

## The Great Battle of Peace: Brignais, 6 April 1362.

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### Abstract

The aim of this paper is to highlight the interregional consequences of the Battle of Brignais and how the authorities handled the problem of the routiers after having been exposed to Petit Meschin and Seguin du Badefol, the leaders of the winning army. I will also discuss Arnaud de Cervole, another mercenary captain, who was one of the leaders of the losing royal army. However, I will mainly focus on how the magnates and ordinary people reacted to the threat, what deals they entered into to survive.

The captains of the Great Companies became the most decisive figures in France in the 1360s. As a consequence of the complete disintegration of the administration in the French countryside after the Battle of Poitiers, there were only a few provinces in France that could fight back these companies. The Treaty of Brétigny (8 May 1360) did not improve the situation, on the contrary it resulted in the activities of the companies and brought destruction to Champagne, Barrois, Burgundy, and Alsace. The unprecedentedly high number of routiers in the spring of 1362 in the proximity of Lyon resulted in the third most catastrophic defeat of the French chivalry after Poitiers and Crecy. Different aspects of the Battle of Brignais have been discussed at great length in the literature, but not its consequences.

In my research I have encountered new sources in the archives of Lyon, Dijon, Bar-le-Duc, Colmar, and Metz and they reveal how the unique alliance of the free Imperial cities of Alsace, called the Décapole, prepared for the arrival of the Magna Societas.

In the literature on the mercenary companies participating in this battle, the emphasis is on Enrique of Trastámara's attempt to return to Castille. However, there is only little information about what happened in Burgundy, which had not yet fully been integrated into France, and in the Duchy of Barr, or on the other side of the border: in Alsace, and Lorraine. It requires an integrated approach to compile the different types of sources in Latin, French and Mittelhochdeutsch and to describe the interrelated events. My sources include receipts for military services, treaties of alliances against the routiers, accounts of different bailiffs in Burgundy and the Barrois, as well as contemporary chronicles.

As a result of this paper an in-depth insight of this exceptionally violent era of peace will be provided by bringing the contemporaries close to the observer, as the mercenaries were "proud disciples of Lucifer, priding themselves in their perverse multitude, thinking stupidly that nobody could resist their audacious and furious attacks."

### Keywords

Great Companies, Hundred Years War, Arnaud de Cervole, Mercenaries, Burgundy

### INTRODUCTION

'Sir, ye have told me or this that they were to be number of sixteen thousand fighting men, and now ye hear all contrary.' 'Sir', quoth he (the Archpriest) 'I thought them never under the said sum, and if they be not, God be thanked, it is better for us. Therefore take heed what ye will do' 'In the name of God' quoth the lord of Bourbon, 'we will go and fight with them.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Chronique* de Jean Froissart ed. Siméon Luce (Paris: Librairie de la Société de L'histoire de France, 1876), VI, 66. *The Chronicles of Froissart* by Jean Froissart trans: Lord Berners, John Bouchier, ed. G. C. Macaulay, (London: Macmillan and Co. 1908), 140-141.

These were the fatal words of the leader of the royal French Army, the last of its kind for a long time to come, urging his men to go to battle against the professional soldiers of the Hundred Years' War, the feared and despised Tard-Venus.<sup>2</sup> Or at least this is how Froissart gives his account of the Battle of Brignais.

This battle brought about the total dominance of the mercenaries over the battlefields of the Hundred Years War in the second half of the 14th century, following the Treaty of Brétigny. It was the last attempt of the French Chivalry to stop the roaming companies in France, however, with such a disastrous result that can only be compared to the effects of Crécy and Poitiers.

In this paper, I will describe how the nobility of Burgundy, Barrois and Alsace reacted to the catastrophe. I will also give a short summary of the events, briefly introducing both versions of the Battle of Brignais. However, as several generations of historians have not yet been able to identify exactly what had happened at Brignais I would instead focus on analysing some of the sources at greater length that help us in enlightening the circumstances that made the exceptional accumulation of the great companies in Burgundy possible at the turn of 1361-1362. The narrative of this paper will focus on one of the captains of the great companies, one of the most successful ones of his time, who was an ally of and who fought on the side of the royal army. He lost the battle and later even an enormous ransom was paid for him. Nevertheless, he was the one who profited the most from the battle from among all the mercenary captains who had been active in either of the two armies involved. This person was the famous Archpriest of Vélignes,<sup>3</sup> and his name was Arnaud de Cervole, “of whom the Pope and all the cardinals were frightened in Avignon.”<sup>4</sup>

## METHODOLOGY

The topic of this article, that is the regional consequences of the battle, required the “patchworking” of different types of documents from different archives in different languages. In the archives of Alsace, most of the sources are in Mittelhochdeutsch, while

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<sup>2</sup> We call those companies the Tard-Venus (Latecomers) that formed the Great Companies in Champagne and Burgundy following the campaign of Edward III. They arrived and operated in the provinces previously destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> He was the titular archpriest of Vélignes (Dordogne) Pierre d'Orgemont, *Chronique des Règnes de Jean II et de Charles V* ed. R. Delachenal (Paris: Librairie de la Société de L'histoire de France, 1916), I. 219. note 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Vraies Chroniques* de Messire Jehan le Bel ed M.L. Polain (Brussels: F. Heussner Libraire-Éditeur, 1863), II. 209.

in other parts of the border regions between the Holy Roman Empire and France, they are either in Latin or in French. The sources encompass treaties of alliances, receipts for military services, accounts of bailliages, correspondences between European courts, payments for ransom, even records of the investigations carried out by the Louis II de Mâle in Donzy and Nivernais. It is exactly this kind of research activity that made the writing of this article so fascinating.

Surprisingly, in the relevant contemporary French literature, the Battle of Brignais has received much less attention than either in the English literature, or in the classical era of French historiography. Aimé Chérest wrote an indispensable book on Arnaud de Cervole's deeds in the Hundred Years' War in the nineteenth century. In addition to him, other earlier French authors have to be mentioned such as Luce,<sup>5</sup> Denifle,<sup>6</sup> Guigue<sup>7</sup> and Delachenal,<sup>8</sup> whose works have been widely used by twentieth and twenty-first century historians. It is interesting that in the contemporary French literature on the era, there is no or little mention of the battle. Modern historians like Bove<sup>9</sup> and Minois<sup>10</sup> have not written about the battle at all, while Deviosse<sup>11</sup> and Favier<sup>12</sup> only devoted a short paragraph to Brignais. In Autrand's book on Charles V the Battle of Brignais is only discussed in two pages, yet this is the longest summary among those provided by the abovementioned French authors.<sup>13</sup> There are two entirely different descriptions of the battle itself: one can be found in Froissart's chronicle,<sup>14</sup> the other one in Matteo Villani's Italian chronicle.<sup>15</sup> The modern English literature is much more detailed, but completely divided as regards the description of the battle. Jonathan Sumption in his book<sup>16</sup> favours Villani's version, while Kenneth Fowler<sup>17</sup> prefers Froissart's detailed narrative. 19th century.

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<sup>5</sup> Simeon Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de Cent Ans. Episodes historique et vie privée aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV siècles*, (Paris, Librairie Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup> 1890-1893)

<sup>6</sup> Henri Denifle, *La Désolution des Églises, Monastères et Hôpitaux en France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899), I. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Georges Guigue, *Récits de la guerre de cent ans. Les tard-venus en Lyonnais, Forez et Beaujolais, 1359-1369*. (Lyon: Imprimerie Vitte et Perrussel, 1886).

<sup>8</sup> R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V* (Paris: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1909), II.

<sup>9</sup> Boris Bove, *Le Temps de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, (Paris: Editions Belin, 2009)

<sup>10</sup> Georges Minois, *La Guerre de Cent Ans, Naissance de deux nations* (Paris: Perrin, 2008)

<sup>11</sup> Jean Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1985)

<sup>12</sup> Jean Favier, *La Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1980)

<sup>13</sup> Françoise Autrand, *Charles V* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2000)

<sup>14</sup> *Chronique* de Jean Froissart ed. Siméon Luce (Paris: Librairie de la Société de L'histoire de France, 1876), VI.

<sup>15</sup> *Cronica* di Matteo Villani, (Firenze: Il Magheri, 1825), IV.

<sup>16</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire*, e-book edition (London: PENN, 2001),

<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries, The Great Companies*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), I.

French historians used the archives in Dijon, Lyon and Paris, whereas English historians, in their works, relied on the results of their French predecessors from the previous century and focused their research mainly on the Archives Nationales in Paris, however, the Archives in Lille and Colmar remained largely unknown to them. This paper is the result of research based on my findings in the archives of Lille, Colmar, Dijon, Bar-le-Duc, and Lyon: in Lille, more precisely in the Archives Départementales du Nord, this is the B.758 n.14451. This source is a 4000-word long description on events related to Arnaud de Cervole's activity in Donzy and Nivernais. In the Archives Municipales de Colmar, I was fortunate enough to be the last one who could study the AA, 48 n. 1 before it was inaccessible due to conservation measures. This alliance among the local lords and the Zehnstädtebund, that is to say the Free Imperial Cities of Alsace, is directly linked to the Battle of Brignais. The Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or has one of the richest collections of sources related to the battle of Brignais. It would take too much space and time to give a comprehensive and exhaustive account of this inventory, it suffices to refer to the B 1412 and B 11875 as the two most important fonds in Dijon. The other important archive regarding the subject of this article is the Archives Municipales de Lyon, and among other fonds I found the most references to the battle in the CC 190. In Bar-le-Duc, in the Archives Départementales de la Meuse there are references such as the information in the fonds of B. 2322, which give invaluable accounts of the territorial consequences of Brignais to the north of Burgundy. I was fortunate enough to find some long and detailed descriptions about the activity of the companies just before the Battle of Brignais, which had escaped the attention of the aforementioned historians. By filling this hiatus, I succeeded in discovering some interesting interregional connections that evolved as a direct consequence of the Battle of Brignais.

#### *DRAMATIS PERSONAE*

The protagonists of this study are mostly known by researchers specialising in the history of the Hundred Years' War, that is the reason why I will provide a short introduction about the figures who had played a significant role in the events before and after the Battle of Brignais. Arnaud de Cervole: In the Hundred Years' War every nation used a different name for Arnaud de Cervole, in English he was called the Archpriest:<sup>18</sup> in German he was referred to as 'der ertzprierster',<sup>19</sup> in French l'Archiprestre,<sup>20</sup> in Italian

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<sup>18</sup> Arnaud de Cervole became the Archpriest as he was the owner of the properties of the Archdeaconry of Velines, despite the fact that he was a layman.

<sup>19</sup> Archives de la Ville et l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg AA, 81. f. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, 1. 365 f. 50.

l'ariprete di Pelagorga,<sup>21</sup> in Latin Archipresbiter Varenarum.<sup>22</sup> But he became /in/famous among the English as well. He founded the first Magna Compania in the French Kingdom. Until his death in 1366, he remained one of the most influential French captains and as such he was one of the few who succeeded in integrating into the French nobility, by gaining significant influence in his adopted country, Burgundy.

Arnauld d'Audrehem: As the marshall of France, he fought throughout the first three decades of the Hundred Years' War. He knew the companies very well, he had fought with them<sup>23</sup>, but mostly against them. Arnauld remained loyal to the Crown until the very end and served several kings with dedication and zest. During the period covered by the present study, John II of France entrusted the marshall with cleansing Languedoc of the companies.<sup>24</sup> As a countermeasure against the menacing Companies in 1362 the French plan was to create two major commands with the aim of eliminating the companies in southern France. Arnauld was responsible for the western theatre of war, while in the eastern part of France it was the task of the counts of Tancarville and Bourbon to gather the royal forces.<sup>25</sup> Before the Battle of Brignais Arnauld was supposed to unite his forces with those of the eastern army led by the count of Bourbon and the count of Tancarville, respectively. Yet he arrived a few days too late.

Seguin de Badefol: Seguin de Badefol was the most famous mercenary captain of the period. He was born in 1330, in the castle of the Badefols. He was the offspring of a noble family from Perigord and as early as 1356 he already took part in the Battle of Poitiers as the commander of a mercenary company of 2000 men. After Poitiers he took part in every significant military operation of the era. According to Froissart, he was there at Brignais, as one of the strongest captains, with his company (the Margot).<sup>26</sup> Seguin was endowed with a special talent for occupying fortified cities (Brioude, Anse). After occupying these cities, he would start his looting trails, and sometimes he would even go as far as a hundred kilometres. He would then continue to pillage and loot the region until he had the local nobility pay him a huge ransom, in exchange for which he would finally leave.

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<sup>21</sup> *Cronica di Matteo Villani*, (Firenze: Il Magheri, 1825), IV. 332.

<sup>22</sup> Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, B. 9960.

<sup>23</sup> He participated in the 1366 crusade of the companies, where he was captured in the Battle of Nájera. According to Ayala, he was already over 60 at this time. Émile Moliner, *Étude sur La vie d'Arnauld d'Audrehem, Maréchal de France 130.-1370* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883) 5.

<sup>24</sup> R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V* (Paris: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1909), II. 319, Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, 46.

<sup>25</sup> Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, 45.

<sup>26</sup> "Li plus grans mestres entre yaus estoit uns chevaliers de Gascogne, qui s'appelloit messires Segins de Batefol: oilz avoit de se route bien deux mil combatans" "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, 62.

Jacques de Bourbon: The count of La Marche, a member of the Valois dynasty, had fought in every major battle of the period, he was injured at Crécy and he was even captured in Poitiers. Before the Battle of Brignais, he gathered his troops from Auvergne, Limousin, Provence, Savoy, Forez and Beaujolais.<sup>27</sup> After having besieged the castle of Brignais (which in itself was not a major fortress, yet due to its strategic location it did play an important role in controlling the major land and fluvial commercial routes leading to Lyon from the south) Jacques died due to the injuries he had sustained in the Battle of Brignais.

If the companies had held Brignais under continuous siege they could have cut off Lyon from any support and because of the proximity of the castle the danger of any unexpected attack would have been constant. This is why Bourbon did not wait for the companies led by Audrehem. Three days after Brignais he died of his fatal injuries together with his son, Pierre, who had only been knighted a few days prior to his death<sup>28</sup>.

Capitain de Buch: Jean de Grailly, a Gascon nobleman, the cousin of the count of Foix, whose destiny was closely linked to that of the English, and together with the Black Prince, he played a significant role in the Battle of Poitiers. He led the embracing cavalry siege which led to the final and definitive defeat of the French army<sup>29</sup>. Froissart emphasises his bravery and chivalry in the fights against Jacquerie in 1358.<sup>30</sup> He was one of the 22 English and Gascon noblemen who had signed the Peace Treaty of Brétigny on behalf of the English.<sup>31</sup>

Garciot de Castel: *"Sire Garciot de Castel, was a very wise man and valiant knight from this region [the territories under Gaston Fébus], and a good Frenchman"*.<sup>32</sup> Froissart learned about him from his companion Espan de Lyon during his journey to Béarn. Garciot was one of the most active captains of our period. Among others, his troops were the ones that were stationed in Nivernais and Donzy, before the Battle of Brignais. After Brignais, he headed west together with Enrique de Trastámara to seize

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<sup>27</sup> George Guigue, *Recits de la guerre de cent ans. Les Tard-Venus en Lyonnais, Forez et Beaulonais, 1359-1369* (Lyon: Imprimerie Vitte et Perrussel), 1886. 64.

<sup>28</sup> 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, 2014, 18 May 2018, En ligne: <http://thalamus.huma-num.fr/annales-occitanes/annee-1362.html> (consulté le 2 03 2019). f. 106 r.

<sup>29</sup> Henri Denifle, *La Désolution des Églises, Monastères et Hopitaux en France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1899), I. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Pierre d'Orgemont, "Chronique" II. 183-184.

<sup>31</sup> Delachenal, "Histoire de Charles V", 197.

<sup>32</sup> "Pour tant que messire Garsis de Chastel, ung moult vaillant chevalier de ce pays icy et bons Francoys" *Chroniques* de J. Froissart ed. Léon Mirot (Párizs: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champton, 1931), XII. 36-37.

the throne of Castile from his half-brother, but this mission failed because the Companies did not enter Castile, instead they participated in the war of the two most powerful lords of the Midi. In the Battle of Launac, he took the side of the count of Armanac, against Gaston Fébus and was then captured. Later he returned to Castile together with du Guesclin in 1366, that is, in the course of the crusades of the companies in yet a second attempt to take Castile on behalf of Enrique de Trastámara.<sup>33</sup>

Ryffard de Flandre: The stepbrother of Louis II de Mâle, who sent him to Donzy in 1360 so that he could make amends for the damage caused under the captainship of Arnaud de Cervole, and to represent the interests of his brother among the local noblemen and authorities. He was also entrusted with solving the issue of the English and Breton companies present in the barony. Louis II de Mâle: Count of Flanders, whose long reign was accompanied by the French-English conflict of the Hundred Years' War, and who, as a Realpolitiker, tried to maintain the neutrality of Flanders, despite the fact that he could have been an important ally for both parties. From the point of view of the present study his status as the count of Flanders is less important than the one as Baron of Donzy.

Jean de Melon: Count of Tancarville, the Chamberlain of France. John II entrusted Jean de Melon together with Arnaud d'Audrehem with gathering the still mobilisable forces in the eastern part of the kingdom, in Burgundy, Brie, Champagne, and in the bailliages of Mâcon, Lyon, and Sens, as well as in the duchies of Berry and Auvergne. He organised both the defence<sup>34</sup> and the mobilisation against the companies<sup>35</sup> with great success. Jean cooperated closely with the Archpriest, whose task it was to recruit as many companies as possible for the royal army, as well as to represent the interests of the king in Nivernais, Donzy, and upon the request of Tancarville, in Burgundy as well.

Guiot de Pin: A mercenary captain who worked closely with Badefol, and who, according to Froissart, served under Badefol in the battle of Brignais. After the battle, Guiot remained active in Burgundy and the surrounding regions. He launched operations independently of Seguin de Badefol, and he was also known for his hot temper, which eventually led to his downfall. He occupied the city of Anse together with

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<sup>33</sup> Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 14-15.

<sup>34</sup> Germain du Vault porte lettres par ordre du gouverneur donné le 23 fevriér à prevots d'Avallon, Mont Real et Chateaux Gérard pour ariser les forteresses des dites prevotés et tenir tout prêts pour la garde et défense le 29 fev. Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, 1. 365 f. 40.

<sup>35</sup> Nouvelles lettres au même pur ordre de Tancarville le 17 Avril pour le même suget. Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, 1. 365 f. 40.

Seguin de Badefol and held it for ten months in the course of 1364-1365. Regnaud de Monbelot, sire of Jancey<sup>36</sup> set up a trap and captured Guiot du Pin, who was then taken to the city of Châlon. Philip the Bold and his brother Charles V paid Regnaud de Monbelot 200 golden florins for the capture of Guiot de Pin.<sup>37</sup>

Philippe de Rouvres: The last Capeting duke of Burgundy. His father Philippe de Bourgogne, the son of duke Eude IV died in a horse accident on 22 September, 1346 during the siege of Aiguillon,<sup>38</sup> while the last duke of Burgundy before the Valois dynasty, Philippe de Rouvres met his death on 21 November 1361, in a riding accident, similarly to his father.<sup>39</sup> He was only 15 when he died, so he had no direct descendants. Two crowned figures claimed the duchy for themselves: King John II of France, making his son Philip, the duke of Tourain, the first Valois duke of Burgundy, and Charles the Bad, the King of Navarre, respectively.<sup>40</sup>

Arnaud de Tallebardon: A friend of Guiot de Pin, who also worked closely with Seguin de Badefol in the Battle of Brignais. Until the occupation of Anse, he carried out his operations with his own company. First he served the duke of Burgundy but later he turned against him in Autonois.<sup>41</sup> Yet he was more fortunate than his friend, because he was captured<sup>42</sup> in Bard-le-Régulier,<sup>43</sup> but by the time the news reached the bailiff of Auxois, Tallebardon had already managed to escape. Somewhat later, in a response to the last warning of the duke,<sup>44</sup> he restrained himself and finally disappeared from Burgundy altogether.

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<sup>36</sup> Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or B. 1416. f.61. v.

<sup>37</sup> Philippe, fils de roy de France, duc de Bourgoigne. Au receveur général de Bourgoigne, salut. Nous vous mandons que à mons. Renaut de Monbelot, chevalier, seigneur de Jancey, vous paieiz et délivrez tantost et sans délai la somme de deux cens florins de Florence, que deuz li sont, par accort fait avec li par les genz de notre conseil estans à Chalon en cette présente foire chaude, pour cause de la prise de Guiot du Pin et de la délivrance d'icelui Guiot, faite à nos dites gens, et en rapportant ces présentes avec quittance dudit mons. Renaut, nous voulons et mandons ladite somme estre allouée en vos comptes et rabattue de votre recepte senz aucun contredit, non obstant quelconques ordonances ou deffenses faites ou à faire au contraire. Donné à Chalons, sous le petit seel de notre court, en l'absence du grnat, le XXII jour d'octobre, l'an mil ccc soixante et quatre. Par le conseil duquel estoient messire Jacques de Vienne, le marechal de Bourgoigne et vous." Mandement du duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi, relatif à prise de Guyot du Pin, 22 Octobre 1364, Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or B 359., Aimé Chérest, *L'archipêtre, épisodes de la guerre de Cent Ans au XIVe siècle*. (Paris: A. Claudin, 1879), Pièces Justificatives XIX, 402.

<sup>38</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, IV. footnote 4.

<sup>39</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart" ed. Luce, VI 77., Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 88.

<sup>40</sup> Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 89.

<sup>41</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipêtre", 290.

<sup>42</sup> Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, 1.F.365 Compte de Baillage de Auxois f.52. v.

<sup>43</sup> Allegedly they had planned the chevauchée up to Troyes. Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 105.

<sup>44</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipêtre", 291.



Enrique de Trastámara: the illegitimate half-brother of Pedro, he was the fourth of ten children of king Alfonso XI and Eleanor de Guzmán. After Pedro had inherited the throne, he had Enrique's mother imprisoned and Enrique had to flee from Castile. Upon arriving in France with his entourage of 600, he offered his services to King John, and became a mercenary captain.<sup>45</sup> In the course of his adventurous life, he tried returning to his home country on several occasions, which led to much bloodshed in Aragon, Navarre and Castile. European alliances were forged for and against him, and finally, after several years of fighting with varying success, he killed Pedro with his own hands and founded the Trastámara dynasty, which reigned in Castile until the beginning of the 16th century. It is interesting to note that his first attempt to return home was linked to the Battle of Brignais, after he had promised a 100 000 livres to the winning companies so as to persuade them to accompany him to the other side of the Pyrenees. Yet the war between the count of Foix and the count of Armanac had distracted the companies from their original objective, thus the alliance fell apart and ended in the Battle of Launac, which brought about the overwhelming victory of Gaston Fébus.<sup>46</sup>

#### ARNAUD THE CERVOLE AND HIS ACTIVITIES IN NIVERNAIS AND DONZY BEFORE THE BATTLE OF BRIGNAIS

Arnaud de Cervole was the offspring of the Cervoles, a noble family from the county of Périgord.<sup>47</sup> He was the third born. His eldest brother, Pierre inherited the family's wealth and became a knight, while the second elder brother of the Cervole family, Isart pursued an ecclesiastic career and became the prior of Gouvernoy-sur-Marne.<sup>48</sup> As the third born, the Archpriest had to manage on his own, so he decided to become a military entrepreneur. His Burgundian career began as early as 1358, when he arrived in the cities of Nevers and Donzy, which are situated at the border regions of the duchy of Burgundy, where he fulfilled his utmost desire to become one of the most powerful noblemen of the region. The future Charles V, at that time the regent of the kingdom, appointed the Archpriest to the position of the lieutenant of the king in Nivernais, where he was entrusted with the defence of the region. Neither the acts of his company, nor his unsuccessful attempts to resist the invading army of Edward III made

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<sup>45</sup> "dó andaban el Conde Don Enrique, Don Sancho sus hermanos, é muchos caballeros de Castilla con ellos, que andaban desterrados fuera del Regno de Castilla por recelo é miedo que avian del Rey Don Pedro, é por se mantener facian guerra en aquella tierra de Provenza". Pedro Lopez de Ayala, *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla* (Madrid: Libreria en la Aduana Vieja, 1779), I. 357.

<sup>46</sup> "E ovo ese dia grand honra el Conde de Fox, é grandes treinta cuentos desta moneda de Castilla" Ayala, *"Cronicas"*, 379-380.

<sup>47</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipètre", 8.

<sup>48</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipètre", 7.

him popular among the citizens of Nevers and Donzy.<sup>49</sup> Following the treaty of Brétigny, he ravaged the land in the proximity of Lyon, but some months later, Jean de Melun, count of Tancarville, ordered Arnaud de Cervole back to Nivernais. Tancarville had to organise the resistance against the companies in the eastern provinces of the kingdom.<sup>50</sup> Jean de Melun, who bore the title of the King's Chamberlain as well, had known the Archpriest for a long time: they were captured together at Poitiers in 1356. He was aware of Arnaud de Cervole's ability of being able to convince other captains of the companies to fight in the royal army against their fellow mercenary soldiers. Tancarville was also aware of the Archpriest's terrible reputation, which helped in forcing the local population to finance the cost of the mobilisation and to enforce the taxation of the regent's government. The central government was in dire need of money because of John II's enormous ransom,<sup>51</sup> and the constant problems due to the lack of the willingness of the provinces to provide financial support to the regent. The relationship between the Archpriest and the count of Tancarville and through him, with the government in Paris was multifold: he helped the royal tax collectors in executing their job. He also increased the influence of the central government by handing over the castles he had occupied in the region<sup>52</sup>. The treasury paid the Archpriest 16000 florins for surrendering the castles of Dammarie and Bléneau to the count of Tancarville instead of the rightful owner, the count of Nevers.<sup>53</sup> Louis de Mâle, count of Flanders and the baron of Donzy, gave an account of Arnaud de Cervole's deeds in a letter written to one of the counsellors dated 17 February 1362:

"my dear friend, you know very well that the companies, enemies of the king, the Archpriest and his accomplices stayed in our country by the order of the count of Tancarville, as we have mentioned, and they burnt everything, attacked the living, and took the food, ravaged the land, killed and ransomed our men and subjects, they greatly endangered our county, they carried out pure destruction, causing much bloodshed. There is nobody who could defend the honour of our lord the King, and the Kingdom, and our land. We have decided to send soldiers from Flanders to our country to guard and defend our castles and domains so as to prevent the enemy from taking and destroying our country"<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Lettres de Charles, régent de France, en date du 31 décembre 1359, par lesquelles Charles de Poitiers est nommé capitaine général en Nivernais, Donziais, Puysaie etc, en remplacement d'Arnaud de Cervole, Chérest, "L'Archipètre", Pièces Justificatives VI. 374.

<sup>50</sup> Archive Départementales de la Côte-d'Or, 1.F.365 Compte de Baillage de Auxois f. 33.

<sup>51</sup> The situation was the same before the military campaign of Edward, as a result of which the English king finally managed to obtain the Peace Treaty of Brétigny. *Historiae anglicanae scriptores X.* (London: 1652), 2618-2619.

<sup>52</sup> Handing over the castles to the king instead of the count of Flanders, was part of a political game in which the king expressed his willingness to give back the castles to their rightful owners

<sup>53</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipètre", 94.

<sup>54</sup> Archives départementales du Nord, B.758 n. 14451.

Louis de Mâle sent his half-brother Ryffard of Flanders to defend the barony of Donzy, yet this turned out to be a complete disaster for the people: Ryffard's presence brought as much suffering as the invading army of Edward III or Arnaud de Cervole's company. There is a unique source in Lille (Archives Départementales du Nord) about Ryffard's accomplishment in Nivernais. There we have a detailed description of the intertwined relations among the Archpriest, the Breton companies, the local nobility and Ryffard of Flanders. At the same time the bastard of Flanders tried to strike a compromise with the Breton companies and hinder the work of the royal tax collectors. He came to an agreement with Gaultier, one of the Breton captains in the region, concerning the return of the castle of Arche (probably today's Arthel) for 4300 florins. From the document it is obvious that he did it without involving of the local nobility. He left Nivernais and entrusted Jehan Bernaige with the collection of the 4300 florins, but the ten most important knights of Nivernais hindered the work of Ryffard's tax collectors: they gathered at Nevers and contested Ryffard's taxation rights and at the same time, they limited the area from where taxes could be collected. There were two more additional obstacles to obtaining the required sum in time: there was another Breton company that occupied the castle of Flory, making any movement in Nivernais and Donzy impossible. The other obstacle to collecting the required sum was the impoverishment of the people. The nobles of the region complained that 3000 florins had already been collected by another Breton company for the same reason.<sup>55</sup>

At the same time, Ryffard's soldiers captured the royal tax collectors, robbed and imprisoned them.<sup>56</sup> When Ryffard returned to Nevers it became obvious for Gaultier and his company that they would never receive the promised money. Partly because of their disappointment, partly to exercise pressure on the citizens of Nevers, the Breton company ravaged Nivernais, and gathered all existing livestock: pigs, cattle, sheep and brought them in front of one of the city gates, close enough for their owners to be able to recognise them. The citizens were terribly upset and demanded compensation from Ryffard. He thought that they were plotting against him and took the money that had previously been collected and fled to Dieppe. When the Bretons received the news about the bastard's departure they ravaged and destroyed the land in the county and in the barony by setting several cities (Montenoison, Noison, Lurcy-le-Bourg) on fire.<sup>57</sup>

But another unexpected accident changed Arnaud de Cervole's destiny along with that of many others in the eastern part of France. The last Capeting duke of Burgundy,

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<sup>55</sup> Archives départementales du Nord, B.757 n. 8060.

<sup>56</sup> Archives départementales du Nord, B.758 n.14451.

<sup>57</sup> Archives départementales du Nord, B.758 n.14451.

Philippe of Rouvres, like his father, fell from his horse on 21 November 1362. He was only fifteen years old.<sup>58</sup> Tancarville entrusted the Archpriest with a task much more important than tax collection. He had to safeguard the King's journey to the heart of Burgundy, where John II appeared immediately - in Dijon - because he was the closest male heir. The king wanted to ensure the seamless succession of Burgundy, but this was impossible without armed forces at hand: so this is where Arnaud de Cervole's great company played a crucial role.<sup>59</sup> The uncertainty around the succession attracted the companies to Burgundy. The companies "burning from the fire of greed"<sup>60</sup> invaded the duchy at the turn of 1361/1362 and those:

who were unfortunate enough to be captured so that (*the companies*) could get money out of them, were terribly tortured with various incredible torture devices and drunken rage, without any mercy, not sparing any prisoner, regardless of their condition, age, or gender.<sup>61</sup>

### THE BATTLE OF BRIGNAIS

The mercenaries approached Burgundy from all quarters. We have already seen the effect of the Tard-Venus who arrived in the land of Nivernais. From the south-west, Petit-Meschin, Bérard and Bertrucat d'Albret, along with Seguin de Badefol, left Languedoc and arrived at the borders of Forez and Auvergne, where they occupied the castle of Viverols. By March, Perrin Boias had approached Lyon from the south-east and captured Le Puy. Again having left the service of the marquis of Montferrat and crossing Savoy, other companies arrived in the proximity of Lyon. These were the Gascon companies of Munde Bataillier, Naudon de Bageran, *bourcs*<sup>62</sup> Camus, Breteuil, Lasperre, and the English Companies of Sir John Hokwood, Sir Robert Birkhead, and Sir John Creswell. There were also other companies that attacked Burgundy from the valley of the Loire. They tried to conquer Charlieu as described by Froissart: "if they (the companies) surrounded the castle and attacked it with great strength, then they went to great pains to take it. And the castle was attacked there during one day, but they could not take it, because it was well guarded and well defended by the gentlemen who withdrew here from the surrounding lands."<sup>63</sup> The companies did not want to conquer the land but they wanted to maximise their profit. This was well-reflected in their strategy: they used the

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<sup>58</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI.. 77, Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 88.

<sup>59</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipêtre", 298.

<sup>60</sup> Clamat ad Nos Bull of Urban V, Odorico Rinaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*. (Cologne, Ioannem Wilhelmum Friessem, 1691), XVI.. 442.

<sup>61</sup> Clamat ad Nos Bull of Urban V Rinaldi, "Annales Ecclesiastici". 442.

<sup>62</sup> Bastards: Among the captains of the companies several were the illegitimate sons of nobles who pursued a military career and made their own fortune by leading a mercenary company. However, in most cases, their careers were cut short, as when they were captured, they were executed. See Appendix B. in Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries" 323-325.

<sup>63</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. 64.

river valleys to infiltrate into a province by focusing on taking the strategically important castles or cities. They endeavoured to control trade routes by land and river, hence the crossing points were of a high value to them. A city with a bridge made it possible for the mercenaries to advance towards both banks of a river. The size of the cities was important: they were successful in taking cities like Brioud, Anse, Auxerre, Pont-Saint-Espirite, each of them with approximately 2000 inhabitants. These cities were big enough to be able to control large areas, sometimes even ones with a territory of up to 60-90 kilometres in diameter. They used them as a base for the *chevauchées*, but it was also the starting point for isolating a big city like Lyon or Avignon in the proximity of their operations. The companies tried but never succeeded in taking a significant metropolis with more than 30 000 inhabitants. But most of the time, their goal was to take a toll on the commercial routes leading in and out of large cities. That is why they chose the castles, or smaller cities that they intended to conquer very carefully. As the companies advanced in the river valleys they occupied castles close enough to each other so as to be able to send aid in the case of a siege. This is exactly what happened at Brignais.

The town of Brignais is situated in a plain, at the entrance to the Garon valley, a tributary of the Rhône. It guarded the route to Lyon from the south-west. The companies marched directly toward Lyon and "robbed the land, kidnapped people for ransom and plundered cities."<sup>64</sup> They arrived at the same time at the castles of Rive-de-Gier and Brignais.<sup>65</sup> None of the castles was strongly defended, there were only a few soldiers present, so the companies took both castles without any problems.<sup>66</sup> The news caused great panic among the citizens of Lyon. Just two months earlier, on 27 January, Guillaume de Treffort, the lieutenant of the bailiff of Mâcon, surveyed the fortifications of Lyon and found them too weak, so he ordered the necessary reinforcements to be carried out.<sup>67</sup> There were three major gatherings of royal forces at the eastern theatre of the war on mercenaries. Arnaud de Audrehem, the Marshal of France, led an army in Auvergne accompanied by the Spanish forces of Enrique of Trastámara. They led a successful operation against the companies of Perrin Boias, who emptied the fortress of Saugues in the first days of March and joined the companies which had already ravaged Forez, Lyonnaise and Burgundy.<sup>68</sup> The other group was led by the count of Tancarville,

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<sup>64</sup>"Gastant le pays, ranchonnant gens et villes" "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. 260.

<sup>65</sup> Frantz Funk-Bertrano, *Les Brigands* (Paris, Librairie Hachette et C<sup>te</sup>, 1913) 50.

<sup>66</sup> Guigue, "Les Tard-Venus", 61.

<sup>67</sup> Archives municipales de Lyon, CC 190. f. 2. v.

<sup>68</sup> M. Émile Molinier, *Étude sur la Vie d'Arnaud d'Audrehem, Maréchal de France 130.-1370* in: *Mémoires presents par divers Savants a l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France, Deuxième série* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale 1883) Vol. 6. Première Partie, 102.

who gave the order to the nobles of Burgundy to defend the marches of Burgundy and Autunois.<sup>69</sup> While he, along with Arnaud de Cervole and the royal army gathered from the surrounding provinces (Champagne, Burgundy, Sénonais, Auxerre, and Nivernais) arrived in Lyon rapidly crossing Mâconais and Beaulolais in the middle of March. Here, he joined the troops of Jacques de Bourbon, count of La Marche, who came from Auvergne, Limousin, Provence, Savoy, Dophiné, Forez, and Beaujolais.<sup>70</sup> It was Jacques de Bourbon who took charge of the operations by becoming the commander of the two armies. The original plan was to wait for the third army of Arnaud de Audrehem and together they planned to challenge the attacking companies. However, before this could happen, the army of Bourbon and Tancarville suffered a crushing defeat when they laid siege to Brignais. We do not know exactly what had happened because we have two detailed but completely contradictory descriptions of the events. One of them was written by Matteo Villani:

Petit Meschin, ..... Having been informed of the disorder in the French camp, ..hurriedly ...arrived unexpectedly above the French camp several hours before daybreak and without a let-up attacked them with great noise and clamour. Taken by surprise, and frightened by the terrible cries, the French lost heart and although they ran for their arms to repulse the enemy, the companies pressed hard upon them that they gave them no time to arm themselves. An army which included so many barons and valiant knights thus had the misfortune to be routed and put to flight, and many were killed and wounded.<sup>71</sup>

Jonathan Sumption in his ground-breaking series on the Hundred Years' War accepts Villani's version<sup>72</sup> because the brief description of another contemporary chronicle, the *Petite Thalamus* coincides with Villani's version, except for the fact that according to *Petite Thalamus*, the attack took place at *None*, that is to say 3. p.m.<sup>73</sup>

Kenneth Fowler argues that Froissart's version is more detailed and that he is the only one who gives some account of the terrain and the details of the battle. According to Froissart, the companies took up their positions on the top of a hill. Seguin de Badefol was one of the leaders along with Petit Meschin of the Great Companies, while Guyot de Pin and Talebardon served under him. They threw stones at the French, who attacked the mercenaries in three successive waves.<sup>74</sup> Arnaud de Cervole was one of the captains of the Duke of Bourbon and the leader of the vanguard, and he was captured in the course

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<sup>69</sup> Archives départementales de Côte d'Or, B. 1412. f. 37.v.

<sup>70</sup> Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 46.

<sup>71</sup> Cronica di Matteo Villani, Libro Decimo, Capitolo XCV. Come la compagnia del Pitetto Meschino sconfisse l'oste del re di Francia a Brignai., in: *Chroniche di Giovanni, Matteo, E Filippo Villani*, (Trieste: Letterario-Artistica del Lloyd Austriaco 1857), I 362. Fowler, "Medieval Mercenaries", 48.

<sup>72</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War II: Trial by Fire*, e-book edition (London: PENN, 2001), l. (location) 10625.

<sup>73</sup> "a hora nona" *Le Petit Thalamus*, f. 106 r. En ligne: <http://thalamus.huma-num.fr/annales-occitanes/annee-1362.html> (consulté le 2 03 2019).

<sup>74</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. 262.

of the battle. In the meantime, the better armed part of the companies, around 5-6 000 men-at-arms, hid themselves behind another hill and waited for the best moment to commence a side attack that took the Royal army by complete surprise.

Thus, as the lord James of Bourbon and the other lords with their banners and pennons before them approached and coasted the said mountain, the worst armed of the companions cast still continually stones at them in such wise that the hardiest of them was driven aback, and thus, as they held them in that estate a great space, the great fresh battle of these companions found a way and came about the mountain well ranged and had their spears of six foot of length, and so came crying with one voice and brake in among the Frenchmen. So at the first meeting they were sore strokes on both parts, and these companions fought so ardently that it was marvel, and caused the Frenchmen to recule back: and there the archpriest like a good knight fought valiantly, but he was taken prisoner by force of arms and sore hurt, and divers other knights and squires of his company.<sup>75</sup>

Either way the battle took place and one element is common in both descriptions: the unexpected appearance of the mercenaries which caught the royal army totally off guard, and as a result the army was completely routed. Their leader, Jacques de Bourbon, the cousin of King John II and his son Pierre, were seriously wounded and died a few days after the battle in Lyon.<sup>76</sup> Froissart is wrong about the date. He assumed that the battle took place on the Friday after Easter (12 April 1361)<sup>77</sup>, but in fact the exact date happened to be 6 April 1362. The count of Tancarville was released upon giving his word that he would pay his ransom later. In a letter to his page dated 21 April, he indicated the reimbursement of his pages' losses in the battle of Brignais.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Arnaud de Cervole had to discuss the figure of his personal debt with the bastard of Monsac, one of his compatriots, by whom he was captured.<sup>79</sup> Following the battle, the captains received an enormous payment, 100 000 gold florins, and it was agreed that they would follow Enrique of Trastámara to the kingdom of Castile to take revenge on the death of his mother and to regain the throne. Most of the powerful captains, Bertrucat d'Albert, Bérard de Labret de Sainte-Bzeille, Gaciot du Castel, Jehan Aymery, Pierre Montaut, Espiote, Arnaud de Tallebardon, Petit Meschin, the bourc de Breteuil and Jehan Hazenorgue signed the contract and followed Enrique to the west.<sup>80</sup> However, the captains who decided to stay in the east of France were recruited to serve Burgundy. Burgundy became defenceless hence the companies inflicted such a devastation on that land that even 20 years after the event people had vivid memories of the "men of the

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<sup>75</sup> The Chronicles of Froissart trans: Lord Berners 141.

<sup>76</sup> Le Petit Thalamus, f. 106 r. En ligne: <http://thalamus.huma-num.fr/Annales-occitanes/annee-1362.html> (consulté le 2 03 2019).

<sup>77</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. 29

<sup>78</sup> Archives départementales de Côte d'Or, B. 1412. f. 40. r.

<sup>79</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. Sommarie XXVII note 3.

<sup>80</sup> Nicolas Savy, Bertrucat d'albert: ou le destine d'un captain gascon du roi d'Angleterre pendant la guerre de Cent Ans (Cahors, Archeodrom, 2007) e-book edition I. (location) 1493.

Archpriest and the fire of Guiot du Pin and Taillevardon, who robbed and destroyed the land”<sup>81</sup> in 1362.

#### ARNAUD DE CERVOLE’S DEEDS FOLLOWING THE BATTLE OF BRIGNAIS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE IN BAR, ALSACE AND LORRAINE

Having regained his liberty, Arnaud de Cervole did not waste his time to find an opportunity to compensate for his losses after the battle as soon as possible. He became an ally of Yolanda of Bar and her husband, Eude, Sire of Grancey, with the aim of invading the Duchy of Bar in the autumn of 1362. Eude, and his wife had a long lasting dispute with Robert of Bar over the fiefdom of Pierropont, which consisted of a fortress and three villages: Beuveil, Doncourt and Han.<sup>82</sup> This was an important castellan domain in Bar worth risking an all-out war with the duke. It was announced that: “Lord of Grancey entered into an alliance with the chief of the captains and the Bretons and entered the valley of Bourmont with six thousand horses.”<sup>83</sup>

On 30 November, four spies left the city of Gondrecourt in the direction of Saint-Urban to gather information on the situation of the great company. The duke warned the garrisons, including the one in La Mothe, about the movements of the Great Companies and ordered them to put up resistance to them.<sup>84</sup> He also recruited some of the captains of the companies: this time at least three of them were at his service: Pierre de Monabo,<sup>85</sup> Hérard de Champigneulles, and Joffroy de Mellnicourt.<sup>86</sup> But these captains were of the so called “second rank”<sup>87</sup>, so Robert was basically undermanned. The duke considered the invading army too powerful, and he was also convinced that the objective of Grancey was not to conquer his land but to pillage it and to cause as much damage as possible. So finally he decided to withdraw into his castles and await the passage of the storm. Eude and the Archpriest swiftly overwhelmed the countryside. The seneschal of La Mothe

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<sup>81</sup> "Chroniques de Froissart", ed. Luce, VI. XX.

<sup>82</sup> Victor Servais, *Histoire Politique, Civile Militaire et Ecclésiastique du Duché de Bar*. (Bar-le-Duc: Contant-Laguerre et Cie, 1865). 49.

<sup>83</sup> Victor. Servais, "Historie Politique", 131. The army of six thousand horses is certainly far larger than the real size of the attacking company of Arnaud de Cervole, which might have been closer to half of the quoted number.

<sup>84</sup> Archives de Departementales de la Meuse. B. 2322 Compte de Colin Pallardel f. 114.v.

<sup>85</sup> Archives de Departementales de la Meuse. B. 2322 Compte de Colin Pallardel f. 112.v.

<sup>86</sup> Archives de Departementales de la Meuse. B. 2322 Compte de Colin Pallardel f. 110 v.

<sup>87</sup> Independent Captains of the "second rank" commanded dozens of men at arms, not hundreds. Germain Butaud, *Les compagnies de routiers en France 1357-1393* (Clermont-Ferrand: Lemmeedit, 2012), 57. However, they would join a Great Company for example on a mission. In France the structure of the great companies was more flexible than in Italy.



noted that the English arrived in Bassigny first and later in Saint-Dizier.<sup>88</sup> The countryside was left to the mercy of the *routiers*, yet this word was non-existent in their vocabulary. Arnaud de Cervole's and Eude's tactics were successful, namely the damage was so unbearable that Robert had to enter into negotiations with them. This fact led to the handing over of the disputed fiefdom of Pierropont to Yolanda of Bar and her husband. Eude became Robert's vassal and he renounced the war against the duke. He stated in his letter that he would not begin any other hostility against Bar, would withdraw the companies and he committed himself to supporting Robert in keeping his power. The document is dated 7 February 1363.<sup>89</sup>

After the disaster of Brignais an immediate reaction to the threat of the winning companies was necessary. The local authorities in Alsace took the imminent threat at their border seriously. Two interrelated treaties are the proof of how vigilant the authorities were: one of them is dated 25 May 1362, just one and a half months after the Battle of Brignais, and it was signed in Colmar, against the "Englander"<sup>90</sup>. A significant part of the Treaty of Colmar is devoted to the punishment of collaborators:

Or those who were dawdling or living here and would be drawn to this above-mentioned company or this wretched people or would support them, those who carried out such cruel deeds and lived such a harmful life and would stay with them and openly or in secret help them with advice or acts and this would turn out to be that person, his lord, his superiors, or the city, whom he belongs to, shall blame and sue him and punish him to the extent that he bonifies this fully and gives satisfaction for it.<sup>91</sup>

The other one was lost in the course of the centuries. A transliteration of this treaty of Alliance, which was concluded during the year of 1362 in Metz, was preserved in the *Preuves de l'Histoire de Metz*.<sup>92</sup> In the Treaty of Metz the allies agreed to deploy 30 lances at their own expense in Alsace to aid the defence of the country. And if the Companies were going to arrive in Alsace they were going to send another 40 lances with the same conditions "to fight from day to day and defend the country in every way as the above said Lords, Cities and Communities desire...when the companies come into Alsace."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Archives de Departementales de la Meuse B. 2322 Compte de Colin Pallardel f. 112.v.

<sup>51</sup> Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle. B.522 f.112.

<sup>90</sup> Archives municipals de Colmar AA, 48 n. 1., Bischof Johannes von Straßburg, Bischof Johannes von Basel, Bischof Johannes von Gurk, Vertreter der Herzoge von Österreich in Schwaben und Elsaß, der Abt von Murbach, 15 genannte Grafen und Herren (darunter die Brüder Johannes, Ulrich und Bruno von Rappoltstein), ferner die freien Städte Straßburg, Basel und Freiburg, der Unterlandvogt im Elsaß, 11 genannte Reichstädte des Elsaß, endlich der württembergische Vogt zu Reichenweier und Rath und Bürger daselbst schließen gegen die sogenannten Engländer ein Bund, welcher bis zum 25 December 1362 gelten soll, 25 May 1362, Colmar: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Basel*, ed. Johannes Haller (Basel: 1899), n. 744, p. 570.

<sup>91</sup> Archives municipals de Colmar AA, 48 n. 1.

<sup>92</sup> *Preuves de l'Histoire de Metz*, ed. Nicolas Tabouillot (Metz: 1775) Vol. 1 196-197.

<sup>93</sup> *Preuves de l'Histoire de Metz* ed. Nicolas Tabouillot, 196-197.

Still in the year of the Battle of Brignais, Arnaud de Cervole married one of the wealthiest dames of Burgundy, Jeanne du Châteauvilain, and along with her hand he received the castles of Châteauvilain and Thil.<sup>94</sup> He became a trusted follower of the first Valois duke of Burgundy, Phillip the Bold. In 1365, he led a crusade toward Hungary to fight off the Turks from the European continent but he was stabbed in the back by a fellow crusader in Burgundy and died in 1366. It is not surprising after all that people rejoiced when they heard about the death of Arnaud de Cervole: “Also, in this year (1366), around Trinity, Sir Arnault de Cervole, called the Archpriest, the knight who had led the great company in the kingdom of France, was killed by the said company, and a lot of people rejoiced...”<sup>95</sup> because of the Archpriest's heritage of cruelty, which is reflected word for word in the 16th century German mercenary poem interpreted and translated by György Faludy:

We recognise no father, mother,  
we cut down every apple tree  
and poison every well we find  
and serve any master who pays us well.  
Without a word, or thought or even  
hatred, we guzzle up your wine  
and seize and cart away your chattels,  
and kidnap, rape and sell your child...  
and you must thank us before we go  
or we shall brain you by your gate  
because we are that shabby lot,  
the Germans' infamous mercenaries.<sup>96</sup>

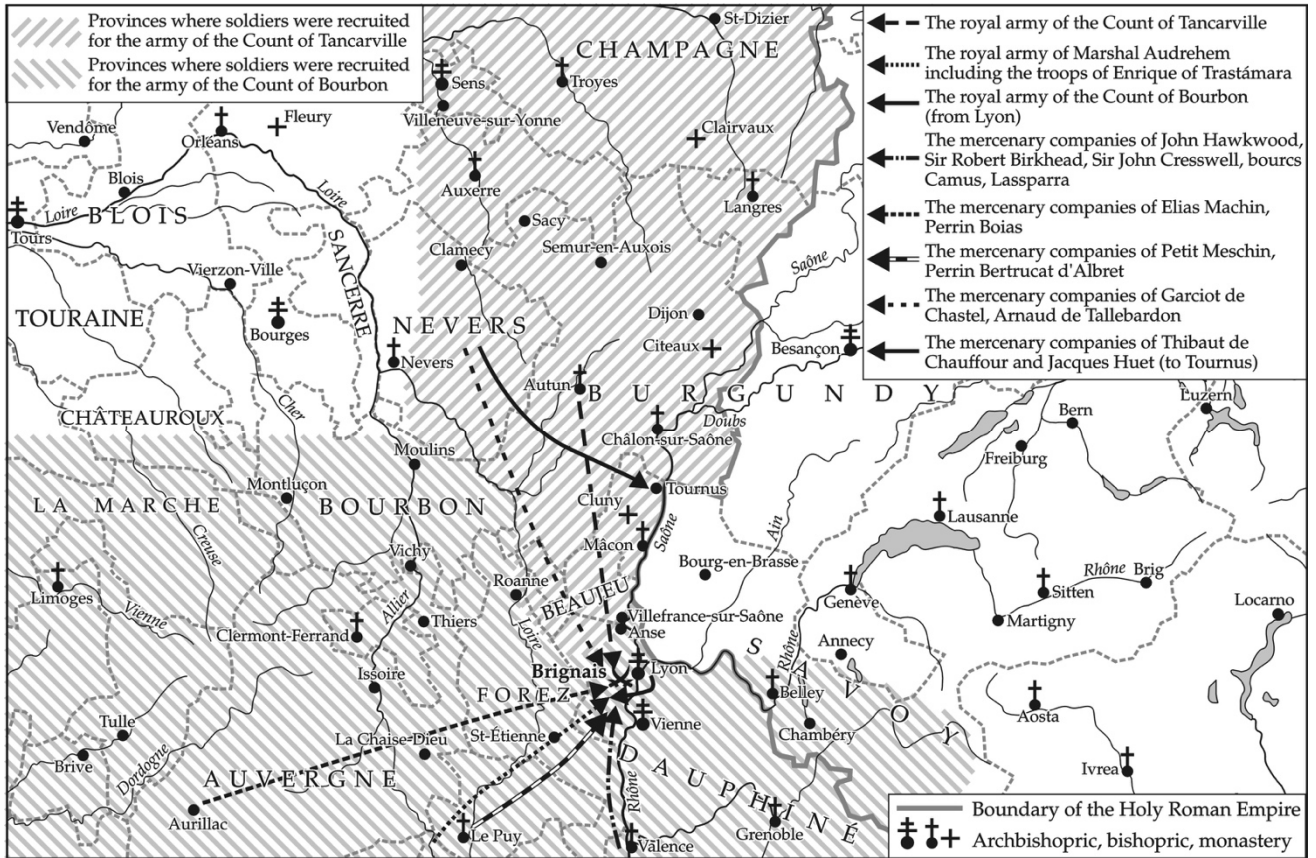
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<sup>94</sup> Chérest, "L'Archipètre", 202.

<sup>95</sup> "dont moult de genz furent joyeux": Pierre d'Orgemont, "Chronique" II. 18.

<sup>96</sup> Faludy György, Német Zsoldosdal in "Európai költők Antológiája" ed. Faludy György (Budapest, HáttérKiadó 2018) English translation: [https://www.babelmatrix.org/works/hu/Faludy\\_György-1910/Német\\_zsoldosdal](https://www.babelmatrix.org/works/hu/Faludy_György-1910/Német_zsoldosdal)

## ANEXOS



**Fig. 1** – Meeting of the royal armies and the mercenary companies at the battle of Brignais.