

Doctoral Dissertation (PhD) Theses

**Frontier Mercenaries and the History of a Forgotten Crusade –
The Emergence of Mercenary Companies in the Border Region of the
Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of France 1358-1366**

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I. The Aim of the Thesis, the Outline of the Topic

By the middle of the 14th century, mercenaries had become an inevitable part of late medieval warfare, and so most of the peoples of Europe encountered them on a daily basis. This presence radically changed the mind-set and the sense of security of the population, as many European archival sources and chronicles attest. The emergence of paid armies had a profound impact on all aspects of life, putting warfare on a contractual basis. In addition to the economic, military, political and social consequences, it is worth examining the psychological and cultural aspects of the relationship between the population and the mercenaries, as well as the impact of the presence of foreign soldiers on less obvious aspects of life, such as fashion. By the 1360s, multi-ethnic mercenary companies were roaming the European battlefields, often over a thousand kilometres. English, French, German, Welsh, Scottish, Breton, Gascon, Provençal, Navarre, Italian, Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Hungarian and even Polish mercenary companies fought in the Iberian Peninsula, Italy, France, the Holy Roman Empire, Bulgaria, Africa and Byzantium. Some of their leaders went on to international careers, settling in foreign countries as respected members of the local community and holding high positions. In addition to Sir John Hawkwood, there was a succession of captains such as Arnaud de Solier, also known as Limousin, who served Henry of Trastámara as lord of Villalpando in the 1380s, Otto von Braunschweig, who fought throughout Italy and visited France several times between 1339 and 1380, or Conrad V, Duke of Teck, who served the city of Ferrara and was buried there after his death in 1386. Eustache d'Auberchicourt, who married Isabelle de Juliers, the niece of the Queen of England, in 1360, was one of the founding members of the Order of the Garter. However, mention should also be made of Pierre de Villaines, who went to Castile with Bertrand du Guesclin and ended the campaign as Count of Ribadeo after Henry's accession to the throne in the 1370s. Bertrand Gasth of Lombardy, who served the Dukes of Burgundy loyally for many years, became governor of Vertus in 1366. Likewise, Arnaud de Cervole was one of the most successful military entrepreneurs, who went from mercenary captain to one of the most influential members of the Burgundian aristocracy. Luchino dal Verme and Malatesta Ungaro lived their lives as friends of Petrarch, and both died after long and successful careers. This list is by no means complete. Others returned home and settled down after spending part of their lives in foreign service, such as Bertrand du Guesclin, the English Robert Knolles and Hugh Calveley, the German Werner von Urslingen, and the Hungarian Toldi Miklós. We can, however, also mention Meggyesaljai Mórócz Simon, the only one of all the foreign and Italian condottieri of the Trecento to bear the name of death, since Italian chronicles refer to him as 'messer Simone della Morte' in the 1360s. Of course, the majority of the captains active in this period were not as successful or as fortunate as those who survived these two turbulent decades. The vast majority of mercenary captains active between 1350 and 1370 died violent deaths.

The subject of this dissertation is special because there was no other group in late medieval society for which, or against which, crusades were organised at the same time. Popes Innocent VI and Urban V repeatedly used excommunication against the great companies and proclaimed crusades in Italy or France. Although these measures were not entirely without consequences, they did not have the desired effect of reducing the number of mercenaries in Europe.

After the Treaty of Brétigny (6 May 1360), the problems posed by mercenaries could no longer be dealt with at the level of a single country. A pan-European solution was needed. The rival monarchies had to join forces with the Papacy to devise a plan to free the population from the great companies and at the same time deal with the Muslim threat to the east and west. Three seemingly unconnected series of events led to the organisation of four closely related crusades between 1362 and 1366. The first of these processes was the rise of the Ottoman threat in the

Levant and the emergence of the Ottomans in Europe. The second was the dominance of the mercenary companies described above and, as a consequence, the persistence of the threat to their lives in Italy and the Kingdom of France. The third was the dynastic conflict between the two half-brothers that set the Iberian Peninsula aflame. The alternately successful struggle between Henry of Trastámara and Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, was an integral part of the rivalry between Castile and Aragon.

The consequences of the four crusades of 1365/66 can be traced from the Atlantic coast to the Black Sea, affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of people from the English Channel to Africa. Led by Peter II of Lusignan, the crusade ended with the sack of Alexandria, while mercenaries led by Bertrand du Guesclin, who nominally marched on Granada, eventually helped the Trastámara dynasty to power. The crusade of Amadeus VI of Savoy ended with the Bulgarian adventure after the capture of Gallipoli, while the Fourth Crusade led by Arnaud de Cervole was the largest in terms of the number of participants but the shortest in terms of execution. It would have liberated northern Italy and eastern France from mercenary companies and, with the help of the Kingdom of Hungary, driven the Ottomans out of Europe, stabilising the weakening Byzantine Empire. The subject of this dissertation is, in a narrower sense, this forgotten crusade, and in a broader sense, the emergence of the mercenaries of the Hundred Years' War on the borderland between the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of France.

Although there is an expanding, large international literature on 14th century mercenaries, as the two chapters on the relevant literature show, there is only one work in modern historiography in English (Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries: The Great Companies Vol. 1*, Oxford, 2001) and one in French (Geoffrey Grill, *Les Grandes Compagnies en Lorraine et en Alsace de La Paix de Brétigny à la Mort de Charles V, (1370-1380)*, Strasbourg, 2006) on the crusade of Arnaud de Cervole, or as he was called by the contemporaries, the Archpriest. Similarly, the two main subjects of the dissertation concerning 14th-century mercenaries the presence of Hungarian mercenaries in Italy and the emergence of routiers in the western provinces of the Holy Roman Empire and the eastern part of the Kingdom of France, succinctly, in the frontier regions have, for various reasons, either not been addressed at all or only tangentially by historians of the 20th and 21st centuries. Two other works should be mentioned: the first was important because it contained a brief reference to the possibility that the papacy might have dealt with the problem of mercenaries in France and Italy together (Eugene L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy, Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth-Century*, New Jersey, 1967.) The other is the work of a young Swiss researcher who drew attention to the fact that Hungarian mercenaries were involved in the crusade led by the Green Count Amadeus VI (Florian Chamorel, "Ad partes infidelium" : la croisade d'Amédée VI de Savoie, juin 1366 - juillet 1367, Lausanne, 2016.).

Based on a review of the literature and two years of archival research preceding the doctoral studies, the following working hypotheses defined the dissertation in 2018:

- Contrary to current belief, the preparations for the crusades of 1365 and even 1366 date back to 1362.
- King Louis of Hungary played a much more intensive role in the preparations for the Crusade than historians had previously thought. The idea of the Crusades - on land and at sea - came from Urban V, possibly Peter of Lusignan.
- 3. Louis I regularly consulted the Pope, the German Emperor, the King of France, the Count of Savoy and the King of Cyprus on this subject.

- 4. There is a direct link between the 1365 campaign of Arnaud de Cervole and the 1366 crusade of Amadeus VI. Cervole returned to Burgundy to join the Duke of Savoy after the overland routes had been cut off. He had planned to embark in Venice and sail east. Some of the mercenaries who joined the crusaders made their way to Gallipoli and even Bulgaria with Amadeus VI of Savoy.
- 5. Louis I initially wanted to use mercenaries to drive the Turks out of Europe. Nevertheless, this plan failed.
- 6. It is in the light of these circumstances that the western and southern politics of Louis I must be assessed.
- 7. Even before the Bulgarian campaign, it was a foregone conclusion that Amadeus VI and Louis I would go on a crusade together.

In the first years of the preparation of the PhD, since it was not possible to know exactly how much material lay in the depths of the French and Italian archives, one important research direction was the Iberian emergence of the companies. Therefore, taking advantage of the excellent relationship with the University of Lleida, I travelled the Spanish archives under the guidance of Prof. Attila Bárány, searching for Hungarian sources and the companies from Barcelona, Pamplona, Burgos, and Zaragoza. The source material thus acquired, although used in several of my studies, was not ultimately incorporated into the corpus of this dissertation, so the history of the westward crusade will be dealt with in another study. During the Spanish research, the preparation of the work of the research group "Sources of the Medieval Hungarian Military Organization in Europe (1301-1437)" began, which involved the collection of archival sources of Hungarian relevance in the international literature.

The working hypothesis that the Crusade to be organized under the leadership of King John II of France in 1363 became the origin of four different Crusades in 1365 and 1366 following John's death, proved to be true. Through increasingly comprehensive research conducted within the research group, involving more and more archives, and discovering several pieces of direct archival evidence, it was possible to connect the history of the great companies residing in Northern Italy and the eastern part of the French kingdom with the crusade led by Arnaud de Cervole. Finally, a letter found in the Florentine archives written by Pope Urban V to the city council directed the focus of attention to further Italian archival research, thereby laying the groundwork for a series of new research findings in the dissertation.

However, parallel to the antecedents of the crusade, another line of research has emerged, which originally did not constitute an integral part of the dissertation. Along the borderlands stretching from Lille to Lyon, in the years leading up to the 1365 crusade, mercenaries of the Hundred Years' War appeared, bringing about fundamental and irreversible changes in the lives of the local population. And the sources in the archives of Champagne, Barrois, Alsace, Lorraine, Burgundy and Lyon made it possible to present this transformation in new ways, from several angles, by examining the interaction between mercenaries and the local population at both micro and macro levels. In fact, the initial success of the crusade, the successful recruitment of troops, its outstanding numbers, and then its failure and rapid demise, cannot be understood without a presentation of the antecedents. In this way, the aims of the dissertation have been broadened to include a comprehensive, multi-faceted examination of the relationship between mercenaries and the population. In the dissertation I wanted to answer the following questions:

- How did the appearance of the mercenaries provoke the emotions of the local population?
- What interaction can be observed in the sources between mercenaries and the local population?
- I was particularly interested in the relationship between women and mercenaries. Here, the most interesting question for me was how the interactional picture could be nuanced beyond the traditional perpetrator-victim schema.
- What strategy or tactics were used by the captains of the companies when they occupied and/or plundered an area? In this respect, the issue of espionage has proved to be particularly fascinating.
- What were the means of defence for the local population and the lords of the frontier?
- Between 1357 and 1365, one major and several smaller battles took place on the frontier. The cross-border consequences of these battles, so rare in the Hundred Years' War, were also a major focus of this dissertation.

All these questions had to be answered within the framework of the crusade led by Arnaud de Cervole, in line with the research ideas. This turned out to be the right direction, since the last third of the chapter: “The Theatres of War”, explains the seemingly incomprehensible discrepancy between Arnaud de Cervole's premature departure, the European diplomatic preparation and the actual crusade, which ultimately led to the early failure of the crusade.

II. Methodology

The methodology employed can be summarized simply as following the trail of mercenaries, systematically researching county and city archives within their areas of appearance. In practice, of course, this proved to be much more complicated, since it involved the processing of Middle German, Latin, French, Italian, Aragonese and Castilian sources. It was often possible to find new results and new connections by combining sources of different types and languages. This approach allows a comprehensive understanding of the range and variety of sources used in the dissertation.

The sources in this dissertation show geographical, linguistic and typological diversity. They can be divided into two groups: published sources, mainly by 19th century Hungarian, French, German, Italian and English historians and 20th and 21st century American historians, and unpublished sources from French and Italian archives.

The archival sources were supplemented by chronicles, annals, *Urkundenbücher*, published papal and royal correspondence, charters, letters of donation, papal bulls.

1. Correspondence

One important source group related to the topic of the dissertation was the correspondence between various significant figures: King Peter II of Cyprus, Popes Innocent VI and Urban V,

Bertrand du Guesclin, King Charles V of France, Emperor Charles IV, King Charles II of Navarre, and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. This includes papal legates such as Gil de Albornoz and Androin de la Roche, as well as contemporary intellectuals like Petrarch. From their letters, valuable information about mercenaries in general can be obtained, such as Petrarch's correspondence with Luchino dal Verme, persuading him to lead the army sent by Venice to suppress the 1364 Cretan crusade. Equally important is the letter of Saint Catherine of Siena to Sir John Hawkwood. In her correspondence, Catherine argued convincingly for participation in the crusade organized by the pope.

There are, however, other types of letters that should be taken into account: correspondence from free imperial cities, correspondence from bishops, letters from mercenary captains, letters from captains of various castles, declarations and correspondence from lords, nobles or citizens to cities containing information about mercenaries, etc.

2. Financial Documents

The dissertation draws heavily on the diversity of financial sources. These include records detailing the mercenary-related expenditures of the various frontier duchies, as well as financial reports on the defensive measures taken by towns and their alliances against mercenaries. In addition, there are accounts and provisions specifically for the defence against mercenaries, reports on their movements and activities, and spy reports and related expenditures to help organise the defence effort. Various authorities, including towns, their leagues, castle captains, royal officials and the bailli, prévôts, responsible for defence, were involved in the execution of orders for defensive measures. Financial records relating to the crusade of Amadeus VI, consular reports, gifts to the church from battles with mercenaries and ransoms paid to mercenaries are also included.

A wealth of records sheds light on the activities of the companies, from inventory records of the churches under their control to details of the invasions and chevauchées led by the companies or their captains. The detailed records carefully preserve the commissions paid by the cities to the caporalis and conestabilis in their service.

3. Contracts, Legal Documents, Compensation Records

The sources also include legal proceedings against individual mercenaries and their captains. These include the charters of surrender of towns and castles held by mercenaries, together with the corresponding records. It also includes letters of indemnity sent to vassals for losses suffered in clashes with mercenary companies.

A separate group of sources focuses on different types of treaties and agreements, including private peace treaties involving mercenary companies, and anti-mercenary defence alliances. Also prominent are the letters of marque granted by mercenary captains and rulers to protect merchants or private individuals.

Various records provide detailed insights into the agreements for the transfer of churches occupied by mercenary companies. Contracts between towns, lords or ladies and mercenary captains, as well as statements confirming payment for services rendered, are invaluable

insights into the daily life of living with mercenaries. The submissions of individuals seeking compensation for damage caused by mercenary companies should also be mentioned.

By combining all these sources, a number of new results could be obtained. A comparison of payrolls from the archives of Metz and Florence for mercenaries of a similar style allows us to understand why German mercenaries from large cities on the border, such as Strasbourg, went to Italy to serve rather than stay at home and earn their living in local wars. Similarly, by combining the mercenary lists from the Metz archives with the account books of the prévôts of Bar-le-Duc, it becomes understandable and evident how the defence alliance of the border lords and cities against English invasion worked in practice. In the same way, the mercenary lists of the Metz archives, combined with the account books of Bar-le-Duc, allow us to understand and see how the defensive alliance of the lords and cities of the frontier against the English invasion worked in practice.

Another example relates to the largest battle in the region, which also shows the result of the combined use of multiple archival sources. By combining sources from the border archives, it is possible to trace the territorial consequences of the Battle of Brignais (6 April 1362). The various types of sources from the archives of Dijon, Colmar and Metz show precisely how the local authorities reacted to an external threat and what means were available to stop the threat of the mercenaries. A payment voucher issued to those captured in the royal army during the battle, coupled with the charters of the defensive alliances of Colmar and Metz, shows that a series of complementary defensive alliances were formed just a month after the battle, hundreds of kilometres to the north.

As the research for this dissertation was geographically extensive, but covered a narrow interval of only two decades, it allows for a larger-scale examination of some late medieval military history issues. An example is the study of the passage of 14th-century armies through a given area: the sources in the archives of Pamplona, Barcelona, Zaragoza and Lleida can be compared with those in the archives of Mantua, Siena and Pisa, or with those in the archives of Bar-le-Duc, Dijon, Lille or Strasbourg and general conclusions drawn from the similarities or possible differences.

III. New Scientific Results of the Thesis

Using the methodology outlined above, most of the working hypotheses have been answered satisfactorily, but there are some points that have not been fully explained, and by the end of the thesis, a number of new questions have arisen that still need to be answered.

An incompletely explained question: the role of Louis I in the preparation of the Crusades.

The study (*Crusading Companies in the 1365th Year of Our Lord*), published in East Central Europe in 2020, received positive feedback, suggesting that the hitherto unknown relationship between Louis I and Amadeus VI should be continued and linked to the creation of the Banate of Bulgaria. This has been developed in some detail in the dissertation and will be the subject of a future study and book on the four crusades. Following the publication of the study, research in Turin revealed that the archive had preserved some of the sources from the diplomatic exchanges between King Louis the Great and the Green Count; however, further visits to Turin are required to fully explore them. The papal letter written by Pope Urban V to King Louis I regarding the crusade in the summer of 1365 was known in international scholarly literature; however, it was not widely known in Hungary. The dissertation presents several new facts, as

well as shedding new light on previously known data (such as the diplomatic exchanges between Louis and Venice, the letter from the Strasbourg council to Louis, the relationship between Philip the Bold and Charles V, and Louis's relationship with Pope Urban V). However, further clarification is still needed regarding Louis's relationship with Charles V, Philip the Bold, and Pope Urban V.

A new question raised in the dissertation:

The most important question is the role of Arnaud de Cervole in the preparation of the Crusade in the spring of 1365. This is explained in detail in the dissertation, suffice it to say here that timing was a problem, it was simply impossible for the Archpriest to muster such a large army on the basis of the known dates.

Nevertheless, the dissertation contributes with a number of new insights not only to the understanding of the Crusade, but also to the history of the mercenaries of the 14th century. These novelties can be divided into three broad categories.

1. The History of Hungarian Mercenaries Serving in Trecento Italy

The new research results presented in this thesis are the first synthesis of the work carried out by the research team. It was revealed that the extent and duration of the Hungarian presence in Italy in the 1360s exceeded all previous expectations. There is archival evidence of Hungarian mercenaries staying in Italy for several years, even decades. There are precise descriptions of the armaments and armour of the mercenaries. No comprehensive study has yet been carried out on the tactics and strategies of the Hungarian light cavalry in the Italian theatre of war, their role in the multi-ethnic companies and the extent of their integration. Together with *Ádám Novák* and *Renata Visegrádi*, the research in Mantua has resulted in a more precise description of the coats of arms and seals of the captured Hungarian *conestabillis* and *caporalis*, and a critical edition of the documents, which has been published. The sources of the Hungarian mercenaries of Amadeus VI's crusade, preserved in Turin, are mentioned here for the first time in Hungarian literature.

2. The History of Mercenaries Active in the Border Region

Such a comprehensive analysis, based specifically on local archives, of the mercenaries who appeared on the borders of the Empire and the Kingdom in the mid-14th century has not yet been carried out in modern literature. In particular:

- Edward III's last campaign before the Treaty of Brétigny (8 May 1360) has not yet been processed on the basis of local archival sources. The works that have appeared were based on chronicles and English archival sources. In this respect, many new elements have been added to the history of the campaign. These include the details of the campaign in the Duchies of Bar and Burgundy (see, for example, James Harleston's stay at Flavigny, the defence of Robert, Duke of Bar, against the English captains who remained behind, the appearance of Edward's troops at Alsace, etc.).

- In the literature, an analysis such as the one on espionage against and for the companies has not yet been published. Some details were already known, but this is the first such analysis in this form, based on archival sources from the frontier region.
- The same is true of the role of river valleys in the strategy and tactics of companies.
- The coexistence of mercenaries in occupied territories has already been analysed, but not in this period and region, and an analysis such as the one carried out between 1360 and 1365 on the account books of Guillaume de Clugny is also unknown in the literature.
- The specific relationship between Yolande de Flandre and Polish mercenaries, as well as the history of Dame de Kassel and the mercenaries, has also been addressed for the first time. This part of the dissertation will form an integral part of a study to be published in 2025 in *Imago temporis: medium Aevum*, examining the relationship between women and mercenaries in the borderlands. Part of the same study is a special source, as yet unpublished, in the archives of Lille, on the subject of events in the county of Nevers and the barony of Donzy in the early 1360s.
- The period of the history of the Duchy of Burgundy, which was the focus of the struggle against the mercenaries from the death of the last Capetian Duke until the consolidation of the power of the first Valois Duke, has also not been treated in this way in the literature.

3. The History of the 1365 Crusade

- The diplomatic preparation of the campaign in this form has not yet been elaborated in modern literature, linking northern Italy with eastern France. Pope Urban V's plans for sending mercenaries to the East have been unknown to historians. The dissertation provides multiple archival evidence (relevant sources from the archives of Florence and Dijon) suggesting that Arnaud de Cervole's was the largest of the crusades supported by the Pope in 1365/66, and that in fact the companies were heading south towards Avignon to join the other two campaigns from Italy as previously planned. It was unknown to the literature that the Pope made a concerted effort to mobilise the mercenaries active in Italy and eastern France and to persuade them to participate in a coordinated way in the crusades against the Ottomans.
- In the Hungarian literature, Louis I's plan to expel the Ottomans, who had just appeared in Europe, by using the mercenaries of the Hundred Years' War in combination with the crusade of Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy, is described for the first time in this dissertation.
- The part of the dissertation that deals with the emotional reactions of the local population to the mercenaries who first appeared in Alsace in 1365 is also new in the international literature. To do this, it was necessary to draw on a coherent source material of correspondence from the imperial cities in the Strasbourg archives.
- Complementing the modern analyses, the dissertation provides new details on the course of the crusade: The march of the crusaders, previously depicted in literature as a disorderly horde, has been revealed to have been meticulously organized under the command of Arnaud

de Cervole. He maintained strict control over successive mercenary companies, coordinating them in a manner reminiscent of Edward III's management during the 1359 campaign. Another completely new detail is the story of Conrad the Painter, which highlights the deteriorating relationship between Emperor Charles IV and the people of Strasbourg, which escalated into an armed conflict. The dissertation also enriches the narrative with new details about the Alsatian history of the crusade, particularly in analysing the information network of Strasbourg city regarding the approaching of the crusaders.

- The two studies analysing the course of the Crusade trace the history of the Crusade up to the return of Arnaud de Cervole to the Duchy of Burgundy and conclude with the death of Arnaud de Cervole, without discussing the history of the companies that set out for Italy. Similarly, the dissertation provides new details about the death of Arnaud de Cervole.

IV. Conclusion

The subject of this dissertation deals with a very narrow period of time, in a broad sense a few years, and in a narrower sense less than a year, in the border region of the Kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire, and in the Septentrionale region of Italy.

One of the main objectives of the dissertation was to analyse, with examples from across the spectrum of society, the emergence of mercenaries in the Hundred Years' War and their impact on the eastern borders of the Kingdom of France. Like any change, the appearance of mercenaries, especially the great companies, had winners and losers. Naturally, the proportions were not balanced, as far more people suffered from the mercenaries than benefited from any association with them. However, the traditional approach, which solely focuses on the devastation caused by mercenaries, is oversimplified, as there are multiple interpretations of contemporary events, just as there were in the mid-14th century. One of the best examples of this is the examination of the account books of Guillaume de Clugny, where nearly a third of the crimes recorded can be attributed to mercenaries or locals cooperating with them. Similarly, the emergence of the great companies fundamentally altered the power dynamics on the borderlands. In all the cases discussed in this dissertation, whenever a border lord or town was able to make a contract with a great company, they could defeat even stronger opponents by forming coalitions. Examples of this include the city of Metz, Lord Grancy, or Count Vaudemont.

In the course of the dissertation, I have presented a number of alliances and treaties that were formed against mercenaries. These included the treaties of Colmar following the Battle of Brignais, or the related treaty of Metz, but also the alliance of imperial cities to be established before the arrival of Arnaud de Cervole, or the alliance of Italian cities participating in the meeting of Urban V in Bologna in 1366. These alliances and treaties had many things in common. They forbade any contact with mercenaries, were of limited duration and had a geographical scope. Most of them included the exhibition of troops financed by the confederation. Where actual fighting took place, as after Edward III's campaign of 1359/60, alliances produced limited results.

When all these measures failed to bring about a satisfactory solution, which was often the case, it was necessary to buy off the departure of the great companies. There are many examples of this in the dissertation, one only has to think of Seguin de Badefol in the case of the transfer of the towns of Anse and Brioude, or the case of the duchy of Burgundy with Arnaud de

Cervole, but one can also mention the case of the great company of Konrad von Landau in 1357.

However, if the mercenaries could not be defeated by secular force, there was only one logical solution, which the Holy See had not tried before: convince them to participate in a crusade to save their souls and prepare for the afterlife by winning forgiveness. A separate chapter in the dissertation deals with the means, men and methods used to persuade the mercenaries to set out simultaneously from Italy and France to fight the *canis infideli* that threatened Christianity on the two peripheries of Europe. Granada and the Balkans, or perhaps Asia Minor, seemed distant enough from Avignon that once the crusader mercenaries arrived there, it was difficult for them to return, especially in large numbers.

Arnaud de Cervole's crusade came at a special moment, when peace was being established in the Kingdom of France and Italy, leaving the mercenaries without a commission. The papal policy of persuading the mercenaries to join the crusade was successful after several years. By the time King Peter II had arrived in Avignon instead of Innocent VI., it was already Pope Urban V, the newly elected pope, who was waiting for him. Fortunately for Peter, the new Pope was as committed to organising the crusade as his predecessor. The idea received unexpected support from King John II of France. Returning from his captivity in London, John became acquainted with the idea of a crusade in Avignon. He initially indicated his intention to participate, and shortly thereafter, he, along with a number of important French nobles, took the cross. The chapter on the preparation of the crusade meticulously tracks the twists and turns of the political preparation of the originally French-led crusade, which eventually resulted in four crusades. Each crusade had four different objectives but unfolded almost simultaneously between the summers of 1365 and 1366. The idea of employing mercenaries had been raised from the outset, and although the routiers were rejected in France and Italy in 1364, the situation dramatically changed a year later. Relying on archival sources from Florence and Dijon and previous research, the dissertation successfully traced the connection between the crusades led by Arnaud de Cervole and VI. Amadeus, thus linking the two theatres of war.

Further research is needed on the questions only partially answered in this dissertation and on new issues raised by research. Fortunately, during the composition of this dissertation, two Hungarian research teams were concurrently engaged in Pécs and Debrecen, endeavoring to establish accessible databases. These resources aim to facilitate the work of medievalists in two previously under-researched areas.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

Hungarian book chapters (1)

1. **Ölbei, T.:** Seguin de Badefol: "A gonoszság fia" Anseban 1364-1365.
In: Az Ember Helye a Hely Embere, Emberközpontú Történetírás Helytörténeti Kutatás.
Szerk.: Lengvári István; Pilkhoffer Mónika; Vonyó József, Magyar Helytörténeti Társulat ;
Pécs : Kronosz Kiadó, Budapest, 143-173, 2019. ISBN: 9786156048417

Foreign language Hungarian book chapters (1)

2. **Ölbei, T.:** Hungarian mercenaries in the service of the Signoria Fiorentina (1360-1365).
In: Mercenaries and Crusaders. Ed.: Bárány Attila, HUN-REN-DE Középkori Magyarország
és Közép-Európa Hadtörténete Kutatócsoport, Debrecen, 209-238, 2024. ISBN:
9789634905547

Foreign language international book chapters (2)

3. Nisa, J., **Ölbei, T.:** The Manifold Impact of Chevauchées as Policies of Terror (c.1350-1400).
In: Terrorism through the Ages. Ed.: Graham Wrightson, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden,
84-101, 2023. ISBN: 9789004548466
4. **Ölbei, T.:** The Great Battle of Peace, 6, April, 1362.
In: Incipit 8 Workshop de Estudos Medievais da Universidade do Porto / Universidade do
Porto and Faculdade de Letras and Biblioteca Digital, Estudos Medievais da Universidade do
Porto, Porto, 106-124, 2019. ISBN: 9789898969385

Hungarian scientific articles in Hungarian journals (3)

5. Novák, Á., **Ölbei, T.**, Visegrádi, R.: Magyar zsoldosok címerei Mantovából.
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