



The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan

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THE BLACK DEATH OF 1348 IN PERPIGNAN*

BY RICHARD W. EMERY

THE great plague of 1348 remains a questionable factor in late mediaeval history. From a medical viewpoint, we are now very well placed by the work of L. Fabian Hirst, which is of great help in understanding the outbreaks that began in 1348 and recurred into early modern times.¹ We are fortunate too in having the results of some work in the long-neglected field of mediaeval demography — and especially the pioneering studies of Josiah Cox Russell.² But the unanswered questions are legion, and detailed local studies in some quantity are badly needed. A number of such studies have appeared — varying greatly, naturally enough, with the different types of documentary materials extant for each locality.³ The present article offers only one small addition to this total; it is an attempt to exploit the surviving documentary materials in Perpignan to trace, so far as they permit, the course and the immediate effects of the 1348 plague in that town.

Perpignan has a remarkably fine run of notarial registers for the fourteenth century (about five hundred in all), along with other scattered documents. It lacks the sort of cadaster, or *compoix*, so effectively studied for Albi by Prat,⁴ or the communal records utilized by Carpentier for Orvieto and by Bowsky for Siena.⁵ But there is a great mass of private notarial acts that constitutes a rich potential

* This article is based upon a paper read, 9 March 1965, before the Columbia University Seminar on Mediaeval Studies. Much of the research for it was made possible by a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship in 1962. I should like also to record the fact that my interest in this topic was first aroused, a good many years ago, by the late Professor Lynn Thorndike.

The documentary citations in the following pages refer, unless otherwise specified, to the Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Orientales in Perpignan. Where only a number is cited (or a number preceded by the letters "NS" = New Series), reference is made to a notarial register in Series E. Citations to "Alart" refer to the manuscripts of that scholar in the Public Library of Perpignan.

¹ *The Conquest of Plague* (Oxford, 1953).

² *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948); *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958); and numerous articles — most notably, in the present context, "The Medieval Monedatge of Aragon and Valencia," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cvii (1962), 483-504.

³ See the very useful survey of E. Carpentier, "Autour de la peste noire," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, xvii (1962), 1062-92.

⁴ "Albi et la peste noire," *Annales du Midi*, lxiv (1952), 15-25.

⁵ E. Carpentier, *Une Ville devant la peste* (Paris, 1962); W. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sieneese Government and Society," *Speculum*, xxxix (1964), 1-34.

source of demographic data. A few of the registers span the plague months of 1348,⁶ and there are a great many later references to acts of that year.⁷

* * *

Hirst has shown that plague takes three principal (as well as several minor) forms, all the work of a single bacillus, and all likely to be present in any outbreak: bubonic plague, attacking the lymphatic gland system, usually fatal within a few days, but with a significant percentage of recoveries; septicaemic plague, attacking the blood stream directly, and always fatal within a few hours of the first symptoms; and pneumonic plague, attacking the lungs, and almost always fatal. Only the last of these is communicable between human beings in any marked degree.⁸ The disease tends to be inhibited at temperatures below 50° and above 85° Fahrenheit, and by dryness. But within that temperature range, the pneumonic form tends to predominate at the lower figures and the bubonic at the higher.⁹ The plague would thus normally die down in the early summer in the Mediterranean lands, with the onset of hot, dry weather (further north, as in England, it could best flourish in the summer months). At Avignon, where the plague appeared in January of 1348, it was at first preponderantly pneumonic in type, tending to shift over to bubonic as the weather grew warmer (probably in May), and dying down in June and July.¹⁰ The pneumonic form is probably the deadlier of the two.

Perpignan was presumably more fortunate than Avignon and the towns on the French Mediterranean coast to the north and east of it, but less so than Barcelona or Valencia; since the plague seems to have reached the town only in mid-April, the shift from pneumonic to bubonic must have come rather quickly, yet the plague subsided there about the same time as in Avignon, giving it some three months less time in which to do its work. It is likely, therefore, that the toll in Perpignan was lower than in Avignon or Marseille, but higher than in Catalonia or Aragon.

* * *

According to an annalistic comment in the consular cartulary, the plague flourished in Perpignan in March, April, May, and June of 1348.¹¹ Possibly some cases did appear as early as March, but the evidence suggests that it was only in mid-April that plague in Perpignan reached epidemic proportions. The surviving

⁶ Reg. 4991 (containing four folios of a register from the village of Baho, along with ten unbound folios from a register of a Perpignan scribe, Petrus Sobirani, running from 26 April to 30 April 1348); Reg. 493b (Franciscus Grassi, containing acts from 1347 to 1349, but including only two that fall between 30 April and 10 August 1348); Reg. 429 (Bernardus Maney, junior, running from 30 May 1348 to late August of that year); Reg. 4717 (Franciscus Grassi, running from 11 February to 5 May 1348).

⁷ It was the practice in Perpignan to cite pertinent past acts by giving the date and the name of the scribe. As will be seen, a good part of our data about the plague in Perpignan must be drawn from such later references to acts no longer extant in their original form.

⁸ Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30.

⁹ Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹⁰ Hirst, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹¹ Alart, 15, 126.

documents seem quite normal down to 12 April, and extremely abnormal thereafter. For example, 16 loans by Jews to Christians are recorded in January of 1348, 25 more in February, 23 more in March, and 8 more in the first eleven days of April. We find three more in the last two days of April, and only seven others for the rest of the year, the first of them 12 August.¹² The great mass of surviving acts from late April, May, and June consists of wills — a total of 63 for that period, as compared with eight for the remainder of the year. From mid-June, normal acts begin to appear once more, though they are relatively sparse for the remainder of the year. The great bulk of the surviving documents in the second half of the year deal with the aftermath of the plague: settlements of estates, disputes between heirs, restorations of widows' dowries, and court actions naming guardians of orphaned or fatherless children, curators for estates, and executors to replace those named in wills but now themselves dead. Acts of this sort continue well into 1349; they attest the magnitude of the mortality, but afford little evidence for statistical conclusions.¹³ But there is no strong indication that normal economic activity was resumed quickly. Some foreign merchants reappear as early as June, but until late November their activities seem to be concentrated on the collection of pre-plague debts.¹⁴ Sales of goods on credit in the local market, usually very plentiful in the registers, are almost entirely lacking to the very end of the year. And not until 17 December do we encounter the first of an impressive number of apprentice contracts that runs through 1349 and 1350, and represents the recruitment of workers into the crafts and industry of the town to fill the gaps left by the epidemic.

This is essentially the direct evidence supplied by the extant Perpignan materials for the 1348 attack of the plague. It suggests that the plague raged from mid-April well into June, and probably lingered on into July. It also suggests that the epidemic produced economic dislocation that persisted for the remainder of the year — dislocation that approached disruption. And it suggests that the plague mortality was very heavy. It leaves unanswered the two points on which we should particularly like more information: it tells us little directly of the popular reaction to the plague, and it supplies no basis for an estimate of the extent of the mortality — there are no convenient lists of the dead. And yet it is evident that the great mass of documentary materials for the town contains the names of some thousands of its inhabitants, many of them mentioned with some frequency over

¹² It is manifest that villagers from the area around Perpignan were coming into town to borrow money quite regularly down to 11 April 1348; it would not seem that such would have been the case had a serious epidemic been raging. No real estate transaction is reported between 10 April and 21 July, no commercial act between 12 April and 5 June, and no apprentice contract between 9 April and 17 December.

¹³ The first extant record of a court sitting in Perpignan after the start of the plague comes on 7 June (636, 46); there are a total of 36 such references by the end of the year — 14 of them in the month of July.

¹⁴ Two merchants from Toulouse appear as early as 7 June (429, 5), and two from Valencia on 13 June (429, 3). On 1 July, 6 July, and 24 July Perpignan merchants named proctors to recover goods they had left in the custody of various inn-keepers of Barcelona (429, 19, 23, and 26). The tangled state of commerce is well shown, among many possible examples, by an act of 11 August in which the heirs of a dead cloth-merchant sought to recover 21 bales of cloth he had consigned to another merchant now dead for delivery to his son, also dead now, in Sicily (429, 46).

a span of years; a laborious counting process might well yield some indications of the extent of the 1348 plague mortality.

To explore this possibility on a limited scale, I have tabulated the surviving references between 1261 and 1360 (with a more casual survey of the materials to about 1400) to just one substantial group of citizens: the scribes and legists of the town. This is easily the most likely group for such a study, for the nature of the documents ensures that most members of this group occur with some frequency — whether as writers of acts, as witnesses to them, or, as a relatively affluent group, in their private capacities. This is not to say that our knowledge even of these individuals can be perfect. Not every practicing scribe appears in some extant act each year, for, despite the volume of the surviving materials, it constitutes only a fraction of what once existed. Furthermore, a good many scribes spent part of their careers working in the villages of the region, in which capacity they may appear sparingly, or not at all, in our documents. Some of the legists served terms as judges of local village courts, subject to the same disability. Even so, we can know more about them than about any other group of citizens.¹⁵

Numerically, the scribes and legists formed a group large enough to be statistically meaningful.¹⁶ In 1315, there were 55 known to have been living in the town, but the number rose steadily to a high of about 140 in the years 1337–40. After 1340, the number dropped gradually to 119 in 1346. To some small extent this decline may be attributable to the 1348 epidemic (see *infra*, note 20, for possible examples), but for the most part it probably reflects a declining demand for members of these professions after the collapse of the tiny Kingdom of Majorca (of which Perpignan was the capital) in 1343–44. The annexation to Aragon certainly reduced the numbers of the bureaucracy; and a few members of the group seem to have gone into exile because of their close association with the Majorcan dynasty.¹⁷

The group to be examined here in some detail is made up of the 119 scribes and legists known to have been living in 1346 (either because they appear in acts of that year, or because they appear in both previous and later years), along with six others first mentioned in 1347. Of these 125 individuals living in 1346 or in 1347, or in both, 17 — a quite abnormally large number — are not mentioned after 1346, and 22 last appear in 1347; it is quite evident that most of these 39 were in fact plague victims in 1348. Forty-one more are last mentioned in 1348.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Append. Of special help in this connection is the practice of citing past acts by date and scribe. This supplies a considerable mass of references that compensates in some part for temporal gaps in the extant registers. Often, too, a scribe citing such an old act will insert the word *quondam* before the name of a scribe then dead.

¹⁶ The legists (whether *legum doctores*, *legum professores*, *jurisperiti*, or only *causidici* or *causarum procuratores*) are included here partly because, like the scribes, they tend to be mentioned with great frequency, and partly because there is a considerable overlap between the two groups (most notably between scribes and *causidici*). No distinction is here drawn between *notarii* and *scriptores*, where the overlap is massive.

¹⁷ E.g., Perpinianus Lileti, active from 1337 to 1343, and unreported between 1343 and 1351 save for a reference in 1345 to his proscription for treason (B. 96, 110); Dalmacius Englesii, mentioned from 1338 to 1342, and *procurator fiscalis* of the Majorcan government in 1342 (B. 28, 89), and not subsequently reported until 1351.

¹⁸ Fourteen of these 41 last appear before 15 April; 9 are last mentioned in the last four days of

Only 45 of the 125 are known to have survived the year 1348 — a gross loss of 64.00%. Obviously, not all of the 80 non-survivors died of plague in 1348; some would have died in any case over any two or three years. A calculation of the scribes and legists living in each year from 1317 through 1337, and the numbers known to have survived in each case in the third year thereafter (i.e., of the 142 living in 1337, 121 were still alive in 1340), yields a median loss for these 21 three-year periods of 9.82% (with the highest loss 16.84% and the lowest 6.15%). Taking 9.82% as the normal attrition, and subtracting this from 64.00%, gives us a loss due to plague of 54.18% — or 68 individuals of the original 125. This, however, is not yet a death-rate from plague, since not all of these 125 men were still living in 1348. By tabulating the scribes and legists living in each year from 1317 through 1338, and counting those known to have been still living two years later, we find a median loss for these 32 two-year periods of 6.35% (with the highest figure 15.05% and the lowest 3.17%). Taking 6.35% as the normal two-year attrition, 117 of our 125 individuals should have been living in 1348. The specific plague mortality would thus have been 68 out of 117, or 58.12%.

Now this may seem a rather high rate of death from the 1348 plague. But, while the data is admittedly imperfect, it is probably a reasonably accurate minimum figure — which is to say that additional information would be at least as likely to bring more individuals into the group of non-survivors as to take some out of it. It should be noted also that, of the 80 non-survivors, 12 were certainly dead by the end of 1348, 33 by the end of 1349, and 42 by the end of 1350, while only 30 are never again found mentioned, living or dead. Since the chances of reference to a scribe or legist as dead are a good deal less of those to him as living, this seems adequate evidence that those not reported living after the plague were in fact dead.

But the indicated plague mortality of 58.12% is, in one respect, probably too low. For the calculations above, count as surviving 15 scribes or legists not mentioned in the years 1346 or 1347 (and in some cases for one to four years previously), but who were reported living after the plague. While some of these may simply have escaped mention in a surviving document, others were certainly practising outside the town or were away from Perpignan for other reasons;¹⁹ their reappearance after 1348 was really a part of the recruitment of new personnel. On the other hand, the calculations do not include a number of scribes and legists mentioned in the early years of the decade (1341 through 1345), and not mentioned again as living, but mentioned as dead shortly after the plague. Some of these were almost certainly plague victims.²⁰ Thus 58.12% is only a minimum

April; 7 in the first half of May; 6 in the second half of May; and 4 during June (indicating the plague was still taking a toll at that point).

¹⁹ E.g., Bernardus Adela, mentioned only once before the plague — in 1344, when he was working in the village of Clayra — and who first appeared in a Perpignan document on 18 December 1348 (NS3, 43). See also the cases mentioned in note 17 above.

²⁰ Four such cases seem particularly likely to have involved plague victims:

1. *Berengarius de Parietibusortis*: first mentioned in 1316 (B. 40), and last mentioned living in 1345 (on 24 October — 2226, 9). He is first called dead on 24 March 1349 (4976, 35v), in an act stating that his wife and he had both died intestate, along with their two children.
2. *Franciscus Pediliani*: First mentioned in 1334 (55, 43), and last mentioned living 6 April 1345

figure for the plague mortality of this group. We might get a maximum figure of reasonable probability by excluding the 15 individuals not mentioned between 1345 and 1348. If we did so, and followed the same method of calculation above, we would have a gross attrition of 72.82%, a loss due to plague of 63.00%, and a specific plague mortality of 70 out of 103, or 67.96%.

On the basis of this evidence, it would appear that, of the scribes and legists practicing in Perpignan at the beginning of 1348, a minimum of 58% and a maximum of 68% actually died of the plague.

The degree to which such a mortality from the plague may have been typical of the entire town population is by no means clear. On the one hand, the group studied was made up of generally prosperous, upper-class people and might be expected to have suffered rather less than the average. On the other hand, to the degree that those scribes engaged in practice during the plague period, even visiting the sick to record their wills, for instance, they may well have been exposed to contagion beyond the average. Furthermore, this was, by definition, a group of adult males, and there is some reason to suspect that the plague, in this first outbreak in 1348, fell with especial severity upon older men.²¹ Nonetheless, any such rate of mortality as that indicated, for a fairly sizeable group of well-to-do citizens, surely suggests a very terrible epidemic indeed, and one whose ravages come rather closer to the contemporary reports than to some cautious modern estimates.

An examination of this group of 125 men in terms of their apparent ages does indeed suggest that the mortality was felt most heavily among the older men. We have seen that, of the entire group, 64.00% seem to have failed to survive the year 1348. Of them, 12 had been in practice for 30 or more years, and of this veteran group there were no known survivors (even though nine of them were certainly living early in 1348); these men must have been, roughly, aged fifty or more. Nineteen others had been first mentioned between 1318 and 1327 (and were probably in the 40 to 50 age bracket); of them five survived — a loss of 73.68%, well above the average. Forty-six others had been first mentioned between 1328 and 1337, and of these 17 survived — a loss of 63.04%, close to the average for the entire group. But of the 48 first mentioned between 1338 and 1347, the youngest of the group, 23 survived — a loss of only 52.08%.

It is of some interest also to look at the evidence for scribes practicing their profession during the plague period. Of our 125 individuals, a good many obviously died very early in that time. Still, 32 of them appear in acts between 23 April and 15 June, either as scribes writing or receiving acts, or as witnesses (13 in the last week of April, 11 in the first half of May, 13 in the last half of May, and six in the

(B.96, 110). He is first called dead on 28 July 1348, when his widow was named guardian of their children (428, 21v) — and it would not seem that such action would have been very long postponed, especially before the plague.

3. *Petrus de Bosqueros*: First mentioned in 1328 (41, 15), and last mentioned living in 1343 (88, 31). He is first reported dead on 12 November 1348, when his widow was named guardian of their minor son (493b, 30v).

4. *Petrus Felicis junior*: First mentioned in 1330 (45, 16v), and last mentioned living in 1342 (88, 12). He is first mentioned as dead on 30 January 1349, when the court named a guardian for his five minor children (four of them *pupilli*); both he and his wife had died intestate (4977, 43).

²¹ Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 216, 264.

first half of June). This seems to attest both the declining supply of scribes as the plague progressed, and the fact that a substantial number carried on with their work, and did not go into hiding, or flee the town. Yet it is a striking fact that, of our 45 survivors, 32 appear in no act during the plague period; this may indicate both that it was indeed safer to avoid practice during the plague, and that this was fairly widely recognized or suspected.

* * *

There is a very familiar tradition that tells of the collapse of normal life during the plague outbreaks — of terrified people fleeing from place to place, of some giving themselves up to debauchery while others turned to extremes of religious devotion, of the sick abandoned and left to die unshriven and untended, of husbands abandoning their wives and of parents deserting their children — in short, of the disintegration of society.²²

Now none of these interesting forms of behavior is likely to be found in the prosaic acts of a public notary — or indeed in any documentary materials. We know of them (if we do know of them), from literary accounts, and we may well expect a certain exaggeration in them. The evidence from Perpignan suggests no such extremes of behavior in the 1348 epidemic. It is difficult, for example, to believe that the sick were abandoned in large numbers as we count the total of 63 wills mentioned as drawn up in the town between mid-April and the end of June 1348. And the nature of the evidence makes it clear that these 63 wills were a fraction of those actually composed; only 26 of them (less than half) are preserved in their original registers. A few others exist in later copies, but most of them are known only from simple references in later acts, stating that so-and-so made his will on such-and-such a day with such-and-such a notary — references given to authenticate the titles of heirs or the authority of executors. Since these 37 references come to us independently of the chance preservation of one or two contemporary registers, they may be presumed to yield a fair sampling of those actually composed. Three of them date from late April, 26 from May, and 8 from June; and they tell us, consequently, that May was the month *par excellence* for drawing up wills in Perpignan in 1348. And that we know that the recording of 63 such wills, drawn up by 21 different scribes (of whom we have extant registers from only three), makes it quite certain that the total number composed during the plague months ran into the hundreds.²³ Nor can it be thought that these wills were drawn up only for the rich and powerful — in at least half of them the testators were craftsmen or their wives and sons.

Now it is not necessarily to be presumed that all these wills were drawn up at the behest of death-bed testators. With a severe mortality raging, healthy per-

²² For a recent presentation of this view, see W. L. Langer, "The Black Death", *Scientific American*, ccx (1964), 114-121.

²³ That wills could be, and were, drawn up in such quantities in the midst of a frightful epidemic is shown by a bit of evidence from the village of Pia, just north-east of Perpignan. Here chance has preserved a single notarial register commencing on May 19, 1348 (Reg. 267 — Guillelmus Auriolli), containing not less than 75 wills dated in late May, June, and July in this small village. Pia was listed with 36 hearths in 1385 (B. 143), and cannot have had more than one or two hundred adults in 1348.

sons, if not actually panic-stricken, might well have felt the desirability of setting their affairs in order. It would have been helpful had Perpignan's scribes, in those somewhat hectic months, taken rather more pains to note the physical condition of each testator. This was done, however, in only four of the 28 wills for which we possess the full texts: twice, on 29 April and 30 April, testators were described as sound of mind and body (*sanus mente et corpore*), and twice, on 21 May and 6 July, testators were described as sick (*infirmus corpore*). The remaining 24 testators of these wills were simply called sound of mind. But there are two reasons for supposing that the majority of testators were in fact sick and in fact did die: first, of 57 identified testators in these wills, I have found references to only two subsequently alive — a very low ratio indeed; and second, in the wills drawn up during the second plague attack, in 1361, notaries tended to be more explicit on this question. There are 32 extant wills from this last period (April through November 1361); in eleven cases the testator is simply called sound of mind, in five cases he is called sound of mind and body, and in sixteen cases he is described as sick (*eger corpore*, *corpore languens*, or *gravi infirmitate detentus*). It thus appears evident that in the 1361 attack, most testators were sick, and there seems little reason to suppose that the situation was very different in 1348. It is quite true that there are frequent references after the plague to those who had died intestate, but this was fairly common at all times. It is probable that the very shortage of scribes, as the plague progressed, made it increasingly difficult to meet the demand, and this, rather than just a decline in the plague, may help to explain the concentration of wills in the month of May, and their comparative sparsity in June.²⁴

On balance, it seems evident that a sick man or woman, at the height of the plague of 1348 in Perpignan, had a reasonable chance of recording his last wishes. And a will, written by a professional scribe and witnessed by a minimum of five other persons, is a fairly sophisticated document, representing a rather high level of social organization. It does not seem possible that such documents, in the quantities indicated, could have been produced at a time of general panic and terror. To the extent that these wills were drawn up for the sick and dying, they indicate a quite considerable amount of death-bed attention; to the extent that they were drawn up, as some certainly were, for the healthy, they suggest a natural concern, but a concern far removed from panic.

²⁴ That efforts were made to replenish the supply of scribes during the plague is clear. A number of previously unreported scribes appear for the first time during the plague period. It is interesting too that some veteran scribes, well along in years, who had appeared rarely in the years just before the plague, are found recording wills during the plague (e.g., Raimundus Imberti, practising as early as 1317, who recorded a will on 29 May, and was himself dead before 15 September; and Raimundus de Jocho, also in practice since 1317, who drew up a will on 14 May, and is not again mentioned alive — he had died by 8 January 1349). By 16 July 1348, it had been reported to the King of Aragon that the legists and notaries of Roussillon had almost all died in the plague (*fere omnes decesserunt*), and as late as 10 March 1351, the King prorogued the terms of three royal judges in Roussillon because of the *penuria peritorum et advocatorum . . . a tempore mortalitatis citra* (A. Lopez de Meneses, "Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la corona de Aragon" *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragon*, VI [1956], 302, 398–399.)

We have virtually no evidence concerning the availability of the last rites for the dying. Priests appear as witnesses to two wills, on 29 April and 21 May (in the latter case the testator is described as sick).²⁵ But this tells us very little. Yet it seems scarcely credible that a society capable of producing so many wills can have been unable to supply the last rites to a high proportion of the dying, although, as with the scribes, the depletion of the priesthood by death as the plague proceeded may have made this increasingly difficult.²⁶

Nor do the sources tell us much as to the availability of medical care for the sick during the plague. Only five Christian and four Jewish physicians are mentioned in the town in the years just before the plague, and one of them was certainly dead before 1348. Of the other eight, only one Jewish doctor can be shown to have survived, along with one Christian physician first mentioned during the plague period.²⁷ Eighteen barbers and surgeons appear in the extant acts between

²⁵ A register from the small village of Ponteilla (Reg. 4969) contains 22 wills drawn up between mid-April and the end of June 1348, with priests appearing ten times as witnesses. The first four folios of Reg. 4991 (they are unrelated to the rest of the register) contain four wills noted at Baho on 21 May and 22 May 1348 by the rector of the local church (Guillelmus Guiraudi) *vice notarii publici de Basono*, and subsequently put into legal form by a scribe of Perpignan.

²⁶ A survey of the clergy of the largest parish church of the town (S Jean) yields 40 priests mentioned as living in the years 1345–1347, of whom 2 are last heard of in 1345, 5 in 1346, 3 in 1347, and 13 in 1348; 17 survived the plague, for an indicated gross loss of 57.50%. (Seven others, not mentioned alive as late as 1345, are first mentioned as dead in the years 1348–1352. If they were to be included in the original group, there would be a gross loss of 64.25%.) Since priests are mentioned far less often than scribes and legists in notarial acts, not much confidence can be placed in these figures, but they do imply a heavy mortality among the parish clergy.

I have also tabulated references to friars of the different orders, with these results:

	MENTIONED 1345–1347	SURVIVORS OF PLAGUE	GROSS LOSS
Augustinians.....	20	5	75.00%
Carmelites.....	11	7	36.36%
Dominicans.....	20	5	75.00%
Franciscans.....	15	8	46.67%
Totals.....	66	25	62.12%

Here too the references are too sparing to afford much confidence. Yet a comparison with an earlier time, far enough back to escape plague contamination, shows that of 53 friars mentioned in the years 1335–1337, 46 were demonstrably alive after 1338 — a gross loss on only 13.21%.

²⁷ *Christian physicians:*

1. *Albertus de Podio*: first appears witnessing a will during the plague, 30 May 1348 (429, 11v); he lived at least as late as 1372 (Alart, 36, 393).
2. *Bernardus de Barriacho, senior*: Mentioned from 1330 (46, 42), but dead before the plague, by 24 June 1347 (B.100, 40).
3. *Bertholomeus Conilli*: Mentioned from 1327 (36, 44); he made his own will on 30 April 1348 (491, 5v), and is not again found living. He was dead before 1352 (2229, 49).
4. *Guillelmus Egidi*: Last mentioned alive in 1342 (88, 11), and dead before 14 August 1350 (2227, 27v).
5. *Petrus Grasseti*: Last mentioned alive in 1343 (87, 12v); he was dead before 17 October 1348 (2230, 14v).
6. *Petrus Mirii*: Last mentioned alive in 1339 (77, 14v), and first mentioned as dead in 1350 (4978, 15).

Jewish physicians:

1. *Baro Astruc*: Last mentioned living in 1344 (B.96, 86), and dead before 28 January 1349 (B. 328).

1341 and 1347, of whom only two certainly survived the plague; and seven others, not mentioned alive as late as 1341, are first mentioned as dead in the years 1348–1352. Physicians, surgeons, and barbers appear quite sparingly in notarial acts, and it is difficult to date their careers with much precision, but the evidence, though scattered and incomplete, is enough to suggest a very heavy plague mortality for these groups.²⁸ Never very numerous, they would surely have been hard-pressed to attend the sick under plague conditions, and as they died off this would have become even more true.²⁹

* * *

The evidence examined above — much of it, admittedly, indirect — points to a very severe epidemic in Perpignan in 1348, with a very high rate of mortality — a rate probably exceeding 50% for adult males. It also points to a relatively protracted disruption of economic life. But it does not seem to indicate any prolonged period of social breakdown. The almost total absence of notarial acts for the two weeks commencing 12 April may suggest an initial reaction of panic, but this seems to have been quite brief. Before the end of April scribes were back at work, and the lists of witnesses to their acts proves that other citizens were about (excluding scribes, 173 different individuals are listed in this capacity between 26 April and 30 June, of whom only seven appear more than once). By early June, at least, courts were sitting, though the plague was still present; merchants were beginning to sort out their affairs and even travel about; and the work of reconstruction was getting under way. The delay in the resumption of normal economic activity probably resulted less from psychological factors than from market uncertainties, from the rupture through so many deaths of regular commercial contacts, and from the large number of unpaid debts and uncleared accounts in the plague's wake. In short, the evidence for panic, terror, and general demoralization

2. *Bonjuses Elies*: Mentioned from 1335 (63, 35v), and last mentioned living in 1346 (4945, 6v). A single reference to him as dead is found in 1358 (127, 32).

3. *Jacob Bonjuses*: Son of the preceding, mentioned from 1341 (86, 3) to 1375 (176, 114).

4. *Mosse Alphaquim*: Last mentioned alive on 5 March 1348 (4717, 11v).

²⁸ To look briefly at still another profession closely related to medicine: 18 apothecaries are mentioned as living in the years 1341–1347, of whom only five appear alive after 1348 (of the other twelve, seven are reported as dead in the years 1348–1351); seven others, not mentioned alive as late as 1341, are first called dead in the years 1348–1351.

²⁹ Four physicians (two Christian and two Jewish) lived in the small cathedral city of Elne just before the plague, but two of them (the Christian Poncius Cornelli and the Jew Yssach Bonet) were reported dead before the epidemic, in 1347 (7480, 23v and 40). Neither of the others is mentioned alive after 1348: the Christian Bernardus Palacii is last found on 21 March 1348 (7480, 49), and the Jew magister Jusseph on 28 November 1347 (7480, 21v).

The rather sparse evidence available suggests that Elne was hit quite severely by the 1348 plague. Of 20 scribes mentioned living in 1346 and 1347, only five are found alive after 1348, for an indicated gross loss of 75.00%; and of 57 clergy attached to the cathedral and mentioned alive in 1346 or 1347, only 17 are found living after 1348, for an indicated gross loss of 70.18%. Since Elne is fairly well covered in extant notarial acts for the two years just prior to the plague, and rather poorly covered for the years immediately following it, these figures are probably distorted upwards, but they are enough to demonstrate that the Black Death took a considerable toll in Elne.

is entirely lacking; the evidence for a considerable degree of resiliency, and for people simply carrying on, is, after the initial two-week period, reasonably strong. The social organization would seem to have remained cohesive, intact, and functioning.

QUEENS COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

APPENDIX

PERPIGNAN SCRIBES AND LEGISTS LIVING IN 1346 AND 1347

NAME	FIRST MENTION	LAST MENTION LIVING	FIRST MENTIONED AS DEAD
1. Ar. Bugarelli.....	1331	1346, Sept. 25	1347, June 25
2. Ant. Coquiliberi.....	1331	1346, Dec. 13	1350, Sept. 10
3. Ademarius Fabri.....	1322	1346, Mar. 31	
4. *Ant. Galotrerii.....	1325	1361	1364
5. Ar. Pontiliani.....	1345	1347, Oct. 17	
6. Anticus Segini.....	1337	1347, Nov. 10	
7. *Bn. Adela.....	1344	1395	
8. Bn. Beradini.....	1334	1347, Aug. 13	1350, May 12
9. Brg. Bonifilii.....	1340	1347, Feb. 6	1348, Aug. 4
10. Bn. Boquerii.....	1302	1348, March	
11. Bn. Carbonils.....	1337	1348, Apr. 29	
12. *Berth. Castilionis.....	1347	1352	
13. Bn. Caulasses.....	1340	1346, Sept. 10	
14. *Brg. Columbi.....	1321	1353	1360
15. Bn. Corderes.....	1343	1346, Sept. 20	1349, Dec. 2
16. Bn. Fabri.....	1347	1348, Apr. 30	
17. Brg. Figueyra.....	1346	1348, Oct. 20	
18. Bn. de Furno.....	1346	1348, Apr. 28	1349, Jan. 16
19. Bn. Fusteti.....	1337	1346, Feb. 20	
20. Bn. GERALDI.....	1336	1348, Apr. 10	1349, Mar. 24
21. Bn. Grossi.....	1337	1347, Sept. 21	
22. Bn. Maney SR.....	1320	1386, Mar. 13	
23. *Bn. Maney JR.....	1337	1373	
24. Berth. Massaneti.....	1337	1347, Oct. 17	
25. Bn. de Mosoyl SR.....	1334	1347, Mar. 12	

*=Survivors of the 1348 plague.

The forenames of the individuals above are abbreviated as follows:

- Ant. = Antonius
- Ar. = Arnaldus
- Berth. = Bertholomeus
- Bn. = Bernardus
- Brg. = Berengarius
- Fr. = Franciscus
- G. = Guillelmus
- J. = Johannes
- Jac. = Jacobus
- P. = Petrus
- R. = Raymundus

NAME	FIRST MENTION	LAST MENTION LIVING	FIRST MENTIONED AS DEAD
26. Bn. de Mosoyl JR.....	1343	1348, Apr. 27	
27. *Bn. Oliba.....	1341	1369	1370
28. *Brg. Pagesii.....	1339	1380	
29. Bn. Pagesii.....	1333	1346, Jul. 29	1372
30. Berth. Petri.....	1310	1346, Sept. 16	
31. Bn. Pini.....	1334	1348, Mar. 24	1349, May 27
32. *Bn.de Podioaulucho SR.....	1321	1354	1364
33. *Bn.de Podioaulucho JR.....	1329	1364	
34. Brg. Porrata.....	1334	1346, June 14	
35. *Bn. Regis.....	1325	1371	
36. *Bn. de Rippisaltis.....	1344	1377	1401
37. Bn. Salicis.....	1294	1348, Mar. 17	1349, Sept. 12
38. Bn. Spana.....	1322	1348, Apr. 27	1349, Feb. 23
39. Berth. Squereti.....	1332	1347, May 8	1350, Aug. 12
40. Berth. Thome.....	1339	1348, Apr. 9	1349, Jan. 8
41. *Bn. de Verneto.....	1339	1383	1401
42. *Dalmacius Englesii.....	1338	1377	1393
43. *Fr. Bajuli.....	1335	1349	1351
44. Fr. Banyuls.....	1311	1348, Mar. 20	1349, May 6
45. *Fr. Bardolli.....	1339	1379	1385
46. *Fr. Bernardi.....	1346	1396	1403
47. *Fr. Bonidomini SR.....	1334	1359	1373
48. *Fr. Boquerii.....	1321	1376	
49. Fr. Cerdani.....	1340	1347, Aug. 13	
50. Fr. Ferrarii.....	1317	1348, May 9	1348, Jul. 17
51. *Fr. Gaucelmi.....	1347	1373	1375
52. *Fr. Grassi.....	1345	1377	
53. *Fr. Piquerii.....	1330	1369	1374
54. *Fr. Poda.....	1344	1370	1377
55. *Fr. Roma.....	1338	1373	1377
56. G. Barrera.....	1344	1348, May 10	1348, Jul. 5
57. G. Calaf.....	1321	1348, May 10	1350, Sept. 10
58. G. Carbonils.....	1337	1348, May 7	1348, Dec. 11
59. G. Castelli.....	1316	1348, Mar. 13	1350, Nov. 3
60. *G. Caulasses.....	1335	1396	
61. *G. Comes.....	1345	1379	
62. *G. Grossi.....	1346	1354	
63. G. Jordani.....	1337	1348, Apr. 30	
64. G. Luquesii.....	1347	1347, Feb. 12	1351, Oct. 24
65. G. Monerii.....	1322	1347, June 11	1354, June 21
66. *G. des Peyns.....	1332	1370	
67. G. Pontiliani.....	1337	1348, June 30	1348, Dec. 10
68. G. Porta.....	1321	1348, Apr. 30	1350, Sept. 20
69. G. Rexach.....	1327	1348, Feb. 22	1349, Jan. 16
70. G. Sageti.....	1323	1348, June 7	1349, Feb. 13
71. G. Vallespirii.....	1325	1347, May 18	1349, Oct. 15
72. G. Valsera.....	1334	1348, May 21	1348, Jul. 6
73. J. Adela.....	1347	1347, Oct. 24	
74. *Jac. Castilionis.....	1340	1395	
75. Jac. Columbi.....	1338	1346, Dec. 9	

NAME	FIRST MENTION	LAST MENTION LIVING	FIRST MENTIONED AS DEAD
76. J. Egidii	1338	1347, May 8	1352, Mar. 8
77. *Jac. Ferrando SR	1328	1357	1363
78. Jac. Jauffredi	1335	1346, Nov. 14	
79. J. Miaffredi	1324	1346, Oct. 10	
80. Jac. Monerii	1345	1348, Apr. 29	1349, Jan. 16
81. *Jac. Nigri	1345	1361	1369
82. *J. Oliverii	1343	1372	1379
83. *J. de Pavo	1341	1361	1361
84. J. Riupulli	1314	1347, Jan. 11	1350, Feb. 20
85. Jac. de S. Johanne	1346	1348, May 30	
86. Jac. de S. Martino	1317	1346, Dec. 22	1349, Dec. 17
87. *Jaspertus de Tregurano	1331	1370	
88. J. Villanova	1317	1348, May 31	1348, Nov. 5
89. Jac. Vitalis	1333	1348, Feb. 11	1350, Mar. 14
90. *Martinus Blanqueti	1334	1352	
91. Michael Pontiliani	1333	1348, May 13	1349, Jan. 16
92. *P. Barravi	1334	1375	1391
93. *P. Berengarii JR	1334	1386	
94. *P. Bertrandi (Thome)	1347	1386	1401
95. P. Cabrerii	1338	1348, Jan. 18	1348, Aug. 11
96. P. Clayrani	1330	1346, Oct. 13	1349, Jan. 25
97. P. Fagaloni	1342	1347, Jan. 24	1349, May 2
98. *P. Forrolli	1343	1401	
99. *P. Gallardi	1338	1348, Apr. 9	
100. *P. Geraldi	1329	1359	1363
101. P. Jauberti	1303	1348, June 20	1354, Apr. 17
102. P. Juliani	1339	1348, May 28	1349, Jan. 16
103. *Perpinianus Lileti	1337	1358	
104. *P. de Montelauro	1328	1353	1357
105. *P. Pagesii	1343	1349	
106. P. Radulphi	1327	1348, May 14	1348, June 23
107. P. Ricolphi	1332	1347, Oct. 13	
108. *P. Sapte	1340	1370	1377
109. P. Roma	1344	1347, Aug. 8	
110. P. Sobirani	1338	1348, Apr. 30	1348, Nov. 18
111. P. Teulerii	1346	1347, Mar. 5	
112. P. Troterii	1331	1348, Apr. 1	1351, Apr. 27
113. P. Vallespirii	1319	1348, Jan. 15	1349, Oct. 15
114. *P. Villanova	1345	1386	
115. *P. Vitalis	1329	1361	1363
116. R. Draperii	1341	1346, Apr. 24	
117. R. Fabri	1337	1346, Sept. 11	
118. R. Grossi	1320	1347, Sept. 6	1355, Jan. 18
119. R. Imberti	1317	1348, May 29	1348, Sept. 15
120. R. de Jocho	1317	1348, May 14	1349, Jan. 8
121. R. Recordi	1335	1348, June 2	1349, Jan. 16
122. R. Vitalis	1330	1347, Feb. 28	
123. Vallespirius Caymarii	1329	1348, May 22	1350, Aug. 13
124. Vesianus Eymerici	1323	1346, Dec. 7	1368, Jan. 27
125. Vincentius de S. Paulo	1336	1347, Apr. 4	1349, June 17