discuss the *passagium ultramarinum*.<sup>143</sup>

When a crusade was announced in the spring of 1363, the idea at first seemed to fit into the traditional Avignon line of thought, at least as far as the organisation of French-led crusades was concerned. Its direct antecedents go back to the initiative of Philip VI to retake Jerusalem, which direct consequence was the preaching in France ordered by Pope John XXII. However, enthusiasm quickly dried up due to lack of adequate financial backing.<sup>144</sup> Urban V adapted the goal to Realpolitik,

137 «ad desiderii et ferventis voluntatis» Le Roi I engage la seigneurie de Florence à seconder ses armements pour le recouvrement du saint Sépulcre. MAS LATTRIE, *Histoire de L'Ile de Chypre sous le Règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*. Paris, 1852. pp. 236-237

138 Peter Edbury and Chris Schabel, «The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus» *Crusading, Society, and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the age of King Peter of Cyprus*. (ed.) Alexander D. Beihammer, NICOLAOU-KONNARI Turnhout, Angel 2022. p. 189.

139 Edbury and Schabel, *The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus*, p. 189.

140 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*. *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, vol. I, Philadelphia, 1976. p. 245.

141 Nicolae Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327-1405 et la croisade au XIVe siècle*, Paris, Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1896. p. 167.

142 Piti, Ferenc (ed.), *Anjou-kori oklevéltár 1363*. (AO63), XLVII, Budapest-Szeged, 2017. 103. n. 152.

143 AO63. p. 115. n. 173.

144 Alexander D. Beihammer, «The sack of Alexandria.» *Crusading, Society, and Politics in*

shifting the target from Jerusalem to the eastern Mediterranean. To send Italian companies, peace with Milan was essential. In a letter to Gil de Albornoz on 1 May 1363, Urban reported that Bernabò Visconti was willing to make peace; the Pope agreed to suspend excommunication.<sup>145</sup> On the same day he noted that John the Good and Peter I were sending envoys to Milan to persuade reconciliation, emphasising the need to surrender castles around Bologna, especially the «*castrum Lugi*».<sup>146</sup> Pierre Thomas eventually negotiated peace, announced on 20 January 1364. Bernabò received 500,000 florins for vacating the Bologna area, paid in annual instalments of 62,500 florins over eight years, removing a major obstacle to the crusade.<sup>147</sup>

In a letter of 25 May 1363 to the Hungarian king, Urban wrote:

«the other day King Peter of Cyprus, whose country is near these infidels, came to the western territories and finally to the Apostolic See, and showed the Pope, the cardinals, the Christian princes and nobles how to destroy the power of the Saracens and Turks and to reconquer the Holy Land.»<sup>148</sup>

Since the Pope

«is informed that Louis [ of Hungary] has long desired such a task, he asks him to join it with his strength as the most Christian and powerful prince, setting a glorious example to other Christian princes and nobles, and the Pope will assist him in undertaking and carrying it out.»<sup>149</sup>.

The Pope asks From the Hungarian king «to give his support to Peter, his nuncios and the people of his own country who wish to go with Peter.»<sup>150</sup>

This means that I Peter and Louis of Hungary exchanged letters a year after the Crusade was proclaimed. The Pope wrote another letter to Louis in December, again asking Louis to help the campaign as much as he could. In the letter, Urban V reports that Peter «will soon be in Venice with a multitude of nobles», and therefore the Holy See asks the king to support Peter «in the matter of the

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*the Eastern Mediterranean in the age of King Peter of Cyprus*. Alexander D. Beihammer, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, (eds.), Turnhout, 2022. p. 86.

145 LSCU pp. 53-53. n. 386.

146 LSCU p. 53. n. 387.

147 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 245.

148 AO63. p. 146. n. 240.

149 AO63. p. 146. n. 240.

150 AO63. p. 146. n. 240.

galleys or other things».<sup>151</sup> This letter is also reported by Odorico Raynaldi, who adds, however, that the Pope has not received any reply to the letter from Louis of Hungary.<sup>152</sup> Kenneth Setton highlighted two letters showing Urban's distrust of Peter's participation.<sup>153</sup> During Peter's European journey, a letter sent by Urban V on 28 November 1363 reveals that the Pope had been informed that the Turks were planning to attack Cyprus and Antalya, which Peter had conquered in August 1361: «and pray you that not delay your return any longer and may God help make it fruitful return»<sup>154</sup> Cyprus indeed suffered Turkish raids in spring 1363 amid plague, followed by Cypriot retaliations on the Anatolian coast.<sup>155</sup> Urban believed Peter would return in spring 1364. Peter's letter to the Florentines set his departure for 1 March 1364, one year before John II's crusade.<sup>156</sup> Thus by late 1363 the original crusade had already split in two, with Peter planning an independent campaign. As Peter Edbury and Chris Schabel note, Peter's likely targets were Smyrna or Antalya to halt Turkish expansion; Palestine or Egypt were less plausible, as they posed no direct threat at the time.<sup>157</sup>

### *Amadeus VI and the prelude to the Savoyard Crusade*

This, of course, also influenced the purpose of the Amadeus VI's crusade. The emergence of Amadeus VI in the preparatory phase of the crusades, however, is closely linked to a new phenomenon, the involvement of the great companies in the crusades. After consolidating power and crushing rebellions by 1362, his attention turned to crusading,<sup>158</sup> initially through Urban V's efforts to build an alliance against the companies.<sup>159</sup> When these anti-mercenary campaigns in France

151 AO63. p. 352. n. 616. THEINER, Augustin (ed.), *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungaricam Sacram illustrantia, 1352-1526*, vol. II, Rome, 1860. p. 58. n. CV.

152 Raynaldi, Odorico, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, p. 431.

153 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 246.

154 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 246. n. 108.

155 Angel Nicolau-Konnari, «The life and reign of Peter I of Lusignan (1329-69, crowned 1359). Chronology. Crusading» *Crusading, Society, and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the age of King Peter of Cyprus*. Alexander D. Beihammer, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, (eds.), Turnhout, 2022. p. 19.

156 Edbury and Schabel, *The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus*, p. 193.

157 Edbury and Schabel, *The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus*, p. 193.

158 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 76.

159 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 77.

and Italy failed, papal policy shifted: excommunicated mercenaries became soldiers of Christ, to be used in a crusade led by the kings of France and Cyprus.<sup>160</sup> Amadeus VI probably received the cross in January 1364 in Avignon.<sup>161</sup> These troops were to take part in a crusade led by the kings of France and Cyprus.<sup>162</sup> The initial plan envisaged a joint expedition of John II of France, Peter I of Lusignan and the Count of Savoy towards the Holy Land.<sup>163</sup> On this occasion, Amadeus VI founded the Order of the Collar.<sup>164</sup> On 1 April 1364 Urban sent ten letters to him about the crusade, eight of which refer to Peter. The letters reveal that Amadeus was originally supposed to have fought with the crusaders led by John the Good.<sup>165</sup> Amadeus VI was in Avignon on 1 January 1364 at a meeting about a planned crusade against the mercenaries, where he agreed with the Pope to take up the cross shortly before Peter's planned departure.<sup>166</sup> In a letter of 2 March 1364 to Louis of Hungary, Urban reported:

«The king of Cyprus will visit Louis, to whom he will give a detailed account of this and other matters, but the archbishop and the chancellor will also inform Louis of all this in advance, so that the armies of this expedition may be able to find food on his land and waters in exchange for money.»<sup>167</sup>

On 30 June 1364 Urban urged Amadeus VI to fulfil his commitments.<sup>168</sup> However, a rebellion broke out in Venetian Crete in early August 1363, and until Venice suppressed it, no major crusade was possible, as all available galleys were needed for Crete. Venice wrote to Louis I, Genoa and Joanna of Naples to break off relations with the rebels. On 11 October 1363 Doge Lorenzo Celsi informed Peter of Lusignan that a strong Venetian fleet was blockading Crete<sup>169</sup>, asked him

160 Edbury and Schabel, *The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus*, p. 192.

161 Bruno Galland, «Les papes d'Avignon et la Maison de Savoie (1309-1409)» *École française de Rome*, 1998, 247 1. p.55.

162 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 77.

163 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 77.

164 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 77.

165 Edbury and Schabel, *The Papacy and King Peter I of Cyprus*, p. 194.

166 Chamorel, «*Ad partes infidelium*» p. 19.

167 Anjou-kori Oklevéltár (AO64), PITI Ferenc (ed.), Budapest-Szeged, 2018. vol. XLVIII. 1364. p. 89. n. 148.

168 LSCU p. 164. n. 1058.

169 COUREAS, Nicholas, *King Peter of Cyprus and the Rebellion of 1363 on Crete*. in: *Praktika tou tritou diethnous Kyprilogikou Synedriou* (Nicosia 16-20 april 1996), Acts of the Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies, vol. 2, ed. Athanasios Papageorgiou Nic-

to forbid his subjects to aid the rebels, and warned that the revolt would delay the crusade.<sup>170</sup> Urban V threw himself into resolving the rebellion, seeing it as a direct threat to the expedition.<sup>171</sup> Amadeus VI was in contact with Philippe de Mézières from January 1364 and thus kept informed of preparations.<sup>172</sup> Philippe wrote from Cremona to Venice in January 1364, telling the Doge that he and the Green Count were ready to sail in March 1364 as agreed. The Doge replied to Peter and Louis that, since he needed ships to quell the revolt, he could transport crusaders only if they first stopped in Crete to help.<sup>173</sup> When Philippe reached Venice in early February, he found that the Venetians had made a deal with Luchino dal Verme, and a joint Cypriot-Savoyard crusade was off the table.<sup>174</sup> Although Amadeus VI showed willingness to help suppress the revolt, Philippe failed to persuade the Doge and negotiations stalled.<sup>175</sup> Luchino dal Verme's army, including Hungarian mercenaries, only sailed from Venice on 7 April 1364 and reached Crete on 7 May.<sup>176</sup> Meanwhile, in April 1364 the great companies appeared on Savoy's western frontier, forcing Amadeus VI to focus on defence and delaying crusade preparations.<sup>177</sup> The Cretan revolt delayed both Peter's and Amadeus's crusades by several months. Peter resumed his European journey; Amadeus VI sought new targets for an independent crusade. From autumn 1364 at the earliest, the Balkans and Asia Minor came into view.<sup>178</sup> A chronicle from 1418, the *Chronique de Cabaret*, explains his choice of the Balkans, presenting a message from "King Andrew" of Hungary to the Green Count:

«Sire, King Andrew of Hungary informs you that the Emperor Alexius of Constantinople, your relative, has lost a large part of his empire to the Turks. When seeking help from the kings of Hungary, France, and you, his relative, he was captured on the way by his vassal, the Emperor of Bulgaria, who now holds him prisoner. Therefore, if you, being his relative, wish

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osia, 2001. p. 520.

170 Coureas, Nicholas, *King Peter of Cyprus*, p. 520.

171 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 233.

172 Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 204.

173 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 234.

174 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 235.

175 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 235.

176 Marco Tabarini, *Francesco Petrarca e Luchino dal Verme condottiero dei veneziani nella guerra di Candia*, Rome, Voghera, 1892. VII.

177 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 238.

178 Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 207.

to aid him and travel to Greece by sea, the King of Hungary will go by land accompanied by sixty thousand warriors. And if it pleases God that you both join forces, you will free the Emperor of Greece from prison and drive the Turks back to Turkey.»<sup>179</sup>

Hungarian influence over parts of Serbia, Bosnia and Bulgaria brought Louis I into closer contact with the Ottomans;<sup>180</sup> recognising the danger, he signalled his intention to join the forthcoming crusades. The Byzantine emperor visited Buda, promising to accept papal directives over the ecclesiastical province in return for help.<sup>181</sup> Urban V nonetheless regarded him as unreliable and asked Louis not to support Byzantium.<sup>182</sup> Another Savoyard chronicle confirms the Hungarian–Savoyard link, reporting envoys between the Green Count and Louis: «Thus, he sent a knight to the Count of Savoy, informing him that his relative, the Emperor Alexius of Constantinople, was captured and had lost a large part of Greece.»<sup>183</sup> The chronicle suggests several exchanges, since as early as September 1365 a Hungarian envoy reached Amadeus VI,<sup>184</sup> according to Nicolae Iorga, the envoy received a gift.<sup>185</sup> Amadeus VI finally resolved to act when he learned that the Byzantine emperor had been refused passage through the territories of Bulgarian King Shishman III.<sup>186</sup> The embassy mentioned by Servion may have taken place

179 «Sire, le roy Andrieu d’Ongrie vous notiffie comme l’empereur Alexe de Constantinople vestre parent a perdu une grande partie de son empire par les Turs et en venant demander secours au roy d’Ongrie, de France et à vous son parent, a esté prins en la voye par son vassal l’empereur de Bugarie, qui le destient prisonnier ; pourquoy se vous, qu’estes son parent, le voulés secourir et aller en la Grece par la mer, le roy d’Ongrie yra par terre en compaigniez de sexante mille combatans ; et se a Dieu plait que vous deux vous joynes ensamble, vous osterés l’empereur de Grece de prison et chacerés les Turs en Turquie» CHAUBET, Daniel (ed.), *La Chronique de Savoye de Cabaret. Texte intégral*, Chambéry, 2006. p. 196. mentioned by Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 78.

180 Gábor Ágoston, *Az Oszmán hódítás és Európa*, Budapest, 2022. Hampshire, 2001. p. 34.

181 Ágoston, *Az Oszmán hódítás és Európa*, p. 35.

182 Ágoston, *Az Oszmán hódítás és Európa*, p. 35.

183 «sy manda vng chiuallier au conte de Sauoye, par le quel il lymanda & escriuyst comme son parant lempereur Alexius de Constantinopoly estoit prins & quil lauoit perdu une grant partye de la Grece» Bollati (ed.), Jean Servion, *Geste et croniques* p. 125.

184 Norman Housley, « King Louis the Great of Hungary and the crusades 1342-1382 » in: Norman Housley, *Crusading and Warfare in the Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, Aldershot, Hampshire, 2001, p. 202.

185 «messengerio regis d’Ongrie» Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 332. n. 3.

186 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 335.

in May 1366.<sup>187</sup> This is crucial, because during both exchanges—between September 1365 and May 1366,<sup>188</sup> when preparations were advanced, and in spring 1366, when Amadeus VI was travelling through Italy to Venice—he proceeded knowing he would be followed by crusaders under Arnaud de Cervole and would lead a mercenary army of at least ten thousand into the Balkans. Only in June 1366, after hearing of Arnaud's death, did he recruit mercenaries before sailing from Venice.<sup>189</sup>

Amadeus VI had ample reason to expect support: in spring 1366 Arnaud de Cervole worked vigorously to ensure that troops who had returned to the County and Duchy of Burgundy in late summer 1365 would continue south towards Avignon and join the Savoy contingent. Amadeus VI prepared Savoy for their passage with a series of orders. Sources reveal intense correspondence between the Archpriest, Dijon and the savoyard authorities, in which the former urged increasingly hesitant companies to undertake the journey and tried to persuade the most reluctant groups in the duchy.<sup>190</sup> Humbert de Corgenon's accounts as bailiff of Bresse record several entries in spring 1366 about Arnaud's arrival and troop movements towards Saint-Trivier and Cuiseaux.<sup>191</sup> Since everyone wanted rid of the routiers, the Archpriest could organise their departure peacefully. This did not mean Savoy welcomed them: Amadeus VI ordered towns and castles along the route to strengthen guards and move populations in from unprotected villages. Several ships were requisitioned to transport the troops.<sup>192</sup> Thanks to his warnings, garrisons in Bresse and Bugey were reinforced; Saint-André de Briord and Lhuis were put on alert.<sup>193</sup> Pont-de-Veyle, a natural crossing on the Veyle river, was warned of the arrival of Bernard de la Sale and Gaillart de la Motte's men

187 Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, p. 332. n. 3. 335.

188 Chamorel, «*Ad partes infidelium*», pp. 66-67.

189 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 79.

190 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois, d'après des documents inédits. Philippe le Hardi 1363-1380*, I, Paris, 1909. p. 200.

191 It is worth noting here that Arnaud de Cervole organized the marching army to keep the distance between them at the distance of about 30 km, as previously noted. ADCO B. 7117. roller 13,8 m long.

192 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 190.

193 ADCO B 9509, roller 27m long, mentioned by Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 200, footnote 2.

heading for the Saône. Bardet de Roussillon travelled farthest south,<sup>194</sup> reaching the abbey of Maizières to embark for Avignon.<sup>195</sup> Girard de Longchamp, bailiff of Chalon, coordinated a fleet of four large ships and 120 sailors for the transport.<sup>196</sup> At this time the companies were about 330 km north of Avignon. Their approach caused panic there;<sup>197</sup> one company, on reaching Comtat Venaissin, began looting.<sup>198</sup>

In this context, Arnaud de Cervole was murdered near Mâcon on 25 May 1366.<sup>199</sup> His death was a premeditated plot rather than an accident or sudden quarrel.<sup>200</sup> The instigators are unknown, apart from Petit Derby, the Archpriest's cousin.<sup>201</sup> Guillaume de Clugny's account shows that the killer came from Arnaud's own company. Before the news spread, Petit Derby seized Arnaud's widow in her castle at Thil and offered to release her for 3,500 florins.<sup>202</sup> The conspirators ensured that the news reached Dijon only after a delay by intercepting the mail from Mâcon, thus gaining a crucial 24 hours. Philip the Bold sent an envoy only on 1 June 1366 to search for Arnaud, Bourc Camus, Bernard Donat and Berteran de Montprivat.<sup>203</sup> There is no proof, but it is striking that Frère Darre and Bertrucat d'Albret—both opposed to continuing the crusade—were near the scene; Bertrucat appeared two days later with 40 lances, reportedly ready to plunder Burgundy.<sup>204</sup> Arnaud's death created great uncertainty among both companies and authorities.<sup>205</sup> The bailiff of Chalon wondered whether the companies moving south would embark as planned.<sup>206</sup> Those who adhered to the original plan agreed by the Emperor and the Pope did not continue south, but returned to the duchy

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194 ADCO B 9292, roller 12m long, mentioned by Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 200, footnote 2.

195 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 201.

196 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, 202.

197 Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, p. 460.

198 Chérest, *L'Archiprêtre*, p. 352.

199 Chérest, *L'Archiprêtre*, p. 351.

200 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 205.

201 ADCO B 2752, f. 16r

202 ADCO B 2752, f. 12r

203 ADCO B 11875 ; Aimé Chérest, *L'Archiprêtre*, 351, pp. 404-405.

204 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 205.

205 Chérest, *L'Archiprêtre*, p. 352.

206 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 204.

or went west after Bertrand du Guesclin. Meanwhile, the army remaining in the duchy was split; the smaller groups that chose to return were hunted down by Philip the Bold in summer and autumn 1366.<sup>207</sup>

### *Conclusion*

When the mercenaries hired by the crusaders failed to arrive, Amadeus VI sailed from Venice with a small group of mercenaries and the county's nobility.<sup>208</sup> This army was by far the smallest in terms of the number of participants in the four crusades, numbering only 1,500-1,800 men.<sup>209</sup> However, the Green Count set out on his journey hoping that a large Hungarian army would be waiting for him. He was bitterly disappointed. Richard Musard also left Venice on galleys decorated with the count's colors.<sup>210</sup>

Although the Savoyard crusade ultimately sailed with only a fraction of the forces originally envisaged, the participation of men such as Richard Musard in Amadeus VI campaign and Walter Leslie in the Alexandrian crusade, reveals an often overlooked dimension of the mercenary world. These were soldiers who had spent decades in the moral grey zones of the Hundred Years War and the Italian conflicts, men for whom the papal promise of absolution was not merely a diplomatic instrument but a deeply personal offer. The crusade thus became, for some of them, not only a military enterprise but also a rare opportunity to confront the spiritual consequences of a lifetime spent in violence. It is possible to get an accurate picture of what thoughts may have tormented the mercenaries fighting in Trecento Italy or in the Hundred Years' War from the account of a Hungarian who visited St. Patrick's Cave and fought in southern Italy in the middle of the century. The cave, which was visited by Malatesta Ungaro and other mercenaries in the 14th century to save their souls, is located in the southern tip of County Donegal, on one of 40 islands in the middle of a lake surrounded by mountains.<sup>211</sup> According to legend, it was here that Jesus showed St. Patrick

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207 Petit, *Ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1380)*, p. 199.

208 Chamorel, *Un destin méditerranée*, p. 79.

209 Cox, *The Green Count*, p. 208. n.12.

210 Bollati, (ed.), Jean Servion, *Geste et croniques* pp. 129-130.

211 St. John D. Seymour, *St. Patrick's Purgatory. A Medieval Pilgrimage in Ireland*. Dunkalk, 1918. p. 7.

the cave where a sinful soul was willing to descend and spend a day and a night locked away from everyone, and was then completely cleansed of sin.<sup>212</sup> The strongly built Becsei Vesszős György belonged to the Hungarian Angevin elite,<sup>213</sup> was the *comes* of Bars County, and was a member of the royal guard of Louis I. He took part in Louis's first Neapolitan campaign, where the king appointed him governor of occupied Apulia. By his own admission, he was responsible for the deaths of 250 innocent people.<sup>214</sup> Moreover, he was the one who, on the king's orders, beheaded Prince Charles of Durazzo on January 23, 1348.<sup>215</sup> He made several pilgrimages to atone for his crimes committed during the war. First, he sought absolution in Compostela, but when he still felt uneasy, he ended up in St. Patrick's purgatory.<sup>216</sup>

All three instruments of papal policy toward great companies—excommunication, crusades against mercenaries, and crusades organized for mercenaries—had very little effect. The example of Pont-Saint-Esprit, along with the route leading there from Champagne, clearly shows that mercenaries struggling with a change of conscience, such as Becsei Vesszős György, were generally only interested in the afterlife to a limited extent. When they had the opportunity, they took advantage of it. Seguin de Badefol asked and obtained forgiveness from the pope twice for the occupation of Brioude and Anse. On both occasions, he made a special effort for lifting the excommunication.<sup>217</sup> Notwithstanding the prevailing

212 Leardo Mascanzoni, «Il pellegrinaggio di Malatesta “Ungaro” al cosiddetto “Purgatorio di S. Patrizio” (Irlanda, a. 1358).» in: *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, LI, 2000, p. 243.

213 «Georgius, iuvenis homo et robustus» Ferenc Toldy - «Egy XIV. századbeli magyar vezeklő Irlandban sz. patrik purgatóriumában. Adalékul a középkori erkölctörténethöz.» *Századok*, V, (1871), 4. sz. p. 231. n. 2.

214 «Georgius in officio sibi commisso ultra modum persecutus et insecutus est partem adversam. In qua quidem persecucione tam ipse, quam per alios, multa dampna et innumerabiles videlicet depredaciones quam per alios, multa dampna et innumerabiles videlicet depredaciones quam plurimas, et homicidia adminus CC et L personarum iniuste et contra christianam iustitiam perpetravit.» Ferenc Toldy, *Egy XIV. századbeli magyar vezeklő Irlandban* p. 232. n. 6.

215 Florianus (ed.), *Chronicon Dubnicense, Historae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici Pars Prima* III, Leipzig, 1884. p. 151.

216 István Lengvári, «Becsei Vesszős György pokoljárása és különitélete» *Honismeret*, XXV, 1997 n°4 p. 67.

217 *Traité conclu par la médiation d'Arnaud Amanieu, seigneur d'Albret, entre les gouverneurs du duc de Berry et d'Auvergne, le comte de Boulogne et d'Auvergne, le dauphin*

circumstances, a singular occurrence in the 14th century stands out as a notable exception, wherein mercenaries were successfully motivated to embark on a collective journey into the unknown, engaging in combat against the infidels. The case of Arnaud de Celvole demonstrates that enthusiasm was limited in this instance, and that those who pursued the crusade with excessive fervour ultimately met a similar fate to that of the Archpriest.

The events of the three years preceding Savoy's crusade clearly demonstrate how complicated it was to organize crusades for mercenaries and how difficult it was to persuade great companies to participate. So when it did succeed, how many unpredictable factors played a role, such as the removal of Albert Sterz from the leadership of the White Company, or the deaths of John the Good and Talleyrand of Périgord, which determined the fate of the crusades. In a similar fashion, the death of Arnaud de Cervole had a fundamental influence on the course of the Savoyard Crusade. Furthermore, the refusal of the Byzantine Emperor to cross the territories controlled by Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria also had a significant impact.<sup>218</sup> Finally, Louis of Hungary abandoned the crusade he had planned with the Green Count, after being influenced by Urban V.

Nevertheless, preparations for the four crusades between 1363 and 1365 were successful in that mercenaries took part in the crusades for the only time in the 14th century, with far-reaching consequences. The most important legacy of this is the *Via Veritatis* fresco cycle by Andrea di Bonaiuto in the magnificent Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. This cycle heralded the resurgence of the crusading idea in the mid-14th century and preserved the portrait of Amadeus VI.

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d'Auvergne, et les gens de pays d'Auvergne, d'une part, et Séguin de Badefol, Bérard d'albert et autres capitaines des compagnies de Brioude et de Varennes, près Monlet, d'autre part, pour que lesdites compagnies évacuent le pays et crescent tote hostalitié dans les montages d'Auvergne et de Velay et dans la party du Gévaudan dependant du dauphins d'Auvergne, ensemble la ratification de ce traité par les deputies des bonnes villas d'Auvergne 4 30 avril 1364 in: Augustine CHASSAING, *Spicilegium brivatense*, p. 367. Lyon, ADR 10G1931.

<sup>218</sup> Chassaing, *Spicilegium brivatense*, p. 367.

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SCB Fontes 8. 409.

ADCO - Archives départementales de Côte d'Or,

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B 9292, B 9509, B 11875, B 11925.

ASF - Archivio di Stato di Firenze,

Diplomatico, Riformagioni atti pubblici, 9 Giugno 1365, Missive I Cancellaria,13

ADN - Archives du Nord,

B. 268.

ADRML - Archives départementales du Rhône et de la métropole de Lyon

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AMM - Archives municipales du Metz,

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ADM - Archives départementales de la Meuse

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