



*Surrounding the Future Queen of the  
Crown of Aragon: Violant of Bar's  
Household as Duchess of Girona  
(1384–1386)*

**Lledó Ruiz Domingo**



## **Surrounding the Future Queen of the Crown of Aragon: Violant of Bar's Household as Duchess of Girona (1384-1386)<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract:** This paper analyses Violant's household as Duchess of Girona from 1384 to 1386. This period is fundamental as it will allow us to understand her entourage after the fiasco of the General Parliaments of Monzón (1382-1384) until the previous months to ascend to the throne as Queen Consort of Aragon. The paper presents the sources available, the events of the General Parliaments, the composition of Violant's household, and an approximation of its maintenance cost.

**Keywords:** Violant of Bar; Household; Queenship; Crown of Aragon; Networks

### **Introduction**

In her recent and insightful book, Erika Graham-Goering highlighted the importance of political and personal relationships for royal men and women to enable their rule during the Late Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> To our understanding, the medieval monarchy was an institution based on notions of shared power, a "flexible sack," in Earenfight's words,<sup>3</sup> which included rulers, consorts, favourites, and lovers, but also advisors or officials.<sup>4</sup> The notion of corporate monarchy should not be limited to members of the royal family but includes the group of people that surrounded the actors inside the medieval monarchy. For this reason, more scholars are drawn to the analysis of royal courts, focusing on the personal networks the royal families built through them.

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<sup>2</sup> Erika Graham-Goering, *Princely Power in Late Medieval France. Jeanne de Penthièvre and the War for Brittany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 130.

<sup>3</sup> Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender and History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 1-21.

<sup>4</sup> Elena Woodacre, *Queens and Queenship* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2021), 8.

During the Late Middle Ages, princely powers considered their entourages essential for their functioning and success. To seek more profound knowledge of the personal and political implications of the corporate monarchy, this paper focuses on Violant's household during her years as the Duchess of Girona. As wife of the heir to the throne, Violant created and relied on a personal, political, and administrative network based on her household to ensure her role and rule as the second most important woman in the Crown of Aragon. In the following pages, we analyse the structure and composition of the ducal household, including its relationship with her husband's and children's households. Finally, we expose the economic cost of maintaining a ducal household for Violant of Bar, considering the financial problems she endured during her time in the Crown of Aragon. The period examined is 1384 to 1386, right after the political fiasco that the General Parliaments of 1382-1384 were for the Dukes' power and public images. During the sessions, the Parliaments censored members of Joan and Violant's households, accusing them of corruption and mismanagement. Violant's household was directly affected by this political turmoil. For this reason, our paper will present the events of the Parliaments of 1382-1384 and the impact on the Duchess' household. It will examine her household between the end of this Parliament and the moment before she ascended to the Aragonese throne as Queen consort.

Moreover, this paper is the first step in our intention to recompose Violant's personal and political network from 1380, when she arrived at Aragon, to 1396, the moment when she became a dowager queen and was dispossessed of most of her political influence and power.<sup>5</sup> To understand those sixteen years—as royal duchess and queen—we need to identify the group of people that surrounded and assisted her.

### **Methodology and sources**

As in any other ambitious research project, we need adequate methodologies and profuse primary sources. The methodology used in this paper combines quantitative and qualitative analyses. Assessing household composition would provide a clear image of the Duchess' inner circle and a formidable base for comparison with other

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<sup>5</sup> But not all of her power and political influence, as can be seen in her attempts to put her grandson in the Aragonese throne during the interregnum between 1410 and 1412. See: Josep Maria Madurell i Marimon, "La reina Violante de Bar y el pleito sucesorio de la Corona de Aragón," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* 19 (1946): 205–224.

political actors, such as the ruling Queen Sibil·la of Fortià.<sup>6</sup> Identifying individuals and familiar groups within the Duchess' household will provide a broader perspective, exposing more intricate realities of her decision-making process in the political, economic, and social arenas. On the other hand, reconstructing Violant's household is a necessary exercise, made possible due to the existence of two different sources from the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (ACA) in Barcelona. The primary source of this paper will be the treasury records—*Llibres ordinariis de la dispenseria de la infanta*—completed by the chancellery records.<sup>7</sup> The treasury records used are two fully conserved accounts from the Duchess' treasury, covering the period from 1384 to 1386.<sup>8</sup> These will provide us with full disclosure of her household during the three years between the events in the Parliaments of 1383 and her ascent to the throne at her husband's side.

Internally, every record from the Duchess' treasury was divided into two sections. Firstly, the Duchess' treasury officers included every single income they received from her Lands and properties around the Crown of Aragon. The Duchess' Land, known as *La Cambra de la senyora duquessa*, was an administrative entity that included all rents, jurisdictions, castles, economic rights, and other sources of income owned by Violant. Secondly, the records have a section devoted to the expenses or *dates*. This section included every payment made by the treasury, including food supplies, clothing, jewellery, paying alms, religious patronage, renting animals for courtly itinerancy, and salaries. Every officer and courtier retribution had to be included in her treasury books, making them the perfect source to reconstruct her household and entourage and to assess the evolution through time. However, precaution is necessary when using treasury records for examining a household.

Treasury sources registered wages and other forms of payments to the members of the Duchess' household for their service. However, these books must be analysed cautiously, with awareness of their limitations for our studies. Typically, un

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<sup>6</sup> On Sibil·la of Fortià: Josep Maria Roca, "La Reyna empordanesa," *Memoria de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 10 (1928): 2–211. Alberto Boscolo, *La reina Sibil·la de Fortià* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau editor, 1971). Nuria Silleras Fernández, "Money Isn't Everything: Concubinage, Class and the Rise and Fall of Sibil·la de Fortià, Queen of Aragon (1377–87)," in *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 67–88. Lledó Ruiz Domingo, "Prácticas devocionales y espacios litúrgicos de Sibil·la de Fortià, reina de la Corona de Aragón (r. 1377-1387)," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 13, no. 2 (2021): 214–235.

<sup>7</sup> Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Real Cancillería (RC), registros (reg.) 1815-1824.

<sup>8</sup> ACA, Real Patrimonio (RP), Maestre Racional (MR), Serie General (SG), volúmenes (vol.), 617-618.

*llibre ordinary de la dispenseria* would cover between six and eighteen months. For several reasons, a treasury record could not include all wages for all of the household personnel that served the ducal court during the period. Irregularities in payment occurred due to the needs of a member of the household—an officer could have asked to be paid in advance—or the conditions of the political or economic management of the household, where an officer might be paid in the subsequent years because the treasury did not have enough liquidity, or because he was away, serving the household far from it on another kingdom. Even so, all these limitations can be overcome with a detailed analysis of the several preserved records and careful reflection.

### **Violant of Bar and her marriage to Joan of Aragon, Duke of Girona**

Violant was born in 1363 at the castle of Bar-le-Duc. She was the daughter of Robert of Bar and Marie of France, sister of King Charles V of France. Her destiny would make her Duchess of Girona and wife to the heir to the Aragonese throne at only seventeen years old. After Joan's first wife died, he started to look for a new wife amongst the European royal families.<sup>9</sup> Joan's father, King Pere the Ceremonious of Aragon, insisted on a marriage between the Duke and Maria of Sicily, heiress of the Mediterranean kingdom. King Pere understood the marriage of his son and heir as a mechanism to increase the Crowns of Aragon dominions. However, Joan had other ideas. He preferred a union with a Valois princess, who shared his artistic and religious preferences—taking under consideration the Western Schism and the division between the Christian Kingdoms. When Joan decided to marry Violant of Bar, King Pere composed a poem to make him aware that, even though he was giving him his consent, he was making a colossal mistake refusing the Sicilian heiress for personal preferences.<sup>10</sup> Despite the provocation and all his father's wishes, Violant arrived in

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<sup>9</sup> Eduard Juncosa Bonet, "En busca de princesa. La diplomacia matrimonial (oficial y "rebelde") en la Corona de Aragón a fines del trescientos," in José M. Nieto Soria and Óscar Villarroel González (eds.), *Diplomacia y cultura política en la península ibérica (siglos XI al XV)* (Madrid: Sílex, 2021), 109–128.

<sup>10</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1265, f. 65r. Published by: Josep Maria Roca, "Johan I d'Aragó," *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 11 (1929): 423. Republished in Juncosa Bonet, "En busca de princesa," 124–125. The poem says: "Dear son, on saint Anthony's name; I swear that you are being ill-advised/ you are abandoning a great marriage prospect/for a good reign/however, you have been tricked and agreed to another marriage, signed with the Devil." The original poem says: "Mon car fill, per Sent Anthoni,/Vos juram qu'ets mal consellat/con laxats tal matrimoni/En que us dan un bon regnat/E que n haiats altre fermat/En infern ab lo dimoni/Si en breu qui us tal matrimoni/en que us dan un bon regnat /e que n'hajat altre fermat; /en infern ab lo dimoni,/sie'n breu qui us n'a.ganat. Qui

the Crown of Argon and married the Duke in April 1380 in Perpignan. From that moment onward, Violant became Duchess of Girona, co-ruling the ducal territory with her husband. Violant of Bar received a patrimony from her husband's family that she enjoyed during her seven years as an *infanta* of Aragon.

Table 1.- *Patrimony of Violant of Bar, duchess de Girona (1380-1387)*<sup>11</sup>

<b>Kingdom of Aragon</b>	
Calatayud. Jewish quarters	Huesca. Jewish Quarters
Tarazona	Jaca and Canfranc.
Zaragoza. Jewish Quarters	Alcañiz. Jewish Quarters
Remolinos' Salt mines	Arcos and Galella's salt mines.
Tax: Cenas ausencia	
<b>Principality of Catalonia</b>	
Perpinyà. Jewish Quarters.	Girona. Jewish Quarters.
Valls de Prats, Montboló, Conat, Cortsaví and la Bastida	Cervera, Manresa, Berga, Castell de Gurb, jurisdictions of Banyoles and Camós
Torroella de Montgrí	Piera. Quèstia (tax)
Castell de Pals	Cabra and Sarral
Tax: Cenas ausencia	
<b>Kingdom of Valencia</b>	
Albufera	Alpont
Tax: Cenas ausencia	

Through her patrimony, around 400.000 sous of Barcelona per annum, Violant could create a network of people supporting her. Nevertheless, maintaining her household was not easy. As Zita Eva Rohr stated, “the public opinion cast a jaundiced eye over the conduct of the Aragonese royal family” and the entourage was

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ben crex son patrimoni/és n'est mónt per tuyt presat/axí ho dits Apolloni/largament en .I. dictat/on ho à ben declarat,/e li fa gran testimoni /Alaxandre en vertat: /No volc ésser mullerat,/ pel valent de sent Celoni,/ que n perdés tal heretat.”

<sup>11</sup> ACA, RP, MR, vol. SG, 521, f.Er-Ir. Also: ACA, RP, MR, vol. SG 2641.1, f. 1r-3r. See: Lledó Ruiz Domingo, *El Tesoro de la reina. Recursos i gestió econòmica de les reines consorts a la Corona d'Aragó (ss. XIV-XV)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2022), 137. María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, “El Patrimonio Real de Aragón a fines del siglo XIV: Los dominios y rentas de Violante de Bar,” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 2, (1979): 135–170.

an extension of their personas.<sup>12</sup> During those seven years, the ducal entourage was a power base for Joan and Violant. Their differences with the ruling couple, King Pere and his fourth wife, Queen Sibil·la, created a division in the royal family. The personnel in the Duchess' household participated in the political conflicts of their time as Dukes and, afterwards, as King and Queen of Aragon.<sup>13</sup> Even if their patrons protected them, they could become casualties in the crossed fire between the factions in this political dispute. This happened to Violant's household during the celebration of the General Parliaments of Monzón between 1382 and 1384.

### **The General Parliaments of 1382-1384: fighting for her people and her honour**

From her divisive arrival to becoming the new Duchess of Girona, Violant of Bar was heavily scrutinised by the political community in the Crown of Aragon. Duchess Violant forged her household to be a political network to rely on and to self-fashion herself. However, shaping her public image as a political player and a virtuous woman was challenging and onerous. Building a political network from the ground up was a very demanding process that required her active participation from the beginning.

The General Parliaments of 1382-1384 were supposed to discuss "grievances in Justice and Government" in exchange for helping King Pere and his heir, Joan, in their intent to wage war against Sardinian forces and consolidate their power on the

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<sup>12</sup> Rita Zohr, "Lessons for my Daughter: self-fashioning statewomanship in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon," in *Self-Fashioning and Assumptions of Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, ed. Laura Delbrugge (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 57.

<sup>13</sup> On their rule as King and Queen of Aragon: Rafael Tasis i Marca, *Joan I, el rei caçador i músic* (Barcelona: Aedos, 1980); Francisca Vendrell Gallostra, *Violante de Bar y el Compromiso de Caspe* (Barcelona: RABL, 1992); Isabel de Riquer, "Los libros de Violante de Bar," in *Las sabias mujeres: educación, saber y autoría (siglos III-XVIII)*, coord. María del Mar Graña Cid, (Madrid: Al-Mudayna 1994), 161-174; Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "A reappraisal of the correspondence of Violante de Bar (1365-1431)," *Catalan Review* 8 (1994): 295-312; Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "A Queen's Task: Violante de Bar and the experience of royal motherhood in Fourteenth-Century Aragon," *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures & Cultures* 27, no. 1 (1998): 21-34; Dawn Bratsch-Prince, *Violante de Bar (1365-1431)* (Madrid: Ediciones Orto, 2002); Claire Ponsich, "Un témoignage de la Culture en Cedagne, la correspondance de Violante de Bar (1380-1431)," in *Le Moyen Âge dans les Pyrénées catalanes: art, culture et société*, coord. M. Zimmermann, (Prades: Études Roussillonaises, 2005), 147-194; Lledó Ruiz Domingo, "Crédito, deuda y finanzas de la Casa de la Reina en la Corona de Aragón a finales del siglo XIV. Los capítulos entre la reina Violante de Bar y su tesorero Berenguer de Cortilles," *Historia, Instituciones y Documentos* 45 (2018): 353-376; Claire Ponsich, "Violante de Bar (1365-1431). Ses liens et réseaux de relations par le sang et l'alliance", in *Reines et princesses au Moyen Âge, actes du 5e colloque international de l'Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier 24-27 novembre 1999*, Les Cahiers du C.R.I.S.I.M.A., 2 vol., (Montpellier, Presses Universitaires de Montpellier, 2001), 233-276.

island.<sup>14</sup> However, the Parliaments raised severe political and financial issues and focused their accusations of corruption and mismanagement on the King's household and, especially, in the ducal households.<sup>15</sup>

King Pere saw the risk in the Duke's plans from the start. As a seasoned politician who understood how the political winds blew, he was cautious when summoning the General Parliaments and tried to dissuade his heir. In order to get the funding for the campaign, King Pere knew that the royal family would pay the price, so he resisted his heir's pleas until breaking from the pressure.

During the parliamentary sessions, a redline was drawn before considering or discussing any monetary donation to the monarchy: the royal family should eradicate all the corruption in their entourages, and, more significantly, in Joan's and Violant's households. Some members of their households were accused of high treason, malpractice in their offices, mismanagement, and ill-advising the royal Dukes. After a public plea for justice, the Parliaments set a strategy to purge the royal households of harmful elements and their political opponents. Every servant in the royal households could be targeted and asked to be removed from the royal service for being "a bad adviser, an odious favourite, or a corrupt officer."<sup>16</sup>

All the insinuations were direct attacks against the royal Dukes. Hints and veiled threats undermined their effectiveness in establishing and maintaining a consolidated power base around them, composed of loyal people of their choosing. But it was also an offensive against the Dukes' honour. As scholars have discussed, the royal personas extended across the political communities through their entourages, creating an extended version of themselves that would tackle other political, social, or religious institutions.<sup>17</sup> In Rohr's words: "A household was held to be a mirror of her virtue, authority, and prestige, an important asset for a queen [or any royal

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<sup>14</sup> The General Parliaments of 1382-1384 have been published in: José Ángel Sesma Muñoz (ed.), *Acta Curiarum Regni Aragonum*, t. V (Zaragoza, Gobierno de Aragón, 2009), 155-276.

<sup>15</sup> Salvador Sanpere i Miquel, *Las Damas d'Aragó* (Barcelona: Imp. De la Renaixensa, 1879), 181.

<sup>16</sup> Rohr, "Lessons for my Daughter," 56.

<sup>17</sup> Claire Ponsich, "L'honneur au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle de la vicomtesse d'Illa i de Canet, et d'une noble dame valencienne, deux favorites de la duchesse de Girone, puis de la reine d'Aragon," *Etudes Roussillonaises* 20 (2003): 75-87, 80.



woman] conscious of the need to fashion her *fama*”<sup>18</sup> and, as Brastch-Prince stated, Violant of Bar was well aware of the importance of self-representation.<sup>19</sup>

Joan, assisted and endorsed by the *consellers* of Barcelona, aspired to solve the conflict without inflicting more damage to ducal households. As the Parliaments were gathered in Monzón, he held reunions with the main political actors in Catalonia, contesting the allegations against their officers and advisors. The Duke of Girona endorsed the actions and honour of ducal officers before the Catalan authorities, reassuring them that none of their officers had committed any major crime “and the truth would be on their side.”<sup>20</sup> King Pere was more realistic and grasped the political scenario differently. In a letter to his heir, the King tried to adjust his son's perception of the situation, insisting that the Parliaments would have a high cost for them. In his message, the Ceremonious even recalled that summoning the Parliament was never his wish but his heir's and “that we are in the mud now and I'll have to step into it for us.”<sup>21</sup>

Nonetheless, closing the Parliaments without funding would risk their rule in Sardinia and cast a shameful shadow “on king, royal family, and the nation.” For this reason, King Pere would comply with the Parliaments and accept any reform or suggestion to “put in order” their household and “to give each officer the justice they deserve.”<sup>22</sup> In a few weeks, the Dukes received a terrible but predictable outcome from the Parliaments.

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<sup>18</sup>Rohr, “Lessons for my Daughter,” 52.

<sup>19</sup> Dawn Brastch-Prince, “The Politics of Self-Representation in the Letters of Violante of Bar (1365–1431),” *Medieval Encounters* 1, no. 1 (2006): 2–3.

<sup>20</sup> Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (AHCB), Lletres comunes, 1334-1399, letter of 28 July 1383. Also included in: Sanpere, *Las Damas d'Aragó*, 184–185.

<sup>21</sup> “E podets sens tot dupte tenir que, per guardar nostre estament e honor e lo vostre, nos trobaran ells e tot altre baronívol ferm com la rocha, sens flixar-hi res que fer-hi dejam. Però, car fill, nós, qui ja sabíem que vol dir cort general, vehíem bé quant nós fom mogut que la tinguéssim, la intrada e desexida d'aquella, e no'n som estat enganats, mas forçats per vós e per altres qui n'havets gran càrrech e vós en especial. **Però pus som en lo fanch nos lo calcigarem.**” Monzón, 23 July 1383. ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 14v-15r. In this paper all transcriptions have been done following the transcription and editing norms from *Fonts Històriques Valencianes* collection, published by Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

<sup>22</sup> “Devant totes coses en lo fet de Cerdenya, la qual stants nós e ells ací aplegats, s'és perduda es pert de tot, no sens gran vergonya e confusió nostra e lur e de tota nostra nació. Ne, axí mateix, hagerem tenguda la manera que han servada en demanar la justícia que demanen e, la qual, no contrastants les dites coses, nós los entenem fer complidament, per satisfer-ne al deute a qui nós e vós a Déu som tenguts, e haurem descàrrech e, per tal, que cascun haja ço que mereix. E plaurà'ns tostemp que nostres e vostres consellers e officials que sien aquells que deuen, sinó que'n sien corregit segons ques

Several officers were found guilty of major crimes and abuse of power: Pere Boïl, Francesc de Perellós, Pere de Planella, Bernat Despont, Bertomeu Lunes, Joan Despont, Arnau de Perebonet, from Joan's household; and Constança de Perellós, from Violant's household. King Pere endorsed the sentences and instructed the Dukes to obey his command, "under punishment of losing my fatherly benediction." These officers and advisors, including one of Violant's ladies, Constança de Perellós, were accused of corruption and ill-advising the royal heirs. They were sentenced to stop cohabitating with the Dukes and leave their service at once.<sup>23</sup>

Queen Sibil·la has been considered one of the main instigators behind the scrutiny of the ducal household, especially Violant's.<sup>24</sup> According to Salvador Sanpere, Jaume Castellà, Violant's *camarlenc*, authorised by the Duchess to attend the Parliaments and report back to her, informed the Duchess that the decision to sanction the ducal officers was agreed only in the presence of King Pere, Queen Sibil·la, Jaume des Monells, the King's chancellor; Pere Sacalm, the Queen's chancellor; and Guillem de Vallseca.<sup>25</sup> Behind closed doors, the Queen Consort and her faction narrowed down the influence of the Crown's heirs and some of the most important members of their power base. Nevertheless, to the Dukes, Queen Sibil·la only showed despair from being incapable of helping them to carry out their petitions of protection.<sup>26</sup>

However, the relationship between Queen and Duchess was complex, with constant contact and collaboration between them and their households. For example,

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pertany, car, en aquest cas, no servidors mas des-servidors deuen ésser reputats. Emperò, hajats ferm que aquesta justícia entenem fer e farem aytal e, axí com deurem, guardar-hi tota vegada nostre e vostre dret, preheminiència e honor e degut interés de nostres oficials e vostres. D'açò que deïts, ço és que ells entenen que nós e vós en reebre e tenir nostres oficials e domèstichs hajam estar a llur ordonació, no és estat parlat adés ne pensam que'n demanen, e si u fan serà'ls en feta la resposta que si pertanya." Monzón, 23 July 1383. ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 14v-15r.

<sup>23</sup> "E aquells tantost foragitats de fet de vostres conselles e de les administracions e officis a ells comanats, e, encara, de la Casa e cohabitació e de tots beneficis vostres e de la duquessa, vostra muller." ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 30r-30v. Monzón, 20 August 1383.

<sup>24</sup> Sanpere, *Las Damas d'Aragó*, 187.

<sup>25</sup> AHCB, Lletres Closes I, Letter: 28 July 1383. Included in: Sanpere, *Las Damas d'Aragó*, 187.

<sup>26</sup> "Senyor, rebuda he vostra letra de creença comenada a mossèn Jacme Castellar, camarlech de la senyora duquessa. E, entès ço que ell ma dit de vostra part, vos respon, senyor, que jo, en veritat, he fet tant con en mi és estat que'l dit mossèn Jacme se'n portàs ço per que era vengut, però no u he pogut fer així com jo volguera. Greu quin sap, segons que'l dit mossèn Jacme, aquí jo ne dita ma intenció, vos porà, senyor, dir pus larc de paraula." ACA, RC, reg. 1589, f. 120r. Monzón, 21 August 1382. Also accredited in King Pere's correspondence: ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 30v. Monzón, 22 August 1383.

Pere Sacalm, Queen Sibil·la's chancellor, and some of his *familiars* had some judicial problems in the ducal court. Queen Sibil·la would address the matter with Duchess Violant, asking for her intercession and goodwill to ensure that her chancellor and his relatives get the best possible outcome in the ducal judicial court.<sup>27</sup> Seemingly, Francesc de Perellós was sent by Violant at the beginning of 1383 with some political petitions for Queen Sibil·la.<sup>28</sup> Both women shaped a working relationship, if not a personal one, that transcended the apparent limitations and divisions inside the family. Royal women had in their role as peacemakers a form of expression and consolidation that could become an essential political tool in challenging situations. Understanding the performative aspects of their roles, both women considered that achieving peace would be a form of personal success that would help to shape their public image in a more positive light. During 1383, they reached an understanding between father and son, a diligent and collaborative work, in Violant's words, that brought peace and prosperity to both couples.<sup>29</sup>

The Dukes wouldn't comply without fighting for their people and their honour. Joan worked to protect members of his household, such as Bertomeu Lunes, his treasurer. In his first response to his father's ruling, he asked the king to spare Lunes due to his lack of income "he didn't have resources to provide for himself." However, this was not a new accusation to his treasurer. From his appointment to direct the finances of the Duke, Bertomeu de Lunes was considered a wrong choice. King Pere tried to make his son dismiss him from his household, saying: "all the Kingdoms are claiming against the extorsions and bad acts he does with your money, and these kinds of stories are never good nor fruitful," and warned his heir: "at the first well-based accusation against him, I will ask for his dismiss from your Household, and he will be punished accordingly."<sup>30</sup> King Pere kept a watchful eye over the Duke's

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<sup>27</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1590, f. 2v. Monzón, 28 May 1383.

<sup>28</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 54r. Alcañiz, 29 December 1382.

<sup>29</sup> "Senyora, vostra letra he rebuda, responsiva a una altra letra mia, per la qual e en altra manera jo certa del gran bon voler e sobirana diligència que vós havets en endreçament dels affers del senyor duch e de tenir totes aquelles bones maneres que podets que lo senyor Rey e lo dit senyor duch sien concordés. E, en veritat, senyora, lo dit senyor duch e jo havem gran plaer e us graham sobiranament, com per obra conexen vostre bon voler. E no dubte jo, senyora, que pus vos, axí ab tan gran diligència e bon voler, vos hi merets que los dits senyors romangen concordés e en perseverància de aquella amor que's pertany de pare a fill (...). Pregant-vos, senyora, carament que continuets vostra bona diligència de instar, ab lo dit senyor rey, los dits afers, car sin faç jo e faré ab lo dit senyor duch, per tal manera que lo vostre bon voler e meu ne sien complits." ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 79r-79v. Ascó, 18 April 1383.

<sup>30</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1282, f. 13r. Tortosa, 27 March 1383.

treasurer, and the accusation presented in front of him during the sessions in the General Parliaments was the perfect *casus belli* he needed to ensure Lunes' downfall.

In his first letter to the King, Joan of Girona also fought for Constança de Perellós. Doubtless, Violant of Bar wasn't going to give up her *privada* that easily.<sup>31</sup> The couple argued that Violant needed Constança by her side constantly to attend to her since she was newly pregnant. It was a brilliant strategy. Motherhood was the first obligation of royal woman, especially for the family that was established as the King's future successors.<sup>32</sup> The royal lineage was put in the conversation to help Constança's defence. However, King Pere was unmovable and refused to make exceptions, even for the future of the dynastic succession. All the accused had to be removed from the ducal households immediately.<sup>33</sup> The co-rulers of Girona decided that the Duke must go to Monzón to discuss the dismissals with King Pere in person. But the Duke would not be going alone, but with every single member of the ducal households accused of corruption. Violant and Joan moved to Aragon slowly but wrote to each other daily to coordinate their actions. On 5 September 1383, the Duchess wrote to her husband, asking him not to respond to King Pere's letter but to go directly to Monzón, as they had agreed. In Violant's words, if King Pere were to be warned of their intentions or opinions, he would be prepared with arguments to deny their petition.<sup>34</sup> That same day she wrote to the Duke's *camarlencs* to coordinate with them:

My lord husband wants to come to Vilafranca to know my opinion concerning the response to the king's letter. However, in my letter, I told him he doesn't need to come to Vilafranca because he knows my intentions and opinions perfectly. Moreover, he should haste his journey to the King—to Monzón—and there he proceeds to ensure his honour and to please me. Because, as you all know, Lady Constança had never held a justice office, administrative or economic office and, in consequence, she must not be dismissed for any reason because I will not consent to it. As I am leaving tomorrow from here (Sant

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<sup>31</sup> The terminology was used in: Rohr, "Lessons for my Daughter," 53. In note 26, she also quotes: Dawn Bratsch-Prince, "The Royal Privada in Late Fourteenth Century Iberia: A Woman's Path to Privilege, Power and Persecution," Unpublished Conference Paper, CMRS Conference 2007: Power, Collingwood College, Durham University, July 13-16, 2007, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Bratsch-Prince, "A Queen's Task," 21-34.

<sup>33</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 66v. Monzón. 2 September 1383.

<sup>34</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 97r. Sant Sadurní. 5 September 1383.

Sadurní), after lunch, to spend the night in Vilafranca, I will let you know so you can instruct the courier bringing you this letter so that he will bring the Duke's commands to me. In Sant Sadurní, under my secret seal, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of September of 1383.<sup>35</sup>

Violant put more pressure on her husband. In a new letter, she asked him to go to Monzón before the reunions were over and present a possible beneficial outcome for his honour and hers in front of the King. In case her words were not enough, she sent him one of her most trusted officers, Antoni Pujalt, "to influence her husband's decision."<sup>36</sup> Violant understood the mechanisms of public perception and was very concerned not only for Constança but for her public image. The entourage was the epitome of the royal's persona, and consequently, their action benefited or damaged the royal's image or, as Violant said, her honour.

Finally, Joan arrived at Monzón to discuss the sentence with his father. After addressing the matter, the punished officers, including Constança, wouldn't be forced to leave the ducal entourages. It was a compromise for peace and stability inside the royal family.<sup>37</sup> As Violant would recall months later, only the intercession from

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<sup>35</sup> "La duquessa. Nós fem resposta al senyor duc a una letra que'ns ha tramesa ensemps ab translat d'altra letra que lo senyor rey ha tramesa al dit senyor. E maravellam-nos fort del dit senyor e, per consegüent, de vosaltres, que ho consellats, que lo dit senyor diga que vol venir a Vilafranca a nós per saber nostre voler sobre la resposta faedora al dessus dit senyor rey. Car, per la letra que nós trameterem ara al dit senyor, veurets que a nós no par expedient li sie feta resposta ab letra ne, per consegüent, lo dit senyor deja venir a Vilafranca, com ja plenament del dit fet sàpia nostra intenció. E, axí, fets en tot cas ab lo dit senyor que ell cuyre la sua anada al senyor rey e lla faça, en lo dit fet, ço que deu per sa honor e per complaure a nós. Car, com vosaltres sabets, madona Constança no ha tengut regiment de justícia ne administració de moneda, per què deja, en manera neguna, ésser sospesa. Car nós, per res quant en nos serà no ho consintirem nos partirem demà d'ací, après menjar, e irem jaure a Vilafranca, perquè volem que per lo portador de la present nos certifiquets, de continent, que ordonarà lo senyor duch de la nostra anada. Dada en Sant Sadorní, sots nostre segell secret, a .v. de setembre del any M. cccc. lxxx. iiii." ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 97r-97v. Sant Sadurní. 5 September 1383. Other previous works had stated that Violant threatened her husband to leave Aragon if Constança was suspended from her household. However, probably because of the bad state of the letter, they couldn't perceive the full meaning of Violant's letter. She does not threaten to leave Aragon, but announces her immediate itinerary: she is leaving Sant Sadurní the following afternoon, and will spend the night in Vilafranca, in order to be able to receive her husband's reply as soon as possible. See: Rohr, "Lessons for my Daughter," 57; Brastch-Prince, *Violante of Bar*, 57.

<sup>36</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 98v. Santes Creus. 8 September 1383.

<sup>37</sup> Sanpere, *Las Damas d'Aragó*, 196-197.

Violant and, especially, from Queen Sibil·la, was able to bring back peace and understanding between both couples.<sup>38</sup>

Nonetheless, this first attempt to intervene and interfere in Violant's household is an important statement in political terms, a warning against the future Queen of Aragon and her courtiers and officers. If the Parliaments were fighting against corruption and economic mismanagement, why did they target a lady-in-waiting? Constança never held any official position outside the household. What power did Lady Constança have that made her a problem for the political community?

Ladies and companions to the royals were also members of the political framework with their relationships and political networks. Constança was at the top of one of the most significant networks in the Crown of Aragon. Constança, born Proixida, was a Valencian noble woman, married to Berenguer d'Abella, brother to Ramon d'Abella, *majordom* to the Duke Joan. After she was widowed, she remarried with Francesc de Perellós, Joan's *camarlenc* in 1376.<sup>39</sup> Constança's new brother-in-law was Ramon de Perellós, Viscount of Roda, one of the most vital ambassadors during King Pere's reign. However, the viscount distanced himself from the King and became closer to Joan in 1375. In 1380 Ramon de Perellós became an official member of his household. In his own words, after the death of King Charles of France in 1380, he was at Duke Joan's service as "his first Knight and during a long time his right hand (*privat*) and one of his loved ones."<sup>40</sup>

Since 1380, the Perellós family—Francesc, Joan's *camarlenc*; Constança, Lady in Violant's household; and Ramon, *camarlenc*, ambassador and Joan's right hand—would be three of the most important representatives of the ducal power. Sibil·la didn't want to lose the Perellós to the Dukes, especially an essential statesman like Ramon. In a newly found letter, Sibil·la asked Ramon to be an informant on the Dukes' political manoeuvres:

The Queen.

Viscount, as we settle before you leave me and king Pere about the "French marriage", you were supposed to go to Joan's side, listen to his intentions, and report back to us. However, it's been 11 days since you left us, and you haven't

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<sup>38</sup> ACA, RC, reg. 1817, f. 131r, 149v-150r, 167v-168r.

<sup>39</sup> Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Noves dades per a la biografia de Ramon de Perellós, autor del viatge al Purgatori de sant Patrici," *Miscel·lània en honor del doctor Casimir Martí* (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1994), 220.

<sup>40</sup> "Fui son primer cavaller... e fui per gran temps privat e amat d'ell." In: Ferrer i Mallol, "Noves dades," 228.

sent a word to us yet. As any more delay will annoy us more, I ask you, as affectionate as I can, to send me a letter, as soon as possible, stating everything that has been discussed and reasoned by the Duke and his advisors.<sup>41</sup>

This remarkable letter was registered not on Sibil·la's chancellery records but the King's. In the name of both King and herself, the Queen Consort asked one of the most influential politicians in their realms to report on the decision-making process of the heir to the throne. Ramon de Perellós and the rest of his family would turn their back on Queen Sibil·la and King Pere and would be faithful to Joan and Violant.

Changing allegiances was a challenge that King Pere punished heavily. The Ceremonious took from Ramon de Perellós the government and control over Rueda and Épila 1381.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, they would try to stop the viscount, as a member of the military, from attending the General Parliaments of 1382-1384. He was not the only member of the ducal faction that King Pere tried to banish from the General Parliaments: Gastó de Montcada, servant and future *camalenc* of Violant of Bar, Roger de Montcada, Joan's *agutzil* and one of the members of Joan's delegation that welcomed Violant in the Crown of Aragon in 1380; Eimeric de Centelles, Joan's *majordom*; Berenguer de Cruïlles, and Joan de Bellera. However, King Pere gave in after facing the pressure of the parliamentary delegates. All these precedents highlight the servants targeted by the King and the Parliaments in the ducal household. Constança was a member of the established clientele based on family relations that fought relentlessly over the political power in the Crown of Aragon during the last decade of King Pere's reign.

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<sup>41</sup> "La Reyna. Vescomte, bé sabets quins termes romangen lo senyor rey e nós ab vós quant partís d'ací sobre'l fet del matrimoni de França, co és, que nós, après tantost, que fossets ab lo senyor duch nos certificaríets clarament, per vostre letra, del raonament que'n hauríets haüt ab ell e com hauria pres lo fet e si vos iríets en França. E, en altra manera, de [...] què'n seríets romases aquí. E ha bé .xi. dies que vós hic partís e no n'havem haüt vostre ardit ne en altra manera n'havem res sabut, de què som marvellats lo senyor Rey e nós, car atés lo temps que ha que hic partí e ço en que'n romanguem, segons que dit [...] bon degueren haver haüt ardit vostre. Per que us pregam affectuosament per tota triga foragitada, nos certifiquets plenament de les dites coses e de totes altres que us parega. Car, per causa, ne volríem saber prestament e per letra vostra tot ço que'n haüts raonat e deliberat; e lo senyor duc com ha pres lo fet. Dada en Saragossa sots nostre segell secret a .viii. dies de noembre de l'any Mil .ccc. lxxxi. Barthomeu Sirvent. Domina regina mandavit mihi. Bartomeu Sirvent. Fuit directa Vicecomiti de Roda." ACA, RC, reg. 1278, f. 5v-6r. Zaragoza, 9 November 1381.

<sup>42</sup> Ferrer i Mallol, "Noves dades," 225.

In 1386, King Pere tried again to terminate Constança de Perellós from Violant's household. The Ceremonious would refer to her as a "Dark and wicked woman, daughter of the devil, instigator of every malevolence," and he would accuse her of being the main instigator of the division between the royal couple and the Dukes of Girona.<sup>43</sup> His bitterness and hatred towards her were such that he even condemned her as a rebel. From 1384 to 1386, the palpable fractures in the relationship between the two couples became not cracks but a chasm that fractured and devoured the royal family and their entourages. For this reason, studying Violant's household is a fascinating but necessary work that could enlighten the political scenario at the end of Pere the Ceremonious' reign. The following part of this paper analyses the Duchess' household, detailing the structure and human composition during this period, deepening our knowledge about her political network.

#### **A duchess' entourage: composition**

The royal household was the organisational framework of the royal powers in the Crown of Aragon. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the Aragonese royal households were organised following the indications of the *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, published and established on 18 October 1344, and directly supervised and approved by King Pere IV.<sup>44</sup> Under the title *Ordinacions sobre lo regiment de tots los officials de la Cort*, the Aragonese King presented an adaptation of the *Leges Palatinae*, used by Jaume III of Mallorca.<sup>45</sup> However, the *Ordinacions* was not the first regulatory text that established the internal structure of the royal household in the Crown of Aragon. The first domestic and administrative services of the royal household were defined partially during the reigns of Pere the Catholic (r. 1196-1213), Pere the Great (r. 1276-1285), Alfons the Liberal (r. 1285-1291), and Jaume the Just (r. 1291-1327).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> "Negra àvol fembra, filla del diable, Na Constança". ACA, RC, reg. 1294, f. 87r-87v. Barcelona, 20 February, 1386. Roca, "La Reyna Empordanesa," 137.

<sup>44</sup> Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Apuntes para el estudio de la cancillería de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso," *Anuario de Historia del derecho español* 20 (1950): 137-241; Bonifacio Palacios Martín, "Sobre la redacción y difusión de las 'Ordinaciones' de Pedro IV de Aragón y sus primeros códices," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25, no. 2 (1995): 659-682.

<sup>45</sup> The process is very well explained in Stefano Cingolani, "Iocutores, ministrerios, cantores en las *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort* del rey Pedro el Ceremonioso. Espacios y momentos para música y poesía en el microcosmos curial," *Medievalismo* 31 (2021): 150-157.

<sup>46</sup> Marta Vanlandingham, *Transforming the State. King, Court and Political Culture, in the Realms of Aragon (1213-1387)* (Leyden: Brill, 2002).



According to Alexandra Beauchamp, the *Ordinacions* codified existing practices in the royal household, most of them partially defined in previous regulatory texts.<sup>47</sup> For this reason, King Pere did not create any new offices or titles, except for the title of *protonotari dels segells*. In the text of the *Ordinacions*, first of all, they describe all the offices of the Aragonese royal household, the functions and obligations of the domestic and administrative officials, fixing the number of people, their status, and their remuneration.

Internally, the royal household was divided into five categories:

- 1) Royal chamber: Officials in charge of the physical needs of the royal person, supervised by the *camarlenc*. Includes: royal chamber, wardrobe, and health offices.
- 2) Royal palace: Officials in charge of the palace service, coordinated by the *majordom*. Includes: royal table, apparatus, supply, food, transport, and hunting.
- 3) Administration: officials in charge of the chancellery and the administration of justice, directed by the chancellor, named *canceller*.
- 4) Finance: Officials linked to the economic apparatus, supervised by the *maestre racional* (the King's household), the *tresorer* (Queen's household), or the *dispenser* (prince's household).
- 5) Chapel: Officials in charge of the royal person's spiritual management and their chapel's operation, coordinated by the *capellà major*.

Following the sacral vision of the monarchy, every member of the royal family had to be attended to according to their status.<sup>48</sup> The Duchess of Girona, as the future Queen of Aragon, was no different. With particularities, as every royal woman had, she was surrounded by a large group of courtiers and servants that would satisfy her every need.<sup>49</sup> For this reason, we will break down the structure of Violant's household between 1384-1386, including every office or position.

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<sup>47</sup> Alexandra Beauchamp, "Ordonnances et réformes de l'Hôtel Royal au debut du règne de Pierre IV d'Aragon," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 39, no. 2 (2009): 559-560.

<sup>48</sup> José Manuel Nieto Soria, "La configuración eclesiástica de la realeza Trastámara en Castilla (1369-1474). Una perspectiva de análisis," *En la España Medieval* 13 (1990): 136-137.

<sup>49</sup> Diana Pelaz Flores, *La Casa de la reina en la Corona de Castilla (1418-1496)* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2017), 33.

Table 2. Violant's household composition in 1383-1386

ROYAL PALACE	ROYAL CHAMBER
Steward/ <i>Majordom</i> (2)	Chamberlain/ <i>Camarlenc</i> (2)
Cupbearer/ <i>Coper</i> (2)	Butler/ <i>Cambrer</i> (9) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Butler/<i>Sotscambrer</i> (1)</li> <li>• Chamber's assistant/<i>Ajudant de la Cambra</i> (4)</li> </ul>
Wine Steward/ <i>Boteller</i> (2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Wine Steward/<i>Sotsboteller</i> (1)</li> <li>• Assistant to the Wine steward/<i>Ajudant de boteller</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Mace-bearer/ <i>Porter de maça</i> (4)
Head of Storekeeping/ <i>Reboster</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Storekeeper/<i>Sotsreboster</i> (1)</li> <li>• Assistant to the Storekeeper/<i>Ajudant del rebost</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Porter/ <i>Porter de porta forana</i> (2)
Carver/ <i>Tallador</i> (3)	Spice's keeper/ <i>Especier</i> (1)
Master cook/ <i>Cuiner major</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cook/<i>Cuiner</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Washer/ <i>Llavadora</i> (1)
Baker/ <i>Panicer</i> (2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baker's assistant/<i>Ajudant de panicer</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Tailor/ <i>Sastre</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tailor's lieutenant/<i>Lloctinent de sastre</i> (1)</li> <li>• Tailor's assistant/<i>Ajudant de sastre</i> (1)</li> </ul>
Kneader/ <i>Pastador</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kneader's assistant/<i>Ajudant de pastador</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Embroiderer/ <i>Bordador</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Embroiderer's assistant/<i>Ajudant de bordador</i> (1)</li> </ul>
Pastry chef/ <i>Pastisser</i> (1)	Skirts' tailor/ <i>Falder</i> (2)
Assistant to the Pantry's keeper/ <i>Ajudant de museu</i> (1)	Veil maker/ <i>Veler</i> (1)

Silversmith/ <i>Argenter</i> (4)	Lady-in-waiting/ <i>Donzelles</i> (9)
Supplier/ <i>Comprador</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Supplier/<i>Sotscomprador</i> (1)</li> <li>• Supplier's assistant/<i>Ajudant de comprador</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman/ <i>Fills de cavaller</i> (5)
Musician/ <i>Ministrer</i> (1)	Ladies of the Duchess' household/ <i>Dones "de casa de la duquessa"</i> (10)
Equerry/ <i>Cavallerís</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second Equerry/<i>Sotscavallerís</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Wet nurse/ <i>Ama</i> (1)
Squires/ <i>Escuders</i> (8)	<b>CHANCELLERY</b>
Head of Muleteer/ <i>Sobreatzembler</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lieutenant of the Head of Muleteer/<i>Lloctinent de sobratzembler</i> (1)</li> <li>• Assistant to the Head of Muleteer/<i>Ajudant de sobreatzembler</i> (1)</li> </ul>	Secretary/ <i>Secretari</i> (1)
Mule driver/ <i>Atzembler</i> (4)	Register scribe/ <i>Escrivans de registre</i> (2)
Squire/ <i>Escuder</i> (8)	Courier/ <i>Correu</i> (1)
Litter carrier/ <i>Ander</i> (6)	<b>FINANCES</b>
Innkeeper/ <i>Posader</i> (1)	Household's Scribe/ <i>Escrivà de ració</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lieutenant of the household's scribe/<i>Lloctinent d'escrivà de ració</i> (1)</li> <li>• Scribe to the household's scribe/<i>Escrivans de l'escrivania de ració</i> (2)</li> </ul>
Kennel's master/ <i>Podenquer</i> (1)	Treasurer/ <i>Dispenser</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scribe of the treasurer/<i>Escrivans de la dispensaria</i> (3)</li> <li>• Officials of the treasury/<i>Oficials de la dispensaria</i> (2)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Porter of the treasury/<i>Porter de la dispensaria</i> (1)</li> </ul>
<b>CHAPEL</b>	
Master Chaplain/ <i>Capellà major</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chaplain/<i>Capellà</i> (1)</li> <li>Chapel's assistants/<i>Escolans de la capella</i> (3)</li> </ul>	Almoner/ <i>Almoiner</i> (1) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Almoner's assistant/<i>Escolà de l'almoina</i> (1)</li> </ul>

During her period as Duchess of Girona, Violant de Bar had to order her household following the model of the *Ordinacions*. According to the *Ordinacions*, the Aragonese royal household should have 266 people holding ninety-one offices.<sup>50</sup> As María Narbona has stated, however, the *Ordinacions* were rarely applied literally.<sup>51</sup> During the period between 1384 to 1386, the Duchess' household had 143 different people managing sixty-six positions. Specifically, ninety-nine people were part of Violant's household in 1384, 105 in 1385, and eighty in 1386. The household composition was similar to other royal entourages.

For example, 111 people were with Queen Elionor of Sicily in the first months of her stay in Perpignan 1355, running sixty-one different positions, many of which were single-person.<sup>52</sup> The number of people travelling with Queen Elionor was considerably high when compared to estimates of other itinerant royal households. Antoni Furió was able to verify that King Martí and Queen Maria of Luna travelled to Valencia with an entourage of 190 people, who were in charge of ninety-three positions,<sup>53</sup> a number somewhat lower than that documented for King Alfons the Magnanimous. According to Jorge Sáiz, the household of the King of Alfons in 1416,

<sup>50</sup> Alexandra Beauchamp, "Les Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pierre IV d'Aragon et le nombre des serviteurs royaux," in A. Beauchamp ed., *Les entourages princiers à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2013), 46.

<sup>51</sup> María Narbona Cárceles, "De casa de la Senyora Reyna. L'entourage domestique de Marie de Castille, épouse d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416-1458)," in Alexandra Beauchamp ed., *Les entourages princiers à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2013), 158.

<sup>52</sup> Lledó Ruiz Domingo, "El precio de ser itinerante. Viajes, acompañamiento y espacios cortesanos de la reina Leonor de Sicilia (r. 1349-1375)," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 39, no. 2 (2021): 31-50.

<sup>53</sup> Antoni Furió, "El rey en la ciudad. Las consecuencias económicas de la presencia del monarca y del séquito real en la ciudad de Valencia," in Alexandra Beauchamp, Antoni Furió, Germán Gamero y María Narbona eds., *Acoger, abastecer y financiar la Corte: las relaciones entre las Cortes Ibéricas y las sociedades urbanas de finales de la Edad Media* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2019), 268.

the first year of his reign and in which he had to travel through the different territories of the Crown, had 109 positions and more than 200 people.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, for Queen Maria of Luna, Furió has only identified forty-three officers with twenty-eight different offices. The enormous difference between the people in each household could have several explanations. The specific moment in each particular reign, the royal itinerancy needs, or the journey's estimated duration. However, political and symbolic reasons were also fundamental and could help explain Violant's household compared to other royal households. For example, Elionor of Sicily mobilised 111 for her period in Perpignan in 1355 and 1356 due to the need to strengthen a legitimising discourse of the Aragonese royal family's rule in the former continental capital of the Kingdom of Mallorca, only incorporated to the Aragonese dominions a decade before. Between 1384 and 1386, Joan and Violant were the heirs to the Aragonese throne, but the situation was not without complications. The increasing conflict and division between King Pere and Queen Sibil·la clearly impacted the Dukes' households. This alone would probably justify Violant's need to consolidate an extensive political network and be surrounded by loyalists, helping her project an image of strength.

Following the internal division stated in the *Ordinacions*, the royal palace assembled thirty-three positions and sixty-three people; the royal chambers had nineteen offices and fifty-seven people; the chancellery administration gathered three offices and four servants; the treasury had seven offices and eleven people; and the chapel was run through four offices and held by six people. Next, we will analyse some of the most important officials of the Duchess' household.<sup>55</sup>

At the royal palace, Violant had two *majordoms*, noblemen responsible for managing the palace and its daily function.<sup>56</sup> During the period 1384 to 1386, Violant had as her *majordoms* Pere d'Artés, Lord of Alfafara, Kingdom of Valencia, and one of Joan's ambassadors in Paris to arrange his marriage to Violant; and Ramon de Bages, Capitan of the Roussillon's armies and Lord of Montclar.

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<sup>54</sup> Jorge Sáiz, "Accompagner et servir le prince. Structure et fonctionnement de la maison royale d'Alphonse V d'Aragon," in Alexandra Beauchamp ed., *Les entourages princiers à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Madrid: Casa Velázquez, 2013), 148-149.

<sup>55</sup> A detailed table with each person in the Duchess' household it is placed at the appendix of this paper.

<sup>56</sup> Francisco Gimeno Blay ed. *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort de Pere el Cerimoniós* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2012), 53-57.

Under their regiment, was the *coper* (cupbearer).<sup>57</sup> According to the *Ordinacions*, the royal household required two noblemen as *copers*, and “when the royal person was thirsty, whether is at the royal table or somewhere else, the *boteller* must look for the royal’s wine at the pantry and bring it to the cupbearer.” However, before bringing it to the Duchess, the *coper* must ensure that the *boteller* tastes it. Violant of Bar had Nicolau d’Abella, relative of the Duke’s *majordom*, Ramon d’Abella; and Jaume d’Artés, kin of Violant’s own *majordom*, Pere d’Artés. On the other hand, the *botellers* didn’t have to be noblemen but “two generous and good people” that would coordinate the Duchess’ drinks and watch over the reception of wines and beverages for the Duchess’ pantry.<sup>58</sup> Violant’s *boteller* was Francesc de Bellcaire and Ramonet de Bóixols, son of Ramon II de Bóixols, the Duchess’ *dispenser*.

As head of the royal chamber, Violant had two *camarlencs*. The *camarlenc* was responsible for the Duchess’ safe-keeping, remaining by her side at all times and cultivating the trust of all the Duchess’ courtiers. Violant’s *camarlenc* was a nobleman in charge of her secret seal “*segell secret*” and responsible for giving her communion during mass. In the *Ordinacions*, King Pere specified that one of his *camarlencs* must sleep with him in his chamber and close to him. However, considering the importance of the female reputation and the body custody, it was probably the female members of her entourage who would sleep by her side, with the *camarlenc* close by. The *camarlenc* also had to ensure that the royal chamber was provided with sweets, fruits, and spices, coordinating with the *especier* and the *reboster*.<sup>59</sup> Duchess Violant had Jaume Castellà, knight of Gandia and an erudite best known for translating *Epitoma rei militaris* by Vegetius.

Moreover, she had a second *camarlenc*, Felip Dalmau de Rocabertí, Viscount of Rocabertí. He was an honoured military captain and diplomat from the War against Castile (1356-1375) and his defence of the Crown of Aragon during the attempts of invasion from Jaume of Mallorca (1374). Since 1378, Felip Dalmau de Rocabertí was a significant member of the Duke’s entourage, who had transferred to the Duchess’ household a short time after she arrived in the Crown of Aragon. He was one of the main driving forces to summon the Parliaments of 1382.

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<sup>57</sup> Gimeno, *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, 57–59.

<sup>58</sup> Gimeno, *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, 59–61.

<sup>59</sup> Gimeno, *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, 89–95.

The royal chamber was also composed of *cambrers* or *ajudants de la cambra* under the supervision of the *camarlencs*. According to the *Ordinacions*, a royal household must have a minimum of six *cambrers* to tidy and put in order all things in the royal chamber. These officers would arrange her bed, coordinate with the animals' supervisors to arrange the Duchess' journeys, arrange her table and all the sitting spaces, and take care of her and her health in case of illness. Violant of Bar had nine people, two of them women: Joana and Maria. Both were her most trusted *cambreres* and would probably sleep in her chamber or close to it. Maria and Joana were not the only women in Violant's household. The Duchess was surrounded by nineteen female companions, between maidens (*donzelles*) and ladies (*dames de la Casa de la duquessa*) from 1384 to 1386, including Constança de Perellós.

Another member of her royal chamber was Pere de Vallarnera, Violant's tailor or *sastre*. He had been a member of the royal family's entourage since the reign of Queen Elionor of Sicily, where he had served as her tailor until her death.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, the seasoned dressmaker did not join Queen Sibil·la's household but that of the royal Duchess, where he remained for years. On the other hand, the chancellery or political administration was not directly managed, or at least it doesn't seem that way in the treasury records, by a chancellor or *canceller*. However, she did have one as Queen (Bernat Despont). As head of her administration, Violant shared her secretary, Pere de Benviure, with her husband, the Duke, but he was paid by the Duchess herself. Pere de Benviure was one of the most trusted and loyal servants to the couple.<sup>61</sup> As the Duchess' secretary, he was responsible for the Duchess' most secret letters; he would have to look for precedents to help in the decision-making process and must be at all times by her side or travelling with her.<sup>62</sup>

At the head of the treasury administration the Duchess of Girona had a *dispenser*, the name given to the princely treasurer. He supervised the income reception and paid every expense of the Duchess' household.<sup>63</sup> Violant's *dispenser* was

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<sup>60</sup> About Elionor's reign: Donald J. Kagay, *Eleanor of Sicily 1325-1375, A Mediterranean Queen of Two Worlds* (Nueva York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2021); Sebastian Roebert, *Die Königin im Zentrum der Macht; reginale Herrschaft in der Krone Aragón am Beispiel Eleonores von Sizilien (1349-1375)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020). Ulla Deybel. "La Reyna Elionor de Sicilia," *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 10 (1928): 349-453.

<sup>61</sup> In 1396, after King Joan's death, Pere de Benviure refused to deliver his last will to try to delay or stop Martin I's ascension and Maria of Luna's work as general Lieutenant.

<sup>62</sup> Gimeno, *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, 99-100.

<sup>63</sup> Gimeno, *Ordinacions de la Casa i Cort*, 153-155.

Ramon II de Bóixols, son of Ramon I of Bóixols, Lord of Gironella del Pla, and citizen of Girona.<sup>64</sup> He remained at Violant's service throughout her period as Duchess of Girona. He died in 1391, but his father, Ramon I de Bóixols, remained at the service of Violant and Joan during their reign and her widowhood.<sup>65</sup>

Finally, Violant's chapel was managed by a *capellà major*, Jaume de Copons, a relative of Guillem de Copons, Violant's *escuder* during her reign as Queen, and Blanquina de Copons, one of her ladies. As part of her chapel, Violant had an *almoïner*, Jaume Ledo, who was in charge of the alms, distribution of the leftovers, and the monetary donations related to patronage. Jaume Ledo was also responsible for coordinating the Duchess' participation in religious ceremonies, such as the foot-washing and hand-washing of thirteen poor people every Easter.

Furthermore, the Duchess' household extended beyond her persona to her children's households, especially to the *infanta* Violant, blurring the boundaries between both households. During this period, transfers between the Duchess' household and her daughter's entourage were frequent and constant. There were two types of officers that served as the *infanta's* entourage. First of all, experienced and trustworthy servants who had been with the Duchess for a long time. On the other hand, new additions that first served the Duchess for a few months and, after a short period, were often transferred to the *Infanta's* service. These newcomers used to spend about six months at the Duchess' household before entering the young *infanta's* service. For example, Fernando Leon was one of Violant's *anders* (in charge of the litter) since 1383. Between February and March 1385, he became a member of the *infanta's* service and would never return to the Duchess' household. Lluís d'Alemanya, had been Violant's *ander* since 1382 but, between November 1384 and February 1385, he was transferred to the *infanta's* service. However, in 1390, he was back in Queen Violant's household until 1396. Another example was Pere Despuig, *porter*, who was at Duchess Violant's service from 1381, but from 1385 onwards served the *infanta* Violant. In this sense, Bertomeu Vatllori was a *cambrer* in Duchess Violant's Household from 1382; he worked for the *infanta* Violant from February 1385 until April 1386, when he returned to Duchess Violant's service and would remain as a member of her household until 1396.

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<sup>64</sup> Esther Redondo García, *El fogatjament general de Catalunya de 1378* (Barcelona: CSIC, 2003), 281.

<sup>65</sup> Albert Reixach Sala, *Finances públiques i mobilitat social a la Catalunya de la Baixa Edat Mitjana: Girona, 1340-1440* (Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018), 203.



In contrast, the situation was very different with her son and heir, the *infante* Jaume. After the birth of the Dukes' first son, the couple arranged everything necessary to ensure his proper care and start his journey as Prince Joan's successor. The personnel and services given to their new son were provided by the Duke's household directly. Violant, however, only paid for a nursemaid or *dida* that would take care of his most immediate needs like nourishing him. Jaume's household, as with that of any other heir, was politicised from the start. In occasions, the composition of the heir's household created competition between royal couples to impose or control the appointments of courtiers and servants. These decisions linked clienteles and lineages closer to the heir with more affiliation to his father or mother's household.<sup>66</sup> In the case of Joan and Violant, the plasticity and relationships between both households blurred the limitations and made the influence of both parents more present in their heir's upbringing. The family ties between the members of the princely households allowed Violant to remain influential and essential even without having an apparent relationship with Jaume's household.

Violant's household was undoubtedly an entity with high levels of plasticity and connections with other princely households. Her household attracted people to ascend socially, learning and perpetuating there or being transferred to another royal household. It was not an isolated entity but a connected one. As we can assess, the *infanta* Violant remained in her mother's care for a long time. Duchess Violant composed, populated, and maintained an entourage for her between 1384 and 1386. She was placing trustworthy personnel with proven ability at her service. However, the bigger the household, the higher the cost. How much did such a considerable household cost? Could she support it with her income?

### **Cost of a princely household**

Violant's landholdings are considered copious for a royal Duchess at the end of the fourteenth century. For her marriage with prince Joan of Aragon,<sup>67</sup> she received a

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<sup>66</sup> Pelaz, *La Casa de la Reina*, 165.

<sup>67</sup> The household accounts of Duke Joan had been studied by Alexandra Beauchamp, "Les comptes des dispensers de l'infant Jean d'Aragon (1351-1386) et leur contrôle par le *maestre racional*: des discours interposés," in Anne Lemonde (dir.), *Les comptes et les choses. Discours et pratiques comptables du XIIIe au XVe siècle en Occident (principautés, monarchies et mondes urbains)* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2022), 135-154.

dower that grew progressively during her time as Duchess of Girona.<sup>68</sup> As shown in Table 2, Violant should have received more income and rents than any other royal Duchess and several queens. However, the “*Cambra*” income was a mere estimation and projection, not a standardised budget that faithfully reflected annuities. There were constant alterations due to economic needs or urgencies, such as petition of advanced payments or delayed due to a liquidity problem. In any case, her rents and income were used as a tool to maintain a courtesan and ruling infrastructure befitting her dignity. Nonetheless, her finances were consistently imbalanced, beginning the path she would go down during her reign as Queen of Aragon.

Table 3.- *Finances of Duchess Violant of Bar*<sup>69</sup>

PERIOD	INCOME	EXPENSES	BALANCE
1384	177.711/6	195.310/8	-17.599/2
1385-1386	276.965	357.191 /1	-80.226/1

As it is shown, the Duchess had a deficit between 10 per cent and 30 per cent during the period of time analysed. Although it may seem excessive, this must have been the usual pattern of princely and royal powers during the Late Middle Ages. Monarchical notions of power and money prioritised payment obligations over income limitations. For medieval royalty, spending was essential as an instrument to rule effectively, maintain their status, project a magnificent image, and create political networks. Liquidity hardships were not immediate limitations for their projects. In those cases, the princely powers requested payment advances from their landholdings, loans to bankers or, in more extreme situations, an increase in their assets, especially in the case of royal women. Therefore, it is essential to estimate how much she spent on maintaining her household, her indispensable power base to consolidate her princely power. To that end, we have drawn up a table that combines and exposes her main spending categories between 1384 and 1386.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> A more detailed analysis: Ruiz Domingo, *El tesoro de la Reina*, 180-187.

<sup>69</sup> All quantities are expressed in *sous/diners de Barcelona*, after the proper conversion between currencies. One *sou de Barcelona* was twelve *diners*.

<sup>70</sup> A more detailed version of this table can be found in the appendix of this paper.

Table 4. Duchess Violant's percentual expenditure (1384-1386)

Concept	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
Chancellery and couriers	922/2	0.47 %	2.005/11	0.56 %
Chambers	1.759/1	0.9 %	5.729/11	1.60 %
Cash	1.650	0.84 %	165	0.05 %
Credits and debts	26.940	13.79 %	83.743/1	23.43 %
Donations	18.651/8	9.55 %	38.756/6	10.85 %
Food	12.412/2	6.36 %	77.125/5	21.60 %
Itinerancy	7.155/1	3.16 %	27.952/8	7.80 %
Jewellery	19.019	9.74 %	675	0.17 %
Lands/Landholding	42.234	21.42 %	1.154	0.32 %
Religious practices	2.679/3	1.3 %	1.860/1	0.52 %
Treasury	734	0.38 %	6.499/8	1.80 %
Wages Royal Households	44.027/5	22.54 %	56.707/3	15.80 %
Wardrobe	18.651/7	9.55 %	55.490/11	15.50 %
TOTAL	195.310/8		357.191 /1	

As the previous table reveals, Violant spent 22 per cent of the total expenses on wages for the personnel of her household. Wages were not the only form of remuneration for the Duchess' entourage. The Duchess destined significant equity for extraordinary donations, a reward or exceptional gratification to the members of the ducal households. Through this system, she overcame the salary limitations stipulated in the *Ordinations*. Specifically, these supplements accounted for 9.37 per cent of her total expenses. Considering this, the total amount allocated to wages for her officials and loyalists was 31.91 per cent, becoming the main expense in 1384.

In her second book of accounts, expenses in the household's wages were only 15.8 per cent, lower than the amounts meant for her wardrobe or the cost of her indebtedness. However, including the supplements received by her personnel, which ascended to 69.78 per cent of the donations, the percentage increased to 23.37. This amount almost equalled the main expenditure category, the interest on her credits, and loans.

We have been able to present that a quarter or a third of the Duchess' expenditure was dedicated to creating a network around herself with officers and loyalists, a coherent conclusion that befits the late medieval queens perfectly.<sup>71</sup> Certainly, it is worthy of highlighting Violant's ingenuity to get around the payroll's limitation and effectively increase the economic compensation to members of her household. From a financial point of view, it could be discussed that the real wages, standardised and unmovable for decades, could be devalued. However, these *donacions gracioses* have clear political implications. Through these extraordinary payments, Violant individualised and rewarded her most trusted and loyal officers. They received significant compensations because Violant, as head of the household, placed in them a higher value. Money could and was effectively used to engrave social distinction inside the Duchess' household, reinforcing preferences and alliances around herself.

### **Conclusions**

In conclusion, we would like to stress that Violant of Bar had a befitting household for a future queen of the Crown of Aragon. As the quantitative study has proven, in most aspects, her household had the same numbers as other royal households, especially queenly households, following the indications of the *Ordinacions*. Internally, Violant relied on family ties between many of the members of her household and connections to the Duke's household to increase the loyalty of the members at her service. This was not by accident. Both households had enormous fluidity, linked internally and populated by people in whom the Dukes had absolute confidence. For their part, the Dukes of Girona responded with the expected loyalty, defending and protecting their servants from outside attacks, including King Pere himself, as we see in the case of Constança de Perellós. The latter remained in the service of the duchess during this period. In other words, Violant's household was not isolated, but the opposite. It was a social and human network of personal power and projection, which was nourished by and thrived from the connections and links with her husband's household and her children's. All these princely households created a united front against any political or social threat. The chasm between them and the ruling couple, King Peter and Queen Sibil·la, constituted a fierce challenge. The external division helped to create and consolidate a more significant internal

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<sup>71</sup> Ruiz Domingo, *El Tesor de la Reina*, 192.

cohesion. Linked by blood—as we can see in the family ties between the ladies, *majordoms*, *copers*, or *camarlencs* in the Duchess' entourage—or by loyalty, the personnel in the ducal households composed one unit from two different entities. Another aspect to emphasise is the constant personnel transfer between the Duchess' household and her daughter's service. Duchess Violant had a great agency and ability to influence the *infanta's* upbringing. The case of the first-born male is different. She provided for Jaume only for his immediate physical care, due to her duty as his mother, but not the rest of the aspects that came more from the Duke's household as his heir. For Violant, her household was a political network for the present and the future through her daughter, which allowed her to build external influences in the future. Even so, the expense was very high, although necessary to create and consolidate a vast political network during political instability and questioning of the honour of the Dukes.

However, more research is necessary. This paper will help identify the people close to the Duchess and allow us to build a resource on her political network as Duchess and, later, Queen of Aragon. But it is a useful and necessary first step. In the future, we will be developing more research about this household, its external connections, and projection, in time to recover Violant's political entity in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon.

## Appendix

Table 5. *Violant's Household Composition (1384-1386)*

Surname, Name	Position	Year	Year	Year
		1384	1385	1386
Rodrigues, Maria	<i>Ama de casa de la duquessa/Wet nurse</i>	X	X	X
Leon, Fernando de	<i>Ander/Litter carrier</i>	X	X	X
Alemanya, Lluís d'	<i>Ander/Litter carrier</i>	X		
Codina, Pere	<i>Ander/Litter carrier</i>	X	X	
Convinença	<i>Ander/Litter carrier</i>	X	X	
Bascunya, Joan de	<i>Ander Litter carrier</i>	X	X	X
Gormàs, Joan de	<i>Ander/Litter carrier</i>			X

Burgés, Joan	<b>Argenter/Silversmith</b>	X	X	X
Barca	<b>Argenter/Silversmith</b>	X	X	
Pujol, Bertomeu	<b>Argenter/Silversmith</b>	X	X	X
Coll, Jaume	<b>Argenter/Silversmith</b>	X	X	X
Jordi, Bernat	<b>Atzembler/Mule driver</b>	X	X	
Tuyar, Fontanet	<b>Atzembler/Mule driver</b>	X	X	
Exea, Joan d'	<b>Atzembler/Mule driver</b>			X
Gronyo, Bertomeu del	<b>Atzembler/Mule driver</b>		X	X
Bellcaire, Francesc de	<b>Boteller/Wine steward</b>	X	X	X
Boxols, Ramonet de	<b>Boteller/Wine steward</b>		X	X
Folch, Jaume	<b>Boteller, ajudant de/Wine Steward's assistant</b>	X	X	
Copí, Jaume	<b>Brodador/Embroiderer</b>	X	X	X
Torra, Domingo de la	<b>Brodador, ajudant de/Embroiderer's assistant</b>			X
Castellà, Jaume	<b>Camarlenc/Chamberlain</b>	X	X	X
Rocaberti, Felip Dalmau	<b>Camarlenc/Chamberlain</b>	X	X	X
Cases, Perico/Pere	<b>Cambra, ajudant de la/Chamber's assistant</b>	X	X	X
Güell, Miquel des	<b>Cambra, ajudant de la/Chamber's assistant</b>	X	X	X
Tomàs, Joan	<b>Cambra, ajudant de la/Chamber's assistant</b>	X	X	
Atzar, Gil	<b>Cambra, ajudant de la/Chamber's assistant</b>		X	X
Anaquí, lo flamenc	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>		X	X
Garret, Guillemí	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>	X	X	X
Vatllori, Bertomeu	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>	X	X	X
Gil, Gonçalbo	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>	X		
Maria	<b>Cambreira/Chambermaid</b>	X	X	

Litano, Martí de	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>			X
Vinyals, Eximen	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>			X
Agustí, Bernat	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>			X
Joana	<b>Cambreira/Chambermaid</b>			X
Illes, Pere ses	<b>Capellà/Chaplain</b>	X	X	
Ledo, Joan	<b>Capellà i almoiner de casa/ Chaplain and almoner</b>	X	X	X
Copons, Jaume de	<b>Capellà major de casa/ Master Chaplain</b>	X	X	X
Vilarnau, Galceran de	<b>Cavallerís/Equerry</b>	X	X	X
Dusay, Berenguer	<b>Comprador/Supplier</b>		X	X
Lop, Joan	<b>Comprador, ajudant de/ Supplier's assistant</b>	X	X	
Abella, Nicolau d'	<b>Coper/Cupbearer</b>	X		
Artés, Jaume d'	<b>Coper/Cupbearer</b>	X	X	X
Dupont, Reixach	<b>Correu de cavall/Courier</b>	X	X	
Viclara, Antoni de	<b>Cuiner/Cook</b>	X	X	
Gariot, Climent	<b>Cuiner/Cook</b>	X	X	
Caterina	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>	X	X	X
Magdalena, sor	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>	X		
Margarida	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>	X	X	
Nicolaua	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>	X	X	
Perellós, Constança de	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>	X	X	

Sibil·la (Wife of Ferrer Canet)	<i>De casa de la duquessa</i> /Member of the Duchess' household	X	X	X
Rocaberti, Elieta	<i>De casa de la duquessa</i> /Member of the Duchess' household		X	X
Vilaragut, Carroça de	<i>De casa de la duquessa</i> /Member of the Duchess' household	X	X	X
Yerba, Urraca de	<i>De casa de la duquessa</i> /Member of the Duchess' household		X	X
València, Joan de	<i>De casa de la duquessa, fill de cavaller</i> /Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman	X	X	X
Salavert, Bertomeu de	<i>De casa de la duquessa, fill de cavaller</i> /Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman		X	
Ot, Guillem	<i>De casa de la duquessa, fill de cavaller</i> /Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman		X	
Poyo, Sancho de	<i>De casa de la duquessa, fill de cavaller</i> /Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman		X	X
Estruç, Joan	<i>De casa de la duquessa, fill de cavaller</i> /Member of the Duchess' household, son of a nobleman		X	X



Fonollet, Constança de	<b>De casa de la duquessa/Member of the Duchess' household</b>			X
Bóixols, Ramon de	<b>Dispenser/Acting treasurer</b>	X	X	X
Copons, Blanquina de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>	X	X	X
Proxida, Joana	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>	X	X	X
Pujalt, Constança de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>	X	X	
Boïl, Elionor	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>	X	X	X
Vera, Maria de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>	X	X	X
Perellós, Violant de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>		X	X
Urrea, Isabel d'	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>		X	X
Vinyals, Urraca de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>		X	X
Vilademany, Agnès de	<b>Donzella/Lady-in-waiting</b>		X	X
Gros, Perpinyà	<b>Escolà de l'almoïna/Almoner assistant</b>	X	X	
Denadoha, Domingo	<b>Escolà de la capella/Chapel assistant</b>	X	X	
Dueso, Felip	<b>Escolà de la capella/Chapel assistant</b>	X		
Puig, Joan des	<b>Escolà de la capella/Chapel assistant</b>			X
Vilatorta, Guerau de	<b>Escrivà de ració/household's Scribe</b>	X		
Cot, Bernat ça	<b>Escrivà de ració, Lloctinent d'/Lieutenant of the household's Scribe</b>	X	X	X
Ferrer, Jaume	<b>Escrivà del registre/Register scribe</b>	X	X	
Granel, Andreu	<b>Escrivà del registre/Register scribe</b>	X		

Prat, Francesc des	<b>Escrivania de ració, de l'/Official of the household's Scribe</b>	X		
Moliner, Perico	<b>Escrivania de ració, escrivà de l'/Official of the household's Scribe</b>	X	X	
Heredia, Joan d'	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X	X	X
Torres, Joan de	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X		
Vendrell, Joan	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X	X	X
Castro, Pedro de	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X		
Fort, Guillem	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X	X	
Comallonga, Berenguer de	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>	X		
Pelegrí, Joan	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>		X	X
Quinta, Bernat	<b>Escuder/Squire</b>		X	X
Torra, Esteve ça	<b>Especier/Spice seller</b>		X	
Torres, Eximen de	<b>Falder/Skirts' tailor</b>			X
Torres, Joan de	<b>Falder/Skirts' tailor</b>	X	X	X
Caterina	<b>Llavadora/Washer</b>	X	X	
Bages, Ramon de	<b>Majordom/Steward</b>		X	
Artés, Pere d'	<b>Majordom/Steward</b>		X	
Samuel, Joanà	<b>Ministrer d'instruments de corda/Musician or Player of stringed instruments</b>	X	X	X
Soriano, Sancho	<b>Museu, ajudant de/Assistant to the pantry's keeper</b>	X	X	
Pont, Esteve des	<b>Panicer/Baker</b>	X	X	X
Torra, Miquel ça	<b>Panicer/Baker</b>	X		
Gibilí, Aparisi	<b>Panicer, ajudant de/Baker's assistant</b>	X	X	
Garcia de Vilanova, Sancho	<b>Pastador/Kneader</b>	X	X	X
Brondat, Bernat	<b>Pastador, ajudant de/Kneader's assistant</b>	X	X	

Garinguet, Joan	<b>Pastisser/Pastry chef</b>	X	X	
Doménech, Joan	<b>Podenquer/Kennel's master</b>	X	X	
Boix, Francesc	<b>Porter/Porter</b>	X		
Boïl, Sancho	<b>Porter de maça/ Mace-bearer</b>	X	X	X
Fernández, Garcia	<b>Porter de maça/ Mace-bearer</b>	X	X	
Bruxelles, Joan	<b>Porter de maça/ Mace-bearer</b>	X		
Escolà, Guillermo	<b>Porter de porta forana/Porter</b>	X	X	X
Bofill, Ramon	<b>Porter de porta forana/Porter</b>	X	X	X
Torra, Sancho de la	<b>Posader/Innkeeper</b>	X	X	X
Bellera, Bernat de	<b>Reboster major/Head of Storekeeping</b>	X	X	X
Mas, Nicolau des	<b>Reboster, ajudant de/Assistant to the Stokeeper</b>	X	X	X
Vallarnera, Pere de	<b>Sastre/Tailor</b>	X	X	X
Miralles, Bertomeu	<b>Sastre, ajudant de/Tailor's assistant</b>	X	X	
Pomar, Joan	<b>Sastre, lloctinent de/Tailor's lieutenant</b>	X		
Benviure, Pere de	<b>Secretari del duc i la duquessa/The Dukes' secretary</b>	X	X	X
Queralt, Pere	<b>Sobreatzembler/Head of Muleteer</b>	X	X	X
Munyós, Miquel	<b>Sobreatzembler, lloctinent de/ Lieutenant of the Head of Muleteer</b>	X		

Gual, Berenguer	<b>Sobreatzembler, ajudant de/Assistant to the Head of Muleteer</b>		X	X
Sabadell, Berenguer	<b>Sobreatzembler, ajudant de/Assistant to the Head of Muleteer</b>		X	X
Reixach, Perico	<b>Sobrecoc/Chef or Head of the Cooks</b>			X
Pérez de Sogorb, Domingo	<b>Sotsboteller de casa/Second steward</b>	X	X	
Flaçà, Guerau de	<b>Sotscambrer/Second Butler</b>	X	X	
Ferrando, Miquel	<b>Sotscavallerís/Second Equerry</b>			X
Fuster, Guillem	<b>Sotscomprador/Second Supplier</b>	X	X	X
Pastor, Jaume	<b>Sotsreboster/Second Storekeeper</b>	X	X	X
Torres, Guillem de	<b>Tallador dels coltells a la taula/Carver at the Royal Table</b>			X
Reixach, Francesc de	<b>Tallador/Carver</b>	X	X	X
Sos, Pere de	<b>Tallador/Carver</b>		X	X
Montpahó, Bernat	<b>Tresoreria, de la/Officer of the treasury</b>	X		
Cervera, Miquel de	<b>Tresoreria, de la/Officer of the treasury</b>		X	X
Cortell, Berenguer des	<b>Tresoreria, escrivà de la/Scribe of the treasury</b>	X		
Miquel, Joan	<b>Tresoreria, escrivà de la/Scribe of the treasury</b>	X	X	X
Rosar, Antoni	<b>Tresoreria, escrivà de la/Scribe of the treasury</b>	X	X	
Serra, Guillem	<b>Tresoreria, porter de/Porter of the treasury</b>	X	X	

Oscá, Vidal de	<b>Veler/Veil maker</b>			X
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Table 6. Princess Violant's Household 1384-1386

<b>Surname, Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>1384</b>	<b>1385</b>	<b>1386</b>
Agnes	<b>Ama/Wet nurse</b>	X	X	X
Leon, Fernando de	<b>Ander/Litter carrier</b>			X (February)
Alemanyà, Lluís d'	<b>Ander/Litter carrier</b>		X	
Martí, Francesc	<b>Cambra, ajudant de la/Chamber's assistant</b>			X (February)
Vatllori, Bertomeu	<b>Cambrer/Butler</b>		X (between February and October)	
Bonet, Pere	<b>Cambrer major/First Butler</b>	X	X	X
Martina, Sabrina	<b>Cambreira/Chambermaid</b>	X	X	X
Gariot, Climent	<b>Cuiner/Cook</b>		X (May)	
López de Sarrazuela, Urraca	<b>De casa de la infanta Violant (Dida de les ames de la infanta)/Member of the infanta's household (Wet nurse to the infanta's wet nurses)</b>	X	X	X
Arenyo, Bernat	<b>Cambrer de la infanta/Butler</b>	X	X	
Sánchez, Maria	<b>Llavadora/Washer</b>	X	X	X
Despuig, Pere	<b>Porter/Porter</b>	X	X	

*Tabla 7. Prince Jaumes' Household*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Year</b>
Maria	<i>Didia/Wet nurse</i>	1384

*Table 8.- Income in Violant's treasury (1384)*

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Rents and donations from the Duchess' Lands	84.061/6	47,3 %
Loans and credits	68.850	38,74 %
Public fiscality (Duchy of Girona)	2.794	1,57 %
Donation from Duke Joan	5.500	3,09 %
Judicial impositions	10.497	5,9 %
Donations: Royal entries	4.809	2,70 %
Tax: Quèstia	1.200	0,7 %
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>177.711/6</b>	

*Table 9.- Expenditure of Violant of Bar's Treasury (1384)*

Chancellery/couriers 922/2
Chambers (Duchess Violant) 1.308/7
Chambers (Princess Violant, Violant's of Bar daughter) 450/6
Cash 1.650
Debts 26.940
Previous account 5.500
Mogubells and short-term credits 21.440
Donations "graceful donations" 18.651/8
Members of the Duchess' household 6.483
Members of the Duke's household 6.316/8
Members of the Duke and Duchess' household 5.500

Members of the King's household 330
Help for marriages 500
Animals lost in the Duchess' service 3.366/8
Undetermined 9.785
Food 12.412/2
Food for Royal table 12.310/10
Sweets and jams 101/4
Itinerancy 7.155/1
Animals 7.124/1
Fluvial taxes 31
Jewellery 19.019
Lands/Landholding 42.234
Religious practices 2.679/3
Piety/Alms 896/8
Piety/Patronage 192/6
Piety/Clothing beggars 1.587/1
Treasury 734
Treasury/Accounts 363/6
Treasury/Expendable equipment 304/6
Treasury/Notarial instruments 66
Wages Royal Households 44.027/5
Wages Duchess' household 39.447/2
Wages Prince Jaumes' household 502/9
Wages Princess Violant's household 4.077/6
Wardrobe 18.651/7
Ladies' wardrobe 1.194
Duchess' wardrobe 14.303
Princess Violant's Wardrobe 932/1
Courtesans' Wardrobe 572/6
Wardrobe/gift-making/France 1.650

Table 10. *Income of Violant's Treasury (1385-1386)*

Concept	Amount	Percentage
Rents and donations from the Duchess' lands	229.362/2	82,81%
Taxes: Cena absència	1447/8	0,52 %
Judicial impositions	37355/2	13,49 %
Short term loans	8.800	3,18 %
Total	276.965	100%

Table 11. *Expenditure of Violant's Treasury (1385-1386)*

Chancellery/couriers 2.005/11
Chamber (Duchess Violant) 5.729/11
Cash 165
Debts 83.743/1
Previous account 17.910/1
Short-term credits 65.832
Donations "graceful donations" 38.756/6
To members of the Duchess' household 20.865
To members of the Duke's household 6.187/5
To members of the Queen's household 3.300
In concept of help for wardrobe 2.232/6
In concept of animals lost at the Duchess' service 10.009
Undetermined concept 23.871
Food 77.125/5
Food for Royal table 76.989/11
Sweets and jams 135/6
Itinerancy 27.952/8
Animals at court 781
Animals for travelling 27.171/8



Jewellery 675
Lands/Landholding 1.154
Religious patronage 1.860/1
Religiosity/Chapel 1.134/7
Religiosity/Mass offering 287
Piety/Alms 180
Piety/Patronage 148/6
Treasury 6.499/8
Treasury/Accounts 2.200
Treasury/Expendable equipment 465/10
Treasury/Notarial instruments 1.633/10
Wages Royal Households 56.707/3
Wages Duchess' household 53.885/9
Wages Prince Jaumes' household 33
Wages Princess Violant's household 2.788/6
Wardrobe 55.490/11
Ladies' wardrobe 252
Duchess' wardrobe 49.507/8
Princess Violant's Wardrobe 3.867/10
Princess Joana's Wardrobe 849/2
Wardrobe/gift-making 339/3