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The Cantic of the Creatures as Hypotext behind Dante's Pater Noster

***Hymn Stworzenia jako hipotekst Modlitwy
Pańskiej Dantego***

Abstract

The article analyses Dante's explanatory paraphrase and exegesis of the *Lord's Prayer*, which opens the eleventh canto (v. 1–24) of *Purgatory*. The author reminds us that the prayer is the only one fully recited in the entire *Comedy* and this devotional practice is in line with the Franciscan prescription to recite it in the sixth hour of the Divine Office when Christ died on the cross. The prayer is reported by the poet on the first terrace of *Purgatory*, where the proud and vainglorious must learn the virtue of humility, and therefore it symbolizes the perfect reciprocity between man and Godhead. Dante collates and amplifies the two complementary Latin versions of the *Lord's Prayer* from Matthew 6: 9–13 and Luke 11: 2–4. The two synoptic texts are supplemented by the Gospel of John, from which Dante takes the concept of celestial bread (manna) – the flesh and the blood of Christ – which nourishes, liberates and sanctifies Christians. Apart from the Bible, Dante also draws upon the Augustinian and Tomistic traditions. However, the main hypotext behind the prayer, which is neither cited nor acknowledged in any explicit form in the *Comedy*, is the Franciscan *Laudes creaturarum* ("Cantic of the Creatures"), also known as the *Cantic of the Brother Sun*. Written in vernacular by St. Francis himself,

who is also the author of the *Expositio in Pater noster*, the *Canticle* was still recited and sung together with the *Lord's Prayer* in the Franciscan communities in Dante's time. Moreover, following the parallel readings popular nowadays in Dante studies, the author argues that *Purgatorio* 11 may be elucidated in the context of *Paradiso* 11, which is the Franciscan canto *par excellence*, and taken together they both offset cantos 10, 11, 12 of *Inferno*, which are based on the sin of pride (superbia). The denunciation of pride in and around canto 11 of *Inferno* alludes to humility – the remedy of such pride in *Purgatory* 11, which in turn prepares the reader for the encounter with St. Francis – the paragon of humility – in *Paradiso* 11. The author concludes that the Dantean paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer* is no less than an elaborate exegesis and homage to Christ and His teachings, something which is encompassed in a nutshell in *the Sermon on the Mount*.

Keywords: Dante Alighieri, Lord's Prayer, *Divine Comedy*, Dante studies, Purgatory, Canto XI

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje objaśniającą parafrazę i egzegezę *Modlitwy Pańskiej* Dantego, która otwiera jedenaste canto (w. 1–24) *Czyśćca*. Autor dowodzi, że jest to jedyna modlitwa w pełni odmawiana w całej *Boskiej Komedii*, a owa praktyka pobożnościowa zgodna jest z franciszkańskim nakazem odmawiania *Ojczy Nasz* w szóstej godzinie (*hora sexta*) Liturgii Godzin, kiedy Chrystus umarł na krzyżu. Modlitwa ta odmawiana jest przez poetę na pierwszym tarasie *Czyśćca*, gdzie dumni, pyszni i próżni muszą nauczyć się cnoty pokory, a więc symbolizuje ona doskonałą więź opartą o wzajemność między człowiekiem i Bogiem. Dante zestawia i wzmacnia dwie dopełniające się łacińskie wersje *Modlitwy Pańskiej* z Mt 6,9–13 i Łk 11,2–4. Uzupełnieniem obydwu tekstów synoptycznych jest Ewangelia św. Jana, z której Dante zaczerpnął koncepcję „chleba niebieskiego” (manny) – ciała i krwi Chrystusa – który karmi, wyzwala i uświęca chrześcijan. Oprócz Biblii Dante czerpie również z tradycji augustiańskiej i tomistycznej. Jednak głównym hipotekstem modlitwy, który w nie jest ani przytaczany, ani uznany w żadnej wyraźnej formie w całej *Boskiej Komedii*, jest franciszkański *Hymn Stworzenia* („*Laudes creaturarum*”) zwany też *Kantykiem Brata Słońca*. Święty Franciszek, który jest również autorem *Expositio in Pater Noster*, zalecał, aby modlitwa ta była odmawiana i śpiewana razem z *Modlitwą Pańską*, co było wciąż praktykowane we wspólnotach franciszkańskich w czasach Dantego. Ponadto, odczytując tekst poprzez pryzmat popularnej obecnie w badaniach dantejskich analizy paralelnej i wertykalnej, autor dowodzi, że *Purgatorio* 11 można rozumieć w kontekście *Paradiso* 11, które jest franciszkańskim canto *par excellence*,

i obydwie pieśni stanowią odpowiedź na *canta* 10, 11, 12 *Inferno*, które dotyczą grzechu pychy (*superbia*). Piętnowanie pychy w i wokół *canto* 11 *Inferno* nawiązuje do pokory – remedium na pychę w *Czyśćcu* 11, co z kolei przygotowuje Czytelnika na spotkanie ze św. Franciszkiem – wzorem pokory – w *Paradiso* 11. Dantejska parafraza *Modlitwy Pańskiej* jest więc rozbudowaną egzegezą, a zarazem hołdem złożonym Chrystusowi i Jego nauce, która, w swej istocie, została zawarta w *Kazaniu na Górze*.

Słowa kluczowe: Dante Alighieri, *Boska Komedia*, *Modlitwa Pańska*, studia dantejskie, czyściec, pieśń XI

Initium omnis peccati superbia

Entering the first terrace of *Purgatory* proper, where those guilty of vainglory and pride are punished by carrying stone weights on their backs which force them to bend and keep their eyes firmly fixed on the ground, the eleventh *canto* opens as part of a triptych with a vernacularisation and amplification, a veritable rewording and exegesis *cum glossa*, if you will, of the *Lord's Prayer*:

O Padre nostro, che ne' cieli stai, non circuncritto, ma per piú amore ch'ai primi effetti di là sú tu hai,	3
laudato sia 'l tuo nome e 'l tuo valore da ogne creatura, com'è degno di render grazie al tuo dolce vapore.	6
Vegna ver' noi la pace del tuo regno, ché noi ad essa non potem da noi, s'ella non vien, con tutto nostro ingegno.	9
Come del suo voler li angeli tuoi fan sacrificio a te, cantando <i>osanna</i> , cosí facciano li uomini de' suoi.	12
Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna, sanza la qual per questo aspro deserto a retro va chi piú di gir s'affanna.	15
E come noi lo mal ch'avem sofferto perdoniamo a ciascuno, e tu perdona benigno, a non guardar lo nostro merto.	18
Nostra virtù che di legger s'adona, non spermentar con l'antico avversaro, ma libera da lui che sí la sprona.	21
Quest'ultima preghiera, signor caro,	

già non si fa per noi, ché non bisogna,
ma per color che dietro a noi restaro¹. 24

This is the longest (and indeed only) prayer fully *volgarizzata* and recited in the entire *Comedy*² and it would seem to be perfectly in line with the Franciscan prescription for lay persons to recite the *Pater noster* in the *hora sexta*, the sixth hour of the Divine Office or Liturgy of the Hours³ when Christ had died on the Cross⁴. One of the most striking

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- 1 All quotes from the *Comedy* are from Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, testo critico stabilito da Giorgio Petrocchi, (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1975). The theme of this paper has recently been addressed in the critical literature, among which: Andrea Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi. Lettura di Purgatorio XI”, *Rivista di Studi Danteschi* 8/1 (2008): 42–82, especially p. 54: “il volgarizzamento dantesco del testo evangelico e liturgico intend[e] essere una consapevole riscrittura, stilisticamente e ideologicamente orientata”; Isabella Gagliardi, „Il »Padre nostro« nei secoli XIII–XIV. Alcune tracce per una lettura”, *Annali di scienze religiose*, n.s. 3 (2010): 77–112; Nicolò Maldina, „L' »oratio super Pater Noster« di Dante tra esegesi e vocazione liturgica. Per »Purgatorio« XI, 1–24”, *L'Alighieri* 57, n.s. 40 (2012): 89–108; Sergio Cristaldi, „Il Padre nostro dei superbi”, in *Preghiera e liturgia nella „Commedia”*, ed. Giuseppe Ledda, (Ravenna: Centro Dantesco dei Frati Minori Conventuali, 2013), 67–87; Nicolò Maldina, „Tra predicazione e liturgia. Modelli e fortuna del Pater noster di Purgatorio XI 1–21”, in *Le teologie di Dante*, ed. Giuseppe Ledda, (Ravenna: Centro Dantesco dei Frati Minori Conventuali, 2015), 201–233. See also the magnificent commentary to *Canto XI* in Dante Alighieri, *Purgatorio*, a cura di Roberto Mercuri, (Torino: G. Einaudi, 2021), 120–123, where Mercuri (*Ibidem*, 120) points out that the prayer *Pater noster* is “l'unica, nel poema, interamente riprodotta, tradotta e glossata dal poeta [...] con aggiunte, elisioni, modifiche e interpretazioni”. For the triptych placing Canto XI thematically between Canto X and Canto XII, cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi. Lettura di Purgatorio XI”, 43 *et passim*. For Saint Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* (II 7) as a possible source for the *purgatio* of pride with heavy stones, cf. *Ibidem*, 59.
 - 2 Cf. Charles Singleton ad loc., cit. in *La Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, 3 vol. *Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso*, con il commento di Robert Hollander, traduzione e cura di Simone Marchesi, (Firenze: Casa editrice Leo S. Olschki, 2011), 91; Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 120. For a discussion and bibliography on pride and the proud in the *Comedy*, cf. the entry *superbia, superbi* edited by Fiorenzo Forti in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 5, (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1976), 484–487. For the volgarizzamento as it is actually 'sung', cf. Paola Nasti, „The Art of Teaching and the Nature of Love”, in *Vertical Readings in Dante's „Comedy”*, vol. 1, eds. George Corbett, Heather Webb, (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 223–248.
 - 3 For the fascinating correspondence between the liturgical elements in Dante's *Purgatory* and the Liturgy of the Hours, cf. Matthias Bürgel, „La parafrasi dantesca del »Paternoster« come espressione di spiritualità francescana”, in *Actes du XXVIIe Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes* (Nancy, 15–20 juillet 2013). Section 14: *Littératures médiévales*, eds. Isabel De Riquer, Dominique Billy, Giovanni Palumbo (Nancy: ATILF, 2017): 30, <http://www.atilf.fr/cilpr2013/actes/section-14.html> [accessed: 16.06.2021].
 - 4 Cf. *Lc.* 23, 44–46: “Erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt in universa terra usque in nonam horam et obscuratus est sol Et velum templi scissum est medium Et clamans voce magna Iesus ait Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum et haec

constituent features is the play between the deictic elements *Tu: noi* (You: us) and derivatives⁵. The seven occurrences of *noi* are offset by the three occurrences of *tu*, similarly between the four occurrences of forms of the possessive adjective *nostro* against the five occurrences of *tuo*, all highlighted by the exquisitely Roman use of the possessive *suo* for both the angels (at v. 10) and the men (at v. 12). The obvious lesson that the proud souls on the first terrace must learn by singing this prayer over and over again is encapsulated in lines 8 & 9: “non potem da noi [...] nostro ingegno”⁶. That is to say, the peace of the divine Kingdom that God may possibly instill in their eschatological existence cannot be wrought by the ingenuity alone that they had displayed on earth in their respective fields, no matter how great they think that ingenuity had actually been. While it is proper that both angels and men offer themselves in holocaust to God, that is, sacrifice Self to Him – “fan sacrificio a te” – we must also notice that Dante uses the *osanna* not only to rhyme with and therefore highlight the *cotidiana manna* two lines later (duly discussed *infra*), but also to complete the syzygy, this perfect balance and relationship between man and Godhead. In other words, while the former should gladly sacrifice himself to the latter, it is the Father who should be persuaded to save him. The Hebrew word *Hosanna* used exclusively in the New Testament⁷, as Dante knows all too well thanks to Jerome, though often banalised as an almost meaningless interjection, literally describes that crying out to God, the imperative beseeching Him to save the faithful: *salvifica* – “save [us]!”⁸. Destined, perhaps, if it were not for the *carco*

dicens expiravit”, cit. in *Convivio*: Alighieri Dante, *Il Convivio, Epistole, Monarchia e Questio de aqua et terra*, a cura di Fredi Chiappelli ed Enrico Fenzi, (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1986), 4, 23, 11: “onde dice Luca che era quasi ora sesta quando morio, che è a dire lo colmo del die. Onde si può comprendere, per quello quasi, che al trentacinquesimo anno di Cristo era lo colmo de la sua etade”.

- 5 On such deictic elements exalting the dynamic and mystical nature of the “vincolo d’amore”; cf. also Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 51; Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 121.
- 6 For Umberto Aldobrandeschi, Oderisi da Gubbio and Provenzan Salvani as ‘modern’ *exempla* of three different declensions of pride, respectively *generositas sanguinis*, *excellens artis*, and *potentia et status temporalis*, cf. *Benvenuti da Imola in Benevenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherij „Comoediam”: nunc primum integre in lucem editum*, a cura di James Philip Lacaita, vol. 3, (Florentiae: typis G. Barbèra, 1887), 296 cit. in Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 43.
- 7 Cf. *Mt.* 21, 9 & 15; *Mc.* 11, 9 & 10; *Io.* 12, 13: “acceperunt ramos palmarum et processerunt obviam ei et clamabant osanna benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini rex Israel”.
- 8 Cf. Hier. nom. hebr. (Patrologia Latina, col. 887).

of exile and the *Comedy*, to do time himself on precisely this terrace⁹, Dante, the otherworldly proud pilgrim, would ineluctably learn in the Franciscan Heaven of the Moon in *Paradiso* that humbling one's personal pride, daring 'to want what God wants', is precisely what brings about peace and salvation¹⁰. Here in *Purgatory*, however, he is already learning that it is man's place to sacrifice himself, God's, perhaps, to save.

What is equally striking, of course, is the series of New Testament sources behind Dante's choice of language. Though obviously in the shadow of doubt as to which particular version of the Bible Dante and late-Duecento Florence actually heeded, that is, whether or not it contained the apocryphal Gospel according to Nicodemus, to which specific branch or branches of the manuscript tradition it belonged, what particular *lectiones* this presented, *et cetera*, Hollander drew from both the *Antico Commento* and more recent criticism to suggest *ad locum* that Dante's efforts to effect correction and enact deliverance from the first of the deadly sins were concentrated on a collation or blend of both Matthew 6:9–13 and Luke 11:2–4¹¹. No idle question in the issue at hand inasmuch as the two synoptic versions of the *Lord's Prayer* do naturally have much in common, but they also present significant differences. The first one, Matthew, is markedly longer but also set against a distinctly different thematic backdrop. The surrounding context would seem to regard more vainglory than pride, concentrating, as it does, on hypocrisy, the desire to be *seen* to be devout in the synagogue or the town square rather than to worship God in the privacy of one's own home and heart. The *Prayer* is then followed by two verses of forgiveness (*dimissio*) developing further the theme already present at *Mt.* 6, 12, thus producing Dante's insistence on *perdono*¹². The context of the third synoptic Gospel, Luke, quite to the contrary, is about teaching, or rather, about humbly learning

9 Cf. *Purg.* 11, 118–19: “Tuo vero dir m'incora / bona umiltà, e gran tumor m'appiani”, where, obviously, the “gran tumor” is believing to be that very person born to toss out “l'uno e l'altro [Guido] del nido” at vv. 97–99. Cf. also *Purg.* 13, 133–138, parzialmente cit. in Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 46, 68.

10 Cf. *Par.* 3, 67–87, in partic. 85: “E 'n la sua volontade è nostra pace”.

11 Cf. *La Commedia* cit. All biblical places are taken from *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, Roger Gryson et al (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). For a discussion of the Bible in Dante's Florence, cf. entry „Bibbia” by Angelo Penna, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 1, 626–627; entry „Vangelo di Nicodemo” by Vincent Truijen, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 5, 877–888. For the exclusion of Luke as a source here for being allegedly “più distante dalla verbalità dei versi danteschi”, cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 49.

12 For an overall appraisal of this version, cf. *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton, John Muddiman, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 856.

from the Lord how to pray to the Lord: “Domine doce nos orare” (Lord, teach us how to pray)¹³. The surrounding context of the two synoptic Gospels is, therefore, instrumental in our understanding of Dante’s blending paraphrase. Let us now, however, compare the two versions of the *Lord’s Prayer* from a purely lexical point of view.

Matthew 6: 9–13	Luke 11: 2–4
Pater noster qui in caelis es	Pater
sanctificetur nomen tuum	sanctificetur nomen tuum
veniat regnum tuum	adveniat regnum tuum
fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra ¹⁴	
panem nostrum supersubstantialem	panem nostrum cotidianum
da nobis hodie	da nobis cotidie
et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut	et dimitte nobis peccata nostra
et nos dimisimus debitoribus nostris	siquidem et ipsi dimittimus omni debenti nobis
	et ne nos inducas in temptationem
et ne inducas nos in temptationem	
sed libera nos a malo.	

At a glance, the idea of collation or blending seems obviously founded, a process that had brought about the form of the *Pater noster* used in the liturgical *oratio dominica* in the first place¹⁵. In this very light, Dante’s *volgarizzamento* or, more broadly speaking, his explanatory paraphrase, takes on board the traditional idea of collation and amalgamation, but also of careful selection. From both Matthew and Luke, Dante borrows and directly translates the “Pater” with “Padre” at v. 1; the “nomen tuum” with “l tuo nome” at v. 4; the “[ad]veniat regnum tuum” with “Vegna [...] tuo regno” (v. 7) and the reprise of the verb with “sella non vien” at v. 9. He continues by directly translating the “fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra” with “Come del suo voler... così facciano li uomini de’ suoi” (vv. 10–12); the “da nobis” with “Dà [...] a noi” (v. 13); and the “et dimitte nobis [...] nostris” with “E come noi [...] e tu perdona” (this last syntagma to be understood, as Mercuri points out¹⁶, as “you forgive too”). His translation method then becomes amplification whereby, at vv. 19–21, the “et ne nos inducas in temptationem” becomes, via the

13 Lc. 11, 1.

14 Cf. *I Macc.* 3, 60: “sicut autem fuerit voluntas in caelo sic fiat”.

15 Cf. *The Oxford Bible*, 943; For the entire paraphrase *cum glossa* as Dante’s attempt to replicate the *oratio dominica*, ie. a linguistic form and teaching method his readers would instantly recognise and from which possibly even benefit, cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 49–50.

16 Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 125 *ad loc.*

relative clause and precious Gallicism “che di legger s’adona”¹⁷, his “non spermentar [nostra virtù] con l’antico avversaro”, which in turn might be translated with: “do not allow the old enemy to put our virtue to the test who is keen to incite it to evil”¹⁸. A veritable *tour de force*, in other words, of synoptic reading.

Furthermore, it is exclusively from Matthew’s longer text that Dante seems to have borrowed and directly translated not only the “noster qui in caelis es”, completely absent in the more “essential” and less flexible Luke¹⁹, which becomes his “O Padre nostro, che nei cieli stai” at v. 1, but also Matthew’s “sed libera nos a malo” with the substitution/amplification we saw above between the pronoun «nos» and Dante’s “Nostra virtù” strengthened via anadiplosis with the preceding syncopated, and typically Dantean, “nostro merito”²⁰. Now he similarly substitutes the *malum par excellence* with the deictic element alluding to him who had never been mentioned by name right from the beginning of *Inferno* until here, the still unnamed Beelzebub or Satan.

Conversely it is exclusively in Luke, however, that Dante finds the material for further, original exegesis and development. Starting with the end of Dante’s paraphrase of the *Lord’s Prayer*, the syntagma “antico avversaro” at v. 20, literally and etymologically pushing our “virtù” away from God and towards him, quite plausibly derives from Luke’s greater context in which it is, in turn, God Himself who, in the opposite direction, “eicit daemonium [...] Beelzebub principe[m] daemoniorum”²¹. Man is quite stuck, as it were, in this tug of war between the forces of good and those of evil. Pride would push us towards evil while its terminological opposite, humility, would save us. It is up to both our Free Will to decide on the direction in which we are to be swayed and our *virtus* to find the strength to allow that Salvation to occur.

17 For the meaning here of the Gallicism, cf. entry “adonare” by Fernando Salsano, *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 1, 59–60.

18 For the meaning here of the verb *spronare*, cf. entry “spronare”, in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 5, 401. For the “antico avversaro” as a calque of “antiquus hostis”, cf. Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 125, which, however, is less vetero-testamentary (cf. *Dt.* 23, 9: “quando egressus adversus hostes tuos in pugnam”; *Tob.* 12, 10: “qui autem faciunt peccatum et iniquitatem hostes sunt animae suae”; *Est.* 9, 24: “Agag hostis et adversarius Iudaeorum”; etc.) than Gregorian: “Cernens demium antiquus hostis”; “Hostis antiquus caelesti virtute et rationum veritate confutatus” etc. For the same in Tertullian, cf. M. Chiamenti, *Dante Alighieri traduttore*, 117 cit. in Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 53.

19 Cf. *The Oxford Bible*, 943.

20 Cf. *Par.* 3, 97–98: “Perfetta vita e alto merito inciela / donna piú sù”.

21 Cf. *Lc.* 11, 14ff.

Perhaps marginally less “pertinente” than Matthew on the issue of lexis, as has been adroitly pointed out²², Luke is nevertheless essential on the very topic of humility, indeed a co-source or hypotext in its own right for Dante’s lesson on curbing pride. The souls that had lived puffed up with pride, that now carry rocks on their backs, forced, therefore, to look only at their feet and the dusty ground, must now recite, perhaps sing, a prayer over and over again, food for moralising thought in an attempt to purge themselves of their proud past²³. Though based, as we saw above, more on Matthew than on Luke for lexis, it is precisely through Luke, however, that this food provides the necessary nourishment on the theme of pliance and humility. Indeed it is the evangelist Luke, not Matthew, whom Dante terms in his treatise *Monarchia* to be the “scriba mansuetudinis Cristi”, ‘he who wrote on Christ’s gentleness’²⁴. Luke is, therefore, Dante’s champion on the theme of Christian meekness, compliance and humility. Most interesting, in fact, from this very point of view in Dante’s harvest of Lucan terminology is the syntagma “la cotidiana manna”, indeed, the entire line “Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna”. Hollander *ad locum* had pointed out that Dante’s “cotidiana” is precisely and exclusively Lucan inasmuch as Matthew had opted for a more “spiritual” *supersubstantialem*. For Matthew the bread we need today is not of wheat but of a divine, life-giving substance. The “more essential” Luke, as we noted above, does not specify the nature of such bread except that we do indeed require its special qualities daily, a concept the evangelist conveys twice in both the adjectival and adverbial forms “cotidianum [...] cotidie”. The American Dante scholar was right of course to suggest that Dante preferred the wording of the third Gospel, but he overlooked the fact that Dante then again pays homage to Matthew by translating both Luke’s “cotidianum” and Matthew’s “hodie” – “oggi” at v. 13. What is even more interesting here is that Dante then contaminates his paraphrase with yet another source, different from both Matthew and Luke, the fourth, non-synoptic Gospel according to John who in turn had drawn from *Exodus*²⁵.

22 Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 49, n. 18.

23 Cf. *Ibidem*, 47: “Le anime dei superbi [...] intonano, dunque, sciogliendo così la tensione fisica e morale, un consolante *Pater noster*, nel quale viene condivisa la speranza di tutti”.

24 *Mon.* 1, 16, 2, see: Dante Alighieri, *Le opere latine*, a cura di Leonella Cogliervina, Rodney J. Lokaj, Giancarlo Savino, introduzione di Manlio Pastore Stocchi, (Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2005), 249–554, at p. 352.

25 Cf. *Ex.* 16, 4ff.

Not merely “Dantean”, as Maldina points out²⁶, but exquisitely Johanneine, by substituting Matthew’s and Luke’s “panem nostrum”, “our bread”, with John’s vetero-testamentary “manna”²⁷, Dante effectively bridges the exegetical gap between Matthew and Luke regarding that celestial bread that can truly save. Only by partaking of that bread, that is, only by eating the flesh of Christ and drinking the blood of Christ, the two live-giving elements of the Eucharist, thereby effectively drawing closer to Christ’s own Substance, can man hope to escape the “aspro deserto”, the “bitter desert”, of sin, a condensation reminiscent, in turn, of Dante’s own initial plight described in the incipital lines of *Inferno* as the “selva selvaggia e aspra e forte”²⁸, the “piaggia diserta” [my italics] etc.²⁹

As far as the other elements of Dante’s paraphrase are concerned, the “non circumscribitur” at v. 2 effectively derives from the Patristic or specifically Augustinian tradition of God ‘not confined to any particular place at all but in all places’³⁰ codified by St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Summa Theologia*: “etsi circumscribitur est angelicus spiritus, summus tamen spiritus ipse, qui Deus est, circumscribitur non est”³¹, and is thus

26 Nicolò Maldina, „L’oratio super »Pater Noster« di Dante tra esegesi e vocazione liturgica. Per »Purgatorio« XI, 1–24”, *L’Alighieri* 57, n. s. 40 (2012): 94.

27 Cf. *Io.* 6, 31–35: “Patres nostri manna manducaverunt in deserto sicut scriptum est panem de caelo dedit eis manducare dixit ergo eis Iesus amen amen dico vobis non Moses dedit vobis panem de caelo sed Pater meus dat vobis panem de caelo verum panis enim Dei est qui descendit de caelo et dat vitam mundo dixerunt ergo ad eum Domine semper da nobis panem hunc Dixit autem eis Iesus ego sum panis vitae qui veniet ad me non esuriet”; *Io.* 6, 49–59: “Patres vestri manducaverunt in deserto manna et mortui sunt hic est panis de caelo descendens ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit non moriatur Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita Liti-gabant ergo Iudaei ad invicem dicentes quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum dixit ergo eis Iesus amen amen dico vobis nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habetis vitam in vobis qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet vitam aeternam et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die [...] hic est panis qui de caelo descendit non sicut manducaverunt patres vestri manna et mortui sunt qui manducat hunc panem vivet in aeternum”. Cf. also Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 52.

28 *Inf.* 1, 5, ad loc. cit. also in *Ibidem*.

29 *Inf.* 1, 29.

30 Cf. S. Aurelius Augustinus, *De sermone Domini in monte libri II*, 2, 5, 18 in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 34, ed. J. P. Migne, (Parisi, 1865), col. 1277; *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 35, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 108–109. cit. in Luigi Peirone, „Il Padre nostro nel Purgatorio dantesco”, *Tenzone* 9 (2008): 211–215, at p. 213.

31 *Sum. Theol.* 1. q. 112 a. 3 arg. 1, cit. in Peirone, „Il Padre nostro nel Purgatorio dantesco”, 214.

echoed by Dante himself in *Paradiso*³². It is also found simply enough in the *Divinum Officium Matutinum* in the Lectio 6, homage yet again, therefore, on Dante's part to the liturgical tradition³³. The reference in turn to the Trinity – the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost – in the first two tercets “Padre [...] amore [...] vapore”, if indeed this *is* a reference to the Holy Trinity, is somewhat more complex in the mesh of sources variously used³⁴. Whereas *Pater* is practically ubiquitous in the Old and New Testaments, Christ as Love, however, the *Amor* that moves not only “il sole e l'altre stelle”³⁵, but also Beatrice when she acts, speaks and thus saves her faithful Dante, “amor mi mosse”³⁶ etc., is plausibly to be explained as a development of the liturgical tradition (Paulinus of Aquileia?) regarding the *Ubi est caritas*:

Ubi caritas et amor, Deus ibi est.

Congregavit nos in unum Christi amor, etc.

The term itself is part of a resemantisation or elevation in a vertical reading of the *Comedy*³⁷, it is in this very sense that Dante would draw on the vast semantic reservoir of Love again to refer to Christ's Incarnation in Mary's virginal womb: “Nel ventre tuo si raccese l'amore”³⁸. With respect to this, the term used for the third member of the Trinity, “vapore”, begs even further discussion, deriving in all plausibility from the *Book of Wisdom* in which we read: “vapor est enim virtutis Dei”³⁹. If the critical literature here is correct, then God's operational power can be seen to take place, to be set in motion as it were, via this very “vapore”. In turn it suggests that for this theologically-pondered translation-cum-exegesis Dante must have been thinking in terms of the Πνεῦμα, the

32 Cf. *Par.* 14, 28–30: “Quell'uno e due e tre che sempre vive / e regna sempre in tre e 'n due e 'n uno, / non circunscritto, e tutto circunscribe” cit. in Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 48.

33 For the entire paraphrase *cum glossa* as Dante's attempt to replicate the *oratio dominica*, ie. a linguistic form and teaching method his readers would instantly recognise and from which possibly even benefit, cf. *ibid.*, 49–50.

34 For doubts as to this possible reference via the alleged attributes of the Father alone, “nome”, “valore”, “vapore”, cf. *Ibidem*, 48.

35 *Par.* 33, 145.

36 *Inf.* 2, 72.

37 Cf. Nasti, „The Art of Teaching and the Nature of Love”, 228–229.

38 *Par.* 33, 7.

39 *Sap.* 7, 25.

very theory of pneumatology and the consequential, overriding theme of the unscrutability of Divine Providence⁴⁰. Leaving this last, daunting topic aside, such a derivation would also seem to qualify and further explain Dante's aforementioned substitution/amplification of the pronoun *nos* with "*Nostra virtù*" [my italics]. In other words, our capacity for righteousness, our strength or virtue alone, is nullified when compared to that of God's agency, the Holy Spirit. It also, however, qualifies and further explains Dante's translation of the synoptic "nomen tuum", surrounded, as this translation is, by the exquisitely Franciscan optative or 'theological passive'⁴¹, the "laudato sia" (v. 4) and the complement expressing agency, "da ogne creatura" (v. 5), on which more *infra*. To be understood as a case of hendiadys, the translation "l tuo nome e l tuo valore" is not new in Dante's linguistic programme. To the contrary, it is similar in many ways to another famous Dantean hendiadys, even in the use of the verb *vagliare*, which again we find in the proemial canto of *Inferno*: "vagliami l lungo studio e l grande amore"⁴². A type of polyptoton spanning the first two canticles, even with an analogous rhyme scheme, Dante's translation here of "nomen tuum" fits in perfectly with the greater biblical meaning. Indeed, in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* it is written: "God's 'name', in accordance with OT imagery, is his very nature [...]. To pray for its hallowing, therefore, is to pray that his true nature may be acknowledged by them and his redeeming activity be *effective* in the world [my italics]"⁴³. It is, perhaps, through the very *valore* of God's name that *amore*, Christ, can indeed have greater *effetti*⁴⁴ in this world, as Dante glosses, than the Father would have had. He not sent His Son to accomplish the greatest act of humility ever witnessed in world history – to leave the mighty armies of Heaven and take on flesh

40 On this point, cf. *Mt.* 1, 18; *Lc.* 1, 34–35: "dixit autem Maria ad angelum quomodo fiet istud quoniam virum non cognosco Et respondens angelus dixit ei Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi" = "[...] πνεῦμα ἁγίου [...]"; *Mt.* 3, 16: "spiritum Dei" = "πνεῦμα Θεοῦ"; etc.

41 For such a passive as the "tratto più tipico dello stile di Gesù", cf. Giovanni Pozzi, „Il Cantico di Frate Sole di san Francesco", in *Letteratura italiana. Le Opere*, vol. 1. *Dalle Origini al Cinquecento*, a cura di Alberto Asor Rosa, (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1992), 3–26, at p. 17. For how Francis sees this passive "Laudato" as perfectly translating the "sanctificetur nomen tuum" from the morphological and theological points of view, cf. his own paraphrase, "clarificetur in nobis notitia tua, ut cognoscamus", in „Expositio in Pater noster", in *Fontes Franciscani*, 113–116, at p. 115.

42 *Inf.* 1, 83. For the "valore" as merely a complementary object, cf. Maldina, „L' oratio super »Pater Noster«,", 96.

43 Cf. *The Oxford Bible*, 943.

44 Cf. *Purg.* 11, 3.

in a manger for lowly beasts of burden in order to teach man and thus raise him from sin, only to die ignominiously Himself amid unspeakable pain and suffering on the cross. The very first marble relief Dante had seen on the terrace of the proud in *Purgatory*, that staggering, almost living, breathing, talking example of ekphrasis, alerting the reader to this very issue, the instance not only of Mary's humility but also of God's own, the very Father who, via Gabriel and the Annunciation, spoke those three simple words, "Ecce ancilla Dei", is still teaching Dante here and through him, us, that Christ's Incarnation reduces man's pride to nothing, this one sublime act of humility, *the example to follow*⁴⁵.

Such a line of reasoning also brings us to yet another co-source or hypotext used in the paraphrase-cum-exegesis of the *Lord's Prayer*, a text neither cited nor acknowledged in any explicit form in the *Comedy*, and yet somehow present throughout, the Franciscan *Canticle of the Creatures*, also known as the *Canticle of Brother Sun* or the *Laudes creaturarum*⁴⁶. A source too, perhaps, for other loci of the Dante's masterpiece⁴⁷, here the mounting critical literature is unequivocal: the vernacular poet Dante readdresses the *Lord's Prayer* by drawing on the vernacular poet Francis in order to teach the once haughty and proud how to pray in the vernacular to the Lord⁴⁸. A vertical development within the *Comedy*, perhaps, of the flawed lesson imparted by Virgil in the graveyard of *Inferno* 11⁴⁹, where other souls are also variously weighed down in their tombs by other stones, and, in turn, an anticipation or prolepsis of the impeccable

45 For the Annunciation in the frieze, cf. *Purg.* 10, 34–45: "L'angel che venne [...] come figura in cera si suggella".

46 All quotes here are from the *Canticle of the Creatures* and are taken from the diplomatic transcription of the ms. 338 Assisiense in Lokaj, "Una nuova proposta" in *Frate Francesco*, forthcoming.

47 Hollander ad loc. suggests that behind *Inf.* 1, 26–27: "lo passo / che non lasciò già mai persona viva" there may be an echo of the Franciscan "sora nostra morte corporale, / de la quale nullu homo vivente po' skappare".

48 For recent studies on the Franciscan source here in Dante with relative bibliography, cf. Bürgel, "La parafrasi dantesca del Paternoster"; Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 121: "Dante rilegge il Pater in chiave francescana". Exclusively for the *Canticle*, cf. Enrico Menestò, Massimiliano Bassetti, "Ancora sul ms. 338 della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi", *Franciscana* 20 (2018): 1–77; Luigi Pellegrini, "La raccolta di testi francescani del codice Assisano 338. Un manoscritto composito e miscelaneo", in *Revirescunt chartae, codices, documenta, textus. Miscellanea in honorem fr. Caesaris Cenci OFM*, curantibus Alvaro Cacciotti et al (Roma: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 2002), 290–340 a 311, cit. in Menestò, Bassetti, "Ancora sul ms. 338 della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi", 39; Jaques Dalarun, *Il Canticum di Frate Sole*, a vii–xviii; Lokaj, "Una nuova proposta".

49 Cf. Nasti, "The Art of Teaching and the Nature of Love", 231–232. For lexical connections between *Purgatorio* XI and *Inferno* XI, cf. Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 121.

lesson imparted by Thomas Aquinas in *Paradiso* 11, Dante's long vernacularisation here of the *Pater noster* is a lesson in itself. On his own mountain Dante draws upon Francis who had in turn drawn upon the lesson on humility imparted by the Teacher *par excellence*, Jesus, delivering His Sermon on the Mount⁵⁰. Francis had also glossed that New-Testament model in his own *Expositio in Pater noster* only then to transpose it into his *Canticle*⁵¹, he himself, therefore, a teacher and theologian of sorts, an *alter Christus* stigmatised in the Casentino in which Dante as "humilis ytalus"⁵² had spent the first years of his exile. Christomimesis made poetry, Francis had thus sought to teach the illiterate masses who knew no Latin in the same fashion in which the Lord Himself had endeavoured to teach⁵³. In his *Canticle*, therefore, which, incidentally, later friars minor would be exhorted to recite and sing *together* with the *Lord's Prayer* as if the former were the translation of, or at least, the perfect accompaniment to, the latter⁵⁴, the synoptic optative and semantically-difficult "sanctificetur" had become the famous Franciscan «Laudato si(e)» and, in turn, Dante's "laudato sia"; the synoptic omission of the effective agent actually "hallowing" the Lord's name is introduced by Francis via the still-debated Latin prepositions *cum* and *per*⁵⁵, which Dante rightly recognises as problematic and so clarifies, indeed solves, via the "clearer" Italian preposition of agency, *da*, the agent being in the respective cases "tucte le tue creature" and the exquisite Franciscan technical term "ogne

50 For the structural and thematic connection with *Paradiso* 11 "per antiphrasim", cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 56. Cf. also Lokaj, „Una nuova proposta”.

51 Cf. *Ibidem*.

52 *Epistole* 5.1 in Dante Alighieri, *Le opere latine*, 600, cit. regarding Dante's "Franciscan" humility in Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 123.

53 On Dante's understanding of Francis' *imitatio Christi* based on Bartolomeo of Pisa, *De conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu*; Ubertino of Casale, *Arbor vitae crucifixae* and Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, cf. Mario Cimini, „Francesco d'Assisi, figura dell'alter Christus”, in *Paradiso: Beatrice, Piccarda, Giustiniano, Francesco d'Assisi, Benedetto*, l'Accademia dei Filomartani. *Lectura Dantis Interamnensis*, a cura di Giancarlo Rati (Roma: Bulzoni, 2009): 101–126 at p. 110 *et passim*.

54 Cf. *Compilatio Assisiensis*, cap. 107 in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1653–1655, at 1654–1655: “Si quis fratrum, vacans vel operans aliquid inter fratres verbum aliquod otiosum protulerit vel inutile, teneatur semel dicere *Pater noster*, laudando Deum in principio et in fine ipsius orationis, tali scilicet conditione quod, si forte sui conscius prius se culpaverit de commisso, ipsum *Pater noster* pro anima sua dicat *cum Dei Laudibus ut est dictum* [...] Si quis autem eorum, hoc contrafaciens hoc tacuerit, *unum Pater noster eodem modo cum Dei Laudibus* pro anima illius fratris dicentis dicere teneatur [my italics]”.

55 On these two prepositions, cf. Pozzi, „Il Cantico di Frate Sole di san Francesco”, 7, 21; Pietro Maranesi, „Il Cantico delle Creature di Francesco d'Assisi: vie di lode al Signore della vita”, *Frates Francesco. Rivista di cultura francescana*, 83/2 (2017): 405–436 at p. 417; Dalarun, *Il Cantico di Frate Sole*, 63.

creatura"; the idea of being *worthy* "degnò" at v. 5 of giving thanks to God by recognising His work accomplished through the Holy Spirit, though in all likelihood Pauline in origin⁵⁶, nevertheless echoes Francis' warning that no man is *worthy* of speaking God's name – "nullu homo ene *dignu* te mentouare"⁵⁷ [my italics]; and whereas the "sweetness" of Dante's "dolce vapore" or the "peace" of His kingdom "la pace del tuo regno" might at this point be allusions to a generically Franciscan understanding of these already semantically – and theologically-charged technical terms, Dante's inclusive "Vegna ver' noi" is close, albeit opposite in direction, to Francis' humble "facias nos venire ad regnum tuum" used in the *Expositio in Pater noster*⁵⁸, and Dante's *signor caro* at v. 22, reinforced by the *benigno* at v. 18, might well specifically allude in turn to, or derive from, the famous Franciscan anaphorical vocative of courteous affect, "misignore" – "Laudato sie misignore", etc. in the *Canticle of the Creatures*.

That Dante in the incipital lines of the eleventh canto of the second canticle may have been thinking within a Franciscan paradigm, indeed, in "una forma di manifestazione di spiritualità francescana"⁵⁹, is actually in keeping with the above-mentioned parallel or vertical readings popular today in Dante studies⁶⁰. Just as the sixth canto of every canticle is now primarily seen in a political sense and the last canto of each understood as being, in the very least, structurally analogous, *Purgatorio* 11 may also be seen in parallel with *Paradiso* 11, the Franciscan canto *par excellence*, both offsetting cantos 10, 11 and 12 of *Inferno* based, as these are, on pride, a veritable "trittico della superbia"⁶¹. Indeed, Dante's line "a retro va chi piú di gir s'affanna" at v. 15 would seem to anticipate the longer denunciation in *Paradiso* 11, 3–9 of

quei che ti fanno in basso batter l'ali! 3
Chi dietro a iura e chi ad amforismi

56 Cf. *Ad Thess. II*, 1, 2–3: "gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Iesu Christo gratias agere debemus Deo semper pro vobis fratres ita ut dignum est", cit. in Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 48. For such worthiness, cf. also *Apoc.* 5, 2: "quis est dignus aperire librum et solvere signacula eius"; *ibidem*, 5, 4: "et ego flebam multum quoniam nemo dignus inventus est aperire librum nec videre eum"; *ibidem*, 5, 9: "et cantant novum canticum dicentes dignus es accipere librum et aperire signacula eius", etc.

57 Cf. Paolazzi, *Il Cantico di frate Sole*, 73. For a possible allusion also to the idea of such 'worthiness' encapsulated in *II Thess.* 1, 3, cf. Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 124.

58 Cf. *Expositio in Pater noster*, 115.

59 Bürgel, „La parafrasi dantesca del Paternoster”, 31.

60 Cf. Nasti Paola, „The Art of Teaching and the Nature of Love”.

61 Cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 43; Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 120.

sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,
 e chi regnar per forza o per sofismi, 6
 e chi rubare e chi civil negozio,
 chi nel diletto de la carne involto
 s'affaticava⁶².

The denunciation of pride in and around canto 11 of *Inferno* alludes to the remedy of such pride in *Purgatory* 11 via a lesson on humility, which in turn prepares the reader both thematically and lexically for the example of humility *par excellence*, Saint Francis himself who, in *Paradiso* 11, “da Cristo prese l’ultimo sigillo”⁶³, that is to say, the stigmata, the signs or ‘seals’ of Christ’s Passion in his living flesh.

If Dante was looking for an illustrious lesson for his proud souls on the first terrace of *Purgatory* and, through them, the haughty among the living, on how to pray to the Lord in absolute humility, then in Francis he had certainly found it. No other poem to the Lord in the vernacular ends so explicitly and so disarmingly on the theme of service to the Lord in absolute humility:

Laudate et benedicete misignore et rengratiate
 et seruiate li cum grande humilitate⁶⁴.

In the wake of such reasoning, it would seem consequential to formulate the hypothesis that Dante was still thinking along these very lines in the third canticle. When moving up from *Paradiso* 11 to *Paradiso* 22 (a multiple of eleven), where the adverb associated with Francis’ quest is «umilmente»⁶⁵, between canto thirty-two and canto thirty-three of *Paradiso* (another multiple of eleven) he moves from the catalogue «Francesco, Benedetto e Augustino»⁶⁶, the three saints who, together with anonymous “altri”⁶⁷, sit for eternity directly opposite the Virgin

62 For a brief but efficacious translation of these points into their practical counterparts and meanings, cf. Cimini, „Francesco d’Assisi, figura dell’alter Christus”, 104. For the parallel, cf. also Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 58.

63 *Par.* 11, 107.

64 For a succinct discussion of such «umiltà programmatica», cf. Mercuri, *Purgatorio*, 122.

65 *Par.* 22, 88–90: “Pier cominciò sanz’oro e sanz’argento, / e io con orazione e con digiuno, / e Francesco umilmente il suo convento”, loc. cit. in Cimini, „Francesco d’Assisi, figura dell’alter Christus”, 101.

66 Cf. *Par.* 32, 35.

67 *Ibidem*, 32, 36.

Mary, only then to define the very Mother of God in the divine paradox of being both «umile e alta» with the exquisitely Franciscan apposition and programme «piú che *creatura*» [my italics]⁶⁸. She had not only been created. She had also been found to be humble and yielding, worthy, therefore, of becoming the very means through which God might redeem and thus save humanity.

Dante's emulation of the Franciscan prayer is not, however, limited or circumscribed to a question of thematics and language, though this certainly would be enough to number the saint from Assisi among the great sources for the *Divine Comedy*. It is also a matter of structure. As has recently been demonstrated elsewhere⁶⁹, the structure or model behind the poetic *Canticum of the Creatures* is the poetic prose of the *Sermon on the Mount* in Matthew, otherwise called the *Beatitudines*⁷⁰, from which Dante quite adroitly extrapolates the "Beati pauperes spiritu" in *Paradiso* 12, 110, the very line used by Augustine to combat pride, the origin of every sin⁷¹. Both the *Sermon on the Mount* and the Franciscan *Canticum* begin with either the arrival or the invocation of Jesus; the anaphorical

68 *Ibidem*, 33, 2. Cf. also *ibidem*, 33, 19–21: "In te misericordia, in te pietate, / in te magnificenza, in te s'aduna / quantunque in creatura è di bontate". For a more general discussion of the term, cf. the entry "creatura", ed. Freya Aneschi in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, vol. 2, 251. For the seeming paradox "umile e alta" as typically Franciscan, cf. Francis, *Letter to the Entire Order* in *Fontes Franciscani*, 97–104, at p. 101: "Videte dignitatem vestram, fratres sacerdotes, et estote sancti, quia ipse sanctus est. Et sicut super omnes propter hoc ministerium honoravit vos Dominus Deus, ita et vos super omnes ipsum diligite, reveremini et honorate. Magna miseria et miseranda infirmitas, quando ipsum sic praesentem habetis et vos aliquid aliud in toto mundo curatis. Totus homo paveat, totus mundus contremiscat, et caelum exsulet, quando super altare in manu sacerdotis est Christus, Filius Dei vivi! O admiranda altitudo et stupenda dignatio! O humilitas sublimis! O sublimitas humilis, quod Dominus universitatis, Deus et Dei Filius, sic se humiliat, ut pro nostra salute sub modica panis formula se abscondat! Videte, fratres, humilitatem Dei et effundite coram illo corda vestra; humiliamini et vos, ut exaltemini ab eo. Nihil ergo de vobis retineatis vobis, ut totos vos recipiat, qui se vobis exhibet totum". For a discussion of how this well-known Franciscan locus reverberated through to later decades, possibly into the next century, cf. Lokaj Rodney J., „Clare the Epistolographer against Church and Empire *stupenda paupertas vs stupor mundi*”, in *Il Regno di Sicilia in età normanna e sveva: forme e organizzazioni della cultura e della politica*, ed. Pietro Colletta, Teofilo De Angelis, Fulvio Delle Donne, *Mondi Mediterranei* 6 (Potenza: Basilicata University Press, 2021), 287–338, in particular at pp. 319–320. Cf. also Bürgel, „La parafrasi dantesca del Paternoster”, 24.

69 Lokaj, „Una nuova proposta”.

70 Cf. *Mt.* 5, 1–12. Cf. also *Lc.* 6, 20–23.

71 Cf. S. Aurelius Augustinus, *De sermone Domini in monte libri II*, *Patrologia Patina*, vol. 34, ed. J. P. Migne (Parisi, 1865), coll. 1230–1308, at col. 1232: "Initium autem sapientiae timor Domini (Eccli. I 16) quoniam et a contrario Initium omnis peccati superbia inscribitur (Id. X 15). Superbi ergo appetant et diligant regna terrarum: Beati autem pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum”.

elements, “Beati qui...” and “Laudate si misignore per” respectively, are used the same number of times, eight; there is a reprise of the anaphora, albeit in a different fashion; and both end with a double imperative in the second person plural. Francis would seem to have modelled his lesson on how to pray to the Lord on the lesson imparted by the Lord Himself from a mountain top.

Did Dante in turn emulate this Franciscan way of emulating the Lord’s didactic method by composing his purgatorial poem in eight tercets (7 *petitiones* corresponding to the seven deadly sins and a closing tercet or “antifora”)?⁷² Does the quote from the *Sermon on the Mount* in *Paradiso* 12 prove that Dante had implicitly understood the connection between the Franciscan *Canticle* and Jesus’ teaching method? And had Dante heard, furthermore, that the Franciscan *Canticle* had originally been put to music by Francis himself and fancied that the proud souls in *Purgatory* II might even be singing his own paraphrase in the same or a similar fashion, fused, perhaps, with the liturgical tradition behind the *Pater noster*?⁷³ The second fascicle of the famous manuscript 338 of Assisi containing the oldest transcription of the Franciscan *Canticle* with lines left for the musical notation has, by the way, been authoritatively dated *exeunte saeculo decimo tertio – ineunte saeculo decimo quarto*, which

72 For the significance of the number seven in this light, cf. Mazzucchi, „Filigrane francescane tra i superbi”, 54–55. For the “antifora” (Buti), cf. *Ibidem*, 60.

73 For the *Canticle of the Creatures* effectively sung, cf. *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. 119, 3–6, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 2044: “[...] debemus ipsum Creatorem laudare. Quod et ipse fecit semper usque ad diem mortis. Immo quando magis gravabatur infirmitate, ipse incipiebat cantare laudes Domini quas fecerat de creaturis, et postea faciebat socios suos cantare, ut in consideratione laudis Domini oblivisceretur dolorum et infirmitatum suarum acerbiter. Et quia considerabat et dicebat quod sol est pulchrior aliis creaturis, et magis potest assimilari Deo, immo in scriptura ipse Dominus vocatur *sol iustitiae* ideo imponens nomen illis Laudibus quas fecit de creaturis Domini, quando scilicet Dominus certificavit eum de regno suo, vocavit eas Canticum fratris solis»; per such *certificatio* and the *Canticle*, cf. also Lokaj, „Una nuova proposta”. For a parallel locus with *amplificatio* on Francis who had allegedly also composed the melody for it, at the very least with the help of the “king of poetry, fra’ Pacifico”, cf. „Compilatio Assisiensis”, 83, 23–37, in *Fontes Franciscani*, 1447–1690 at pp. 1597–1599: “Et sedens cepit meditari et postea dicere: *Altissimo, omnipotente, bon Signore*. Et fecit cantum in ipsis et docuit socios suos ut dicerent. Nam spiritus eius erat tunc in tanta dulcedine et consolatione, quod volebat mittere pro fratre Pacifico, qui in seculo vocabatur rex versuum et fuit valde curialis doctor cantorum, et dare sibi aliquos fratres bonos et spirituales, ut irent per mundum predicando et laudando Deum [...]. Et sic fecit usque ad diem mortis sue”. Specifically on the topic of music in the *Comedy* with an up-to-date bibliography, cf. Francesco Ciabattini, „La »Commedia« fra monodia e polifonia”, in *La Musica e Dante Percorsi sonori intorno al Sommo Poeta*, ed. Stefano A. E. Leoni (Milano: Rugginenti, 2021), 59–76, where the discussion, particularly at p. 61, might well be developed in this very sense.

suggests that the tradition and the memory of its music still lingered on in Dante's own time despite the deafening silence surrounding it in the official biographies. Certain Franciscan friars in Dante's age might still indeed have been defiantly singing the *Canticle* after their impromptu masses and Dante himself may even have heard it sung in the odd town square⁷⁴ – an additional dimension to the idea of the *Comedy* not only put to music but also, and perhaps more poignantly, full of music.

And what about other facets of structure? It has long been noticed that in his *Canticle* Francis had alternated masculine and feminine elements: "frate sole", masculine; "sora luna", feminine; "frate vento", masculine; "sor aqua", feminine; "frate focu", masculine; "sora nostra matre terra", feminine; "quelli che – beati quelli", masculine; "sora nostra morte corporale", feminine⁷⁵. More recently this structural feature has also been recognised in the very attributes connoting the alternating elements as part of an underlying Franciscan programme⁷⁶. The alternation of the masculine and the feminine is, therefore, intimately structural, even programmatic, part of the necessary balance and harmony among all things created by the common Father. Had Dante too detected this element in the *Canticle*? Is it also consequently present in the opening prayer in *Purgatory* 11? This issue and others necessarily remaining *sub judice*, it is nevertheless difficult at this point not to notice that there is indeed at the very least a certain predominance of masculine and feminine elements in Dante's tercets. The catalogue generated on the basis of the main topic/noun of each tercet is the following: *Padre*; *nome/valore*; *pace*; *voler/sacrificio*; *manna*; the theme of *perdono*; *virtù*; *preghiera*. The resulting scheme would be as follows: masculine, masculine, feminine, masculine, feminine, masculine, feminine, feminine, feminine, that is, three central couples of masculine – feminine elements, all of which surrounded by another couple, masculine-feminine respectively, indeed the main thematic couple, *Padre* – *preghiera*, suitably opening and closing the catalogue.

In conclusion, the Dantean paraphrase of the *Lord's Prayer* seems now to be a far cry indeed from a mere paraphrase. An elaborate translation, exegesis and homage, rather, to both the biblical-liturgical traditions and

74 On the dating of this second fascicle, cf. Menestò, Bassetti, „Ancora sul ms. 338 della Biblioteca Comunale di Assisi”, *Franciscana* 20 (2018): 1–77, at pp. 32, 49, further discussed in Lokaj, „Una nuova proposta”.

75 Cf. *Iacopone da Todi e la poesia religiosa del duecento*, ed. Paolo Canettieri, (Milano: BUR Biblioteca Univ. Rizzoli, 2001), 98; *Francisci Assisiensis scripta*, ed. Carlo Paolazzi, Specilegium Bonaventurianum, 36 (Grottaferrata, Roma: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventura ad Claras Aquas, 2009), 122 n. 10; Dalarun, *Il Cantico di Frate Sole*, 51.

76 Cf. Lokaj, „Una nuova proposta”.

the Franciscan tradition, this in itself homage to the Magister *par excellence*, Christ, the opening to *Purgatory* II stems from the very root of the Christian tradition of teaching how to pray, an intertextual and theological lesson in humility for the proud, almost as living, breathing and talking as the friezes on that very terrace of *Purgatory*, an eloquent and deeply moving lesson perhaps even for the proud Dante himself.

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