

7. The “First Mortality” as a Time Marker in Fourteenth-Century Provence

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My main research question in this project is to explore how people understood and reacted to the first two waves of plague in 1348 and 1361 by looking at how they talked about the events. Specifically, I analyzed how a group of people who all testified in one canonization inquest used—or did not use—the word “mortality” in reference to waves of plague. A canonization inquest was a large-scale legal procedure sanctioned by the papacy that explored the life events and reputation of a candidate for canonization, primarily by interviewing witnesses to the proto-saint’s life and miracles. This particular inquest took place in Provence in 1363, which means that I can date it to a moment after the second wave of plague in 1361 but before the third wave in 1370. The source is especially useful because it includes descriptions of events during both the first and second waves of plague.

Overall, I found that by 1361, some people in this source spoke of a “first mortality” (meaning the first wave of plague in 1348) as a fixed moment around which to date other events. This was not true of everyone in the source, however. For example, many people did not mention the “first mortality” at all, even when it would have made sense to do so. My focused study makes the small, but significant, point that the ways people spoke about catastrophic epidemics could vary, even within a group of people who lived in the same geographic region and shared other characteristics, like religion and affiliation with a proto-saint.

I used network analysis in multiple ways in this project. First, I looked for characteristics that might connect the people who used the term mortality and perhaps suggest a network that was not

clear on the surface of the source. Second, and more importantly, I used network analysis as a way to push against my own assumptions about how people responded to, especially how they spoke about, the first waves of plague. As I constructed network visualizations, I realized that I had assumptions that were not borne out. As a result, the network visualizations prompted me to generate new questions about this data.

Plague and Saints in the Fourteenth Century

Modern and medieval scholars have shown how “the last past plague” can shape expectations of and responses to an emerging epidemic.¹ But from 1347 to 1351, an epidemic spread that had no ready comparison for people at the time. In Europe, it killed “an estimated 40%-60% of the population.”² Although late medieval Europeans experienced epidemics with some regularity, *this* epidemic was different. As Ann Carmichael writes, “[W]ithin some finite period of time after the great mortality became part of their past, survivors began to characterize its distinctiveness from other epidemics.”³ But they did not have a last past plague to compare it to.

In 1361, however, a second wave of this plague moved through Europe. The epidemic was no longer a unique catastrophe that people had to understand in a world without that disease. For these people, there had been a last past plague. Everyone over the age of 15 had now lived through two waves of plague. People over 20 to 25 years old could remember both. And people of every age group and social group spoke to each other, in some cases shaping their experiences around these two moments of high mortality. In 1361 they could use the last past plague to understand their experiences.

These canonization inquest documents bring together a group of 68 witnesses who had all lived through two waves of plague. This particular inquest took place in 1363, which meant the second wave was fresh in their minds, but the first wave of plague was

not in the distant past. In terms of network analysis, a group of witnesses in a canonization inquest is a *de facto* network of sorts. All of the witnesses shared a faith in the holy person's sanctity and had been gathered by local inquest organizers to testify. This was not a random group of people.

The faith they shared reflects the medieval culture surrounding sainthood, which was an institution that people used to solve personal problems, deal with changing environment and political situations, or manipulate the physical world. Late medieval sainthood was also an institution that generated extensive written documents. This canonization inquest fits into a larger branch of research on medieval plague that uses surviving written legal sources, like wills and court cases, to see the impact of plague on daily life and family choices.⁴ These kinds of legal sources allow modern scholars to see reactions to plague beyond the more famous literary and medical sources.

The Canonization Inquest for Countess Delphine

I am using the canonization inquest for Countess Delphine de Puimichel, which took place in Apt and Avignon, Provence, which was then a county in the Kingdom of Naples.⁵ By the mid-fourteenth century these inquests were elaborate legal procedures with extremely high standards and high stakes.⁶ Like all fourteenth-century canonization inquests, the organizers of Delphine's inquest gathered evidence to see whether or not this local holy woman should be considered an official saint of the Catholic Church.⁷

Great prestige and potentially great profit could come from having an official Catholic saint in one's community, so the process was taken very seriously. During the inquest into Delphine's sanctity, two papal commissioners and at least one official papal notary traveled to the place where Delphine had lived. They joined local organizers, most importantly a local notary named Master Nicholas Laorenc, who acted as proctor of the inquest. Master

Nicholas gathered witnesses and wrote the 98 articles of questioning. The joint papal and local group interviewed people who had known Delphine or experienced miracles by praying to her. The local and papal notaries then collected the written testimonies and other materials and gave them to the papal court.

The final document produced for Delphine's inquest was a 204-folio collection of official papal letters, opening statements, a list of witnesses, a summary of daily events, 98 articles of questioning, 68 witness testimonies, supplementary materials provided by the local organizers, and closing statements by the two official notaries.⁸

The document was for internal use within the papal curia. It would be used by a small number of papal officials as they considered Delphine's canonization. Most of these officials would never read the text, however. Instead they would read a summary of the inquest produced by a papal notary. They would likely only read the inquest documents if a debate arose about a specific miracle or event.⁹ The audience is important here. This was primarily an internal document, not a didactic document, like a saint's life (also called a *vita*) meant for a wide readership. Therefore the witness testimonies did not have to be deleted, screened, or reconstructed in order to teach people how to be better Christians.

The most useful parts of the inquest for this study are the witness testimonies and articles of questioning. Each witness was interviewed individually. The testimonies were written down by two notaries, a local notary and the papal notary. In Delphine's inquest (as in most other inquests), each witness testimony starts with the statement of swearing in. Some testimonies include a statement about the witness speaking their maternal tongue; for this group, that language was Provençal. The notaries translated the testimonies into Latin, which was the common language of the papal court. The testimonies were also written down in the third person, rather than the first person.

Each witness was given the opportunity to speak to all 98 articles of questioning. These articles were statements about Countess

Delphine's life events and miracles and were produced uniquely for this inquest. They were written by a local notary, Master Nicholas Laorenc, who had been part of Countess Delphine's entourage since 1351. There is evidence that Master Nicholas wrote the articles of questioning based on stories told to him by various people chosen to testify in the inquest.¹⁰

Master Nicholas also wrote an open-ended article of questioning—Article 1—that asked witnesses to describe anything they knew about Countess Delphine. The witnesses and papal commissioners took advantage of this article. In response to it, witnesses told stories about Delphine, themselves, and others that appear nowhere else in the inquest. The papal commissioners frequently asked follow-up questions to responses to Article 1, including questions along the line of “What else do you know?” Since Countess Delphine's inquest happened less than three years after her death, this is not surprising. There had not been much time for a local following to emerge, and the local officials and papal commissioners needed every story they could get to show that local people did or did not consider Countess Delphine a saint.

During questioning, as the witnesses responded to articles of interrogation, they described events, agreed or disagreed with the articles, or told their own stories related to the articles. In other words, they did not strictly repeat information in the article, nor were they limited by the language of the article.¹¹ Each testimony also included information about age, sex, social status, clerical status, and where the witness was from.

These testimonies are a useful source for reaction to the two waves of plague.¹² Although there were no articles of interrogation about plague, witnesses used phrases that included the term mortality, which was how they referred to the waves of plague. (No one used a word like pest, pestilence, or plague.) And witnesses did talk about the two waves, particularly in response to the open-ended Article 1. Some witnesses made requests for miraculous healing. Although learned medicine was increasingly popular and available by the mid-fourteenth century, most of Europe still

considered an appeal to God's grace through a holy person as a valid healing option.¹³ People appealed to saints on their own and others' behalf for healing from many injuries and illnesses, including plague.

These testimonies are also a robust resource because they include a diverse group of people. Canonization inquest testimony included people often left out of the historical record because they did not write. As Michael Goodich puts it, "The details provided in miracle stories—the who, what, when, where, why and how of any inquiry—especially those reported in the framework of a papal canonization process, which demanded high judicial standards, may assist us in recapturing the voices of otherwise inarticulate folk."¹⁴ While most of the witnesses in Delphine's inquest were educated, relatively wealthy, and well traveled, it still included many people whose voices would usually not be heard, especially women. Their individual testimonies were required for a successful canonization, so clergy copied their words carefully. Organizers did not want the inquest to fail because there was not enough local support or the testimonies were too homogeneous.¹⁵

Through word choices and witness characteristics, therefore, I hoped to uncover networks within this group of witnesses who were already under the umbrella network of Delphine's canonization.

Methods of Analysis

Testimonies like these are a potentially robust resource for network analysis. First, as I pointed out above, this group of witnesses is, in many ways, a network already. The witnesses shared the common link of belief in and use of the same proto-saint. Also, in this inquest, the majority came from the same geographical region—southeastern Provence—so they shared similar experiences and cultural expectations. It is also clear from witness testimony that many of these people knew each other. In

other work, I have used network analysis and visualization to explore how the witnesses referred to each other and people outside the inquest in their testimonies.¹⁶

With this project, I knew that I wanted to see if there were patterns within this group concerning how people spoke about the waves of plague. All 68 witnesses had lived through both waves of plague—one in 1348 and one in 1361. The youngest witness might not have remembered the first wave all that well (he would have been five), but the average witness age was roughly 35 at the time of the inquest, so most would remember both.

I used network analysis and the visualization tool, Cytoscape, in the hopes of revealing a group of witnesses who all spoke of plague a certain way and shared identifiable characteristics, like sex, age, or clerical status. This might indicate a group of people connected to one another in a way not clear on the surface of the inquest.

I analyzed the testimonies to find people who spoke about events in 1347–1349—dates that could be associated with the first wave of plague—and who spoke about 1361, which was associated with the second wave of plague in Provence. I assembled a table which included all of the witnesses, what phrase they used, and the article of interrogation they were speaking about.¹⁷ I then created three tables that broke down the witnesses into groups of whether they mentioned the word “mortality,” did not mention it, or used multiple methods to refer to these time periods. In these tables, I included personal information for each witness.

The tables were useful, but it was not easy to see patterns of how people spoke of the plague or if certain groups of people spoke in certain ways. So I used Cytoscape to create different visualizations of the various data points in order to see if patterns or a network emerged within the network of Delphine’s witnesses. I was particularly interested in any networks emerging around sex, age, or clerical status. Because I found that the ways people spoke about 1347–1349 differed significantly from the way they spoke about 1361, I created different visualization sets for the two waves of plague.

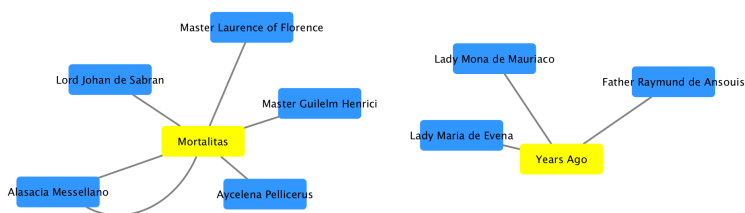


Figure 7.2: The number of references each witness made (indicated by number of lines)

Figures 7.1 and 7.2 establish that people used different methods of referring to these two time periods. This speaks strongly against homogenization of witness testimony by the notaries copying the testimony and translating it into Latin. I am making the assumption here that if the notaries had homogenized the testimony, they would have chosen one or maybe two methods for marking time rather than four. Therefore, looking at these witness testimonies can reveal how people spoke about the waves of plague. These visualizations, however, did not reveal any obvious patterns that would suggest networks within the inquest.

Finding multiple methods of marking time, I looked for patterns in who used which methods. Overall, I looked at sex, age, and clerical status. Surprisingly, I did not find significant networks or patterns emerging around any category. In terms of gender, the witnesses who spoke about 1347–1349 included 6 men and 13 women, seen in figure 7.3. While there are more women, these women did not all talk about the same event nor use the same phrases, so there was not a strong pattern.

Age also did not reveal any clear patterns. The witnesses' ages ranged from 28–65, but no one group used a specific method of referring to 1347–1349. In figure 7.4, I gave each decade a different color, but found no significant patterns emerging among thirty-year-olds or fifty-year-olds, for example.

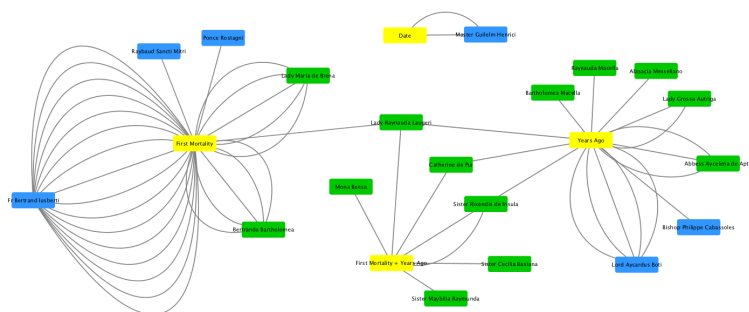


Figure 7.3: Gender of witnesses (green indicates female witnesses, blue indicates male witnesses)

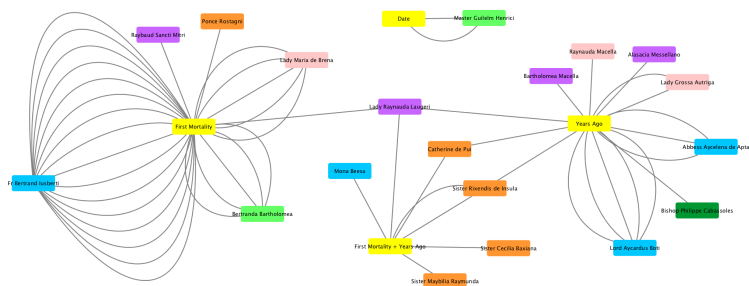


Figure 7.4: Ages of witnesses (pink indicates 20s, orange indicates 30s, blue indicates 40s, lavender indicates 50s, light green indicates 60s, and dark green is unknown)

The witnesses came from diverse backgrounds. One main division was religious vs. lay people (figure 7.5). The religious included six individuals from four institutions. Lay people included 13 individuals, including four members of the aristocracy, a lawyer from the royal court in Aix-en-Provence, two merchants, three diverse female inhabitants of Apt and Ménerbes, and two of Delphine's long-term companions Bertranda Bartholomea and Catherine de Pui.²⁰

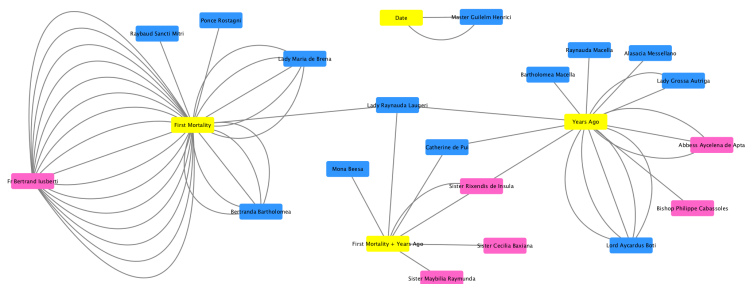


Figure 7.5: Religious vs. lay people (violet indicates the witness was a religious)

Although I did not find significant patterns in the categories of sex, age, and clerical status that I had expected, these results helped me ask new questions. These new questions emerged from two strong patterns in how people spoke about 1347–1349. First, although people used the phrase “first mortality,” they rarely talked about plague. Only one of the 19 witnesses described someone suffering from the illness that caused the first mortality (see figure 7.6). Instead, witnesses used it as a time marker for something else.

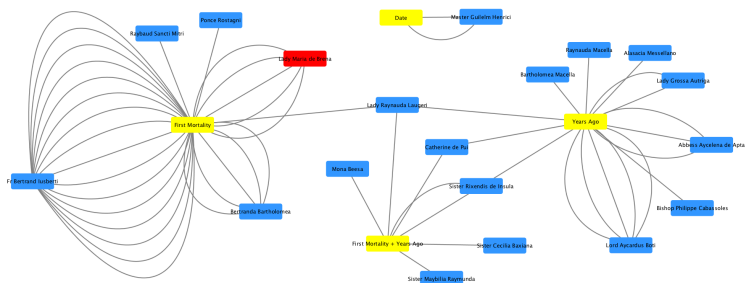


Figure 7.6: How witnesses spoke about 1347–1349 (red indicates the witness spoke of plague)

This contrasts to how people spoke about 1361. Out of eight witnesses who spoke about this time period, four spoke about their own or another’s experience of the epidemic illness in 1361 (see figure 7.7).

Figure 7.7: How witnesses spoke about 1361 (red indicates the witness spoke of plaque)

Figures 7.3–7.7, however, did not produce a clear group of people (based on age, sex, status, or location) who used references to plague. This was a surprise for me, and was a worthwhile use of network visualization. Although I did not find the patterns I expected, I realized that I had assumed patterns were there, but I just was not seeing them in the tables. Seeing the information in different ways, pushed me to reassess my expectations.

Figure 7.8: How witnesses referenced time (green indicates a time reference before 1348, orange indicates a time reference of 1348, yellow indicates a time reference after 1348, and grey indicates a time span that included 1348)

Since witnesses used references to the first mortality as time markers for other events, I decided to look for patterns and perhaps

networks in what they dated using the different methods. Sometimes they used references to plague as a time marker for events happening during 1348–1349, but they also referred to events before and after. Or they referred to a span of time (see figure 7.8).

I focused my analysis on people who used the phrase “first mortality.” For these witnesses, the first wave of plague was a fixed point in relation to which they remembered other events.²¹ Considering the general categories of before, during, after, or a span did not reveal any kind of pattern or network, however.

Finally, I tried to map what specific events witnesses dated with references to the plague. No clear network emerged. Again, this was a surprise—even more of a surprise than the lack of connections or networks based on witnesses’ personal information. Witnesses dated all kinds of events with references to the plague, which my rather wild figure 7.9 shows. In this visualization, I link witnesses who mentioned either the first or second mortality to the articles of interrogation they were responding to. As stated above, there were roughly 100 articles of interrogation and witnesses referred to mortality in response to roughly a quarter of them.

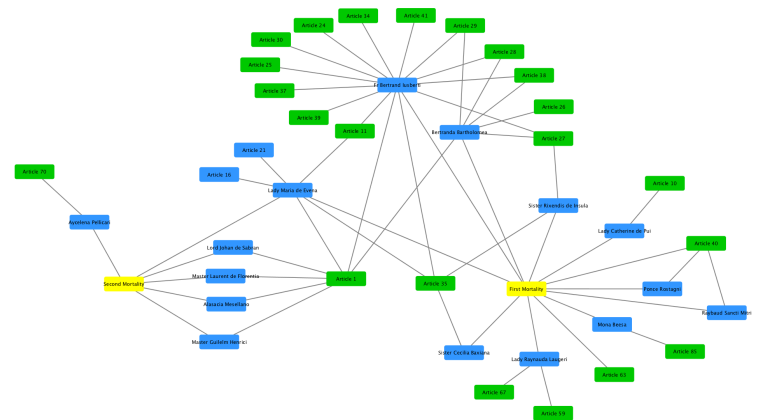


Figure 7.9: How witnesses dated events with plague references (blue indicates a witness, green indicates an article)

Through visualizations like this, I understood that witnesses did not associate one particular event or characteristic of Delphine's sanctity with plague. Different witnesses associated the plague in their memories with a wide variety of things, represented by the many different articles (in green) in the visualization.

Conclusions

Overall, network visualization allowed me to look at information that I am very familiar with in a new way. In particular, I did not find the networks or patterns I expected. Instead, unexpected patterns—like the fact that while many people used the phrase “first mortality,” only one person actually spoke about the first epidemic illness—seemed important, but did not reveal a network. Seeing this in the visualization pushed me to reconsider how witnesses understood the first mortality as part of their lives.

Once I saw the lack of clear networks based on witness characteristics or with what witnesses associated the first mortality, I knew I needed to reconsider my assumptions about witness testimony. These witnesses not only had freedom in their word choices about this time period, they in fact made different choices about words to use. This spoke strongly to individual autonomy of the witnesses. It was clear that the years 1347 to 1349 stood out in many people's minds, but not everyone spoke about them the same way.

A specific example will help us see those individual choices. Friar Bertrand Iusberti used the phrase “first mortality” 16 times to date events before, during, and after 1348, and he used it to mark the span of time between 1348 and Delphine's death. In contrast, Lord Aycardus Boti never used the phrase “first mortality,” even though he spoke of events in 1349 five times. For one of these events, he refers to hearing about it from Friar Bertrand Iusberti, who may have used the phrase “first mortality” in his hearing.²²

Both men held positions of influence in Apt, Provence, and were roughly the same age. While I cannot know exactly why Lord Aycardus did not use the phrase and Friar Bertrand did, I can see from these visualizations that they both had the option, and they both made a choice.

The striking difference in the ways witnesses spoke about the second wave shows that they thought about it differently from the first wave. Even though far fewer witnesses mentioned the second wave, four times as many spoke about the epidemic illness. It was as if having a last past plague, or in this case a “first mortality,” allowed them to talk about the illness itself. This moment was used far less frequently to refer to other events, however. In 1363, it did not have the cultural resonance of the first mortality—there was no one phrase everyone used, people did not use it to reference significantly earlier events—and was not as robust of a term.

Appendix

Table 7.1: References to the first mortality, second mortality, dates, and years ago²³

Article or Witness	Page #	First or Second	Word or phrase	In relation to Countess Delphine's life or miracles
1 Article 40	56	F	"in hospicio pontem staret citra primam mortalitatem quasi per duos annos"	Time reference to wondrous light seen in her room when she stayed near the bridge in Apt
2 Article 63	75	F	"quod dum semel post primam mortalitatem"	Time reference to healing of a woman named Saura when Delphine went to Cavailon to negotiate peace between warring lords
3 Article 70	79	S	"generali mortalita"	Time reference for the death of the recipient of a miracle
4 Noble Lady Mona de Mauriaco	145	S	"dixit quod erant in proximo mense Augusti duo anni"	Time reference to a miraculous healing
5 Fr. Bertrand lusbert	205	F	"videlicet a tempore mortalitatis prime usque ad diem obitus sui"	Time reference for how long he had observed Delphine's life
6 -	207	F	"dixit quod a prima mortalitate citra"	Time references for when he had spoken to Delphine about her virginity (roughly article 11)
7 -	-	-	"fuit infra primum annum post dictam mortalitatem"	Time reference for when Delphine made a full, general confession to him (roughly Article 30)
8 -	207-208	-	"citra tempora dicte prime mortalitatis et per aliquos annos ante dictam mortalitatem"	Time reference for when he had heard from lord Guido and others about Delphine (article 1)

Table 7.1 (continued)

9		208	F	“per aliquos annos ante mortalitatem predictam”	Time reference for when he heard and saw people talking about Delphine’s conversing and praying (roughly article 25)
10	-	216	F	“vidit ante mortalitatem primam”	Time reference for when he saw her evading worldly honor (roughly article 24)
11		225	F	“dixit p- mortalitatem primam et citra:	Time reference for Delphine’s tears and consumption of brain (article 27)
12	-	226	F	“dixit quod post primum mortalitatem,”	Time reference for article 28
13	-	-	-	“dixit quod quadam vice ante mortalitatem primam”	Time reference: when he saw and heard about the events of article 29
14	-	230	F	“videlicet ante mortalitatem primam et post”	Time reference for article 34
15	-	231	F	“sed a tempore mortalitatis prime quo fuit moratus cum dicta domina”	Time reference for article 35
16	-	232-3	F	“quod quadam die ante mortalitatem primam”	Time reference for article 37
17	-	233	F	“quod quadam vice circa magnam mortalitatem”	Time reference for article 38, esp the problems between Raymund Agoult and Hugo of Baux
18	-	234	F	“a tempore prime mortalitatis citra”	Time reference for article 38 about the dissention between the counts
19	-	235	-		Time reference for article 39
20		236	F	“dixit quod a tempore prime mortalitatis citra, quo morabatur cum ipsa domina Dalphina”	Time reference for article 41
21	Maria de Evena	281	F	“anno prime mortalitatis”	Time reference for when her husband was greatly ill and no one believed he would live (Article 1)

Table 7.1 (continued)

22		282	S	“vidit post mortem dicte domine Dalphine circa Quadragesimam, et sun elapsi duo vel tres anni aut circa” (+ footnote)	Time reference for illness of boy, Franciscus, who had fever and stomach flux (Article 1)
23	-	283	F	“ante mortalitatem primam, per unos vel duos annos”	Time reference for hearing about Delphine's virginity (roughly Article 11)
24	-	-	-	“infra annum dicte prime mortalitatis”	Time reference for when she began to notice what Delphine wore (roughly Article 21)
25	-	285	F	“ab anno sequenti proxime post mortalitatem primam usque ad diem obitus sui”	Time reference about Delphine as a faithful Catholic and how long she listened to the good words of Delphine (Article 16)
26	-	287	F	“anno sequenti proxime post primam mortalitatem usque ad tempus obitus dicte domine Dalphine”	Time reference for article 35 – about how long she had been hearing Delphine speak to groups and transform and console them
27	Aycardus Boti local official of Apt	294	F	“XIV anni elapsi”	Witness's fever
28		296	F	“XIV anni elapsi”	Niece becoming a nun
29		297	F	“sunt bene XIV anni elapsi vel circa”	Article 16
30		298	F	“bene sunt XIV anni elapsi, vel circa”	Article 35 (spoke to Bertrand Iusbert)
31		299	F	“dixit quod sunt bene XIV anni”	Article 35
32	Bertranda Bartholomea	328	F	“per unum annum ante primam mortalitatem”	Time reference for Article 26
33	-	329	F	“a tempore prime mortalitates citra pluribus et diversis vicibus usque ad obitum ipsius”	Time reference for Article 27 – about Delphine's illnesses including her tears
34	-	-	-	“a XII annis ante primam mortalitatem citra usque ad obitum dicte domine Dalphine”	Time reference for Article 28
35	-	330	F	“a XII annis ante primam mortalitatem citra”	Time reference to Article 29

Table 7.1 (continued)

36		337	F	"dixit quod post primam mortalitatem" (+footnote)	Time reference to Article 38
37	Johan de Sabran	347	S	"tempore mortalitatis prime proxime preterite"	Time reference to a girl who was ill, but not with plague (Article 1)
38	Laurence of Florence	359	S	"de anno Domine MCCCCLXI, et de mense Maii vel Iunii, de die tamen non recordatur, quo tempore vigeat magna mortalitas Aquis"	Time reference to his own illness and recovery through a vow to Delphine (Article 1)
39	Guillem Henrici	363	F	"in anno Domini MCCCXLIX"	In reference to hearing about the public fama of Delphine's virginity in Article 1
40		366	F	"in anno Domini MCCCXLIX"	In reference to hearing Delphine speak words of God in Article 1
41		370	S	"in civitate Aquensi magna mortalitate vigente"	Time reference to Laurence's illness and recovery (also calls it lo cat) (Article 1)
42	Raybaud Sancti Mitri	378	F	"cum quadam vice citra primam mortalitatem quasi per duos annos"	Time reference for seeing light in Delphine's room (Article 40)
43	Sister Cecilia Baxiana	384	F	"post mortalitatem primam, sunt bene XIV anni elapsi vel circa"	Time reference for her widowhood and her transformation recalled in her testimony to Article 35
44	Catherine de Pui	388	F	"a tribus annis ante primam mortalitatem, et possunt bene esse XVIII annis"	Time reference for her speaking to Delphine's sister about Delphine's marriage (Article 10)
45		396	F	"dixit quod sunt bene XV anni elapsi vel circa"	Time reference for Delphine in Cabrieres, (Article 26)
46	Lady Grossa Autriga	419	F	"audivit a XVI annis et citra"	Time reference for hearing about Delphine's public fama in Article 1
47		420	F	"sunt bene XV anni elapsi vel circa"	Time reference for healing of her mother, Bauda de Rellania's, healing of a continual fever – face to face with Delphine and whispered words
48	Ayclena, wife of Petrus Pellicerus	422	S	"dixit quod ex tunc usque as mortalitatem proxime preteritam"	Time reference to Article 70

Table 7.1 (continued)

49	Alasacia Messellano	432	F	“sunt bene XIV anni elapsi vel circa”	In reference to a miraculous healing after a fall
50		435	S	“subtus aurem tempore mortalitatis”	Time reference for the illness of her grand-daughter (Delphine's goddaughter) Delphina, who had fever and tumor (Article 1)
51	–	436	S	“quod tempore mortalitatis ultime et proxime preterite, de anno et mense lulii proxime nominatis”	Time reference for her own fever and tumor (which everyone who had it died); she was given extreme unction, but was speaking as if demented and not in “bona memoria” (Article 1)
52	Bartholomea Macella of Cabrieres	454	F	“sunt bene XVI anni elapsi”	In regard to Article 58
53	Raynauda Macella of Cabrieres (widow)	456	F	“XVI anni sunt elapsi”	In regard to Article 58
54	Mona Beesa	457	F	“per unum annum post mortalitatem primam; et sunt bene XIV anni elapsi, ut sibi videtur, vel circa, et de mense Septembris”	Time reference for a fever she had for six months, Article 85 (not plague)
55	Ayclena de Apta (Abbess holy cross)	481	F	“audivit a XVI annis citra”	Time reference for Article 35
56		484	F	“a XVI annis citra”	Time reference for Article 35
57		484	F	“a XV annis citra”	Time reference for Article 35
58	Sister Rixendis de Insula (nun Holy Cross Convent)	486	F	“tempore mortalitatis prime, et sunt bene XV vel XVI anni elapsi, ut sibi videtur”	Time reference for Article 27
59		488	F	“dixit quod a XVI annis citra”	Time reference for Article 35
60	–	489	F	“anno predictae mortalitate sunt bene XVI anni elapsi, ut sibi videtur”	Time reference for widows transformations in Article 35
61	Sister Maybilia Raymunda (nun Saint Katherine's)	501	F	“erunt XVI anni elapsi”	Article 60

Table 7.1 (continued)

62	Raynarda Laugeri	510	F	“dixit quod a XV annis citra”	Time reference for hearing about Delphine’s virginity (Article 1)
63		511	F	“post primam mortalitatem, et sunt XV anni elapsi vel circa”	Time reference for Francisca’s fever (Article 59)
64	–	–	–	“anno prime mortalitatis infra XV dies post festum nativitatis sancti Iohannis Baptiste, vel circa”	Time reference for her own fever (Article 67)
65	Raymond of Ansouis (priest)	516	S	“fuerunt duo anni elapsi”	Time reference for infirmity with fever and bossa (515)
66	Philippe Cabassoles (bishop)	542	F	“quod bene sunt XIV anni elapsi”	Time reference for Article 38
67	Ponce Rostagni	546	F	“sicut in articulo continentur”	Time reference for seeing light in Delphine’s room (article specifies primam mortalitatem) (Article 40)

Table 7.2: Witnesses Referring to Mortality.

	Witness	Page #	First or Second	# of Mentions	Title	Sex	Age	Information
1	Fr. Bertrand Iusberti	205-236	F	16	Franciscan Friar	M	40	Guardianus of the Friars in Apt, close associate and confessor of Countess Delphine for 15 years.
2	Noble Lady Maria de Evena	281	F	5	Noble	F	28	Noble wife of Lord Giraud de Simiana, Lord of Apt and Casaneuve
3	Bertranda Bartholomea	328-337	F	5	Maid	F	60	Delphine's maid for almost 50 years
4	Noble Lord Johan de Sabran	347	S	1	Noble	M	23	Relative of Countess Delphine by marriage
5	Master Laurence of Florence	359	S	1	Court Official	M	29	Legal Official in the Queen's court in Aix
6	Master Guillelm Henric	370	S	1	Court official	M	65	Senior legal official in the Queen's court in Aix
7	Raybaud Sancti Mitri	378	F	1	Merchant	M	50	Draper of Apt
8	Sister Cecilia Baxiana	384	F	1	Nun	F	35	Nun in the Holy Cross Convent
9	Aycelena Pelliceri	422	S	1	Merchant	F	30	Wife of local merchant Petrus Pelliceri

Table 7.2 (continued)

10	Alasacia Messellano	435-436	S	2	Merchant	F	50	Widow of Johan Messellano, draper of Apt
11	Noble Lady Raynauda Laugeri	511	F	1	Noble	F	50	Widow of Noble Lord Guillermi Laugeri of Apt
12	Mona Beesa	457	F	1		F		

Table 7.3: Witnesses not referring to mortality

	Witness	Page #	First or Second	# of Mentions	Title	Sex	Age	Information
1	Noble Lady Mona de Mauriaco	145	S	1	Noble	F	30	Noble widow of Rigonis de Mauriaco, militis, of Paternis, vicar of Malausana for Pope
2	Noble Lady Maria de Evena	282	S	1	Noble	F	28	Noble wife of Lord Giraud de Simiana, Lord of Apt and Casaneuve
3	Lord Aycardus Bot	294-299	F	5	Local Noble	M	44	Member of a powerful local family of Apt
4	Master Guillelm Henric	363-366	F	2	Legal Official	M	65	Senior legal official in the Queen's court in Aix
5	Lady Catherine de Pui	396	F	1	Local Noble	F	35	Member of a powerful local family in Bonnieux; Countess Delphine's close associate
6	Lady Grossa Autriga	419-420	F	2	Local Noble	F	28	Widow of Lord Boniface of Vaqueri
7	Alasacia Messellano	432	F	1	Merchant	F	50	Widow of Johan Messellano, draper of Apt
8	Bartholomea Macella of Cabrieres	454	F	1		F	50	Inhabitant of Cabrieres

Table 7.3 (continued)

9	Raynauda Macella of Cabrieres	456	F	1		F	28	Widow of Raymund Macelli of Cabrieres
10	Abbess Ayclena de Apt	481-484	F	3	Abbess	F	40	Abbess of the Holy Cross Convent
11	Sister Rixendis de Insula	488	F	1	Nun	F	37	Nun in the Holy Cross Convent
12	Sister Maybilia Raymunda	501	F	1	Nun	F	35	Nun in St. Catherine's Convent
13	Noble Lady Raynauda Laugeri	510	F	1	Noble Lady	F	50	Widow of Noble Lord Guillermi Laugeri of Apt
14	Father Raymund of Ansouis	516	S	1	Priest	M	28	Priest in Marseille
15	Cardinal Philippe Cabassoles	542	F	1	Cardinal	M		Bishop of Cavaillon during Countess Delphine's life

Table 7.4: Witnesses using multiple reference methods at the same time

	Witness	Page #	First or Second	# of Mentions	Title	Sex	Age	Information
1	Master Laurence of Florence	359	S	1	Court Official	M	29	Legal Official in the Queen's court in Aix
2	Sister Cecilia Baxiana	384	F	1	Nun	F	35	Nun in the Holy Cross Convent
3	Lady Catherine de Pui	388	F	1	Local Noble	F	35	Member of a powerful local family in Bonnieux; Countess Delphine's close associate
4	Mona Beesa	457	F	1	Townsperson	F	40	Townsperson in Ménerbes
5	Sister Rixendis de Insula	486-489	F	2	Nun	F	37	Nun in the Holy Cross Convent
6	Noble Lady Raynauda Laugeri	511	F	1	Noble	F	50	Widow of Noble Lord Guillermi Laugeri of Apt
7	Ponce Rostagni	546	F	1	Merchant	M	30	Merchant of Apt

Endnotes

1. Theresa MacPhail, *Viral Network: A Pathography of the H1N1 Influenza Pandemic*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); Ann Carmichael, "The Last Past Plague: The Uses of Memory in Renaissance Epidemics," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 53 (1998): 132–160.
2. Monica Green, "Editor's Introduction to Pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death," in *The Medieval Globe*, vol. 1 (2014): 9. For estimates of the impact on Provence of the first wave of the Black Death, see Ole Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346–1353: The Complete History*, (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004), 308–315.
3. Ann Carmichael, "Universal and Particular: The Language of Plague 1348–1500," in *Pestilential Complexities: Understanding Medieval Plague*, ed. Vivian Nutton (London: Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL, 2008), 19.
4. Daniel Lord Smail, "Accommodating Plague in Medieval Marseille," *Continuity and Change* 11 (1996): 11–41 and Shona Kelly Wray, "Boccaccio and the Doctors: Medicine and Compassion in the Face of Plague," *Journal of Medieval History* 30 (2004): 301–22.
5. I am using the critical edition by Jacques Cambell, OFM, *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, Comtesse d'Ariano* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1978). Page references throughout refer to Cambell's critical edition. For an initial study of the witnesses in Delphine's inquest, see Pierre-André Sigal, "Les témoins et les témoignages au procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel (1363)," *Provence Historique* 195–196 (1999): 461–71.
6. André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 33–57.
7. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 33–57.
8. For the influence of notaries in canonization inquests, see Jacques Dalarun, *La Sainte et la Cité: Micheline de Pesaro (1356) Tertiaire Franciscaine* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1992). For a broad overview, see Raimondo Michetti, ed., *Notai, Miracoli e Culto Dei Santi: Pubblicità e Autenticazione del Sacro tra XII e XV Secolo* (Milan: Dott. A Giuffrè Editore, 2004).
9. Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 88–99. There is also some evidence that authors of saints' lives might have access to the canonization inquest. The friar who wrote Delphine's life may have had access to these documents or just the summary; it is not clear. Jacques Cambell, *Vies Occitanes des Saint Auzias et de Sainte Dauphine* (Rome: Bibliotheca Pontificia Athenaei Antoniani, 1963).
10. Nicole Archambeau, "His Whole Heart Changed: Political Uses of Mercenary's Emotional Transformation," in *Politiques des émotions du Moyen Âge*, eds. Damien Boquet and Piroška Nagy (Florence: Sismel, Edizione del Galluzzo, 2010), 69–90.

11. Laura Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer, 1453–1454," *Speculum* 72 (1998): 429–54; Michael Goodich, "Mirabilis Deus in Sanctis Suis: Social History and Medieval Miracles," in *Sign, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. Kate and Jeremy Gregory Cooper (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 135–56, 143–44.

12. Nicole Archambeau, "Healing Options during the Plague: Survivor Stories from a Fourteenth-Century Canonization Inquest," *The Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 85 (2011): 531–59.

13. Michael McVaugh *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon 1285–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 78–87; Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries," *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* 12 (1999): 191–225; Iona McCleery, "Multos ex Medicinae Arte Curaverat, Multos Verbo et Oratione: Curing in Medieval Portuguese Saints' Lives," *Studies in Church History* 41 (2006): 192–202.

14. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 4.

15. Smoller, "Miracle, Memory, and Meaning," 429–54.

16. This study is forthcoming in a book-length project.

17. All four tables appear in an appendix in the digital version of this publication.

18. For example, Sister Rixendis de Insula states "a tempore mortalitatis prime, et sunt bene XV vel XVI anni elapsi." Cambell, *Enquête*, 486.

19. See Table 1 for the different phrases witnesses used.

20. There are no representatives in this list from the very poor—laborers, artisans, or farm workers—that appear in other canonization inquests. We don't know exactly why, but the two likeliest reasons are, first, the fact that Delphine had only been dead for two and a half years. There had been no time for the slow process of building a local cult at her tomb. Second, the impact of several mercenary invasions made it difficult to travel, especially for the poor.

21. This did not happen with witnesses speaking about the epidemic in 1361. They did not use the second wave of plague as a time marker for earlier or later events, nor did they use it to mark a span of time.

22. Cambell, *Enquête*, 298.

23. Names in red did not refer to a first or second mortality even though they spoke about events that took place at the time of one of the mortalities.