Cino da Pistoia and Dante Alighieri

JOHN A. SCOTT

Cino

Cino's poetic œuvre was greatly admired and cited by Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio, among others. Yet, given the minimal attention paid to Cino da Pistoia's achievements in most histories of Italian literature, it is not easy for most of us at this remove to gauge and understand the importance of the role he played in the development of the Italian lyric.¹

Most students of Dante are aware of the fact that the Florentine poet chose Cino as the exemplary Italian poet of love in De vulgari eloquentia II.11.8, while he identified himself simply as Cino's friend, amicus eius.² Already in this work, it is Cino and his friend that are deemed to have guaranteed the supremacy of the illustrious Italian vernacular over the langue d'oïl and the langue d'oc, since their compositions are more harmonious and more profound than those of their rivals in any of the three vernaculars.³ Both poets are praised for cultivating the noble, illustrious vernacular and for eschewing in their poems 'so many ugly words used by Italians, so many convoluted constructions, so many defective formations, and so many barbarous sounds'.⁴ No other Tuscan, no other Italian poet is named in these crucial passages. This striking accolade (granted c. 1304-1305) has encouraged Robert Hollander to put forward Cino as 'the prime reason for the plurality of Bonagiunta's penne' in Purgatorio XXIV, 58-60.⁵ In other words, the dolce stil novo – the new style and subject matter inaugurated by Dante's canzone Donne, ch'avev intelletto d'amore – was based on a conception of love and mystical harmony shared for a few years by Dante and Cino.

Cino's posthumous fame in the fourteenth century was assured by no less a figure than Francesco Petrarca, who ended the fourth stanza of his canzone Lasso me, chi non so in qual parte pieghi (RVF 70.40) with a direct citation of Cino's canzone, La dolce vista e 'l bel guarro soave (CXL), after incorporating the first line of a canzone attributed to Arnaut Daniel (I. 10),⁷ Guido Cavalcanti's Donna mi priegeha, per ch'io voglio dire (I. 20), Dante's Cosi nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro (I. 30), and before closing the poem with Petrarca's own canzone Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade (I. 40; cf. RVF 23). The chronological order of recognised auctoritates in the vernacular lyric is clearly established: Arnaut → Cavalcanti → Dante → Cino → Petrarca. As Roberto Antonelli points out, the order is in fact not only chronological but also personal, echoing Petrarca's own canzone, Petrarca stesso, esattamente come l'ultimo due. Cino potrebbe che non avesse veduto Petrarca stesso, esattamente come l'ultimo due. Cino potrebbe che non avesse veduto [...].⁸ The sonnet Piangete, messer Cino (I. 10), is yet another example.

Finally, there is the debt incurred when Dante had occasion to meet the famous poet in Naples (1330-31).⁹ Some fourteen octaves of his Filostrato (5.62) and guarda soave, an example of the stanzo più clamoroso omaggio che piú stato reso da poeta a poeta,¹⁰ is probably a reference to Cino.

Cino was a prolific poet who composed a total of thirty-four sonnets and elegies, and his influence can be found in thirteenth-century models, such as in the Amore (XLVI) the lady is not praised by Love himself, whose monkish poet-lover's sighs force him to delay his progress (anticipating Petrarca's famous complaint: 'my highest heaven would it be permitted 22). On earth, she is without hope, and in the hearts of those who gather round the altar of Guinizzella's lady and to Dante the sun, which pays reverence to the lady, much more should she be honored. So we find an important element of the Cino tradition.

The poet looks back to the time of Beatrice (51-52), and he is buoyed by his recovery of the total comfort and peace. The lady's love is so 'beautiful and unique' (Beatrice 67). Instead, he proclaims that the true poem is bidden to seek out Love's own. Instead, it proclaims the power and beauty of the love poem: 'Amor, amor mio, che io teco' (Canto 4). This canzone displays a number of characteristics; note that its length (70 lines) is somewhat less than that prescribed in De vulgari eloquentia (90 lines per hendecasyllable), its highly rhetorical and majestic style, with such words as amico and amanti, and its frequent occurrences of the word and
not only chronological but also hierarchical: 'visto che la poesia dolce è solo degli ultimi due. Cino potrebbe cioè essere anche un'anticipazione e copertura per Petrarcha stesso, esattamente come aveva fatto Dante nel De vulgari eloquentia [...]'. The sonnet Piangete, donne, et con voi pianga Amore (RVF 92), which Petrarch wrote (probably in early 1337) lamenting the death of 'il nostro amoroso messer Cino' (l. 10), is yet another indicator of Cino's prestige as a love poet. Finally, there is the debt incurred by Giovanni Boccaccio, who almost certainly had occasion to meet the famous poet and jurist during the latter's brief stay in Naples (1330-31). Some four or five years later, Boccaccio chose to weave into octaves of his Filostrato (5.62-65) elements taken from Cino's La dolce vista e 'l bel guardo soave, an example of artistic borrowing that constitutes 'il più esplicito e più clamoroso omaggio che nel Trecento (e forse non nel Trecento soltanto) sia stato reso da poeta a poeta'.

Cino was a prolific poet who composed at least twenty canzoni, one hundred and thirty-four sonnets and eleven ballate. His love poems are based on traditional ingredients found in thirteenth-century Italian lyrics. In Lalia speranza che mi reca Amore (XLVI) the lady is noble, a paragon of all the virtues; and, as such, she is praised by Love himself, who describes her as a source of beatitude (l. 15). The poet-lover's sighs force him to seek out solitude so that no one can hear them (anticipating Petrarch's famous sonnet Solo et pensoso [RVF 189]). Only in the highest heaven would it be possible to do justice to this lady's excellence (ll. 21-22). On earth, she is without peer and her presence destroys all vices and faults in the hearts of those who gaze on her (a miraculous power already attributed to Guinizzelli's lady and to Dante's Beatrice). This cynosure of creation is admired by the sun, which pays reverence to her: if an inanimate object so honours her, how much more should she be honoured by human beings! In the penultimate stanza we find an important element: the crucial role played by memory in Cino's poetry. The poet looks back to the time when he first saw his beloved's sweet beauty (ll. 51-52), and he is buoyed by hope of seeing her, for the sight of her affords him total comfort and peace. The final stanza is an envoi addressed to his poem, which is so 'beautiful and unique' (bella e nova) that the poet does not dare to call it his own. Instead, it proclaims the fact that Love is its maker; and in Love's name the poem is bidden to seek out Love's true followers, although they are so few (ll. 65-67).

This canzone displays a number of significant characteristics. Structurally, we note that its length (70 lines) is typical of Cino's poetic inspiration. As Dante prescribed in De vulgari eloquentia II.xv.5, the majority of verses in each stanza are hendecasyllables: 8:2. The rhymes conform to Dante's criteria for rhymes in the lofty style of the illustrious vernacular (DVE II.xvii.4-6). 'Sweetness' characterises love poetry for Dante (cf., e.g., Purg, XXIV, 57, 'dolce stil novo'; XXVI, 112, 'Li dolci detti'), and, true to this formula, Cino's lyrics contain no fewer than fifty-six occurrences of the word and its derivatives (dolcezza, dolcemente). In the canzone
chosen, it occurs in ll. 3 (‘Tanima mia dolcemente saluta’), 15 (‘[Love], ‘dolce signor’), 40 (‘e l ciel piove delezza u’ la dimora’), and 52 (‘dolce vista’). It is interesting to note that the quality of sweetness – so characteristic of the Italian lyric of this period – was one of the chief borrowings made by secular love poets from the writings of medieval mystics, in which dulcedo signified the overpowering ‘sweetness’ conferred by the experience of ‘knowing’ and loving God. However, the mystics’ assertion of love’s sweetness as experienced by the happy few retains a metaphysical quality in Dante that is absent from Cino’s poetry. Instead, we find that the ‘dolce saetta’ of the ‘dolce mio Dio’ of Love (XXVI.1 and 20) has killed the poet-lover’s heart. The emblematic word appears in the first line of Cino’s poem on his lady’s death: CXI, La dolce vista e l’el guardo soave.12

We shall not be surprised to find Cino’s beloved compared to an angel in the ballata Angel di Deo simiglia in ciascun atto (XXIV), for the comparison was already traditional. However, this angelic being’s impact on him is so shattering and so different from the one described in the canzone L’alta speranza che mi reca Amore that the poet-persona does not know how he will survive (ll. 29-30). Emphasis on the destructive effects of love is of course typical of many of Guido Cavalcanti’s lyrics. Cino reflects this view in his sonnet Amore è uno spirito ch’ände (XXXVII). However, taking his cue from ll. 41-50 of Guinizelli’s celebrated canzone Al cor gentil rempiafa sempre Amore, in a ballata (XV) Cino plays on the conceit that he cannot stop gazing at madonna’s beautiful face. He will therefore look at her so steadfastly that he will be blessed on earth like an angel beholding God in heaven: ‘cosi, essendo umana creatura, / guardando la figura / di quella donna che tene l’el cor mio, / porria beato divenir qui io’. The artificiality of the comparison is revealed by the use of the conditional tense in l. 11 (‘porria beato divenir’), following on the apparent certainty of the future tense in l. 1 4: ‘diverrò beato’. As glimpsed in l. 15 of L’alta speranza, when his lady is described as Questa salute, the link forged by Dante in VN 11 between salutare (‘to greet’) and salute (‘health / salvation / beatitude’) inspires the first two lines of a sonnet in praise of Cino’s lady, ‘Tutto mi salva il dolce salutare / che ven da quella ch’è somma salute’ (II). Such extravagant praise of Cino’s beloved is all too clearly poetic licence.

Alliteration is a common feature of Cino’s poetry: successful, e.g., in the last line of CVI (‘pasci l’meo cor dolente disperato’); not so, in the excessive use of sibilants in LIX.4 (‘dimanzi a la saetta sua s’assise’). Another characteristic is the frequent use of exclamation of unhappiness such as Lasso and Oimè (e.g. in the opening lines of LXXIV, CXIX, LXV, LXXV, XXIX, CXXIII).13 As we shall have occasion to emphasise, Cino denied that he was an ‘artist’. In spite of this denial, however, he was a master craftsman. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the canzone CIII, Quando potrò io dir: ‘Dolce mio dio ...’. In the first stanza, the first line of the sirma echoes that of the fons: ‘Quando potrò io dir: ‘Signor venace ...”. The second stanza opens with ‘In Crescati di me, signor possente’, a ‘prayer’ repeated in the first line of ‘Dolce Dio’ and again in the last (‘di vita morto’). The first section is a repetition. Its first line ‘Mio Dio’ is a repetition of the word signing mio solo a cui mi rivolgo’ (l. 28-30: ‘muoviti a piene lagrime spando’)...

With the sonnet Tutto cieco into the realm of the truly blind, others disfigured by the swoon of Nero, and that all beautiful woman who hates being happy, he would say to himself: all this is killing his thoughts. Another note is struck with some friends for not giving in to an ingrained legal terminology: in sonnet VI.3 by Love, whose messenger von pueschel rises in spite of Pity’s appeal for the woman who saves not grant justice to the ‘therefore’) is, with twenty-... Cino’s style and profession.14

Following the conventions of identity. In LXXVIII it is the poet’s desire to make the poet-persona her celebration in Cino’s life. He contains a marginal note to himself that signifies ‘Selvaggia [dei] Verggini’, that he would willingly become. ‘The names should reveal the essence of the person, not only life he will know will be beautiful’ (‘Dolce Dio’). Selvaggia died between canzone quotes (CXXIII). Cino’s ability to build up a song, to die and be buried beside Senac, ‘l mio signore, / mi diparti’ po’ l mio dolore’ (ll. 12-14).

Cino, Cavalcanti and Dante...

Since Cino was younger than his fellow Florentine poet in thought – he was one of the people Dante dedicated (1283: VN 3.10-12). Cino did,
repeated in the first line of the second part of the frons ('In cresceti la guerra de la mente') and again in the first line of the sirma ('In cresceti del cor, che giace morto'). The first section of the final stanza creates a veritable phalanx of repetition. Its first line 'Muoviti, omai, signor cui sempre adoro' leads to the repetition of the word signor in the next two lines ('signor cui tanto chiamo, / signor mio solo a cui mi raccomando'); and, in the second pes of the frons, 'muoviti' echoes the opening words of the first line, with the triple repetition of 'vedi' (ll. 28-30: 'muoviti a pietà, vedi ch'io moro, / vedi per te quint'amo, / vedi per te quante lagrime spando').

With the sonnet Tutto ciò ch'altri agra a me disgrada (CIX) Cino ventured into the realm of the troubadours' plazier and enueg. He loves to see the faces of others disfigured by the sword, and ships sinking; he would love to meet a second Nero, and that all beautiful women should be transformed into ugly old hags. He hates being happy, he would love to play the madman all day and kill everyone he kills in his thoughts. Another unusual sonnet is CXXII, in which Cino berates some friends for not giving him a dog. At other times, Cino the jurist introduces legal terminology: in sonnet L1 the persona is summoned to the court of Justice by Love, whose messenger warns him that the 'sentenza' passed will be harsh, in spite of Pity's appeal for the defence. Again, in XXXIX.41-42, Madonna is a 'lord' who does not grant justice to her faithful servant who is dying. Dunque' (l. 52: 'therefore') is, with twenty-four occurrences (duque/adunque), symptomatic of Cino's style and profession.14

Following the conventions of courtly love, Cino used a senhal to 'hide' his lady's identity. In LXXVIII it is the merla, from whose nere penne Love issued forth and made the poet-persona her captive. The lady's dark hair distinguishes her from the most celebrated of Cino's loves, who had fair tresses. Pilli's edition (1559) contains a marginal note to CXIX.6, which explains that 'le piante di Vergiolo' signifies 'Selvaggia [dei] Vergioleni', for whom the poet-persona tells us in l. 12 that he would willingly become a convert to Islam. Playing on the conceit that names should reveal the essence of the person named, in LV.8 Cino claims that the only life he will know will be a 'savage' one (l. 8, 'vita no avrò se non selvagia-mente'). Selvaggia died between 1307 and 1310. Her death inspired not only the canzone quoted above (CXXIII) but also a sonnet (CXXIV), which demonstrates Cino's ability to build up a sonnet to a climax. After calling on Love to allow him to die and be buried beside Selvaggia's tomb, he tells us: 'Ma poi che non m'intese / l mio signore, / mi diparti pur chiamando Selvaggia; / l'alpe passai con voce di dolore' (ll. 12-14).

Cino, Cavalcanti and Dante
Since Cino was younger than Dante (b. 1265), it seems unlikely that – as was long thought – he was one of the poets who replied to Dante's first sonnet (written in 1283: VN 3.10-12). Cino did, however, compose a canzone (CXXV), Aveagna ched
el m’aggia per tempo, to comfort Dante after Beatrice’s death in June 1290. Its structure reflects that of Dante’s *Donna pietosa e di novella estate* (VN 23.17-28). The prevalence of hendecasyllables in each fourteen-line stanza (12:2) and its elevated style led Dante to cite it in *DVE* II.vi.6, where this metrical twin of *Donna pietosa* is chosen with other examples of the ‘supreme construction’ worthy of the ‘illustrious vernacular’. The significance of Beatrice’s name is glossed (II. 7-8) as indicating her early ‘beatification’ in heaven. Cino exploits such clichés as the fact that life in ‘questo cieco mondo’ is nothing but anguish and suffering, and truly blessed is the soul that leaves it for heavenly beatitude (II. 15-20). Recalling Dante’s ‘forecast’ of Beatrice’s death in *Donne ch’avete intelletto d’amore*, Cino reminds his friend that God ‘volle di lei, / com’avea l’angiol detto, / fare il cielo perfetto’ (II. 23-25). Cino speaks of Dante’s soul, ‘che ancora spera / vederla in cielo’, although he adds the most uni-Dantean rider: ‘e star ne le sue braccia’ (II. 54-55). In the poem’s envoi, Cino’s Beatrice refers to Dante’s discovery of the ‘poetry of praise’ (cf. VN 18.6-9): ‘Mentre ched io fui / nel mondo, ricevei onor da lui, / laudando me ne’ suoi’ / detti laudati’. Recently, Michelangelo Picone has argued forcefully that it was in fact this *canzone* that revealed to Dante the way to overcome the *impasse* created by his Beatrice’s demise. Composed before the *Vita Nova*, Cino’s poem envisaged for the first time Dante’s spiritual journey to his beloved’s new home, *Paradise* (cf. VN 41.7-9). Beatrice was now established as *beata Beatrix*.

After learning of Dante’s death (September 1321), Cino composed his *canzone* (CLXIV), whose metrical structure (ABB/ABB/ // CDD/DEE) is the same as that of Dante’s *Così nel mio parlar vogli’esser aspro*. The opening line ‘Su per la costa, Amor, de l’alto monte’ contains an echo of *Paradiso* XI, 45 (‘fertile costa d’alto’), although here it is made to signify Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses. In this heartfelt lament of the grievous loss sustained by humanity Dante’s poetry is praised for its ‘sweet’ clarity (II. 22-23: ‘Ah dolce lingua, che con t[u]oi latini / facéi contento ciascun che t’audia’). In the envoi, Cino apostrophises the *nuda Firenze* and praises the city that had given shelter to Dante in his last years: ‘quella savia Ravenna che serba / il tuo tesoro, allegra se ne goda ... Cosi volesse Idio che per vendetta / fosse deserta l’iniqua tua setta’ (cf. Dante, *Rime* XCI.100: *Di trarlo fuori di mala setta*). 

Scholars have tended to exclude or minimise the possibility that Cino influenced Dante. However, in recent years a number of scholars have illustrated this two-way traffic. Brugnolo lists examples of *loci* in the *Comedy* that were probably the result of Dante’s reading of Cino’s verses. Even the celebrated words in Provençal attributed to Arnaut Daniel in *Purgatorio* XXVI, 147, ‘sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor’ may well hark back to Cino’s ‘e soverrebbe a voi del mio dolore’ (LXIV.7) – with the ironic twist that Cino’s sonnet was itself modelled on the episode of the *gabbo* in *Vita Nova* 14. I would also point to sonnet CLX.9-11 as a forerunner or parallel to the inspiration Dante was to claim for his poetry in *Purgatorio* XXIV, 52-54. Wherever the one that dictates to Cino is the first tercet that he need fear for his sonnet, he writes proceed from Love’s spirit to the Holy Spirit. Revealing that the older poet what he was modelled on which Guido had, it would have been borrowed a great deal from the dolor la mente’ (XXVIII.12) coming from a Guido.19 Revealing that the line ‘Cavalcanti and Dante, Grimm’s assertion in II. 8-9 that he is not more, he does not hide *disdegno*. This creates a strikingly Dante’s journey (Inf. X, 63), except ‘n’egno (I. 12, cf. Inf. X, 59-62) ammunition for Dante when which he made Guido’s father of him, if Dante’s journey is a return with mock modesty, Cino clairvoyant opposed to Cavalcanti’s philosopher.

Cino’s absence from the *Corona* (1304) is mentioned above, Robert Hollander’s his ideal companion when he wrote Inf. 54. Even more significant is Hollander’s Beatrice the prophetic function of the XVII, ’and that she would have of Dante’s poetic brethren’ (TOL), and that the change was ‘Cino’s deflection from John wrote the *canzone* cited above of three sonnets fiercely hostile to Cino. Luca Carlo Rossi offers a first accuses Dante of having approved the right by wrong. The second was the egregious mistakes: that despite Daniel in his *Purgatorio*, Dante’s of the Onesti (cf. *DVE* I.xv.6); the next to Beatrice among the blessings, for the possibility that Cino per
Purgatorio XXIV, 52-54. Whereas the Love that dictates to Dante is the Holy Spirit, the one that dictates to Cino is purely terrestrial. Nevertheless, Cino's boast in the first tercet that he need fear no one when he speaks of Love, for the verses he writes proceed from Love's spirit, 'che parla in me' (l. 9-11), is the nearest precedent to Dante's bold claim (in Purg. XXIV, 52-54) to be God's scribe inspired by the Holy Spirit.16

In a sonnet addressed to Cavalcanti (hence, written before 1301) Cino asked the older poet what he was supposed to have taken from him (CXXXI) and for which Guido had, it would seem, branded him 'si vil ladro'. Certainly, Cino borrowed a great deal from the older poet: indeed, the line 'm'have si piena di dolor la mente' (XXVIII.2) constitutes 'omaggio più esplicito che Cino abbia reso a Guido'.19 Revealing that the bulk of Cino's sonnet CXXXI is filled with echoes of Cavalcanti and Dante, Gorni (pp. 131ff.) highlights the significance of Cino's assertion in ll. 8-9 that he is no 'artista'; nor is he a thief of another poet's material; moreover, he does not hide his ignorance behind contempt for others (con disdegno). This creates a striking parallel with Guido's 'disdegno' for the goal of Dante's journey (Inf. X, 63), especially as Cino makes disdegno (l. 10) rhyme with 'ngegno' (l. 12, cf. Inf. X, 59-63). Cino would thus seem to have provided verbal ammunition for Dante when the latter came to write the dramatic episode in which he made Guido's father ask the pilgrim why his son does not accompany him, if Dante's journey is a reward for his 'altezza d'ingegno' (Inf. X, 59). Instead, with mock modesty, Cino claims that he is a man of 'basso ngegno' (l. 12), as opposed to Cavalcanti's philosophical pretentiousness.

Cino's absence from the Comedy, after the praise bestowed on him in Dante's De vulgari eloquentia (1304-1305), has puzzled generations of scholars. As mentioned above, Robert Hollander has argued that Dante had Cino in mind as his ideal companion when he 'defined' his dolce stil novo in Purgatorio XXIV, 52-54. Even more significant is Hollander's hypothesis that Dante intended to assign to Beatrice the prophetic function eventually given to Cacciaguida in Paradiso XVII, 'and that she would have done so by including Cino as the most significant of Dante's poetic brethren' ('Dante and Cino' 219). The reason for the radical change was 'Cino's defection from the imperial cause' (p. 218). Although Cino wrote the canzone cited above on the loss sustained by the world at Dante's death, three sonnets fiercely hostile to the Florentine poet have at times been ascribed to Cino. Luca Carlo Rossi offers a lucid examination of this problematic trinity.20 The first accuses Dante of having aped other poets in his Comedy and having replaced right by wrong. The second (Infra gli altri difetti del libello) denounces two egregious mistakes: that despite the presence of poets such as Sordello and Arnaut Daniel in his Purgatorio, Dante made no mention of the Bolognese poet Onesto degli Onesti (cf. DVE l.xv.6); the second error was not to have placed Selvaggia next to Beatrice among the blessed. Gorni ('Cino "vil ladro"' 137-38) makes a case for the possibility that Cino penned these sonnets in later years, when he may
Valerius Maximus, Cassiodorus, Bede, and Priscian. His stay in France saw the fall of the castles in that country, the black death (Par. XXVII, 58-60), and the death of Cino (Par. XIX, 118-20).

Cino deplores the frequency of the senex legal, the senex lawyer, the senex judge, the senex bought and sold. Cino will aim to show the relationship between the traditions of the Canon lawyers and the Church, on grounds of sin. He argues that there is a justice in all things, but that there is no spiritual matters that pertained to the moon.

After Henry VII’s death, Pope Gregory XI (1314), which stated that the catholics of Naples was not valid, since there was no lex de acknowledgement of the first rank principle of the first rank principle the accused must be condemned to the Church, ‘on grounds of sin’.21 However, Cino claims that the pope’s argument was not valid, and that the emperor’s right to condemn the state was not valid, and that the pope was not an emperor.

This opinion is contradicted by Cino. Cino makes a remarkable volte face. Cino argues that the pope assumes imperial power and may accept many of the claims of Christ’s vicar on earth, the pope. Cino may depose another person. Cino’s phraseology was for salvaion to believe that the pope through the priesthood [papacy] asserted that the empire proceeded...
Valerius Maximus, Cassiodorus, Boethius, St Jerome, Isidore of Seville, Orosius and Priscian. His stay in France inspired references to the great number of feudal castles in that country, the bad reputation of the inhabitants of Cahors (Inf. XI, 50; Par. XXVII, 58-60), and the debasing of the French currency by Philip the Fair (cf. Par. XIX, 118-20).

Cino deplores the frequency of family vendettas in Italy (especially in Tuscany), the venality of judges ‘in the lands of the Church, where everything may be bought and sold’. Cino will aim at concision and avoid verbosos commentarios. At times he does not hesitate to cross swords with his great predecessor Accursius (c. 1182-1260), nor does he necessarily accept the opinion of the majority (‘even if a thousand were to say this, they would all be wrong’). Cino attacks the pretensions of the canon-lawyers who would bring everything under the control of the Church, ‘on grounds of sin’. He does not hesitate to accuse the papal curia of hypocrisy and corruption. Churchmen are wrong in asserting that adultery is the worst crime, for ‘homicide is worse’. The emperor is lord of all. He receives his power not from the pope but directly from God. Indeed, Cino overturns the traditional allegorical interpretation of the two ‘great luminaries’ created by God (Gen. 1.16), by comparing imperial authority to the sun and papal authority to the moon.21 However, Cino opposed any interference by civil authorities in spiritual matters that pertained to the Church’s jurisdiction.

After Henry VII’s death, Pope Clement V issued the bull Pastoralis cura (March 1314), which stated that the late emperor’s condemnation of King Robert of Naples was not valid, since the latter was the pope’s vassal. Pastoralis cura was in fact a milestone ‘of the first rank in legal history’ in that it formulated the legal principle that the accused must be given the opportunity to defend themselves in court.22 As mentioned above, Cino disputed the matter in his Quaestio ‘Rector civitatis’ in Siena (1321). Cino’s text has been lost, although there are a number of contemporary references to it. It would appear that Cino’s sense of Realpolitik led him to admit that Robert held his kingdom directly from the Church; he also recognised the autonomy of the Italian states. Nevertheless, Cino upheld the emperor’s right to condemn Robert for high treason. He also denied the pope’s right to assume imperial powers during an interregnum.

This opinion is contradicted by the subsequent Lectura Digesti Veteris, in which Cino makes a remarkable volte-face by stating that when the empire is vacant, the pope assumes imperial power and authority. This work shows that Cino had come to accept many of the claims for papal supremacy made by the hierocrats. As Christ’s vicar on earth, the pope is entitled to wield temporal power and jurisdiction; he may depose an emperor, and he may even transfer the empire to another people. Cino’s phrasing is interesting: ‘nowadays [hodie], it is necessary for salvation to believe that the empire proceeds from heaven not directly but through the priesthood [papacy]’. Whereas in his Lectura super Codice, he had asserted that the empire proceeded directly from God, he now sided with the
hierocrats — and the word *hodie* (‘today; nowadays’) bears witness to its volto-face.

Despite these changes of heart, in all his legal writings Cino demonstrated that he ‘abhorred breaking faith ... Nothing greater is owed to a man than the honoring of pacts’25—surely, a fitting tribute to the humanity of Dante’s erstwhile friend, Messer Cino amoroso.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Notes


2. Cf., *DVE* II.i.7: ‘Quare hec tria, salus videlicet, venus et virtus, apparent esse illa magnalia que sint maxime praetractanda [...] Cynum Pistoriensem amorem, amicum eius rectitudinem’.

3. *DVE* I.x.2: ‘primo quidem quod cui dulcis subtuliusque poetae vulgariter sunt, hii familiares et domestici sui sunt, putas Cynus Pistoriensis et amicus eius.’


7. The poem was probably written by Guilhem de Saint Gregori, although *Razo e dreyt ai sim chan e m demori* was cited as ‘Drez e rayson es qu’ieu ciant e m demori’ and was judged to be the work of Arnaut (Rerum vulgarium fragmenta 70.10). All quotations of Petrarch’s poems are taken from: Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, edizione commentata a cura di Marco Santangela (nuova edizione aggiornata), Milan: Mondadori, 2004.


9. Antonelli (ibid.), who points to the clear echo found in Petrarch’s sonnet 92 (*Piangete, donne, et con voi pianga Amore*) of Dante’s *Piangete, amanti, e con voi pianga amore* (VPN 8.4-6), observes that ‘Petrarch […] guarda a Cino allo stesso modo di Dante: sono loro gli *auctores* che hanno poetato dulcis […]’. Again, the sonnet that first proclames and laments Laura’s death (RVF 267, *Oime il bel viso, oime il soave squando*) contains a veritable mosaic made up of ‘evidenti e riconoscibili citazioni dalla canzone ciniana in morte di Selvaggia (Oime, lasso, quelle trezze bionde) e, di nuovo, da *La dolce vista* e ‘il bel guardo soave’ (Antonio Cesare Salvi, *Triumphus Cupidinis* 4,28-36. Cfr. anche, per il numero dei corrispondenti del tempo* (Armando Balduino, Olschki, 1984, p. 145).

10. See: Vittorio Branca and P. G. Ruggieri, *Sul Boccaccio*, 5 (1969), 1-18. Of note is the poet to write what he terms ‘Veo, i dolce paese’ which is hidden under the filth and pollution rejected by Nero or Attila the Hun. (Il copy of Cino’s legal masterpiece in part be judged by the number of breakings culminating in the one public accomplishments, see: Gennaro Olschki, *Appendice di documenti inediti*: Cino da Pistoia e la giurisprudenza del Novecento, 13 ottobre 1975, Rome: Accademia. 11. A. Balduino, p. 183, who goes on to insert [...] non resta certo isola de Boccaccio lirico, l’ascendenza dei documenti contestatistic’ (p. 188). Cf., however, two passages in the *Decameron* made use of Cino’s oeuvre ‘in cui si presenta una critica alla poetica ciniana e ‘a poetica dell’amore nella paradossale’ (op. cit. 29.1) (2001), 55.

12. In sonnet XIII.7 it is the turn of the epithet: ‘le trece bionde e ’l dolce paese’.

13. In spite of his pessimistic conception, which record only one example.


15. Cf. *Donne ch’avete*, I. 15-21; ‘And have altro difetto / Che d’aver lost merzede’.


18. It is worthwhile citing the origin of the word d’Amor? che dal suo spirito pi...
vista e 'l bel guardo soave' (Antonelli, p. 447). See also the mention of Cino in Petrarch's Triumplus Cupidinis 4.28-36. Cino's fame as a poet also led to 'un carteggio in versi che, per il numero dei corrispondenti e dei testi superstiti, non ha uguali fra i rimatorti del tempo' (Armando Balduino, Boccaccio, Petrarca e altri poeti del Trecento, Florence: Olschki, 1984, p. 145).

10. See: Vittorio Branca and P. G. Ricci, 'Uncontro napoletano con Cino da Pistoia', Studi sul Boccaccio, 5 (1969), 1-18. Cino's Neapolitan experiences (1330-31) inspired the poet to write what he terms 'Vera satira mia', the canzone (CLXV, Deh, quando rivedrò 'l dolce paese) which is hidden to tell the world the truth about Naples: it harbours all the filth and pollution rejected by the sea, and its inhabitants deserve to be governed by Nero or Attila the Hun (ll. 25 and 34-35). Nevertheless, King Robert acquired a copy of Cino's legal masterpiece, the Lectura super Codice, whose importance may in part be judged by the number of manuscripts extant and the seven published editions, culminating in the one published at Frankfurt in 1578. For this aspect of Cino's accomplishments, see: Gennaro M. Monti, Cino da Pistoia giurista (con bibliografia e tre appendici di documenti inediti), Città di Castello: Il Solco, 1924; Guido Astuti, 'Cino da Pistoia e la giurisprudenza del suo tempo' in Colloquio Cino da Pistoia (Roma, 25 ottobre 1975), Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1976, pp. 129-52.

11. A. Balduino, p. 183, who goes on to illustrate the way in which 'il macroscopico inserto [...] non resta certo isolato' (p. 184), while emphasising 'la possibilità che, sul Boccaccio lirico, l'ascendente ciniaco sia stato notevolissimo anche sul piano contenutistico' (p. 188). Cf., however, Susanna Barsella's analysis of Fìlostrato 5.62-65 and two passages in the Decameron (III.5; X.7), which leads to the claim that Boccaccio made use of Cino's oeuvre 'in chiave parodica', so that we have in fact what amounts to 'una critica alla poetica ciniaca' (S. Barsella, 'Boccaccio e Cino da Pistoia: critica alla poetica dell'amore nella parodia di Fìlostrato V e Decameron III.5, X.7', Italianistica, 29-1 [2001], 55).

12. In sonnet XIII.7 it is the turn of the lady's sguardo to be accompanied by the ubiquitous epithet: 'le treccie bionde e 'l dolce sguardo fino'.

13. In spite of his pessimistic conception of love, oine is not found in Cavalcanti's poems, which record only one example of lasso.


15. Cf. Donne ch'avete, ll. 15-21; 'Angelo clama in divino intelletto [...] Lo cielo, che non have altro difetto / che d'aver lei, al suo segnor la chiede, / e ciascun santo ne grida merzede'.


18. It is worthwhile citing the original (CLX.9-11): 'Dunque di cui dottar deggio parlando / d'Amor? che dal suo spirito procede, / che parla in me, ciò ch'io dico rimando'.
19. Domenico De Robertis, ‘Cino e Cavalcanti o le due rive della poesia’, Studi medievali, 18 (1932), 91. Cino even manages to improve on his model: e.g., [i miei sospiri] ‘e vanno sol ragionando dolore’, l. 7 of Cavalcanti’s sonnet ‘Se Merce fosse amica a miei disiri’, becomes Cino’s more dramatic ‘onde i sospiri miei parlan dolore’ (Cl.12; emphasis mine).


23. Ibid., p. 129.

Works Cited


De Robertis, Domenico, ‘Cino e le “imitazioni” dalle Rime di Dante’, Studi danteschi, 29 (1950).

De Robertis, Domenico, ‘Cino e Cavalcanti o le due rive della poesia’, Studi medievali, 18 (1952).


Monti, Gennaro M., Cino da Pistoia giurista (con bibliografia e tre appendici di documenti inediti), Città di Castello: Il Solec, 1924.


