
Plague, Papacy and Power: The Effect of the Black Plague on the Avignon Papacy

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Beginning in 1346, the plague killed an estimated one-third of the inhabitants of Europe. The Black Death arrived among the invading Mongols of the Golden Horde. It spread along the trade routes to the lower Volga and the Black Sea, and from there it moved quickly across the Mediterranean and into Europe by way of merchants, sailors, and travelers. Avignon, the seat of the papacy at the time, succumbed in 1348. The coming of the plague was part of a series of events that reduced the papacy from the height of its power to its lowest point in centuries. The plague came at a critical moment for the Church, and the papacy at Avignon did not adequately rise to the challenge. Inevitably, the poor response led to intense criticism, general distrust of the Church, heretical movements, and eventually, the Reformation. Perhaps the papacy was headed along that road already, but the Black Death certainly sped it on its way.

By the thirteenth century, the Roman Curia was a robust and efficient institution, and the papacy was at the height of its influence. Powerful popes such as Innocent III and IV operated much like kings of powerful nations. The Church maintained its power amid the growing strength of Europe's monarchies. People were Christians first, before they were French, English, or Saxon, and therefore, still answered to the Church's authority. While most kings compromised as necessary in their dealings with the papacy, those who did not "were likely to find that the spiritual power of the pope was accompanied by earthly power asserted with force of arms."¹

Much of the pope's power depended on his alliances with powerful secular leaders. The growing nation-states of the fourteenth century eventually overshadowed papal power, and many popes subsequently found themselves pawns in European politics. The papacy's legal and financial dealings garnered criticism across Europe, especially from churchmen who were taxed heavily by Rome. Although the cardinals were excellent administrators, they developed a reputation for being corrupt.²

War between France and England began in 1294, the first major conflict in Europe in eighty years. Soon, both sides realized they did not have the financial resources to support their military costs, and the French and English governments cast about for provisional income. In the past, the Church had given some of the

crusading taxes to royal governments. Both nations determined that this precedent permitted them to tax their clergy in order to pay for their wars. Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), however, had not authorized the new taxes, and he perceived it as a violation of canon law. In reaction, Boniface published the papal bull *Clericos Laicos* in 1296, forbidding all taxation of clergy without the express approval of the pope. Ostensibly about clerical taxation, *Clericos Laicos* was more a naked assertion of papal authority over secular authority.³

Bishop Bernard Saisset of Pamiers, France, was accused of treasonous speech against the French king in 1301. The bishop left for Rome but was intercepted, arrested, and jailed while he awaited trial. When King Philip IV “the Fair” of France (r. 1285-1314) realized the violation of canon law at play, he released the bishop and allowed him to continue on to Rome in February, 1302. Pope Boniface, unaware of the bishop’s release, revived the taxation dispute by forbidding the French collection of taxes from the clergy and called a council of French bishops to discuss further action.⁴ Despite great threats and actions against him by both Edward I of England (r. 1272-1307) and Philip IV of France, Boniface shortly thereafter issued a second bull, the *Unam Sanctam*, in 1302, “the most absolute statement of papal supremacy ever made.”⁵ In it, Boniface reaffirmed the pope’s authority as the heir of Peter and declared that, as such, he held supreme spiritual power over all and was to be judged only by God.⁶ Before the pope’s influence caused Philip to lose his throne, the French government assembled a list of charges against Boniface and sent the king’s men to Anagni, Italy to seize the pope from his summer home, intending to bring him to France to face the collection of charges. Pope Boniface died in the process, of what was likely a stroke.⁷ An Italian from Treviso followed as pontiff, taking the name Benedict XI. Unfortunately, he died less than a year later, his primary legacy being the absolution of the French king and his subjects from papal censures incurred by Boniface.

After the extended conflict between Boniface and Philip, it seemed that selecting a Frenchman for the next pope might alleviate tension.⁸ With some influence from Philip, a Frenchman became Pope Clement V (r. 1305-1314). The new pope did not go to Rome to manage his See, for he was fearful of Italian retaliation for the French treatment of Boniface. The Italians, however, claimed the real reason for Clement’s hesitance was that he had a French mistress, the Countess of Périgord, daughter of the Count of Foix. Additionally, the new emperor of Luxembourg, Henry VII, was “pursuing ambitions in Italy opposed to those of the papacy,” which Clement felt were prudent to avoid.⁹ Whether motivated by love or by a practical need to avoid his enemies, Clement arrived at

Avignon in Provence, near the mouth of the Rhône River in 1309. Avignon had been acquired in 1274 by the papacy as part of an expansionist policy.¹⁰ Provence, a fief of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, was technically not in France, but it sat within the French area of influence. The pope's decision to live outside of Rome with all of its political intrigue was not in itself unusual, but "the subservience of Clement V to the French king was a radical change in policy."¹¹ Avignon became more than Clement's temporary residence; it became the permanent home of the papacy for the next seventy years.

Things did not necessarily improve under Clement V. The pope pardoned the French in an effort to deter them from exhuming Boniface's body and putting him on trial posthumously. However, Clement was the former archbishop of Bordeaux, and the kings and princes of other European nations watched the interaction between him and the French king with some concern.¹² As a Frenchman and appointee of the French king, Clement was already suspect in his allegiance to France. Stronger evidence yet presented itself before long in the form of papal involvement in the suppression of the Knights Templar.

The Order of the Templars began in the twelfth century as a service organization to provide support to crusaders. They went on to focus on banking services for crusaders and, eventually, the papacy as well. The Templars were international financiers by the thirteenth century, often carrying large sums of money to the papacy from the clergy, primarily the taxes imposed by Rome in 1198. Their banking headquarters was in Paris, and as King Philip was in a financial bind from his war with England, he thought to alleviate some of his burden by appropriating the bank's reserves.¹³ Accusing the Knights of devil worship and witchcraft, Philip seized their property and intimidated Clement V into authorizing trials against them.¹⁴ Brought before a papal inquisition and subjected to torture and interrogation, the Templars confessed to demon worship, ceremonial cannibalism, and unnatural sex acts. Members later tried to retract their confessions, but the damage was already done. The Order was dissolved in 1314, its leaders publicly burned to death as heretics.¹⁵

Clement V survived only nine years as pope, for he went to Avignon already sick with what appears to have been a type of stomach cancer. His papacy was characterized by his fear of Philip, who, having already destroyed one pope, likely would not have hesitated to ruin another. Historian David Chidester observed, "The nine years of his papacy offers a sad demonstration that even being the delegate of the Almighty may be insufficient to shore up an essentially weak man in the face of ruthless earthly power."¹⁶ Clement died less than a month after the last Templar was burned, and Philip the Fair followed him in death seven

months later, at 46, a result of complications from a fall off his horse.¹⁷

While the papacy was far removed and secure from the intrigues and power struggles absorbing Italy, King Philip had his puppet pope close at hand in Avignon, which allowed for the destruction of the Templar Order. This set a precedent, and the Avignon papacy found itself ever more involved in the secular affairs of northern Europe, especially the animosity between France and England, which later developed into the Hundred Years War. Materialism increased as the papacy became more deeply involved in politics, in part due to Clement. He was clearly involved in simony as well as nepotism, and he initiated a tax in which the first year of revenue from the benefices sold went directly to the pope. As a result, the papal treasury increased substantially.¹⁸

Bloodshed, riots, and looting ensued when the beneficiaries of Clement's nepotism—a number of French cardinals who were also his relatives—hired mercenaries to attack the Italian members of the Papal Curia. In the French city of Carpentras, for example, one of the late pope's nephews ran off with a sizeable chunk of the papal treasury. The next French king, Louis X (r. 1314-1316), intervened, but he died before any resolution was found. His successor, Philip V (r. 1316-1322), blockaded the cardinals inside a convent until another pope was elected. Pope John XXII (r. 1316-1334) was also a Frenchman and an expert in canon and civil law. In his seventies at his election, John survived eighteen years, long enough to shape the Avignon papacy.¹⁹ Considered to be the “Midas pope,” John dressed in gold cloth and slept on ermine fur, continuing to prosper even more through simony, the sale of indulgences, and the collection of taxes.²⁰

Avignon became increasingly sumptuous, resembling cities of the wealthiest kingdoms rather than the temporary quarters of the papacy. Pope John moved into the bishop's palace, and during his time in office, the town of Avignon grew five times its size from what it was upon the arrival of Clement V in 1309.²¹ Luxurious living and displays of wealth among the court and the cardinals escalated, beginning with John and continuing with his successors Benedict XII (r. 1334-1342) and Clement VI (r. 1342-1352). The papal palace at Avignon was built during the terms of those same two successors. Begun with the Cistercian austerity favored by Benedict, it was completed in typical largesse under Clement VI. A great appreciator of luxury and wealth, Clement elevated papal materialism to its highest point. Ornate and lavish, the palace included banquet halls and gardens, a steam room for the pope, towers and courtyards, and chapels with frescoes and rose windows.²² Overall, the papal palace at Avignon “had the air of a hedonistic secular court rather than the celibate capital of Christendom,” reflecting the questionable nature of Clement's own morals.²³ This decadence created a

considerable backlash from critics who felt that the Church was straying from its purpose, and that the vice and sin rampant amongst the clergy, embodied most evidently in the pope himself, could lead to no good end. The papacy's spiritual capital suffered as it drew in more wealth.

Within this context, the Black Death began its sweep across Europe in 1348. The plague decimated the population and left the tattered remnants of civilization in its wake, shaken and bewildered. Medieval minds were unaware of the complexities of medicine, and they attributed their woes to divine retribution for sinful living. In looking for an explanation for their unbelievable ordeal, many pointed to the immoderation of the Avignon papacy. The excesses of the papacy, the absence of spiritual leadership, the opulent lifestyles of the papal court, the sinful behavior of bishops and popes, and the simony and sale of indulgences, all added up to what appeared to be the reason for the suffering and losses from the plague.

The plague arrived in Avignon in January 1348. The arrival of the papacy to Avignon some forty years earlier had brought rapid population growth and the associated ills of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. The plague struck hard and fast, killing 2,000 people in the first few days alone. No one was immune; ordinary residents and members of the papal court died faster than they could be buried. "At a stroke," wrote British author Edwin Mullins, "the glamour and glitter of the capital of Latin Christendom had been swept away, and suddenly Avignon was living under the shadow of death."²⁴

As the plague consumed the city, and despite his moral shortcomings, Clement VI did what he could for the people of Avignon. The pope demanded daily reports of the number of deaths in the city, assigned doctors to various districts, hired men to collect the dead and haul them away in carts, and employed gravediggers to bury the bodies.²⁵ Clement also authorized his surgeon, Gui de Chauliac, to dissect and examine the bodies of plague victims to learn more about the pestilence and how to stop it. This was the first authorization of autopsy outside of medical study in universities ever granted.²⁶ The town burial ground quickly filled up, so Clement gave the city a new cemetery. Eleven thousand people were buried in the new graveyard by March 14 in addition to those buried in churchyards.²⁷ When too few people were left to remove the bodies from the streets and the cemeteries were all filled, Clement consecrated the Rhône River so that the souls thrown in "would not go to their watery grave unblest."²⁸

Amidst the suffering in Avignon, one distraction caused a stir. Townspeople turned out on the streets early on the morning of March 15, 1348 to watch a parade of finely attired nobles and their entourages enter the city. The main

objects of the attention were Luigi of Tarantino and Queen Joanna of Naples and Sicily.²⁹ Joanna's visit during the dangers of the plague was due to her suspected involvement three years before in the death of her husband, Prince Andreas of Hungary.³⁰ Charged with his murder by none other than Andreas's brother, Louis, the King of Hungary, Joanna braved the pestilence in order to clear her name in a papal trial.

Her critics, however, believed Joanna was appealing to Clement VI for protection, for he was one of few with enough power to shield her from the wrath of King Louis.³¹ The Queen's trial was held upon the day of her arrival, and she was found fully innocent of any involvement in the mysterious hanging death of her husband.³² As evidence against her was quite incriminating, it was suggested that Joanna's trial was fixed: several months following the trial, Clement announced that he had purchased Avignon from the Queen, who held title to the city as countess of Provence.³³

The plague and the devastation it wrought on the city exhausted Clement as it did everyone else. After the trial of Queen Joanna, he spent much of his time in the papal chambers, "seated between two roaring fires."³⁴ This treatment was directed by his surgeon, Gui de Chauliac, who believed the fires would purify the air of infection, the suspected cause of the plague. The fires actually did protect the pope, for they warded off fleas, the true carriers of the pestilence.³⁵ In May, Clement fled the city for the papal retreat at Étoile-sur-Rhône. He was not criticized for departing at the time, for all who were able to leave were doing so. One out of every two people died in Avignon in 1348.³⁶ It was not until near Christmas that the survivors began to see a reprieve.³⁷

Clement's benevolence in 1348 showed that his character was not as soiled as some believed. Though he was not an impressively inspirational leader in that time of great horror, he did show generosity and kindness for Avignon's people as they suffered: he purchased a new cemetery for the dead, gave absolution to the dying and the dead, permitted autopsies to explore the causes of the disease, and appointed a committee to calculate the number of casualties across Europe.³⁸

The commonly held belief was that the Black Death was God's judgment upon a world corrupted by sin.³⁹ This sentiment became more forceful with the passage of time as those who remained tried to make sense of the tragedy that befell them. The wealthy papal court, notorious for its blatant sinfulness and extravagant living, presented a prime target for the blame.⁴⁰

While it was accepted that Divine punishment was the cause of the plague, bedraggled and exhausted survivors "still looked for a human agent upon

whom to vent the hostility that could not be vented on God.”⁴¹ The idea that the Jews had a hand in the Black Death originated in the region of southern France and Spain where a third of the 2.5 million Jews of Europe lived. The Jewish communities in that region dated to Roman times and were both manageable and attractive targets. The old Jewish quarters were separated from the surrounding Christian communities by walls. Because they were also relatively affluent areas compared to their neighbors outside the walls, they offered looting potential as an additional incentive for punishment.⁴² Pope Clement VI issued a bull in July of 1348 prohibiting the killing, looting, and forcible conversion of Jews without a trial, which, while it protected the Jews in Avignon and the vicinity, had little effect on the rest of Western Europe.⁴³ “Authorities in most places tried at first to protect the Jews,” according to historian Barbara Tuchman, “but succumbed to popular pressure, not without an eye to potential forfeit of Jewish property.”⁴⁴

Attempts to please God and end the plague led to desperate measures by some. The flagellants began as a group who firmly believed that the plague was an immediate result of human sin. Spreading rapidly from Germany into France, the movement incited plague-stricken towns already agitated by their situations. Historian Norman Cantor detailed some of the extreme behavior of the flagellants who, “proceeded from town to town, whipping each other and bystanders in the streets and causing general mayhem. Bishops hated them, but found it difficult to suppress them because the people took comfort in their displays of humility.”⁴⁵ Their marches were initially permitted by the pope, but Clement VI eventually prohibited such displays when it became evident that the processions were only assisting in the spread of the disease.⁴⁶

As the flagellants grew in number and strength they also grew in confidence, and they began openly attacking the Church. Flagellant leaders heard confessions, granted absolution, and imposed penance. Priests who attempted to put a stop to it were stoned. Author Mark Galli detailed some of the outrageous behavior of the zealots. He noted that they “took over churches, disrupted services, ridiculed the Eucharist, looted altars, and claimed the power to cast out demons and raise the dead.”⁴⁷ The group also reignited the persecution of the Jews, resulting in even more Jewish deaths. Pope Clement VI did what he could to put an end to the hysterical marches, and eventually, upon his call for their arrest, the flagellants disbanded and disappeared.⁴⁸

Pope Clement VI proclaimed 1350 to be a Jubilee Year. Intended to be a centennial event, Boniface VIII had established the first Jubilee Year in 1300 to provide indulgences for repentant pilgrims free of charge. Rome petitioned for the interval to be shortened to fifty years, for the city was feeling the financial loss of

the papacy. Clement granted the early Jubilee Year in a papal bull in 1343. Clement claimed in the same bull that the Church had an unlimited supply of pardons available for those willing to pay the price.⁴⁹ The plague encouraged many to take advantage of this offer, for the purchase of an indulgence assured the repentant sinner of a direct admission to heaven with no stop in purgatory.⁵⁰ The constant specter of death during the plague years increased the value of these indulgences to those willing to pay for them. The pilgrims of 1350 flocked to Rome for absolution and in the process fattened the Church's purse considerably. Sadly, only about a third of Jubilee pilgrims returned home, a consequence of persistent plague outbreaks.⁵¹

Bequests, which were transfers of assets from an individual either on his deathbed or arranged previously, were the largest source of income for the Church.⁵² It was believed that through pious bequests a donor could achieve salvation. The rate of bequests increased dramatically in the mid-fourteenth century as those fearful of dying from the plague while not having atoned for their sins made arrangements in hopes of buying their way into heaven. In October 1348, the Council of Siena suspended its annual taxes for religious charities for two years because they had received so many bequests.

The Black Death was a terrible crisis for the Church. Religious communities such as monasteries, cathedrals, and collegiate chapters suffered higher rates of mortality than the general population. Approximately sixty percent of the clergy perished in the plague, largely because the fleas on the bodies of the dead transferred to those who prayed over them and prepared them for burial.⁵³ Like other social institutions, the Church suffered a tremendous shortage of personnel. This posed a serious threat to the stability and continuity of the papacy. Consequently, the age requirements for the clergy had to be lowered both during and after the Black Death. Ordination into the priesthood was permitted at twenty instead of twenty-five, and new monks were allowed to take their vows at fifteen rather than twenty. The Church ordained priests in groups to fill the vacancies; many of them were men whose wives or families had died. The quality of the regular and secular clergy dropped precipitously. Many of the new clergymen were barely literate. Cantor noted that "It was a younger, much younger Church that came suddenly into being, and one now staffed heavily with undereducated and inexperienced people."⁵⁴

Clement VI was shocked and horrified at the effects of the plague on Avignon and on humanity in general. He died at the age of 61 just before Christmas of 1352. Clement never attempted to conceal his immorality or excessive nature, even sermonizing in the year before his death about having lived

as a sinner amongst sinners.⁵⁵ Further, his death marked the end of an era of excess for the papacy. The pope left Avignon looking beautiful but on the verge of bankruptcy. “It had been Clement’s hand which had always controlled the papal purse, and his hand which had emptied it.”⁵⁶

Again, the cardinals selected a new pope as different from his predecessor as possible. Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352-1362) was somber and restrained, where Clement had been vigorous and lively. Innocent’s primary goal was to balance the papal books. His dramatic changes included putting a stop to the endless feasting and entertaining as well as huge reforms within the papal court. The excesses of the papacy were brought to an end.⁵⁷

Unfortunately, the plague was not yet done with Avignon. The city was besieged in December 1360 by several bands of mercenaries. The plague returned the following April. In part due to the new outbreak, the siege was lifted on April 22, and the mercenaries left for Aragon. This new wave of plague was just as potent as it had been in 1348 and it was followed by famine because the crops surrounding the city were ruined during the months of siege.⁵⁸ The second spate of the plague was quickly followed by a third epidemic in 1368, both causing the deaths of ten to twenty percent of what remained of the population after the initial outbreak in 1348.⁵⁹ The second and third episodes in Avignon further diminished the clergy and brought intellectual and spiritual standards even lower. This contributed to the papacy’s later problems with the anti-clericalist movements of John Wycliffe and his followers, the Lollards, and possibly played an indirect role in shaping the Reformation.⁶⁰

The Black Death created the desire for a more personal relationship with God. Chancies sprung up all across Europe, not merely among the nobility, but also in the homes of the merchant class and professional families. Interest in theology became popular, and mysticism was also on the rise as survivors of the pestilence sought answers and understanding.⁶¹ Through such privatizations of religion, Christians could avoid altogether the problems of papal authority. “The upswing in religious feeling was accompanied by a deepening disillusionment with the Church.”⁶²

Although the populace understood that the clergy suffered and died like everyone else, the people could not accept the churchmen’s neglect in giving the sacraments to the dying and dead. Neglecting the last rites in such a way condemned one to burn in hell for all eternity. Nor could they accept that the clergy overcharged for their services during the plague.⁶³ The pope condemned this behavior of course, but the people were not willing to forgive the Church for turning its back on them in their hour of need.

The papacy's inability to bring the Hundred Years War to a peaceable agreement was also viewed as a failure. Clement VI's shortcomings as a pillar of sanctity aside, he may have been the most likely candidate as peacemaker between France and England. He had personal relationships with both rulers, and he devoted much time and energy to the ongoing search for peace between them. The pope was not, however, an impartial negotiator, for the papacy had given large amounts of money to Philip VI between 1345 and 1350 to fund the nearly bankrupt French war efforts.⁶⁴

Anti-clericalism was already on the rise in the thirteenth century, and the papacy's ineffective response to the plague crisis accelerated it even further. The Church faced grave threats to its power and credibility in the two centuries after 1348.⁶⁵

Several attempts were made to return the papacy to Rome in the waning years of the Avignon residency, but none succeeded until 1376 when Pope Gregory XI (r. 1370-1378) decided to return to the Eternal City. Gregory quickly regretted his decision, but he died before he could return to Avignon. Shortly thereafter, two popes were elected to succeed him. Urban VI (r. 1378-1389) was Italian, and it was thought that the Romans would be pleased with that. Urban had other ideas, and upon his election he initiated a harsh campaign against corruption amongst those in high positions.⁶⁶ Urban was unmoved by the vehement protests of the cardinals. This prompted a portion of them to return to Avignon and declare his election invalid. They elected a new French pope, Clement VII (r. 1378-1394), who remained in Avignon and was considered the first antipope. The next forty years saw the Church sundered by this Great Schism between Avignon and Rome.⁶⁷

Coincident with the Great Schism was the attack on the papacy by Oxford instructor John Wycliffe (c. 1331-1384). In 1377, Wycliffe put forth his radical notion to secularize all Church property. He also felt the papacy did not hold the power to exact disciplinary punishments. The pope condemned Wycliffe as a heretic the following year, but the schism drew the papacy's attention away from Wycliffe's dangerous ideas. Wycliffe ignored the papal censure, and with the Schism set in motion, he had little to fear from any pope.⁶⁸ "Wycliffe deviated completely from church teaching regarding the relationship of humanity to God and about the church's task of leading the human person to God."⁶⁹ He argued that the Church was not necessary for achieving salvation. Rather, salvation was dependent on grace, and receiving the sacraments was not required. These ideas were not new ones, and opposition to the Church had long existed in Europe. However, this rise in heretical ideas was a great problem for the papacy, as the

selling of indulgences was a great source of income for the Church, and the neglect of sacraments had become a large bone of contention after the plague.

Wycliffe's anticlerical followers included a group of radical heretics called the Lollards⁷⁰ who complained about the Church's poorly educated clergy. They not only criticized ecclesiastical leadership and immorality, but went so far as to question the spiritual benefit of the Mass. Because many of the Lollards were university graduates, largely from Oxford, they promoted themselves as being far superior to the undereducated priests.⁷¹ The Lollards' preachings became increasingly revolutionary, and they were continually persecuted in England. However, they survived as a minority and reemerged in the 1530s when Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) broke from Rome to form the Church of England.⁷²

The papacy began its residency in Avignon at the peak of its power and prestige, but that power was partly to blame for its decline. A series of extravagant popes, each more autocratic and less pious than the one before, created a papal palace known more for its opportunities for immorality than for its spiritual leadership. The Black Death first struck Avignon in 1348, and the papacy was ill-prepared to handle the disaster. Tuchman noted that "the plague accelerated discontent with the Church at the very moment when people felt a greater need of spiritual reassurance."⁷³ Widespread criticism and additional plague outbreaks further diminished the once-imposing bastion of papal authority. Distrust of the Church's abilities to intervene with God on behalf of humanity during the plague resulted in an interest in more privatized religious outlets. The papacy's return to Rome was of no help, for it led to the Great Schism wherein two men, and later three, claimed to be pope.⁷⁴ The papacy's weakness was only too apparent during the Schism, and the subsequent loss of prestige opened the door for critics. This display of inefficacy and weakness allowed the heretical ideas of John Wycliffe and the Lollards to take root, and from there aid the development of the Reformation through their attempts to return the Church to piety and morality. "The safest conclusion one can make about the plague's contribution is that, by promoting dissatisfaction with the Church, it created fertile ground for religious change."⁷⁵

Notes

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5. Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), 25.
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9. Margot Patterson, "Papal Echoes in Avignon," *National Catholic Reporter* 40, 24 (April 16, 2004): 8A.
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12. Jordan, 316.
13. Cantor, *Civilization*, 496-497.
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16. Ibid., 9-10.
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19. Ibid., 45-46.
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24. Mullins, 119.
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27. John E. Kelly, *The Great Mortality: An Intimate History of the Black Death, the Most Devastating Plague of All Time* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 150.
28. Mullins, 124.
29. Kelly, 154.
30. Ibid., 155.

31. Mullins, 133.
32. Kelly, 157.
33. Mullins, 135.
34. Kelly, 159.
35. Ibid.
36. Kelly, 161
37. Mullins, 124.
38. Ibid., 159. The number of dead was determined to be nearly twenty-four million.
39. Mark Galli, "When a Third of the World Died," *Christian History* 49 (1996): 38.
40. Mullins, 129.
41. Tuchman, 109.
151. 42. Norman F. Cantor, *In the Wake of the Plague* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 150-151.
43. Cantor, *Wake*, 153.
44. Tuchman, 113.
45. Cantor, *Wake*, 157.
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48. Ibid., 39.
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51. Galli, 39.
52. Robert B. Ekelund, *Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm* (New York: Oxford University Press 1996), 35.
53. Jordan, 297.
54. Cantor, *Wake*, 206.
55. Mullins, 161.
56. Ibid., 165.
57. Ibid., 166.
58. Levillain, 1222.
59. Mullins, 125.

60. Levillain, 1222.
61. Kelly, 290.
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