

APPENDIX I

LETTER OF BROTHER ANTOINE OF THE ORDER OF THE HERMITS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

(From the "Dissertation upon John First, King of France and Navarre." By M. Monmarqué, Paris, 1845.

M. Monmarqué, in a prefatory note, after certifying that these documents which were found in the Cabinet des Chartes, and subsequently included in the Bibliothèque de Roi, have been compared with scrupulous care with the originals in the libraries of Italy, points out the peculiar arrangement of Brother Antoine's letter to Rienzi. Antoine begins the epistle, then embodies in it the statement of Brother Jordan, his superior, which includes the testament of the Lady Marie de Picard, or rather her declarations made upon her dying bed. Then Brother Antoine resumes his narrative, and the document is finished by Nicholas de Rienzi, who certifies to the exactitude of the copy delivered by him to Guccio.)

To Nicholas Di Rienzi, Tribune of the Roman People. Followed by Two Letters of Rienzi, Addressed to Giannino of Siena.

Brother Antoine begins:

At Porto-Venere, August 25, 1354. Having long known your great renown and the excellent fame which you enjoy, and having just learned of the latest favor which God has accorded you in calling you to the government of Rome, an honor due mainly to your wisdom and merit, I have resolved to reveal to

you a secret which I have long kept. Now that it hath pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to raise you to the honor of the command of the Romans, it appears to me that it is right to inform you, before any other, of the great miracle which Jesus Christ is about to manifest to the world, in causing the discovery of one hidden for long years, who is still deprived of the insignia of his royal dignity, and to whom, nevertheless, it has been reserved to restore to Christendom universal peace, and to reconquer the Holy Land of Jerusalem. It will be easier for you than for any other, as it appears to me, to discover the prince whom we seek. I write you upon this subject, and would gladly wait upon you, were it not for the heavy sickness with which it hath pleased God that I should be attacked, and under which I am near succumbing. Be pleased to excuse me, and graciously receive my request that you will listen patiently to the statement of the purpose of my mission, which I should have personally executed had not my illness prevented me. I adjure you in the name of God that as soon as the object of my embassy shall be known to you, you will put in execution the commission contained in the following letter, which I have taken pains to have translated from the vulgar tongue of the French into the Tuscan language; and if you shall succeed in accomplishing what is asked of you, I have this confidence in God that you will never have performed an act more pleasing to our Lord, more useful to the world, and to the benefit, honor, and maintenance of your own sovereignty. Behold the purpose of my mission.

*The Statement of Brother Jordan, a Hermit
of the Order of St. Augustine.*

There was in the kingdom of France, not far from Paris, in the castle of Crécy (Carsi), a noble young woman named Marie. She was the daughter of the Chevalier Picard, and the name of her mother was Eliabel. The Lady Marie, who had early lost her father, clandestinely married, without informing her mother and her brothers, Guccio di Mino, a young Tuscan who was living in the vicinity of Crécy, in a castle known as Neauphle-le-Vieux. Guccio represented Spinello Tolomei, his kinsman. Having come to Crécy in order to enjoy the recreation of the chase with the brothers of the Lady Marie, Guccio remained several days at their château, and as he was of a rare personal beauty, the Lady Marie became captivated with him, and having caused him to be secretly conducted to her chamber by one of the servants, she took him for her husband without a word told to any. Guccio pledged her his faith, promised her the most profound secrecy, and they lived together in such manner that the Lady Marie became *enceinte*. No sooner had her brothers become cognizant of this, than they compelled their sister to give a full account of what had occurred. Terrified by them, the Lady Marie told how the thing had happened. Filled with indignation, the brothers of the Lady Marie, as became gentlemen, sent a challenge to Guccio, and notified him to quit France without delay, threatening him with death if he disobeyed their command. They were maddened by the thought that their sister should have become the spouse of

a simple citizen of Tuscany. Apprised of all this, Guccio, disguised as a pilgrim, came to Crécy, and having made himself known to a female servant, was introduced to the chamber of the Lady Marie. Here he was concealed for some days, and on leaving he said to his young wife: "I am returning to my own land. I shall remain there some time, but I shall come back to thee." He begged her to have the child which she should bring into the world secretly put out to nurse, but urged her to keep a watchful eye upon the child, adding that he himself would act in such a way that she and her brothers should have no reason to blush for the alliance with him. Departing then, he returned to his own country, where he dwelt for a long season.

Meantime the brothers of the Lady Marie, in order to protect their honor and to avoid the publicity of the affair, conveyed their sister to a monastery near Paris, of which the abbess was one of their near relatives. To her they recounted what had happened, begging her to hide their sister in the convent till after her confinement, and then to dispose, as she might deem best, of the child of the Lady Marie, whether it should prove a boy or a girl. They took this method because they were upon the point of giving their sister in marriage to a gentleman of their own neighborhood.

Whilst the Lady Marie was in this monastery it pleased God that she should give birth to a son, to whom she gave the name of *Giannino*.

The abbess sent the infant to a nurse in the vicinity of Crécy, named Amalech, giving out that the child was one of her nephews. Fate

decreed that the nurse had hardly left the monastery when the Queen of France brought forth a male infant, whose birth caused the greatest rejoicing in Paris. In accord with the custom, the princes of the royal house and the lords specially charged with watching over the king started inquiries for some noble ladies who could act as wet-nurses to the royal child, and the result of their search was, that information reached them that in a monastery, which was indicated, a noble lady, young and beautiful, had recently given birth to a babe. The Lady Marie was not able to tell me how this fact became known to the court. Then the gentlemen of the royal guard, accompanied by the physicians, as was the usage, came to the monastery. The abbess declared that the person whom they were seeking was not in the convent, but as they had been positively assured that a lady but lately delivered of a child was in that house, they searched everywhere, and having found the Lady Marie, they compelled the abbess upon oath to declare whether this young lady fulfilled the requirements. The abbess, who was aware that the truth would finally come out, told them, weeping, the condition and circumstances of the Lady Marie, pleading with them to leave her in the convent, and fix their choice upon some other person, because such an exposure could not but occasion prejudice against both the Lady Marie and the monastery. Forced by the necessities of the royal infant, the lords, after having consulted the physicians, decided that the son of the king should be nursed at the breast of the Lady Marie, and therefore the young king was

confided to her. Meanwhile the woman who was nursing Giannino, the child of the Lady Marie, occupied a couch in the same chamber, and it happened during the night that Giannino was found dead at the side of his nurse. The two women were then alone; the Lady Marie caused her own dead child to be placed beside herself, while she consigned to Amalech the living son of the king, and by promises and threats she obliged the woman to become her accomplice in this deception. As soon as day appeared the Lady Marie manifested the deepest sorrow that ever woman experienced, for she had an intense love for her child. Nevertheless, by her cries and lamentations she made it to be understood that it was for the son of the king that she wept. The lords of the royal guard, the knights and ladies of the palace, hurried to respond to the cries of the Lady Marie, and finding her holding a dead infant in her arms, they never doubted that this was the king's son, and they, too, were dissolved in tears. The dead infant was buried, and Marie had the son of the king nursed, as though he had been her own, by the woman Amalech. She did this not so much through affection for the child as on account of her love for Guccio. "For," she said, "if Guccio ever returns from his own country and finds that his son is dead, he will have no love for me, and I shall have lost at the same time honor, my son, and my husband."

Several years passed, and Guccio returned to his own country. The brothers of the Lady Marie, in the service of the king, and intrusted by him with the ward of certain crown-lands,

had gone by his orders to a distant province removed by many days' journey from Paris. Guccio, having learned this, came secretly to Crécy. There he found the Lady Marie, and with her the son of the king, who was very beautiful and now of the age of six years. "Who is this child?" asked Guccio. "He is thy son," was the reply of the Lady Marie. With this Guccio was delighted. He remained some days at Crécy, and said to Marie when he was departing, "Have this child sent to me at Paris." Marie waited a while to have the boy taken to Guccio; and at once on his arrival, Guccio had him taken to Italy, and Marie never again saw Giannino.

A long time after, in accord with God's will, the Lady Marie died, but before her death she sent for me, Brother Jordan, hermit of the convent situated near Crécy. She made to me her general confession, and after having recounted the events above given, she laid upon me the obligation to seek the child, and if I should find him still living, immediately to inform the Pope of it, as well as the sacred college, and whatever king of France should be upon the throne, and to give all the facts calculated to re-establish the prince in his royal dignity.

After the death of the Lady Marie, not knowing what I should do, I made inquiry as to the fate of Guccio, and learned that he was no longer living, but I was unable to push my investigations further. For several years I remained plunged in deep melancholy, which nothing seemed to overcome. I did not like to carry such news to the Pope, nor to the

king, and besides, I did not know where in the world I could find the son of King Louis X. Remembering that the majority of men die before they reach eight and forty, it seemed to me likely that the prince was dead. For many nights I was buried in these painful reflections, when at last I had a vision, in which I seemed to see the son of the king on his knees at the feet of his father, and thought that I heard him say, "Father, give me thy blessing, for I long to march to the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre of Jesus Christ." Whenever I fell asleep I at once saw the young prince before his father in an attitude of respect. Every night this vision came to me, and I knew not what to decide. I set myself to praying, and pleaded with our Lord Jesus Christ to reveal to me the way to discover the son of the king. I passed many days in continual orisons, accompanied with fastings and abundant tears. At length, being on my knees at the foot of my altar, I yielded to sleep, and this same son of the king appeared to me in a dream. He held in his hand an ensign with the arms of the church, and he seemed to me to say, "I shall never stop short of placing this banner on the gates of Jerusalem. The sepulchre of Jesus Christ must be rescued and delivered from the yoke of the Saracens, so that every faithful Christian can visit the holy places without danger." Waking from this vision, I rose, believing that I should find the prince in the neighboring region, but failing to find him there, I was again overwhelmed with sadness. I sought advice of some of the friends of God, and they

counseled, "Thou art old and can only walk with difficulty; send some one from country to country, even to Rome. Put in his hands the confession of the Lady Marie, and the account of the revelation made to thee long since, in order that thy messenger, thoroughly informed of the whole matter, may present himself to the bishops and lords of the country, to learn from them if the prince is still living, and if he be yet living, to beg the bishop or the lord of the land where he dwells to report the fact at once to the Pope, his cardinals, and the king of France now reigning, as well as his barons. If it be impossible to discover the prince, thou wilt have freed thy conscience toward God, and thou shalt speak of all this to no one, lest some trouble be caused to thyself in having kept so long so important a secret."

The Brother Jordan addresses himself directly to the Brother Antoine.

So, my dear Brother Antoine, I pray thee, in the name of God, to repair to Rome, and to inform thyself what has become of Guccio di Mino. Thou canst not fail to secure some tidings of him through Spinello Tolomei. This investigation will be the easier for thee, because having been several times in Rome, thou knowest all the countries to be traversed. Thus have I confidence that by Divine intervention thou shalt find the prince who is to establish universal peace in Christendom, and to reconquer the Holy Land. I beseech thee—nay, I command thee, in virtue of the oath of obedience—to go from country to country, even to Rome, to seek the lost prince, and to

do all to find him again. Happy the country in which shall have been reared this sacred son of our king! Make every effort that he shall speedily return. Would that I might receive the news before I die! Haste then to return to me, and urge, as from God himself, the bishop or the lord of the land where the prince lives, that the Pope be immediately informed of him, in order that the son of the king may be established in his royal dignity, and that the will of God may be accomplished in the matters which I have explained to thee. Thou knowest that the son of the king is called Giannino, after the name of the son of the Lady Marie. I do not know the name actually given to the son of the king, the Lady Marie not having been able to tell me. So he, to search for whom I send thee, is known as Giannino di Guccio, and he doubtless regards himself as the son of Guccio.

The Brother Antoine continues:

Such is the mission confided to me by Brother Jordan. Be pleased, in the name of God, to accomplish it without delay! It was imposed upon the Brother Jordan himself in confession by the Lady Marie in the year one thousand three hundred and forty-five, and she told him that the son of the king should then be about twenty-six or twenty-five years of age.

ANTOINE,

*Hermit and disciple of the
afore-said Brother Jordan.*

P. S.—I bear you witness that the Brother Jordan is one of the holiest men in the world. It is more than eighty years since he was con-

secrated to the service of God in our monastery. Hardly was he twelve years old when he began to do penance. Hence I believe, and I have confidence in God that through his prayers, you will accomplish the mission with which I charge you in his behalf. I pray the Lord that thus it may be!

Given at Porto-Venere, where I am detained by sickness, Monday, the twenty-fifth day of the month of August, 1354, the fête of St. Louis, King of France, who several times made the voyage beyond seas. He whom I seek is one of his descendants, and he will follow his example.

Nicolas di Rienzi continues:

We, Nicolas, Knight of the Roman people by the authority of the apostolic Holy Seat, Illustrious Senator, Syndic, Captain, and Defender of the Holy City, have had the preceding letter transcribed, which was sent and was placed in our hands on the sixth day of September, in the year 1354, for the manifestation of the glory of the son of the king. This prince is in fact truly the legitimate King of France, as is witnessed not only by the confession of the lady contained in the aforesaid letter, but by the age that the prince should be of at the present date, and also by what we were informed of when we were in the city of Avignon, near our lord the Pope. It is thus demonstrated that he is certainly the son of King Louis, the first-born of King Philip the Fair, who had for his wife Clémence, daughter of Charles Martel, king of Hungary, who was the mother of the aforesaid prince. So when

the aforesaid letter was presented to us, we reflected, and are convinced that Divine Providence alone has brought this to pass. Therefore we have taken great pains to have the prince sought out, and God has given us the favor to make the discovery. We have learned that he was reared in the city of Siena; and before making him acquainted with the foregoing facts we called him before us, and he appeared in our presence on Thursday, the second of October of the aforesaid year. And, because we are aware that our estate is menaced by a great danger, in order that this prince, king and son of a king, may not perish, and that he may be able to be re-established in his royal dignity, we have caused the above-mentioned letter to be transcribed, and a copy of it, sealed with the seal bearing our arms, to be placed in his hands, to serve him as an authority, and to enlighten any one who may desire to assist in his great enterprise; for which cause we pray our gracious Lord Jesus Christ that he will accord us the grace to live long enough to behold this great justice rendered to the world!

APPENDIX II

A LETTER OF NICOLAS DI RIENZI TO GIANNINO

(From the "Historic Dissertation upon John I., King of France and Navarre." By M. Monmerqué, Paris, 1845.)

At the Capitol, the 18th of September, 1354.

To the noble and wise Jannino di Guccio di Mini, our very dear friend, citizen of Siena.

We have charged our envoys to discover the place where you are, and to ask, on our behalf, that it may not be displeasing to you to appear at Rome and in our presence. It was reported to us by our servitor that having met you in Siena, he discharged our commission, but being the bearer of no writing emanating from us, you did not put confidence in his words. In our ignorance of the place and the time at which you could be found, we did not intrust him with letters. Now that we know where you are, we ask that it may please you, on seeing these presents, to come to us at Rome without delay and in the most secret manner. We have written this letter, to which we have caused our seal to be affixed, in order that it may inspire you with faith in all that our messenger shall say on our behalf.

Given at the Capitol, the eighteenth day of
September, 1354.

NICOLAS,

*Knight of the Roman people, by
the authority of the apostolic
Holy Seat, Illustrious Senator,
Syndic, Captain, and Defender
of the Holy City.*

APPENDIX III

A LETTER OF NICOLAS DI RIENZI TO GIANNINO

(From the "Historic Dissertation upon John I., King of France and Navarre." By M. Monmarqué, Paris, 1845.)

At the Capitol, the 7th of October, 1354.

To Gianni di Guccio, of the city of Siena, an officer of our house, being at present at Montefiascone, at Orvieto, or at Arezzo, very noble Prince, King of high excellency, superior to all the other kings of Christendom, known of God alone, and unknown to the world on account of evil practices committed against you at the moment of your birth by those who would have been dependent upon you for honor and even for existence, had they been given the knowledge of the truth.

Noble Prince, we sent you to the legate, our friend, that while remaining unknown, you might be able to assist us by asking him to send his army against those rebelling against the Holy Church, the Roman people, and the authority which God has placed in our hands, against the enemies of the Holy Church of the people of Rome, and of the dignity which we hold from the hand of God. We address this

letter to you as to a person of our house, in order that none may know that you are dealing with the legate in relation to the succor we have asked; for we are well aware that numerous plots are being woven in Rome against the Holy Church, the Roman people, and our own authority. We have sent you letters containing the details of these, that you may lay them before the legate, and that we may thus know what you have been able to secure from him. We learn just now that intrigues are formed against us, so daring, even in Rome itself, that it appears that there is no safety for us to be hoped for, should the aid of the Holy Church be delayed. Nevertheless, we beseech you that for the present you will in no way try to come to us; but on the contrary, that you withdraw yourself into some safe place until you have received from us a notice enabling you to decide upon your course. We pray you to abide in peace, and not to be appalled by anything which may happen, for, with the permission of God, you will soon be re-established in your royal dignity, and we have firm confidence that God will send before you some one who will replace you in your seignory. If in the superscription of this letter we do not use such titles of honor as become you, pardon us. The circumstances which do not allow you to be known will be our excuse, for our main purpose is to assure your tranquillity, and seeing that we are not able to hope to save our own person, we write what we had hoped later to reveal to you ourselves, namely, that you are the veritable King of France, and the legitimate son of Philip the Fair, and that

your mother was the Queen Clémence, daughter of Charles Martel; that you received with the water of baptism the name of John. Do not lose courage, for in a little while you will be lord and King of France, and we affirm, every dweller in that kingdom will become your subject.

Given at the Capitol, the seventh day of October, thirteen hundred and fifty-four.

NICOLAS,

*Knight of the Roman people, by
the authority of the apostolic
Holy Seat, Illustrious Senator,
Syndic, and Captain of the Holy
City.*

APPENDIX IV

TRANSLATION OF RIENZI'S CHARTE

Testimony of Cola di Rienzo as to the pretensions of Gianni de Guccio of Siena to the crown of France. History of Sigismund Titius of Siena, T. II., fol. 218.

In the name of Christ, Amen. This is the mode and tenor of the declaration compiled from all sources as to the fact that at the time of his birth the son of King Louis and Queen Clementia was secretly exchanged for another. The said King Louis was the son of King Philip, called El bello, who had three sons and one daughter. This daughter was named Isabella, and was the wife of the King of England and mother of that King Edward who has made and still makes such war against the French. The names of the sons were these: first was Louis, the second Philip the Long, the third was called Charles. Each one of these was in turn crowned King of France (the crown descending from the one to the other), and died without leaving male issue, unless it be that changeling son of King Louis, of whom you are to hear. And afterwards Lord Philip of Valois was crowned King of the French, because it was believed that that son of the king so changed had died. The aforesaid King Louis had two wives. The first was

daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, and had a daughter who became wife of the King of Navarre. She had three sons, the first called Charles, the second Philip, the third Louis. The second wife of the said King Louis of the French was the aforesaid Clementia, a descendant of Charles, called Martel, who was descended from the royal house of Apulia. On the death of King Louis his widow, the Queen Clement, was left pregnant by him. Then it was arranged that the aforesaid Lord Philip the Long, brother of the deceased King Louis, should wear the crown of the King of France until the Queen should be delivered. And if she should bear a son, he should hold the kingdom for him until he should come of such age as to know how to rule and govern. And if it were a daughter, the aforesaid Philip should be crowned lawful King of France, because a woman could not succeed to the throne.

At that time this Lord Philip had for a wife the daughter of the Countess of Artois, who then was a greater lady than any other in all France. Moreover, when King Louis died his Queen, Clementia, was left pregnant by him.

Then it was arranged, with the consent of Lord Philip the Long, and Lord Charles, and the other barons, that two barons, men ancient, wise, honorable, and more faithful to the crown of France than any others in the kingdom, should be chosen for this purpose, that they with their wives might always be near Queen Clement, and might have a special care of her and of the boy who should be born; with this end in view, that no deception might

be possible with regard to the crown, and that no one might be able to say, if it were a boy, that it was a girl, and *vice versa*, and that if he were living he might not be declared dead, and *vice versa*, so that in no way could any fraud be worked, and that the crown might be his whose it rightly was.

With matters so arranged, the Queen Clement, a widow and pregnant, vowed to St. John Baptist that if she should bear a son she would name him John in honor of him. And as it pleased God, she bore a son, whom she called John. The aforesaid Countess of Artois held him at the time of his baptism, and she, being jealous of the child, desired his death, and for this reason, that the aforesaid Lord Philip the Long might be crowned lawful King of France. And a rumor was set in motion by the countess that the boy was not vigorous, and would survive but a few days. And she did this with the intention that the boy might be slain secretly; and that when he died after the propagation of such a rumor, she might be clear of his death.

At that time those two barons who were in charge of the queen and the boy who had been born made inquiry for noble ladies by whom he might be nursed. And among other noble ladies who were found for nursing the said young king there was a certain lady found in a monastery. Her name was Lady Mary, and she was the daughter of a certain Lord Picard of Carsi (Crécy). And at the time when Queen Clement bore her son Lady Mary bore a son also. His father was a certain Tuscan who was called Guccio Mini, a youth of about

twenty. He was transacting business at a certain castle called Nefolle de Vecchio, near to the castle of Carsi. And he was stationed there on behalf of a relative who was called Spinellus de Tolomeis. Guccio was intimate with the two brothers of the aforesaid Lady Mary, one of whom was called Peter, the other Jannoctus. And they often hunted and fowled together, and were so familiar that they kept no watch on Guccio, whom they looked upon as a brother. And while things were in this condition, so far as the two brothers were concerned, Guccio fell in love with the sister, and she with him. She was about fifteen years of age. And through the connivance of a maid-servant, and without the knowledge of her mother, who was called Lady Eliabel, and of her brothers (her father was dead), he brought it about that she accepted him in marriage, and he gave her a ring, and had intercourse with her so that she became pregnant. And when the time came that her pregnancy could no longer be hidden, her mother and brothers tried to learn from her how it came about. Then the lady, in fear of them, and with great shame, told the whole affair. But they being incensed at Guccio, caused him to be told to leave the country, and in order to conceal their disgrace they sent the Lady Mary to Paris to a monastery of noble ladies, whose abbess was a connection of theirs. Here they asked to retain their sister until she should be delivered, and to hold such a course with regard to the child, boy or girl, as should seem best to her in order that no mention might be made of it. This they did because they considered her

promised to a certain nobleman of their own country. The said lady, remaining in the convent, bore a son whom she called Janninus. When her son was born, as we have said, those barons who had been assigned to the charge of the new-born child of Queen Clement, arranged that secretly by night the Lady Mary should be brought from the convent and conducted to the royal palace and the chamber of the queen. There the said Lady Mary remained and cared for the son of the king, himself king.

The barons and soldiers of France were greatly elated at the birth of their sovereign. And then it was ordered that after ten or twelve days the boy should be shown to his barons and the other noble soldiers of the kingdom, in order that they might do him such reverence as befitted their lord king. The Countess of Artois sought as a special favor from Queen Clement that she might be allowed to hold him in her arms. And this was granted her. The aforesaid barons who had been put in charge of the boy, fearing that the Countess of Artois, while holding the child, would find some way of killing him, because they knew and weighed well her evil disposition toward the boy, made arrangements that on that day on which the boy was to be shown, the son of Guccio and the Lady Mary should be dressed in the proper royal robes, and with the crown placed on his head should be shown instead of the king. All this was done so if any evil were perpetrated it might be wrought upon him, and not upon the royal child; and so it came to pass. Whence it

happened that on the night following the day of his exhibition, the son of Guccio died. Then some said that the Countess of Artois was the cause of it by squeezing him when he was showed to the people. Others said that she placed poison upon his tongue. Whatever way it was done, at any rate the boy died. The barons, who were anxious to see what became of the child, when they saw that he was dead, said to each other, Now we see clearly and plainly the evil purpose of the Countess of Artois and of the Lord Philip, because they think that they have certainly killed our sovereign. But by the grace of God they accomplished their design not in the least. Therefore, let us find a way by which the boy king may escape. And they went to the Lady Mary, telling her how her son was dead, giving her an account of the manner of it, and the reason why they did as they did. Whereupon the lady began to weep and lament bitterly, thinking that her son was dead. But the barons comforted her concerning him, saying to her, You are a youthful lady, and will be able hereafter to have many sons. We wish you to declare that it is the true son of the king who is dead, and not yours, in order that this one, your lord and ours, may escape the peril of death; and we wish you to conceal him as secretly as possible, as if he were your own child, until such time as we tell you he is to be manifested. And by reason of all this you will be able to become a greater lady than any in the land, and to place in fine condition all your relatives and the ancestral estate. And if it should happen that this boy, our

lord, should die as your boy has done, you will have lost both your own son and your and our lord, and we shall all be in peril of our lives. The lady, hearing their words, and not wishing to do otherwise, consented to their will, and pretended that her weeping was for the dead child of the king. The barons and the whole court, hearing of the death of the king, were in universal grief. They did not, however, inquire too closely into the cause of his death. Because those who ought to have inquired were the ones who desired his death, and so they were believed to have brought it about—the Lord Philip and the countess. The Queen was still in bed, weak from her parturition, and was not able to learn any more concerning the matter than was told her. For she believed truly that it was her son who had died. And she is said to have lived a long time after this event in great state. But not on that account did the Lady Mary and those barons ever tell either to her or to any other person what had occurred, because of their fear of those who were reigning and who had ruled since the changing had been accomplished. Finally the son of Guccio was buried in the place of the king's son with great honors, and a statue was placed over him as king. Afterwards those two barons, for the sake of the advantage and the preservation of the life of the boy king, introduced the Lady Mary again into the convent by the same means as they had brought her out, with the son of the king, she saying that he was her own child. After this she withdrew from the convent and returned to Carsi with the boy, and settled down with

her brothers. She did not marry again, and Guccio took no other wife. And when the boy was nine or ten years of age, Guccio, who was in Paris, sent for him, believing him to be his own son, and wishing to keep him in Paris a few days. The Lady Mary, not supposing that Guccio would remove him to other regions, sent him. After this Guccio sent him to his own country. Wherefore the Lady Mary never saw him again, and always was in great fear on his account. And by reason of her fear of those who were reigning, she said nothing to any one until she came to her death, the said Lady Mary remaining in great fear lest the boy should die or be sent to parts where he could not be found. And having lived a holy and honorable life, she died, as it pleased God. Before she died she sent for me, Father Jordanus, of Spain, of the order of the hermits of St. Augustine. I had been sent into a place of our order close to Carsi. And to me the Lady Mary made her general confession, and in it she declared the whole matter in order, in the month of June, 1345, in which month and year she died, and was buried at the aforesaid our house. Before her death she had desired of me that I would make inquiry about the boy who, she said, was then about twenty-six or twenty-eight years old. And if I found him I was to declare the whole thing to him, that he might know what he was, and how the crown of a kingdom was rightfully his. After the death of the aforesaid lady I sought to find out what I could about that Guccio: I thought if I could find him I should be able easily to find him whom

he called his son. Then I found that the aforesaid Guccio had died at Celone in Campania in the year 1340.

But because I feared Lord Philip of Valois, who was then reigning, I remained quiet for several years, filled with many melancholy reflections about those matters which I had in charge. Conscience accused me, because I did not search for the boy; fear of those in power terrified me, and so I allowed that which I ought to make inquiry into to pass along, for I greatly feared lest some scandal or harm should come to our order, however little I cared for my own person, since I am come to such years that I expect to live but a short time. Matters being in such a state, I dismissed my imaginings, and determined in my own mind rather to put myself and my order in peril than that so great and so deserving a prince should perish, and the royal house of France be in perpetual servitude and be deprived of its legitimate and natural lord through so great a deception practiced upon him; all which had been possible because those who committed the fraud held such high position. Nevertheless, all these things were connived at, and he went forth poor and destitute, and deprived of all his nobility so far as external appearance is concerned. Since this, the kingdom of France, after he had been surreptitiously changed, never has been free from great pestilence, and has been troubled by wars, divisions, and contentions between fellow-countrymen. To this end, therefore, that God may put an end to so many heavy miseries of the French and to the poverty and calamitous state of such,

and so great a prince as is the natural and true King of France, so that the world also may be set in order and disposed in the way of God; I set and determined myself to search for him on account of whom I am certain that at such a time God has not hidden him unless it may be in order to manifest him in His own time so that he may establish universal order and peace in the world, and that the sacred land of Jerusalem beyond sea may by him be recovered; and so I believe that it will be. But because, while I still live, I am nevertheless very old, and it is a very severe task for me to travel about, I have commissioned Brother Antonius, of France, of our order, a man of great sanctity, who had often been at Rome, to go forth and to inquire concerning that king and to declare to him the whole matter. To this Brother Antonius I gave a copy of the testament of the above Lady Mary, in so far as that copy pertains to the matter in hand. The aforesaid father departed from our house at Carsi in July, 1354. He went forth, and in the prosecution of his search as wisely and skilfully as possible he betook himself to Italy, to a port which is called Venere. And there it pleased God that he should become very sick, and believing that he was to die, he was afflicted with great grief because he had not yet found out the truth, and did not know to whom he could transfer this charge, who would be earnest about it and willing to execute it. And because he feared that he would die before the truth should be discovered, and because he knew that Lord Nicholas, Tribune of the Romans, had newly

entered Rome, and he had heard that he was of great sense and spirit, he determined to notify him, and to set the whole matter forth in order in writing, which thing he did.

And we, Nicholas, Knight of the Roman people, through the apostolic chair, Senator of the Holy State, Illustrious Syndic, Captain and Defender, after we had possession of the aforesaid letter, which we received on the 6th of September, 1354, and had made answer to Brother Antonius, and had understood all things which were contained in that letter, and had given credence to the aforesaid statements, and because we have so heard by report that by the judgment of God, as it appears, there have been for a long time in France great wars, and many other distresses, which we believe God has sent on account of the deceit practiced toward and against Him, and on account of the sending forth of this one to live in so great lowliness and poverty; therefore we have given our earnest endeavor to searching him out as secretly and subtly as we were able, and have found that there had been reared in Siena one who had been called Janninus Guccio. And he really believed that he was the son of Guccio. This Janninus presented himself to us on the fifth Feria on the second of October, 1354. And before we said anything to him about this business we examined him concerning himself, his condition, and his name; whose son he was; where he was born; and with regard to all things which relate to the aforesaid matter. Then we discovered that in his narration he rightly declared in accordance with the contents

of the letter. When this was manifest we with great reverence declared to him the whole matter. But because we perceived that a disturbance hostile to us was made in Rome, and fearing that we might perish before we could give care and attention to the recovery of his kingdom, we have caused the whole letter to be copied, which we have given under our hand on the Sabbath, the 4th of October, in the year 1354, sealed with our seal of the great star with the eight small stars surrounding it (in this seal in the midst is a certain rotundity in which are the arms of the Holy Church and of the Roman people), for the sake of the greater security of its truth.

And may this become known to all the faithful.

Asking our most holy and gracious Lord Jesus Christ to give us grace that we may live to such time that we may see this great act of justice accomplished in the world, Amen.

(That this parchment was secured by the seal, the perforations in the still existing end of the leaf show, so that no one ought to doubt that it is the same which the Senator caused to be written and secured with the seal, since it smacks of antiquity, and the credence that has been given to writing of this sort in general.)

APPENDIX V

DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO GIANNI, AND HIS PRETENSIONS TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE

(Archives of the Reformation of Siena. Tome 199 of the Council of the Campana for the years 1357-1385, p. 41.)

In the name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of our Lord, the 1359th from his incarnation, the ninth indiction, the 22d day of October.

Whereas, on the 18th day of October, on which, according to the form of the statutes and ordinances of the Siennese and the mode heretofore observed by our noble Lord Dilianus de Panciatichis de Pistorio, the present honorable chief of the Commonwealth of Siena, we were in the General Council of the Bell of the said commonwealth of Siena, there had been drawn out of the chest and the box existing in the chest, in which are described those who ought in the time to come to hold the office of the twelve lords administrators and governors of the commonwealth and people of the State of Siena, for the said office of the twelve lords and for the two months, namely, November and December, next approaching, a ball of wax, on which was folded a small sheet of parchment; and on this were found written,

as I, the Notary of the Reformation, subscribed, read, twelve names, which are these, viz.: Dynus Syni, shoemaker, Macza Ducci, shopkeeper, Franciscus Nicolai Nini and Guidoccius Francisci Guidarelli, of the state section, Fatius Chesis, silk merchant, Jacobus Cecchi Nannis, campsor,* Joannes Bracci, linen merchant, and Riccius Pericciuoli, baker, of the section of St. Martin, Master Dominichus Vannis, Janninus Gucci, wool dealer, Lippus Vannus Sellaius, Jacopus Marcovaldi, of the section of Camollia; and whereas, among these twelve names so drawn forth for the said office of the twelve lords and for the aforesaid two months, was found, as is plainly shown, the name of Janninus, the wool merchant, of the section of Camollia; and whereas, it was asserted by several at the time in the aforesaid Council that Janninus was exempt from the above-mentioned office because it is alleged and reported that that Janninus of right succeeds and ought to be the King of France, being born of the royal stock; and because it so appears to be true by the narration, declaration, and assertion, which is made and appears in certain letters written upon parchment with a round seal pendent therefrom (in circumference about the size, perhaps, of a golden florin)—this seal being of white wax, and red within, and in that red portion marked with the arms of Hungary, lilies and rods crossed upon a shield with a crest, and letters around the white wax border reading, S. SERE. LODOVICI. REG, which

* A corrupt Latin word signifying a money-changer.

document was presented to the board of the twelve lords, and to the captain of the people, and to the banner-bearer of justice of the state of Siena, and on the part of the most serene prince and lord, the King of Hungary, seemed to be directed to all kings, prelates, princes, dukes, counts, barons, and estates and powers, to whom or which it may come, and whose tenor is below described; and whereas, moreover, to-day, in the said General Council of the Bell of the Commonwealth of Siena, assembled in the usual palace of the said commonwealth, at the sound of the bell and the voice of the herald, as is the custom, in accordance with the mandate of the lord chief, and in sufficient numbers according to the form of the statutes; in which council there were present two hundred and seven counselors, in the presence of the said lord chief, and of the twelve lords, and of the captain of the people, and of the banner-bearer of justice of the said Commonwealth of Siena, in behalf of those presiding in office, and of the whole council aforesaid, this document was by me the below-signed notary of the Reformation, read and declared publicly, openly, and in a loud voice in the vulgar tongue so as to be understood; and moreover, when in the said council it has to-day been made perfectly clear by one of the said twelve lords presiding in office in behalf of the others of the twelve lords in the said council of the aforesaid, that in the presence of these same twelve lords and the captain of the people presiding in office after the above-mentioned drawing of the above-named twelve lords was made, it has been said, asserted, and

affirmed by the same Janninus to-day called Lord John, that although he has in times past been reputed, held, and considered to be Janninus Guccio of Siena, nevertheless in truth he is Lord John, the son of the most serene prince and lord, Louis, formerly King of France, and of the most noble Queen Clementia, and so of the royal stock, and of right succeeding to the said kingdom of France, and that he was substituted by another and was transferred to the parts of Tuscany, as is contained in the tenor of the below-written letter: Therefore, since the said Janninus, now called Lord Johannes, was unwilling, as was asserted and declared, to say that he was Janninus Guccio, the wool merchant of Siena, and as such Janninus to hold the office aforesaid, although in time past he had been held and reputed to be such Janninus Guccio of Siena, but that he was in truth the son of the said former King of France, and in consequence of the royal stock, and of right succeeding, as soldier and civilian, to the kingdom of France by reason of his own and his paternal origin, and so in accordance with the form of the statutes of Siena could not be one of the twelve lords, as the aforesaid lord chief declared the aforesaid exemption, in accordance with the said laws, he drew forth from the box containing the names of those of the section of Camollia, separated from the others, in the place of the said Janninus Guccio, now called Lord Johannes, another sheet on which was found written the name, to wit, of Janninus Guccio; and this sheet, in accordance with laws above named, and by order of the said twelve lords and the captain

of the people and the said lord chief, was torn into pieces. And he drew out another on which was written, to wit, Grifus Locti.

The tenor of the said letters, of which mention is made above, is as follows, to wit:

To all Kings, Prelates, Princes, Dukes and Counts, Barons, States and Rulers of the same, all of whom are appointed of God, greeting and sincere affection. Since now the sun has shone upon us which was formerly in cloud, and there has been kindled a fire of wonderful clearness and truth, therefore it is determined that it is worthy and agreeable to right reason, that where we know how to lend aid there also we render effective service. Hence it is that Lord Johanninus, called the son of Guccio, reared in the state of Siena, a man noble and of the royal race of our own progenitors, being the son of the most serene prince, Lord Louis, King of the French, and of Queen Clementia of blessed memory, after due consideration turned his steps to the regions of our kingdom of Hungary, and, coming to us, proved by many authentic instruments and writings that the crown of France is his by right; and in these writings we see it clearly set forth that the noble lady, the Countess to wit, of Artois, and Lord Philip the Long, her son-in-law, uncle of the said Lord Johannes, in order that he (Lord Philip) might the more easily reign in the kingdom of France, a few days after the birth of the said Lord Johannes, purposed murder and death against him; but by Divine Providence, and by the aid and counsel of his nurse, he was exchanged for another through certain deceptions, and another boy being ex-

hibited in his stead, she, fleeing after the manner of the secret sojourn of the Virgin Mary in Egypt, concealing him, and pretending that the boy had been taken away by the will of the Highest, carefully preserved his life, for which another perished. And also noble Seigniors, to wit, greater barons and baronesses of our kingdom, who after the death of the said Lord Louis, King of France, had been sent by the Most Serene Lord Charles of pious memory, our father, to visit the aforesaid Queen, Lady Clementia, his sister, bear their testimony to the truth of this thing, also seeing the said Lord Johannes and causing a comparison to be made before us of him with Lord Louis, the king, and Queen Clementia, his aforesaid parents, in everything declared; and those same barons also joined their evidence who had been barons at such time as Lord Johannes, then a boy in the kingdom of France, had been substituted and changed for another, and thence transferred to the parts of Tuscany, to wit, to the State of Siena. For making more precise investigation into the truth of this matter, while the said Lord Johannes was living in our kingdom, I secretly sent discreet and prudent men as messengers to the kingdom of France, who being at length returned, were most carefully examined by us, on their allegiance due to God and to our crown, and they positively reported and affirmed the aforesaid facts to be as the said Lord Johannes had asserted them. Wherefore, as urgently as possible, we bespeak your friendship, that you may consider the aforesaid Lord John accredited in the con-

duct of his affairs, knowing of a certainty that whatsoever you shall do for him we shall consider to have been done for our own crown and for our dearest brother.

May your dear friendship long flourish.

Given at Buda, May 15, A.D. 1359.