To what extent was Milan affected by the Black Death from 1348-1350?

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#### Introduction

The Black Death was the largest pandemic Europe had ever seen, and percentage wise it has not yet been matched, not even by the Spanish flu. Even though Europe was familiar with plagues, they still hit hard, with this one being devastating, with the population halving, from 150 million to about 70-75 million Europeans<sup>2</sup>. While the death toll in Europe were 50% of the population, not all villages, towns, regions or countries were affected the same, some places such as Avignon were decimated. By March of 1348, over 11,000 of the 15,000 inhabitants had to be buried.<sup>3</sup> While others were not affected nearly as much, Milan is an example of this; the city seemingly only had a death rate of 15%.<sup>4</sup> It is also interesting that Milan was not governed like many of the other contemporary Italian city-states, instead of being an oligarchic republic like Florence, it was more of an despotic monarchy, with the ruling family, The Visconti, having absolute power over the city. They, seemingly, did not care much for the Black Death. For their politics and intrigues did not change during that period. This made me interested in Milan during the Black Death; for a city which was ruled by indifferent despotic rulers and survives the Black Death with ease is something I think is interesting. Thus with this in mind, my research question is: To what extent was Milan affected by the Black Death from 1348 to 1353?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Census Bureau. "International Programs, World Population" Historical Estimates of World Population – U.S Census Bureau. June 27, 2011. Accessed May 23, 2019.

http://web.archive.org/web/20120709092946/https://www.census.gov/population/international/data/worldpop/tablehistory.php.

With the population of 1920 and 50 million deaths, the Spanish flu only killed ~2.69% of the global population

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dorsey Armstrong, *The Black Death: The Worlds Most Devastating Plague* (Chantilly, Virginia: The Great Courses, 2016), 83

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid. 49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid, 165

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## The Black Death arrives in Italy

The exact origin of the Black Death is disputed, with Ole J. Benedictow having the entirety of chapter five dedicated to this discussion in his book: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History. The origin of the Black Death is not relevant for this essay; and will therefore not be discussed, but what is relevant is how it spread to Italy. The Italians had trading stations on the Crimean peninsula, most notably was the ones in Kaffa (modern-day Feodosiya) and Tana (modern-day Azov): "The Italians were driven out of Tana in 1343, and were besieged in their fortified town of Kaffa in the same year and again in the years 1345-6. It was, indeed, during the second siege of Kaffa that the plague broke out in the Mongol Army and in some manner was passed on to the besieged Italians." With the spread of the plague to themselves and the threat of the Mongol Army, some of the Italian fled with their galleys and spread it to the rest of the Mediterranean. <sup>6</sup> Benedictow illustrates the spread of the Black Death into the Mediterranean well with the map shown in Appendix 7. In this map, we see the spread clearly, from when and where the Black Death came from. In 1347, the Plague reached Sicily, the southern tip of Italy, Pisa, and Genoa (See Appendix 7). The arrival in Genoa is essential because it was from here the plague spread to Milan sometime in 1348. The city, which was ruled with an iron fist by the Visconti family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ole J. Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 49

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cesana, D., O.j. Benedictow, and R. Bianucci. "The Origin and Early Spread of the Black Death in Italy: First Evidence of Plague Victims from 14th-century Liguria (northern Italy)." *Anthropological Science* 125, no. 1 (2017): 15-24. Accessed May 25, 2019. doi:10.1537/ase.161011.

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#### The Visconti and their rule

The Visconti family was a powerful family that ruled Milan from 1277 until 1447<sup>7</sup>. They were a confident family, they answered to no others than themselves. Bernabò Visconti is an excellent example of their confidence and arrogance, he was the ruler of Milan from 1354-1385, and is quoted to saying that "Not the emperor (Holy Roman Emperor), not even God can do anything in my territory, if I do not want it." Before Bernabò, his uncles Luchino and Giovanni Visconti ruled Milan. They acquired Milan after the death of their other nephew, Azzo Visconti<sup>9</sup>, as he had no suitable heirs. However, their succession is complicated; as the death of Azzo Visconti happened close to the death of the Archbishop of Milan. This has led to disagreement between the sources. Ciucciovino<sup>11</sup> and Britannica<sup>12</sup> claim that the brothers were elected to Lords right after his death. While *Storia di Milano*, says that Giovanni was only able to take possession of the Archbishopric of Milan after the death of the former Archbishop and has no mention of Azzo's death and how it affects the succession. <sup>13</sup> *Storia* also claims that they were only able to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v. "Visconti Family." July 20, 1998, Accessed 25.05.2019 https://www.britannica.com/topic/Visconti-family

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gottschalk, Gesa. 2015. "DIE HERRLICHKEIT." *Geo Epoche - Die Pest*, 140, 2015. Original quote "Nicht der Kaiser, nicht einmal Gott kann irgendetwas in meinem Territorium tun, wenn ich es nicht will."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v. "Visconti Family." July 20, 1998, Accessed 25.05.2019 <a href="https://www.britannica.com/topic/Visconti-family">https://www.britannica.com/topic/Visconti-family</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Carlo Ciucciovino, 2011 *La Cronaca Del Trecento Italiano. Giorno per Giorno l'Italia Di Petrarca, Boccaccio e Cola di Rienzo Sullo Sfondo Della Morte Nera*, Vol. II. III vols. Roma:UniversItalia, 674

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, s.v. "Visconti Family." July 20, 1998, Accessed 25.05.2019 <a href="https://www.britannica.com/topic/Visconti-family">https://www.britannica.com/topic/Visconti-family</a>

<sup>&</sup>quot;A crisis created by Azzo's death without heirs in 1339 was solved with the election fo his Uncles Luchino (1292-1340) and giovanni (1290-1354), young sons of Matteo I, as joint lords"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tolfo, Maria Grazia, and Paolo Colussi. 2003. "I Visconti." Storia Di Milano . March 9, 2003. Accessed May 26, 2019, <a href="http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Giovanni">http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Giovanni</a>

get the title of Lord after payment of 500,000 florins to the papacy. <sup>14</sup> There are also other factors of the succession and rule that makes this complicated, such as the heresy charges <sup>15</sup> and the fact the governance of the city was left mostly to Luchino. <sup>16</sup> Although these factors are not directly relevant to the topic discussed, it is important in regards to the use of sources. For the sources used might be lacking in ways not known, or there could be sources debunking what I have used. In this case, the simple disagreement of how the succession of the Visconti brothers happened shows that there are more than one "story" of what happened. It also shows the problem of exploring niche historical events such as the Black Death in Milan.

Even though the brothers inherited the rule over Milan from their nephew, it did not mean that they had no experience of governance, both had been Lords of other smaller cities, and Giovanni was a notable bishop and Archbishop. Luchino had been lord of Pavia since 1315.<sup>17</sup> In his lifetime, Luchino would build many castles and oversee their construction, such as the one in Pavia<sup>18</sup> and the one in Locarno.<sup>19</sup> Luchino was a man of war and conquest; he had been involved with military affairs since childhood<sup>20</sup>. He was also an excellent tactician and strategist, such as in the conquest of Locarno, where he utilised the river Po to conquer the city through a naval invasion and land invasion.<sup>21</sup> After the conquest of Locarno, Luchino utilised the ships used in

<sup>14</sup> Tolfo, Maria Grazia, and Paolo Colussi. 2003. "I Visconti." Storia Di Milano . March 9, 2003. Accessed May 26, 2019, http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Giovanni

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 674

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tolfo, Maria Grazia, and Paolo Colussi. 2003. "I Visconti." Storia Di Milano . March 9, 2003. Accessed May 26, 2019, <a href="http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Luchino">http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Luchino</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 674

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid, 754

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid, 674

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid, 754

the invasion for trade. He showed that he was able to adapt; he seemingly did not like the status quo and would do anything to change it to his advantage. Not only was Luchino an excellent strategist and tactician, but he was also a good fighter. In the Battle of Parabiago, his horse was killed, his helmet broken, and himself injured, but he still "fought like a lion" until he was captured. This shows that he was a man of honour that would fight for his cause to the bitter end, even if it seemed not to be beneficial for him. He was freed by the Knights of Savoy<sup>24</sup>, and the conflict with his relative would eventually go in his favour. For it is said that Luchino always earned, when he went to war, whether it be land or gold, and that never lost any land he conquered. Luchino showed that he could take the hard and right decisions under pressure, which would help him when dealing with the Black Death later in life. He is therefore, on all accounts, perfectly fit to become Lord of such a big city as Milan.

Giovanni is also fit to become Lord, even though he did not have the same militarily expertise as Luchino, he had instead been raised for an ecclesiastical career.<sup>26</sup> There are some accounts of a Giovanni Visconti<sup>27</sup> being a commander of armies however it is likely that it is Luchino Visconti's nephew, *Giovanni Visconti d'Oleggio*. d'Oleggio is usually mentioned with his full name, but there are some instances where he is not, therefore since there is two Giovanni

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 754

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid, 657, Original quote "Nella battaglia di Parabiago egli si è come un leone, ma il suo elmo viene rotto, il suo destriero ucciso dalle lance degli Svizzeri, ed egli, caduto a terra, con un flusso di sangue che glesce dal naso, è catturato e legato (...)"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid, 657,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Azario in Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 675. Original quote "(...) Teneva a stipendio in permanenza cavalieri eccellenti e si dice che sempre guadagnava quando andava in guerra. (...) Non perse mai ciò che aveva acquisito o conquistato. (...)"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Tolfo, Maria Grazia, and Paolo Colussi. 2003. "I Visconti." Storia Di Milano . March 9, 2003. Accessed May 27, 2019, http://www.storiadimilano.it/Personaggi/Visconti/visconti.htm#Giovanni

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 773

Visconti's this essay will be based upon the assumption that Archbishop Giovanni Visconti was not involved in any military actions. As instead Giovanni would be, and had been involved with the church his whole life; his first significant role was as the Bishop of Novara, which he became in 1329.<sup>28</sup> He was involved with both the Pope and the Anti-Pope; thus, he became a known figure at the time, which he would become more of when he assumed the title of Lord of Milan.

With this, we see that Luchino and Giovanni were qualified to be rulers of Milan. While both had the title of Lord, Giovanni left the actual practice of lordship to Luchino. With this, they had both become more powerful than they ever had been. One would expect that Luchino, with all his military involvement and fighting, that he would become a mad man or a legendary conqueror. It would not be shocking if a man of his stature would keep on with his aggressive behaviour, and perhaps would take it out on his population, but he did not. Luchino had a personality change, so much so that Azario writes: "He sought to exercise his virtues and to favour the good ones and do well, so much so that he surpassed all his brothers in governing." He showed that he wanted the best for Milan, and did what he could to make it better. So much, so that Azario states that his rule changed the face of the city: "He (Luchino) restored the state of Milan to such a point that Milan did not look like a city, but a province." A homage to the legendary quote of Caesar Augustus: "I found Rome a city of bricks and left it a city of marble".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 674

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 674, Original quote " Giovanni, pur conservando il titolo di signore, lascia la pratica effettiva della signoria di Milano a Luchino."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Azario in Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 675, Original quote "si adoperò di esercitare le proprie virtù e di favorire i buoni e il bene, tanto che superò tutti i suoi fratelli nel governare."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Azario in Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 675, Original quote "Restaurò lo stato di Milano a un punto tale che Milano non pareva una città, ma una provincial"

Thus, their rule was not unwelcomed, and it would shape the politics in the region for the next decade, even after their respective deaths.

#### The Black Death in Milan and Northern Italy

The Black Death arrived in Northern Italy in 1347, and through the port of Genoa it spread to the rest of Northern Italy. The Plague was present in the region from 1347 to 1350, but it was the most devastating in the years 1348-49<sup>32</sup>. The Plague reached Milan sometime in 1348 (See appendix 7). Although, it is hard to asses exactly how many died in the city. There is simply a lack of sources on the matter. In personal correspondence (See appendix 2) Professor Benedictow claims that there are no sources that calculate or allows us to calculate the death rate in Milan. However, he also states that in the second edition of his book *The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History* that there would be more information on Milan and the Black Death. At the time of writing, the second edition has yet to be released.

As the exact number of deaths in the city is unknown, sources vary significantly about the claims they make about the Black Death in Milan. When news of the plague arrived, Luchino and Giovanni Visconti quickly acted and put in place countermeasures. One of the countermeasures were seal of the city.<sup>33</sup> Regardless of this, three houses managed to become infected by the plague<sup>34</sup>. Since there was so few houses infected, it was easy to deal with. Luchino Visconti had a simple solution to save the city from the plague; he walled up the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Benedictow, *The Black Death*, 91

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Armstrong, *The Black Death*, 164

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Lacometti, *Cronache Senesi*, (Forgotten Books, Classic Reprint), 553, <a href="https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/books/CronacheSenesi\_10633478">https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/books/CronacheSenesi\_10633478</a>,

infected houses.<sup>35</sup> Unable to leave, all of the inhabitants to die, whether infected or not. If this was the only case of plague in the city, it would be a fantastic feat of pre-modern medicine disease containment. With only three out of 20,000 households being infected<sup>36</sup>, it means that Milan would have an increased death rate of only 0.015%, compared to Florence's of 50%.<sup>37</sup> This, however, seems implausible, with the current worldwide death rate every month being 0.061%<sup>38</sup> while the 0.015% would be for the whole duration of the Black Death in Northern Italy, from 1347-50. It can be argued that the 0.061% death rate contains the total amount of deaths for the month, and not from one single disease, but it is only a figure to show how ridiculous the claim of only three households seems to be.

Another account of the deaths that were in Milan is the claim that there was a 15% death rate.<sup>39</sup> However, there is not much backing up this claim. The claim is only mentioned in Armstrong's book *The Black Death: The Worlds Most Devastating Plague*, and she cites no specific sources for the claim. The three blockaded houses claim might be more farfetched, but there's at least is several sources that back the claim up, such as Lisini and Lacometti in *Cronache Senesi*, where on page 553 they claim that there were three houses/families that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Gottschalk, Geo Epoche, 139

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid, 139

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Armstrong, The Black Death, 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "Birth & Death Rates." n.d. Ecology Global Network. Accessed May 27, 2019. <a href="https://www.ecology.com/birth-death-rates/">https://www.ecology.com/birth-death-rates/</a>. Based on the assumptions that there are 151 600 deaths every day, that there is 7.7 billion people in the world, and that a month is 31 days long.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Armstrong, *The Black Death*, 165

became infected, but those were walled up, so no-one ever entered<sup>40</sup>. Armstrong even refers to the three houses being walled up herself<sup>41</sup>, making the whole situation confusing.

Therefore, even though Benedictow stated that there was no data that allows us to calculate the death rate in Milan, there are the mentioned sources that try to explain it. This is not to say that all of them are wrong, or that all of them are correct, but it is likely that there is a mix of the three. The three houses that became walled up are mentioned in many sources, and it probably did happen. Luchino was a pragmatic person, he did what was needed to be done, even if it was not as ethical by today's standards.. The claim of a 15% death rate, however, is more challenging to justify. From my sources, it is only Armstrong that claims that amount, and she gives no proof. It is not to say that she is wrong, because a 15% death rate is more believable than a 0.015% death rate, but there might be something lost in translation, because there might have been thirty or three hundred, houses that became infected and that they became walled up or there might have been three. Whatever the death rate was, it seemed not to matter, as the Visconti kept going with the same politics at the same pace.

#### Politics in Milan, before and after

After an event such as the Black Death, one would expect the politics and behaviour of the leaders of cities to be chaotic, inefficient, and to some degree be a little anarchic, but not for Milan. There was seemingly no consequences of the Black Death for Milan. At the beginning of 1348, Luchino Visconti, and thus Milan, was embroiled in conflict against Savoy<sup>42</sup>. The armed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Original quote in Italian "A Milano morì poca genti, inperochè morì 3 fameglie, le quali le case loro furo murate l'uscia e le finestre, che nissuno v'entrasse" translated through Google translate to "In Milan few people died, so 3 families died, whose houses walled up the door and windows, which no one ever entered."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Armstrong, The Black Death, 164

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 1089

conflict against Savoy is short-lived and is over around the corner of spring. When peace is discussed Savoy has to sign two truces, one with Luchino's Milan, and another with the city of Montferrat, After the respective treaties, Luchino is suspicious of the ruler of Montferrat, Marquis Giovanni. The Marquis of Montferrat has grown too powerful in his eyes. When the Marquis is in Milan he realises that Luchino "does not look at him more than he does" 43, Luchino allegedly also tells the Marquis "a few words too many"<sup>44</sup>. After the hostilities, the Marquis decides to flee in fear of Luchino and his scheming. Luchino, in turn, uses this as a reason to occupy Verruca, to "offend" 45 the Marquis. This is an example of Luchino's action during a "normal" year; he is embroiled in conflict and is not afraid to start new ones for his gain. He utilises his intellect and his army to get what he wants. It also shows how he seemingly ignored the Black Death. It might not have been in Milan yet, as all sources only mention 1348 as the year of the plague in the city, but not what month or season of the year. Even if the Black Death had not happened by the time of the Savoyan conflict, his expedition against Genoa happened after the plague had hit Milan. In December of 1348, when the plague had most likely already happened, he had an "expedition" against Genoa. He sends his son with an army to help exiled family members of his wife, the Fieschi<sup>46</sup>. The exact reason for this attack is not stated, but the Visconti family and the Genoese ruling family did not have a history of cooperation, so it was probably just a good time for an attack. As usual, Luchino manages to pick his fights well and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 1089, original quote " non lo guarda più di buon'occhio"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 1089, original quote "Visconti pronuncia qualche parola di troppo e le sue frasi, riferite a Giovanni di Monferrato, lo impauriscono."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 1090, original quote " occupando Verrua sulla destra del Po, luogo «adattissimo per offendere il Monferrato e che il Visconti dichiara di tenere dal vescovo di Vercelli»

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid 1134-1135

conquers the two towns of Gavi and Voltaggio<sup>47</sup>. For him, the plague seems to be a minor nuisance, as he is never mentioned to care for it. That in its own right might be proof enough. For the lack of mentions that the inhabitants of Milan was not infected in a meaningful quantity. For if Milan were to be hit especially hard, contemporary writes would have written about it, but there are no records of large amounts of deaths in Milan. If Milan was hit hard, Luchino probably would not have gone on the offensive against other cities. The attack on Genoa is further proof of the fact that Milan was not only able to sustain itself after a near catastrophe, but also able to support expansion. Thus they probably avoided catastrophe all together.

Another way to see that the Black Death did not affect Milan much is in the death of Luchino in early 1349. How he dies is disputed, one claim is that his wife Isabella poisoned him<sup>48</sup>; another claim is that he died from a slow disease. <sup>49</sup> The potential murder of Luchino is a good testament to how the family cared about the Black Death, and how it influenced them; it didn't. They were seemingly more interested in the matters of their family, and the other major families in Italy. The reasons for his alleged assassination is not clear either, even though Luchino could be a jealous and cruel man<sup>50</sup>, but it did not mean he lacked compassion. Before he became lord of Milan, he was a more typical medieval tyrant, he was frequently dubious companies, and was devoted to nightlife. <sup>51</sup> However, after he became Lord of Milan, he changed, as stated earlier. He cared for his city, especially his children<sup>52</sup> and was good at governing. Even

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid, 1134-1135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Hayes, Carlton Huntley. 1911. "Visconti." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 1139

<sup>50</sup> Hayes, "Visconti", 128

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ciuccioviono, La Cronaca, 675

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ibid. Original quote "(...) Non perse mai ciò che aveva acquisito o conquistato. Amò solo i propri figli e poco si curò degli altri parenti. (...)"

though he was good at governing, it did not mean that he had no enemies, but that his wife was an "enemy" is genuinely shocking.

Whatever the cause of death was, it meant that many doors opened for the rest of the family. One example of a door that opened is that Archbishop Giovanni Visconti now had to take the rule of Milan in his own hands, even if he had not had a direct interest in the government<sup>53</sup>. With Luchino out of the picture, Giovanni could bring back some of the family that Luchino had exiled, such as his nephews Bernabò and Galeazzo Visconti. Another example is the cessation of hostilities between Milan and the rest of Northern Italy, Giovanni "extinguishes the fires" between Milan, Genoa, Montferrat and Savoy<sup>54</sup>. In an unexpected turn of events, Giovanni Visconti, and thus Milan, had become the guarantor of peace in Lombardy<sup>55</sup>, instead of the instigator. This showed that while Giovanni did not despise warfare, if so he would probably have stopped Luchino or at least tried to sometime in the decade they ruled together, but that warfare was not something he wanted.

#### Conclusion

When the Black Death hit Europe, things changed. The Plague changed the face of Europe; it was a catalyst for ending of feudalism<sup>56</sup> and of course, lots of death. This single disease would kill more people from the period 1346-1353 than any war for the next centuries,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ciucciovino, La Cronaca, 1139

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 1141, Original quote "*Dopo* di ché, da buon uomo di Chiesa, Giovanni Visconti provvede ad estinguere gli incendi che Luchino ha suscitati: Genova, Gonzaga, Monferrato e Savoia. (...)"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Rossini in Ciucciovino, *La Cronaca*, 1141, Original quote "Giovanni Visconti diventa di colpo il garante della pace in Lombardia."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> James, Tom. 2011. "Black Death: The Lasting Impact." *BBC - History*, July 2, 2011. https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/middle\_ages/black\_impact\_01.shtml.

possibly ever would.<sup>57 58</sup> However, not all is bad in Europe, one gleaming mirror of hope still shines; Milan. The draconian Viscontis might have ruled the city, but it was not struck hard by the Black Death. For the Lord in power during the plague in the city was Luchino Visconti, a pragmatic and adaptable man, who used simple countermeasures such as quarantining the city, and blockading the houses of the sick, so they died without infecting anybody else. Without any cure or medicines, it was by far the cheapest and easiest way of dealing with the plague.

Even though the countermeasures were used, there seems to have been some deaths in the city. Armstrong claims that Milan suffered a 15% death toll which is not unreasonable to expect. But while a 15% death rate would have been devastating to a modern city, compared to contemporary cities they fared reasonably well. As a cause of the lack of death in the city, the Viscontis were not hampered severely by the plague. From all my research, it seems that during the Black Death, none of the Viscontis regarded plague. The Visconti seemingly cared more for their schemes and how they could gain more power.

Geo Epoche has a great quote describing the Visconti during the plague: "Intrigues, scheming games, political murders: This is how the ruling house of Milan spend those years, in which the pest depopulated Europe and wide regions became victims to the Black Death". <sup>59</sup> A fitting description of the extent that the Black Death affected Milan: very little.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> BBC - Health. 2001. "De-Coding the Black Death," October 3, 2001. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/health/1576875.stm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> White, Matthew. 2011. "Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Primary Megadeaths of the Twentieth Century." Twentieth Century Atlas - Death Tolls. February 2011. http://necrometrics.com/20c5m.htm#Second.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Gottschalk, Geo Epoche, 139, Original Quote "Intrigen, Ränkespiele, politische Morde: So verbringt Mailands Herrscherhaus jene Jahre, in denen die Pest Europa entvölkert, weite Regionen dem Schwarzen Tod zum Opfer fallen."

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## **Appendix**

Email correspondence with Professor Benedictow

(All translation done from Norwegian to English performed by author)

## Appendix 1

From: --Author-- <--Author email-->

**Sent:** 18 April 2019 15:33 **To:** Ole Jørgen Benedictow

Subject: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

Hi, I am a High School student that is going to write an essay about the Black Death. In my search for sources I have found many that cites your book: : «The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History», but since I can not find it online I was wondering if I could ask you some questions about it?

I am mainly wondering about how the Black Death affected North-Italy, namely Milan and how to government (of the city) affected to spread and how many that died in the city.

Hope you take the time to answer!

With best regards

- --Author--
- --Author's school---

From: Ole Jørgen Benedictow <o.j.benedictow@iakh.uio.no>

Sent: Friday, April 19, 2019 2:00:02 PM

To: --Author--

Subject: Re: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

God –Author--,

I am too sitting in these eastern-days and writing the second edition of my book about the Black Death for the publishers deadline and do not have the opportunity to give you a detailed explanation. The book can be loaned normally at the National-Library. There will be more information about the Black Death in Northern-Italy and Milano in the second edition. You do not give a reason as of why you are especially interested in Northern-Italy, and when it comes down to it, it seems you are only interested in Milano. This may indicate that there is something unsaid about the background and motive. For For Milan, a view has been launched that the city was not invaded by the Black Death or just so far, which is not based on a comprehensive assessment of the sources. The contemporary chronicler of Milan Peter Azarius (Liber gestorum in Lombardia, a precipus per cunctos Domins Mediolani) is aware that the city was ravaged by the Black Death. As he explicitly wrote for the city's own upper class, it would be strange that he wrote something that would immediately be rejected by anyone as false and misleading. Another contemporary chronicler Johannes de Bazano from Modena writes that Milan was also ravaged by the Black Death

There are no sources that allow the calculation of the mortality caused by the Black Death in Milan. Good sources have been preserved for other Italian cities and areas. They are all carefully and source-based explained in the book and I enclose a Word copy of the chapter on mortality in the Black Death in Italy.

WBR, Ole Jørgen Benedictow

From: --Author-- <--Author email-->

**Sent:** 19 April 2019 14:52 **To:** Ole Jørgen Benedictow

Subject: SV: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

Hi, Professor Benedictow,

I am grateful for the reply and the document you sent me regarding it, if I should quote from it, how should I do it? Which book is it from, the new or the old?

I am interested in Milan and Northern Italy because I write a school paper on exactly this, what I was most looking for was if the Visconti family did anything to curb The Black Death.

I have found several sources that say the city was "closed" or that the houses that were ill were walled in, but the sources I have found only cite sources that I cannot obtain, such as the one by Peter Azarius.

The closest I have come to the houses is a quote in a source in "La cronaca del Trecento Italiano" by Carlo Ciucciovino, which states:

88 A Pisa muoiono 25,000 persons in meno di 3 mesi, Istorie Pistolesi<sup>2</sup>, p. 236. Monumenta Pisana, col. 1020-1021 this epidemic lasted from February to September and in 70% of the population. Precisely, we check the cost of mortgages in 90% of the population. «A Melano we are not three famiglie, all cases of furono murati li usci e le finestre. Ma fu per tutta la Lombardia ».

Translated with Google translate it will be:

«88 In Pisa 25,000 people died in less than 3 months, Istorie Pistolesi², p. 236. Monumenta Pisana, col. 1020-1021 says the epidemic lasts from mid-February to September and deaths are 70% of the population. He also points out that there are those who claim that 90% of the population has died. "At Melano he died only three families, the houses of those were walled up and the windows came out. But it was for all of Lombardy."

But the sources, Istorie Pistolesi<sup>2</sup> and Monumenta Pisana, are impossible to find.

Therefore, I wonder if you have any (spirit / own) sources that can confirm that these events happened?

Hope you take the time to reply to this email and! If you do not have an answer, or if there is too much work, you will be fine!

Good luck with your work, so I hope you reach your deadline.

WBR -Author--

From: Ole Jørgen Benedictow < o.j.benedictow@iakh.uio.no >

**Sent:** Monday, April 22, 2019 1:28:48 PM

To: --Author--

Subject: Re: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

Good - Author --

Things sometimes go too fast for me. You asked several questions that I didn't answer.

How to quote? You must accumulate an alphabetical bibliography or bibliography of the books and articles that you refer to in the footnotes and which are placed at the end of your work.

Monumenta Pisana is an overall title for Cronica di Pisa which is also printed in Rerum italicarum scriptores. You have the reference

Cronica di Pisana (Auctore Anonymo). 1729. In: Rerum italicarum scriptores. ToMuse / Bd. XV: 974-1088. You write as footnote Cronica di Pisana 1729: 1021. You can include the reference in the bibliography as follows:

Cronica di Pisa (Auctore Anonymo). 1729. In: Rerum italicarum scriptores (etc.), L.A. Muratori (ed.). Bd XV. Milan: Mediolanensis Palatini Socii: 974-1088.

For my book, which is still the first edition, the footnote reference to Benedictow 2004: 00, in your bibliography is listed

Benedictow, O.J. 2004/2006. The Black Death, 1346-1353. The Complete History. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Chronicles are problematic sources, what are they based on? Is the mortality rate impressive or is it based on some form of registration? Are there any clues as to the source basis, unless the mortality claim is hardly applicable, etc. There are, by the way, a number of highly varying claims about when the Black Death broke out in Pisa. There are also demographic calculations of Pisa's population size in the time before the Black Death, etc. WBR, Ole Jørgen Benedictow

From: --Author-- <--Author email-->

**Sent:** 23 May 2019 18:05 **To:** Ole Jørgen Benedictow

Subject: SV: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

Hi, it's me again!

I hope your writing goes well with the new edition of your book.

For me it goes well, I was just wondering if I could use some of the things you wrote in these emails in my paper? I mainly think your quote:

"There are no sources that allow the mortality rate caused by the Black Death in Milan. Good sources for other Italian cities and areas have been preserved."?

Of course, I'll quote it to you, if I'm allowed.

Otherwise, I just want to say thank you for the information you provided me in these emails and your book! You've helped me more than you think.

WBR, --Author--

## Appendix 6

From: Ole Jørgen Benedictow <o.j.benedictow@iakh.uio.no>

**Sent:** torsdag 23. mai 2019 21.47

To: --Author--

Subject: Re: The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History

Hi, It is fine to use emails as references, it is common to write in the footnote Personal communication from N.N. in email of xx.xxx19, or equivalent. Emails are legitimate documents, so you must keep emails that you use for references. So please feel free to refer to the email from me.

WBR, Ole Jørgen Benedictow

