

Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt

herausgegeben von

Walther L. Bernecker, Klaus Herbers,
Nikolas Jaspert, Matthias Maser,
Sabine Panzram und Ludwig Vones

Band 15

LIT

PERPIGNAN 1415

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

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

LIT

Contents

<i>Aymat Catafau / Nikolas Jaspert / Thomas Wetzstein</i> The Meeting of Perpignan (1415). Approaches to an Underestimated Event	1
<i>Klaus Oschema</i> Nouvelles de Perpignan en France et Bourgogne (1415) – un non-lieu historique ?	29
<i>Emmanuel Jobans</i> Foix et Armagnac face à la question pontificale	59
<i>David Ditchburn</i> Scotland, Benedict XIII and the Ending of the Schism, 1414–18	81
<i>Anne Curry</i> Henri V d'Angleterre, la bataille d'Azincourt et le Concile de Constance	101
<i>Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero</i> Navarra en la Cumbre de Perpignan (1415)	117
<i>Ana Echevarría</i> La perspectiva castellana en las vistas de Perpiñán	139
<i>Germán Navarro Espinach</i> La representación aragonesa en Perpiñán. Del concilio de 1408-1409 a la cumbre europea de 1415	171

VIII

Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno

Benedicto XIII y la ciudad de Valencia en tiempos de la reunión de Perpiñán (1413-1416) 189

Martin Kintzinger

La rencontre de Perpignan et la politique extérieure de l'Empereur Sigismond 225

Damien Coulon

Un autre enjeu européen : marchands de Perpignan et réseaux commerciaux en relation avec le Saint-Empire au début du XV^e siècle 241

Nikolas Jaspert

Courtly and Commercial Mobility: The Meeting of Perpignan (1415) and its Effects 257

Alberto Torra

La laboriosa preparación de las vistas de Perpiñán según los documentos de la cancillería de Fernando I de Aragón 291

Jacqueline Caille

Le double séjour de « l'empereur » Sigismond à Narbonne (15 août-10 septembre / 7 novembre-16 décembre 1415) 319

Claude Denjean et Aymat Catafan

À Perpignan en 1415, tensions sociales et communautaires 347

Maricarmen Gómez

El encuentro de Perpignan y la música 377

Sieglinde Hartmann

Oswald von Wolkenstein à Perpignan : Le chanteur courtois et son seigneur le roi Sigismond 389

Amadeo Serra Desfilis

Arte y diplomacia en Europa alrededor de 1415. Una aproximación 413

Gerald Schwedler

Perpignan 1415. Union of Monarchs for the Union of the Church.
Diplomatic ceremony between politics and protocol 443

Laura Ackerman Smoller

Preacher, Pope, King, and Emperor: Remembering Vincent Ferrer
and Perpignan 483

Hélène Millet

Perpignan 1415. Pourquoi une rencontre entre Sigismond et
Benoît XIII ? 499

Jasmin Hauck

La nomination des délégués auprès du pape Benoît XIII (1415).
Appartenances multiples et jeux de pouvoir au Concile de
Constance 527

Britta Müller-Schauenburg

Perpignan 1415. The negotiations and the role of Benedict XIII 559

Thomas Wetzstein

Sigismond de Luxembourg – un empereur envoyé du concile ? 575

Index 651



The Meeting of Perpignan (1415).
Approaches to an Underestimated Event

Aymat Catafau / Nikolas Jaspert / Thomas Wetzstein

The initiative to publish this collection of essays results from the editors' dissatisfaction with the comparatively slight attention the meeting of Perpignan has received in medieval studies. A limited number of monographs and studies dedicated to the event do exist.¹ But scholars of the Council of Constance have tended to treat it as an interlude during which conciliar activities were practically interrupted or at least diminished considerably for several months. Its most important result – the subtraction of King Ferdinand I of Aragon's obedience to the (Anti)Pope Benedict XIII, which in turn evened the path for the later solution of the Great Western Schism – is normally mentioned; but the specificities of the event are generally omitted.²

- 1 Antal ÁLDÁSY, Rozgonyi István levele. Perpignanból, 1415. október 21-rol, in: *Történelmi Tár* 1 (1900), pp. 449–452; Bernhard BESS, Die Verhandlungen zu Perpignan und die Schlacht von Azincourt (1415), in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1901), pp. 688–709; Walter PRINZHORN, Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII. und seiner Oboedienz in Perpignan, August-Dezember 1415, Freiburg, 1926.
- 2 Heinrich FINKE, *Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils*, Paderborn, 1889; *Das Konstanzer Konzil (Wege der Forschung 415)*, ed. Remigius BÄUMER, Darmstadt, 1977; Ansgar FRENKEN, *Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren*, in: *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 25 (1993), pp. 17–89; *Quellen zur Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der großen Konzilien des 15. Jahrhunderts. 1: Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409) und Konstanz (1414–1418) (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 38, a)*, ed. Jürgen MIETHKE, Darmstadt, 1995; *Reform von Kirche und Reich: zur Zeit der Konzilien von Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449)*; *Konstanz-Prager Historisches Kolloquium (11.-17. Oktober 1993)*, eds. Ivan HLAVÁČEK / Alexander PATSCHOVSKY, Konstanz, 1996; *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449). Institution und Personen (Vorträge und Forschungen 67)*, eds. Johannes HELMRATH / Heribert MÜLLER, Ostfildern, 2007; Klaus SCHELLE, *Das Konstanzer Konzil: 1414–1418*, Konstanz, 2010. The meeting of Perpignan receives quite extensive treatment in: Heinrich FINKE / Johannes HOLLNSTEINER / Hermann HEIMPEL, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, vol. 3: *Die drei Päpste und das Konzil: Schriften zur Papstwahl*, Münster, 1926, pp. 427–508; Walter BRANDMÜLLER, *Das Konzil von Konstanz 1414–1418*, 2 vols., Paderborn 1991–1997, here vol. 2: *Bis zum Konzilsende*; Nikolas JASPert, *Das aragonesische Dilemma. Die Heimat Benedikts XIII. zwischen Obödienzstreit, herrschaftlichem*

Likewise, works on the two main protagonists – King Sigismund and King Ferdinand – dedicate little space to it.³ It hardly plays a role at all in the four exhibitions that have been and will be celebrated in Constance between 2014 and 2018 to commemorate the Council.⁴

But in fact, the meeting of Perpignan celebrated in September 1415 between King Ferdinand I of Aragon and King Sigismund of Hungary and Germany was without doubt a climax in the history of the relations between Central Europe and Eastern Iberia in the Middle Ages. That being said, it was by no means the first contact between both regions. Long before the momentous union between the children of Maximilian of Habsburg and the Catholic Monarchs in 1495, marriage alliances have been forged between the House of Barcelona and major German dynasties of the Late Middle Ages. Similar bonds were negotiated or even tied between the House of Barcelona the Rulers of Hungary, starting with the betrothal of James I (the Conqueror) with princess Violant of Hungary in the thirteenth century. Also, Central European pilgrims had passed into the Iberian realms via Cat-

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

- 3 Esteban SARASA SÁNCHEZ, *Aragón en el reinado de Fernando I, 1412-1416: gobierno y administración* (Tesis doctorales 1046), Zaragoza, 1986; David GARRIDO, *Ferran I “el d’Antequera”, un rei de conveniència* (La unitat 199), Valencia, 2011; Víctor MUÑOZ GÓMEZ, *Fernando “El de Antequera” y Leonor de Albuquerque (1374-1435): una historia de poder en la Península Ibérica a finales de la Edad Media*, Sevilla, 2016; Jörg K. HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund: Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit*, Darmstadt, 1997; 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; *Sigismund of Luxemburg: Art and Culture*, eds. Szilárd PAPP / Ágnes KÖRBER, Budapest, 2006; *Sigismund von Luxemburg, ein Kaiser in Europa: Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongresses in Luxemburg, 8.–10. Juni 2005*, ed. Michel PAULY, Mainz am Rhein, 2006; *Sigismundus rex et imperator: Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg, 1387–1437*, eds. Imre TAKÁCS / Zsombor JÉKELY, Mainz, 2006; *Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437): zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen* (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters 31), eds. Karel HRUZA / Alexandra KAAR, Vienna, 2012.
- 4 *Das Konstanzer Konzil: 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters: Essays*, eds. Karl-Heinz BRAUN / Mathias HERWEG / Hans W. HUBERT / Joachim SCHNEIDER / Thomas ZOTZ, Stuttgart, 2013; *Das Konstanzer Konzil: 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters: Katalog*, ed. Badisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, 2014, but see the short article on the meeting of Perpignan by Ansgar FRENKEN, *Ein Papst will nicht weichen. Der Kampf um den Rückzug Benedikts XIII.*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 286–288.

alonia and Aragon already in the high Middle Ages, and since the 12th century warriors from German and Hungarian territories participated in some of the military expeditions against Muslim territories, although there are hardly any traces of them fighting in the Crown of Aragon. Finally, economic exchange between Germany, particularly the Rhineland and the Crown of Aragon, and here especially Catalonia, had also experienced a notable growth in the course of the 14th century.⁵

Despite this marked tradition, the events of 1415 were unusual, for three reasons. First, the encounter of Perpignan was the first personal meeting between an Aragonese and a German Monarch in the Middle Ages.⁶ Second, further embassies from the kingdoms of Castile, France, England, Scotland and Navarre, representatives of the Duke of Brabant and other high-ranking princes (such as those of Savoy, Armagnac and Foix) as well as delegations of numerous cities – a total of several thousand people – also

5 On these multiple contacts between the Crown of Aragon, Germany and Hungary see: 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 Rektoratsrede am 28.4.1951 (Freiburger Universitätsreden, NF 12), Freiburg i.Br., 1951; Johannes VINCKE, *Zu den Anfängen der deutsch-spanischen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, in: *Spanische Forschungen der Goerresgesellschaft – Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* 14 (1959), pp. 111–182; *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; *Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des späten Mittelalters (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 1)*, eds. Klaus HERBERS / Nikolas JASPert, Münster, 2004, particularly Roser SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo e islámico*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 217–289; *Princeses de terres llunyanes: Catalunya i Hongria a l’edat mitjana*, eds. Ferenc MAKK / Marina MIQUEL VIVES / Agustí ALCOBERRO, Barcelona, 2009; 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; 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) and the references in the article by Nikolas Jaspert below.

6 Gerald SCHWEDLER, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters: Formen – Rituale – Wirkungen (Mittelalter-Forschungen 21)*, Ostfildern, 2008, pp. 459–460.

participated in the meeting of Perpignan, thus converting it into a multilateral summit “avant la lettre”.⁷ And finally, the concrete circumstances of the event transgressed the boundaries of traditional royal encounters. For the primary object of negotiation was neither military, nor political or connubial, but rather ecclesiastic: the kings met in order to overcome the crisis of the Great Schism which had divided Latin Christianity for close to 40 years.

These three particularities determine historians’ perspectives and methodological approaches when dealing with the meeting of Perpignan. Its nature as a personal encounter between monarchs for example turns it into a particularly promising field of study for those interested in cultural history and in aspects of ritual or performance. The spatial settings in a town which attracted delegations from remote countries draws our attention to the challenges of courtly long-distance travel, to the physical framing of such meetings, their administrative and economic preparation as well as their material and organizational context; the meeting of Perpignan is no exception in this respect.

The large number of delegations from many parts of Latin Europe that participated in the meeting in turn makes this event a particularly interesting object of research within the thriving research field of medieval diplomacy and foreign relations. In order to fully come to terms with the negotiations conducted in September 1415, one necessarily needs to understand the intricate network of relations between the monarchs, princes and towns that sent delegations to the meeting; but one also needs to take the context of the domestic affairs in each and every one of these regions into account.

And finally, the conciliar dimension provided the meeting with an additional transregional impact, for the Schism and the ways to overcome it were discussed in every country of Latin Christendom during these months, they were the crucial base of the entire initiative. King Sigismund’s immediate objective of overcoming the Great Western Schism, either by convincing Peter of Luna to resign or by severing the bond between him and King Ferdinand of Aragon, implicates that we need to keep Constance and the

7 On the number of participants see: Heinrich FINKE, *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II; 1291–1327*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1922, doc. 192, p. 445; Antal de ALDASY, *Les rapports de Sigismond avec le royaume d’Aragon*, in: *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 20 (1935), pp. 1–49, here 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; cf. below the articles by Aymat Catafau / Claude Denjean and Nikolas Jaspert.

conciliarists who remained there in mind when studying the events in Perpignan. The Conciliar venue in south-west Germany was far away from the Pyrenees, but it was nevertheless an essential backdrop to the Royal meeting, despite its remoteness it was an integral part of the event, a second albeit invisible scenario next to Perpignan.

Taking these singular features of the event into account presupposes situating our volume within a wider context of medieval research. Therefore, in what follows the editors of this volume would like to provide a short sketch of current studies in the three major field of enquiry that our volume primarily touches upon – conciliar history, the history of diplomacy and the history of political meetings in urban settings.

I. Conciliar Affairs

A cultural history of medieval diplomacy might be regarded as a comparatively young field in historical research, whereas conciliar history – at least as part of ecclesiastical history – has been ranking among historical disciplines for centuries, starting at least with the printed collections of conciliar canons by Merlin in 1524 and reaching a first climax with Mansi's 'Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio' published in 31 volumes between 1759 and 1798.⁸ Considering such a long tradition of editing conciliar materials, one should assume that for an event like the Council of Constance most of the written sources would be known and accessible in print. Unfortunately, this is not true for Constance and even less true for the Perpignan meeting.⁹ Of course, we have the collection of documents on the *Constantiense* edited by the protestant historian Hermann von der Hardt and the 'Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio' by Mansi who, notwithstanding the confessional differences, took Hardt's edition as starting point for his two volumes on Constance.¹⁰ Finke's four volumes, fruit of

8 See the sketch by Johannes HELMRATH, *Konzilssammlungen*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 6 (1997), col. 353–355.

9 On the situation concerning the sources on Constance see Heribert MÜLLER, *Die kirchliche Krise des Spätmittelalters. Schisma, Konziliarismus und Konzilien* (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 90), Munich, 2012, pp. 77f.

10 For those early editions see Ansgar FRENKEN, *Die Quellen des Konstanzer Konzils in den Sammlungen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 30 (1998), pp. 416–439. See moreover *Magnum Oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium*, 6 vols., ed. Hermann von der HARDT, Frankfurt-Leipzig 1697-1700; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vols. 27–28, ed. Johannes Dominicus MANSI, Venetiis, 1784-1785.

many years of archival research almost all over Europe, with the exception of the British Isles and with a special focus on Spain, are irreplaceable, especially as chapters of volume I and volume III are dedicated to Benedict XIII and the Council of Constance and volume IV contains a chapter with documents from Aragon and Castile.¹¹ But we have to take into account that the event we are dealing with took place in a period of advanced literacy, and notwithstanding the undisputable progresses that have been made, up to the present day there are unknown documents being discovered:¹² Peter Linehan published an unknown text found in the Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Valencia in which Benedict XIII gave instructions to his envoys sent to Sigismund early in 1415.¹³ Josep Perarnau i Espelt has presented archival material, partially from the Vatican Archives, which permits dating the famous *subtractio* of Vincent Ferrer (November 12th 1415) and a fragment of the subsequent ‘Super horrendo’ in which Benedict XIII condemns his former intimate, also found by the same author several years before.¹⁴ Only in 2006 Ovidio Cuella Esteban published vol. 3 of the ‘Bulario Aragonés de Benedicto XIII’ with material concerning the meeting of Perpignan.¹⁵ It is therefore no surprise that even for the Crown of Aragon,

11 Acta Concilii Constantiensis [ACC], 4 vols., ed. Heinrich FINKE, Münster, 1896–1928, here vol. 3, pp. 367–612 (with an important introduction on documents on Sigismund’s journey from Constance to Perpignan, the negotiations at Perpignan and Narbonne, the consequent subtraction of obedience and Benedict’s deposition in Constance) and ACC, vol. 4, pp. 1–200 (documents related with the incorporation of the *natio hispanica* from 1416 to 1418). All four volumes of ACC are now easily accessible at archive.org. See on Finke in detail Ansgar FRENKEN, *Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414–1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren* (Annuaire historique des conciliaires 25,1/2), Paderborn, 1994, pp. 70–89.

12 On the considerable increase of writing and literacy from the last decades of the 14th century onwards see the statistics in Uwe NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 1: Text (Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv Zurich 61), Wiesbaden, 1998, pp. 217–222.

13 Peter LINEHAN, *Papa Luna in 1415. A proposal by Benedict XIII for the ending of the great schism*, in: *English Historical Review* 113 (1998), pp. 91–98.

14 Josep PERARNAU ESPELT, *El punt de ruptura entre Benet XIII i Sant Vincent Ferrer*, in: *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 71 (1998), pp. 625–651.

15 *Bulario Aragonés de Benedicto XIII*, vol. 3: *La Curia de Peñíscola (1412–1423)*, (Fuentes históricas aragonesas 40), ed. Ovidio CUELLA ESTEBAN, Zaragoza, 2006, in particular nrs. 705–777 for the time Benedict XIII stayed in Perpignan. Unfortunately, in most of the cases the ‘Bulario’ just gives a summary of the document with reference to the unpublished register (see e.g. a mandate of Benedict XIII ordering the prelates of his obedience to grant safe-conduct to members of the Church of France travelling to the meeting at Perpignan, dated 1415, september 5th, with reference to ‘Registro Aviñonés 345, folio 50r–v’).

where one is tempted to think that Finke's assiduity did not leave any gaps, Alberto Torra in preparing his paper could unearth hundreds of documents connected with the meeting at Perpignan and its preparation.¹⁶

Given the wealth of sources in the meeting of Perpignan, it is not surprising that at first sight we seem to know a lot on this second theatre of the Council of Constance. Modern research on the Perpignan meeting and on its importance for the history of the Council of Constance starts with Noël Valois (1855–1915), a retired archivist of great renown who dedicated four volumes on 'La France et le Grand Schisme', published in only six years between 1896 and 1902.¹⁷ The Council of Constance is treated in volume 4, together with the Council of Pisa (1408–1409) and the end of the Schism, and only 20 pages deal with the "Conférences de Perpignan".¹⁸ Valois used archives in France, Spain, Britain and Italy and could make use of the recently opened Vatican Archives. It is not surprising that his study is almost entirely based on archival material with great attention to recent research including German, Italian and Spanish publications and occasionally with reference to Finke's *Acta* vol. 1. It is remarkable that in Noël's study of the Perpignan meeting we can already distinguish a classical form, following the chronological order and predominantly focusing on a reconstruction of events: the composition of the council's delegation, Sigismund's journey¹⁹ and his pompous entry in Perpignan²⁰, the negotiations between Sigismund and Benedict and their fruitlessness due to Benedict's obstinacy²¹, the departure of Benedict at Collioure²² the *capitula Narbonensia*²³, the subsequent

16 Alberto Torra, in this volume, see also the relevant source-volume: *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 12), ed. Alberto TORRA, Münster / Berlin, 2017.

17 Noël VALOIS, *La France et le grand schisme d'occident*, 4 vols., Paris, 1896-1902. See for a very short and restricted sketch of the research on the meeting of Perpignan FRENKEN, *Erforschung* (see note 11), pp. 44, 110–112, 138–141.

18 VALOIS, *La France* (see note 17), vol. 4, pp. 227–407 (on Constance) and pp. 332–351 (on Perpignan). On Valois' research see FRENKEN, *Erforschung* (see note 11), pp. 91–110.

19 VALOIS, *La France* (see note 17), p. 333 (in two lines just naming some of the places where Sigismund stopped).

20 *Ibid.*, p. 333, with the laconic words: "Il y parvint le 19 septembre 1415."

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 341–345, without leaving any doubt why the negotiations failed (*ibid.*, p. 345): "Si l'union ne se fit pas alors à Perpignan, l'empêchement ne vint point du côté de la France. L'entêtement du pape suffit à expliquer l'échec des négociations."

22 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 346–348.

subtractions of obedience²⁴ and, as an epilogue, the arrival of the Spanish delegates at Constance²⁵ and the trial against Benedict leading to his deposition²⁶. It is obvious what actually interested Valois in the Perpignan meeting: the role of France – even if it was *de facto* rather marginal.²⁷ And it is, on the other hand, symptomatic, that Valois was not interested in at all in the demanding logistics of Sigismund's journey and his stay in Perpignan, the complicated problems of ritual and symbols. This is due to the fact that as the decrees of Pisa were not annulled Benedict was a deposed pope and furthermore excommunicated, whereas Sigismund was the chief negotiator for the council without formal mandate, accompanied by a delegation holding a mandate but issued by a general council that Benedict had not recognized. Valois neither made any remark about the incompatibility of the legal positions the two opponents held.²⁸ Moreover, with the exception of France, Valois did not attribute any relevance to the complex network of different and conflicting interests and concerns of the European reigns, principalities and counties represented – or not represented – in Perpignan, and he was not even interested in the role of Ferdinand of Aragón that was crucial for the success Sigismund's mission had in the end.

The relevant passage in Puig y Puig's still relevant biography of Benedict XIII, published in 1920, has a similar tendency, but in this case it is – not surprisingly – Aragón, Barcelona and Benedict XIII the author is interested in.²⁹ Puig y Puig makes extensive use of narrative sources from the Iberian peninsula and of some archival documents, but neither of the sources published in the 'Acta Concilii Constantiensis', nor of any of the relevant studies of the time.³⁰ The result is a very colourful and detailed description of the meeting at Perpignan with an exclusive focus on the person of Benedict and some doubts about its reliability.

24 Ibid., pp. 348f.

25 Ibid., p. 350.

26 Ibid., pp. 350f.

27 See *ibid.*, pp. 338–341, pp. 342–345.

28 See for Benedict's arguments Dieter GIRGENSOHN, Ein Schisma ist nicht zu beenden ohne die Zustimmung der konkurrierenden Päpste. Die juristische Argumentation Benedikts XIII. (Pedro de Lunas), in: *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 27 (1989), pp. 197–247.

29 Sebastián PUIG Y PUIG, Pedro de Luna. Último papa de Aviñón (1387-1430) (Episcopologio Barcinonense), Barcelona, 1920, pp. 285–302. See on this study FRENKEN, *Erforschung* (see note 11), pp. 111f.

30 In the appendix there is a collection of 209 documentary sources of which some (nos. 106–121) are also relevant for our purpose (*ibid.*, pp. 550–568).

Only six years later Finke published volume III of his ‘Acta’ with an extensive introductory part on ‘Benedikt XIII. und das Konzil’.³¹ With this well documented and widely focused account of the events between 1414 and 1418 Finke set new standards that could not be easily excelled. The sources Finke presents in the footnotes demonstrate the huge variety of approaches the meeting of Perpignan with its preparations and its repercussions offers to historical research. In the light of Finke’s text it becomes clear why “the major modern interpretations of the Perpignan negotiations diverge considerably, as do the sources themselves, and much work remains to be done.”³² In the same year, 1926, the only monographic study on the meeting of Perpignan published up to the present day was submitted as a doctoral thesis in Freiburg by Walter Prinzhorn, a pupil of Finke.³³ Prinzhorn was arguably the first author studying the meeting at Perpignan who fully acknowledged the singularity of Sigismund’s mission.³⁴ He bases his analysis mainly on the material published by his master in the ‘Acta Concilii Constantiensis’ and on narrative sources mostly already used by Puig y Puig. The result is an extremely detailed account of the events in the classical chronological order, beginning with Sigismund’s departure in Constance and ending with the *capitula Narbonensia*, completed by a short digression on their repercussions in Aragón.³⁵ After Finke and his school, there is a long gap of several decades as far as substantial research on the meeting at Perpignan is concerned.³⁶ This concerns even the most important biography of

31 ACC (see note 11), vol. 3, pp. 367–403.

32 Phillip H. STUMP, The Council of Constance (1414–1418) and the End of the Schism, in: A Companion to the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 17), eds. Joëlle ROLLO-KOSTER / Thomas M. IZBICKI, Leiden, 2009, pp. 395–442, here p. 417 (Stump here gives us an excellent overview of the sources on the Perpignan meeting).

33 PRINZHORN, Die Verhandlungen Sigismunds mit Benedikt XIII. (see note 1). The study of 81 pages remained unpublished.

34 Ibid., p. 1: “Schon die Reise König Sigismunds und der Konzilsabordnung nach dem fernen Aragon in einer so bewegten Zeit war gewiss ein ungewöhnliches Ereignis.”

35 In Prinzhorn’s record, we have very valuable information about Sigismund’s journey (ibid., pp. 8–12), details about the negotiations in Perpignan including ritual and the violent conflicts between Castilians and Catalans in Perpignan (ibid., pp. 32–49), and, finally, an account of the negotiations at Narbonne preceding the *capitula* (ibid., pp. 61–66). The responsibility for the success of Sigismund’s mission is attributed to Sigismund himself (ibid., p. 68).

36 We may prescind here from the numerous Spanish studies dedicated to Benedict XIII and designed for a larger public, mostly taking Puig y Puig’s volume as starting point and quite often without any references at all, for a recent bibliography see Manuel VAQUERO PIÑEIRO, Benedetto XIII, antipapa, in: Enciclopedia

King Sigismund to date: the meeting at Perpignan is treated by Jörg K. Hoensch as a marginal phenomenon on only three pages, and apart from relevant research literature, when dealing with Sigismund's journey and the meeting at Perpignan, Hoensch restricted the sources he used strictly to documents summarized in the *Regesta Imperii*.³⁷

The latest profound study on the meeting of Perpignan is Brandmüller's notwithstanding its apologetic and papalistic traits still masterly survey of the Council of Constance.³⁸ He dedicates no less than 52 pages to "Benedikt XIII., Sigismund und das Konzil".³⁹ Here, we have much more than a summary of the research done up to 1997 – it is a detailed and occasionally archive-based study on the difficult way the former obedience of Benedict XIII was incorporated into the Council between the conference of Morella in 1414 and the *capitula Narbonensia*. It offers material not only for the sheer course of events – we find information about the numerous memoranda that were made for the parties involved, about the material that duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy prepared for adequate reception ceremonies during the journey in Savoy, and sometimes even about the legal aspects the protagonists discussed.⁴⁰

dei Papi, vol. 2 (2000), pp. 606–610. As an example see Luis SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Benedicto XIII: antipapa o papa? (1328-1423)*, Barcelona, 2002, pp. 283–293. The author, an open member of 'Opus Dei' and admiror of Francisco Franco, holds strongly papalistic opinions, see e.g. *ibid.*, p. 245 (on the Council of Pisa): "Ningún Papa había firmado al convocatoria, ni confirmó a posteriori los acuerdos; por eso no puede figurar en la lista de los ventidós Concilios hasta ahora calificados de ecuménicos." As an exception, on the contrary, has to be regarded the profound analysis by Francisco de MOXÓ Y MONTOLIU, *La legitimidad de Benedicto XIII*, in: *VI Centenario del Papa Luna. Jornadas de estudio*, Bilbao, 1996, pp. 353–370, in particular pp. 366–369.

37 HOENSCH, *Kaiser Sigismund* (see note 3), pp. 222–225.

38 BRANDMÜLLER, *Konzil* (see note 2), vol. 2; for the problematic aspects of Brandmüller's approach see e.g. MÜLLER, *Krise* (see note 9), p. 63.

39 BRANDMÜLLER, *Konzil*, vol. 2 (see note 2), pp. 3–54; to be completed by chapter III ("Die Spanier kommen zum Konzil", pp. 224–321), dealing not only with the incorporation of the *natio hispanica*, but also with Benedict's deposition.

40 E.g. *ibid.*, p. 35 (propositions made by Benedict in Perpignan), p. 23 (instructions for the reliquaries and hatchments that should be part of the baggage), p. 20 (notarial documents on Benedict's legitimacy that were commissioned by him in order to prepare the meeting with Sigismund). Frenken, in his recent publications on the council, does not contribute new aspects to our topic, see Ansgar FRENKEN, *Der König und sein Konzil – Sigismund auf der Konstanzer Kirchenversammlung. Macht und Einfluß des römischen Königs im Spiegel institutioneller Rahmenbedingungen und personeller Konstellationen*, in: *Annuaire historiae conciliorum* 36 (2004), pp. 177–242, particularly p. 238, mainly based on Odilo

However, Brandmüller's detailed study was published in a series on conciliar history, and it is a genuine contribution to that specific field. For modern research, medieval councils and synods offer much more perspectives for study.⁴¹ It is no surprise, then, that new approaches offer new insights in a millenary institution. The present volume on the meeting of Perpignan may demonstrate where, in the world of 15th-century Christianity, decisive steps to end the schism were taken: the departure of the last remaining pope on November 13th 1415, after the unfruitful negotiations with Sigismund and Ferdinand, did not end the efforts to unify the Church – the political leaders who had already come together at Perpignan continued to discuss solutions for the schism. They came together in Narbonne from December 1st onwards and agreed on December 13th. In contrast to the schisms of the 12th century, where the popes still had a functional importance in ending the scission of Latin Christianity, now an emerging system of international politics, led by the efforts of a travelling monarch, had put an end to a crisis that had been lingering on for almost four decades.⁴²

We are entitled to assume that Ferdinand's withdrawal of obedience and the subsequent – albeit difficult and gradual – union of the Iberian churches with the council of Constance was King Sigismund's most personal contribution to ending the schism. He left Constance together with the council's delegation on 19th of July 1415 and arrived at Perpignan after a journey of 1000km on September 19th. He only left the region on December 15th after the conclusion of the *capitula Narbonensia*.

When leaving Constance, the task that lay before Sigismund was not an easy one at all: of course, against a single person like a pope who was believed schismatic, force could be used if that was deemed necessary. This had been done in the case of John XXIII who had been arrested and im-

ENGELS, Der Reichsgedanke auf dem Konstanzer Konzil, in: Historisches Jahrbuch 86 (1966), pp. 80–106, here pp. 91f., and Ansgar FRENKEN, Das Konstanzer Konzil (Kohlhammer-Urban-Akademie), Stuttgart, 2015, pp. 104–110.

41 See, for example, Mona KIRSCH, Das Konzil im späten Mittelalter: Organisation und Rituale (Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte 21), Heidelberg, 2015.

42 See, for example, for the active and decisive role of pope Alexander III in the schism of 1159 Timothy REUTER, The Papal Schism, the Empire and the West, 1159–1169. Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Merton College, 1976. See also, Dieter BERG, Deutschland und seine Nachbarn 1200–1500 (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte 40), Munich, 1997, pp. 31–45 (unfortunately without special attention to transnational phenomena). The development implied here can also be described as “laïcisation de la communauté occidentale”, see Bernard GUENÉE, L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Les états. 4^e édition mise à jour (Nouvelle clio), Paris, 1991 (first published 1971), p. 60.

prisoned – but this was a solution that had only become possible because of the behaviour of the pope and the decisiveness of Sigismund and his followers. With Benedict XIII the situation was different. At the outset of the king's mission, the last remaining pope, who moreover had always insisted on his undisputable legitimacy, enjoyed firm support by his obedience. The union between Castile-Aragon, Navarra, Foix, Armagnac and Scotland and the Council could only be reached with the consent of all or at least the majority of Benedict's supporters. The German king did not have much he could offer his counterparts nor could he use force against them, and so the success of Sigismund's diplomatic mission depended completely on his ability to win at least the most powerful of Benedict's adherents, Ferdinand I as king of Aragon and regent of Castile, for the Council.⁴³

The fact that Benedict's cession still seemed necessary to the conciliar fathers is a good example for the almost proverbial pragmatism of the Council of Constance and, as Thomas Wetzstein demonstrates, of King Sigismund himself.⁴⁴ *De iure*, Benedict XIII had been deposed formally by the council of Pisa in 1409, as had his opponent, Gregory XII. Without formally annulling the decrees of Pisa – which essentially were nothing else but the sentences against the two pretendants – the Constance fathers decided after heated debates not only to admit the envoys of Gregory to the council, but even to allow them to mark their accommodation with Gregory's coat of arms.⁴⁵ It is no surprise, therefore, that Benedict XIII repeatedly demanded an annulment of the Pisa decrees as a precondition for any further step he might take in order to make a personal contribution to the end of the Schism. Pedro Comuel, whom the bishop of Barcelona had sent to

43 Stump's idea that "all important decisions at the council were made by unanimous consent" was relevant for the interior organization of the Council of Constance as well as for Sigismund's diplomatic mission. The necessity to create unanimity was indeed a task that had to be fulfilled at every step towards the union of the Church: "any conciliar efforts to end the schism absolutely required the unanimity in order to preclude continued or new schism, STUMP, Council (see note 32), p. 430.

44 It is striking that one of most important protagonists of the Council of Constance, Jean de Gerson, wrote in retrospective in 1418: *Hoc unum scio quod zelus habendae unionis in schismate tam desperato tantique temporis, fecit multa tolerari quae fuissent aliunde nec tolerabilia nec toleranda*, Jean Gerson, *Dialogus apologeticus*, in: Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 6: *L'œuvre ecclésiologique*, ed. Palémon GLORIEUX, Paris, 1965, nr. 253, p. 291; see with reference to this passage also MÜLLER, *Krise* (see note 9), p. 36: "Wer theologische und kirchenrechtliche Inkonsequenzen und Widersprüche sucht, dürfte überhaupt in Konstanz überaus fündig werden."

45 See on this episode BRANDMÜLLER, *Konzil* (see note 2), vol. 1: *Bis zur Abreise Sigmunds nach Narbonne*, p. 167.

Perpignan during the meeting between Benedict XIII, King Sigismund and King Ferdinand, reports that in a meeting of the delegations started with their negotiations on September 22nd, Benedict wanted the decrees of Pisa to be annulled, also because *de facto cassata sunt et annullata*.⁴⁶ They were not annulled, even if they were at least mentioned in the *Capitula Narbonensia* as not be used in the looming trial against Benedict.⁴⁷

Pragmatic action instead of principles can also be discerned on a local and regional level. From this angle the Armagnac reluctance to unite with the other reigns and principalities of the ancient Benedictine obedience to join the Council of Constance becomes a very rational decision that was not grounded on a steadfast belief in the legitimacy of Benedict XIII but rather on pragmatic considerations that become comprehensible when you look, as can be seen from the studies of Ditchburn and Johans, at the regional context. But there are not only pragmatic considerations determining the behaviour of the protagonists. In the present volume we can discern other factors that are revealed decisive for the course of events.

From Alberto Torra we can learn that communication between distant partners – like Ferdinand of Aragon and Sigismund still at Constance – was under permanent danger of failure, be it because instructions did not reach the envoys in time or be it that the latter had simply run out of money and were forced to return. We have to take into account in which degree the meeting at Perpignan and the course of events depended on couriers, envoys, and diplomats. The discussions in Perpignan and later on in Narbonne reflect, once again, the geographic dimension of the Schism. It can be seen from the to and fro of instructions, letters and messengers – and the secret instructions allow insights into the true motives of the actors we have no traces of in the official documents, as results from the article of Gerald Schwedler. H el ene Millet contributes an important study on the events that preceded and induced the meeting at Perpignan and sheds light on the difficulties it was determined by before it had even started. All the fourteen officials delegated by the Council to accompany Sigismund in Perpignan have been studied here for the first time by Jasmin Hauck, and so we get to know their biographies and the occasionally surprising reasons for their nomination. Accordingly, Nikolas Jaspert has studied the high-ranking

46 *Dominus noster petiit quod primo antequam ad ulteriora procedent, revocarent multa que facta fuerunt pisis contra dictum dominum nostrum et suos Card[inales] ac cassarent et annullarent queque de facto cassata sunt et annullata* (PUIG Y PUIG, Pedro de Luna [see note 29], appendix, nr. 110, pp. 555f.).

47 See for the relevant provisions of the *Capitula* BRANDM LLER, Konzil (see note 2), vol. 2, p. 44.

entourage that accompanied King Sigismund and contextualizes the meeting within the wider frame of cultural contacts between the Crown of Aragon and the German Empire. Britta Müller-Schauenburg deepens new approaches made by recent research to the role and the position of Benedict XIII in replacing the negative representation of Benedict as obstinate old man by a more differentiated perspective.

What this volume on the meeting at Perpignan reveals is how fruitful a comprehensive view of the Council of Constance as a whole is: even if for practical reasons and due to different classes of sources and the competences needed for their interpretation the single articles of this volume may suggest that we can look at the Perpignan summit or at the Council of Constance as a phenomenon belonging to the field of diplomacy, of ecclesiology or canon law, of regional or dynastic history, of ritual or economic history or the history of art and literature, such a segmentation of the events that took place in Perpignan 600 years ago is not justified. On the contrary, the articles approaching the meeting at Perpignan from different areas of historical research converge in the insight in which degree a closer and multi-perspectival analysis of an event may reveal its very complex internal structure. Intermingling and interdependent factors communicate and affect each other inducing developments that cannot always be attributed to the intentions of acting individuals.

II. Urban History and the Logistics of Political Gatherings

A number of recent studies have attempted to study the economic and logistical challenges housing a royal retinue posed to urban centers. For example, the hosting of a parliamentary meeting (a “Reichstag”, the “Cortes” etc.) put towns and other venues under a considerable strain, which was only partly balanced by the political and symbolic advantages that taking on this task could provide.⁴⁸ The same holds true for towns that hosted councils, as recent works on the challenges the town, council and burghers of Constance had to meet in 1415–1418 have shown.⁴⁹ The so-called spatial

48 Reinhard SEYBOTH, *Reichsstadt und Reichstag. Nürnberg als Schauplatz von Reichsversammlungen im späten Mittelalter*, in: *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesgeschichte* 52 (1992), pp. 209–221; *Hofwirtschaft: ein ökonomischer Blick auf Hof und Residenz in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit (Residenzenforschung 21)*, eds. Gerhard FOUQUET / Jan HIRSCHBIEGEL / Werne PARAVICINI, Ostfildern, 2008.

49 Helmut MAUER, *Das Konstanzer Konzil als städtisches Ereignis*, in: *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449). Institution und*

turn has heightened awareness for the physical and social spaces where political meetings took place.⁵⁰

Perpignan 1415 was not the first meeting of monarchs in the Middle Ages. Gerald Schwedler has recently published an in-depth and comparative study on such encounters, and Achim Haack has done the same for those between emperors and popes.⁵¹ At least three Royal meetings were held in Perpignan alone prior to 1415: in 1279, Peter the Great of Aragon met James I of Majorca in the Pyrenean town, six years later the latter convened there with King Philipp of France, and yet three years later Charles II of Sicily was welcomed in Perpignan by the very same King.⁵²

Yet none of these encounters had the importance of the 1415 one. They were not as solemn, as grand, and definitely not as well documented. Ac-

Personen (Vorträge und Forschungen 67), eds. Johannes HELMRATH / Heribert MÜLLER, Ostfildern, 2007, pp. 149–172; Ansgar FRENKEN, Wohnraumbewirtschaftung und Versorgungsdeckung beim Konstanzer Konzil (1414–1418): Zur logistischen Bewältigung eines Großereignisses im Spätmittelalter, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 156 (2008), pp. 109–146; Jan KEUPP / Jörg SCHWARZ, *Konstanz 1414–1418: eine Stadt und ihr Konzil*, Darmstadt, 2013, pp. 90–172; *Das Konstanzer Konzil: 1414–1418. Weltereignis des Mittelalters* (see note 4), p. 116–217.

- 50 The spatial turn: interdisciplinary perspectives (Routledge studies in human geography 26), eds. Barney WARF / Santa ARIAS, London, 2009; *Kommunikation – Gedächtnis – Raum: Kulturwissenschaften nach dem “Spatial Turn”*, eds. Moritz CSÁKY / Christoph LEITGEB, Bielefeld, 2009; Susanne RAU, *Räume: Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen* (Historische Einführungen 14), Frankfurt am Main, 2013.
- 51 SCHWEDLER, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters* (see note 6); Achim Thomas HACK, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst-Kaiser-Treffen* (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters 18), Cologne, 1999. Royal meetings have generated a number of further studies: Gerald SCHWEDLER, *Deutsch-französische Herrschaftstreffen im 14. Jahrhundert. Dynastische und staatliche Beziehungen im Wandel*, in: *Regnum et Imperium: die französisch-deutschen Beziehungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert / Les relations franco-allemandes au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle* (Pariser Historische Studien 53), ed. Stefan WEISS, Munich, 2008, pp. 55–100; Libor JAN, *Setkání českých kráľu a říšských panovníku ve 13. století*, in: *Rituály, ceremonie a festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století* (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 12), eds. Martin NODL / František ŠMAHEL, Prague, 2009, pp. 113–119; Martin KINTZINGER, *Das inszenierte Imperium. Kaiser Karl IV. und König Karl V. von Frankreich*, in: *Die Goldene Bulle: Politik – Wahrnehmung – Rezeption*, vol. 1 (Berichte und Abhandlungen 12), ed. Ulrike HOHENSEE, Berlin, 2009, pp. 299–326; František ŠMAHEL, *The Parisian Summit, 1377–78: Emperor Charles IV and King Charles V of France*, Prague, 2014.
- 52 SCHWEDLER, *Herrschartreffen des Spätmittelalters* (see note 6), p. 419 (R15), p. 421 (R25), p. 422 (R31).

According to the eschatocol of the agreement between the two sovereigns, on January 20 of 1279, the meeting of the two sons of James I – Peter II King of Aragon and Valencia, Count of Barcelona, and his younger brother James II, King of Majorca, Count of Roussillon and Lord of Montpellier, took place in the convent of the Dominicans of Perpignan, built with the support of James I, which is usually interpreted as proof that the castle of the king of Majorca in Perpignan, begun some years before, was not yet habitable on that date. The chronicles of Bernard Desclot and Ramon Muntaner provide no direct indication of this meeting, although the two sources refer to other encounters between the two brothers, during which the younger James solicited the support of his brother Pierre against the king of France who threatened to seize Montpellier, and it is then that James recognized being the vassal of his elder for his possessions.

On the other hand, it is known that at his return from the interviews of Toulouse in 1280 to Perpignan, King James of Majorca was accompanied by Prince Charles of Taranto, the son of Charles I King of Sicily, sent by the latter to Toulouse to represent him. In this regard, Ramon Muntaner declares: "... the prince [i.e. Charles of Taranto] went with the King of Majorca, and I saw them entering Perpignan together. There they were honoured with great feasts, and the King of Majorca kept him there for eight days."⁵³ Of the 1285 meeting between the King of France Philip III the Bold and the King of Majorca James II the two chroniclers of that time, Muntaner and Desclot, give parallel accounts, yet that of Desclot is more precise. In April 1285, the King of France Philip III Bold entered Roussillon with a large army. Bernat Desclot estimated it at fifteen thousand six hundred horsemen, two hundred and fifty thousand infantrymen, sixty thousand mercenaries, eighty thousand beasts of burden, and ten or twelve thousand followers, including women and children.⁵⁴

53 Les quatre grans Cròniques 3: Crònica de Ramon Muntaner (Memòries de la Secció Historico-Arqueològica 86), eds. Ferran SOLDEVILA / Jordi BRUGUERA / Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, Barcelona, 2011, chap. 38, translated into French by J. A. C. Buchon, *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1840, p. 250.

54 Les quatre grans Cròniques 2: Crònica de Bernat Desclot (Memòries de la Secció Historico-Arqueològica 80), eds. Ferran SOLDEVILA / Jordi BRUGUERA / Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, Barcelona, 2008, chap. 138. Doubtful that these numbers were accepted, Desclot, in chapter 121, gave precise descriptions of the army at the time when it was before Toulouse: the troops stretched for more than a league (4km) in length and enormous quantities of supplies were necessary to maintain it.

Ramon Muntaner recounts precisely, citing the very words of the King of France, the entry into Roussillon of the French, their difficulties before Salses, which refused to surrender to them, despite the agreements concluded with the King of Majorca. Then, according to the chronicler, the King of France, accompanied by his sons, Philippe (later Philip IV the Fair) and Charles his younger son, was welcomed by the King of Majorca, who came to meet him, and it was the king of France who gave a royal reception to the Majorcan.⁵⁵

The interview between the King of France and the King of Majorca is not well localized, but it is understood that it did not take place in Perpignan, and that it was hosted by the King of France, which can better be understood by the more complete account of Desclot. Indeed, Bernat Desclot's more detailed narrative reveals that Peter III, King of Aragon, informed of the military preparations of the King of France and his agreement with James of Majorca, had made himself master of the castle, where the King of Majorca remained locked in his apartments and eventually escaped through the sewer, which has since been called "the sewer of the king".

At the moment the King of France was entering Roussillon, James had already fled to the castle of Laroque-des-Albères, and it was there that the ambassadors of the King of France found him and "when they saw him installed so miserably in this little castle", they "were astonished and despised it in their hearts". Of course, Desclot's point of view is unfavorable to the King of Majorca, and he insists, therefore, on the shameful circumstances of his flight. Desclot explains that once the ambassadors of the King of France were received, the King of Majorca left the little castle of Laroque-des-Albères in order to meet the King of France. The King of France is the one who receives "the king of Majorca" fairly well, and offers him a meal. In short, although on his lands, James of Mallorca is the guest of the King of France in his military camp which lies between Perpignan and Le Boulou, 20 km south, towards the col of Panissars where the troops of Peter of Aragon were assembling⁵⁶.

The meeting of Charles II of Sicily in 1288, who had just been liberated from the prison of Barcelona where he had been detained for four years, and James of Mallorca is hardly evoked by Muntaner⁵⁷. Nothing more than

55 Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica* (see note 53), chap. 121. Here we find the well-established protocol, largely evoked later in the accounts of the reception of Sigismund in 1415.

56 Bernat Desclot, *Crònica* (see note 54), chap. 138.

57 Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica* (see note 53), chap. 167: *E exi com fo exit de la preso, vaes*

the mention of the very honourable reception given in Perpignan by the King of Majorca, faithful to his French alliances, for the former King of Sicily.

As regards the meeting of 1415, which is the subject of this book, the best source for the account of events, the precise description of the arrivals, the numerical evaluation and the enumeration of the presents is the noble Pere Tomic whose work, completed in 1438⁵⁸, seems particularly well informed. The long list of barons, knights and members of the nobility and the dignitaries of the Church of Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia suggests that Tomic was able to refer to notes or acts written at that time. The King, according to Tomic, had left his castle to the Pope, and he himself resided with Bernat de Vilacorba, lieutenant of the governor. The Emperor was housed in the convent of the Franciscans, and his suite was established in the houses of the neighbouring quarter, which Tomic designates by the name of the Rue de la Trilla⁵⁹. The chronicle of Martin de Alpartil, a cleric from the *curia* of Benedict XIII, so loquacious about the Council of Perpignan of 1408, is very succinct about the meeting of 1415⁶⁰; it contains, however, some important information on the state of mind of the Pope.

The meeting held in Perpignan in 1415, despite its exceptional character and the later publication of certain documents relating to it⁶¹, was of little interest to local historians, apart from the episode of the attack of the house where a Castilian bishop was lodged⁶². We can refer, for the nineteenth century, to two articles of canon Tolra⁶³. His main source of inspiration

ab lo senyor rey de Mallorques, que li feu molta donar a Perpenya.

58 Pere Tomic, *Histories e conquestes de Cathalunya* [v. 1438], Johan Rosembach impr., Barcelona, 1495, pp. 269f.; Pere TOMIC, *Històries e conquestes del realme d'Aragó e principat de Catalunya*, ed. Joan Iborra (Textos clàssics, 2), Barcelona, 2009, pp. 278–280.

59 Today, the “Henri Abbadie street”, formerly *porta de la sal*, or according to the French misinterpretation “porte de l’assaut”. Notarial documents confirm that members of the imperial suite were lodged in this street.

60 Martin de Alpartil, *Chronica actitatorum temporibus domini Benedicti XIII* (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 12), ed. Franz EHRLE, Paderborn, 1906, pp. 204f.

61 ACC (see note 11), vol. 3, pp. 455–458.

62 Anonymous, *Sanglante échauffourée à Perpignan: incendie de la maison de Jean Vola, où résidait l’évêque de Calahorra, sur la rue de “las casas cremades”, 1^{er} octobre 1415*, in: *Revue d’histoire et littéraire du diocèse de Perpignan* 9 (1929), pp. 73–76 ; Francesca VENDRELL DE MILLAS, *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.

63 J. TOLRA DE BORDAS, *Biographies roussillonnaises*. Monseigneur François Xime-

seems to be Tomic, although he does not quote him. At the beginning of the 20th century, abbot Capeille exposed the events of the meeting, his sources are Martin de Alpartil and don Fernando Pérez de Guzmán (1376–1460)⁶⁴.

The only testimony of the event originating from Perpignan, the chronicle of the church Saint-James of Perpignan⁶⁵, confuses the places of residence of the princes by placing the King in the castle, the Pope at the convent of the Franciscans (this mistake was sometimes taken up by certain local authors like Andreu Bosch in the seventeenth century) and the Emperor at the *General*⁶⁶. The chronicler of Saint-Jacques identifies the King as “Alfonso rey de Arago y Napolis” while Alphonse was only Crown Prince, primogenit, alongside his father, King Ferdinand. This may indicate that this note was written well after the event, or copied by a clerk who was ill informed. The text thus contradicts any expectation that a local source should by nature be particularly accurate concerning these material details.

Abbott Capeille also commits errors by the King in the castle, Benedict at the Franciscans and the Emperor at the Carmelites. It is true that both Queens (Margarita and Violant, widows of Martin and John) were housed in the castle, but the separation of the apartments of the Queen and the King made it possible to lodge the Pope in the royal apartments without the risk of inconvenient promiscuity. It is also known that the King, who remained in Perpignan until the beginning of 1416, returned to the Palace after the Pope’s departure, and at that time carpentry was undertaken in order to make his apartments more comfortable because of his illness.

Concerning the meeting place and the many delegations arriving in Perpignan, Tomic is our best source. The information he gives can be summarized as follows. With the pope, who arrived first, came three hundred men-at-arms and crossbowmen⁶⁷, who were for the most part knights of St. John

nez. Évêque d’Elne (1400-1415), in: Bulletin de la Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales 13 (1863), pp. 303–332; IDEM, L’antipape Benoît XIII en Roussillon. Épisode de l’histoire du schisme d’Occident, in: Revue du monde catholique 15 (1866), pp. 20–31.

64 Abbé Jean CAPEILLE, Heures du Grand schisme d’Occident vécues à Perpignan, Perpignan, 1913, pp. 19–23. Fernando PÉREZ DE GUZMAN, Crónica del senyor rey don Juan..., Valencia, 1779, pp. 141–148.

65 Médiathèque de Perpignan, *Llibre de memories de Sant Jaume*, manuscripts.

66 What is called the *General* in Perpignan is the palace of the *Deputació*, but it was built only in the 1440s, it is perhaps a confusion with the function of lieutenant general of Bernat de Vilacorba. This probable confusion makes one suspect a late drafting of the notice.

67 Addition by Martin de Alpartil (see note 60).

of Jerusalem whose captain was Pedro de Luna's nephew Rodrigo de Luna, five cardinals, an archbishop, seven bishops, sixteen abbots and priors, and "other prelates of the kingdoms of Spain", some thirty high-ranking dignitaries, each with their entourage. With King Ferdinand and his son Alphonse, the future Alfonso IV the Magnanimous, came the highest nobility of Aragon, of Valencia, and, as he himself was Castilian, part of his entourage was also, as we will see.

For Catalonia, Tomic cites the names of 47 nobles, for Aragon and Valencia he gives sixteen names, for Castile nine names, and he adds several times "and their families" (for the delegation of Rodrigo de Luna for example) or "and many others", at least 70 nobles with their families and escorts.

The Emperor, who entered Roussillon by Salses, travelled with "a thousand horses", a thousand Hungarian and German cavalry. Even if only approximate, the number indicates a powerful escort. With Sigismund came two of his nephews, some counts from Germany, and a baron representing the king of Poland, plus many other German barons and knights. For his part, Martin de Alpartil evokes the presence of numerous prelates, barons, magistrates and doctors sent by the Council of Constance which will be mentioned in the following studies.

The Pope arrived first in Perpignan. On the 15th of September he was joined by Prince Alphonse, who travelled by land with his entourage, and by the King, who arrived at Collioure by sea from Valence. Already ill, he had preferred to embark on a galley escorted by three other royal galleys and two pontifical galleys. Alphonse then met up his father with a strong troop to conduct him to Perpignan.

Leaving Narbonne on September 17th, the Emperor was received at Salses by a strong troop led by the Crown Prince, delegated by Ferdinand, who was bedridden. After the solemn greetings, the prince accompanied Sigismund with all his troops to the castle of Salses, which the viscount d'Ille had prepared for him. The next day, September 18th, it was the turn of the prelates present at Perpignan, cardinals, archbishops and bishops, to go to Canet to make reverence for the Emperor. And on the 19th the Emperor made his solemn entry to Perpignan, where they had prepared decorations and meals as well as plays, in short, a majestic "royal entrance".

According to Tomic, the Emperor went to meet the King in his stay on the morning of the 20th September, and then went up to the castle to see the Queens in the afternoon. The next day he returned to encounter the Pope. But according to Alpartil, the King being ill, it was the Emperor and the Pope who went to see him at his house. Then the parliaments and negotiations began; all in all, they lasted two months. Tomic emphasizes the role

of the great master of Rodes and the counts of Foix and Armagnac. Tomic, like Alpartil, does not hide his sympathy for Benedict XIII and rejects the entourage of the king of Aragon and the negotiators.

After the departure of the Emperor on November 7th, the Pope returned to Collioure, on the 13th of November, where his galleys were waiting, in order to return to Peñíscola. On this subject, Martin de Alpartil, who is a close acquaintance of the pope, adds that “the pope after the emperor’s departure felt that he could no longer remain in the city of Perpignan without danger for his person” perhaps, a sign of popular hostility or the Pope’s distrust of the King of Aragon. Receiving a last embassy of the King of Aragon, on the 16th of November, at Collioure, where he resided on his galley, he sent a reply to Ferdinand, demanded his renunciation of the pontifical throne: *Me qui te fecit, misisti in deserto*, “you, who I made, have sent me to the desert”.

III. Medieval Diplomacy

Perpignan 1415 was a major meeting of political decision-makers and their advisors. It is therefore both consequent and promising to analyze this event from the perspective of diplomacy. Such an approach is very much in line with current developments in medieval studies. For even a cursory reading of recent publications reveals a growing interest in the research field of foreign relations within medieval studies.⁶⁸ In most European countries,

68 Arnd REITEMEIER, *Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter: die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen dem Reich und England 1377–1422* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London 45), Paderborn, 1999; Françoise AUTRAND / Philippe CONTAMINE, *Naissance de la France. Naissance de sa diplomatie*, in: *Histoire de la diplomatie française*, ed. Dominique de VILLEPIN, Paris, 2007, pp. 41–158. Aus der Frühzeit europäischer Diplomatie: zum geistlichen und weltlichen Gesandtschaftswesen vom 12. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert, eds. Claudia ZEY / Claudia MÄRTL, Zurich, 2008; *Les relations diplomatiques entre le monde musulman et l’Occident latin: (XII^e-XVI^e siècle)* (Oriente moderno N.S. 88, 2), eds. Denise AIGLE / Pascal BURESI, Roma, 2008; John WATKINS, *Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), pp. 1–14; Stéphane PEQUIGNOT, *Au nom du roi: pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d’Aragon (1291-1327)* (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velazquez 22), Paris, 2009; *Les relations diplomatiques au Moyen Âge: Formes et enjeux; XLI^e congrès de la SHMESP (Histoire ancienne et médiévale 108)*, ed. Thierry KOUAMÉ, Paris, 2011; *Le relazioni internazionali nell’alto medioevo: Spoleto, 8-12 aprile 2010* (Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo 58), Spoleto, 2011; Stéphane PÉQUI-

international diplomacy was long held to be a field reserved for early modern history alone, the period that supposedly saw the invention of what has been seen as “classical international relations” marked by a diplomatic corps, permanent ambassadors etc.⁶⁹ For a long time, the history of medieval diplomacy had mainly been studied in order to demonstrate that the genesis of a European system of states could be traced back to political and institutional developments of the Late Middle Ages. The bases and the evolution of diplomatic conventions were thus understood as the roots of modern European foreign policy. But medieval diplomacy was seldom treated as a subject in its own right.⁷⁰ Modern academic aversions to the history of “great men” also dampened the popularity of medieval foreign relations as an object of historical reflection.

GNOT, Europäische Diplomatie im Spätmittelalter. Ein historiographischer Überblick, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 39 (2012), pp. 65–96; Rechtsformen internationaler Politik: Theorie, Norm und Praxis vom 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert (*Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*. Beiheft 45), eds. Michael JUCKER / Martin KINTZINGER / Rainer Christoph SCHWINGES, Berlin, 2011; 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; *The Jagiellonians in Europe. Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (Memoria Hungariae 2)*, eds. Balázs Antal BACSA / Attila BÁRÁNY, Debrecen, 2016.

- 69 Garrett MATTINGLY, *Renaissance diplomacy*, London, 1955; Charles GIRY-DELOISON, *La naissance de la diplomatie moderne en France et en Angleterre au début du XVI^e siècle (1475-1520)*, in: *Nouvelle revue du XVI^e siècle* 5 (1987), pp. 41–58; Jean BAILLOU, *Les affaires étrangères et le corps diplomatique français*, vol. 1, Paris, 1984; Alessandro FONTANA, *Les ambassadeurs après 1494. La diplomatie et la politique nouvelles*, in: *Italie 1494: études (Cahiers de la Renaissance italienne 3)*, ed. Adelin Charles FIORATO, Paris, 1994, pp. 143–178; M. S. ANDERSON, *The rise of modern diplomacy, 1450–1919*, London/New York, 1993; *Politics and diplomacy in early modern Italy: the structure of diplomatic practice, 1450–1800*, ed. Daniela FRIGO, Cambridge, 2000; Mai’a K. Davis CROSS, *The European diplomatic corps: diplomats and international cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht*, Basingstoke, 2007; Lucien BÉLY, *L’art de la paix en Europe: Naissance de la diplomatie moderne; XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2008; Catherine FLETCHER, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: the rise of the resident ambassador*, Cambridge, 2015.
- 70 *Auswärtige Politik und internationale Beziehungen im Mittelalter: 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert (Europa in der Geschichte 6)*, eds. Dieter BERG / Martin KINTZINGER / Pierre MONNET, Bochum, 2002; Martin KINTZINGER, *Europäische Diplomatie avant la lettre? Außenpolitik und internationale Beziehungen im Mittelalter*, in: *Aufbruch im Mittelalter. Innovationen in Gesellschaften der Vormoderne. Studien zu Ehren von Rainer C. Schwinges*, eds. Christian HESSE / Klaus OSCEMA, Ostfildern, 2010, pp. 245–268.

Lately however, historians' aims, foci and approaches are changing, and interest in medieval diplomacy is on the rise. A general turn towards human agency has directed our attention to the individuals who actually conducted such negotiations, to their patterns of thought and action.⁷¹ Prominent specialists of diplomacy such as ambassadors, but also lesser agents such as consuls and auxiliary personnel (couriers, translators etc.) are being integrated into wider studies of medieval professionalization and thus of cultures of expertise. The language of diplomacy and the transfer of expert knowledge also fall into this field of research.⁷² Awareness of the major and minor

71 La fonction consulaire à l'époque moderne. L'affirmation d'une institution économique et politique (1500-1800), ed. Jörg ULBERT, Rennes, 2006; Sabine WEFERS, Handlungsträger, Aktionsfelder und Potentiale von Außenpolitik im Spätmittelalter, in: Außenpolitisches Handeln im ausgehenden Mittelalter: Akteure und Ziele, eds. Sonja DÜNNEBEIL / Christine OTTNER, Vienna, 2007, pp. 59–72; Ambassadeurs et ambassades au cœur des relations diplomatiques: Rome – Occident médiéval – Byzance (Centre de recherche universitaire lorrain d'histoire 47), eds. Audrey BECKER / Nicolas DROCOURT, Metz, 2012; Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel (Externa 1), eds. Hillard von THIESSEN / Christian WINDLER, Cologne, 2010; Michael BORGOLTE, Experten der Fremde. Gesandte in interkulturellen Beziehungen des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, in: Le relazioni internazionali nell'alto medioevo: Spoleto, 8-12 aprile 2010 (Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 58), Spoleto, 2011, pp. 945–992; Consular affairs and diplomacy (Diplomatic Studies 7), eds. Jan MELISSEN / Ana Mar FERNANDEZ, Leiden, 2011; La figure de l'ambassadeur entre mondes éloignés: ambassadeurs, envoyés officiels et représentations diplomatiques entre Orient islamique, Occident latin et Orient chrétien (XI^e-XVI^e siècle) (Enquêtes et documents 51), ed. Nicolas DROCOURT, Rennes, 2015; De l'ambassadeur: les écrits relatifs à l'ambassadeur et à l'art de négocier du Moyen Âge au début du XIX^e siècle (Collection de l'École française de Rome 504), eds. Stefano ANDRETTA / Stéphane PEQUIGNOT / Jean-Claude WAQUET, Rome, 2015; JASPERT / KOLDITZ, Christlich-muslimische Außenbeziehungen im Mittelmeerraum (see note 68), pp. 45–51.

72 Stéphane PEQUIGNOT, "Enantar a tractar": l'entrée en négociation comme objet d'histoire. L'exemple de la diplomatie de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327), in: Negociar en la Edad Media: actas del Coloquio, celebrado en Barcelona los días 14, 15 y 16 de octubre de 2004 = Négociar au Moyen Âge (Anuario de Estudios Medievales. Anejo 61), ed. Maria Teresa FERRER I MALLOL, Barcelona, 2005, pp. 265–302; Bernard BARBICHE / Ségolne de DAINVILLE-BARBICHE, Bulla, legatus, nuntius: Études de diplomatique et de diplomatie pontificales (XIII^e-XVII^e siècle) (Mémoires et documents de l'École des chartes 85), Paris, 2007; Martin KINTZINGER, Diplomatie als Wissen und Professionalisierung. Eine Zusammenfassung, in: Spezialisierung und Professionalisierung: Träger und Foren Städtischer Außenpolitik während des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (Trierer Beiträge zu den historischen Kulturwissenschaften 1), eds. Christian JÖRG / Michael JUCKER, Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 229–240; Wissen, maßgeschneidert: Experten und Expertenkulturen im Europa der Vormoderne (Historische Zeitschrift. Beiheft NF. 57), eds.

agents of diplomacy has drawn our attention to the latter's organizational settings, no doubt also an effect of the growing importance of communication in a globalized world. Specific forms of literacy and the channels and modes employed to reliably send information over long distances – openly or even publically, but at times also secretly – are being analyzed from the perspective of communication studies.⁷³

Furthermore, procedures and modes of diplomacy are being integrated into a European “cultural history of the political”, which conveys due attention to the rituals, symbols and performative aspects of foreign relations.⁷⁴ The new awareness for the spatial settings of politics mentioned above also falls into this line of research, which attempts to reconstruct the staging of diplomacy in concrete physical settings and within social spaces.⁷⁵ Histori-

Björn REICH / Frank REXROTH / Matthias ROICK, Munich, 2012; Experten der Vormoderne zwischen Wissen und Erfahrung (Das Mittelalter 17, 2), eds. Hedwig RÖCKELEIN / Udo FRIEDRICH, Berlin, 2012.

- 73 Franz J. FELTEN: Kommunikation zwischen Kaiser und Kurie unter Ludwig dem Bayern (1314–1347). Zur Problematik der Quellen im Spannungsfeld von Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit, in: Kommunikationspraxis und Korrespondenzwesen im Mittelalter und der Renaissance, ed. Heinz-Dieter HEIMANN, Paderborn / Vienna / Zurich, 1998, pp. 51–90; Stéphane PÉQUIGNOT, Enregistreur, ordonner et contrôler: les documents diplomatiques dans la ‘Registra Secreta’ de Jacques II d’Aragon, in: Anuario de Estudios Medievales 32 (2002), pp. 431–479; ANDRETTA / PÉQUIGNOT / WAQUET, De l’ambassadeur (see note 71).
- 74 Institutionalität und Symbolisierung: Verstetigungen kultureller Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, ed. Gert MELVILLE, Cologne, 2001; Alexander Daniel BEIHAMMER, Die Kraft der Zeichen: Symbolische Kommunikation in der byzantinisch-arabischen Diplomatie des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, in: Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik 54 (2004), pp. 159–189; Die Wirklichkeit der Symbole: Grundlagen der Kommunikation in historischen und gegenwärtigen Gesellschaften (Historische Kulturwissenschaft 1), eds. Rudolf SCHLÖGL / Jürgen Osterhammel / Bernhard GIESSEN, Konstanz, 2004; Barbara STOLLBERG-RILINGER, Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Themen – Forschungsperspektiven, in: Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung 31 (2004), pp. 489–527; Was heißt Kulturgeschichte des Politischen? (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. Beiheft 35), ed. Barbara STOLLBERG-RILINGER, Berlin, 2005, particularly Reinhard BLÄNKNER, Historizität, Institutionalität, Symbolizität. Grundbegriffliche Aspekte einer Kulturgeschichte des Politischen, *ibid.*, pp. 71–96; Nikolas JASPERT, Zeichen und Symbole in den christlich-islamischen Beziehungen des Mittelalters, in: Religiosità e civiltà. Le comunicazioni simboliche (secoli IX-XIII), ed. Giancarlo ANDENNA, Münster, 2010, pp. 293–342.
- 75 Zeremoniell und Raum: 4. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen veranstaltet gemeinsam mit dem Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris und dem Historischen Institut der Universität Potsdam (Residenzenforschung 4), ed. Werner PARAVICINI, Sigmaringen, 1997; Balázs NAGY, Ceremony and Diplomacy: The Royal Summit in Buda in 1412, in: The Jagielloni-

ans have become interested in semiotic forms of communication that marked political relations in the medieval era and in the cultural dimensionality that mediaeval diplomacy – indeed diplomacy of any period – entails.⁷⁶ In order to fully grasp a political event's importance, we therefore also need to discern its impact in the fields of art, music, literature etc.

A further line of inquiry not only reconstructs the processes and results of specific negotiations, but also attempts to calibrate their reception in the communities that dispatched diplomats to foreign courts, rulers or assemblies. The kingdoms, principalities, or cities whose interests the diplomatic actors represented thus become the stage for studying the connection between domestic politics and foreign relations. This correlation is basic for an adequate understanding of diplomacy, past and present.⁷⁷

The exploration of the meeting of Perpignan in 1415 as an exceptional example of pre-modern high-level diplomacy enables us to transfer many of the questions traditionally directed to modern cases to a prominent and well documented late medieval one. The fact that this summit was equally shaped by the personal meeting of monarchs as well as by the diplomatic exchange between embassies underscores its importance as a turning point in the history of international relations on a European level. To deal with the processes, results and consequences of the negotiations of Perpignan from these innovative perspectives opens up new possibilities for a better understanding of processes of communication and international relations in the pre-modern era.

ans in Europe. *Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations (Memoria Hungariae 2)*, eds. Balázs Antal BACSA / Attila BÁRÁNY, Debrecen, 2016, pp. 9–20.

76 Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge: XXXII^e congrès de la SHMES (*Histoire ancienne et médiévale 70*), ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public, Paris, 2002; WATKINS, *Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (see note 68), 5–7; Ursula LEHMKUHL, *Diplomatengeschichte als internationale Kulturgeschichte. Theoretische Ansätze und empirische Forschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und soziologischem Institutionalismus*, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft 27* (2001), pp. 394–423; *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages (Mittelmeerstudien 1)*, eds. Marc von der HÖH / Nikolas JASPERT / Jenny Rahel OESTERLE, Paderborn, 2013.

77 Zoltan J. KOSZTOLNYIK, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III, 1095–1196: Hungarian Domestic Policies and their Impact upon Foreign Affairs (East European monographs 220)*, Boulder, 1987; Sabine WEFERS, *Versuch über die 'Außenpolitik' des spätmittelalterlichen Reiches*, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung 22* (1995), pp. 291–316; Sabine WEFERS, *Das Primat der Außenpolitik: das politische System des Reichs im 15. Jahrhundert (Historische Forschungen 99)*, Berlin, 2013.

IV. Line-Up and Approach

This volume's 24 authors can tentatively be assigned to three groups. It goes without saying that these scholars are actually far too versatile to be neatly fitted into categories, but such an attempt is nevertheless meaningful, as it serves to illustrate the rationale behind this collection of essays. The first group is marked by their high degree of expertise within the history of a specific geographic region. These historians are experts on the medieval history of precisely those countries from which the attendants of the Perpignan meeting hailed – present day Germany, France, England, Scotland, Spain, etc. Colleagues from no less than six countries have been brought together. Their profound knowledge helps address essential questions concerning the participation in and the reception of the meeting within medieval Latin Europe. A second group of authors was invited due to their ability to explore the events of Perpignan from a comparative and systematic perspective such as rituality, symbolic communication, art, literature and music. Finally, there is the expert group particularly well versed in ecclesiastical history; their objective is to determine the importance of the meeting of Perpignan in relation to the Council of Constance.

A careful reading of the 23 articles reveals further classifications that can loosely be tied to the three fields of inquiry outlined above – the urban history of political meetings, conciliar history and the history of diplomacy. Several papers deal with the logistic and organizational aspects of the meeting, both during the participants' respective trips to Perpignan and during their sojourn there (Jacqueline Caille, Aymat Catafau / Claude Denjean, Damien Coulon, Nikolas Jaspert, Alberto Torra). These contributions reveal a keen sense for the event's economic and social dimension. A closely related group of papers delineates the meeting's cultural setting – in literature, art and music (Sieglinde Hartmann, Amadeo Serra Desfilis, Maricarme Gómez Muntané).

Turning to diplomacy, the field can be subdivided in papers that focus on the international setting of Perpignan 1415, those that study agents, and those that highlight performative and symbolic issues of foreign relations. The wider political dimension of the meeting is delineated in the contributions by Anne Elizabeth Curry, David Ditchburn, Ana Echevarría, Emmanuel Johans, Martin Kintzinger, Hélène Millet, Germán Navarro Espinach, Klaus Oschema and Eloisa Ramírez Vaquero. They carve out the full range of issues negotiated during the crucial weeks in late summer and early autumn 1415. A close reading of the documents issued during the meeting of Perpignan shows that many subjects were dealt with during these weeks, not only such referring to the Great Western Schism. The large number of

participants from different regions reflected a wide spectrum of subjects and agendas treated. The individual agents and the groups of diplomatic personnel who were active in Perpignan in turn are studied by Ana Echevarría, Sieglinde Hartmann, Jasmin Hauck, Nikolas Jaspert, Britta Müller-Schauenburg, Germán Navarro Espinach, Gerald Schwedler, and Laura A. Smoller. Attention is also paid to aspects of performance and ceremony for which the meeting provides ample and fascinating material. Entries, processions, material actants and symbolic communication were effectively employed by contemporary agents during their sojourn, as Sieglinde Hartmann, Martin Kintzinger, Gerald Schwedler and Amadeo Serra Desfilis show.

The meeting's conciliar dimension lies at the heart of the papers by Jasmin Hauck, Emmanuel Johans, H el ene Millet, Britta M uller-Schauenburg, Gerald Schwedler, Laura A. Smoller and Thomas Wetzstein. In order to fully grasp the width and depth of this meeting, this event is also analyzed from two further perspectives: the diachronic and synchronic repercussions this meeting heralded in different areas of Europe, that is: the impact of the Perpignan meeting at a regional level. Particular attention is given to the perception the event triggered in those areas which sent delegates to Perpignan. In doing so, we learn about the ways and media used to convey information about these events "back home" in their respective regions of departure. This approach is particular to the papers by Anne Elizabeth Curry, David Ditchburn, Ana Echevarr a, Emmanuel Johans, Rafael Narbona, Germ an Navarro Espinach, Klaus Oschema and Eloisa Ram irez Vaquero. On the diachronic level, some contributions investigate how the events of 1415 and their protagonists were portrayed in later sources. Historical memory might be the catch word that best encapsulates this approach. The imagery constructed around Vicente Ferrer's activities or later narrations of the meeting are but two cases in point which are presented here (Laura A. Smoller, Klaus Oschema e. a.).

All in all, the papers united in this volume show how fruitful it is to analyze an international political event of the Middle Ages from the perspective of all powers involved and how pertinent it is to apply a set of methodologies that transcends the boundaries of historical studies. One of our main hopes is that our volume will be a welcome contribution to this dynamic and transdisciplinary field of historical research. A seemingly punctual event thus acquires an exemplary status for more general questions within medieval studies. At the same time, such a prominent incident as the meeting of Perpignan functions as a magnifying glass that enables us to better perceive and understand a crucial moment in the history of the conciliar movement.