Dearest Brothers and Sisters,

May God grant you His peace!

In the year of the Lord, 1253, three events took place which find a common bond in our Father St. Francis: the death of brother Elias (22 April 1253), companion of Francis and Vicar of the Order during his life; the death of St. Clare (11 August 1253), *plantula* (or little plant) of Francis; and the consecration of the Basilica (25 May 1253) that holds the mortal remains of our Seraphic Father.

Introduction

The 750th Anniversary of the death of St. Clare was commemorated with a letter by the Ministers General of the Franciscan Families. I believe that it is also necessary, in the same anniversary, to pay homage to the person of Brother Elias, whom St. Clare herself would address as “venerable father”. For this reason I thought to draft this letter, to make his character known to the Order, leading to some reflection on his personality and deeds. Naturally, it is a work for general knowledge, and not a “specialized” study, although I am backed up by material given to me by our scholars, whom I thank with affection.

Friend and confident of saints, pope and emperor, Church ecumenist and State diplomat, minister general of the Franciscan Order, architectural designer, excommunicate and penitent: these are some of the qualities of the person and the highlights of the life of Brother Elias, a towering presence and influence in mid-thirteenth century Europe.

His human qualities and personal talents help explain his friendships and subsequent rise to influence; his later fall from grace with pope and conferees requires more scholarly attention to draw back the veil of seven and a half centuries that has enshrouded his reputation and discredited him *prima facie* in the eyes of many.

Happily, modern research carried out by lay scholars is helping to sort out the true Brother Elias from the myths, legends and slanders and, to some extent, reinstate a more positive image.

I must admit personally to a fascination with the person of Brother Elias from the first moments of having encountered him in my Franciscan studies.

Now, some years later, I think I understand his enigmatic personality better as I come to know myself somewhat better, too. If truth be told, I and -- may I suggest -- many others of you, beloved brothers and sisters who are reading this letter, have a lot more in common with Elias than with his (and our) close friend, St. Francis. Francis is the idealist, the spiritual animator, the defender of the charism; Elias is the pragmatist, the administrator, the protector of the structure. I count Francis as my ideal, the one from whom, after Jesus Himself, I wish to learn how to live the Gospel. But if I am honest with myself, I often tend to serve the person and conserve the memory of my sainted friend,
rather than go the distance and make the radical decisions in my life that will make me not only the friend of a saint but a saint in my own right. In serving my friend and promoting his memory among the people of today I develop my own God-given qualities and gifts in that direction rather than striving to use them to arrive to an authentic, personal holiness. Is this selfish behavior? My friend, Francis of Assisi, warned me about using the saints for my edification rather than for true imitation; what he said about others goes for Francis himself.

I wonder what St. Clare must have made of the continuous construction that was going on the other side of Assisi all the years that she spent enclosed at San Damiano, much of the work directed in its early phases by Francis and Clare’s mutual friend, Elias himself. Whatever she may have thought of the irony of this glorious monument to the Poverello, she didn’t appear to have blamed Elias in any way. That certitude challenges me in my approach to living the ideal of poverty as well.

**Companion and confident of St. Francis (ca. 1212-1226)**

Brother Elias is the most discussed and controversial figure, but also the most famous and prominent one in the first part of Franciscan history.

A contemporary of St. Francis, he was among the most beloved of his companions. As Vicar of St. Francis who received the deathbed blessing of the Saint, he announced the miracle of the Stigmata to the Brothers and to the glory of the Poverello he built the largest monument that “was ever erected on the tomb of man”. Minister General of the Order, he was disputed in the end by a part of the Order and falling into the disgrace of the Holy Father, was excommunicated. Although he repented at his death and was absolved from the censure, he was for a long time “forgotten and cursed: every virtue forgotten, every fault enlarged and distorted” by not just a few Brothers.

In the early days of the Order, he had the duty to guide and implement its expansion and stabilization, a task to which he devoted all his capacity and energy.

Friend and confident of Cardinal Ugolino, who then became Pope, he was an esteemed counselor followed by St. Clare, who helped him to defend the Franciscan identity of her Order.

Nevertheless, the figure of Brother Elias arrives to us, enveloped in a “dark shadow”, where historical truth remains dimmed by divergence and accusations; considered for centuries almost as a traitor of the Franciscan ideal.

It is no wonder then, that in certain historical sources of the 13th and 14th centuries, time and time again we finds phrases of approbation and exaltation of Elias; but also silence, one sided judgments and opposition in his regard.

Yet today, with a better understanding and historiographic criticism, a fair rehabilitation of the person and work of Friar Elias can be made, recognizing in him, among other merits, a decisive role in the history of the beginnings of the Franciscan movement and of its organization.

To synthesize immediately certain biographical and characteristic traits, I remember that Brother Elias (in the world: Bonusbaro [Buonbarone]), was born towards the end of the 12th century (1170-1180). There are no documents to indicate with certainty his native city, but it is believed, according to certain primitive sources, that he was born in Assisi; however from the 14th – 15th centuries he is remembered as being born in Cortona, and thus given the name Elias of Cortona.

Instructed in the “arts” or literary and notary studies in Bologna, he was a cultured
man of high intelligence, with cleverness of intuitions and skillfulness of action. After some years of manual labor and of “teaching Latin” to the young people of Assisi, fascinated by the life and teachings of St. Francis, though not numbered among his first twelve companions, Elias entered the Order between 1210 and 1215. From that moment, sharing fully in the Seraphic ideal, he was well known and esteemed among the Brothers, receiving the tonsure or chiurica minore so as to preach; without, however, becoming a priest. In those years, little by little, between the initial duties and stable responsibilities of preaching, a profound friendship between Elias and Francis was established, together with the founder’s complete trust due to the generous diligence of Elias in favor of the Order which was prodigiously expanding. In this way, Francis desired Brother Elias who was his Vicar, to be his “Minister General”, as he considered and called him, likewise appointing him “as mother to himself and as father of the other Friars”2. Furthermore, St. Francis was put under the care of doctors in his last years and felt relieved when in 1226, his illness worsening, Elias ran “very promptly from afar” to visit him and to accompany him back to Assisi. The same Friar Elias, after a vision, revealed to Francis the date of his death two years beforehand; and finally, he received the abundant blessing before the final journey of St. Francis.

In the pages of the first biographer Brother Thomas of Celano, Francis and Elias are described as two spirits, which counterbalance one another and act in complete harmony in guiding the Fraternity. To confirm the respect that Brother Elias enjoyed within the Order, even after St. Francis’ death and almost until the end of his Generalate, it is sufficient to recall the authoritative recommendation that St. Clare gave to her sister, Agnes of Prague (between 1235-1238): “So that you are able to more securely travel along the path of the divine mandates, pay attention to the counsels of our venerable father Friar Elia, Minister General, and place them before those of any other, considering them more precious for you than any other gift”3.

First Minister of the Province of the Holy Land (1217-1220)

It was in 1217 when the personality of Friar Elias appeared from behind the scenes of the Franciscan world. In fact, during Pentecost of that year, at the Portiuncola, a very important General Chapter was held in which the Order was for the first time parceled out into Provinces: seven in Italy and six or seven abroad. These latter-mentioned, however, still did not exist and so the Chapter appointed Provincial Ministers, assigning them a certain number of friars, for the foundation of these new Provinces.

It was precisely Friar Elias who was destined to the future Province of the Holy Land or Syria. Without a doubt, it is an example of the great prestige that he had reached and the evidence of St. Francis’ admiration and trust in him. The Holy Land was the most important region of Christianity and the great dream of St. Francis at that time was the Near East: the most important mission among the “infidels” to proclaim the Gospel in those lands which had been witnesses of the presence of the first evangelizer, Jesus Christ.

A man was needed who would respond to this need, with the ardor of faith and love, with courage and wisdom; and so Brother Elias was chosen to be sent to that Province as head and animator of the first Franciscan mission among the “infidels”. Brother Elias did not hesitate for one moment and was off, while Europe was trembling over the imminent crusade called for by Pope Innocent III4.

The Province of Syria entrusted to Brother Elias (1217-1220) included a very extensive territory taking in Constantinople, the Greek islands, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt5.
Unfortunately, specific testimonies regarding the activity of Brother Elias in this Province did not come to light; however, from what we know of his initiative, capacity for dialog and passionate preaching, one may well affirm that he gave his whole self, with all his talents, to the mission and the occasions of apostolate. He enjoyed the esteem and reverence of the crusaders for his preaching and exemplary Franciscan life. Evidence of this activity and one of the first fruits of his missionary zeal was the entry of Brother Cesario of Spire into the Order; a gifted German cleric, famous preacher and crusader. The subdeacon of the Cathedral of Spire, he was a restless soul yearning for ideals, searching, at first in science and later in religion, to satisfy his aspirations. He then became the first Provincial of Germany (1221-1223).

There is another important fact, which allows us to open a peephole on the ecumenical activity of Brother Elias. In 1220, he, who was already involved in the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches whose relations, following the Crusades, had degenerated, sent to Rome, Brother Luca of Bitonto, theologian and famous preacher (who then succeeded him as Provincial of the Holy Land (1220-1221)), so that he could refer to the Pope on the situations of the two Churches.

Among the various convents opened by Brother Elias during his three years as Provincial, there undoubtedly were those of Constantinople and of St. John of Acri, where St. Francis himself frequently resided during the time he spent in the Holy Land.

Indeed, St. Francis too, set sail from Ancona in July of 1219 with a group of Friars, landing at St. John of Acri; then leaving his companions here, he continued towards Damietta with Friar Illuminato of Rieti, to encounter and “preach Christ” in the presence of the “benevolent” Sultan of Egypt, Melek-el-Kamel. Although he did not gather the hoped-for fruits, it was an “exemplary” gesture of missionary “originality” of which Francis was a bearer in the Church and society of those times. Then, towards the middle of 1220, he returned to Italy, in the company of Friar Elias and Brother Cesario of Spire.

**Friar Elias, Vicar of St. Francis and of the Order (1221-1227)**

Having returned from the East, rather exhausted, St. Francis immediately called for a General Chapter on September 29, 1220, so as to revoke certain innovations introduced during his absence, provide canonical admission of the Friars to the Order, with a regular Novitiate and Profession, and implement new disciplinary and structural proposals for the fraternity to be considered from now on as an authentic religious Order. However, for all of this, including his precarious health, he did not wish to continue to personally direct the Order and in the same Chapter Francis chose as his Vicar and “Minister General” Brother Pietro Catani, a “gifted and noble” friar, who died just a few months later, on March 10, 1221. St. Francis immediately appointed Brother Elias as his successor.

The appointing of Brother Elias as Vicar of the Order marked an important date in the history of the Franciscan foundation. With his distinctive character and intelligence, he found himself governing the Order in one of the most delicate moments of its first important development: be it for the numerical and geographical extension, be it for the more precise formulation of the primitive Rule and the more concrete organization of the life and activity of the friars. The solicitous presence of the new Vicar was made evident especially in the General Chapters of that time, beginning with the one of Pentecost in 1221. During this Chapter, St. Francis, sick and seated at the feet of the Vicar, would pull on his tunic, to give him some of his suggestions. In this Chapter, the so-called “Regula non bullata” was discussed and welcomed as a general rule made of 23 chapters; the account of the martyrdom of the first five friars martyred in Morocco in 1220 was also read.
and the numerous group of friars for the foundation of the German Province, to be led by Brother Cesario of Spire, was chosen.7

The following General Chapter of major importance was held on June 11, 1223, where, as already before in special gatherings of friars8, the rule, to be presented to the Pope for approval, was discussed, and the text prepared by St. Francis was improved, with Cardinal Ugolino present, St. Francis refused certain proposals typical of the monastic legislation, suggested by a group of “sapientes” or rather qualified and prudent9 friars. Besides this episode and discarding the imaginary dispute and claimed “theophany” of Fontecolombo from the spiritualistic sources, the new Rule, condensed and textually improved, undoubtedly by the work of the Vicar Brother Elias and other expert friars, as also by the same Cardinal Ugolino who respected the major part of St. Francis’ teaching, was confirmed by Pope Onorio III on November 29, 122310.

In the Chapter held on Pentecost of 1224, St. Francis, impeded by his illness, was absent; however he was solicitous to send his longest letter to the Friars, entitled: “The Chapter Epistle”, or “Letter to the entire Order and to all the friars”, rich in teachings on the Eucharist, the priesthood, the Divine Office. One can imagine the place of precedence given to Brother Elias to read and maybe to comment on this document. Among the Chapter decisions there was the sending of the first friars for the erection of the new Province of England, with Blessed Agnello da Pisa as Minister, and the order to prepare the first breviaries and psalters for the Divine Office according to the Rule.

Two years later, the stigmatized and dying Seraphic Patriarch, bestowed upon the person and work of his Vicar the demonstration of his profound gratitude: “I bless you, o son, in all and for all, and as the Most High, under your direction, made numerous my brothers and sons, so unto you and in you I bless them all. In Heaven and on earth may God bless you, King of all things. I bless you as I can, and more than that which is in my power, and that which I cannot do, may He who can do everything accomplish it in you. May God remember your work and your task and reserve for you your recompense on the day of the retribution of the just. May you find whatever blessing you desire and may all of your just petitions be answered”11.

Brother Elias then communicated to the entire Order the sad news of the blessed transitus “of our brother and father Francis” in a penetrating “Letter”, making known to them also the extraordinary miracle of the stigmata. He then called for a General Chapter to be held at Pentecost of the following year, on May 30, 1227, in which the gifted jurist, Brother Giovanni Parenti, was elected as Minister General. During the Chapter, in agreement with Pope Gregory IX, the hoped-for canonization of the founder was most likely spoken about, with the resulting construction of the Church where his tomb would be. This new duty, was then immediately assigned to the mastery of the ex-Vicar Brother Elias by whom, precisely for that construction on March 29, 1228, from Gregory XI a piece of land was received at the western extremity of Assisi, the so-called “Collis inferni” or “Hill of hell”. The following April 29 the Pope officially decreed the erection and the day after the canonization of St. Francis (July 16-17, 1228) he consecrated the foundation stone.

To Brother Elias we owe the merit and diligence of that titanic undertaking: the construction of the lower Basilica during the first two years (1228-1230) and of the upper Basilica during his Generalate (1232-1239). On April 22, 1230 the Pope declared the Basilica of St. Francis property of the Holy See and “Caput et Mater” of the entire Franciscan Order. The following May 25, the remains of the Saint were solemnly buried.
Minister General of the Order (1232-1239)

A few months after the transferal and burial of St. Francis, Brother Elias, together with the authorities of Assisi, gave a precise account of these events to the Pope. He then withdrew to the hermitage called “Celle di Cortona” until the year 1232 when he was elected by acclamation Minister General during the Chapter of Rieti.

The Generalate of Brother Elias could be nothing less than the continuation of his vicariate. Brother Elias had not changed, but changed were the atmosphere and surroundings. The Order had begun to open itself to theological studies with St. Anthony (1223-1224) and Brother Elias promoted and increased this initiative and openness of the Order with the purpose of forming and better-qualifying the Friars in their service to the Church. It included the promotion of the ordinary studies in all of the Provinces and of the initial university courses in Paris and in England. During his Generalate, with the cooperation of able Provincial Ministers who were closely monitored by him, Brother Elias was able to plant the Order in various new nations: Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia, Ireland, Scotland, Lithuania..., at the same time dividing certain already existent Provinces in Italy and elsewhere.

In agreement with Gregory IX, he favored the ecumenical and diplomatic action of the Holy See by sending the delegation of two Franciscan theologians, Brother Aimone of Faversham and Brother Rodolfo of Reims, together with two Dominican friars, to an important meeting with the Patriarch of Greece in Nicea. Notwithstanding their great effort, the mission failed (1233-1234).

Always in favor of the East, other friars were sent to Morocco, Damascus, Baghdad and Georgia. The 38 Missionary Papal Bulls issued by Gregory IX for the Friars Minor, during the Generalate of Brother Elias, confirm the considerably extended presence of Franciscans among the Saracens (according to the Chapter XII of the Rule): this came about in Palestine, North Africa and in the regions of the Black Sea.

Moreover, Elias inserted ever more the friars in the mission of the Church; not only by fostering the participation in missions among the infidels, but also collaborating in her ecumenical and diplomatic activity, precisely by way of the capillary expansion of the Order.

At the climax of his Generalate (between 1235-1238), illustrious testimonies arriving from very diversified places and persons (including St. Clare, Roberto Grossatesta, Fredrick II), emphasized the fame, authority and esteem held for Brother Elias. Thus St. Clare who, as was previously mentioned, exhorted St. Agnes of Prague to remain faithful to her vocation and to the counsels of “our venerable Father Friar Elias, Minister General”12.

Similarly, from Germany where he was participating in the transferal of the remains of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the Emperor Fredrick II humbly acknowledged the holiness of our “Minors” in a letter dated the May 17, 1236, asking Brother Elias for the help of the prayer of all the friars for himself.

With the same esteem, in 1238, Pope Gregory IX sent Brother Elias to the Court of the Emperor Fredrick in Cremona so as to strengthen the relations between the Church and the Empire; however, the Emperor did not back down from his line of political conduct.

Meanwhile, owing to this position of prestige and of remarkable and advantageous government, although somewhat subjective, without the celebration of General Chapters and with the growing clericalization of the Order and dedication to studies, the first dissents of “zealot” friars in Italy and of the intellectual friars abroad were made manifest. The intellectual friars desired greater consideration for themselves in regards to the numerous lay friars or Brothers and, above all, a more democratic way of governing; with
constitutional norms and the regular celebration of general chapters. The dissatisfaction of friars and Provinces was motivated also by the impellent begging for alms or money for the Basilica of Assisi. What is more, following accusations of some grave abuses, Brother Elias sent visitors he could trust to various Provinces who carried out severe orders; visitations which, although justified, aggravated the "bad mood". Thus, complaints and various accusations against Brother Elias were sent in 1238 to the Pope from England and Saxony.

Therefore, in 1239 the General Chapter was reunited in Rome, in the presence of the Pope. After heated discussions and repeated accusations, energetically denied by Brother Elias, he was “acquitted”, or rather, discharged from his office by the Pope, as he was “no longer accepted by the majority of friars”. The well deserving Friar Alberto of Pisa, a priest, was elected as Minister General; he had already been minister of seven Provinces, and most recently of England (1236-1239).

On that Pentecost, May 25, 1239, Friar Elias ceased to be "the father of all the friars", as had been willed by St. Francis. With the consent of the Pope, the Chapter appointed him as custodian of “his” Basilica of St. Francis, which by now was almost completely built, with its two levels and looming bell-tower, but he remained only a few months in Assisi; then, being already 70 years old, he retired to the hermitage called “Celle” of Cortona with a group of Brothers.

But, towards the end of 1239, summoned to Pisa by Frederick II, Elias went there with the hope of fostering some kind of agreement or reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor, who had been solemnly excommunicated in the first months of that year. It was a wrong step since he did this without the permission of the new Minister General. Called to Rome by the Pope who had just been informed, Elias headed off; however, as he arrived in Viterbo, warned that a conspiracy was being prepared in Rome, he turned back, writing nonetheless a letter to the Pontiff to explain what he had done, and entrusting it to the Minister General for its delivery. But the Minister died in Rome on January 23, 1240, “among the English friars”, with the letter in his pocket, not brought to its destination.

Having returned under the protection of the Emperor of Pisa and then to Cortona, Brother Elias did not remain inactive. He was, in fact, sent to the East by Frederick II between 1241-1242, and was able to happily conclude his mission of reconciliation between the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II and the Greek Emperor Vatacio of Nicea. At the beginning of 1244, Elias was again in Cortona, carrying with him an illustrious relic of the Holy Cross of Christ, given to him by the Emperor of Constantinople, relic that still remains there today: a precious treasure of our church in Cortona.

In the meantime, after the death of Gregory IX, Innocent IV was raised to the Pontifical throne; he issued a new excommunication for the permanence of Brother Elias beside the Emperor, considered as insubordinate, and also deprived him of the religious habit.

Even amid these continued misunderstandings, Brother Elias always felt part of the Order. Indeed, on June 23, 1245, having received some land in donation from the county of Cortona, Brother Elias built a new beautiful church dedicated to St. Francis with a convent for the Friars Minor. In the church he laid the relic of the Holy Cross and various relics of St. Francis: the tunic of his “transitus”, the damask pillow carried by Lady Jacopa of Settesoli to the dying Saint, and his Evangelarium.

In those years the new Minister General, Brother Giovanni of Parma (1247-1257), according to certain historians, sent his close friend Brother Gherardo of Modena to Friar Elias, inviting him to fully re-enter the Order and make amends with the Church. The tentative failed, however, as had the previous invitation to the General Chapter of 1244, for
fear of imprisonment or of other severe ecclesiastical penalties. In reality, “more than once”, Elias had expressed the desire to go to Rome to the Pope; a desire made vain some number of times, for fear of the above-mentioned punishments (as is stated in the Apostolic “Trial”).

The amendment came about, however, in the last years, especially following the death of Fredrick II in 1250. Brother Elias, now over 70 years of age, became gravely ill; and, in tears, repeatedly confessing the sins of adherence to the Emperor “contra mandatum Ecclesiae” and of vainglory, was reconciled with the Church and the Order. Absolved and having received the Sacraments, he died a holy death on April 22, 1253. All of this was well certified in the regular Apostolic Trial carried out a few days later (May 2-6, 1253) by the Penitentiary Friar Velasco, sent to Cortona, probably at the request of St. Clare, by Pope Innocent IV, then present in Assisi.

One can observe at this point that the expressions of repentance repeated by Brother Elias, “Quia non portavi Ordinem meum sicut debui ” and “quam vanagloriosus fui”, more than towards the non-observance of religious life and of the Rule, during the period of his Generalate (according to some accusations), refer to his irregular position in Cortona and to his adherence to the politics of the Emperor, sustained by the hope and ambition of achieving the Emperor’s reconciliation with the Pope.

Elias was buried with honor in the choir of the Church of St. Francis in Cortona, where his body lies still today, dressed in his ashen Franciscan habit.

Thus ended the glorious and troubled biographical journey of Brother Elias, who had dedicated a major part of his life to the expansion and apostolic efficiency of the Seraphic Order. He was an emblematic man, whose strong personality and brilliant capacity have left an indelible mark on history.

Conclusion

I believe that recognition is to be paid to Brother Elias, not only by the Franciscans, but also by all those that, arriving in Assisi from all over the world, come into contact with St. Francis’ charm: attracted by his spirit of universal brotherhood, peace, human solidarity and, in a word, with that “spirit of Assisi” that is visibly reflected in the admirable complex of the upper and lower Basilica and of the Sacro Convento: singular fruits of the genius of Brother Elias.

But what can this recalling the life of Brother Elias still teach us today?

Above all, the great love for St. Francis and the Order; then, the intense dedication to work and the apostolate in every field: within the Order and in the missions, the relations with society, in the exercise of personal talents given by the Lord…

One of the things to which I have given some thought, after my own reading, is an element of divine irony if not out-and-out divine humor that I perceive with regard to Elias. I think it fair to say that, although Brother Elias was not among the very earliest of St. Francis’ companions, he probably still shared the early experience of all the brothers with Francis in rebuilding churches that were falling into ruin. Some time later he learned, together with Francis and perhaps actually from him, that it was the living Body of Christ on earth to which he and the brethren were to devote their rebuilding efforts. And so he did, aiding his friend Francis in spiritually rebuilding the Church of their time, putting into service his own considerable gifts and talents. He probably gave an additional hand in mediating between the institutional Church and charismatic Francis to help structure the new and rapidly developing Order.

The irony I spoke of lies for me in the fact that Elias went on to design and lead the
construction of the resplendent Basilica that was to house the mortal remains of his sainted friend, Francis. Later he was to design yet another monumental Church to Francis’ memory, this time in his hometown of Cortona. Therefore Elias himself was to rest all these many centuries among the resplendent poverty of the choir behind the main altar, his simple marker in the floor almost indecipherable these last years amid the rubble of a church (though monumental) that was falling into ruin. And so Elias, unlike Francis, materially speaking, seems to have come full circle from ruined church to ruined church, from poverty to poverty, with a wealth of Franciscan experience in between. Again, how characteristic of many of our own adventures.

Familiarity with an important historical figure can provide us with elements for instruction on our own human journeys, if not for actual imitation of their exploits. So too, with the life of Brother Elias for me. I won’t reveal what these may be. May the Lord show you what you are to learn and what you are to do after having read and reflected on the person of Brother Elias of Cortona, friend and companion of St. Francis of Assisi.

Rome, November 29, 2003,
Feast of All Saints of the Franciscan Order

Fr. Joachim A. Giermek
Minister General

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2 __I Cel._ 98: FF 491.
3 __2LAg 15-16:_ FF 2877.
7 For all see Giordano da Giano, _Cronaca_, nn. 12,14 e ss. : FF 2334, 2337 ff.
8 __2 Cel._ 209: FF 799.
9 __Comp. Perus. o Assis._ 114: FF 1673.
11 __I Cel._, 108: FF 506.
14 Eccleston, cc. 13-14, FF 2502 ss.