

# PERPIGNAN 1415

Un sommet européen  
à l'époque du Grand Schisme d'Occident

Sous la direction d'Aymat Catafau,  
Nikolas Jaspert et Thomas Wetzstein

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LIT

# Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt

herausgegeben von

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Courtly and Commercial Mobility:  
The Meeting of Perpignan (1415) and its Effects

*Nikolas Jaspert*

On an autumn night on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1415, the participants of the summit of Perpignan were woken by loud shouts and cries. Fighting had broken out in the streets of the town, and the clash had developed into a fully-fledged urban brawl which left several dead and wounded.<sup>1</sup> The imperial delegation which had entered the town a fortnight before was taken by surprise. King Sigismund feared he might be the objective of a violent assault, called his men to battle and even donned his own coat of armour, as the German chronicler Eberhard Windecke relates: “then the Roman king and his retinue thought they were to be murdered, so all, including the King, armed themselves”;<sup>2</sup> the Aragonese author Luís Panzan, too, recounts that “the Emperor heard such noise that he thought he was being attacked, so he ordered his people to be armed”.<sup>3</sup>

Random notes such as these call our attention to the fact that the high dignitaries who met in Perpignan in 1415 were of course accompanied by a

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- 1 Sebastián PUIG PUIG, Pedro de Luna: Episcopologio Barcinonense. Último papa de Avinón (1387-1430), Barcelona, 1920, pp. 553f.; Acta Concilii Constanciensis [ACC] 4 vols., ed. Heinrich FINKE, Münster, 1896-1928, here vol. 3, doc. 201, pp. 455–458; Walter PRINZHORN, Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII. und seiner Oboedienz in Perpignan, August-Dezember 1415, Freiburg, 1926, pp. 34f.; Francesca VENDRELL DE MILLÀS, L’avalot de Perpinyà en ocasió de les vistes per la fi del Cisma d’Occident, in: Estudis Universitaris Catalans 22 (1936), pp. 195–206 and the contributions by Aymat Catafau / Claude Denjean and Ana Echevarría in this volume. Many thanks to Attila Bárány (Debrecen), Alberto Torra (Barcelona), Kathrin Kelzenberg, Robin Köhler-Kelzenberg and Paul Schweitzer-Martin (Bochum and Heidelberg) for their assistance and Julia Burkhardt (Heidelberg) for her valuable references to Hungarian, Polish and Czech scholarship.
  - 2 *do must der Römisch könig und alles sin volg nit anders, danne daz sie solten erslagen werden, und bereiten sich also in iren harnsch und der konig selbe* – Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds: zum ersten Male vollständig herausgegeben, ed. Wilhelm ALTMANN, Berlin, 1893, chapter 69, p. 63.
  - 3 *El emperador que sintió el ruido tan grande pensó que por él lo habían; mandó armar su gente* – Luis PANZÁN, Recordanzas en tiempo del Papa Luna (1407-1435) (Clásicos olvidados 10), Madrid, 1987, p. 121.

considerable entourage – *Volg* as Windecke put it or *gente* in the words of Panzán. These individuals are notoriously difficult to identify, for they are seldom referred to by name – if they are mentioned at all. To give three further examples: Who were the men amongst Sigismund’s followers that Aragonese and Catalan knights were not allowed to challenge – according to a prohibition issued by King Ferdinand in Perpignan against such contests?<sup>4</sup> Who were the Central European musicians and singers an anonymous Aragonese chronicler described admiringly when relating the King’s entry on September 19<sup>th</sup> 1415: *Y traya seys trompetas; y en las banderas d’ellas, las águilas del imperio [...] y con ellos venian los ministriles altos que tañian a marabilla.*<sup>5</sup> And who exactly were King Sigismund’s falconers, heralds, equerries, doctors and trumpeters, all of whom received presents from King Ferdinand during the Perpignan summit, duly noted in the registers without however revealing the identities of the recipients?<sup>6</sup> The chroniclers duly noted the King’s extensive retinue. But we know little about the largely anonymous participants of the meeting, although they might well be quite important for the history of German-Iberian relations, as I will attempt to show in this paper. If we want to understand the meeting of Perpignan as a summit *avant la lettre*, we also need to take the King’s escort and the rest of his delegation into account.<sup>7</sup>

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- 4 ACC vol. 3 (see note 1), doc. 208, p. 474; Acta Negotii Perpiniani. Documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón referentes al encuentro de Perpiñán del año 1415 (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 11), ed. Alberto TORRA, Münster / Berlin, 2017, doc. 309, doc. 310.
- 5 Crónica incompleta del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón (Textos medievales 69), ed. Luis VELA GORMEDINO, Zaragoza, 1985, p. 63.
- 6 TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 192, doc. 306.
- 7 Prior Studies of the Meeting of Perpignan: Bernhard BESS, Die Verhandlungen zu Perpignan und die Schlacht von Azincourt (1415), in: Historisches Jahrbuch 22 (1901), pp. 688–709; PRINZHORN, Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII. (see note 1); Antal ÁLDÁSY, Zsigmond-király és Spanyolország: székfoglaló értekezés, Budapest, 1927, pp. 34–87; PUIG PUIG, Pedro de Luna: Episcopologio Barcinonense (see note 1), pp. 285–302; ACC vol. 3 (see note 1) pp. 427–510; Antal de ALDASY, Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d’Aragon, in: Estudis Universitaris Catalans 20 (1935), pp. 1–49; Marques de CALDES DE MONTBUI / Carles SANLLEHY I GIRONA, Una extraordinaria embajada: la Corona de Aragón y el Concilio de Constanza, in: Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 18 (1945), pp. 1–28, here pp. 19–26; Walter BRANDMÜLLER, Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414–1418, vol. 2: Bis zum Konzilsende, Paderborn, 1999, pp. 3–54; Gerald SCHWEDLER, Herrschertreffen des Spätmittelalters: Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen (Mittelalter-Forschungen 21), Ostfildern, 2008, pp. 459–460; Nikolas JASPert, Das aragonesische Dilemma. Die Heimat Benedikts XIII. zwischen Obödienzstreit, herrschaftlichem Umbruch und internationa-

In principle, when dealing with these persons, one could differentiate between the King's household and his court or between a "narrower" and a "wider court", to pick up approaches developed in recent years in comparative studies on late medieval court administration.<sup>8</sup> Here, however, we will not attempt to reconstruct King Sigismund's retinue on administrative terms. The aim of this paper is more modest, for it merely attempts to extend and secure our knowledge of the individuals, be they humble or noble, who hailed from the Roman-German Empire and who pertained to the King's circle at the time of the Perpignan meeting. Such an agent-centred approach to the summit and its participants will hopefully provide a more comprehensive perspective of this momentous event than focusing on the rulers alone.<sup>9</sup> Just like present day political leaders, medieval monarchs did not travel alone, and the royal delegation followed several agendas apart

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ler Verflechtung, in: *Das Konstanzer Konzil als Europäisches Ereignis (Vorträge und Forschungen 79)*, eds. Gabriela SIGNORI / Birgit STUDT, Ostfildern, 2014, pp. 107–141, here pp. 119–126.

- 8 Werner PARAVICINI, *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte 32), Munich, 1999, pp. 65–71; Hof und Theorie: Annäherungen an ein historisches Phänomen (Norm und Struktur 22), eds. Reinhardt BUTZ / Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL / Dietmar WILLOWEIT, Cologne, 2004; Andreas RANFT, *Spätmittelalterlicher Hof und adliges Reisen*, in: „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“. Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 1), eds. Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPERT, Münster / Berlin, 2004, pp. 291–311; *Informelle Strukturen bei Hof: Dresdener Gespräche zur Theorie des Hofes (Vita curialis 2)*, eds. Reinhardt BUTZ / Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL, Berlin, 2009; Marc von der HÖH / Nikolas JASPERT / Jenny Rahel OESTERLE, *Courts, Brokers and Brokerage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, in: *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages (Mittelmeerstudien 1)*, eds. Marc von der HÖH / Nikolas JASPERT / Jenny Rahel OESTERLE, Paderborn, 2013, pp. 10–31, particularly pp. 10–15.
- 9 Cf. recent studies on the court of King Sigismund: Gisela BEINHOFF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds (1410–1437)* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 620), Frankfurt am Main [u.a.], 1995; Martin KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa. Auswärtige Politik zwischen dem Reich, Frankreich, Burgund und England in der Regierungszeit Kaiser Sigmunds* (Mittelalter-Forschungen 2), Stuttgart, 2000, especially pp. 197–228, 417–470; Daniela DVORÁKOVÁ, *Lengyelek Luxemburgi Zsigmond udvarában*, in: *Századok 136* (2002), pp. 391–415; Stanislaw A. SROKA, *Polacy na Węgrzech za panowania Zygmunta Luksemburskiego (1387–1437)*, Kraków, 2011; Petr ELBEL, *Personenforschung zum Hof Kaiser Sigismunds am Beispiel der böhmischen Höflinge und Parteigänger. Vorstellung eines Forschungsvorhabens*, in: *Stand und Perspektiven der Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte zum römisch-deutschen Reich. Der Forschungseinfluss Peter Moraws auf die deutsche Mediävistik (Studien und Texte zur Geistes- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters 10)*, ed. Christine REINLE, Affalterbach, 2016, pp. 188–208.

from those immediately related to the Council of Constance.<sup>10</sup> We do not know exactly how many people made up King Sigismund's entourage. A safe conduct for 400 horses was risen to 1500 just before the King set out on his journey,<sup>11</sup> and the Valencian chronicler Pere Tomic recounts that Sigismund travelled with an entourage of 1000 mounted men, Germans and Hungarians: *lo Emperador menava en sa Companyia mil de Cavall, tots alemanys e ongres*.<sup>12</sup> A slightly disillusioned Pere de Falcs reported to his king from Narbonne on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1415, that the entire imperial retinue was made up by (only) 600 men on horseback, of which 300 strictly speaking belonged to King Sigismund.<sup>13</sup> However, in September, he raised the number to *entorn mil cavalcadures*.<sup>14</sup> Identifying such individuals or groups is admittedly not easy, but it might help answer one of this volume's general questions, that of the repercussions the event of 1415 had in different societal fields within Latin Europe. In what follows, I will therefore first seek to analyse the King's companions before asking which long-term effects an apparently short-term event like that of Perpignan 1415 could have in the middle ages.

### I. The members of the imperial delegation

In order to deal with the questions raised above, one needs to analytically differentiate the group of individuals that left Constance in July 1415. In fact, technically speaking it consisted of at least two companies: First the conciliar delegation in the strict sense of the word, and then the royal dele-

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10 It should suffice to point to the overview in: *Regesta Imperii XI. Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437)*, 2 vols., eds. Johann Friedrich BÖHMER / Wilhelm ALTMANN, Innsbruck, 1896, here vol. 1, pp. 126f.

11 ACC vol. 3 (see note 1), doc. 192, p. 445; ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d'Aragon* (see note 7), p. 47. Cf. Calculations by PRINZHORN, *Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII.* (see note 1), pp. 8, 18. Similar numbers for the retinue in Paris and London: Attila BÁRÁNY, *Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete*, in: *Aetas folyóirat* 3-4 (2004), pp. 5–30, here p. 5

12 Pere TOMIC, *Històries e conquestes del realme d'Aragó e principat de Catalunya* (Textos clàssics 2), ed. Joan IBORRA, Barcelona, 2009, p. 280.

13 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 244: *Item, senyor, certiffich vostra senyoria com lo emperador de present [no] es a[ç]i ab molta gent, car seguons yo he enquest, entre els [...]s que y son per les nacions [e all]g[uns] altres misatgers, apenes hi son s[ç]sentes cavalcadures, e de propries del emperador poch mes ni ha de treçentes. Hir hi aplegua hun comte de Ongria e mena, seguons mes estat dit, setanta o huytanta cavalcadures. Ab lo dit emperador no y ha molts grans mestres sino alguns comtes de Ongria. Son ab ell embaixadors del comte de Savoya, ço es lo germa bastard del dit comte e hun cavaller e dos doctors.*

14 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 255.

gation, that is King Sigismund's immediate entourage. I will concentrate on the second.<sup>15</sup> I will also omit those individuals or corporations that contributed to the trip financially without joining it. Eberhard Windecke conducted an extensive tour through Germany in order to gather money for the Emperor's trip, as Gerhard Fouquet has recently shown.<sup>16</sup> Burgrave Frederick VI of Nuremberg, the city of Bern and others loaned sums or met expenses, and some chroniclers also mention gifts made to the notoriously needy king to enable his costly trip.<sup>17</sup> They undeniably contributed to courtly mobility, but did not partake in it, so this article will concentrate on those subjects from the Roman-German Empire who personally accompanied King Sigismund to the meeting of Perpignan or who joined him there.

Some of these men – for we do not possess references to female members of the retinue – provided splendour to the delegation while others were more relevant due to their qualities as diplomats.<sup>18</sup> Prominent amongst these were the ambassadors Sigismund had sent to Aragon in 1414 in order to negotiate the meeting and who therefore had acquired a certain degree of experience with the Aragonese court and its agents. This embassy had been led by Ottobono Belloni of Valenza, apostolic auditor and doctor of laws.<sup>19</sup>

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15 The conciliar delegation comprised, amongst others: James of Gélu, Archbishop of Tours; Peter Lykke, Bishop of Ripen, John Bertucci d'Obizzi, Bishop of Adria; John de Bertrand, Bishop of Geneva; John of Arthan, Abbot of St. Eloi de Noyon; Conrad von Soest, master in theology and professor at the University of Heidelberg; John d'Obizzi, apostolic auditor; the Humanist Peter Paul of Vergerio, doctor in laws; Lambert of Stipite, prior of Bertria; John Wells, rector of Chedzoy; Hugo Hornweg, dean of St. Asaph; Bertrand de la Planche, *doctor decretorum*; John of Fabrègue, doctor in laws and canon of Rodez; Benedict of Gentien, professor of theology at the University of Paris. See the article by Jasmin Hauck on the conciliar delegation in this volume.

16 Gerhard FOUQUET, *Geldgeschäfte im Auftrag des römischen Königs. Eberhard Windeck, Brügge, Lübeck und König Sigmund (1415–1417)*, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 41 (2014), pp. 375–400, particularly pp. 380–382.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

18 On analytical differentiations of medieval embassies see: Donald E. QUELLER, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1967; *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa (Vorträge und Forschungen 60)*, eds. Rainer Christoph SCHWINGES / Klaus WRIEDT, Ostfildern, 2003; *Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie: zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, eds. Claudia ZEY / Claudia MÄRTL, Zurich, 2008; Nikolas JASPERT / Sebastian KOLDITZ, *Christlich-muslimische Außenbeziehungen im Mittelmeerraum: Zur räumlichen und religiösen Dimension mittelalterlicher Diplomatie*, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 41 (2014), pp. 1–88.

19 Gisela BEINHOFF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), pp. 50, 62, 76, 152, 291–292.

Ottobono had been entrusted by the King with diplomatic missions on several occasions since 1412.<sup>20</sup> He arrived at the Aragonese court in April 1414,<sup>21</sup> met Pope Benedict in June and conducted meetings with King Ferdinand and Pope Benedict in Morella in the July, before returning to Constance to report.<sup>22</sup> Significantly, Ottobono was to be Sigismund's principal ambassador during the meeting of Perpignan. He was sent beforehand together with the knight Michael of Jakcs Kusaly (of Coşeu)<sup>23</sup> to Valencia in May 1415 to prepare the visit.<sup>24</sup> In the end of August, the very same envoys were once again sent to Ferdinand,<sup>25</sup> and in the beginning of September they organised the sojourn in Perpignan immediately before the latter's arrival in the beginning of September 1415.<sup>26</sup>

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- 20 To the Palatinate – BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 244 (1412 Mai 27); to Savoy – *ibid.*, vol. 1, doc. 258 (1412 Juli 1) and doc. 711 (1413 Sept. 4); to Italy – *ibid.*, doc. 546 (1413 Juni 27). He was also sent back to Aragon on diplomatic missions after the summit of Perpignan: *ibid.*, doc. 1929 (1416 Feb. 16).
- 21 On the diplomatic crisis caused by the letter of King Sigismund he delivered (written February 4<sup>th</sup> 1414), see Jerónimo ZURITA Y CASTRO, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón 1* (Publicación de la Institución “Fernando el Católico” 430), ed. Ángel CANELLAS LOPEZ, Zaragoza, 1980, p. 395 (book 12, chapter 37). Cf. ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d’Aragon* (see note 7), pp. 8–10.
- 22 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 1; ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d’Aragon* (see note 7), pp. 10–14; Alberto TORRA, *La laboriosa preparación de las vistas de Perpiñán según los documentos de la cancillería de Fernando I de Aragón*, in this volume; Josep ALANYÀ I ROIG, *El Cisma de Occidente y las vistas de Morella: historia y documentos: 1378-1429*, 2 vols., Morella, 2014, here vol. 2, pp. 1116–1118.
- 23 On his family see: Géza HEGYI, *A kusalyi Jakcsok birtokosztálya 1425 körül* [= The Estate-division of the Jakcs de Kusaly (Coşeu) Family around 1425], in: *Történelmi Szemle* 56,3 (2014), pp. 383–406. Ten years after the summit of Perpignan, Michael of Jakcs's acquaintance with Prince Alfonso of Aragon was still considered useful at the imperial court: He was entrusted by Sigismund to negotiating an alliance with Alfonso, now King Alfonso V of Aragon, against the Venetians – BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 2, doc. 6716 (1426 Aug. 21).
- 24 Sigismund's letter of recommendation for King Ferdinand from May 15<sup>th</sup> 1415: TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 92; further references to Ottobono in the Aragonese sources between May and August 1415: *ibid.*, doc. 133, 142, 150–153, 155–159, 161–163, 165f., 168f., 171–173, 185, 195–197, 208, 211, 214, 217f., 223, 227; ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, pp. 370–375; ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d’Aragon* (see note 7), pp. 37f.
- 25 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 243 and doc. 247, 243f., 247f., 253, 263–266, 269, 271. Only mentioned in ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, p. 376.
- 26 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 273, 287, 291. Only mentioned in ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, p. 377; ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le*

Their counterparts on the Aragonese side were Diego Gómez de Fuen-salida, Bishop of Zamora, Juan Fernández de Híjar and Pere de Falcs.<sup>27</sup> These men left for Constance in September 1414 and negotiated the date and place for the summit.<sup>28</sup> Ramon Batlle was sent to Constance some months later to join them.<sup>29</sup> We know that Bernat Oller, secretary to the bishop of Zamora, stayed in Constance when the Aragonese delegation left.<sup>30</sup> Less visible than these negotiators were their officials and the messengers sent back and forth during their embassy. The Aragonese delegation was accompanied by a herald (by the name of *Cathalonya*) and by Salort, a squire.<sup>31</sup> Diego de Cortes and the Franciscan Diego de Moxena seem to have fulfilled secret services as spies (*treballava en algunes coses secretas*) in Constance,<sup>32</sup> which made the latter so unpopular at the imperial Court that his arrival at Perpignan in September 1415 prompted a diplomatic éclat and an official complaint on the part of King Sigismund.<sup>33</sup> Couriers – Alonso Cuel-

royaume d'Aragon (see note 7), p. 47.

- 27 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, pp. 210–305, 427–508. The Pope in turn sent Avignon Nicolai, bishop of Sénez, and Jaume Belleró – ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismund avec le royaume d'Aragon* (see note 7), p. 21. They were accompanied by a secretary, Romeu of Casanova – TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 1.
- 28 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 92, pp. 210–212, doc. 105f., pp. 231–238, doc. 111, pp. 246–253, doc. 113–118, pp. 254–261; TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 2–34, 38f.; 44, 48, 54f., 58f., 61f., 68, 74, 78. ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismund avec le royaume d'Aragon* (see note 7), pp. 14–16, 21–32; TORRA, *La laboriosa preparación de las vistas de Perpiñán* (see note 22).
- 29 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 21–23, 26, 54, 63, 71f.
- 30 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 181, pp. 432f.; ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismund avec le royaume d'Aragon* (see note 7), pp. 36f.; TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 38, 72, 93, 212.
- 31 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 192.
- 32 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 15, 18, 20, 31, 192, 255, 259. About this “personaje misterioso, un buceador en el río de la historia, un peregrino encapuchado por los caminos de la vida” see: Isaac VÁZQUEZ JANEIRO, “Nominetur ille doctor”: el último deseo incumplido de Juan Hus en Constanza, in: *Antonianum* 66 (1991), pp. 265–300 (quotation, p. 272) and IDEM, Una colección de documentos del Concilio de Constanza, in: *Revista española de derecho canónico* 46 (1989), pp. 115–126. Identified as Diego de Valencia: IDEM, El maestro salmantino Diego Moxena de Valencia, lector de Dante y Petrarca, in: *Salmanticensis* 41 (1994), pp. 397–432. ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 186, p. 439; doc. 195f., pp. 447f.; José GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Los españoles en el Concilio de Constanza: notas biográficas*, Barcelona, 1966, pp. 24–30; BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil von Konstanz* (see note 7), pp. 26f.
- 33 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 196, pp. 449–451, 307. TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 259. On Diego de Moxena's role as a theologian at the Council see: VÁZQUEZ JANEIRO, Una colección de documentos del Concilio de

lar, Rodrigo Comacho, Michael of Seville and Pedro de Valladolid – transported letters from the Aragonese court to Lake Constance and back.<sup>34</sup> All of these go-betweens had acquired a certain degree of intercultural expertise during their travels and met their imperial counterparts in Valencia and Perpignan.<sup>35</sup> King Ferdinand precisely chose Bernat Oller, who had acquired experience during his stay in Constance, to negotiate postponing the meeting due to the King's severe illness in June 1415.<sup>36</sup> In July, August and early September, the king similarly relied on other members of the Constance delegation, Pere de Falcs<sup>37</sup> and Diego de Fuensalida,<sup>38</sup> in order to attain a further rescheduling.

Returning to the imperial delegation at Perpignan, one can presume that the majority travelled to the Pyrenees the first time. The names of several high-ranking members of the King's delegation can be gleaned from the records. Particularly telling are the royal credentials sent by Sigismund to King Ferdinand, because they provide information on the composition of these delegations. At the end of August 1415, the aforementioned Ottobono de Belloni and Michael de Jackz formed a royal commission together with Count Rudolf of Sulz, John of Botbor, *in sacra pagina magister*, and Thomas, Archdeacon of Hont (*Huntensis*).<sup>39</sup> A mixed group made up of members of the conciliar and the imperial delegation, once again comprised Ottobono de Belloni and knight Michael of Jakcs as well as James Gélú,

Constanza (see note 32); IDEM, "Nominetur ille doctor" (see note 32).

34 TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 157f., 192, 212. Cf. ALDASY, Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d'Aragon (see note 7), p. 37.

35 TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 172.

36 Ibid., doc. 152–155, 166.

37 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 191–198, pp. 443–451; ALDASY, Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d'Aragon (see note 7), pp. 41, 46; TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 210f., 214, 223f., 244, 263f., 266. Final visits by Père de Falcs and Macià Despuig just before the summit: *ibid.*, doc. 273, 279, 287. Other Aragonese negotiators: Père de Ribesaltes – *ibid.*, doc. 158, 162; Macià Despuig – *ibid.*, doc. 251–253, 263–266, 271, 279, 287; Gerald Alemany of Cervelló – *ibid.*, doc. 298; Diego Fernández of Vadillo – *ibid.*, doc. 298, 308, 311f.; Diego Fernández de Quiñones, Esparandeu Cardona y Bonanat Pere – *ibid.*, doc. 308, 312; Philipp of Mall – *ibid.*, doc. 312.

38 TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 268, 271

39 Ibid., doc. 243: *Serenissimo principi Ferdinando Dei gracia Aragonum et Sicilie regi et cetera fratri nostro carissimo, Sigismundus eadem gracia Romanorum rex semper augustus ac Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, et cetera rex, salutem et celerem boni opus consumpmacionem. Serenissime princeps frater noster carissime, magnificum Radolphum comitem de Sulz, nobilem Michaellem Jackz militem necnon honorabiles et egregios Iobannem de Botbor in sacra pagina magistrum, Ottobonum de Bellonis iuris utriusque et Thomam archidiaconum Huntensis decretorum doctores, consiliarios nostros devotos fideles dilectos.* See also *ibid.*, doc. 247.

Archbishop of Tours, James, Bishop of Adria, John of Wallenrode, archbishop of Riga, bishop Peter of Ribe, Nicholas of Gara (Garai), Andrew Rebek, Conrad of Soest, Hugh Holbach, John of Belffort<sup>40</sup> and Lambert of Stipite, was sent to Ferdinand two weeks later.<sup>41</sup> Finally, a third and fourth delegation are known to have been active in November: John of Wallenrode, Louis of Brzeg with John of Belffort and James of Gélú with John de Bertrand, respectively.<sup>42</sup>

Some noblemen amongst this group are singled out by the chroniclers. Nicholas of Gara the Younger (Miklós Garai), Palatine to the King of Hungary,<sup>43</sup> was surely the senior amongst them. He was a brother-in-law to the King thanks to his marriage with Anna of Cilli. Nicholas of Gara (Miklós Garai) is probably the “Hungarian Count” whose arrival in Perpignan – accompanied by 70 to 80 men on horseback – Pere de Falcs reported on August 29<sup>th</sup> 1415.<sup>44</sup> He was sent to negotiate the king’s arrival in Perpignan

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40 On John of Belffort see BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), p. 275. According to Finke, he was an envoy of the Count of Savoy: ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, p. 377; but he was also Sigismund’s familiar since 1412: KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (see note 9), p. 421.

41 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 273: *Venerabiles, magnifici, nobiles et egregii amici dilecti, considerantes quod sancti et honesti propositi dilacio magna ruina est et plerumque periculum est in mora, reverendos itaque et venerabiles in Christo patres Iacobum Turonensem, Iohannem Rigensem archiepiscopos, Petrum Ripensem, Iacobum Adriensem episcopos, illustresque et magnificos Nicolaum de Gara comitem palatinum Hungarie, Andream Rebek marescallum, Michaellem Jakꝝ milites, necnon egregios et honorabiles Ottobonum de Bellonis sedis apostolice prothonotarium utriusque iuris doctorem, Conradum de Susaco magistrum in theologia, Hugonem de Holbez, Iohannem de Belloforti et Lambertum Ordmeti legum doctores, consiliarios nostros et ambasiatores sincere dilectos, de sincera nostri propositi intentione instructos et sufficienter fundatos, ad prefati carissimi fratris nostri regis Aragonum conspectum providimus destinandos.*

42 *Ibid.*, doc. 299, 305, 307.

43 Tünde ARVÁI, „Magnus comes de Hungaria“ – Garai Miklós nádor Nyugat-Európában, in: *Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris, Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulója alkalmából*, eds. Attila BÁRÁNY / László PÓSÁN, Debrecen, 2014, pp. 316–327, particularly pp. 321f.; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), pp. 12f.; Julia BURKHARDT, Ein Königreich im Wandel: Ungarn um 1400, in: *Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission* 11 (2016), pp. 407–437, here pp. 410f.

44 Fernán PÉREZ DE GÚZMAN, *Crónica del Sereníssimo Príncipe Don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre en Castilla y en Leon*, in: *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, vol. 2 (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 68), ed. Cayetano ROSELL, Madrid, 1877, pp. 275–695, here chapter 9–22 (1415), pp. 364–368; TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 244: *Hir hi aplegna hun comte de Ongria e mena, seguons mes estat dit, setanta o huytanta cavalcadures.*

in early September, arguably played a prominent role during the entire summit, undoubtedly added to its splendour and is therefore often mentioned in the sources.<sup>45</sup>

Louis II, Duke of Brzeg (Brieg) also possessed a higher rank than most other members of the retinue: He was a member of the Piast family and one of Sigismund's most trusted advisers.<sup>46</sup> Louis of Brzeg undertook a lengthy travel through the Iberian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, Granada and Portugal in spring and summer of 1415 with a Hungarian courtier, Peter *Cseb* of Léva (Petr Čech of Levice in Slovakia, 1380-1440), Marshall of Hungary,<sup>47</sup> where they had been welcomed by King Ferdinand of Aragon and King John II of Castile.<sup>48</sup> They returned to Constance and departed shortly after with King Sigismund.<sup>49</sup> Louis was probably one of the *grans princeps de Ongria e de Boemia* that the Aragonese envoy announced to Ferdinand in Sep-

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45 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, p. 377; Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5: (1415-1416) (A Magyar országos levéltár kiadványai 2 = Forráskiadványok 27), eds. Elemér MÁLYUSZ / Iván BORSA, Budapest, 1997, doc. 1136, p. 324, doc. 1156, p. 330; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kisérete (see note 11), pp. 12f.

46 Franciszek SZAFRAŃSKI, Ludwik II brzesko-legnicki feudal śląski z doby późnego średniowiecza (Monografie śląskie Ossolineum 22), Wrocław, 1972; Geschichte der Liegnitz-Brieger Piasten 1: Die geschichtliche Entwicklung bis zu Herzog Georg II. von Liegnitz-Brieg-Wohlau (1547–1586) (Beiträge zur Liegnitzer Geschichte 10), eds. Georg THEBESIIUS / Gottfried Balthasar SCHARFF / Georg JAECKEL, Lorch, 1981, pp. 61–66; Werner PARAVICINI, Von Schlesien nach Frankreich, England, Spanien und zurück. Über die Ausbreitung Adliger Kultur im späten Mittelalter, in: Adel in Schlesien 1: Herrschaft – Kultur – Selbstdarstellung (Schriften des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa 36), eds. Jan HARASIMOWICZ / Matthias WEBER, Munich, 2010, pp. 135–206, here pp. 154–171; Marcin BÖHM, Herzog Ludwig II. von Brieg (1384–1436). Pilger – Herrscher – Bankrotteur, in: Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission 10 (2015) pp. 251–265.

47 Daniela DVORÁKOVÁ, The Chronicle of Ulrich Richental as an Exceptional Source for the History of Slovakia, in: Historický Casopis 58 (2010), pp. 3–21, here pp. 12f.

48 PÉREZ DE GÚZMAN, Crónica del Serenísimo Príncipe Don Juan (see note 44), chapter 13 (1415), p. 365: *el Duque Luis de Bria, que era Polonio, y el Mariscal de Ungria, que venian de ver al Rey de Castilla, los quales hicieron reverencia al Emperador, é le dixeron que habian recebido muy grandes honras en los Reynos que habian visto, é que habian estado en Granada y en Portugal y en Castilla*; cf. Bohumil BADŮRA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím a Španělskem ve Středověku, in: Táborský archiv 7 (1995/1996), pp. 5–87, doc. 22, p. 79, doc. 23, pp. 80f., doc. 24, pp. 81f., doc. 25, p. 83; Roser SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico, in: „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“ (see note 8), pp. 217–289, here pp. 226f., 244, 261.

49 PARAVICINI, Von Schlesien nach Frankreich, England, Spanien und zurück (see note 46), p. 158.

tember 1415,<sup>50</sup> is repeatedly attested during the summit of Perpignan<sup>51</sup> and subsequently continued to fulfil diplomatic missions in the King's name.<sup>52</sup>

While both Nicholas of Gara (Miklós Garai) and Louis of Brzeg were already prominent barons in 1415, other members of the revenue elevated their rank precisely during the summit and due to it. On September 29<sup>th</sup>, Sigismund knighted Balázs (Blasius) of Buzla in Perpignan because of his loyal services.<sup>53</sup> Peter of Burgau, Bartholomew and John Briconi were named familiars during Sigismund's trip to and sojourn in Perpignan.<sup>54</sup> On October 20<sup>th</sup> 1415, again in Perpignan, it was King Ferdinand who conveyed a coat of arms bearing a crowned Leopard on blue ground with a hare in its mouth to seven Hungarian *nobiles et devoti nostri*, who claimed that coats of arms obtained in distant countries rose the prestige of their bearers: Eustacius, Ladislas (László), Eliás (Illés) and Blasius (Balács) sons of Peter,<sup>55</sup> Nicholas (Miklós) and Laurence (Laurentius, Lőrinc) of Hettye (*Hethye*) and Benedict, son of Egidius (Egyed) of Baté (*Bactee*).<sup>56</sup> All members of this

50 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 255

51 *Ibid.*, doc. 299, 300, 307. He is also mentioned in a song by Oswald von Wolkenstein, „Es ist ein altgesprochener rat“: *Herzog von Prig was nicht ain tor / der lag gefach in sorgen* – Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein (*Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* 55), ed. Karl Kurt KLEIN, Tübingen, 1987 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), doc. 19, lines 81–88, pp. 56f.

52 Mission to Brabant: BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 1921 (1416 Jan. 28); Basel: *ibid.*, doc. 3162a (1418 May 10).

53 Antal ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele. Perpignanból, 1415. október 21-rol, in: *Történelmi Tár* 1 (1900), pp. 449–452, here p. 450; MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5 (see note 45), doc. 1091, p. 313. On him see Ádám NOVÁK, Die Söhne des Adlermannes. Ein Adelsgeschlecht in der Gefolgschaft König Sigismunds von Ungarn, in: *Das Konzil von Konstanz und Ungarn*, eds. Attila BÁRÁNY / Balázs Antal BACSA (*Memoria Hungariae* 1), Debrecen, 2016, pp. 137–153, here pp. 142f., 148.

54 KINTZINGER, *Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (see note 9), pp. 424f.

55 László FEJÉRPATAKY, *Monumenta Hungariae heraldica. Magyar czimeres emlékek*, vol. 2, Budapest, 1902, doc. 2, pp. 17f. Vendrell identifies Eustacius, Ladislas, Elias and Blasius as brothers of Peter Cseh of Leva, but this is not clear: Francisca VENDRELL, Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa, in: *Miscellanea Barcinonensia* 28 (1971), pp. 19–43, here p. 25.

56 FEJÉRPATAKY, *Monumenta Hungariae heraldica*, vol. 2 (see note 55), doc. 2, pp. 17f.: *advertentes, quantum sit primordium hominibus volentibus esse claros, singularem seu discretam armorum habere formulam, ab aliquo mundi principum eis indultam, et que in consimilibus principantium fama gloriosius divulgatur, eo potius, si ex remotis partibus talia conferunt oriundis*. Cf. Dénes RADOCSAY, Gotische Wappenbilder auf ungarischen Adelsbriefen, in: *Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1958), pp. 317–358, here p. 352; Martin ROLAND / Andreas Hermenegild ZAJIC, Illuminierte Urkunden des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 59 (2013),

group hailed from Hungary; so did John of Kanizsa of Esztergom, the royal vice-chancellor,<sup>57</sup> as well as many other noblemen who will be presented in the course of this paper. Others – like William Hase of Waldeck, Lord of Selletitz (Seletice)<sup>58</sup> – came from Bohemia and Moravia. Far less members of the retinue appear to have originated from other areas of Sigismund's realm. Amongst these were Louis, Count of Oettingen, Sigismund's *praefectus curiae*,<sup>59</sup> and John Wallenrode, Archbishop of Riga, who served the King as envoys to Ferdinand both before and during the meeting.<sup>60</sup> Further noble companions to Sigismund hailed from Italy such as Brunoro della Scala, imperial vicar to Verona and Vicenza,<sup>61</sup> or the exiles Bertoldo Orsini, count

pp. 241–432, here pp. 365–371.

- 57 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 244, 274. Cf. BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 12. On him see Pál ENGEL, Zsigmond Bárói: Rövid Életrajzok, in: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában: 1387-1437, I: Tanulmányok*, eds. László BEKE / Ernő MAROSI / Tünde WEHLI, Budapest, 1987, pp. 405–458, particularly pp. 424–427; DVORÁKOVÁ, *The chronicle of Ulrich Richental* (see note 47), pp. 7–9.
- 58 BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 1921 (1416 Jan. 28).
- 59 Who broke his leg when the house in which the king was lodged in Chambery collapsed – *Die Berner-Chronik des Conrad Justinger*, ed. Gottlieb Ludwig STU- DER, Bern, 1871, p. 236: *Und wart da nieman verseret, den der graf von Ötzingen, dem brach ein Schenkel entzwei.*
- 60 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 273, 299f. Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Johann von Wallenrode O. T. Erzbischof von Riga, Königlicher Rat, Deutschor- densdiplomat und Bischof von Lüttich im Zeitalter des Schismas und des Konstan- zer Konzils (um 1370–1419)* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 24), Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1970, pp. 108–111. It is difficult to determine in every case if John of Wallenrode pertained to the Conciliar or the royal delegation, but Bernhart JÄHNIG is quite clear on his activities in Perpignan, „wo er stärker als königlicher, denn als Konzilsgesandter tätig“ war (ibid., p. 117). The same holds true for Bishop John de Bertrand of Geneva, cf. TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniani* (see note 4), doc. 305. Eberhard Windecke in turn relates the arrival of William of Knöringen, a councillor of Duke Frederick of Austria, together with his secretary Ulrich Käbler and two Frenchmen: ALTMANN, *Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten* (see note 2), chapter 70, pp. 63f. Supposedly, this group was in fact a killer squad sent by the Duke to murder Sigismund by poison (ibid.), so one see them as members of Sigismund's retinue.
- 61 ALTMANN, *Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten* (see note 2), chapter 72, p. 67; Max LENZ, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zeit des Constanzer Concils*, Berlin, 1874, p. 72; BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), pp. 203–208; Brunoro was a member of the Order of the Dragon – BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 159 (1412 Jan. 11); he was entrusted with duties as vicar on behalf of the King: ibid., doc. 176 (1412 Jan. 22), doc. 185 (1412 Jan. 30),

of Sovana<sup>62</sup> and Gian Carlo Visconti.<sup>63</sup> Bartolomeo and Giorgio Briconi in turn were named Sigismund's familiars in Perpignan.<sup>64</sup> In sum: The King's entourage was geographically multifaceted, but it showed a clear focus on the eastern parts of the kingdom.

Eberhard Windecke also reports that the Silesian knight Nickel of Reibnitz (*Rybenyze*)<sup>65</sup> and Hartung of Klux<sup>66</sup> – who spoke English and made a career for himself in the service of Henry V of England – were sent on an interim embassy to France and England by Sigismund during his sojourn *in Katalonien*; they were therefore arguably among his retinue in Perpignan.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, one can suspect that most of the Emperor's followers, who can be identified during the subsequent part of his European trip, i.e. during his sojourn in Paris and England, already accompanied him to the September

doc. 217 (1412 Mai 2).

- 62 ALTMANN, Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten (see note 2), chapter 72, p. 67; Ex-ambassador of Pope John XXIII – ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d'Aragon* (see note 7), p. 3; BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), pp. 58, 63, 73, 107, 122, 231. *Comes palatinus et princeps* and member of the Order of the Dragon – BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 359 (1412 Sept. 26); similarly: *ibid.*, doc. 499 (1413 Mai 24); BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 2, doc. 12233 (1413 June). Cf. BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), p. 246.
- 63 ALTMANN, Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten (see note 2), chapter 72, p. 67; LENZ, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England* (see note 61), p. 72; BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), pp. 61, 63, 79, 107f., 112, 136, 146, 149.
- 64 BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 1903f.; BEINHOF, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), pp. 51, 141.
- 65 Sven EKDAHL, *Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411*, vol. 2: *Indices mit personengeschichtlichen Kommentaren* (Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz 23, 2), Vienna, 2010, pp. 242–244.
- 66 LENZ, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England* (see note 61), p. 73; Friedrich Bernward FAHLBUSCH, *Hartung von Klux. Ritter König Heinrichs V. – Rat Sigmunds*, in: *Studia Luxemburgensia: Festschrift Heinz Stoob zum 70. Geburtstag* (Studien zu den Luxemburgern und ihrer Zeit 3), ed. Friedrich B. FAHLBUSCH, Warendorf, 1989, pp. 353–403; R. A. GRIFFITHS, *Klux, Sir Hartung von*, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004, Online: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50137>. Hartung of Klux was named *familiaris et miles* by Sigismund on July 14<sup>th</sup> 1411: BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 62. English ambassador: *ibid.*, doc. 2501 (1417 Aug. 4). See the article by Anne Elizabeth Curry in this volume.
- 67 ALTMANN, Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten (see note 2), chapter 88, p. 87. Nickel of Reibnitz was in Dordrecht with the King in November 1416: BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 1989 (1416 Nov. 7).

summit. Attila Bárány has undertaken the painstaking task of assembling such a list.<sup>68</sup> By drawing on Central European documentation including later references in royal charters to the trip of 1415-1416, he has added valuable further information. Some members of the delegation later received donations or honours; in the respective documents, their support to the King during his trips regularly mentioned, sometimes even specifically referring to Aragon: On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1418, King Sigismund conferred a coat of arms on Demetrius of Szecsőd because of the loyal service he had rendered in the past, both in adverse and favourable moments – “not only in German territories, but also in France, Catalonia, Aragon, the realms of England and Flanders”.<sup>69</sup> We can safely deduce that Demetrius was part of King Sigismund’s retinue in Perpignan. Sigismund bestowed similar honours upon several other members of the King’s entourage after his return – George of Késmárk (of Kežmarok),<sup>70</sup> Ladislav of Mikola,<sup>71</sup> Antal of Mindszent,<sup>72</sup> Nicholas of Nyárád,<sup>73</sup> Peter Bebek of Plešivec (Pelsőci),<sup>74</sup> Nicholas

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68 BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11).

69 [...] *propositis et recensitis suis fidelibus servitiis et fidelium obsequiorum gratuiti meritis sincerisque complacentiis utique acceptis et laudandis, quibus ipse a longisque temporibus in prosperis nimirum scilicet et adversis, et signanter in presentibus Almanie partibus, necnon Francie, Cathalanie, Arragonie, Anglie regnorum ac Flandriae [...]* – FEJÉRPATAKY, Monumenta Hungariae heraldica, vol. 2 (see note 55), doc. 8, pp. 31f. Cf. BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 21. In general on this practice under Sigismund see: Walter GOLDINGER, Die Standeserhöhungsdiplome unter König und Kaiser Sigismund, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 78 (1970), pp. 323–337.

70 Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6: (1417-1418) (A Magyar országos levéltár kiadványai 2 = Forráskiadványok 32), eds. Elemér MÁLYUSZ / Iván BORSA, Budapest, 1998, doc. 604, p. 430; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 13. On George of Késmárk see Péter HASASZTI SZABÓ, The effects on the University of Prague to the Hungarian Royal Court in the fourteenth century, in: Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 55 (2015), pp. 107–122, here p. 113; NOVÁK, Die Söhne des Adlermannes (see note 53), pp. 139f.

71 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 1182, pp. 338f.; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 15.

72 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 429, p. 159; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 16.

73 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 1211, p. 345; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 16.

74 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 822, p. 250; MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5 (see note 45), doc. 1048, p. 301; László FEJÉRPATAKY, Monumenta Hungariae heraldica. Magyar czimeres emlékek, vol. 1, Budapest, 1900, p. 17.

of Perény of the Rihνό branch (of Richnava),<sup>75</sup> as well as Matthew of Pavlovce (Pálóci), Imre Pavlovce (Pálóci) and George Pavlovce (Pálóci).<sup>76</sup> In all these cases, service provided in Aragon was mentioned as one of the reasons for Sigmund's favour. Even in 1430, Sigmund still elevated his barber to knighthood due to the latter's loyal support "in Germany, Lombardy, France, England and Aragon when the King was striving to reach the union of the Church".<sup>77</sup>

Attila Bárány's research has brought a number of further Hungarian members of the King's retinue to light, who arguably accompanied Sigmund to Perpignan. It should be sufficient to simply list them in alphabetical order: George of Baba,<sup>78</sup> Lorand of Baracska,<sup>79</sup> Peter of Bátor,<sup>80</sup> Benedict, Provost of Fehérvár (Székesfehérvár, of the Chapter of the Holy Virgin),<sup>81</sup> Andrew of Csap,<sup>82</sup> Stephen Veres of Farnas,<sup>83</sup> Benedict Petri Ders (Dersfi

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75 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 423, p. 158, doc. 2374, p. 586; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 19. On him see NOVÁK, Die Söhne des Adlermannes (see note 53), pp. 138–143 and ENGEL, Zsigmond Bárói (see note 57), pp. 437–440.

76 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 713, p. 334; Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 7: (1419-1420) (A Magyar országos levéltár kiadványai 2 = Forráskiadványok 37), eds. Elemér MÁLYUSZ / Iván BORSA, Budapest, 2001, doc. 1048, p. 262; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), pp. 16f. On the family see Attila BARÁNY, Von Rittern zu Magnaten. Aufstieg der Páloci ins Baronat im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn, in: East Central Europe 29, 1 (2002), pp. 213–221 and ENGEL, Zsigmond Bárói (see note 57), pp. 434–436.

77 FEJÉRPATAKY, Monumenta Hungariae heraldica, vol. 1 (see note 74), doc. 23, pp. 59f. (Michael, Son of Mathew of Dab alias of Zagreb). Cf. Kaspar Schlick's probably forged elevation to knighthood, in which he too claimed to have accompanied the King to Perpignan: Regesten Kaiser Sigismunds (1410–1437), nach Archiven und Bibliotheken geordnet, vol. 2: Die Urkunden und Briefe aus den Archiven und Bibliotheken West-, Nord- und Ostböhmens (Regesta Imperii 11), eds. Petr ELBEL / Stanislav BÁRTA / Premysl BAR / Luká REITINGER, Weimar, 2015, doc. 173, pp. 234–237, doc. 179, pp. 252–259.

78 BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 8.

79 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 1604, p. 430; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 8.

80 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 2378, p. 587.

81 ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele (see note 53), p. 450; MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5 (see note 45), doc. 1277, p. 364; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 10

82 Ibid.

83 MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 6 (see note 70), doc. 294, p. 127; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 12.

or Dersi) of Geszteréd,<sup>84</sup> Ladislás of Jakcs Kusaly (Kussal, Coşeu),<sup>85</sup> Stephen of Rozhanovce (Rozgonyi),<sup>86</sup> George of Szirma,<sup>87</sup> Ladislás of Tamás,<sup>88</sup> All in all, the number of identified Hungarians in the King's retinue is striking.

The data compiled by Bárány about Sigismund's companions in England should make us wary as to the reasons for recruiting the delegation. We can suppose that Sigismund planned to continue his trip on to Paris and London from the outset. He must have chosen followers who would be useful during the different stages of his journey. That means, some might have had prior contact with Iberian contexts such as Ottobono Belloni or Michael of Jakcs. Others were more expert in subjects French or English, others still were more versed in conciliar matters and yet others were chosen for representative purposes.

Amongst the latter group, that are the representative and symbolic companions, one figure in particular stands out precisely because of his non-conformity: the enigmatic "Turkish King" that led Sigismund's entry procession in Perpignan on September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1415.<sup>89</sup> The anonymous Aragonese chronicler relates that people said he had been a King in Turkey and the Emperor had captured him in battle: *El caballero que llebaba el estoque, dezían que avía sido rey de Turquía, y que ell emperador lo avía prendido en una batalla.*<sup>90</sup> It is impossible to say how much of this is true, and it has even been suggested that the alleged Ottoman Turk was in fact the German minstrel Oswald of Wolkenstein in disguise.<sup>91</sup> But no matter who this figure really was, his

84 ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele (see note 53), p. 450; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), pp. 11f.

85 ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, pp. 377, 518; ACC (see note 1), vol. 4, p. 41; MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5 (see note 45), doc. 1028, pp. 292f., doc. 1048, p. 301, doc. 1418, p. 394, doc. 1960, p. 528, doc. 2048, p. 551; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), pp. 24f. On the family cf. note 23.

86 ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele (see note 53), pp. 451f.; MÁLYUSZ / BORSA, Zsigmondkori oklevéltár 5 (see note 45), doc. 999, p. 284; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), pp. 19f. On him see ENGEL, Zsigmond Bárói (see note 57), pp. 440–444.

87 ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele (see note 53), p. 450; BÁRÁNY, Zsigmond király 1416-os angliai kísérete (see note 11), p. 21.

88 ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele (see note 53), p. 450.

89 Cf. Gerald Schwedler's contribution to this volume. On the King's earlier entries en route to Perpignan: ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 198, pp. 450f.

90 VELA GORMEDINO, Crónica incompleta del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón (see note 5), p. 63. Similarly: PÉREZ DE GÚZMAN, Crónica del Sereníssimo Príncipe Don Juan (see note 44), chapter 12 (1415), p. 365.

91 Sieglinde HARTMANN, Sigismunds Ankunft in Perpignan und Oswalds Rolle als

function is all too apparent: The presence of the captive Turks had a political dimension, because en passant Sigismund picked up and neutralized an important propagandistic point of the Aragonese king: The Castilian chronicler Fernán Pérez de Guzmán underlines that King Ferdinand claimed special honour and rank for the Aragonese rulers due to their prowess and efforts in the struggle against Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>92</sup> By including a, real or bogus, Turkish captive in his retinue, the German King ostentatiously proved vis-à-vis all onlookers – and not the least vis-à-vis his diplomatic counterpart – that he too was a champion of Christian faith.

A kindred spirit to our anonymous Turk was a highly fascinating figure who did not belong to Sigismund's retinue from the outset but rather joined him in Perpignan. Mossen Borra alias Antoni Tallander is the name of this erudite Catalanian jester who caught Sigismund's fancy during the summit, probably accompanied the King on his subsequent journey through France in 1416, and definitely remained in Central Europe for some years after the end of the Council of Constance.<sup>93</sup> The letters he wrote back home, some

wisskunde von Türkei, in: *Durch aubenteuer muess man wagen vil. Festschrift für Anton Schwob zum 60. Geburtstag* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft; Germanistische Reihe 57), eds. Wernfried HOFMEISTER / Bernd STEINBAUE, Innsbruck, 1997, pp. 133–140; James Michael OGIER, Oswald von Wolkenstein – Clowning around in Perpignan, in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 11 (1999), pp. 173–180 (with some speculative suppositions). See also: Pino VALERO CUADRA, El viaje a Granada de un trovador alemán del siglo XV: Oswald von Wolkenstein, in: *Sharq al-Andalus* 10–11 (1993–1994), pp. 693–710; Mathias HERWEG, Oswald von Wolkenstein: ein Sänglerleben auf Reisen, in: *Das Konstanzer Konzil: Essays*, eds. Karl-Heinz BRAUN / Mathias HERWEG / Hans W. HUBERT / Joachim SCHNEIDER / Thomas ZOTZ, Stuttgart, 2013, pp. 58–63; Michael DALLA PIAZZA / Alessandra MOLINARI, Südfrankreich, die iberische Halbinsel und Nordafrika: zur großen Reise Oswalds von Wolkenstein 1415/1416, in: *Oswald von Wolkenstein: Leben – Werk – Rezeption*, eds. Ulrich MÜLLER / Margarete SPRINGETH, Berlin, 2011, pp. 240–250. See the article by Sieglinde Hartmann in this volume.

92 PÉREZ DE GÚZMAN, *Crónica del Serenísimo Príncipe Don Juan* (see note 44), chapter 9 (1415), p. 364; CALDES DE MONTBUI / SANLLEHY I GIRONA, *Una extraordinaria embajada* (see note 7), pp. 5f.

93 Jaume RIPOLL VILAMAJOR, *Colección de Monumentos para escribir la historia y dar á conocer al caballero catalan, llamado comunmente Mossen Borra, que yace en el claustro de la Santa iglesia de Barcelona*, in: *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 2 (1868), pp. 77–129, here doc. 2, p. 80; Francisco BOFARULL SANS, *Tres cartas autógrafas é inéditas de Antonio Tallander, Mossèn Borra, maestro de D. Fernando el de Antequera y algunos documentos desconocidos relativos al mismo personaje*, in: *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 5 (1896), pp. 3–100; Heinrich FINKE, *Des aragonesischen Hofnarren*

of them autographs still preserved in Barcelona, not only bear witness to Mossen Borra's sharp wit and keen faculty of observation, but also prove his proximity to Sigismund. Indeed, he was knighted in 1421 by the King who referred to him as *familiaris intimus et sincero amore nobis dilectus*.<sup>94</sup> Subsequently Borra survived a series of adventures in Bohemia before returning home to Catalonia around the year 1426.<sup>95</sup> From there he moved to Aragonese Southern Italy, where he remained at the court of Alfonso V. and died, probably in 1446, an old and wealthy man.<sup>96</sup> The meeting of Perpignan thus offered this *pícaro* the chance to leave his homeland and to establish contacts with other courts and regions. The biography of Mossen Borra shows: The meeting of Perpignan was a significant event in many ways, and not only from the perspective of Conciliar History.<sup>97</sup> In the second part of my paper I would like to pick up this point and expound it in more detail.

Mossén Borra Berichte aus Deutschland (1417, 1418), in: Historisches Jahrbuch 56 (1936), pp. 161–173; IDEM, Mossen Borra in Deutschland, in: Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'estudis literaris, històrics i lingüístics, vol. 2 (Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 12), Barcelona, 1936, pp. 149–160 (correcting some erroneous datation by Bofarull); GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, Los españoles en el Concilio de Constanza: notas biográficas (see note 32), pp. 125–130. The autographs are now kept in: Archivo de la Corona de Aragon (Barcelona): ACA, colecciones, autógrafos, II, A, 10a, b, c, y d. Borra was already mentioned in 1789 in Karl Friedrich Flögel's seminal study on Royal bouffons: Karl Friedrich FLÖGEL, Geschichte der Hofnarren, Leipzig, 1789, pp. 303f.

- 94 KINTZINGER, Westbindungen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa (see note 9), p. 192. His sons Antoni and Joan were also named by *familiars* by King Sigismund – *ibid*.
- 95 Eberhard Windecke relates Borra's captivity at the hands of the Hussites in 1422: ALTMANN, Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten (see note 2), chapter 106, p. 115; BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), pp. 51–53, vgl. František ŠMAHEL, Die hussitische Revolution, 3 vols. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Schriften 43), Hannover, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 1254f.
- 96 RIPOLL VILAMAJOR, Colección de Monumentos (see note 93), doc. 13, pp. 90–92; BOFARULL SANS, Tres cartas autógrafas é inéditas de Antonio Tallander (see note 93), doc. 22, pp. 77f., doc. 27, pp. 92–94; Lorenzo VALLA, Historia de Fernando de Aragón (Clásicos latinos medievales y renacentistas 13), Madrid, 2003, pp. 148f.
- 97 On the Iberian theologians and other members of the Castilian and Aragonese delegations who participated in the Council of Constance as a result of the meeting of Perpignan see: Marques de CALDES DE MONTBUI / Carles SANLLEHY I GIRONA, Los embajadores de los estados españoles en el Concilio de Constanza, in: Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 20 (1947), pp. 5–41 and GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, Los españoles en el Concilio de Constanza: notas biográficas (see note 32); Johannes GROHE, Spanien und die großen Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel, in: „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“ (see note 8), pp. 493–509; Ansgar FRENKEN, El trabajoso y difícil camino hacia la unión: Sancho Sánchez de Rojas, arzobispo de Toledo, y el papel clave que jugó en la extinción del gran Cisma de Occi-

## II. The effects of 1415

So far, it has been little noted in academic circles that the meeting of 1415 was the most important encounter to that date between inhabitants of the Iberian kingdoms and Central Europe. Of course there had been contacts between the Catalano-Aragonese region and the German Empire prior to 1415.<sup>98</sup> One need only recall the dynastic connections between the House of Barcelona and the Staufen Dynasty in the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>99</sup> the marriage

dente en el reino de Castilla, in: *En la España medieval* 32 (2009), pp. 51–83; IDEM, Kastilien und das Konstanzer Konzil, in: *Das Konstanzer Konzil als Europäisches Ereignis* (see note 7), pp. 143–172; JASPERT, *Das aragonesische Dilemma* (see note 7), pp. 112–117.

- 98 Richard NEUMANN, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und Aragonien in der Zeit von Rudolf von Habsburg bis Ruprecht von der Pfalz*, Freiburg i.Br., 1917; Heinrich FINKE, *Zur Korrespondenz der deutschen Könige und Fürsten mit den Herrschern Aragons im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 5 (1935), pp. 458–506; Johannes VINCKE, *Die Begegnung des Deutschen und des Spaniers im 14. Jahrhundert* (Freiburger Universitätsreden NF 12), Freiburg, 1951; IDEM, *Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 14 (1959), pp. 111–182; Marina MITJÀ, *El comercio y la industria alemanes en Barcelona de 1410 a 1420*, in: *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1962, pp. 288–319; Johannes VINCKE, *Europäische Reisen um 1400 im Spiegel aragonesischer Empfehlungs- und Geleitbriefe*, in: *Medium Aevum Romanicum. Festschrift Hans Rheimfelder*, Munich, 1963, pp. 345–377; *España y el Sacro Imperio. Procesos de cambio, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la „europeización“ (siglos XI-XIII)*, eds. Klaus HERBERS / Karl RUDOLF / Julio VALDEÓN BARUQUE, Valladolid, 2002; „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“ (see note 8); Nikolas JASPERT, *Catalunya, els catalans i el català a l'Imperi Romanogermànic (segles XIV i XV)*, in: *Els catalans a la Mediterrània medieval. Noves fonts, recerques i perspectives*, eds. Lluís CIFUENTES I COMAMALA / Roser SALICRÚ I LLUCH / Maria Mercè VILADRICH I GRAU, Roma, 2015, pp. 229–249.
- 99 Alberto BOSCOLO, *L'eredità sveva di Pietro il Grande, re d'Aragona*, in: *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona: "La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro"*, vol. 1, ed. Francesco GIUNTA, Palermo, 1983, pp. 83–99; Ferran SOLDEVILA, *Pere el Gran. Primera Part: l'infant (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica / Institut d'Estudis Catalans 48)*, Barcelona, 1995 (Orig. 1950), pp. 143–175; Marta VANLANDINGHAM, *The Hohenstaufen Heritage of Constanza of Sicily and the Mediterranean Expansion of the Crown of Aragon in the later thirteenth Century*, in: *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450* (International Medieval Research 1), eds. Demetrios A. AGIOS / Ian R. NETTON, Turnhout, 1997, pp. 87–104; Stefano Maria CINGOLANI, *Pere el Gran. Vida, actes i paraula*, Barcelona, 2010, pp. 469–475; Ingo RUNDE, *Konstanze von Aragón*, in: *Die Kaiserinnen des Mittelalters*, ed. Amalie FÖSSEL, Regensburg,

negotiations between Aragon and the Habsburgs in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>100</sup> or the presence of religious brethren, also of members of the military religious orders, in one or the other country. Neither should one overlook the many pilgrims who passed Catalonia and Aragon on their way to Santiago de Compostela, or isolated participations of Central European fighters in military expeditions against Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>101</sup>

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2011, pp. 232–248, here pp. 234–238; Nikolas JASPERT, *Zwei Mal Konstanze. Die staufisch-aragonesischen Verbindungen und die Möglichkeiten regionaler Herrschaft in der Fremde*, in: *Civiltà a contatto nel Mezzogiorno normanno-svevo: economia, società, istituzioni.*, ed. Pasquale CORDASCO, Bari, 2017, (forthcoming).

100 Heinrich von ZEISSBERG, Elisabeth (Isabella) von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Österreich (Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 137), Vienna, 1898; Johanna SCHRADER, Isabella von Aragonien, Gemahlin Friedrichs des Schönen von Österreich (Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte 58), Berlin / Leipzig, 1915; Winfried KÜCHLER, Zur Hochzeit der Infantin Isabella von Aragón mit Herzog Friedrich dem Schönen von Österreich, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goeresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 22 (1965), pp. 176–188; Roger SABLONIER, Die aragonesische Königsfamilie um 1300, in: *Emotionen und materielle Interessen. Sozialanthropologische und historische Beiträge zur Familiengeschichte*, eds. Hans MEDICK / David W. SABEAN, Göttingen, 1984, pp. 284–317; Karl-Heinz SPIESS, Unterwegs zu einem fremden Ehemann. Brautfahrt und Ehe in europäischen Fürstenhäusern des Spätmittelalters, in: *Fremdheit und Reisen im Mittelalter*, eds. Irene ERFEN / Karl-Heinz SPIESS, Stuttgart, 1997, pp. 17–36, particularly pp. 22–25; Nuria GIL ROIG, Correspondencia de Jaime II con sus hijos. Afecto, formalismo o interés, in: *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14 (1999), pp. 693–707; Rafaela AVERKORN: *Adelige Fremdheit im Spannungsfeld zwischen Macht und Religion: Studien zur Iberischen Halbinsel im Spätmittelalter*, in: *Imperios sacros, monarquías divinas*, eds. Carles RABASSA / Ruth STEPPER (Col·lecció ‘Humanitats’ 10), Castelló de la Plana, 2002, pp. 219–268; Cyrille DEBRIS, “Tu, felix Austria, nube”: la dynastie de Habsbourg et sa politique matrimoniale à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIIe-XVIe siècles) (La parenté au Moyen Âge 2), Turnhout, 2005, pp. 532–534; Amalie FÖSSEL, Testamente römischer Königinnen im mittelalterlichen deutschen Reich, in: *Herrscher- und Fürstentestamente im westeuropäischen Mittelalter (Norm und Struktur 29)*, ed. Brigitte KASTEN, Cologne, 2008, pp. 393–414; Nikolas JASPERT, Indirekte und direkte Macht iberischer Königinnen im Mittelalter: „Reginale“ Herrschaft, Verwaltung und Frömmigkeit, in: *Mächtige Frauen?: Königinnen und Fürstinnen im europäischen Mittelalter (11.–14. Jahrhundert) (Vorträge und Forschungen 81)*, ed. Claudia ZEY, Ostfildern, 2015, pp. 73–130, here pp. 88f., 122.

101 Johannes VINCKE, Geleitbriefe für deutsche Pilger in Spanien, in: *Wallfahrt und Volkstum in Geschichte und Leben (Forschungen zur Volkskunde 16/17)*, ed. Georg SCHREIBER, Düsseldorf, 1934, pp. 258–265; Jeanne VIELLIARD, Pèlerins d’Espagne à la fin du Moyen Âge: ce que nous apprennent les sauf-conduits délivrés aux pèlerins par la chancellerie des rois d’Aragon entre 1379 et 1422, in: *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 12 (1936), pp. 264–293; VINCKE, *Zu den Anfängen der*

Precisely at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century a notable intensification of political relations between both regions had occurred.

In the 1390s, King John I. of Aragon had considered marrying his daughter Johanna to Prokop of Moravia, and diplomatic contacts had intensified considerably.<sup>102</sup> Shortly thereafter, Aragonese relations to the Palatinate and King Ruprecht in turn were strengthened under the reign of King Martin.<sup>103</sup> Marriage plans and subsequent negotiations, but also the schism formed the backdrop to these intensified diplomatic exchanges between the Catalano-Aragonese monarchs on the one side and German kings or barons on the other. In the wake of these contacts, craftsmen and merchants from the Rhineland began to seek their way across the Pyrenees. From around 1380 onwards, one can discern a growing number of Central European migrants – short time visitors such as merchants, but also long-term expatriates such as craftsmen.<sup>104</sup> Notably, several of the tradesmen hailed from

deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), pp. 115–117; doc. 14–16, 143f.; IDEM, Geleit- und Empfehlungsschreiben der Königin Violant von Aragon, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 21 (1963), pp. 187–196; Stephan SELZER, Die Iberische Halbinsel als Ziel bewaffneter Mobilität deutschsprachiger Edelleute im 14. Jahrhundert. Eine Skizze, in: „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“ (see note 8), pp. 185–216, SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 254–288.

102 VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), doc. 61–63, pp. 168–170. BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), pp. 19–26, 30–32, 61–71.

103 NEUMANN, Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Reiche und Aragonien (see note 98), pp. 92–99; Heinrich FINKE, Aragonesisch-sicilische Beziehungen zum bayerisch-pfälzischen Hause im 14. Jahrhundert, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* NF 78 (1926), pp. 499–514; IDEM, Zur Korrespondenz der deutschen Könige und Fürsten mit den Herrschern Aragons (see note 98), pp. 471–507; VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), doc. 76f., pp. 176–178; IDEM, Ruprecht von der Pfalz und Martin von Aragon, in: *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, 3 vols. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 36), eds. Mitarbeiter des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Göttingen, 1971–1973, here vol. 2, pp. 500–539; Jörg Henning PELTZER, Der Rang der Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein: die Gestaltung der politisch-sozialen Ordnung des Reichs im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert (Politisch-soziale Ordnungen im mittelalterlichen Europa 2), Ostfildern, 2013, pp. 296f.

104 Das Runtingerbuch 1383–1407, 3 vols. (Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit 6–8), ed. Franz BASTIAN, Regensburg, 1935, here vol. 2, pp. 120f.; Konrad HAEBLER, Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona 1425–1440, in: *Württembergische Vierteljahresshefte für Landesgeschichte* NF 11 (1902), pp. 1–35, 352–417; Higiní ANGLÈS, Els cantors i organistes franco-flamencs i alemanys a Ca-

the area around Lake Constance, where linen was produced that they sold on the Catalonian markets. They were joined by musicians and craftsmen: hatters, shoemakers, tailors, seal makers (a German silversmith living in Valencia, Hans Charamens, even created the mould for the royal seal in the very year 1415).<sup>105</sup>

Building on this early stage of intensified relations between the Iberian kingdoms and Central Europe, the meeting of Perpignan heralded a new era. We have already seen that it provided the occasion for the court jester

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talunya els segles XIV-XVI, in: Gedenkboek aangeboden aan Dr. D. Scheurleer op zijn 70sten Verjaarsdag, s'Gravenhage, 1925, pp. 50–65; VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), pp. 121–136; Marina MITJÀ, Dificultats de la indústria y comercio alemanes para obrirse paso en Barcelona hasta 1410, in: Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 13 (1958), pp. 188–228; José CASAS HOMS, Un caballero alemán llevando mercancías en España el año 1390, in: Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens 21 (1963), pp. 197–201; Josep HERNANDO DELGADO, Los artistas llegados al foco barcelonés durante el gótico internacional (1390-1430): procedencia, actividad y posible asentamiento. Aspectos documentales, in: *Lambard* 6 (1991–1993), pp. 359–388; Anna MOLINA I CASTELLÀ, “Un dels suptils mestres de la sua art qui sien en nostra senyoria”: Consoli Blanch d'Estrasburg, un argenter alemany a la Corona d'Aragó (1372–1401), in: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 29 (1999), pp. 655–687; Máximo DIAGO HERNANDO, Los mercaderes alemanes en los Reinos Hispanos durante los siglos bajomedievales: Actividad de las grandes compañías en la Corona de Aragón, in: *España y el „Sacro Imperio“*. Procesos de cambios, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la „europeización“ (Siglos XI-XIII), eds. Julio VALDEÓN / Klaus HERBERS / Karl RUDOLF, Valladolid, 2002, pp. 299–327; Nikolas JASPERT, Ein Leben in der Fremde: Deutsche Handwerker und Kaufleute im Barcelona des 15. Jahrhunderts, in: *Ein gefüllter Willkomm. Festschrift für Knut Schulz zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Franz J. FELTEN / Stephanie IRRGANG / Kurt WESOLY, Aachen, 2002, pp. 435–462, and the article by Amadeo Saera Desfilis in this volume.

105 MITJÀ, El comercio y la industria alemanes en Barcelona de 1410 a 1420 (see note 98); Josep Maria MADURELL I MARIMÓN, Documents culturals medievals (1307–1485). Contribució al seu estudi, in: *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 38 (1979/82), pp. 301–475, here doc. 63, p. 342. Other German seal makers working in Aragon, Catalonia and Navarre: Consoli Blanc (Weiss) repaired King Peter the Ceremonious's seal in 1373 – Núria de DALMASES, *Orfebreria catalana medieval: Barcelona 1300-1500*, vol. 1: Consideracions generals i catalogació d'obra (Monografies de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 1), Barcelona, 1992, doc. 47 and 52, pp. 206–208; Hans Tramer / Kramer from Constance fashioned the seal of the Generalitat in 1417 – *ibid.*, doc. 164f., p. 255. Conc of Strasburg made Charles III of Navarre's seal (1395–1420): Esperanza OCHOA DE OLZA EGUIRAUN / Mikel RAMOS AGUIRRE, *Sigilo: los sellos de los documentos*, Pamplona, 2007, p. 71.

Mossen Borra to travel to Central Europe, and fellow countrymen might have sought their way east as a result of this encounter. Indeed, in subsequent years one encounters some scattered references to Aragonese and Catalans in Germany and more particularly references to Iberians at Central European Courts. For example, the Nuremberg chronicles mention a duel that two Catalans, Hug de Vilafranca and Pere de Barberà, fought there in 1430.<sup>106</sup> Both knights had entered King Sigismund's service against the Venetians, possibly a secondary effect of the intensified German-Iberian relations established in 1415 which led the Emperor to request military support from Aragonese mercenaries via an embassy sent in 1425.<sup>107</sup> Far stronger than the pull to the east felt by Iberians, however, was the effect that the encounter of Perpignan had for mobility from Central to South-Western Europe. I would like to illustrate this for two fields, those of economic interaction and the noble mobility.

With the meeting of Perpignan, the number of Rhenish craftsmen and Southern German merchants rose drastically in Catalonia and Aragon. Merchants from Basle, St. Gallen, and Constance alongside those from the Rhineland flocked into the country in the twenties and thirties.<sup>108</sup> The rep-

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106 The reason for the fight was a quarrel over a woman: [...] *und geschabe von einer frauen wegen*: Anonymus, Chronik aus kaiser Sigmund's zeit bis 1434 mit Fortsetzung bis 1441, in: Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg 1 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte 1), ed. Karl HEGEL, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 344–414, here p. 377; Endres TUCHER, Memorial, 1421 bis 1440, in: Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte: Nürnberg 2 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte 2), ed. Karl HEGEL, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 9–32, here p. 21; Johannes MÜLLNER, Die Annalen der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von 1623, Teil II: von 1351–1469 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 11), ed. Gerhard HIRSCHMANN, 1984, p. 278: *Mit König Sigimund sein damals (wie die Nürnbergische Chroniken melden) ankunnen zween Ritter, beede aus Catalonia, genannt Hugo de Francoilla und Petrus de Birbeson, welche einer schönen Frauen halb in Widersärtigkeit miteinander gestanden und deswegen einen Kampf miteinander aufgenommen, welcher ihnen auch, nach vieler Unterbandlung, die bei ihnen nit wollen stattfinden, vom König bewilliget worden, derwegen man Donnerstags hernach jedem ein Zeltlein auf offenem Markt aufgeschlagen, darinnen jeder seiner Rüstung und Zugehörung verwahret und auf bestimmte Stund sein sie aus den Gezelten getreten, wie ihnen das Los gefallen, ein jeder mit Harnisch und Webr, zu einem ernstlichen Kampf aufs beste verwahret, haben vor dem König und männiglich miteinander gekämpft, mit Stechen und Schlagen einander lang umbgetrieben, uns sein endlich so nabe zusamen kommen, dass der de Birbeson gefällt worden und der der Francoilla den Obsieg erhalten.*

107 Petición: BÖHMER / ALTMANN, Regesta Imperii XI (see note 10), vol. 2, doc. 6426.

108 Konrad HAEBLER, Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona (1425/1440), in: Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte NF 10 (1901), pp. 111–160, 321–363; IDEM, Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona 1425–1440 (see note 104); MITJÀ, El comercio y la industria alemanes en Barcelona de 1410 a 1420 (see note 98); Franz EHRENSPERGER, Basels Stellung im internationalen Han-

representatives of the Ravensburger Company are only the best known of these economic expatriates, but they were by no means the sole representatives of this transformation.<sup>109</sup> In the major commercial and industrial centers of the Crown of Aragon – in Barcelona, in Valencia and in Zaragoza – Germans became an important group amongst long-distance traders, alongside the Italian merchants (albeit clearly secondary to the latter). It might be no coincidence that these merchants from Basle, Ravensburg and St. Gallen hailed precisely from the upper Rhine area not all that far from Lake Constance. In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, German mixed textiles made of linen and cotton – known in the Crown of Aragon as *teles alamanys* or *al-emanes* – became very popular in Eastern Iberia. Similarly, Southern German metalwork and German style bags and hats found a ready market. In return, raisins, wool and other natural products and most of all saffron were transported East over the Pyrenees.<sup>110</sup> Perpignan, too, became an important hub for German-Iberian commerce in this period.<sup>111</sup>

Significantly, the Central European merchants also acquired access to the court: In 1420, Queen Mary issued important privileges in favour of

delsverkehr des Spätmittelalters, Basel, 1972, pp. 293–298; JASPERT, Ein Leben in der Fremde (see note 104), pp. 444–453; DIAGO HERNANDO, Los mercaderes alemanes en los Reinos Hispanos (see note 104); JASPERT, Das aragonesische Dilemma (see note 7), pp. 136–138.

- 109 Wilhelm von HEYD, Die Große Ravensburger Gesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1890; Aloys SCHULTE, Geschichte der Großen Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft, 1380–1530, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1923; Peter EITEL, Die Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft (Ravensburger Stadtgeschichte 13), Ravensburg, 1984; Hans-Ulrich Frhr. von RUEPPRECHT, Die Ankenreute von Ravensburg, in: Genealogisches Jahrbuch 33/34 (1993–1994), pp. 21–56; Andreas MEYER, Die Große Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft in der Region. Von der ‘Bodenseehanse’ zur Familiengesellschaft der Humpis, in: Kommunikation und Region (Forum Suevicum 4), eds. Carl. A. HOFFMANN / Rolf KIESSLING, Konstanz, 2001, pp. 249–304.
- 110 José Ramon HINOJOSA MONTALVO, Mercaderes alemanes en la Valencia del siglo XV, in: Anuario de Estudios Medievales 17 (1987), pp. 455–468; Enrique CRUSELLES GÓMEZ, El mercado de telas y nuevos paños en Valencia, in: Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia 19 (1998), pp. 248–267.
- 111 See the contribution by Damien Coulon to this volume as well as: Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée, VI<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. 2: La formation des réseaux, eds. Damien COULON / Christophe PICARD / Dominique VALÉRIAN, Paris, 2010; Damien COULON, Barcelona en las redes mercantiles marítimas y terrestres del gran comercio en la Baja Edad Media, in: Barcelona Quaderns d’Història 18 (2013), pp. 147–163; IDEM, Perpiñán, centro económico y de relación con el Levante mediterráneo (siglo XIV-principios del XV), in: Els catalans a la Mediterrània medieval. Noves fonts, recerques i perspectives, eds. Lluís CIFUENTES I COMAMALA / Roser SALLICRÚ I LLUCH / Maria Mercè VILADRICH I GRAU, Roma, 2015, pp. 195–216.

South German merchants concerning trade tariffs and customs.<sup>112</sup> The privileged status of the Germans became known as the *Dret dels Alamanys e Saboyenchs* and generated a number of valuable records at the Crown archive which reveal the intense commercial activities that Central European and particularly southwest German merchants developed in subsequent years.<sup>113</sup> One could argue that both phenomena, the meeting of Perpignan and the economic penetration of the Aragonese market by German merchants, were independent developments. But any doubts as to their causal connection are silenced by an entry in the registers of Barcelonese Crown Archive, to which Konrad Häbler already pointed in his time: On November 8<sup>th</sup> 1415 – and in Perpignan – King Ferdinand conferred safe passage throughout all his realm to eight merchants from Nuremberg and Freiburg as well as to their representatives.<sup>114</sup> These men were expressly permitted to travel, buy and sell in all areas of the Crown including its overseas possessions. Their goods were exempted from any reprisals or encroachment, and they could conduct negotiations not only with Christians, but also with Jews and Muslims, or as the text of the document puts it: “with people of whichever nation, law or sect”. All royal officials were held to comply with the order. These eight merchants privileged by King Ferdinand in Perpignan – Friedrich Günsberg, Johann Fridringer, Sebold Schürstab, Heinrich Lochner from Nuremberg and Johannes Scudin, Nikolaus Reff, Henrelin Riff, Peter Malcher from Freiburg – appear to have been part of King Sigismund’s train. We do not know what moved King Ferdinand to privilege the merchants. It is likely that payments were made, for the King was notoriously short of money at the time of the summit.<sup>115</sup> Two years later, John Otlinger, a merchant from Prague named royal familiar by Sigismund in 1413, allegedly returned (!) to Catalonia on his way to Santiago de Compostela; he was therefore arguably also amongst the traders in the King’s retinue in 1415.<sup>116</sup>

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112 JASPERS, *Ein Leben in der Fremde* (see note 104), doc. 1, pp. 461f.

113 HAEBLER, *Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona 1425–1440* (see note 104); HAEBLER, *Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona (1425/1440)* (see note 108); Pedro LÓPEZ ELUM, *Las relaciones comerciales de la Corona de Aragón con los alemanes y saboyanos. Dret alemany y saboyà (1420-1694)*, in: *Saitabi* 26 (1976), pp. 47–57.

114 HAEBLER, *Das Zollbuch der Deutschen in Barcelona 1425–1440* (see note 104), doc. 1, pp. 352–354; MITJÀ, *El comercio y la industria alemanes en Barcelona de 1410 a 1420* (see note 98), doc. 19, pp. 305–307.

115 As the article by Alberto Torra in this volume clearly shows: TORRA, *La laboriosa preparación de las vistas de Perpiñán* (see note 22).

116 VINCKE, *Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbe-*

At least Johann Fridringer (of Fridingen had already established contact with the Iberian world prior to the summit, for he had been sent to Castile in 1409 on a diplomatic mission by the Duke of Austria (probably Duke Ernest, died 1424): Passing through Barcelona with eight carriages, he had received a safe conduct by King Martin.<sup>117</sup> Some of the merchants mentioned in the Perpignan privilege of 1415 belonged to well established patrician families well versed in international trade: Two of the Nurembergers (Günsberg, Fridringer) were also members of a commercial company, the Kraft-von Locheim-Stark-Tracht-Society.<sup>118</sup> In fact, members of the Tracht and Lochheim families too had already established commercial contacts with Barcelona prior to the summit, namely in 1392.<sup>119</sup> They now proposed to extend their operating range. The King's voyage seems to have been the perfect opportunity to do so. Inevitably these foreign merchants who arguably accompanied Sigismund at the German-Aragonese meeting, elicit associations with trade delegations at modern summits. Similarly, Perpignan 1415 seems to have acted as a door opener for the Central European trade with the Iberian Peninsula.

The same effect can be stated for noble mobility.<sup>120</sup> Thanks to the important research conducted by Johannes Vincke, Jeanne Viellard, Francesca Vendrell and others, a wide spectrum of Iberian documentation has come to light that provides references to the passage of aristocratic travellers through Aragon and Catalonia: safe conducts and letters of recommendation, entries in account books or registers.<sup>121</sup> Several years ago, Roser Salic-

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ziehungen (see note 98), doc. 83, p. 181: [...] *familiare ab ipso Romanorum rege recedente*; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 262–264.

117 VINCKE, Europäische Reisen um 1400 (see note 98), pp. 361f.

118 Wolfgang von STROMER, Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz: 1350–1450; vol. 2 (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beihefte 57), Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 390–395.

119 MITJÀ, Dificultades de la industria y comercio alemanes para abrirse paso en Barcelona hasta 1410 (see note 104), doc. 7, p. 207, doc. 8, p. 208; VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), pp. 128–130.

120 This point was already made in JASPERT, Das aragonesische Dilemma (see note 7), pp. 138–140 and is elaborated here.

121 VIEILLARD, Pèlerins d'Espagne à la fin du Moyen Âge (see note 101); EADEM, Inventaire des lettres des rois d'Aragon à Charles VI et à la cour de France, conservées aux Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon à Barcelone, in: Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 103 (1942), pp. 99–150; VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), pp. 115–120, 137–179; VINCKE, Europäische Reisen um 1400 (see note 98); VENDRELL,

ru i Lluch published new material from the inexhaustible stocks of the Crown archive, that gives proof to the notable increase of Central European travellers passing Aragon and Catalonia precisely at the time of the meeting at Perpignan, and now, the “Acta Negotii Perpiniani” have added further material.<sup>122</sup>

As Johannes Vincke correctly remarked many years ago, Central European travellers to the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century hailed from many parts of the German Empire.<sup>123</sup> Notably, however, immediately prior to the meeting of Perpignan one can observe increasing numbers of voyagers from the eastern regions, i. e. Hungarian, Silesian and Bohemian noblemen, travelling west.<sup>124</sup> Their declared goal was to seek the Apostle’s grave in Compostela, to experience military adventures on the Christian-Muslim frontier or to visit the Iberian courts of Castile or Granada. The Bohemians Vaclav of Donín (z Donína, *Bensisflan de Don*)<sup>125</sup> and Stibor of Cos (Stibor of Kozího)<sup>126</sup> for example did so in February 1415. So did Louis of Brzeg (Brieg) and Peter Cseh of Léva in May.<sup>127</sup> Louis had received a

Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa (see note 55); Werner PARAVICINI, „Fürschriften und Testimonia.“ Der Dokumentationskreislauf der spätmittelalterlichen Adelsreise am Beispiel des kastilischen Ritters Alfonso Mudarra 1411–1412, in: Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen, vol. 2, eds. Johannes HELMRATH / Heribert MÜLLER / Helmut WOLFF, Munich, 1994, pp. 903–926; BAD’URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 1–16, pp. 61–74.

122 SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48); TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4).

123 „Bemerkenswert ist, dass die deutschen Ritter, die Spanien besuchten, aus allen deutschen Landschaften kamen“ – VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), p. 119.

124 In general on late medieval pilgrimage in these areas: Jolanta PODOLSKA, Pielgrzymi polscy w Ziemi Świętej 1350–1450, in: Peregrinus Cracoviensis 4 (1996), pp. 213–223; Aleš MRÁZEK, Fenomén náboženské pouti v počátcích české reformace [= The phenomenon of pilgrimage at the dawn of the Czech reformation], 2 vols., (PhD), Praha, 2014.

125 BAD’URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 17, pp. 75f.; doc. 26, p. 84; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 260, 279.

126 BAD’URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 18, pp. 76f., doc. 19, p. 77, doc. 20, p. 78, doc. 21, pp. 78f.; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 260, 279; MRÁZEK, Fenomén náboženské (see note 124), pp. 521f.

127 VENDRELL, Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa (see note 55), pp. 217–241, doc. 1 and 3, pp. 36–38; BADURA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 95), doc. 23, pp. 80f.; doc. 25, p. 83; Waltraud WINKELBAUER, Concedimus ordinis nostri insignia – Die Ordensverleihungsurkunden des Georg von Volkersdorf im Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv, in: Jahrbuch für Landeskun-

safe conduct and letter of recommendation from King Charles VI of France in March and passed through Aragon with 50 horses on his way south towards the kingdoms of Castile, Portugal, Granada and supposedly even Morocco – in order to “conduct acts of chivalry and travel through different parts of the world”.<sup>128</sup> Peter Cseh of Léva, who was one of Sigismund’s most important Hungarian courtiers and who had accompanied the King to Italy in 1413, travelled with a retinue of 24 horses.<sup>129</sup> Such ostentatious long-distance voyages by noblemen were expensive: Peter had taken a loan of 5000 Florin, his sister had given him golden and silver objects worth another 3000 Florin in order “to raise his reputation and honour”.<sup>130</sup> He too carried a recommendation from the French King and planned to pursue his travels, in this case probably on pilgrimage to Santiago Compostela.<sup>131</sup> Louis of Brzeg and Peter Cseh of Léva appear to have travelled together with a Moravian nobleman, Henry of Kravař (Krawarn), Lord of Plumlov (Blumenau) and Šternberk (Sternberg),<sup>132</sup> for all three received their safe

de von Niederösterreich Ser. NF 72–74 (2006–2008), pp. 385–442, here p. 427.

- 128 Jeanne VIELLIARD, *Inventaire des lettres des rois d’Aragon à Charles VI* (see note 121), doc. 17, pp. 355f.; *por exercir sus actos de cavalleria e de notabla renombre, honor e fama, entienda discorrer diversas partes del mundo* – SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico* (see note 48), p. 261, *ad strenuos militie actus exercendos ut vir fortis et intrepidus telluris ambiens litora ad ipsa climata declinare proponat* – *ibid.*
- 129 VENDRELL, *Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa* (see note 55), doc. 1, p. 36.
- 130 Daniela DVORÁKOVÁ, *Ein Ritter zwischen Ungarn, Konstanz und Compostela – Peter “der Tscheche” von Leva*, in: *Das Konstanzer Konzil: 1414–1418; Weltereignis des Mittelalters*: Katalog, ed. Anita AUER, Darmstadt, 2014, pp. 165.
- 131 VIELLIARD, *Inventaire des lettres des rois d’Aragon à Charles VI* (see note 128), doc. 16, pp. 354f.: *il a entencion et propos au plaisir de Nostre Seigneur de aler en plusieurs parties de la Chrétienté visiter plusieurs pelerinages et veoir le monde*; see the safe conduct issued by King Ferdinand for Castile, Granada, the Bishop of Palencia and the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela (also with 24 horses): BADŮRA, *Styky mezi Českým královstvím* (see note 48), doc. 23, pp. 80f., doc. 24, pp. 81f.; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico* (see note 48), p. 262.
- 132 Henry exited the Crown of Aragon in February 1416: BADŮRA, *Styky mezi Českým královstvím* (see note 48), doc. 27, pp. 84f. Henry of Kravař was to die five years later in the battle of Višegrad against the Hussites – František PALACKÝ, *Der Hussitenkrieg, von 1419–1431* (*Geschichte von Böhmen: Grösstentheils nach urkunden und handschriften* 3, 2), Prag, 1851, p. 162; Tomáš BALETKA, *Páni z Kravař. Z Moravy až na konec světa*, Praha, 2003, pp. 251–270; ELBEL, *Personenforschung zum Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), p. 196. A Wenzeslaus of Sternberg, domicellus de Alamania, had already undertaken a voyage to Castile via Aragon in 1373: VINCKE, *Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und*

conducts from Charles VI of France and Ferdinand of Aragon on the same days (March 25<sup>th</sup> and May 16<sup>th</sup> 1415 respectively).<sup>133</sup> Georg Certtes (of Zedlitz or Czettritz) accompanied them in Valencia in May 1415 with six mounts.<sup>134</sup> We can suspect that this high-ranking group of royal courtiers also represented their King politically as diplomats when they were received by the Iberian Kings. In fact Peter Cseh of Léva and Henry of Kravař were explicitly termed royal counsellors (*consilarii vestri*) in a letter by Ferdinand to King Sigismund,<sup>135</sup> who had issued a *salvus conductus* on their behalf on January 6<sup>th</sup> and February 4<sup>th</sup> 1415, respectively.<sup>136</sup> In this sense, one can safely argue that Peter Cseh of Léva and Henry of Kravař were not only pilgrims and *chevaliers errants*, but also acted as King Sigismund's ambassadors in preparation of the Perpignan summit. As we have seen, Louis of Brzeg too was a high-ranking participant of the meeting, where Vaclav of Donína can also be identified.<sup>137</sup> After the event, Henry of Kravař and Georg Certtes (of Zedlitz) still formed part of the King's entourage in Dordrecht in November 1416.<sup>138</sup>

A connection between Central- European travellers to Aragon and the meeting of Perpignan also becomes evident in other cases: In September

Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), doc. 21, pp. 146f.

133 VIELLIARD, Inventaire des lettres des rois d'Aragon à Charles VI (see note 128), doc. 16–18, pp. 354–358; BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 21, p. 79, doc. 23, pp. 80f., doc. 24, pp. 81f., doc. 25, p. 83; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 261–263.

134 VENDRELL, Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa (see note 55), doc. 1, p. 36, doc. 3, pp. 37f.; BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 23, pp. 80f.; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 262, 279. On George of Czettritz see: EKDAHL, Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411, vol. 2 (see note 65), pp. 55f.

135 Ferdinand informed King Sigismund of Peter and Henry's arrival in Valencia on May 14<sup>th</sup> 1415: BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 22, p. 80; TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 91.

136 Das Konstanzer Konzil, Katalog (see note 130), doc. 148, pp. 208f. Letters of recommendation for King Ferdinand: ACA Perg. Extra-inv. 4205 and 4210, cf. TORRA, Acta Negotii Perpiniani (see note 4), doc. 91.

137 BAD'URA, Styky mezi Českým královstvím (see note 48), doc. 26, p. 84: safe conduct issued in Perpignan by King Ferdinand on December 22<sup>nd</sup> 1415 for Vaclav's return journey; cf. VENDRELL, Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa (see note 55), p. 24.

138 BÖHMER / ALTMANN, Regesta Imperii XI (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 1989 (1416 Nov. 7): Surety provided by Louis of Brzeg, Henry of Kravař, Nicholas of Reibnitz, Georg Certtes / of Zedlitz, Peter Gewisser, Peter Silstrank, Matthias Lemlin and Nicholas Bunzlau.

1415, Strelastre *servidor del gran conde de Hungría*, received a payment by the King precisely in Perpignan.<sup>139</sup> On October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1415, the Silesian John of Waldau und the squire John of Schönefeld were provided with a safe conduct there in order to undertake a voyage to Castile and Granada. The first was termed Sigismund's *consiliarius*, the second his *scutifer*.<sup>140</sup> These courtiers seem to have taken advantage of their trip to the Pyrenees to continue west. Notably, nearly all *alemanys* or *alemanes* mentioned in the royal documentation who traversed the Crown of Aragon during these months hailed from Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia or Silesia. Their affiliation to the royal court is highly probable. All in all, in the years 1414 to 1416 alone, twenty-six predominantly noble travellers were recorded in the Barcelonese registers, as many as during the entire previous decade.<sup>141</sup> Thanks to them and other voyagers, the news of the *mirabilia* to be seen on the Iberian Peninsula spread throughout Central Europe, for the 15<sup>th</sup> century is marked by a growing number of reports written by Central European travelers to the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>142</sup>

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139 VENDRELL, Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa (see note 55), doc. 4, p. 38; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), p. 279.

140 VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), doc. 80, pp. 179f.: *devoti nostri Johannes de Valldoune consiliarius et Johannes de Schoneuelt scutifer regis Romanorum fratris nostri precarissimi*. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), p. 265. On John of Waldau see: EKDAHL, Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411, vol. 2 (see note 65), pp. 343f.

141 SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 271–289.

142 Antonio ANTELO IGLESIAS, Estado de las cuestiones sobre algunos viajes y relatos de viajes por la Península Ibérica en el siglo XV: caballeros y burgueses, *Temas medievales* 7 (1997), pp. 147–168; Klaus HERBERS, Spanienreisen im Mittelalter. Unbekannte und neue Welten, in: *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung* 3, 2 (1998), pp. 81–106; José GARCÍA MERCADAL, Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX, vol. 1, Valladolid, 1999; Antonio ANTELO IGLESIAS, Caballeros centroeuropeos en España y Portugal durante el siglo XV, in: *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 3 (1988), pp. 41–57; Silke TAMMEN, Kunsterfahrungen spätmittelalterlicher Spanienreisender, in: *Kunst in Spanien im Blick des Fremden: Reiseerfahrungen vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart (Ars Iberica 2)*, ed. Gisela NOEHLES-DOERK, Frankfurt a. M., 1996, pp. 49–72; Albrecht CLASSEN, Die iberische Halbinsel aus der Sicht eines humanistischen Nürnberger Gelehrten. Hieronymus Münzer, *Itinerarium Hispanicum (1494–1495)*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 111 (2003), pp. 317–340; Ludwig VONES, Spanische Reisende im Reich, in: „Das kommt mir Spanisch vor“ (see note 8), pp. 339–357; Eckhard WEBER, Pilger, Räuber, Heiden und Ketzermeister: Spanienbilder in Tex-

This new conjunction was also expressed symbolically: The Order of the Jar and Stole (Orden de la Jarra) founded by Ferdinand I in 1403, even before he gained power in Aragon, served as a medium during the meeting of Perpignan in order to build personal networks between Aragon and Central Europe.<sup>143</sup> On September 25<sup>th</sup>, King Ferdinand sent a letter to a royal craftsman in Barcelona, ordering a medallion depicting a cross and a jar to be made out of coral.<sup>144</sup> This *divisa* was probably the same he sent to King Sigismund in December, when the King<sup>145</sup> and some of his companions such as Oswald of Wolkenstein,<sup>146</sup> the Hungarian Palatine Nicholas of Gara (Miklós Gara),<sup>147</sup> Peter Cseh and John Otlinger<sup>148</sup> were officially named members of the Order of the Jar. In turn, King Sigismund appointed the

ten deutscher Reisender an der Wende zur Neuzeit (15./16. Jahrhundert), in: *Bis an den Rand Europas: Spanien in deutschen Reiseberichten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Berta RAPONSO FERNÁNDEZ / Isabel GUTIÉRREZ KOESTER, Frankfurt a. M., 2011, pp. 15–75.

143 Anna CORETH, *Der „Orden von der Stola und den Kanneln und dem Greifen“ (Aragonesischer Kannenorden)*, in: *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 5 (1952), pp. 34–62; Franz-Heinz von HYE, *Testimonios sobre órdenes de caballería españolas en Austria y en estados vecinos (Bohemia, Alemania, Suiza y Hungría)*, in: *En la España Medieval* 16 (1993), pp. 169–187; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico* (see note 48), pp. 219, 254–288.

144 TORRA, *Acta Negotii Perpiniiani* (see note 4), doc. 290: *Manam vos que decontinent sens neguna dilacio façats fer de fin coral duna plancha redona per portar la nos en lo coll ab son anell dor en que penge e sia feta per la manera que trametem en la present interclusa, que es en la una part una creu e en l'altra una terraça.*

145 Francisco BOFARULL SANS, *Felipe de Malla y el Concilio de Constanza. Estudio histórico-biográfico. Documentos justificativos y correspondencia diplomática de los embajadores aragoneses*, Girona, 1882, doc. 2, pp. 11–13; ACC (see note 1), vol. 3, doc. 219, pp. 510–513; Jerónimo ZURITA Y CASTRO, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* 5 (Publicación de la Institución “Fernando el Católico” 738), ed. Ángel CANELLAS LÓPEZ, Zaragoza, 1980, book 12, chapter 59, p. 466.

146 KLEIN, *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (see note 51), doc. 26, p. 94. The bestowment of the Order of the Jar at Perpignan cannot be proven beyond doubt. But see Oswald's famous portrait in which he proudly shows the symbols of the order, cf. note 157.

147 *Per procura* by Philipp of Malla: VENDRELL, *Caballeros centroeuropeos en la corte aragonesa* (see note 55), doc. 7, p. 41; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico* (see note 48), pp. 279f.

148 SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico* (see note 48), pp. 279–281. Incidentally, the imperial ambassadors to the Castilian court had already been received there as members of the Castilian Court Order, the Order of the Sash (Orden de la Banda): PÉREZ DE GÚZMAN, *Crónica del Serenísimo Príncipe Don Juan* (see note 44), chapter 13 (1415), pp. 356–366. Cf. the article by Ana Echevarría in this volume.

rulers of Aragon, Castile-León and Navarre as well as the sons of King Ferdinand of Aragon and 30 further Iberian noblemen fellows of the royal Hungarian Order of the Dragon<sup>149</sup> – an institute he himself had created and which incidentally counted the above-mentioned Nicholas of Gara and Peter Cseh of Leva among its founding members.<sup>150</sup> In 1418, Emperor Sigismund received Garsias Ferran as his *familiaris* and as a member of the order of the Dragon, and the Aragonese jester Borrà alias Antoni Tallander was appointed royal familiar, too.<sup>151</sup>

By such mutual admissions, the rulers not only symbolically demonstrated their political rapprochement, but also fortified the agreement and expressed their mutual respect.<sup>152</sup> The ceremonies of 1415 were soon followed by others: By 1430 at least 21 nobles from the German Empire had been accepted as new members of the Order of the Jar.<sup>153</sup> Roser Salicru

149 BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), doc. 1930; PRINZHORN, *Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII.* (see note 1), pp. 72f.; *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. Ein systematisches Verzeichnis* (Kieler Werkstücke / D 1), eds. Holger KRUSE / Werner PARAVICINI / Andreas RANFT, Frankfurt a. M. u.a., 1991, p. 241.

150 D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre BOULTON, *The Knights of the Crown. The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520*, Woodbridge, 1987, pp. 348–355; KRUSE / PARAVICINI / RANFT, *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (see note 149), pp. 230–247; Igor GRAUS, *Drací rád Žigmunda Luxemburského a jeho symbolika* [The order of the dragon of Sigismund of Luxembourg and its symbolism], in: *Slovenská archivistika* 31, 2 (1996), pp. 86–106; IDEM, *Rád Draka a jeho insígnie* [The Order of Dragon and its Insignia], in: *Vojenská história* 10, 4 (2006), pp. 3–25; WINKELBAUER, *Concedimus ordinis nostri insignia* (see note 127), pp. 402, 427; Pál LÖVEL, *Hoforden im Mittelalter, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Drachenordens*, in: *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437*, eds. Imre TAKÁCS / Zsombor JÉKELY, Mainz, 2006, pp. 251–263; NOVÁK, *Die Söhne des Adlermannes* (see note 53), pp. 140f.; ELBEL, *Persoenforschung zum Hof Kaiser Sigismunds* (see note 9), p. 191.

151 BÖHMER / ALTMANN, *Regesta Imperii XI* (see note 10), vol. 1, doc. 2836 and doc. 4885. Cf. Note 94.

152 On the practice of exchanging orders see: Laurent HABLLOT, *Les signes de l'entente. Le rôle des devises et des ordres dans les relations diplomatiques entre les ducs de Bourgogne et les princes étrangers de 1380 à 1477*, in: *Revue du Nord* 345–346 (2002), pp. 319–341, and the article by Amadeo Saerra Desfilis in this volume.

153 HYE, *Testimonios sobre órdenes de caballería españolas* (see note 143), pp. 173–175. On the three brothers John, Stephen Francis of Perény as bearers of the sign of the Jar see: Attila BÁRÁNY, *English Chivalric Insignia in Hungary*, in: *Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában. Learning, Intellect and Social Roles: Aristocrats in Hungary and Europe* (*Speculum Historiae Debreceniense* 18), eds. Attila BÁRÁNY / István ORISZ / Klara PAPP / Balint VIN-

even speaks of a German predominance, a “cuasi-exclusividad de la presencia de Alemanes en las nóminas de beneficiarios de la orden”, during these years.<sup>154</sup> Some of the imperial nominees were even given the right to admit new members to the order, for example Wenzeslas of Waldenstrin, Henry of Schönwald, Nicholas Schraulz (Nikolaus Schrank of Czeruwir?) and Wenzeslas of Troppau, all in 1417.<sup>155</sup> The distribution and attractiveness of the Order of the Dragon and its device, in contrast, could not compete with that of the Order of the Jar. One reason for this asymmetry might have been a spectacular public uproar in Constance during the council, when the Aragonese chief negotiator renounced his membership in the order of the Dragon in response to a diplomatic éclat.<sup>156</sup>

In contrast, the emblem of the Jar soon gained a privileged position among the symbols of patrician and aristocratic mobility in Central Europe. Oswald of Wolkenstein for example proudly donned his entire ceremonious outfit – the collar, the chain, the brooch – for the famous tempera portrait kept at University Library Innsbruck.<sup>157</sup> Even today, this heraldic device still decorates many epitaphs, stained glass windows and paintings in German, Austrian and Hungarian churches – a testimony to its reputation, but at the same time also a testimony to the mobility of Central Europeans in the late Middle Ages.<sup>158</sup>

KLER, Debrecen, 2014, pp. 73–96, here pp. 73, 83f.; DVORÁKOVÁ, The chronicle of Ulrich Richental (see note 47), pp. 9–11.

154 HYE, Testimonios sobre órdenes de caballería españolas (see note 143), pp. 173–187; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), p. 219 (quotation), pp. 264–266, 279–283.

155 VINCKE, Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen (see note 98), doc. 82f., pp. 180f.; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico (see note 48), pp. 265, 281. For later examples see CORETH, Der „Orden von der Stola und den Kannkeln und dem Greifen“ (see note 143), pp. 49f., 58–62; KRUSE / PARAVICINI / RANFT, Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland (see note 149), pp. 17f.; WINKELBAUER, Concedimus ordinis nostri insignia (see note 127), pp. 399–401. Nicholas *Schraulz de Czyermyroyr / Czyermyroyr* was possibly the Moravian Nikolaus Schrank von Czeruwir – EKDAHL, Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/1411, vol. 2 (see note 65), p. 288

156 ACC (see note 1), vol. 2, p. 117.

157 Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437, eds. Imre TAKÁCS / Zsombor JÉKELY, Mainz, 2006, ill. 4.44, p. 344; CORETH, Der „Orden von der Stola und den Kannkeln und dem Greifen“ (see note 143), p. 42 and ill. p. 49; PARAVICINI, Von Schlesien nach Frankreich, England, Spanien und zurück (see note 46), pp. 151, 157.

158 “[...] for a considerable number of Germans displayed representations of the collar (or the jar alone) on their tombs and other monuments” – BOULTON, The Knights

To come to a close and summarize: Since the meeting of Perpignan, the Iberian Peninsula and its gateway, the Crown of Aragon, fully entered the German Empire's visual field. This historical dimension of the Council of Constance has so far neither been taken into account nor sufficiently reflected. However, such apparently secondary and long-term effects of a specific event should also be considered in a multi-perspective and European history of Perpignan 1415. The participants of this European summit initiated a new phase of German-Iberian relations in the Middle Ages, the consequences of which were to prove considerable. It might be no exaggeration to say that the Habsburg orientation towards southwestern Europe in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was one of the long-term, indirect consequences of this very opening. The journey undertaken by King Sigismund in 1415 to resolve the Schism thus had consequences that extended far beyond the field of Conciliar and Church History.

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of the Crown (see note 150), p. 331 with illustrations *ibid.* pp. 334–337 as well as CORETH, *Der „Orden von der Stola und den Kanneln und dem Greifen“* (see note 143), pp. 48–50. See the illustrations in: HYE, *Testimonios sobre órdenes de caballería españolas* (see note 143); WINKELBAUER, *Concedimus ordinis nostri insignia* (see note 127).