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The Emergence of the *Cantigas d'Amor*.
A Philological Investigation of Poets, Genres, Manuscripts
and their Compilers.

VOLUME I

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Thesis abstract

The *cantigas d'amor* are a genre within medieval Galician-Portuguese lyric. It is numerically expressive and was seemingly considered the highest poetic form in its time. This thesis explains its rise and history, focusing on its manuscript tradition, its compilation history and its formal characteristics. It opens with a codicological analysis of the thirteenth-century songbook *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*. This chapter complements previous studies, offering new information on the *mise-en-page* and analysing variation occurring throughout the manuscript. It concludes that the manuscript does not constitute a single unity, but should be explained as an evolving work of at least two different teams. The second chapter builds on this conclusion in order to reconstruct the songbook's lacunae. Missing folios are reconstructed based on *mise-en-page* conventions and its variation. It reviews the problem of putative lacunae for which there is no textual evidence, arguing that the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* is less damaged than previously admitted. Chapters 3 and 4 compare the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* with other manuscripts, proposing a theory on how the *cantigas d'amor* were gradually assembled. Chapter 3 develops a general theory on compilation which accounts for all three surviving songbooks. It infers the contents and structure of three lost songbooks. Chapter 4 provides specific details on how the corpus of each poet who composed *cantigas d'amor* was compiled. Chapter 5 provides a literary analysis of the *cantigas d'amor* composed by the earliest poets (c.1180-c.1240). It explains the emergence of this genre by drawing a poetic profile of twenty-five poets, analysing their corpora and accounting for their compilation. Overall, the study offers extensive explanations on the structure of existing and lost songbooks, on the compilation history of the *cantigas d'amor*, on how the genre emerged in direct relationship with other lyric genres and on the range of formal possibilities explored by the poets.

Longer abstract

The *cantigas d'amor* are a medieval genre of courtly lyric poetry, developed in Iberia after the influential Occitan troubadour tradition. Despite its relatively low appreciation in modern times, this genre constitutes the largest share of the whole Galician-Portuguese lyric corpus and was seemingly considered the highest poetic form in its time. This thesis seeks to explain the first manifestations and history of this genre by focusing on its manuscript tradition, its compilation history and its formal characteristics.

It opens with an Introduction to the thesis which, apart from explaining its structure, conventions and rationale, introduces the metric and versification conventions employed in the genre *cantiga d'amor*, fine-tuning some pre-existent scholarly categories which, so far, have failed to reflect the multiple shades employed by poets. The thesis then proceeds to a material analysis of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, a thirteenth-century Iberian manuscript songbook, and one of the most important sources for the *cantigas d'amor*. This chapter seeks to complement existing codicological studies, adding new information on the *mise-en-page* and analysing, per gathering, variation occurring throughout the manuscript. It concludes that the manuscript does not constitute a single unity, as previously understood, but should be explained as an evolving work of at least two different teams. The second chapter builds on this conclusion in order to reconstruct the songbook's lacunae. Based on the understanding of conventions and variation in each section, its missing folios are reconstructed based on a comparison with other manuscript sources. The chapter also reviews the problem of putative lacunae for which there is no textual evidence and concludes that the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* is less damaged than previously admitted. With a firm definition of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*'s original contents, chapters 3 and

4 compare all three main manuscript sources in order to establish a theory on how the *cantigas d'amor* were gradually assembled and compiled in large songbooks. Chapter 3 analyses the whole structure of those three manuscripts, explaining how compilation occurred chronologically. It also deduces, following earlier studies, the existence of another three lost songbooks, related to the surviving sources, and infers their presumed contents and structure. Chapter 4 provides specific details on how the corpus of each poet who composed *cantigas d'amor* was compiled. Chapter 5 applies the new understanding regarding compilation and metrics to provide a literary analysis of the *cantigas d'amor* composed by the earliest poets (1180-1240). It explains the emergence of this genre by drawing a poetic profile of twenty-five poets, analysing their corpora from a formal and thematic point of view as well as accounting for their compilation. The first volume closes with a conclusion.

The second volume of the thesis includes four appendices, which support the discussion of individual chapters from volume I. The first appendix is dedicated to the gathering structure of the CA. It reproduces the diagram of gathering structure published by Michaëlis in 1904, a different diagram published in 1994 facsimile reflecting the codex after the first restoration, a third diagram representing the codex after the second restoration, and a final fourth diagram representing our reconstruction of the codex's original state. The four diagrams allow one to see not only how the codex changed, but also a range of possible solutions regarding binding structure, gathering size, amount and position of lost folios. The second appendix offers a precise reconstruction of lost folios based on *mise-en-page* conventions. Images of lost folios are recreated allowing one to see how the text available in other sources would actually fit in the lost pages. Specific details on the metrics of lost *cantigas* and their relation to manuscript layout is also included, allowing the reconstruction to be

verified and potentially questioned. Appendices 1 and 2 support the discussion of chapter 2.

Appendix 3 is a catalogue both on the metrics of the *cantigas d'amor* and on their compilation. It is more than a comparative table and different from a metrical repertory for it functions on several levels: comparing different surviving manuscripts, explaining compilation and inferring lost manuscripts, documenting and comparing metrical data. Therefore, one should be mindful of its various uses. It lays out the lyric material comparing its order across several surviving manuscripts while providing synoptic metrical data. It supports the discussions on compilation undertaken in chapters 3 and 4 as well as those on the literary profile of the early poets in chapter 5. The appendix also functions as a reference tool in its own right by compiling information from editions and the metrical repertory.

Appendix 4 lists the *cantigas d'amor* not included in appendix 3. It simply offers the lyric material by manuscript order, generally lacking the metrical data. Its use is far more limited, merely supporting a specific section of chapter 4.

The thesis contributes to the study of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* by adding extensive codicological observations and thoroughly reviewing the existing secondary literature on this manuscript. It also proposes new possibilities for considering its construction. The codicological deductions offered constitute a whole theory, tightly coherent with itself and capable of explaining the manuscript's gradual physical evolution in time. The codicological deductions also constitute the basis for a new theory on compilation. This compilation theory has two dimensions: a general explanation on how songbooks grew over time and specific explanations on how each *cantiga d'amor* was sourced and introduced in the songbooks. The theory admits more elaborate phenomena than previous theories or *stemmata codici*. It addresses

their shortcomings and offers a more thorough account on how the *cantigas d'amor* were collected. The literary study, of more limited breadth, focuses on the metrics of the earliest poets who composed *cantigas d'amor* and proposes that the very concept of genre developed gradually, as poets experimented with thematic and formal possibilities.

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Introduction.

1. The Galician-Portuguese Lyric

The discovery, in modern times, of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and, with it, of the Galician-Portuguese lyric, was relatively early, 1823, when Charles Stuart published its first edition.¹ This could not have been timelier: the 1820s saw the rise of Romance Philology with F. Diez, who also published, in this same decade, three books on the Occitan troubadours thus inaugurating, from a contemporary point of view, Occitan lyric scholarship.² In 1850 F. A. Varnhagen published the first full edition of the Iberian *cancioneiro* and, in 1863, Diez himself published a study on Galician-Portuguese lyric.³ Yet, despite its precocity, Galician-Portuguese lyric scholarship developed at its own pace: while the nineteenth century can be truly held to be a promising beginning for Occitan scholarship, first with Diez and then with G. Gröber; for Iberian lyric, it is only in the twentieth century with C. Michaelis's grand edition, in 1904, that we recognise the foundation of a field.⁴ Michaëlis was followed by the editions of J. J. Nunes and then M. R. Lapa, and so, by 1965, the whole corpus was available in print.⁵

¹ Stuart, 1823.

² Diez, 1825; 1826; 1829. For Diez as one of the two possible founders of Romance Philology, see Mölk, 1986, p.21; Gumbrecht, 1986.

³ Varnhagen, 1849; Diez, 1863.

⁴ Michaëlis, 1904.

⁵ Nunes, 1926-28; 1932; Lapa, 1970.

The corpus is recorded in three main manuscripts, the medieval Iberian *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (CA) aforementioned, and two early-modern Italian *cancioneiros*, the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (CBN) and the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* (CV).⁶ The more comprehensive of the two, CBN, also features a fragmentary poetic treatise, the so-called *Arte de Trovar*,⁷ which suggests that the whole corpus was then divided into three main genres: *cantigas d'amor* and *cantigas d'amigo*, both about love by a male and a female speaker respectively, and the *cantigas d'escarnho e maldizer*, the satirical genre, which lumps together all that is not love poetry. This is supported by a tripartite generic division in the Italian manuscripts and the overwhelming predominance of *amor* pieces in the CA; while contemporary scholarship has only reinforced it, since the early editions, by Nunes and Lapa, were editions based on genres.

The present study will focus on the almost seven hundred *amor* pieces which were composed by just over one hundred and fifty poets during a century and a half of lyric production.

⁶ Facsimiles: Matos; et al., 1994; Cintra, 1973; 1982. Electronic facsimiles: Lopes, Ferreira, et al.

⁷ D'Heur, 1975a; Tavani, 1999.

2. Note on conventions

2.1. Manuscript sigla

For Galician-Portuguese manuscripts, we have consciously opted for the slightly old-fashioned format – CA, CBN, CV; against A, B, V, even though the latter predominate today in secondary literature.⁸ C is the standard siglum for the *Tavola Colocciana*.⁹ The two fragments *Pergaminho Sharrer* and *Pergaminho Vindel* are outside the scope of this thesis. Poems are referred by their manuscript acronym followed by their order number.

2.2. Names and spelling

The convention adopted here is to employ modern Portuguese spelling for most names. However, the preposition *de* followed by vowel is spelt with the apostrophe (Pero d'Ornelas, rather than de Ornelas). Spanish kings like Alfonso X are spelt with *l* rather than the Portuguese form Afonso.

Some poets are referred to in different ways by different scholars. João de Guilhade is here referred to as João Garcia de Guilhade. We adopt Martim Moxa over Martim Moya.* The Italian-born poet, Bonifaci Calvo (P-C 101), within Galician-Portuguese scholarship, is at times called Bonifácio Calvo, at others, Bonifácio de Gênova. Here he is referred to as Bonifácio Calvo, de Gênova.

⁸ The latter seems to originate from Pellegrini, 1939. Strangely, it does not even conform to the traditional norm according to which one should employ Latin letters, in alphabetical order, using upper- and lower-case to distinguish between paper and parchment manuscripts. If one was to be punctilious, CA would become a, CBN would be B and CV would be C.

⁹ Edition and facsimile: Gonçalves, 1976.

* *Vide*: “Na verdade, embora estes dados referentes ao apelido Moya sejam interessantes, o facto é que, nos manuscritos, a forma Moxa não só é a dominante, como chega mesmo a ocorrer em rima com “roxa”, numa composição de João de Gaia que alude ao trovador. Uma parte dos investigadores, entre os quais Tavani, descartam, pois, a forma Moya, defendendo ser Moxa a forma correcta para o seu apelido.” In: Lopes, Ferreira, et al.

Whenever there is a difference between Brazilian and European Portuguese spelling, such as *Gênova* and *Génova*, we have opted for the Brazilian variant. The word *Anônimo* is given in English, *Anonymous*.

2.3. Corpus size and attribution

Occasionally, the attribution of a poem remains controversial. Such cases are discussed casuistically, as they emerge, throughout the thesis.

2.4. Genre classification

Galician-Portuguese genres were traditionally considered to be three, in what can be described as a love poetry-centred classification (love poems with male speaker, love poems with female speaker, the rest), but more recent scholarship has multiplied genres and subgenres.

In this thesis we consider the main genres to be: *cantigas d'amor*, *cantigas d'amigo*, satirical and *tenções*. The first three are distinguished on a thematic basis; the last, featuring any theme, including *tenções d'amor*, is essentially any poem composed by two poets. The minor genres acknowledged here are *cantigas de change*, *pastorelas*, elegiac and eulogiac poetry.

A final and special group is the unclassifiable or dubious genre which has been reserved for those very few cases where there is a standing critical debate over a piece's genre. Occasionally, just like in the attribution section, we have found disagreement on generic classification, and discussed these cases as applicable.

2.5. Codicological terminology

The codicological terminology employed follows Denis Muzerelle.¹⁰ This vocabulary received an online version in 2003 with translations into Italian, Spanish and English, the latter being the least complete of all. As a rule, we use the original French terms.

¹⁰ Muzerelle, 1985.

3. This thesis

Presented in two volumes, this study has five chapters, of analytical nature, in its first volume. The second has three appendices with data which can be consulted while the first volume is read.

3.1. Volume I

The thesis initially seeks to demonstrate whose corpora were fed into compilations together, when and by which compiler. Moving beyond seemingly monolithic manuscripts, we break them down into successive waves of compilation, which gradually accumulated over a century and a half of lyric production.

To this purpose, we had to conduct a physical investigation of the CA. The first two chapters deal with codicology relating to the CA, whereas chapters 3 and 4 deal with *stemmata codicum* and compilation practice, respectively.

The codicological chapters, by investigating codicological variation in general and in the *mise-en-page* specifically, attempt the most precise possible reconstruction of the CA's lacunae. They also promote the idea that the CA is made of at least two distinct codicological units, which may even be the product of two different scriptoria. This opens an important possibility to explain its compilation: the first unit copies a base-manuscript, whereas the second unit copies freestanding lyric material.

With a definition of the CA's original state, a comparison with CBN and CV is possible. In chapter 3, we will seek to review previous theories on the structure of the archetypal material, to achieve a clearer view on sources, and then proceed to establish more elaborate *stemmata codicum*. The *stemmata* function as a general theory for Galician-Portuguese secular lyric. We proceed, in chapter 4, breaking the manuscripts'

archetype into its smallest constituent parts, and revealing different layers of compilers at work, some grouping poems by themes, some by a given formal feature and so on. The chapter provides specific *stemmata* for the *cantigas d'amor* only. This, in turn, leaves us with groups and subgroups of poets, whose corpora were handled by the same compilers and who can thus be said to be associated by manuscript evidence.

These four chapters form a coherent whole. Every codicological observation and deduction on the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* is part of a holistic view of this manuscript, each part is harmonic with each other. In turn, the entire codicological study is integrated with our view on compilation. That is the meaning that the thesis proposes or constitutes a “coherent theory” and henceforth, every time the word “theory” is used, in connection to the thesis’s achievements, this is the intended meaning, which will be finally recapitulated and finalised in the Conclusion. Furthermore, Chapters 3 and 4 use the expressions “stemmatics” and “stemma codicum” in slightly different terms from traditional Neo-Lachmannism. This is discussed in greater length in Chapter 3 and in the Conclusion to Chapter 4 but here we define “stemmatics” as the study on the genealogy of text transmission based on the surviving manuscripts and editions of this text. Such definition accommodates, therefore, our investigation on compilation and the definition of archetype as *archetypal compilation*.

Chapter 5 approaches the *cantigas d'amor* from a literary point of view. It analyses the *cantigas d'amor* produced by those poets active up to c.1240.¹¹ In this chapter poets are analysed by groups. These groups are based on known connections, for instance, poets active in the same court, or poets handled by the same compiler. If no connections were found, a poet may be described in isolation or in a loosely

¹¹ The original thesis plan divided the poets into five generations and explained the rationale for such division, however, considerations of space have precluded the study of all five generations of poets.

chronological grouping. The chapter seeks to answer how the conventions typical of the later *cantigas d'amor* were gradually being established at their dawn.

3.2. Volume II

3.2.1. Appendix 1

If one considers attentively various pieces of secondary literature describing the CA, it becomes clear that descriptions and ideas about quires vary considerably. A first restoration, undertaken under Michaëlis's supervision, introduced eleven Évora folios and rearranged some folios; equally a second intervention in 1999-2000 rearranged some gatherings and folios. The CA of today, therefore, has moved away from what was available in 1877.

In discussing each gathering, we consider various solutions concerning their format. In Appendix 1 this multiplicity of ideas is highlighted by a comparison between three key moments for our manuscript. Firstly, we represent Michaëlis's ideas bearing in mind that hers was both a descriptive and a reconstructive work. That is, her work provides observations of what she found but also what it ought to have been. Secondly, we reproduce the manuscript's state after the first restoration as described in its paper facsimile of 1994. Thirdly, we present the manuscript's current state, after the second intervention which, in many ways, approaches it from Michaëlis's ideals. To these three diagrams we add a fourth, which is not descriptive at all; instead, it is our reconstruction of the manuscript's *intended* state, that is, how it was meant to be bound even before its early-modern binding.

This Appendix has its own introduction in Volume II where these issues and the graphic conventions are explained at length. It should be consulted when reading chapter 2.

3.2.2. Appendix 2

The CA has a number of lacunae, including lost folios and gatherings. In Appendix 2 we offer a reconstruction of most lost folios, but not gatherings. We are aware that there have been earlier similar attempts, however, such studies were largely based on estimates of how many *cantigas* would fit in a folio. Such an approach cannot take into consideration the *cantigas*' metrical form. The overall number of stanzas, the number of lines per stanza and even the number of syllables per line will have a direct impact on how much space on the page a *cantiga* occupies. The Appendix, therefore, intends to contribute to the debate by offering a more precise, line-by-line reconstruction of the folios. It offers an image of each reconstructed folio, allowing readers both to see how the folio would have looked like and to count the lines. The hypothetical reconstructed ruling represents exactly what we believe the historical ruling of the lost folio would have looked like. Yet in the understanding that the image may be small or that some readers may not want to engage with images, a text version is offered next to each image. This is merely a verbal equivalent to the image, describing how each line and column was filled by text, thus allowing the reconstruction to be questioned, if found insufficient by anyone. In the text version only, footnotes provide metrical data on which our calculations are based. Readers wishing to verify this aspect will need to consult Appendix 3, where the metrical profile of *cantigas* is outlined.

3.2.3. Appendix 3

Given that any reconstruction of the lacunae in CA must be based on a comparison with the other manuscript sources, a tool capable of illustrating the similarities and differences between the lyric material available in each source becomes

necessary. The existing comparative tables¹² do not meet all our needs, therefore Appendix 3 was created to support the discussion. The whole appendix is subdivided into three sections, 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, whose meaning will be made explicit in due course.

The Appendix provides metrical data and brief codicological information on the *cantigas d'amor* where the comparison between CA, C, CBN and CV is possible. It uses a colour code which is explained by a key in the introduction in Volume II. Its purpose is track the source of each *cantiga*.

There are fourteen columns in total divided into sections, with headings relating to the author of each group of poems. These poets are also numbered cumulatively. Specific places in Appendix 3 are identified by composition and by the poet's name and number. More details on the metrical data and on the fourteen columns can be found in the introduction to the Appendix in Volume II.

An introduction to the metrics of the Galician-Portuguese lyric and to the graphic conventions employed in Appendix 3 is offered in section 6, below.

3.2.4. Appendix 4

Appendix 4 is a simplified continuation of Appendix 3. It focuses on the *cantigas d'amor* to be found in C, CBN and CV, in those sections which have no parallel with CA. It is divided into sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5. The differences in the *cantigas* represented in each of those five sections is important for the discussions of Chapter 4.

It was our intention to include metrical data on all the *cantigas d'amor* in this Appendix too, however, time and word limit constraints made this impossible. We have included metrical data for a small number of *cantigas*, but most of them remain undone.

¹² Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.183-200; Tavani, 1988, p.67-72; D'Heur, 1975, p.36-93; Oliveira, 1994, p.126-7 and Apêndice 1, p.291-302; Lopes, Ferreira, et al., under "Recursos", "Cantigas: quadro geral", at http://www.cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/docs/cantigas_quadro_geral.pdf.

If metrical data is included, it should be assumed that the poem belongs to the *amor* genre. Otherwise, an indication of genre is included in the last column. As it stands, the Appendix helps locate each *cantigas d'amor* in the Italian manuscripts, their position being relevant for understanding compilation.

4. Images' copyright

The images used in this study have three sources:

A — Images from the electronic facsimile of the CA, directly downloaded from Lopes, Ferreira, et al.

B — Photographic images taken on 13th January, 2016 by the author of this thesis in a visit to the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon. The images were made with the kind approval of Dr Cristina Pinto Basto, Directora Geral, and with the assistance of her colleague, Ana Mafalda Portugal. We hereby express our sincere gratitude to both of them.

C — Images created electronically by us.

To avoid unnecessary repetition of information, in chapters 1 and 2, each image is followed by “Copyright A”, “Copyright B” or “Copyright C”, as appropriate, referring to groups A, B and C above. Concerning images from the first two groups, we have occasionally altered them electronically and this also is signalled by the word “modified”. The images from all other chapters and from Volume II belong to group C and therefore this will not be reiterated.

5. Cross-referencing in this thesis

This study relies a lot on cross-referencing. For this reason, Volume I is divided in short sections called paragraphs (§). These are numbered cumulatively throughout Volume I. At the opening of each Chapter, when possible, we indicate how the arguments develop and how they relate to groups of paragraphs. The pages have also received wide right margins allowing paragraph numbers and titles to figure prominently, allowing readers to move back and forward.

Volume II has a composite cross-referencing system. Appendices 1 and 2 are referred to by page number. In the graphs of Appendix 1, the pages are divided into four quarters. Each quarter has a recurrent short heading. Here, exceptionally, page numbers are presented in the middle of the right margin, rather than at the top. When referring to a specific graph in Appendix 2, we employ the following convention: Appendix 2, p.[x], q.[y]; in which *x* stands for the page number and *y* for *quarter* 1, 2, 3 or 4. Appendix 3 could not be referred to by page number, but poets are numbered cumulatively and these numbers are employed to locate specific sections.

6. The *cantiga* from a formal point of view

Here we offer a short account on the formal conventions employed in the *amor* corpus, regardless of chronological considerations. This introduction to the metrics of the *cantigas d'amor* lists widely documented as well as unrecorded formal features. Its purpose is twofold: to define a vocabulary which will be used in chapter 5 as well as documenting the full range of formal variety to be found in the *cantigas d'amor*. It also explains the graphic conventions employed in Appendix 3.

6.1. The stanzas

A *cantiga* may be *de meestria* (without refrain) or *de refrão* (its opposite). These are the basic two labels, recoded in Appendix 3 as M and R, and, within rhyme schemes by a combination of || and upper case, for example, abbacc is *meestria*, while abba||CC is refrain.

Yet in this study they also unfold into the hybrids M* and R*, two categories occasionally called *refrão intercalar*. The label *refrão intercalar* for us would more properly describe R*, a type of composition in which a refrain line is followed by non-refrain lines and then returns to the refrain, at which point the stanza ends. For example, Airas Carpancho's CA 65/CBN 177, scheme aaBaB. The total refrain extension may be longer than two lines and the intercalated segment may also be longer than a line: Pero da Ponte, CA 292/CBN 983/CV 570, scheme aAabAB. The defining feature here is the motion refrain - non refrain - refrain, so that the piece *ends* on a refrain, and is formally such, but accommodates an external element within it.

The other category, M*, is really a pseudo-*meestria* composition, or internal-refrain, like Pero Garcia Burgalês's CA 105/CBN 213, scheme abBAcca. The entire

refrain is inserted in the middle of the stanza, so it draws to a close like a *meestria* piece, without any “intercalation”.

Cobras or *coblas* are stanzas; lines are called, in the *Arte de Trovar*, *palavra*, but here this term is ignored and lines are invariably called lines. The English word *verse* is generally avoided due to its ambivalence.

Apart from *coblas*, there is yet the *fiinda*, a shorter stanza which completes a composition. When present, these are marked in Appendix 3 by an F, whereas the sign ♪ indicates music staves for *fiindas*. Only the CA records this peculiarity of some *fiindas*. Within a rhyme scheme, *fiindas* are included after a colon, for instance, the scheme abba||CC : cc indicates a refrain piece followed by a *fiinda*, in this case, a distich, rhyming with the refrain.

Formally, *fiindas* are identical to the Occitan *tornada*, though in terms of content, there is scant overlap between the two traditions. *Cantigas* could have up to five *fiindas* or none whatsoever but, as the *Arte de Trovar* informs us, “a finda é mais comprimento”, that is, the *fiinda* was considered, at the time of the treatise, an extra refinement. As to whether this was always so, or an opinion valid only towards the end of the movement is a question to be addressed later.

A few formal considerations about *fiindas* are worth bearing in mind. Firstly its usual length is either a distich or a tercet. There are some rare cases of single-line *fiinda* (e.g. CA 221, Fernão Gonçalves de Seabra); of quartet (e.g. CA 308/CBN 900/CV 485, Rui Fernandes de Santiago) and of a quintet (CBN 49, Rui Gomes, o Freire). There are also some dubious cases of seemingly long *fiindas*, which have been edited as corrupted stanzas (Anonymous 4, CA 267) and some which are simply puzzling (Rodrigo Anes Redondo, CBN 334). The usual practice dictated that the *fiinda* rhymed with the preceding stanza, but poets could break this expectation by having one or more rhymes

from an earlier stanza. There are also some exceptional cases of series of virtuosic *fiindas* which did not rhyme with the composition, but with themselves, followed by a final shorter *fiinda*, which could even remain as an unrhymed line: João Soares Coelho, CA 167/8 /CBN 319, scheme abbacbb : dd ee ff gg g or Nuno Anes Cerzeo, CBN 134, scheme abcbddaac : ee ff gg hh i.

6.2. Metrics

The Galician-Portuguese secular corpus is predominantly isometric, with octosyllabic and decasyllabic lines being the favourite lengths. In discussing line length, we employ the Luso-Franco-Occitan system of counting up to the last accented syllable and ignoring any post-tonic syllables, rather than the Italo-Spanish which assumes paroxytone rhymes. That is not only because the former is traditional for Portuguese metrics but also because it is even more appropriate to medieval Portuguese than it ever was to modern Portuguese. Galician-Portuguese metrics was overwhelmingly dominated by masculine – or oxytone – rhymes. Second in frequency is the combination of masculine and feminine – or paroxytone – rhymes, with wholly feminine compositions being almost idiosyncratic in the *amor* corpus. Hence, Appendix 3 gives special attention to these choices, by noting all three possibilities. It has been suggested that the Iberian preference for masculine rhymes was an attempt to emulate Occitan lyric.¹³ In this study we have found no evidence whatsoever for this claim. Studies of Occitan versification indicate that, with the exception of the very first *troubadour*, the earliest Occitan compositions could end lines with masculine, feminine or a combination of these rhymes.¹⁴ Galician-Portuguese starts like that, but quickly develops a preference for purely masculine compositions. The reasons for that –

¹³ Mussafia, 1895, p.2.

¹⁴ Chambers, 1985.

whatever they may be – must therefore be found within Galician-Portuguese metrics, rather than outside it.

6.3. Rhyming

Compositions have often been classified in *coblas singulares*, *doblas pareadas* and *unissonans*, these being the “classical” structures normally described in handbooks and studies of versification.¹⁵ In broad lines, *singulares* involves different rhymes per stanza, *doblas* when same rhymes come in pairs, while *unissonans* means the use of same rhymes throughout the composition. Assuming a four-stanza composition, we would have the following poem designs:

<i>Singulares</i>		<i>Doblas pareadas</i>		<i>Unissonans</i>	
I	A	I	A	I	A
II	B	II	A	II	A
III	C	III	B	III	A
IV	D	IV	B	IV	A

In principle, *singulares* would be the simplest type of composition, while *unissonans* would be the most challenging, however we must note two possible approaches to a *singulares* composition: either each new stanza resets the rhyme possibilities, disregarding the previous rhymes, in which case repetition is random and meaningless, or the poet imposes on himself to find unused rhymes for each subsequent stanzas. In the generally short compositions of the secular corpus, both approaches are

¹⁵ Spina, 2003, p.99-100; Riquer, 1983, p.41-2; Chambers, 1985, p.20-4.

Note on name *coblas doblas pareadas*. Michaëlis, 1904 called them *coplas pareadas*. Later scholars (Tavani, 1967; Brea; et al., 1996; Lopes, Ferreira, et al.) called them *coblas* or *cobras doblas*, given that this is the commonest type of *doblas*. We prefer to use *doblas* as a generic label, specifying it as necessary.

unchallenging, but in the longer compositions of the Marian corpus, the second approach turns into an added challenge.

Rhyme reiteration must be assessed under the detectable poetic intention, which means considering the poem as a whole. Purposeless repetition can be regarded as the lowest level of technical skill, for example, *coblas singulares* which repeat rhyme from earlier stanzas with no pattern. This can also happen with *coblas doblas*. However, Galician-Portuguese lyric was not circumscribed to the three “classical” formats, but explored hybrids between them, so that a composition may have elements of two formats, in which case rhyme repetition is purposeful and an element of formal virtuosity. In these cases, the composition could partly move up the challenge ladder, with *singulares* approaching *doblas* or *unissonans* or *doblas* approaching *unissonans*. Here the “classical” labels become ineffective. In our notation, an asterisk, for example *singulares*^{*}, means the use of a same rhyme without any detectable effect. Conversely, *singulares*⁺ equals the use of a same rhyme with an added effect, for instance, one rhyme becomes *unissonans*. The opposite may also occur, that is, a predominantly *unissonans* composition relaxes its challenge by having one rhyme as *singulares*, noted as *unissonans*⁻. Taken to its ultimate consequences, hybridism may be so extensive so as to prevent any possible classification, a technique, one suspects, deliberately employed by some poets, for example CA 206/CBN 357 by João Lopes de Ulhoa, scheme *abbacca*, in which rhyme a is *unissonans*, b is *dobla* and c is *singulares*.

There are yet further, more radical possibilities for poets to escape the basic models, which took them to altogether new types of poem design. One of these is the

coblas doblas alternadas, a small change on the *pareadas* structure, by alternating rather than juxtaposing repetition:¹⁶

I A

II B

III A

IV B

A similar variation is the use of *coblas doblas* in a chiastic structure¹⁷:

I A

II B

III B

IV A

Within the secular Iberian corpus, the idea of pairing gave a unique case of *coblas ternas* in CBN 626/CV 227, a *cantiga d'amigo* by Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros¹⁸:

I A

II A

III A

IV B

V B

VI B

¹⁶ Note the change of name from Michaëlis, 1904, from *cruzadas* to *alternadas*. This is in keeping with Frank, 1953-1957 (“strophes alternées”); Tavani, 1967 (“strofe alternante”); Brea; et al., 1996 (“cobras alternas”) and Lopes, Ferreira, et al. (“cobras doblas alternadas”).

¹⁷ To the best of our knowledge, no scholar has clearly remarked on this structure, nor was any name found. The name *chiastic* comes from *chiasmus* and we thank Dr Stephen Parkinson for suggesting it.

¹⁸ The label *coblas ternas* is recoded in Frank, 1953-1957 in relation to 389, 17 (182: 1) by Raimbaut d'Aurenga. In Tavani, 1967, it was awkwardly enlarged to include CBN 1203/CV 808. Brea; et al., 1996 and Lopes, Ferreira, et al., more consistently, reserve it to Calheiro's piece only.

A different variation is to begin the composition with *doblas pareadas*, but without carrying on to the fourth stanza, leaving the third unpaired, or *desirmanada*.¹⁹ The resulting composition is a hybrid between *doblas* and *singulars*, now on a macro-scale:

I A
II A
III B

With *coblas retrogradadas*, *trovadores* managed to expand even further their range of designs. In its purest form, *retrogradadas* meant just reorganizing the same rhymes of one set into a different order, for example, CBN 8 by Diego Moniz is in *coblas doblas alternadas retrogradadas*:

I A (a: ia; b: or; c: ava; d: er)
II B (a: ava; b: er; c: ia; d: or)
III A
IV B

In this case, the composition has an element of *coblas doblas* while retaining the challenge of the *unissonans* by restricting the rhymes to the same four sounds.

Some *cantigas*, such as CA 259/CBN 436/CV 48 and CBN 1060/CV 650, have parallelism within the stanzas, in which a line is repeated *verbatim* inside the stanza, but not across the stanzas. We have not found an appropriate name for this. Michaëlis treated it as a refrain; Nunes called it “canção redonda”.²⁰ This probably stems from the *cansos redondas*, a label widely used but not invented by the *troubadour* Giraut Riquier.²¹ It was also employed in I. Frank’s *Répertoire. A canso redonda stricto sensu*

¹⁹ The word *desirmanada* comes from Michaëlis, 1904, but not as a label. Other scholars fail to record this.

²⁰ Nunes, 1932, p.411 in relation to CBN 1060/CV 650 by Pero de Ver.

²¹ Jeanroy, 1934, II, pp.83-5.

would present an initial rhyme sequence, which is then repeated back to front in stanza II, then back again to the initial sequence in III and so on. However, the name was relaxed to include other types of compositions, like the *sestina*, in which the initial sequence only returns after much variation. The key aspect seems to be the variation and return of the initial rhyme sequence, in a full circle, hence *redonda*, and, as such, it can be regarded as a superfluous subdivision of *coblas retrogradadas*.

The *retrogradadas* device rarely came in its isolated form, so that we find compositions which have two stanzas *unissonans* and one *retrogradada* (CBN 39b; CA 34/CBN 149), or even compositions which are *retrogradadas capcaudadas*. In its pure and paradigmatic form, the *capcaudada* device imposed that the last rhyme of a stanza became the first of the next, in simple succession. Thus, a *singulars* composition like Fernão Velho's CA 262/CBN 439/CV 51 is also *capcaudada*:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------|
| I | A | (a: ar; b: or; c: om) |
| II | B | (a: om; b: i; c: êr) |
| III | C | (a: êr; b: em; c: ér) |
| F | | (c: ér) |

But the combination of *retrogradadas capcaudadas* created more dazzling effects as, for example, in CA 265/CBN 449 by Bonifácio Calvo:

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|
| I | A | (a: or; b: om; c: em; d: êr) |
| II | B | (a: êr; b: or; c: om; d: em) |
| III | C | (a: em; b: êr; c: or; d: om) |
| IV | D | (a: om; b: em; c: êr; d: or) |

No stanza ever repeats the same sequence of rhymes – so much so that it has often been catalogued as “singulars”²² – and yet only the same four rhymes are used in a

²² Tavani, 1967, p.132, 106 : 1. Brea; et al., 1996, p.172 and Lopes, Ferreira, et al.

strung sequence, with a special detail: rhyme d is an unrhymed line within each stanza, for the full scheme is ababccd.

Because an orthodox *capcaudadas* composition means sending the last rhyme of a stanza to the beginning of the next, they are by nature *meestria*. Notwithstanding, *trovadores* did experiment with refrain pieces, thus creating some *capcaudadas lato sensu*, for example, Bernal de Bonaval's CBN 1071/CV 662, scheme abba||CC, in which rhyme transferring occurs from rhyme b to a or Lourenço's CBN 1102/CV 693, initial scheme abba||CC, in which the second stanza picks up on the c rhyme of the refrain, thus turning the rhyme scheme into cddc||CC in stanza II at which point the composition must end.

The use of unrhymed line, as noted above in Bonifácio Calvo's piece, was called *palavra perduda*, and must be regarded as mark of virtuosity, although unchallenging. In other words, technical skill is not synonymous with sheer difficulty, it may be more associated with surprise or innovation. Compositions employing *palavras perdudas* divide into those that have actual unrhymed lines and those that twist the device into something more unexpected. Calvo's composition or any *unissonans* piece belong to the latter category: with unrhymed line on a stanza level, but fully rhymed on a compositional level. A *singulars* piece, conversely, will fully adhere to a lack of rhyme at all levels.

Palavra rima is the repetition of a word in rhyme position across different stanzas. It may be coupled with *palavras perdudas* to increase formal sophistication, but remains independent of it. A *singulars* composition with *palavra rima* would be analogous to the singulars ⁺ pattern, described above. Because it affects rhyme, *palavra rima* is here included under the field of versification, and must be scrupulously distinguished from *dobre*, a device occurring within a stanza, to be addressed below.

6.4. Rhetorical devices

A composition is *capfinida* when a word from the last line of a stanza is repeated in the first line of the next stanza. This word can come and be placed in the beginning, middle or end of the line.²³ If the word comes from rhyme position to rhyme position, we have the convergence of *capfinida*, *capdenals* and *palavra rima*, three devices in one stroke, although, again, it is not any more challenging for that.

Similarly *coblas* are *capdenals* when stanzas have lines beginning with the same word. This repetition may be circumscribed within the stanza or run across the composition. It is nothing but anaphora, a specific figure of speech, but not an element of versification.

Still under repetition as a rhetorical device, we find the *dobre* and *mordobre*. The first is sheer reiteration of the same word, while the second is equivalent to classical polyptoton, the repetition of words related by a common root. *Dobre* and *mordobre* depend on a detectable poetic intention, it has to be minimally structured to be effective. And it has to occur within the same stanza: incidental or deliberate repetitions across stanzas are not *dobre*. We avoid the tendency of some editors to treat any random repetition as a rhetorical device. By *structured*, we mean overt deployment of the device, like these deliciously constrained lines by D. Dinis which nearly compromise on meaning for the sake of rhetoric:

Quix bem, amigos, e quer' e querrei
ũa molher que me quis e quer mal
e querrá; mais nom vos direi eu qual
est a molher; mais tanto vos direi:
 quix bem e quer' e querrei tal molher
 *que me quis mal sempr' e querrá e quer.*²⁴

D. Dinis
 CBN 520a /CV 113

²³ Frank, 1953-1957, p.xxxviii. Brea; et al., 1996, p.34

²⁴ Lang, 1894, 35-6.

But none of these devices are within the realm of versification itself. With *capfinida*, *capdenals*, *dobre* and *mordobre* poets move to the rhetorical device of repetition, working more with content – and sometimes with *topoi* – rather than form. By *form* and *versification* we mean that which is exclusive to verse. Rhetorical devices such as these are more properly discussed under content than form. For this reason they need not be recorded in Appendix 3.

Chapter 1.

The CA: Descriptive Codicology

Contents

In this chapter we endeavour to:

- ❖ Explain how the *mise-en-page* impacts the distribution of manuscript lines (§3-8);
- ❖ Distinguish codicological variation suggestive of changes in the scriptorium (§9-39);
- ❖ Introduce features which may further support those changes, but whose analysis must wait the understanding of lacunae (§40-52);
- ❖ Identify and understand variation independent of any change in the scriptorium (§53-63);
- ❖ List minor codicological features unrecorded to date (§64-69).

Outcome:

The chapter complements existing descriptions of the CA; lays the basis for a precise reconstruction of lost folios based on variable *mise-en-page* conventions; establishes from material evidence that the CA has internally distinct codicological units.

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive analysis of the CA and infers some aspects of its production. With the exception of two medieval fragments, the CA is the only medieval songbook to transmit the secular lyric, having for this reason a unique importance for the understanding of lyric compilation.

The CA as it exists today is a fragmentary codex in as much as it is damaged, by plunderers or by accident. It is also a heterogeneous manuscript. It has often been described as “unfinished” and this is partly true for, if one browses its pages, incomplete illuminations, blank staves and initials waiting to be rubricated would be seen. The following pages will specify the different stages of its incompleteness.

§ 1. *The CA is damaged, unfinished and uneven.*

Yet in the end it may be possible to conclude that the CA was, paradoxically, finished – and this is also partially true – but the condition was to increasingly compromise: sacrifice aesthetic sophistication to include more and more text until an abrupt end. Thus what we came to call *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* is not even a single entity; in fact, its last gatherings may have even been produced at a different moment or in a different scriptorium and, certainly, its fourteen gatherings are marked by uneven quality with different people taking over the same roles.

In the next sections we will present a codicological description of the CA. Not a thorough description, as this is far beyond the scope of our study and has been progressively done by Michaëlis, Ramos and Aldea, but only those points where new observations can complement their understanding.

2. The codex's recent history

The codex includes the medieval *cancioneiro* strictly speaking and the prose *Nobiliário*, bound ahead of it in the same codex, but which is a separate work. The modern history of the codex, as described in the secondary literature, can be briefly summarized. Discovered in the nineteenth century by Lord Stuart, who edited it in 1823, it was moved to the Biblioteca Real, next to the Palácio da Ajuda, either in 1825 or 1832. In 1843, when Alexandre Herculano is Bibliotecário-Mor in this same library, eleven loose folios found in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora were also transferred to the Biblioteca Real, where they were kept next to the main codex. This is how Michaëlis described her first encounter with it in 1877, which is also the year when Herculano dies. Herculano is replaced by Rodrigo Vicente de Almeida as the library's director, under whose authority the Évora folios are stitched back into the main codex. This first restoration occurred at some point in the 1890s, possibly in 1894,¹ and has two notable consequences. The Évora folios were inserted based on Michaëlis's hypothesis, thus the current order of folios is partly a modern reconstruction. Secondly, the original stitching was disposed of and replaced with new.²

§ 2. *Discovery of CA, restorations and editions.*

Michaëlis's two-volume edition and study appeared in 1904, later followed in 1941 by Carter's diplomatic edition and by the 1994 paper facsimile. The latter presents a life-size photographic reproduction of the manuscript's state at the time, that is, after the first restoration. It also

¹ Michaëlis mentions the restoration, but does not specify when it happened. One may infer, from 1904, II, p.135 and 145 that it was in 1894.

² For a fuller account, *vide* Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.99. Ramos, 1994, p.27. Aldea, 2008.

features an appended booklet with studies and a diagram of the codex's binding structure then, which is of fundamental importance.³ A similar diagram was already presented by Michaëlis in 1904 and these two, when used together, give a clear picture of the manuscript's state in the twentieth century.⁴

A second restoration took place between 1999 and 2000 after which, in 2011, the Universidade Nova de Lisboa made available online their own, independent digital facsimile which must represent the manuscript's state after this second intervention.⁵ The two facsimiles are complementary works, partly because they represent the manuscript at different stages, partly because of the differences between paper and electronic format. Some aspects discussed in this chapter and the next are only visible in one of these facsimiles and this is noted when necessary. Concerning the current binding structure Ramos and Aldea have independently presented their diagrams.⁶

Apart from references to the two facsimiles and the secondary literature available, we undertook an *in loco* analysis of the manuscript in January 2016, observing and photographing details not previously reported. These are presented throughout this chapter and the next.

³ Matos; et al., 1994, p.67-70.

⁴ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.147-150.

⁵ Nascimento, 2016 and the summary available in Ramos, 2008, I, p.454. We will also refer in this chapter to a *Relatório* produced by this conservation team. It is not published and may only be available by request to those that visit the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon. The report also states: "Foram realizadas um total de quatro Actas, entre Outubro de 1999 e Março de 2000, período de tratamento do Cancioneiro." No clue was found as to where these *Actas* may be.

"As imagens do Cancioneiro da Ajuda resultam de novas fotografias digitais do códice, feitas especificamente para este projeto." In: <<http://www.cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/apresentacao.asp>>.

⁶ Ramos, 2004, p.28; Aldea, 2009.

3. An introduction to the *mise-en-page*

3.1. Non-variable elements

Folio 37r (Fig. 1) is useful to illustrate general features of the *mise-en-page*, which will be referred to with the aid of its recreated skeleton (Fig. 2).

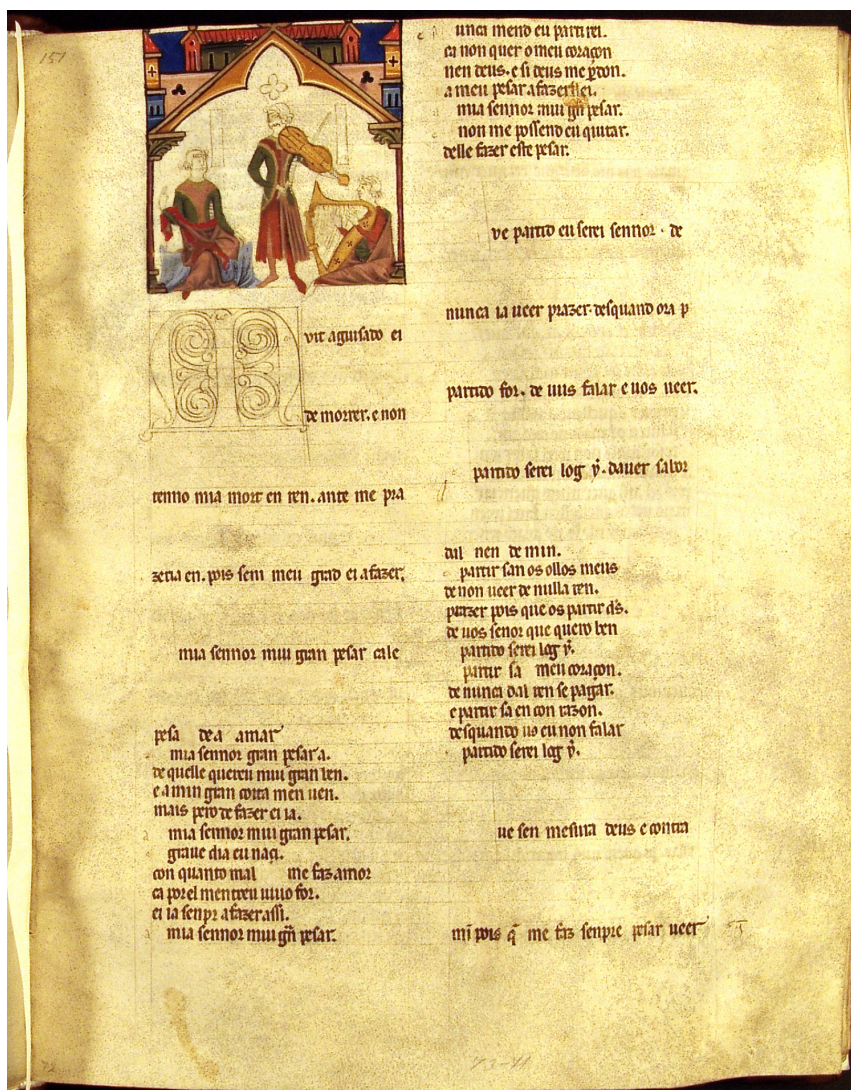


Fig. 1 — Folio 37r. (Copyright A)

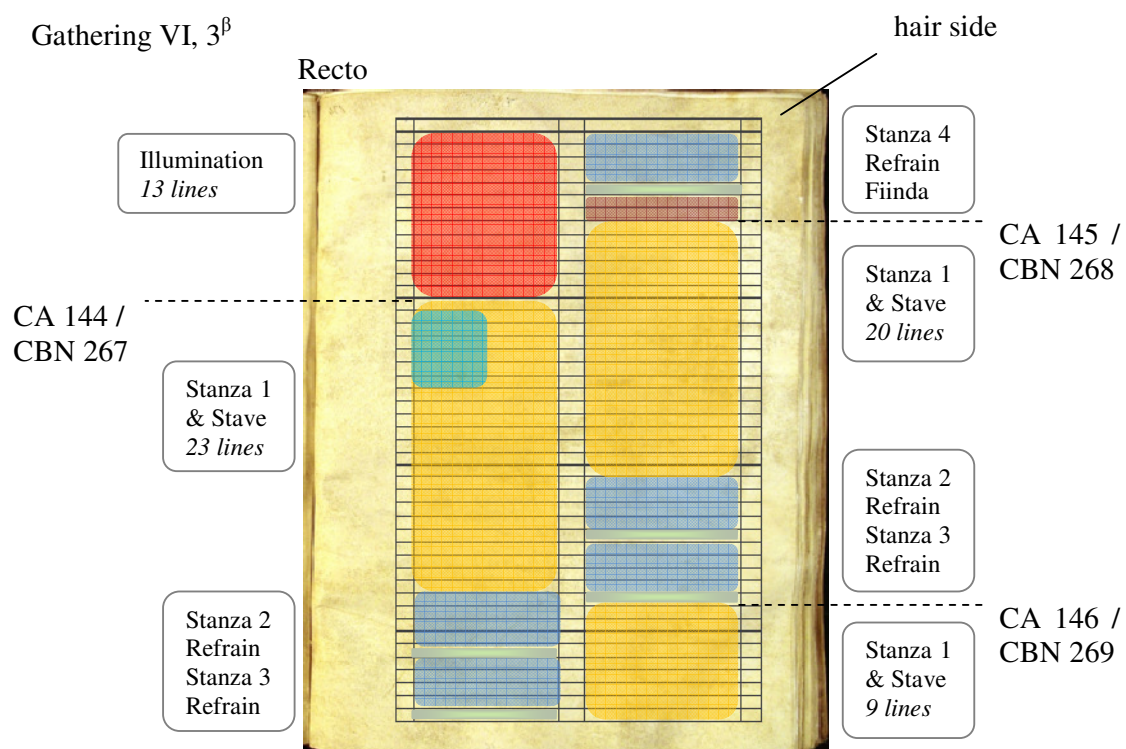


Fig. 2 (Copyright C)

The first element represented in the model is the ruling which in fl.37r was made so heavily that it is quite visible even in the modern facsimiles, although the paper version is definitely clearer in this regard. We can count forty-six lines plus one, unused, at the top of the page. These forty-seven rows are divided into five columns, two large ones for the text, and three smaller ones which frame them. The text columns are referred to as a and b, on the recto, c and d, on the verso.

§ 3. *Ruling and margins.*

The exact size of the original margins cannot be ascertained, as these were trimmed in the early modern period, probably at the time of the original binding. On fl.37r the top margin has almost disappeared. Nevertheless, Ramos considers the existing margins to be broad (“largas margens”) and calculates that the written or painted area occupies merely 50.6% of the page.⁷ Clearly, in its conception, the scriptorium was meant to be generous with material.

The illumination heading the page is unfinished, as are all illuminations in this manuscript. Its purpose, besides an aesthetic one, is to mark a change of authorship, in this case the end of Rui Queimado’s sequence (fl.36v), and the beginning of Vasco Gil. Illuminations always occur at the top of columns a or c.

§ 4. *Illumination.*

The first poem in this folio is CA 144, with four stanzas of four lines and refrain of two, followed by a *fiinda* of two lines.⁸ We thus have six lines per stanza plus two, a total of twenty-six. These are here called *metric* lines and may be distinguished from proper *manuscript* lines.

§ 5. *Stanzas and line assignment.*

⁷ Ramos, 2008, I, p.258-9. For further information on “*mise en page*” see Beltrán, 2016.

⁸ *Fiindas* are shorter stanzas occurring at the end of poems, as a coda.

The first stanza is invariably laid out as running text, like prose. A *punctus* may mark the change of metric line. The six metric lines, including refrain, are copied in full and in this example occupy twenty-three manuscript lines. For each line of text there are three blank lines to accommodate the music staves above.

Subsequent stanzas are laid out in verse format. Each subsequent stanza has one metric line equalling one manuscript line. The refrain is abbreviated to a single manuscript line.

The *cantiga* closes with a *fiinda*, here taking two manuscript lines, laid out in verse format too. Occasionally, *fiindas* had their own dedicated staves, in this case their layout follows that of stanza 1.

The conventions for our visual reconstruction, to be widely employed in Chapter 2, is conducted according to the following graphic conventions:

§ 6. *Visual reconstruction.*



Illumination.



Large or primary initial (left) and first stanza with stave.



Subsequent stanzas.

 Refrain.

 *Fiinda.*

These are the general, non-variable elements of the page layout which are important for any reconstruction of lacunae.

3.2. Variation on the *mise-en-page* impacting line assignment

Apart from the stable features described above, there are also layout elements which change across the manuscript. When reconstructing lacunae it is important to bear these variations in mind as they are specific to gatherings or groups of gatherings.

Illuminations vary in height from eleven to eighteen lines. Table II, *§ 7. Illumination.* at the end of this chapter, offers a quick guide to illumination height.

Crucial variation also occurs in the very first line of underlaid text, *§ 8. Suppression of first line.* immediately after the illumination. In gatherings I, III and at the beginning of IV this initial space is always the expected three lines.⁹ From illumination 6 onwards there will only be two lines between illumination and text. Exceptionally, on fl.48, gathering VIII, under illumination 12, we find three lines for the staves and this will be explained in §29.

⁹ Gathering II has no surviving illumination.

4. Codicological variation and manuscript confection

4.1. Phases

Apart from variation impacting the *mise-en-page* proper, there are also a number of variable codicological features relating to palaeography, decoration, gathering structure, to name a few. Ultimately, we will demonstrate that some of these features suggest that the confection of the CA evolved and we call this idea a *theory of phases*. We will explain what are the codicological features worth analysing and we will then analyse the CA in five groups of gatherings. These groups are not the phases; they just constitute a didactic expedient to present information. Naturally, one could conduct this same analysis gathering by gathering, but at the expense of duplicating information, whereas the groups bring together relevant information without compromising its impartial presentation. After that we will deduce the phases.

We issue here a warning. The elements of the *mise-en-page*, including the variations described above, return in this section to support the theory of phases but these remain independent. The section above (especially §5, §6, §8) offers a factual and objective account of page layout in the CA. Scholars may come to accept or reject our theory of phases, but no one should disregard the observations concerning the *mise-en-page*. When the lacunae are reconstructed in Chapter 2 based on the *mise-en-page*, the line assignment reconstruction is based on these observations, rather than on the theory of phases. The phases will return in Chapter 2, but they will be deduced from reconstruction rather than taken *a priori* for reconstruction.

§ 9. *The scope of the theory of phases.*

The theory of phases is just an explanation for the confection of the CA. We present codicological description and highlight variation which does not seem to be random. From this we infer that confection changed which means that the CA is better conceived as smaller units, rather than a single entity.¹⁰ Strictly outside the scope of this investigation is any inference on how the scriptorium operated, in a historical reality, or what reasons may be behind these changes. The phases merely record objective variation and deduce that approach to work varied. The outcome is that in Chapter 3 compilation is explained in a completely different light. The theory also helps to explain the relation between the CA and the Italian songbooks differently.

4.2. Features relevant to phasing

In principle, any type of codicological evidence could be used to analyse how a manuscript was produced. The CA, however, has a large number of lacunae and this impedes some of the checks. At this stage, the theory is deduced solely based on the analysis of scriptorium roles.

Other aspects deemed relevant for analysis are: the pattern of blank folios, gathering structure and Gregory's Law. These will be introduced in dedicated sections in this chapter and completed in Chapter 2. This is due to the fact that reconstruction of the lacunae is necessary before we can arrive at the complete picture. Other features, for example, parchment quality, vary but do not yield any pattern concerning phases of production. These are treated independently in section 5, §40-52.

§ 10. *Aspects dependent on reconstruction of lacunae.*

¹⁰ Similar studies which use manuscript layout to explain its production include Ferreira, 1998a, pp.47-61; Schaffer, 1999, pp.127-148; Parkinson, 2000a, pp.133-153; Parkinson, 2000b, pp.243-274; Avenzoa, 2016, pp.113-150; Parkinson, 2010, pp.315-336.

4.3. The scriptorium roles

In analysing the CA, we can initially identify five distinct roles. These are *compiler*, *illuminator*, *reviser*, *rubricator* and *scribe*, all of whom have left their marks in our codex. A sixth role, the *glossator*, either was not active or his presence cannot be detected in the extant CA. He would have added attribution rubrics – or any rubric or gloss – and must not be confused with the rubricator, who was responsible for adding coloured initials to poems. The seventh role is the *music copyist* who, again, never started his work in the CA and whose planned future intervention we infer from blank staves.

§ 11. *The seven roles.*

The fact that one of these roles was definitely absent is already an eloquent feature of our manuscript: a manuscript which, despite the *pecia* system, still has not a single complete folio. Indeed, the technical skill required of a music copyist forces the question as to whether there was ever someone to undertake this role and, by extension, to question how professional this scriptorium was. In this regard, its incomplete state is less due to a sudden unfortunate event than an initial difficulty: this scriptorium was never equipped for this ambitious task from its outset.¹¹

It is fundamental to note that *roles* do not equate with people, since a person can undertake more than a role and, equally, a role can be undertaken by more than one person. Indeed, we are not interested in deducing historical reality and whether the *scriptorium* was structured around these eight roles is irrelevant here. We are simply interested in

§ 12. *Roles are abstract categories.*

¹¹ Tavani, 2002, p.82; 102-3, who promoted the theory that the CA was commissioned by Alfonso X and interrupted by his death in 1284.

categorising elements on the page, elements which leave marks and are therefore subject to description. Palaeographers are used to distinguishing within the role of scribe different hands and, here, we export this basic rationale to the five active roles in the CA. Hence, one can neither agree nor disagree with our categorisation of roles: the script left on the page reveals a human being acting as a scribe; the illumination, an illuminator; the blanks for staves, the potential for a music-copyist. The structure of the historical scriptorium, whichever it may be, will never impact on the categories of the marks which they have left. Our initial analysis is thus based on a comparison between variation in a number of elements in the confection of a manuscript.

4.3.1. Four preliminary roles

The scribal role relates to palaeographical variation throughout the manuscript for which we rely on previous studies by Pedro and Ramos. Concerning the copyist work, three hands have been detected, their work relating both to calligraphy *stricto sensu* and to the ruling of the page. We also include in this paragraph observations on *lettres d'attente*, that is, small letters inscribed in a reserved space for non-executed initials, serving as guides for the rubricator, who would step in later. Two types were identified: type A, more “formal”, active from gathering I, and type B, detected in the last three gatherings. Type A can be subdivided into two different hands, the first being active until gathering XI, hence *lettres d'attente* are divided into three sets.¹²

¹² Pedro, 2016, p.25-29.

The reviser role relates to presence or absence of correction *§ 14. Reviser.*
marginalia. There are two revisers working in the manuscript: Reviser 1 and Reviser 2.

The illuminator is analysed based on partial presence or total *§ 15. Illuminator.*
 absence of painted illumination. Illumination height changes and this feature is relevant to phasing. Whether the illuminator or someone else was responsible for this change is irrelevant. Illuminations could be conjugate with initials and marginal notes for presumed pigments are occasionally detected; these variations will be introduced opportunely.

The compiler role is deduced from the comparison of lyric material *§ 16. Compiler.*
 in the CA with other songbooks. This role is not taken *a priori* for phasing and is not analysed in this chapter. Instead, we deduce compilation in Chapter 3 after justifying the theory of phases by other means.

4.3.2. The rubricator role

The rubricator was responsible for rubricating initials. This role is analysed based on presence or absence of blue and red ink, on rubrication errors and on variation in size of initials. Presence of coloured pigments is self-evident; the other aspects require more extensive explanation.

4.3.2.1. Size of initials

There are different types of initials. The largest, immediately below *§ 17. Primary*
 an illumination, is called primary initial. Throughout the manuscript they *initials were*
 are either sketched, as in fl.37r, or, in the later gatherings, planned by a *not*
rubricated.

réserve, but never painted. Primary initials happen exclusively in association with illuminations marking the first poem in a poet's sequence.

The rubricator was responsible for all the other initial sizes, alternating in blue and red. Secondary initials are medium-size and mark the beginning of each subsequent poem within a single poet's sequence. Tertiary initials are rarer: they did not exist at the beginning of the manuscript, being created later to accommodate new situations. They are just slightly smaller than secondary but their use is not consistent throughout the manuscript and will be discussed in §27 and §30. A final category, quaternary initials, marks the beginning of subsequent stanzas and of abbreviated refrains.

§ 18. *Secondary, tertiary and quaternary initials.*

Initials for *fiindas* vary according to a number of factors. If a *fiinda* is not underlaid, a quaternary initial was used, just as in any subsequent stanza. This is invariable throughout the manuscript.

§ 19. *Rubrication for fiindas.*

An underlaid *fiinda* could be marked by a secondary, tertiary or quaternary initial. This multiplicity of approaches can be seen in Burgalês's corpus, within a short distance of folios:

- a secondary initial for a single *fiinda*, fl.25v col.^c bottom;
- two tertiary initials for two subsequent *fiindas*, fl.27r col.^b middle;
- four quaternary initials for four subsequent *fiindas*, fl.26r col.^a top.

The use of a quaternary, however, is exceptional. Initially, secondary initials were used, but once tertiary initials were invented, they take over and predominate throughout the manuscript. This will be explained at length opportunely.

Being handwritten letters, the distinction between secondary and tertiary initials can be difficult. Our distinction operates on a comparative basis with two parameters: height and width. Secondary initials are four lines high. They look wider, with 2cm or more being common. Tertiary tend to be three lines high and less than 2cm wide, but variations occur and it is more important to compare initials than to adopt absolute figures. In fl.36r, 39v and 40v there are some very high tertiary initials but which remain narrower. Notwithstanding, the distinction proposed is important to explain rubrication.

§ 20. *Distinguishing secondary and tertiary initials.*

4.3.2.2. Rubricator errors

Below is a list of mistakes made by the rubricator. In the CA blue and red initials alternate but this happens on two levels, so that, within a *cantiga*, there is a succession of colours across initials, but also secondary initials alternate with one another, so that one *cantigas* begins with blue, the other with red and so on.¹³ Clearly, in terms of succession across *cantigas*, the practice should be: primary initial, which was never finished, then first secondary initial, which should always be *blue*, and then the sequence goes on. Mistakes, however, occur in the following folios:

§ 21. *First set of errors.*

4r/4v, CA 15 and 16, both blue;

fl.7r/7v, CA 28 and 29, both blue;

9r/9v, CA 38 and 39, both blue;

12r/12v, CA 50 and 51, both blue;

14r/14v, CA 59 and 60, both blue;

¹³ Ferreira, 1994, pp.78-80 briefly addresses similar irregularities on ms To of the Marian corpus; later Parkinson, 2000a, pp.136 offered a longer analysis which inspired this section.

16r/16v, CA 65 and 66, both blue;

21r/21v, CA 83 and 84, both blue.

Here there is a trend, stopping at gathering IV: mistakes at the turn from recto to verso involving blue ink. The recto/verso can be accounted as a memory issue: without facing directly the preceding initial, the rubricator had to rely momentarily on his memory, but a distraction causes the mistake.

A new pattern of mistakes begins in gathering IV:

§ 22. *Second set of errors.*

22v/23r, CA 89 and 90, both red;

23r/23v, CA 92 and 93, both red;

25r/25v/26r, CA 101 (*réserve* for blue?), 102 and 103, both blue;

26v, CA 104 and 105, both red;

This is a very irregular area, with mistakes happening in both colours, involving up to three *cantigas*, within the same folio, or on facing pages, like 22v/23r. The rubricator stops working on fl.27v, to return on 32v with red ink. Irregularities will continue:

34v/35r, CA 135 and 136, both red;

35v/36r, CA 137 in blue, 138 (*réserve* for red?), 139 (*réserve* for blue?), 140 (*réserve* for red?), and 141 in red;

39v, CA 155 and 156, both blue;

41r/41v, CA 161 and 162, two *réservés* for blue?;

42r/42v, CA 164 (*réserve* for blue?) and 165 in blue;

43r/43v, CA 169 and 170, both blue;

46r/46v, CA 182 and 183, both red;

56r/56v, CA 212, 213 and 214, red thrice;

57r/57v, CA 217, 218 and 219, blue thrice;

59r, CA 223 first secondary initial (after primary initial) in red,
rather than blue;

62v/63r/63v, CA 233, 234 and 235, red thrice;

68r/68v, CA 251 and 252, both red;

71r/71v, CA 258 and 259, both blue;

71v/72r, CA 260 and 261, both red;

72r/72v, CA 263 and 264, both red;

73r, CA 266 first secondary initial (after primary initial) in red,
rather than blue;

75r/75v, CA 272 and 273, two *réservés* for blue?

The reasons behind these mistakes are hard to penetrate, but they suggest a certain relaxation of standards as the CA progresses, while the first group of mistakes reveals a more coherent and organised rubricator at work.

4.4. Group 1: gatherings I and II

All illuminations are partially painted in this group. Gatherings I and § 23. *Illumination*. III show consistency in reserving twelve lines for illuminations, a pattern which may have been maintained in gathering II, where no illuminated folios survive. Illuminations may be conjugated or not with the large primary initial which opens each sequence:



Conjugated initial (fl. 4r)



Non-conjugated initial (fl. 16r)

Fig. 3 (Copyright A, modified)

The three lines between the illumination and the first line of the text does not vary in this group; only the height of the initial, as planned by the relevant artist. The examples above reflect nicely this change, from an oblong Q to a much rounder one, in fl. 16r, both with standard three-line staves. In gathering I and in the beginning of III the initial is conjugated with its relevant illumination, confirming the consistency of workmanship in the initial group of gatherings. This will change in gathering IV, but, for

now, let us record the coincidence between twelve lines for illuminations and three lines for staves in the first line, from illuminations 1 to 5.

Another element pertaining to the illuminator's work cannot be evaluated from facsimiles. The marginal note *azafram*, presumably indicating planned pigments, found on the left of five illuminations.¹⁴ These notes are hardly visible in the facsimiles: the clearest of these, on fl.16r, is highlighted in figure 4:



Fig. 4 — Folio 16r. (Copyright A, modified)

Once again, in gathering I and in the beginning of III the note was consistently detected.¹⁵

¹⁴ Pedro, 2016, pp.32-33; Ramos, 2008, I, p.391. Our *in loco* analysis, supported by UV light has not revealed any further note; in fact, the first two, on fl.4 and fl.15, are hardly noticeable if noticeable at all.

¹⁵ Ramos, 2008, I, p.392.

The rubricator was very active in the early gatherings, with few exceptions, almost every initial in I and II is elaborately painted. The pigments used are blue and red in contrasting way: secondary initials were painted in red against a blue filigree background and vice-versa (figures 5 and 6).

Secondary initials:



Red with blue filigree
(detail from fl.10r)

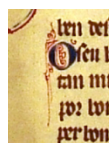


Blue with red filigree
(detail from fl.1r)

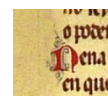
Fig. 5 (Copyright A)

Quaternary initials followed the same general pattern, but they lack the elaborate filigrees, having instead occasional contrasting pen-flourishing.

Quaternary initials:

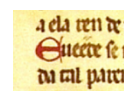


Blue with red ornament



Red with blue ornament

(details from fl.10r)



Blue without ornament

Red without ornament

(details from fl.9r)

Fig. 6 (Copyright A)

This sumptuous *plan*, however, already meets its initial practical problems as the rubricator's work is hardly ever completed, particularly in connection with blue pigment. This is perceptible in that only one secondary initial has blue filigree (fl.10r), compared to twenty-three without. In contrast, however, all thirty-one blue secondary initials have their red filigree. These trends are not absolute and we note, for instance, that on fl.5v/6r every red initial is lacking, while the blue initials are complete. This suggests the following pattern in subdivision of work within the rubricator's role: first blue initials, regardless of size, were painted, then their corresponding red filigrees and ornament were added. In fl.4r, fl.5v, and fl.6r work stops here. Otherwise, work continues by adding quaternary and secondary red initials. Rubrication of most folios in gatherings I and II stopped here. Finally, blue filigrees and ornaments were painted, completing the rubricator's intervention. This only happens on fl.10r.

This is the pattern of work in group 1; in other groups, the rubricator could devise different approaches, but it is telling that, as a rule, his work in group 1 is interrupted after completing red initials and before the beginning of blue filigrees and ornaments. In any case, one should still speak of greater elaboration in the rubricator's part in this group as filigrees and ornaments will gradually fade away in later gatherings and even the initials will eventually disappear.

In the early gatherings, only hand 1 and *lettres d'attente* type A were detected. These are considered by palaeographers to be of a higher standard than the later hands 2 and 3 or *lettres d'attente* type B.¹⁶

Reviser 1 was detected from fl.1v onwards,¹⁷ Reviser 2, from fl.3v.¹⁸

These are all the elements which help us understand why the CA's confection is better understood in phases. If we isolated the first two gatherings as one group it is because here we detect homogeneity among the five main roles and high standards in workmanship.

§ 25. *Scribe and reviser.*

¹⁶ Ramos, 2008, I, p.246; 251-5; 357; II, p.3-21.

¹⁷ Pedro, 2016, p.33.

¹⁸ Pedro, 2016, p.37, who named him *corrector*. We adopt Ramos's suggestion (2008, I, p.345) and call him reviser 2.

4.5. Group 2: gatherings III, IV, V and VI

From gathering III, some of the above features start to change, while others do not. The scribal and reviser roles are maintained, that is, the same hands and features identified before persist.

The illuminator, however, reveals variation. At the very beginning of § 26. *Illuminator*. gathering III his work is similar to group 1: twelve lines for pictures which are conjugated with primary initials, as seen on fl.15r. But already on fl.16r the illumination appears separate from the initial. Then, from gathering IV onwards, thirteen lines will be assigned to illuminations until the end of gathering VI. The internal coherence of this feature shows them not to be random variations. After the first non-conjugated initial on gathering III, no subsequent initial will be conjugated again, whereas the twelve lines for illuminations in gatherings I and III appear as a block followed by another set, that of thirteen-line illuminations, running uninterruptedly from gatherings IV to VI. Furthermore, when the illuminator uses twelve lines, we find three lines for staves between illumination and text, but from illumination 6 onwards there will only be two lines between illumination and text. At this stage, it seems that the illuminator, by expanding his space to thirteen lines, is subtracting a line originally planned for staves. The problem, however, is more complex to solve. The reduction in the first stave does not seem just a mistake on the illuminator's part, because it is not a one-off: henceforth, all illuminated pages but one will ascribe two lines for staves at the beginning. Illuminations later increase to fourteen and fifteen lines, but the allowance of two lines between illumination and text remains constant. So, it may be a change in the *mise-en-page* from gathering IV, but

one which is difficult to account for: if there was a serious intention of copying music, reduced space for staves would always be a challenge for the music copyist.

A final, if slightly less compelling piece of evidence, is the note *azafram* noted by Pedro on fl.4r, 15r, 16r, 29r and 37r.¹⁹ It is difficult to assess whether the note was never written in other illuminations of this group but there seems to be an overall pattern: present uninterruptedly from the first surviving illumination up to the third, that is, from gathering I to middle of III; apparently absent from middle of III (illumination four) to IV (illumination six). Then, in gatherings V and VI it occurs more randomly, present in illuminations seven and nine, absent in eight. But, after gathering VI, it will never return, which, again, points to some pattern, though we cannot know if this means that someone simply did not include the note or whether there would have been a change of planned pigment. The obstacle here is a definition of what this note means: if it is to be accepted – though this is not univocal – that *azafram* was an indication for yellow or golden pigment, then it would not be in every illumination by definition, otherwise the note itself would be redundant. At any rate, as a feature, it is associated with group 2.

A more drastic change concerns the rubricator's role. Right from the start of gathering III we notice a much simpler work, with neither filigree nor the simpler penflourishing for initials. Henceforth, these will be entirely absent, except for a unique return, much later, in fl.55v. Furthermore, in this group, the rubricator occasionally stops working altogether for extended

§ 27. *Rubricator.*

¹⁹ Pedro, 2016, p.32; Ramos, 2008, I, p.394.

sections, for instance, in gatherings V, fl.27v-32r, and VI, fl.36v-39r, where there is a total lack of both blue and red initials. It is important to note that the rubricator had access to both gatherings, in V he is present in fl.26 and 32v, in VI, in fl.33r-36r and 39v, that is, he worked at the beginning and end of each, but left a large middle section untouched.

At the very beginning of gathering III, work resembles that of group 1 in that all blue initials, regardless of size are painted, leaving red for later (fl.15r and 16r). In fl.16v however the sequence of work has changed with both inks occurring without penflourishing (e.g. 16v and 20r). Sometimes only red is used (e.g. 19v and 22r), sometimes the rubricator paints all secondary initials, blue and red, but only the quaternary red initials, leaving the blue ones blank (e.g. 18v-19r, 22v-23v). This behaviour is particularly telling of how the scriptorium functioned and how different tasks had to be coordinated. In group 1 the order of the day was apparently to reach as finished a state as possible before moving forward. This was perhaps never quite achieved, but we can see more finished folios. In group 2, instead, the concern seems to be to copy more text at the expense of leaving the gatherings more unfinished. Here, in each gathering, we can almost see small cells of work – lack of initials, only red initials, only blue initials, both colours – but they do not occur in an orderly fashion. Evidently, the work was being segmented, at times based on ink colours, at times, perhaps, on type of initials (secondary or quaternary), and the person or team worked on groups of folios without returning to do what was left blank.

The list of rubrication errors, listed above, also plays a pattern here. The first set of mistakes identified, running from fl.4r/4v to 21r/21v

involves exclusively the blue ink at the turn from recto to verso. They only occur with blue because the initial practice is to start work with blue initials, thus mistakes would only happen here, unless the rubricator were to skip a *cantiga*. The new pattern of mistakes, beginning in fl. 22v/23r, involves red ink, coinciding with the new approach to rubrication.

In gathering IV, fl.24r, CA 95 *fiindas* start to feature staves. The staves themselves are completely independent of our phases and therefore are discussed separately in §53 and later in Chapter 3. Yet they present rubricators with a new situation and this causes variation within this role. In the beginning of the codex, as we have seen, the rubricator is working with secondary and quaternary initials. The former marks the beginning of a *cantiga*, the latter is used in all the other situations, namely, beginning of stanzas, *fiindas* and refrains. Refrains are rubricated both in the underlaid stanza and in subsequent abbreviations.

The first rubricated underlaid *fiinda* occurs in fl.25v and a red secondary initial is used. The following *cantiga*, with four underlaid *fiindas*, in fl.26r, received quaternary initials. By fl.27r there is a sequence of two underlaid *fiindas*, when the rubricator creates an intermediary size, the tertiary initials. Perhaps rubricators were not equipped with a solid idea of what to do in this situation, given that layout decisions created in earlier gatherings did not offer any model for them. This variation, thus, may be due to experimentation. After a very long section, fl.27v to 33r, where we cannot evaluate what would have happened, we find more underlaid *fiindas* marked with tertiary initials (fl.33v to 35v). They seem, therefore, to have settled with this new category of initials.

4.6. Group 3: gatherings VII, VIII and IX

In this new group all four roles analysed are performed differently from group 1, so that those changes of group 2 are consolidated, whereas new ones affect the scribal and reviser roles. We will also see new, specific elements in group 3 that set it apart from group 2.

On the reviser role, one notes that reviser 2, active from gatherings I § 28. *Reviser*. to VI, is absent from VII but returns in VIII. On the other hand, reviser 1 pays special attention to refrain pieces in gatherings VIII and IX. In these two gatherings alone he added a marginal note *refran* in a number of poems without being wholly consistent. Ramos, who analysed the occurrence of these notes, remarks that there are more refrain pieces than notes, without being able to determine a specific rationale as to why a given piece is marked while others are not.²⁰ Yet regardless of intention, an attitude, on the reviser's part, is detectable and is circumscribed to these two gatherings.

In these three gatherings, we also find seven illuminations. In § 29. *Illuminator*. gathering VII, the illuminator dedicated fifteen lines to its only illumination, an innovation, if we consider that, in group 2, thirteen lines was the norm. In gathering VIII, illumination 11 also takes fifteen lines, and then a further change: two illuminations take fourteen lines each. In gathering IX, the illuminator returns to fifteen lines. Exceptionally, illumination 12, fl.48, gathering VIII allocates three lines for the staves of the first line of text. Though resembling group 1, it must not be confused with a return to the former practice: the extra line was added at the beginning to avoid the last line falling on the forty-fifth line of col.^a, which would have left the forty-

²⁰ Ramos, 2008, I, p.395.

sixth line blank. Apart from illumination height, in fl.40, gathering VII, we find the first extant illumination on a verso side, rather than on the recto, disrupting an apparent consistency of groups 1 and 2 of only having illuminations on a recto – this innovation will carry on in gatherings VIII and IX.²¹

Just as the reviser's and illuminator's features vary in each gathering § 30. *Rubricator*. of this group, the rubricator's work, too, displays different characteristics. For about half of gathering VII, from fl.40r-42r, there is a complete lack of blue ink for initials; only red, regardless of size, is used. Between fl.42v-45v, blue and red co-occur, with fluctuating patterns of work, for example, on fl.43v-45r, the rubricator has definitely tackled secondary initials in both colours and disregarded quaternary initials. Then the entire gathering VIII (fl.47-54) lacks both blue and red inks for initials of any size. In gathering IX both pigments return but in a rather sporadic fashion.

In group 2, it was proposed that tertiary initials were created to accommodate a new situation, underlaid *fíindas* for which earlier layout decisions provided no model. In fl.41v we find a tertiary initial marking the refrain on an underlaid first stanza. The new initial size now replaces an earlier layout convention for, until fl.20r, quaternary initials were used. Between these folios, which is most of gatherings IV, V and VI, the refrain initials are left blank. The new convention remains unchanged until gathering XI, fl.73r.

²¹ The words *extant* illumination and *apparent* consistency are operative here: concerning Martim Soares and Paio Soares de Taveirós, both in gathering II without surviving illuminations, the evidence points that their illuminations would already fall on the verso. See relevant sections in chapter 2.

On its first written page, fl.55v, one notices, surprisingly, the return to complex decoration for initials, namely, a blue *N* set against red filigree as well as quaternary blue initials with red penflourishing, witnessed only in group 1. It must be emphasized that the rubricator from group 1 did not simply skip all intermediary gatherings and continued his earlier work here. We have in this folio all the blue and red initials, all the red penflourishings but lacking the blue penflourishings. It looks very similar to folios of group 1, except for the use of a tertiary initial for a refrain in the first underlaid stanza of CA 211. Since this convention emerges in fl.41v, the filigree and penflourishings must be an isolated return to an earlier convention. The distance between illumination and first line of text is also inconsistent with group 1.

If the rubricator still hoped to resume earlier decorative standards, this intention was soon abandoned: for a time he draws blue and red initials with no decorations, namely between fl.56r-57v. Later, he will include either only blue or red on a page or even be entirely absent. It is puzzling that he should return to group 1's standard at this late stage rather than go back, leaving a large number of gatherings in between without filigrees or penflourishing. The scriptorium's approach seems linear: in group 3 they move on, without returning to work done under groups 1 and 2. And in this group, even more than in 2, decoration work was done *a pecia*, with less concern to match one gathering to another.

Scribal work is particularly puzzling. It remains consistent with § 31. *Scribe*. groups 1 and 2, that is, hand 1 continues working, except for folio 40r, where we have the first occurrence of hand 2, one which will only come

back in gathering XIII.²² Gathering VII is also unique concerning *lettres d'attente*. So far, since gathering I, only type A (hand 1) was at work, but, again on fl.40r, type B, a less professional hand, is detected, and again except for this case, it only returns in the very last gatherings.

²² This is Pedro's opinion in 2016, p.25-9; shared by Ramos, 2008, I, p.173; 253; 500; II, p.10.

4.7. Group 4: gatherings X and XI

This is a moment in which the original CA seems to be drawing to a close. Of particular interest are the folios dedicated to P.G. Charinho, its last poet.

The illuminator role ceases altogether in this group. Up to fl.60r, § 32. *Illuminator*. gathering IX, we have unfinished illuminations, merely sketched by an artist. Then, from fl.65r gathering X to the end, even the sketched drawing is absent. In its place, there is a *réserve* for the picture, observed even in the last gathering as if expecting the return of an artist who never came back. The height of this blank space can still be measured in lines, just like the illuminations and, tellingly, they also reveal an even greater irregularity: always discounting two presumed lines for staves, the first two spaces in gathering X take eleven and twelve lines; they are followed by three of fifteen lines, one still in X, the other two in gathering XI. Fifteen lines was the pattern employed in gathering IX, so the two initial spaces in X are the ones at odds.

In fl.65r we can ascertain that the illuminator was absent because § 33. *Rubricator*. this is the first surviving opening of a poet's cycle in gathering X. It may or may not be a coincidence, but also in fl.65r, the work of the rubricator is interrupted: until fl.64r a secondary red initial is still rubricated, but in fl.65r, neither blue nor red ink is used. Yet unlike the illuminator, the rubricator resurfaces in gathering XI, fl.68r, with both red and blue. This role carries over until fl.73r, the last folio of gathering XI, that is to say it works throughout this whole gathering. In group 4 the blue ink, which was already lacking in the beginning, has its very last occurrence.

The scribal work remains consistent. Likewise type A of *lettres d'attente* (hand 1) continues in this group. The reviser role also remains unchanged with both revisers 1 and 2 still active in group 4, but they will not be active in group 5. Reviser 1's last occurrence is in fl.73r, that is, the very last folio of XI.²³ Reviser 2's last occurrence is in fl.72r, just before.²⁴

²³ Pedro, 2016, p.33 and appendix.

²⁴ Pedro, 2016, p.37 and appendix.

4.8. Group 5: gatherings XII, XIII and XIV

Revisers and illuminator are totally absent from this group. There are spaces for illumination as in group 4, but the number of lines for the *réserve* is even more irregular and yet still occurring in blocks. Group 4 closes with a sequence of three illumination *réservés* of fifteen lines: in gathering XII there are further three *réservés*, one with eighteen lines and the last two with fourteen. Gathering XIII opens with a *réserve* of thirteen lines, which is then followed by two of fifteen lines and another two of fifteen lines in gathering XIV. Overall, what we have is a steady rise from shorter illuminations (twelve lines) in group 1 to a gradual tendency towards fifteen-line *réservés* from gathering IX onwards. But as we move towards the end of the manuscript, the more irregular these become, given that in group 5 alone their height ranges from thirteen to eighteen lines. This emphasizes a more strict adherence to *mise-en-page* conventions in the beginning against increasingly more flexible standards.

§ 34. *Reviser and illuminator.*

The last activity of the rubricator is on fl. 76r, with red ink only. In group 5, the blue ink is definitely absent and red is only present up to half of gathering XII. Hence, in the last two gatherings, this role is also absent. This means that, at the end, only the scribal and compiler roles persist.

§ 35. *Rubricator.*

Concerning the scribe, this last group witnesses great inconsistency in the performance of this role. Hand 1, which copies up to group 4, is mostly absent. In gathering XII, Pedro detects a hand 3, with a new ruling of the page, which she regards as less professional. According to her this hand is active from the verso of its first folio, fl.74, until its end. Hand 1 would have ruled and copied fl.74r, at which point hand 3 takes over. Then, in

§ 36. *Scribe.*

gatherings XIII and XIV, a hand 2 is detected, which copied the *cantiga* CA 157 in fl.40r, suggesting that this scribe not only made the last two gatherings, but also went back to gathering VII and used what was then a blank page. Concerning ruling, the work done by hand 2 is deemed inferior by Ramos, although, in gathering XIII, fl.79 to fl.82, the absence of one column makes this work even further way from group 1's standards. Then, in gathering XIV (fl.83) the same hand 2 reinserts the column, making it more similar to, even if less professional than earlier groups of gatherings.

With our examination of the manuscript we were able to confirm this information. The first type of ruling is very consistent and extends from the first folio up to 74r. The dry point mark always occurs on one side of each folio, preferably the flesh side of the parchment. Exceptionally, if the flesh side is a blank page, the hair side is ruled instead. The middle blank column has a width of 1.7cm, with a millimetre of tolerance. A different ruling is detectable on fl.74v, with the middle column measuring 2.7cm. The scribe is less able or less concerned with text justification, that is, he does not keep his handwriting within the margins. In fl.75r the ruling has no framing columns on the sides. The middle column becomes irregular, with 3.2cm in this folio, then 2.9cm on fl.76, 2.4cm on fl.77, and 2.3cm on fl.78. Other features relating to ruling can be observed in this gathering XII. Until fl.74, the scribe's practice was to rule the whole page, with all its forty-seven rows, then start filling it up with text and decoration, which means that *réservés* were ruled. On fl.75r we notice a new approach to work for there are no horizontal lines in the space for staves, as recorded in figure 7:

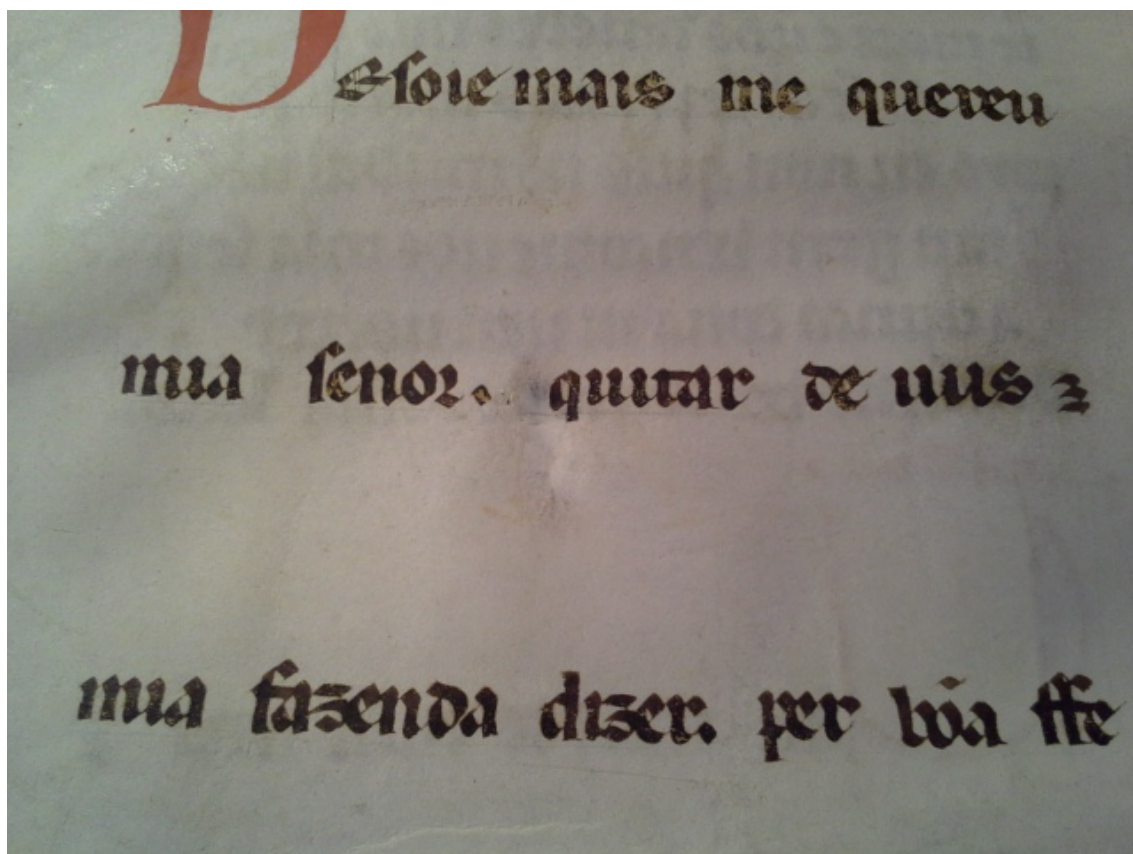


Fig. 7 — Folio 75r. (Copyright B)

The dry point ruling is calculated precisely at the text and space between is left unruléd as if the scribe knew, before ruling, which lines would be used.²⁵ This page is the flesh side and has all the dry point marks expected on a flesh page. Yet the verso clearly shows some dark lines, which do not look like dry point ruling – they lack the low relief associated with it – and do not match the ruling of the recto. In this page, we find all the horizontal lines, even in the blank staves:

²⁵ Similar observations in Ramos, 2008, I, p.246 and 552 n.693.

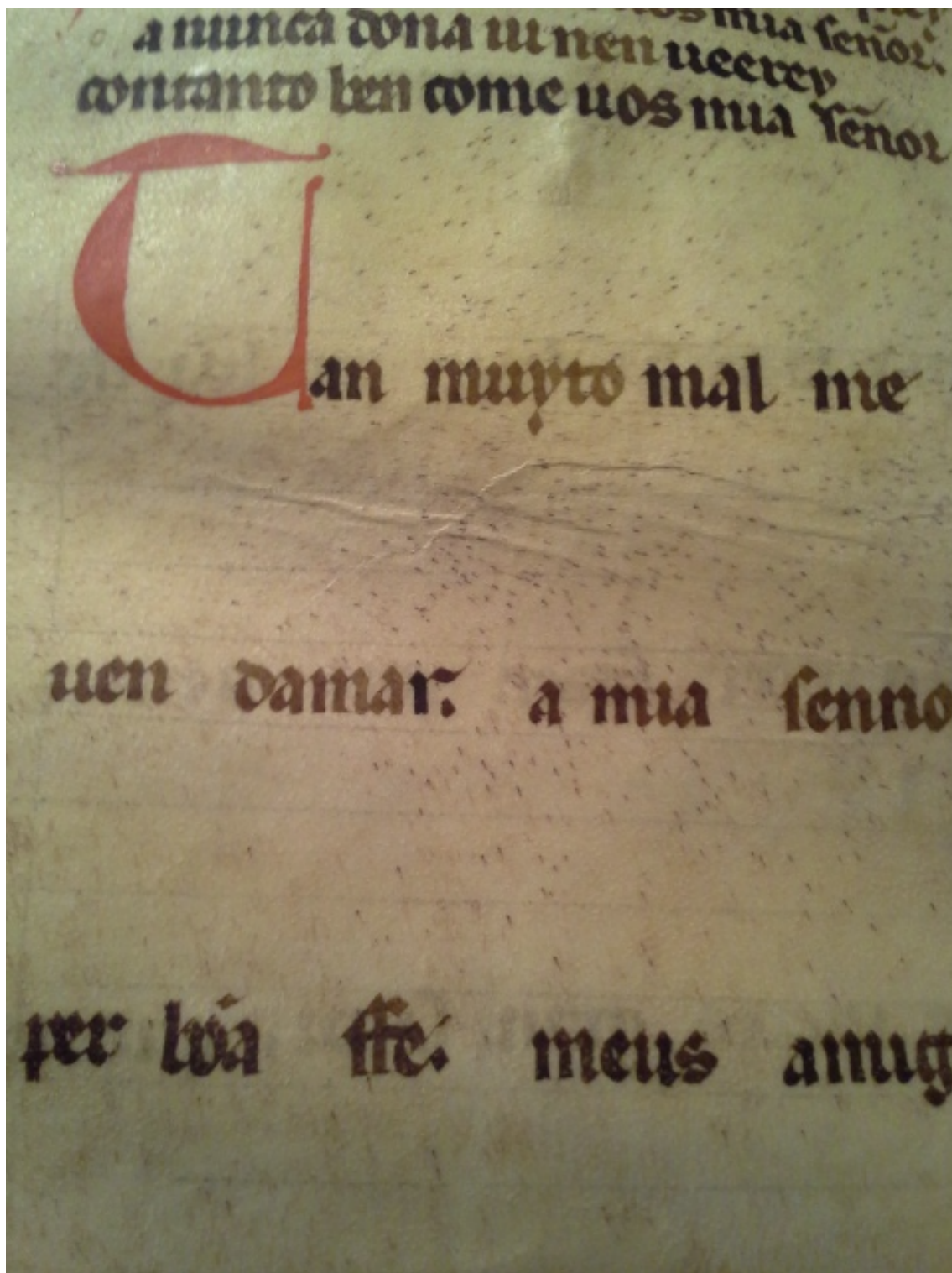


Fig. 8 — Folio 75v. (Copyright B)

This photo is from col.^d and the black ruling shown here does not exist on the recto, where the space for staves has no ruling. It could be lead point ruling, a newer ruling technique, which started to compete with dry

point ruling in the twelfth century.²⁶ This may suggest that gathering XII was produced more recently. In the sequence, fl.76 is ruled fully on its verso, the flesh side. Folio 77 verso, also flesh side, receives dry point ruling, but in col.^c underlaid text is ruled four by four, that is, there is no ruling in the staves, whereas col.^d has all the horizontal lines. Folio 78 is also dry point ruled on the verso, again the flesh side. Only col.^c has text on it. Here we find no ruling in the staves but all the ruling made in col.^c is extended all the way into col.^d, even if this is left blank. There are occasional mistakes, for instance, a double and oblique line ruled under the second underlaid line:

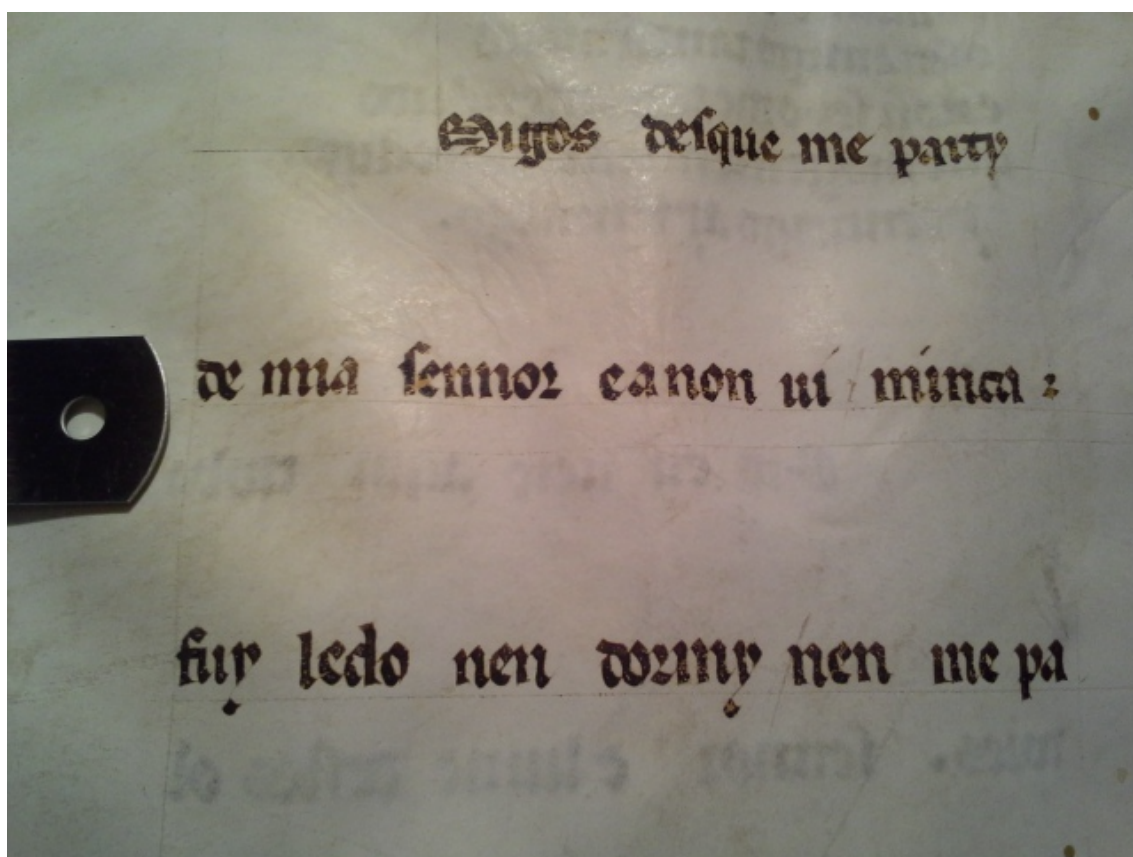


Fig. 9 — Folio 78v. (Copyright B)

²⁶ Vezin, 1998, p.102.

Figure 9 also emphasises the complete mismatch between the text copied on the two pages: rather than using one ruling for both sides, each side is treated independently.

There is a change in *lettres d'attente*: for Pedro type A hand 1 extends until gathering XI, group 4. In group 5 we have a hand 2 of type A in gatherings XIII and XIV. In addition, in gatherings XII to XIV Pedro notices the type B, previously active in fl.40r, and which is described as less “formal” and “irregular”.²⁷ Therefore, gathering XII is also peculiar as the only in which type A *lettres d'attente* do not occur.

²⁷ Pedro, 2016, p.27; Ramos, 2008, I, p.395.

4.9. A theory of phases

The variation described so far, which is not random, justifies our theory that the confection of CA is better conceived as different phases or moments, rather than one large homogenous project which was suddenly halted. Within the five groups of gatherings discussed, the great divide is between gatherings I to XI against gatherings XII to XIV.

From gatherings I to XI, the textual roles, scribe and revisers, remain largely consistent. Variation occurs regarding simplification of decorative elements and varying approaches to rubrication. Gatherings XII to XIV, on the other hand, revealed absence of decorative elements and revision plus a fundamental palaeographical change. This makes the last three gatherings radically different, perhaps the work of an entirely new team.

§ 37. *The two main codicological units.*

If we were to subdivide gatherings I to XI, we would definitely isolate gatherings I and II when illumination and rubrication were consistently made to a higher standard, progressively dropping in gatherings III and IV. Folio 15 still has some features of the earlier gatherings regarding illumination and rubrication and may be included in this first phase. The single exception is fl.40r, a focus of a high number of irregularities which can be tentatively explained by the following hypothesis: fl.40r did not include CA 157 originally; rather it was a blank page preceding illumination 10. At a later point CA 157 was added in the available space, presumably because the compiler now had access to what was not in the original source or sources. Consequently, fl.40r belongs to two different phases.

§ 38. *Subdivision of the first unit.*

In this vein, we distinguish an early – and highly elaborate – moment, its simplification and an epigone, with possible transitional gatherings.

— Phase 1: gatherings I and II, possibly fl.15

— Transition (?): gatherings III and IV

— Phase 2: gatherings V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X and XI except for fl.40r

— Phase 3: gatherings XII, XIII and XIV, plus fl.40r

5. Additional features relevant to phasing

5.1. Introduction

Our theory that the confection of the CA was dynamic has been set out based on the scriptorium roles. In this section we list other features worth considering: the conventions pertaining to blank pages, Gregory's Law, half-sheets and gathering structure. The understanding of these may be impaired by the lacunae, therefore we introduce them here and complete the analysis in Chapter 2.

5.2. Blank pages

Seventeen blank pages remain in the CA today, yet their purpose remains uncertain: were they meant as a visual element to close a poet's corpus so that each new cycle could start on a recto side (aesthetic regularity), or were they meant to accommodate more text in the future?

§ 40. Number and position of surviving blank pages.

Of these seventeen pages, three are to be found between gatherings I and VI, twelve between VIII and XIV, plus fl.87, which is blank on both sides. That means that there are four times as many blank pages in the second half of the CA than in its first half. Up to five blank pages in the first half may have been lost. Does that mean that someone extracted blank pages preferably at the beginning or that the use of blank pages by the scriptorium changes throughout the manuscript? Or, even, could it be the case that different blank pages had different purposes? A definitive answer to these questions is unlikely, yet they are worth pondering since they have implications when assessing lacunae.

What can be established is how blank pages are positioned: until gathering V, fl.28, all *surviving* blank pages are the verso side of a folio. But from gathering VIII onwards, blank pages can equally be the recto or the verso. Accordingly, the surviving illuminations on the first half of the manuscript only occur on the recto, with the first illumination on a verso being introduced in gathering VII.

This suggested to Ramos some aesthetic convention which eventually changes as work on the manuscript progresses.²⁸ If correct, this inference would help to reconstruct the lacunae but, for the time being, we would rather be circumspect and wait to see if it can be confirmed with other pieces of evidence.

§ 41. *Blank pages and reconstruction of lacunae*

We must also be open to the possibility that blank pages had a shifting role as elements of aesthetic regularity while providing leeway for adding extra material. This is what helps explain fl.40r as belonging to different phases. Indeed, the scriptorium may have left more or less blank space based on the expectation of more text becoming available and the scriptorium itself could potentially reduce the excess with hindsight, if the expectation was eventually frustrated.

5.3. Gregory's Law

Gregory's Law refers to the practice of pairing similar sides of parchment together: hair with hair, flesh with flesh.²⁹ Michaëlis's quire reconstruction ignores, consciously or not, this principle. Ramos, who is very attentive to it, described its operation in the CA as *irregular*, an

§ 42. *In previous literature.*

²⁸ Ramos, 2008, I, p.186; 499-500. See also Ramos, 1986b.

²⁹ Gregory, 1885.

opinion which we will seek to attenuate.³⁰ Finally, the conservation team responsible for the last intervention sought to regularize it, as it is clear from their report:

[...]

2. Ao correcto ou incorrecto posicionamento dos fólhos encontrados à posteriori;

[...]

Relativamente ao ponto 2 foi estudada a composição dos cadernos (maioria quaternos) e observada as sequências das folhas que maioritariamente corresponde à Regra de Gregory.

Conclusões:

No Cancioneiro a alteração do número de fólhos nos cadernos e/ou a interrupção da Regra, corresponde a faltas ou à incorrecta colacção/junção de folhas.

Solução adoptada:

Ligeiras alterações durante o processo de restauro da obra, salvaguardando porém a sequência da paginação existente.³¹

The recent intervention, therefore, was partly guided by the understanding that Gregory's Law is regular in the CA and this supported their revisions of the first intervention.

A full analysis of hair and flesh sides of parchment is to be found in Ramos, and specific indications were provided by Aldea.³² Our Appendix 1 reproduces this information.

In the next chapter we will discuss Gregory's Law first in connection to each presumed lacuna. Then, returning to the five groups of gatherings which structured discussions here, we will analyse it in relation to gatherings and in relation to phases.

§ 43. *In this thesis.*

³⁰ "A lei de Gregory [...] não se verifica regularmente, nem na sequência dos fólhos, nem na dos cadernos." 1994, p.31; "a lei de Gregory não é respeitada, nem na sequência dos fólhos, nem na dos cadernos." 1994, p.41-2. "A colocação do pergaminho não satisfaz, em todo o códice, a um ordenamento que respeite a conhecida Lei de Gregory, [...]. Isto não se verifica regularmente nem na sequência dos fólhos, nem na dos cadernos" 2008, I, p.127. "São notórios em determinadas secções alguns casos de não conformidade com a regra de Gregory na sequência pêlo-carne ou carne-pêlo. Algumas destas ocorrências são, em certas condições, reconstituíveis pelas lacunas materiais ainda aparentes mas, em outras circunstâncias, o cuidado na dobra do pergaminho não respeitou objectivamente a convenção." 2008, I, p.495.

³¹ Relatório Técnico da Recuperação da Obra Cancioneiro da Ajuda. [n.d.].

³² Ramos, 2008, I, Anexo I, p.523-5; Aldea, 2009.

5.4. Half-sheets

The CA's gatherings are made of thirty bifolia and twenty-eight single leaves, that is, half-sheets of parchment.³³ Since Michaëlis, the standard explanation has been that these are damaged bifolia for she was generally inclined to assume regular quaterniones. Exceptions initially occur in a vacillating way concerning gatherings VII and X.³⁴ Eventually she changes her mind about these two cases but admits a different case of irregular gathering, XIV.³⁵ Later she seems to change her mind again, returning to perfect quaterniones when positing twenty-nine missing folios.³⁶ More recently, Ramos also contemplated the possibility of planned half-sheets, though her preferred explanations typically posit regular bifolia throughout the manuscript, which were eventually damaged.³⁷

§ 44. *In previous literature.*

Half-sheets have also been described in a small number of books and guides on codicology.³⁸ Yet the practice of employing half-sheets by scriptoria is very common and is documented not only in Europe but also in Arabic scriptoria, where artificial gatherings may be three times more common than natural gatherings.³⁹ Ker, although focusing on Old English

³³ In this thesis we employ the terms *single leaf* or *half-sheet* interchangeably as the usual technical terms in English. We thank Prof Timothy Graham for this observation. A *regular* gathering is composed of an even number of folios, whereas an *irregular* gathering, through damage or design, has an odd number. Canart, 2003, p.77.

³⁴ “suppôr que o Caderno VII se compunha de cinco folhas, ou de quatro e meia; ou então que ha aqui novas divergências entre os dous Códices.” 1904, I, p.354. “É pois acertado conjecturarmos que o Caderno X abrangia não cinco folhas, mas antes só quatro e meia.” 1904, I, p.478.

³⁵ “Como é praxe, quatro folhas inteiras — de duas laudas, quatro paginas ou oito columnas — constituem um caderno. [...] Um (X) constava de cinco folhas; outro do mesmo numero, ou, talvez de quatro e meia (XIV).” 1904, II, p.146.

³⁶ 1904, II, p.150.

³⁷ “Não excluo, hoje, que estes fôlios não sejam, afinal fragmentos de bifólios acidentados, mas de meias folhas, intencionalmente cortadas, para a inclusão destes ciclos breves.” Ramos, 2008, I, p.495.

³⁸ Ker, 1990, p.xxiv; Lemaire, 1989, p.40; Ruiz García, 2002, p.144; Clemens and Graham, 2007, p.14; Agati, 2009, p.151.

³⁹ For Arabic see Déroche et al., 2005, p.77.

material, provides insightful explanations and a comprehensive list of manuscripts employing half-sheets which are distinguished from damaged bifolia. He concluded:

The use of a pair of half-sheets in place of one sheet is common. The half-sheets are usually the third and sixth or the second and seventh leaves in the quire of eight, rarely the first and eighth or the fourth and fifth, which would be more likely to fall out. It is unusual to find more than one pair of half-sheets in any one quire, or two half-sheets not spaced at regular intervals. A few quires are formed wholly or mainly of half-sheets.⁴⁰

Ker is here describing the deliberate practice of making a gathering which is *regular* – with an even number of leaves – but *artificial*, in the sense of not being composed of bifolia only.⁴¹ This includes the rare but highly conspicuous practice of making a whole gathering out of half-sheets.⁴² In addition, Ker also describes *irregular* gatherings:

§ 45. *Deliberate use of half-sheets.*

Perfect quires, in the sense that no part of the text is missing, often contain an odd number of leaves, probably, as a rule, because the scribe made a mess of one of the leaves and excised it. Thus a quire of four sheets would be turned into a quire of three sheets plus one half-sheet. Sometimes the use of a single half-sheet was, no doubt, deliberate.⁴³

With irregular gatherings we are invited to consider the reasons why half-sheets were used. A regular artificial gathering is generally interpreted as a premeditated use of a smaller piece of parchment:

Quite frequently, however, quires would not consist entirely of bifolia but would include two half-sheets (that is, single leaves) in place of a bifolium. In this way, a scriptorium could use those smaller pieces of parchment that might be left over when the full sheets were cut from the prepared skin.⁴⁴

What Ker, Clemens and Graham focus on in their description is the alternate use of two half-sheets, which, although they do not spell it out,

⁴⁰ Ker, 1990, p.xxiv.

⁴¹ The useful distinction between *regular*, *irregular*, *natural* and *artificial* stems from Canart, 2003, p.77.

⁴² This occurs in MS Hatton 115, gatherings IX and XII.

⁴³ Ker, 1990, p.xxiv.

⁴⁴ Clemens and Graham, 2007, p.14.

allows Gregory's Law to be kept undisturbed: the half-sheets function in all respects as a bifolium, albeit artificial. Hence, this practice can only be deliberate and premeditated. Gatherings made of half-sheets should normally fall into the category of those which are planned in advance.

Irregular gatherings, on the other hand, are interpreted by Ker as § 46. *Accident*. either an accidental, *a posteriori* feature – the scribe makes a major mistake and extracts the folio of a regular and natural gathering – or as a premeditated element. For instance, Avenozza interprets a pair of half-sheets in MS Esc. B.i.2 of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* as accidental.⁴⁵

In addition to accident, we would add perhaps another possibility: a § 47. *Scriptorium revision*. simple change of mind. Perhaps less compelling in the type of manuscript which Ker was used to, in a songbook it is plausible that blank folios had a shifting role as aesthetic elements and reserved spaces for additional material, as described above. Convinced, at a later stage, that additional material would not be found or added, the scriptorium could then review its procedure and extract blank folios, provided that both faces were blank. This possibility blurs the line between damage and confection, and it challenges even further the definition of the lacunae in the CA.

Indeed, a precise definition of the use of half-sheets in the CA is § 48. *Our analysis*. extremely difficult. It must be acknowledged that there is no case of a regular artificial gathering, whether with two alternating half-sheets or a gathering made of half-sheets. To determine if a half-sheet is damaged or planned in the CA, in Chapter 2 three features will be examined: if a

⁴⁵ Avenozza, 2016, pp.124-125.

sequence of text is interrupted or not; the state of stubs as described in secondary literature and available for inspection today; and Gregory's Law.

As a final word, the stubs of the CA are not reproduced in the paper facsimile, but they can always be noticed, with more or less ease, in the electronic facsimile. According to the gathering model of the 1994 facsimile, reproduced in Appendix 1, eleven original stubs were preserved in the CA and eleven new stubs were added in the first restoration. The original stubs have greater interest and have not been thoroughly described before. They could be either the original part of a planned half-sheet or the residue of a plundered folio. The new stubs, as conservation work, carry less interest, although with skill one can still infer the type of damage suffered by the folio. Apart from the stub's general aspect, we have checked the state of the neighbouring folios in loco, to see if there is any scar or knife mark. Because parchment is much tougher than paper, tearing a page out with bare hands may be very difficult. One may use scissors, which leave no mark, but if a blade is used, marks are likely to be found in adjacent folios.

5.5. Binding and gathering structure

5.5.1. Codex structure: stitching and binding

As a result of the first restoration described in §2, the original stitching was removed therefore features available to Michaëlis before 1890 are now lost. Michaëlis describes the stitching only occasionally and in six separate places in her study.⁴⁶ In addition, she describes the codex as a group of independent blocks.⁴⁷ There were in total seven sections, starting

§ 49. *Michaëlis on stitching.*

⁴⁶ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.586; II, pp.102, 140, 145-6, 147, 150.

⁴⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, II, pp. 145-6.

with two *cancioneiro* folios bound in the opening, out of order. Gathering I of the *cancioneiro* was connected by the stitching to the *Nobiliário*. That means that nothing had been extracted before the current fl.1, although the original *cancioneiro* clearly did not start there. The description further states three places where the stitching which should link the *cancioneiro*'s gatherings was cut: lacunae 3, 12 and 25. The sections are reported to be:

- Front cover;
- Three half-sheets: fl.88, fl.74, one from the *Nobiliário*;
- Two gatherings from the *Nobiliário*;
- Other gatherings from the *Nobiliário*, CA fl.1-7 (gathering I);
- fl.8-39 (gatherings II-VI);
- fl.46-82 (half-sheet and gatherings VIII-XIII);
- fl.83-87 (gathering XIV), back cover.

Apparently, fl.88 was pasted down onto the front cover and fl.87 onto the back cover.

Michaëlis invariably associates cut stitching with plunderers. She does not explain whether this is based on observation or a mere assumption. Stitching in old codices can be torn out of wear and this possibility is not addressed by Michaëlis nor was it picked up subsequently.

According to the report produced during the last intervention, the codex lacked any spine in 1999 and so the conservation crew decided to rebind the whole codex.⁴⁸ As of today, the early-modern cover subsists, but is absent at the spine and even some centimetres beyond. Instead, one will find a modern brown leather spine, with four raised bands.

§ 50. *The binding's current state.*

⁴⁸ Relatório Técnico da Recuperação da Obra Cancioneiro da Ajuda. [n.d.].

The inside front cover has received a very partial pastedown made of modern parchment. On the exposed wooden board, ink transfer from fl.88r and the original leather turn-in exposed can still be seen. The inside back cover received a full pastedown of a similar kind and material, covering everything.



Fig. 10 — Front cover (Copyright B)



Fig. 11 — Back cover (Copyright B)



Fig. 12 — Spine (Copyright B)



Fig. 13 (Copyright B)

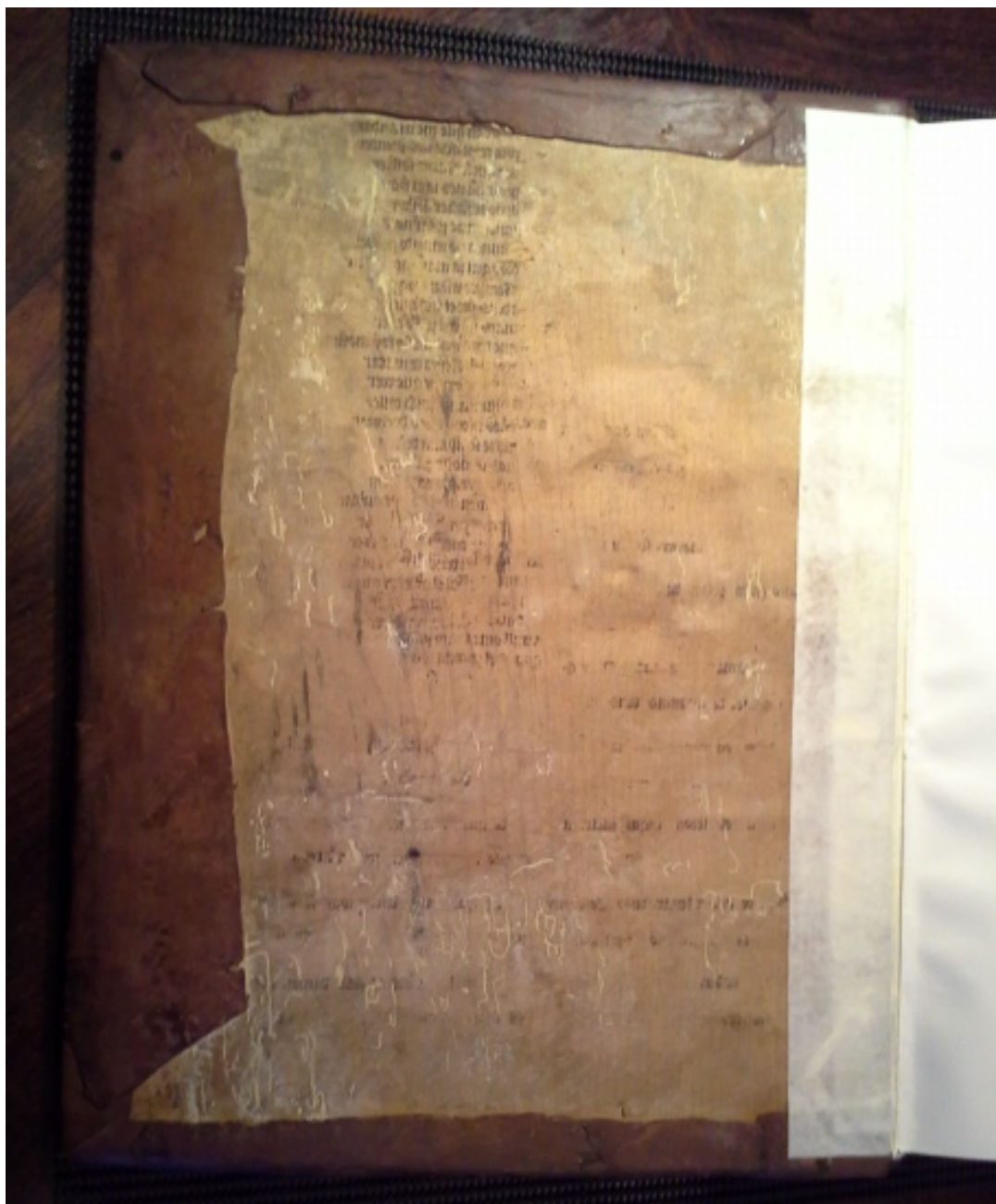


Fig. 14 — Front cover (Copyright B)



Fig. 15 — Back cover (Copyright B)

Finally, it is worth recording that each material intervention has disturbed the original margins. This can be verified on fl.20r, by comparing *CAn.28*.⁴⁹ In the paper facsimile, the inner margin has been reduced slightly so that the tip of the note is slightly covered, whereas today the binding

⁴⁹ For the reference system used here to the CA's marginalia, see Penafiel, 2015, which also reviews previous studies on the subject, such as Michaëlis, 1904; Carter, 1941 and Pedro, 2004 (now published as Pedro, 2016).

obscures an even larger portion of the note. These millimetric changes are an unfortunate side-effect of the restorations and, as suggested by Ramos, may be the reason behind the total disappearance of the note *Rey Dō Denis*, once read by Michaëlis in the codex's lower edge.*

5.5.2. A deduction on the codex's early history

Michaëlis partly reconstructs the CA, particularly when she infers § 51. *Signatures*. lost gatherings (Lacunae 1, 3, 12 and 25), based on inferences drawn from signatures. *Signatures* correspond to what she identified as “marcas de registro”, small roman numerals, located in a dedicated direction line at the bottom margin. Michaëlis remarked on signatures in fl.33r and 39v, that is, the opening and closing of gathering VI, and in fl.67v, in gathering X. She does not mention another signature visible in fl.61r.⁵⁰ From these largely damaged marks, Michaëlis infers gathering numbers made by the medieval scriptorium. When the margins were trimmed, the text was cropped and only these partial marks are now detectable. Still according to her, the first is number eleven, the second fourteen.

In this section we must try to make sense of Michaëlis's complex approach to lost gatherings, signatures and stitching and, with this, enter into a deductive account of the manuscript's early history.

* This handwritten note was visible on the codex's lower edge in the nineteenth century but has since disappeared. It was recorded by Varnhagen, 1868, p.344 (information given in the *Post Scriptum*, available in the 1850 re-edition and later); Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.23; p.102; p.123; p.141; p.236.

Michaëlis records the disappearance of the note (attributing it to a gradual fading away), however, Ramos hypothesises that the insertion of the Évora folios may have played a part in it. Ramos, 1999, p.168-170.

⁵⁰ Apparently first noticed in Ramos, 1985.

In the present study signatures, or rather, the second pair of signatures remain a mystery. The first clearly reads eleventh, “xj^o”, and it has a punctus on either side.



Fig. 16 — Folio 33, gathering VI (Copyright B)



Fig. 17 — Folio 39, gathering VI (Copyright B)

The second pair of signatures, the alleged number “xiiij^o”, is almost illegible. In these photos, it is possible to just descry the last punctus which would complete it. It is very hard to imagine which other number it could be, though. The ink-colour and style is consistent with the rest of the

manuscript. Their position is also consistent with one another, using the dry-point ruling as their guide.



Fig. 18 — Folio 61, gathering X (Copyright B)



Fig. 19 — Folio 67, gathering X (Copyright B)

Not only are the signatures consistent with the writing used elsewhere in the manuscript but also if the signatures were not medieval, the songbook's gatherings would probably not have been bound in the right order, as happened with the *Livro de Linhagens*. We establish, therefore, that the CA arrived to early-modern readers as stitched gatherings with full

margins and signatures throughout and that this was so until its first binding, at which moment the margins are cut and the signatures lost, as a result of binding itself.

The codex, as originally discovered in the nineteenth century, had two gatherings between VI and X, that is, the sequence was VI, VIII, IX, X, which, based on these signatures, could be XI, XII, XIII, XIV. Strangely, however, the insertion of gathering VII, six folios from Évora, in lacuna 12, blocks this possibility (§103, §135). Ramos suggested that gathering VII could have been made after the signatures and that even its *mise-en-page* may be distinctive.⁵¹ We contend instead that the gathering is consistent with those surrounding it and that their original position is precisely between VI and VIII, despite the signatures. The Évora folios are cut to a size consistent with the rest of the codex, so they must all have been cut together. If they had not been bound, surely they would have been found in nineteenth-century Évora with full margins. Furthermore, the ruling in gathering VII is consistent with adjacent gatherings: around 4.5 to 5cm of internal margin and 1.6 to 1.7cm in the middle column. It is true that the six Évora folios which make gathering VII were trimmed in a slightly distinctive way, as noticed by Ramos. On most gatherings there is some blank space before the first line of text, whereas in this gathering the blade often hits the text. This is circumstantial and can be explained if the whole gathering was glued and stitched slightly higher than others. As a result, the bottom margin looks a little wider. The reason why no signature is visible in gathering VII is because this gathering probably lacks its external bifolium.

⁵¹ Ramos, 2008, I, p.238.

Incidentally, the other five Évora folios, from other gatherings, do not share in this trimming peculiarity so no relation can be drawn between trimming and their extraction and reappearance in Évora.

§ 52. *Lost gatherings.*

Concerning lost gatherings, a solution lies in the reconstruction of the manuscript's early history and the conclusions drawn in the published edition and study of its early modern marginalia mostly based on three early modern hands, A, B and C.⁵² In summary, hands A and C are reading the songbook in the fifteenth century, the gatherings are unbound and these readers handle them out of order. Hand B co-occurs with A and with C, near the manuscript's outer margins and the text was cropped when the codex was trimmed. This means that hand B was active before the manuscript's margins were trimmed and yet it reunites the groups of gatherings isolated by hands A and C. That hand B was later than A and C, rather than earlier, follows from Michaëlis's assertion that some of hand A's notes look more archaic. In any case, during the marginalia period, that is, in fifteenth-century Portugal, the manuscript still had all its original dimensions. In trimming, more than 1cm of parchment was lost in the fore-edge (§179); we have not been able to determine the loss in the upper and lower margins, but it would have been substantial.

Around the late fifteenth century or sixteenth century the CA is finally bound.⁵³ At this time, the initial gatherings which make Lacuna 1 have already been lost. They were never included in the codex because the

⁵² Penafiel, 2015, pp.183-194.

⁵³ Ramos, 2008, I, p.508 suggests three moments to explain the binding and to account for the early history of the CA. The present theory does not contradict Ramos's theory, however, bidding is here taken in its strict sense: the gatherings were glued together, trimmed and permanently attached to covers.

For information on Pedro Homem as a likely owner of the CA in this early period, see also Ramos, 1999.

stitching between the *Livro de Linhagens* and gathering I was intact when Michaëlis first saw it. This is consistent with the inference that, in the fifteenth century, the gatherings were disassembled and read in isolation.

The songbook and the *Livro de Linhagens* were trimmed to fit the wooden boards which serve as covers. The cover was not made to order to accommodate the manuscript, rather the manuscript had to conform to the dimensions of the pre-existing boards. The act of binding might have been prompted by a practical good intention, but whoever had the obnoxious idea of fitting manuscripts to covers was not venerating or over concerned about them. The binder used the medieval signatures in the songbook to put in the right order whatever was then available to him. As part of the process, he pasted loose folios from the CA in the boards and appended loose folios from the *cancioneiro* and the *Livro de Linhagens* – whose position he cannot verify – as opening flyleaves. The *Livro de Linhagens* lacked signatures and was bound in the wrong order, so the binder just made a random guess. In trimming, most of the CA's signatures were lost.

Another important element might have been lost in the upper margins: the names of the poets. It is but a conjecture, since one cannot verify it. But the comparison with *Pergaminho Vindel* shows a red rubric reading “*Martin Codax*”, right at the top of the page. Furthermore, close inspection of fl.71v reveals the loss of some text, not in red, but in black, around the centre column, in the upper margin:



Fig. 20 — Folio 71v, top, Fernão Velho's cycle (Copyright B)

This sixteenth-century binder, as established now, was careless, so he might not have deemed important the loss of authorship, thus causing considerable pains to future scholarship. This conjecture serves mainly as a warning to those who have asserted that the CA never had attribution rubrics.⁵⁴ It opens the possibility that the glossator – a simple role – was active in the CA, that the manuscript was more finished than has been thought so far, but we just cannot verify this aspect in the extant CA.

After being bound in the sixteenth century the codex lies in a Portuguese library, probably not much valued. So far, the Évora folios were all part of the bound codex: they were annotated by hands A, B and C and trimmed like all the rest. The codex is not safe from damp and marks of mould are still visible today.⁵⁵ Parchment, as stated in §48, is more resistant than paper but, if it becomes damp, it may start to crack. A bifolium can

⁵⁴ The statement has been used by Tavani to sustain that the Italian manuscripts cannot descend from CA due to its lack of authorship. In the same line, Ramos sustains that for Pedro Homem and the fifteenth-century hands which annotated the CA the whole songbook lacked attribution rubrics (e.g. “Pedro Homem, possuidor de um Cancioneiro sem rubricas atributivas,” Ramos, 2008, I, p.92). We believe that statements like these, used to ground long chains of arguments, must be moderated.

⁵⁵ “Observam-se também manchas enegrecidas, presença de fungos e humidade em excesso.” Ramos, 2008, I, p.122.

easily break in its central folding and, as a result, folios are lost. Others were plundered. By robbery or accident, the stitching is broken in three places. The broken stitching could cause the loss of a gathering from Lacuna 3, and of gathering VII from Lacuna 12 or the extraction of these gatherings could have caused the stitching to break. The possible loss of an additional gathering in Lacuna 12 may have occurred before the binding. The breaking of the stitching in the putative Lacuna 25 may or may not have caused the loss of material. Only one of these fallen gatherings, gathering VII, reappears in Évora, minus its external bifolium. These deductions will be explained in the next chapter.

It is true that the cut stitching emerges now as a less decisive argument than Michaëlis believed. Not all places with lost gatherings have cut stitching (e.g. Lacuna 1) and not every place with cut stitching will necessarily mean lost gatherings. But the most recent scholarship has been silent about them. There may be good reasons to be cautious, but we feel that the stitching should be readmitted in the following terms: when there is independent evidence that a gathering was lost, the damage and the loss are associated rather than treated as coincidental events.

6. Supra-phasal elements

6.1. Space for *fiindas*

The section above outlined why we prefer to discuss the CA in terms of phases. It is worth, however, registering here variation which remains independent of phases.

6.2. *Réservés* for stanzas

The principal example is the identification by Ramos of occasional stave spaces for *fiindas*.⁵⁶ This inconsistency in CA – *fiindas* with and without staves – reflects differences between the sources copied by CA or its ancestors, being mechanically reproduced in CA. To this paradigmatic example, we would add some which we have observed.

§ 53. *Staves for fiindas.*

Stanza *réservés* are found at the end of some *cantigas*. Here we note that all *cantigas* with one stanza in the extant CA seemingly have a *réservé* by default; CA 57 and 73 are obvious cases. CA 39 and 69 are also followed by large blank spaces, but as the last poems of their respective authors, the spaces may or may not be considered *réservés*. None of these poems are longer in the Italian witnesses, so the scribe or compiler did not have access to an alternative source when making this decision; he just refused to accept a single-stanza *cantiga* as a valid compositional practice.

§ 54. *One-stanza compositions.*

The overwhelming majority of *cantigas* with two stanzas also have a *réservé*. The largest share of these either remains with two stanzas in the Italian manuscripts or is only transmitted by CA; they are CA 25, 38, 62, 98, 99, 123, 149, 214, 218, 220. A small number have a *réservé* in CA but are

§ 55. *Two-stanza compositions.*

⁵⁶ Ramos, 1984.

transmitted with three stanzas in CBN, namely CA 60, 90, 93. CA 245 and 277, with two stanzas each in all surviving witnesses, occur at the end of their cycles and the blank spaces that follow them may or may not be intended as *réservés*. This leaves a single two-stanza *cantiga*, CA 197, manifestly not followed by a *réserve*. The allocation of *réservés* at the end of two-stanza *cantigas* thus can also be regarded as a default copying attitude.

The corollary is that those three cases in which CBN provides additional stanzas are a pure matter of chance, but also that the CA compiler seemingly judged short pieces to be defective: he tacitly reveals that, from his audience point of view, *cantigas d'amor* must have three or four stanzas, even if this is at odds with existing compositional practice. This is a valuable aesthetic issue emerging from codicological observation, to be revisited in due course.

There are also cases of poems with three stanzas and a *réserve*: CA 68, 100, 103, 173, 177. There is a single case of four-stanza composition followed by a *réserve*, CA 206; the space is short and would not fit an extra stanza, but could receive a *fiinda*. Given that the first set of *réservés* was associated with an attitude towards short compositions, the reasons behind these must be sought elsewhere, namely: these six *réservés* reveal that the CA compiler was aware, or believed in lacunae in the base-manuscript. Such lacunae were not emended in the base-manuscript and are not flagged in CBN/CV.⁵⁷

§ 56. *Compositions with three or four stanzas.*

⁵⁷ Our analysis of *réservés* after short compositions as an attitude at the level of CA thus coincides with Russo, 1993, p.141. Her explanation concerning longer compositions, however, is rejected and the solution is sought at the level of the source rather than the *mise-en-page*.

Conversely, there are cases with three stanzas in CA, transmitted with four in CBN, but no *réservé*: CA 45, 91, 148. The last is remarkable because CA omits the third, not the last stanza. We can rule out these being copying mistakes by the CA's scribe: in the gatherings in question – II, IV and VI – both revisers are very active and they would certainly have spotted errors of this magnitude, as it indeed happens in CA 250, gathering X, with three stanzas, but with an additional stanza added by the reviser in the margin. Here the CA compiler was unaware of potential lacunae in the source and the additional stanzas must have surfaced after CA was copied.

§ 57. *Fragmentary compositions without réservés.*

CA 267 constitutes an exception. It is followed by four blank lines, which would not fit an extra stanza. The text, however, was either badly corrupted in its source or inattentively copied in CA. Michaëlis edited it as a two-stanza poem plus *fiinda* of four lines; Lopes, Ferreira, et al. edited it as a three-stanza composition with a missing line. The scribe scrapped his text twice in the first stanza and displays confusion as to where the refrain actually starts. Overall, it is not clear if the blank lines constitute a *réservé* or some element of the *mise-en-page*, and, if a *réservé*, what it could include and whether it is due to a source or scribal problem.

§ 58. *Exceptions.*

The second exception is CA 259, with a number of irregularities.⁵⁸ Relevant to this discussion of *réservés* is a space of ten lines at its end. A close inspection of the codex with UV light revealed two lines of erased text, which we transcribed as: [** ***] faz auer [****] / [**]dona de quantas fez nostro sennor. These are not the *fiinda* of CBN 436/CV 48, but, rather, that of CA 260, copied in col.^d nearby: Pois que mia fez auer pola /

⁵⁸ The various editorial issues pertaining to this poem will be addressed opportunely in Chapter 4.

mellor. dona de quantas fez / nostro sennor.⁵⁹ Because this *fiinda* was formerly underlaid, it originally occupied eight lines, leaving merely two blank lines at the end of the composition, at the bottom of the column. Hence, what is now visually a large blank space is not an actual *réserve*, not even a *réserve* for *fiinda*.

One could reasonably expect that the number of lines in a *réserve* would be a multiple of the number of lines in the existing stanza, but in this regard we detected no pattern. The number of lines of each *réserve* is noted in Appendix 3 in the last column for relevant *cantigas* as “*réserve* in CA:” followed by the number of blank lines. This tool also offers a full metrical profile of each composition, including number of stanzas and lines per stanza.

§ 59. On all *réserve*s.

6.3. Blank lines and underlaid text

Stanza *réserve*s constitute only one group of blank lines. Another set of blank lines occurs more frequently whenever a column begins with underlaid text and the written lines in the preceding column do not add up to forty-six. There may be underlaid text both at the bottom and at the beginning of the two successive columns or the first underlaid line may coincide with the beginning of the second column. These situations are treated differently and also constitute a supra-phasal feature.

The practice of leaving blank lines between two *cantigas*, increasing the space above the first underlaid line of the second composition, is a widespread practice in the CA. We refer here to the situation in which both

§ 60. Underlaid text at the end of a column and beginning of the next.

⁵⁹ Also observed by Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.507; Lanciani, 1977, p.63.

the bottom line of the preceding and the first line of the successive column are underlaid. This happens if an underlaid stanza starts in a column and ends in the following one (e.g. fl.23v, col.^c bottom) or if a column ends with an underlaid *finda* and the next column starts with a new *cantiga* (e.g. fl.24r, col.^a bottom). To avoid leaving blank lines at the bottom of columns and having a column which is visually shorter than forty-six lines, the scribe anticipated the blank lines. Examples of *cantigas* opening with four blank lines abound throughout the manuscript and are as common, if not more, than those with just three blank lines for staves. Occasionally, one finds spaces of five and six lines.⁶⁰ The folios quoted here are merely illustrative, not exhaustive.

In this second case we compiled a full list of poems ending at the bottom of a column to see what is the scribal pattern of behaviour. This list does not feature just any type of space at the bottom of column; it focuses on the interface between the end of a *cantiga* and the beginning of the next within the sequence of a single poet.

§ 61. *Interface between two cantigas causing blank lines.*

The list reveals that scribes could leave one, two or three blank lines at the bottom of a column, essentially ending the columns with forty-five, forty-four or forty-three lines.⁶¹ In all these cases, the next *cantiga* starts on the next column.

⁶⁰ Five lines: e.g. fl.14v col.^c; fl.26r col.^a; fl.28r col.^a; fl.31v col.^c bottom.

Six lines: e.g. fl.38r col.^a bottom; fl.42r col.^a; fl.44r col.^a.

⁶¹ One blank line: 2r col.^a, 5r col.^a, 5r col.^b, 11r col.^b, 13r col.^b, 19r col.^b, 19v col.^c, 35v col.^d, 66r col.^b.

Two blank lines: 1r col.^b, 29r col.^a, 39r col.^b, 56r col.^a, 56v col.^d, 63r col.^a, 68v col.^d, 83r col.^b.

Three blank lines: 12r col.^a, 78r col.^b.

If a *cantiga* ends on line forty-two, the remaining four lines are used for the first underlaid line of the subsequent piece.⁶² Only two exceptions to this occur, on fl.62r col.^a and fl.63r col.^b; they are circumscribed to João Garcia de Guilhade's corpus in gathering X, in which four lines are inexplicably left blank. It must be noted, though, that in the fl.62r case, the scribe is making counting mistakes, when he writes the word "*SEnnor*" twice (*vide* §66).

If the number of extant lines was greater than four but less than eight, the scribe would add the blank lines between the two pieces, essentially enlarging the standard stave space of three lines, so that the column would visually end on its forty-sixth line.⁶³

Finally, there are cases of large numbers of blank lines, from seven to eleven, at the bottom of a column and within a poet's corpus.⁶⁴ These are not real exceptions, they are instead *réservés* for future stanzas. In all four cases, the previous *cantiga* has only two stanzas and, by default, the scribe would leave some blank space in the expectation of eventually completing it. In another case, there seems to be a *réserve* of five lines, enough to add one stanza, three blank lines and only then the four lines usual for underlaid lines.⁶⁵ The twelve lines at the end of fol.39v col.^d is blank space after the end of a poet's sequence, the folio, however, is followed by a lacuna.

⁶² Four lines: 11r col.^a, 23r col.^b, 39v col.^c, 45r col.^a, 72r col.^a, 84r col.^b.

⁶³ Five lines: 3r col.^b, 5v col.^c, 5v col.^d, 24r col.^b, 26v col.^c, 35r col.^a, 63v col.^d.

Six lines: 31v col.^c, 48r col.^b, 62v col.^d, 66v col.^c, 67v col.^d.

Seven lines: 62r col.^b, 63v col.^c.

⁶⁴ Seven blank lines: 56v col.^c.

Nine blank lines: 15r col.^a.

Ten blank lines: 23r col.^a.

Eleven blank lines: 38r col.^a.

⁶⁵ Fol.45r col.^b.

6.4. Parchment quality

We have not located in the secondary literature any specific remarks on parchment quality in the early gatherings and our own analysis has only revealed this: fl.4 seems strangely thin to the touch, though we could not infer any reason.

Folio 22 has a small fault, illustrated in figure 21.

§ 62. *Pre-existent holes.*

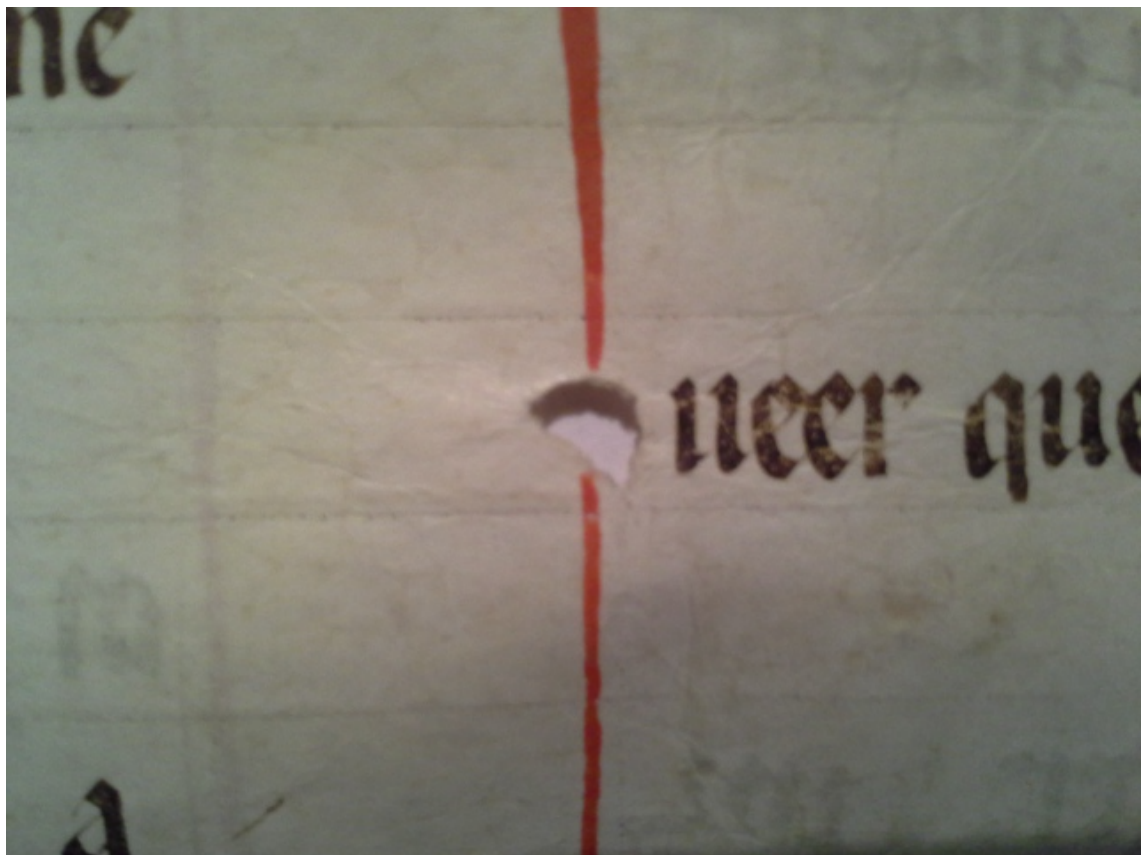


Fig. 21 — Folio 22r. (Copyright B)

Apparently this small hole precedes the copying process. If looked at closely, the rubricator's red ink does not touch the edge of the hole; in fact this which should be one continuous line – the tail end of a Q – is made in two steps and is therefore slightly misaligned.

Folio 40 has the first major damage, with a hole impacting on columns b (recto) and c (verso).

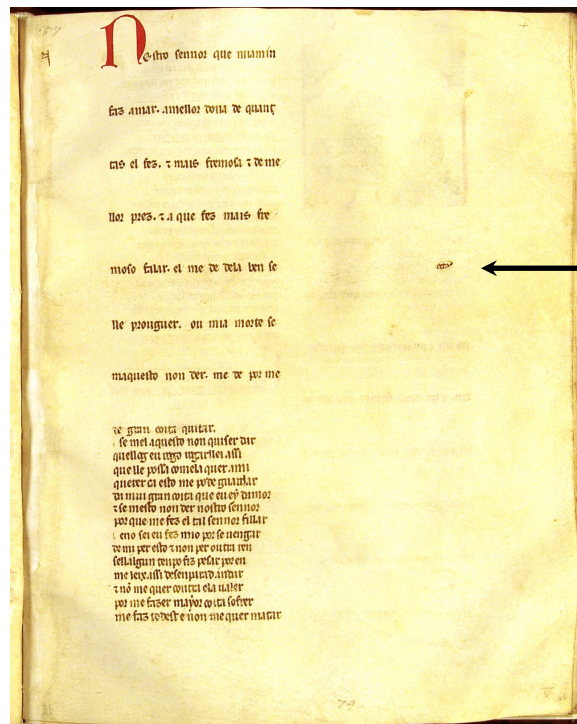


Fig. 22 — fl.40r. (Copyright A, modified)



Fig. 23 — fl.40v. (Copyright A, modified)

Holes can either precede the book confection, for example, from a wound suffered by the living animal, or be caused by later damage, typically bookworms or similar conservation-related issues. The cases above are clear examples of parchment which was already damaged: here the position was calculated to fall on a blank space in col.^b, where it would not affect any copied text, while, in col.^c, the decoration of the initial was drawn around the hole, avoiding it.

In gathering IX, fl.57, we see the third damaged folio, this time repaired, reinforcing that the hole preceded the book confection.⁶⁶

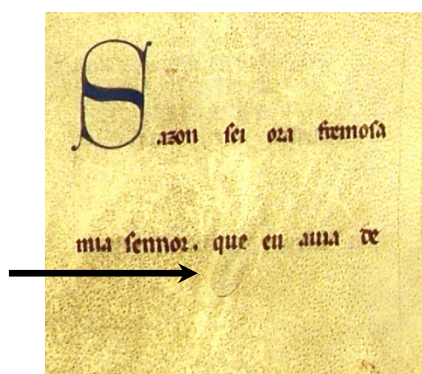


Fig. 24 — fl.57r. (Copyright A, modified)

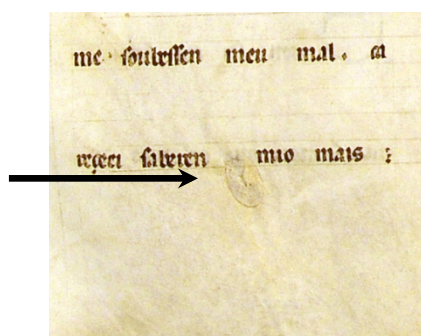


Fig. 25 — fl.57v. (Copyright A, modified)

All these examples reveal the decision to use damaged parchment, but planned so as to make the holes fall in unobtrusive positions. According to Clemens and Graham, a typical feature of manuscripts is the use of perfect parchment at the beginning, with damaged parchment being reserved to the end of the book.⁶⁷ This pattern does not seem to apply to the CA.

It is possible though that parchment quality ultimately worsens. § 63. *The last gatherings.*
Ramos suggests that lower quality parchment was used towards the end of

⁶⁶ This medieval repair is currently in a slightly precarious state, at risk of falling out.

⁶⁷ “Typically there are more leaves with holes toward the end of a manuscript than earlier on, an apparent sign that as the task of copying the manuscript approached its end, the scriptorium grew less selective in its choice of sheets and was prepared to use whatever came to hand.” Clemens and Graham, 2007, p.12.

the manuscript, without specifying which gatherings.⁶⁸ One could tentatively infer from another passage of her work that this refers to gathering X or somewhere around it.⁶⁹ Our inspection of the manuscript was inconclusive in this regard.

6.5. Illumination quality

Finally, the quality of the illumination was said by Ramos to vary randomly, with no clear sense of pattern emerging, whether front to back or back to front.⁷⁰ Our inspection of the codex did not reveal any noticeable variation.

⁶⁸ “Não é, certamente, por acaso, que vamos também encontrar uma clara mudança material nos últimos cadernos do códice ajudense, não só no tratamento da pele (vestígios de insuficiente raspagem), como na disposição e, sobretudo, na qualidade da pele que parece bem inferior em relação aos primeiros cadernos.” Ramos, 2008, I, p.120.

⁶⁹ “Mas do fl. 65 em diante (caderno X), as miniaturas não chegam sequer a ser esboçadas e nestas condições encontramos-nos perante treze espaços completamente em branco que se encontram nos últimos quatro cadernos do Cancioneiro, sem qualquer intervenção estilística. A base de algumas delas, talvez pela natureza do pergaminho, tem aspecto diferente ou por terem sido confeccionadas no lado do pêlo como as miniaturas do fl. 40v (caderno VII), do fl. 51v (caderno VIII) e do fl. 55v (cad. IX).” Ramos, 2008, I, p.260.

⁷⁰ Ramos, 2008, I, p.413.

7. Other relevant features

In this section, we will finally record some physical details of more § 64. *Offsetting.*
 limited interest. We notice that some occasional offsetting in early folios, namely: fl.1v, the blue tail of the rubricated Q in fl.2r; fl.8v some blue and red decoration and a capital C in fl.9r. This means that, at least, gatherings I and II were already cut and folded as quaterniones, so that the rubricator paints initials and closes the pages before the ink dries out, thus offsetting the facing pages. No other method of work would produce this effect.⁷¹

From fl.25v to 26r a scribal idiosyncrasy emerges, namely, within § 65. *Marks at the end of lines.*
 the non-underlaid stanzas, after each line there is a mark like a dash with interpunctus. On fl.26v col.^c the mark is simplified to a dash only, after which point, it just ceases. This seems a redundant sign of end of line. Seemingly, the scribe's source presented running text, like prose, where this mark is necessary and somehow, in the process of copying it to verse layout, the sign persisted. The poems affected are CA 101-4, by Burgalês, roughly around the point where Ramos identified the occurrence of staves for *fîndas*. This seems to be a source-related issue.

⁷¹ Consider other methods of work: Lemaire, 1989, pp.92-4.

e eltoz e len. /
 e no mudo pud achar. /
 me uo ds fez ueer /
 ne fezell' escareer. /
 s no mudo no fez par. /
 odo len salredo /
 o me de uoss amor /
 m que me faz de seiar. /
 heu q no qm achar /
 e uoleu um dizer. /
 mca de uos coida uer. /
 por uos prazentear. /
 lig auerdade seior. /
 parecer mui melloz. /
 onas emelloz falar. /

Fig. 26 — fl.25v. (Copyright B)

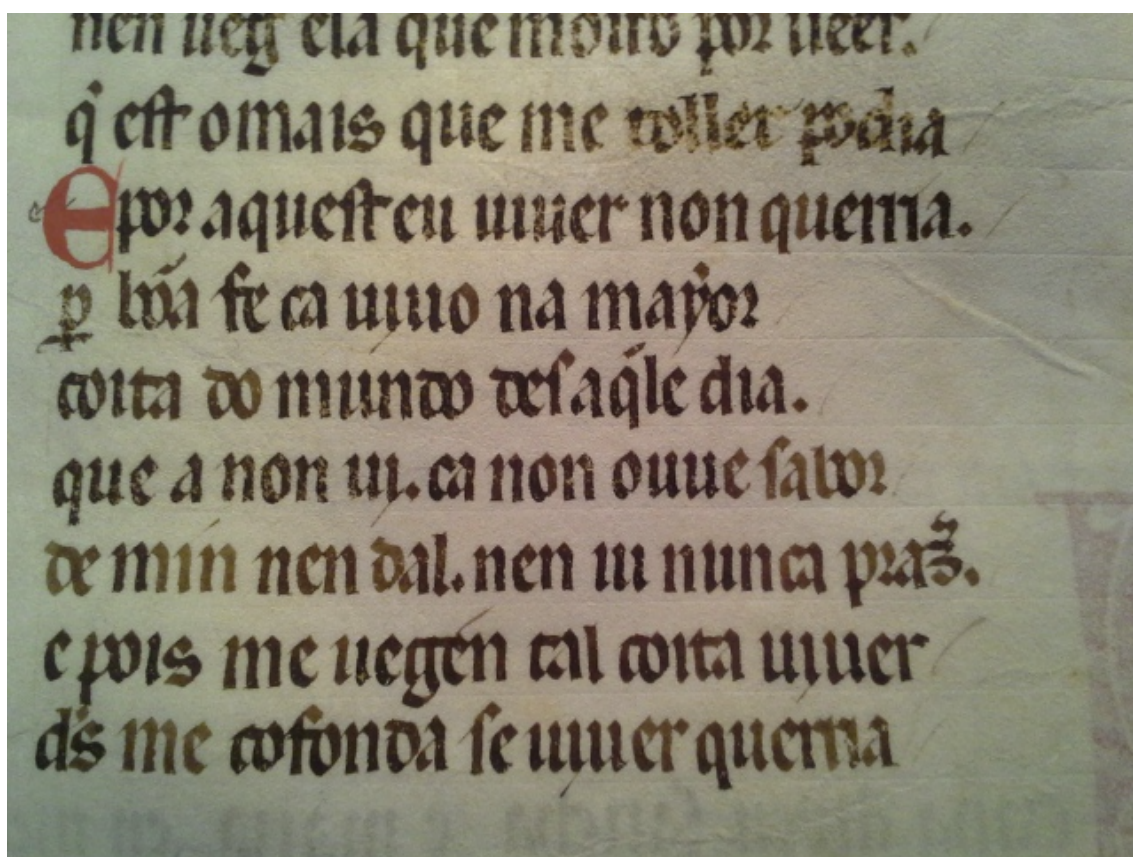


Fig. 27 — fl.26v. (Copyright B)

On fl.57v the scribe momentarily forgets to underlay the beginning of the first stanza of CA 219, when the letters /ue i/ are copied without skipping three lines for the staves. This is quickly noticed and erased. Similarly, a whole underlaid line in fl.71r col.^a was miscopied, towards the bottom, and subsequently erased. It is not possible to read it anymore. Folio 71 remains a very problematic folio, with the copying mistakes on its verso being mentioned above, which affected CA 259. On fl.62r the scribe writes the word “*Sennor*” ascribing only two lines for the stave. He started again in the following line, but the initial error was never erased.

§ 66. *Copying errors.*

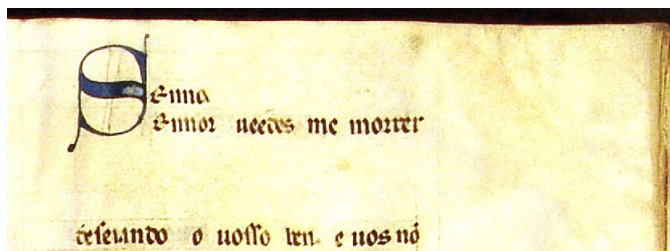


Fig. 28 — Folio 62r. (Copyright A)

On fl.45v the scribe neglected the stave space altogether and wrote “ro ben. fennor e buscan me conuulco”. Realising the mistake, he recopies the line in the correct position, but again the first error is not erased. The second version reads “ro ben fennor e buscã con uulco mal mas”. It is interesting that the second version lacks the word *me*, which is also available in CBN, making the line’s second version hypometric, a clear copying slip.

On conservation-related issues, one can see signs of termite or bookworm in fl.74, in isolation. That is because this folio was once pasted on the back wooden board, hence the holes date from this period and are not replicated on current neighbours. On the other hand, from fl. 76 all the way to the end, one finds holes of similar pests. These holes match one another in succession, starting on the boards and eating their way into the codex, being more prominent in the last folios.

§ 67. *Holes due to pests.*

Apart from this, fl.14v has a blue initial E at the top of the page which has inexplicably faded to a very light blue. The fl.16 and 17, both from Évora, were heavily folded in the middle, top to bottom wise, right between the two text columns, whereas fl.40 and 41, also from Évora, were folded in the middle in the left to right axis.

§ 68. *Conservation-related deterioration.*

Finally, we record here a few observations on marginalia. As mentioned above, no other *azafram* note was found, even with the aid of UV

§ 69. *Marginalia.*

and LED light; if anything, two recorded by Pedro and Ramos may have disappeared or are very hard to see. The note recorded by Pedro on fl.9v, next to CA 39, by P.S. de Taveirós, taken to be /p[ero] da pont/, was photographed in colours and is here reproduced. A photographic record of CAn.39 was also attempted with UV light. The note is a stanza, transcribed in two versions by Michaëlis and in our edition of the marginalia it was not possible to confirm her readings just with the facsimiles available.⁷² The UV light allows us to make out some of the words picked up by Michaëlis, although bits of it must have faded since. In particular, the current last words are /Nunca lho/.

⁷² Penafiel, 2015.



Fig. 29 — The presumed “Pero da Ponte” marginalia (fl.9v).

(Copyright B)

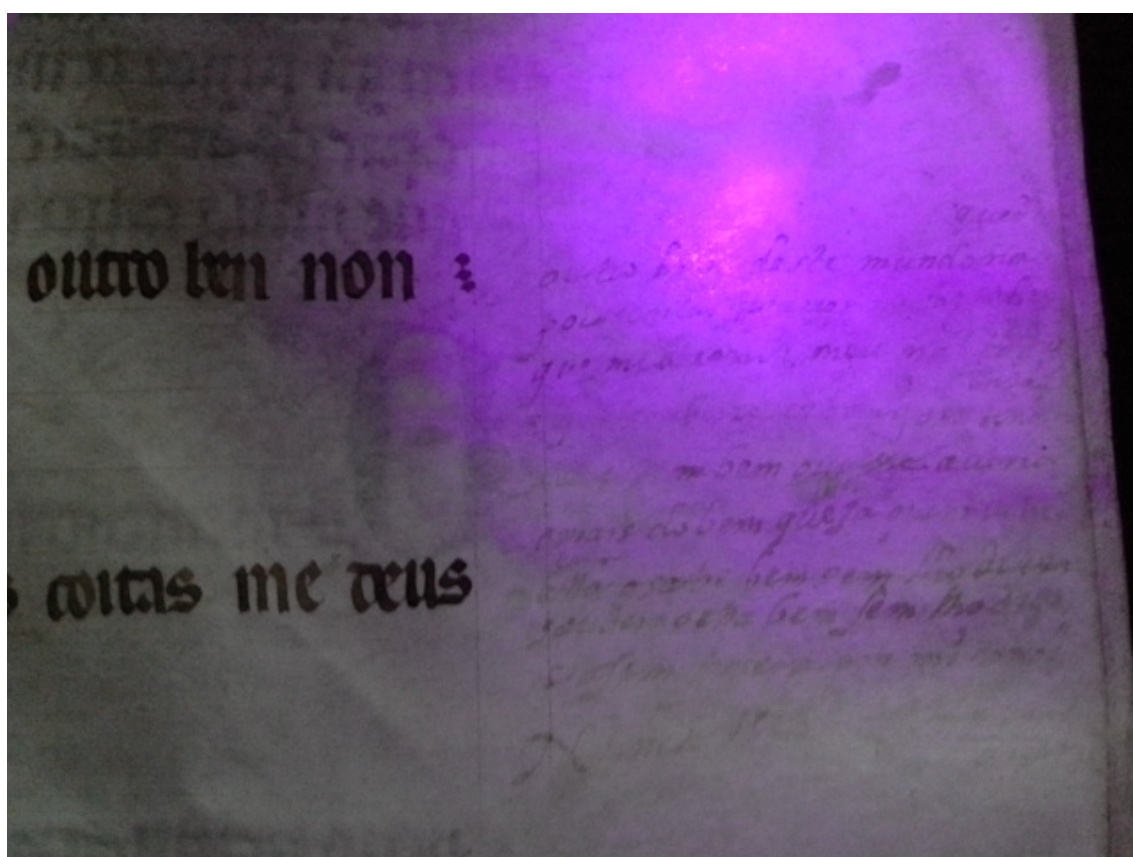


Fig. 30 — fl.33r. (Copyright B)

8. Summary

In the tables below we summarize the main features described above.

Table I — Elements used to divide the CA into phases, per gathering

	Art work	Writing	Parchment
Gath. I	- 12 ll. for illumination - fl.4 rubrication errors involving blue ink only	- <i>lettres d'attente</i> type A hand 1 - hand 1 - revisers 1 and 2	
Gath. II			
Gath. III	- simpler decoration for initials until the end - fl.15r last illumination conjugated with initial - fl.16r illumination separated from initial - fl.16v approach to rubrication work changes		
Gath. IV	- occasional <i>azafram</i> note - 13 ll. for illumination - fl.22 rubrication errors involving red ink begin		- fl. 22 first damaged folio (tiny hole)
Gath. V	- 27v-32r lack of blue/red inks for initials - fl.27r tertiary initials are created		
Gath. VI	- 36v-39r lack of blue/red inks for initials		
Gath. VII	- 15 ll. for illumination - fl. 40v first illumination on a verso - lack of marginal note for illumination (<i>azafram</i>) - fl.40r-42r lack of blue ink for initials - fl.41v tertiary initials are used to mark refrains	- fl. 40r (only) first occurrence of hand 2 and <i>lettres d'attente</i> type B - whole gathering: gap in reviser 2's work	- fl. 40 second damaged folio (larger hole)

Gath. VIII	- whole gathering (fl.47-54) lack of blue/red inks for initials		
Gath. IX	- fl.55v (only) return to complex decoration for initials		- fl. 57 third damaged folio (repaired by scriptorium)
Gath. X	- fl. 65 first “reserved space” for picture, - fl. 65-67 (Talaveira-Charinho) lack of blue/red inks		
Gath. XI	- fl. 73r last occurrence of blue ink - fl. 68 (Charinho) return of blue/red inks	- <i>lettres d’attente</i> : end of type A hand 1 - last occurrence of revisers 1 & 2	
Gath. XII	- fl. 76r last occurrence of red ink	- fl. 74v Hand 3, new “ruling” - <i>lettres d’attente</i> type B exclusively	
Gath. XIII		- Hand 2, fl. 79 new ruling - <i>lettres d’attente</i> type A hand 2 and type B	
Gath. XIV		- Hand 2, fl. 83 return to former ruling in less professional manner	

Table II — The illuminations and the amount of space occupied (in lines)

Gathering	Folio		Lines
I	4	Illumination 1	12
III	15	Illumination 2	12
	16	Illumination 3	12
	17	Illumination 4	12
	18	Illumination 5	12
IV	21	Illumination 6	13
V	29	Illumination 7	13
VI	33	Illumination 8	13
	37	Illumination 9	13
VII	40	Illumination 10	15
VIII	47	Illumination 11	15
	48	Illumination 12	14
	51	Illumination 13	14
IX	55	Illumination 14	15
	59	Illumination 15	15
	60	Illumination 16	15
X	65	Space for illumination 17	11
	66	Space for illumination 18	12
XI	67	Space for illumination 19	15
	71	Space for illumination 20	15
	73	Space for illumination 21	15
XII	74	Space for illumination 22	18
	77	Space for illumination 23	14
	78	Space for illumination 24	14
XIII	79	Space for illumination 25	13
	80	Space for illumination 26	15
	81	Space for illumination 27	15
XIV	83	Space for illumination 28	15
	88	Space for illumination 29	15

Table III — An index of roles in the CA

Reviser	
Reviser 1	Poets: from Sandim to Bonifácio
	Active: gatherings I to XI; Phases 1 to 2
Reviser 2	Poets: from Sandim to Bonifácio but not João Soares Coelho
	Active: gatherings I to XI, except VII; Phases 1 to 2
Scribe	
Hand 1	Poets: from Sandim to Bonifácio, beginning Anonymous 4
	Active: gatherings I to XI and fl.74r; Phases 1 to 2
Hand 2	Poets: CA 157 (Aboim?), from P.A. Solaz to R.F. de Santiago
	Active: fl.40r and gatherings XIII and XIV; Phase 3
Hand 3	Poets: Anonymous 4, 5 and 6
	Active: gatherings XII (f.74v to 78v); Phase 3
Rubricator	
Type A hand 1	Poets: from Sandim to Bonifácio
	Active: gatherings I to XI; Phases 1 to 2
Type A hand 2	Poets: from P.A. Solaz to R.F. de Santiago
	Active: gatherings XIII and XIV; Phase 3
Type B	Poets: CA 157 (Aboim?), from Anonymous 4 to R.F. de Santiago
	Active: fl.40r and gatherings XII to XIV; Phase 3
Illuminator	
Illuminator	Poets: from Somesso to Afonso Lopes de Baião
	Active: gatherings I to IX; Phases 1 to 2
Glossator	
Absent from extant CA.	
Music copyist	
Absent from extant CA.	

More important than dividing the production of the CA into phases is to spell out what these actually mean. From gatherings I to XI we see a gradual change which involves compromising the initial aesthetic standards. Gathering XII is unique from all points of views: the revisers and illuminator are not working any more, scribe hand 3 and the sole occurrence of rubricator type B are exclusive features. Gatherings XIII and XIV have ruling which resemble the style which preceded XII, but executed less professionally. The scribal hand 2 and the rubricator type A hand 2 and type

§ 70. *The CA has three phases but two codicological units.*

B place these gatherings in a middle position between the original gatherings and the radically different XII.

We cannot establish a definitive link between the three scribal hands and the three rubricator hands. However, we can state that the team working in phases 1 and 2 is different from those in phase 3. Gathering XII, on one hand, and XIII-XIV, on the other, are treated here as independent codicological units in relation to each other and to the rest of the codex. CA 157 on fl.40r is an insertion contemporary to phase 3, rather than phases 1 or 2. It is possible, but not proven, that phase 3 is the work of a different scriptorium.

9. Conclusion

This chapter has offered a descriptive account of the CA. The observations on the *mise-en-page* lay the basis for the next chapter where we will be asking: can we now attain a more accurate reconstruction of the CA's original state? If so, would this reconstruction challenge our perception of the CA in the face of the Italian manuscripts?

The chapter has also detected variation in the CA which is not random. From this it was inferred that its confection varied and therefore we may properly distinguish separate moments or phases. This is more than saying that there is a succession of hands. Hand 1 is associated with approaches to illumination, rubrication, correction, ruling, *lettres d'attente* which never co-occur with hands 2 and 3. Hence phase 3 is not marked merely by a change in handwriting, but constitutes a distinct codicological segment.

It is also time to address a standing issue: the CA is uneven, but to what extent is it “unfinished”? If “unfinished” is associated with a sudden interruption of works across the whole manuscript, then it is incorrect. The phases discussed reveal that “unfinished” is relative: initials were simplified in phase 2 and are absent in phase 3 so, in relation to phase 1, they could be described as “unfinished”. However, simplification was the condition to ensure that work would continue, that is, sacrificing aesthetic sophistication is necessary to record more text. A second response concerns those elements unfinished in relation to themselves: illuminations partly painted, blank staves throughout, the apparent lack of blue ink even in phase 1 which

causes some initials to be more decorated than others. Leaving aside the possibility of the initial lost gatherings being complete, what we would ask here is not so much if these items are “unfinished” but whether they could have been made at all. The scriptorium, from what we can judge, seems unable to conduct its ambitious plan and so, once again, unevenness is more a matter of adaptation than sudden interruption.

Both answers point to a priority on the scriptorium’s side: to complete the scribal work at the expense of the other roles. So, can the copying of the text be said to be finished? In a sense it was, at least in as much as the CA copies the whole of its first base-manuscript, as will be argued in Chapter 3. However, if that was the original plan, it was substituted by a more open-ended one, which required compiling and recording new material, that is, gatherings XII, XIII and XIV in particular reveal that scribal work could go on indefinitely until it met an arbitrary end. Why such an end was also abrupt, however, remains unanswered.

We would here admit that the CA may be the product of more than one director and that the intention directing work may have changed too. The first director or his initial intention was accomplished in phase 2. A second intention emerged in phase 3, thus making the end of the CA a “new” work, an extension or epigone: the open-ended project of recording text and only text. From this reduction of roles, change of team and even change in techniques (considering, for instance, the introduction of lead-point ruling) we could infer, perhaps, a new scriptorium altogether, turning an old project into a new one.

In short, we contend that the CA starts as an elaborate project, which is quickly simplified until it is textually accomplished in gathering XI, phase 2. It receives new breath, possibly in another scriptorium or context, and then the text copying is unexplainably interrupted.

Chapter 2.

The CA: Deductive Codicology

Contents

In this chapter we endeavour to:

- ❖ Re-examine every lacuna posited by previous scholarship, examining material, textual and comparative evidence;
- ❖ Review putative lacunae for which compelling evidence is lacking;
- ❖ Identify lacunae which caused no loss of text;
- ❖ Concerning textual lacunae, propose a definitive reconstruction of lost folios, when possible, based on *mise-en-page* conventions;
- ❖ Complement the understanding of changes happening in the scriptorium based on the reconstruction of lacunae;
- ❖ Inscribe the damage or any physical change suffered by the CA in a historical timeline.

Outcome:

The CA will be abstractly restored to its original structure, allowing a firmer comparison with other manuscript sources in order to re-draw the *stemma codicum* of the Galician-Portuguese lyric.

Note:

The reader is expected to extensively refer to Appendices 1 and 2.
Consultation of Appendix 3 is optional.

1. Introduction

This chapter builds on the conclusions of Chapter 1 to pursue a more accurate reconstruction of the CA, and to quantify and identify lost text. It is useful to distinguish between lost folios and lost gatherings, since only the former allow the type of reconstruction undertaken here. We also note that some scholars have produced codicological research on the lacunae of the CA. Other scholars have produced influential theories on compilation, but they have not pursued extensive codicological discussions on the CA lacunae. The codicological grounding provided by this chapter will allow us to revise theories of compilation in Chapter 3.

1.1. Reconstructing lost folios from the *mise-en-page*

The reconstruction of missing text in the CA is the goal of this chapter. Whereas it would be ideal to offer a complete textual reconstruction for every lacuna, some are just not possible with the current surviving textual witnesses. In these cases, we offer a comprehensive codicological analysis instead. Textual reconstruction is not a new enterprise, since earlier studies have already attempted this. A distinctive element of this investigation is to question if some presumed lacunae exist. In addition, our reconstruction is not based on estimates of three or four *cantigas* per lost folio as an average, but on a line-by-line reconstruction of each lost folio. In this regard, our reconstruction, more firmly grounded on the *mise-en-page*, may be said to be close to work conducted on the *cantigas de Santa Maria* manuscripts by Schaffer, Parkinson and Avenzoa.¹ The visual reconstruction is conducted according to the graphic conventions introduced in §6 and assumes a firm understanding both of variable and non-variable elements of the *mise-en-page* (§3-8).

§ 71. *Our reconstructive model.*

With this method we have a reasonably precise idea of how much text could fit in to a lost folio, with one caveat: stanzas set like prose – stanza 1 of every poem and some *fiindas* – are less obvious. This is the main instance in which the method becomes approximative. In order to tackle this, three premises must be explained:

§ 72. *Text copied as running prose introduces imprecision to the model.*

¹ Schaffer, 1999, pp.127-148; Parkinson, 2000a, pp.133-153; Parkinson, 2000b, pp.243-274; Avenzoa, 2004, pp.1-30; Parkinson, 2010, pp.315-336. Further references in Section 3 of Chapter 1.

1- We only compare like for like. In principle, one should not compare the first poem in a sequence with subsequent poems because the large initial creates two small lines.

2- A minor exception involves considerations on the shape of the large initial. A capital *I* is a narrow letter (fl.18r), pushed towards the margin, so its impact may be different from a wide letter, like an *M* (fl.37r).

3- Concerning poems other than the first of a cycle, it is better to compare them *ad hoc* with neighbouring texts. Given the theory of phases and indeed the occurrence of different hands, it seems safer to assume that handwriting would change less in the same gathering than across the whole manuscript.

Therefore, although still an estimate, this method provides a solid indication if a small margin of error is allowed.

Concerning the metrical profile, Appendix 2 offers in footnotes precise indications on metrical layout of reconstructed text and where similar cases can be found in the CA, with folio numbers. Those wishing to verify this aspect of our study will need to consult a facsimile in conjunction with Appendix 3, where full metrical data is available.

A practical difficulty encountered in this Chapter is how to refer to the lacunae. If we start with a large number of lacunae, we need to refer to them all with numbers, but if the conclusion leads us to revise their number down, keeping the initial numbers is inconvenient.

§ 73. *Numbering systems for lacunae.*

Our solutions seeks a compromise. This Chapter is divided into sections, each relating to one lacuna posited by Michaëlis. We initially adopt her numbering system merely because she was the one who identified

the largest quantity. We thus review each potential lacuna in turn and in sequence.

At the end of this Chapter, our conclusions will be twofold. Firstly, some of the putative cases identified by Michaëlis do not constitute lacunae at all. With all due respect to Michaëlis and those who have followed her, we consider these to be errors. Secondly, there are cases of lost folios or cases which are inconclusive, but which seemingly caused no loss of text. For instance, the extraction of a blank folio constitutes a material but not a textual lacuna. The numbers and sequence of the revised material lacunae will be given at the end of this Chapter but their interest ends here. In Chapter 3 we will be concerned instead with the even less numerous textual lacunae. In the context of Chapter 3 we will refer to them as “Lacuna x (former Lacuna y)”, in which x stands for *textual lacuna* and y for Michaëlis’s numbering system.

2. Lacuna 1

This lacuna refers to a number of lost folios before the current fl.1r. As with every lacuna henceforth, we must ask some questions. Firstly: what is the evidence for a lacuna here? Evidence can be of two kinds: material and textual. Material evidence is codicological; textual evidence involves reading the text, assessing whether it is complete and, often, comparing it with other manuscript sources, namely C, CBN and CV. Internal textual evidence – an interrupted text in CA – is the most conclusive type in establishing lacunae. Material evidence should not be taken in isolation, but be based on a collection of physical considerations which may be more or less conclusive. The least conclusive, but evidence still, is comparative textual evidence, that is, when the other three manuscripts are compared with CA.²

§ 74. *Definition of material and textual evidence.*

A second question is: what is the extent of Lacuna 1? Although a precise answer is unlikely, a partial answer is possible and it relies on the distinction between material and textual evidence.

Folio 1r starts with *guer*, the last syllable of the word *prouguer*, which concludes the first line of the first stanza of CA 1, by Vasco Praga de Sandim. The reconstruction here is mostly based on CBN, complemented by the *Tavola Colocciana*, an index of poets.³ CBN also has a lacuna at the

§ 75. *Textual evidence.*

² We do not ignore Ramos's useful distinction between *conjectura de proximidade* and *conjectura à distância*, however, the distinction drawn here has no claim of originality or methodological innovation, it merely reflects the structure of this Chapter.

³ The *Tavola Colocciana*, or C, is a complex and still controversial manuscript source. More details about it are provided in Chapter 3, §212. For now it is enough to say that it includes a list of poets with an indication, next to the names, of how many *cantigas* are attributed to each.

beginning and, hence, only the *Tavola* provides an indication of the full extent of what once was the beginning of these manuscripts.

Concerning material evidence, none has ever been adduced. This is not necessarily a problem: in this section, there is no torn folio, but if it is assumed, as it normally is, that Lacuna 1 stands for gatherings lost before the manuscript was bound, no material evidence would be visible.

§ 76. *Material evidence.*

Michaëlis approaches Lacuna 1 from different directions. She initially estimates its size in at least one lost gathering based on textual comparison with other sources.⁴ Her second approach relies on inferences drawn from signatures (*vide* §51).

§ 77. *Michaëlis's solution.*

Presently we cannot offer any contribution to the debate, but would cautiously speak of an unknown number of gatherings.⁵ Unlike with other lacunae, with this one no reconstruction is attempted, given that its position and length would make any result dubious. Furthermore, any reconstruction dependent on C – which lacks the poems – is doomed to be imprecise. Instead, we prefer to consider which of the poets present in C and CBN could be in this lacuna.

§ 78. *Our response.*

The order of poets in CA and its base-manuscript, as will be discussed in detail in chapter 3, follows a roughly chronological order, so any poet whose biography contradicts this principle was presumably added at a later moment of manuscript history. This is the basic rationale of Oliveira's research, where more precise details can be found and whose results are largely followed here. The first two poets of CBN, Airas Moniz

§ 79. *Eligible poets for Lacuna 1.*

⁴ In Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.1; 1904, II, p.147; II, p.201 *Miscella* 1.

⁵ We acknowledge the theory shared by Oliveira and Ramos according to which gathering I is a quinio, that is, that Lacuna 1 would also include a lost folio 1^a. This is discussed under Lacuna 3.

d'Asma and Diego Moniz, still defy understanding. They seem to be early poets, but slightly later than some who followed them. From Bazaco to D. Fernão Pais de Tamalancos, most should be in Lacuna 1, based on chronology.⁶

Excluded from this lacuna are the *lais de bretanha*, which, in CBN, precede the first poet and which are generally regarded as later texts, as well as Fernão Figueira de Lemos, already considered by Oliveira to be a later poet.⁷

§ 80. *Spurious to Lacuna 1: the unanimous cases.*

Unlike Oliveira, however, we also exclude Pero Garcia d'Ambroa. The Portuguese scholar distinguishes between Pero d'Ambroa and Pero Garcia d'Ambroa, two poets, one being an earlier poet, included in CA, the other, a later poet who could not be in CA. The distinction, albeit shared by others, still lacks, we feel, compelling evidence.⁸ Traditionally, Ambroa was identified with Pero Garcia, active around 1228-1255. Therefore, this Ambroa included in the beginning of CBN is treated here as a later insertion until further evidence can be adduced.

§ 81. *Pero Garcia d'Ambroa.*

⁶ Full list available in Appendix 3.1, 0a to 13.

⁷ Oliveira, 1994, p.90.

⁸ Vieira, 1999, pp.111-6 and Souto Cabo, 2006 support the distinction. However, the following scholars consider there to be only one poet: Alvar, 1986. Minervini, V. 1993. "Pero Garcia d'Ambroa" in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, pp.542-3. Ventura, 2014.

3. Lacuna 2

Another unquestionable case, Lacuna 2 can be proved, firstly, with textual evidence: CA 13 is interrupted, hence a lost folio (gathering I, 4^a). This is the last poem by Vasco Praga de Sandim, both in the extant CA and in CBN. The folio is connected to a new parchment stub of 4cm, added in the first restoration, which is pasted onto its verso for about 1.0 to 1.5cm into the folio. By casting light against it, it is possible to see that the bifolium was torn and to estimate that the damage goes deep into the surviving folio, up to 0.5cm beyond the fold.⁹ By positing a lost folio Gregory's Law is restored: fl.3v is the hair-side, 4r is flesh, so 4^a would re-establish the sequence hair-hair, flesh-flesh. (Appendix 1, p.7, q.4). The material evidence hence corroborates the textual evidence.¹⁰

§ 82. *Textual and material evidence.*

A comparative analysis of the order of poets and poems between CA and CBN shows that both manuscripts generally coincide. From this, it has been inferred that both manuscripts *should* coincide even when they do not and, as a result, theories have been devised to explain divergences. This is a matter of compilation, a vast subject which occupies chapter 3 and which can only be mentioned here in passing. Let us just record for the time being that the identification of coinciding sections between two manuscripts, even considerably large ones, does not authorise the inference that both manuscripts would always coincide. In the present case, what we have is thirteen pieces, CA 1/CBN 91 to CA 13/CBN 103, presented in the same

§ 83. *Comparative textual evidence.*

⁹ Ramos, 2008, I, p.136 describes the modern stub. No description by Michaëlis was identified in the following sections: 1904, I, p.30; II p.147; p.203 *Miscella* 12. The diagram of the 1994 facsimile, reproduced in Appendix 1, p.7, q.2, states "new stub". The stub is reproduced in the electronic facsimile fl.4r.

¹⁰ The extant fl.4 comes from Évora, Michaëlis describes why she inserted it in this position in 1904, II, p.163.

order.¹¹ This is followed by CA 14, by João Soares Somesso, which also inaugurates a sequence of poems common to CA and CBN (CBN 107 onwards).¹² Between the two poems copied in both manuscripts (CBN 103 and 107), there are three poems in the Italian manuscript only, CBN 104-6.

Two attempts were made by Michaëlis to reconstruct this lacuna. The first sought to accommodate these poems in CA Lacuna 2 positing that they would have been attributed, in CA, to the previous poet, Sandim. Later, acknowledging that her theory failed to convince, Michaëlis supposes a blank page in Lacuna 2 with CBN 104-6 in Lacuna 3.¹³

§ 84. *Michaëlis's solution.*

While the idea of a blank page in Lacuna 2 is persuasive, the inference that CBN 104-6 would be copied in CA in a different position is questionable. Let us note, incidentally, that this error emerges out of a coincidence, namely, that Lacuna 2 in CA coincides with CBN 104-6, but these are independent facts. In Lacuna 2, the reconstruction can only go as far as CA 13, which ends in 4^a occupying eleven manuscript lines (Appendix 2, pp.26-7).

§ 85. *Reconstruction.*

Just as CBN's ancestor innovated here in Somesso's corpus, the CA's compilers could have added more pieces by Sandim, but, if so, these are now lost. This is the reasoning shared by Ramos and Ron Fernández, although we see no evidence that this would have happened.¹⁴ All that we can recreate is CA 13 and a blank page, this blank page preceding a new cycle, consistent with the conventions of phase 1.

¹¹ Appendix 3.1, 14.

¹² Appendix 3.1, 15.

¹³ Michaëlis, 1904, II p.203: "A suposição que ahi dubitativamente avengei [...] de certo não convenceu ninguém."

¹⁴ Ramos, 2008, I, p.136; Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1004.

4. Lacuna 3

Lacuna 3 has recently become controversial. Originally, its length was estimated as one gathering by Michaëlis, whereas Oliveira and Ramos have argued that it encompasses just two folios.¹⁵ In fact, the theory shared by the two scholars involves Lacunae 1, 3 and 5. Oliveira approached the problem largely with textual evidence relating to Lacuna 3, whereas Ramos emphasized material evidence. The present solution proposes a return to Michaëlis's solution, to be demonstrated in two stages. In the context of Lacuna 3, we consider textual evidence and Oliveira's arguments; in section 7, the issues raised by Ramos's codicological view will be brought forward (§99, §104). Michaëlis's arguments are also reviewed in this section (§102, §103).

The common ground of both solutions is textual evidence derived internally from CA: CA 30 is interrupted at the end of its first stanza (gathering I, fl.7v = 4^b), and this is followed by CA 31 which lacks the beginning of its first stanza (gathering II, fl.8r = 1^a).¹⁶ The comparison with CBN further reveals an abrupt change of poets, namely, CA 30 is by João Soares Somesso whereas CA 31 is by Paio Soares de Taveirós.

§ 86. *Textual evidence.*

Between CA 30/CBN 123 and CA 31/CBN 146, the Italian manuscript offers twenty poems, encompassing the end of Somesso's cycle, Nuno Anes Cerzeo, Pero Velho de Taveirós, the first cycle by Martim Soares (satirical pieces) and the beginning of Paio Soares de Taveirós.¹⁷

¹⁵ Oliveira, 1994, p. 66-7; Ramos, 1986a; Ramos, 2008, I, p.140; 289.

¹⁶ Appendix 1, pp.7-9.

¹⁷ Appendix 3.1, end of Somesso in 15; Cerzeo in 16; Pero Velho in 17; Martim Soares in 17b; Paio Soares in 18.

Oliveira admits the lacuna's existence while positing that it should not include all the twenty poems transmitted in CBN and this is partially right. From the start, one should note that CBN 143-4, the two satirical pieces by Martim Soares, appear to be later additions in CBN's ancestor. As satirical pieces, they would be out of place in a manuscript like CA, a compilation of *amor* poems. Furthermore, Martim Soares's love cycle (Appendix 3.1, 19) follows Paio Soares de Taveirós, further emphasizing the spurious nature of CBN 143-4 (Appendix 3.1, 17b). But to accept this, which is part of Oliveira's argument, does not mean accepting his entire solution.

§ 87. *Oliveira's approach to Lacuna 3.*

Oliveira imagined that, to account for Lacuna 3, we do not need a whole gathering; instead he argued that gatherings I and II should originally be quiniones. This means reducing Lacuna 3 to two folios, rather than Michaëlis's eight.¹⁸ In these two folios, Oliveira includes the end of Somesso's corpus and the beginning of Paio Soares de Taveirós's. Between them in CBN are, firstly, Nuno Anes Cerzeo, excluded by Oliveira from this lacuna since, according to his biographical research, Cerzeo would be active in the second half of the thirteenth century, being a later poet than those around him, thus disrupting the expected chronology of CA.¹⁹ Secondly, there is Pero Velho de Taveirós, to whom Oliveira attributes one poem which, in his view, would not be copied in CA.

Note Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.65 "As 22 Cantigas, que figuram no CB, entre os Nos. correspondentes a 30 e 31 do CA, talvez formassem o conteúdo do Caderno roubado." The figure of twenty-two seems to include CA 30 and 31 as well, otherwise the numbers do not add up. Instead, For Ron Fernández, 1996, pp. 1004 and 1017, Michaëlis would have meant twenty-two *cantigas* from C, rather than CBN, given that the *Tavola* records two additional numbers, C 138-9.

¹⁸ The figure of eight is not expressly mentioned by her, but if her standard assumption are gatherings making a perfect quaternio structure, she would be positing a quaternio, or eight folios, in Lacuna 3.

¹⁹ Oliveira, 1994, p.66-7; 392.

The present solution posits that Lacuna 3 could include up to eighteen of the twenty poems transmitted in CBN. Given its length, we avoid a line-by-line reconstruction but, as in Lacuna 1, let us consider what could be originally there. The end of CA 30/CBN 123 would definitely be and the end of Somesso's cycle (CBN 124-8) would conceivably be there in whole or in part.²⁰

§ 88. *Our solution.*

The next poet is Nuno Anes Cerzeo, excluded by Oliveira from the CA based on chronology. Since then, however, Souto Cabo has provided solid evidence that Cerzeo was alive in the first half of the century, dying before 1268, thus making Cerzeo's lifespan coherent with other poets in this section.²¹ The nine pieces by Cerzeo transmitted in CBN, therefore, must have been in Lacuna 3 in whole or in part.²²

Next we have CBN 140-2, by Pero Velho de Taveirós. Again Oliveira prematurely removed these three pieces from our lacuna. The first two pieces he attributes to Cerzeo, despite the lack of explicit arguments.²³ As for CBN 142, Oliveira considered it a satirical piece, again an isolated position. The poem is a *tenção d'amor*, so, although as a *tenção* it could be in the satirical section; given its theme, it could also be catalogued as an *amor* poem and, hence, copied in CA. Indeed, *tenções d'amor* appear among all three main genres: two *tenções d'amor* were compiled within satirical corpora (CBN 1383/CV 991 and CBN 1652/CV 1186), one within an *amor* corpus (CBN 1072/CV 663), and one among *amigo* pieces (CBN

²⁰ Appendix 3.1, 15.

²¹ Souto Cabo, 1994, pp.147-176.

²² Appendix 3.1, 16.

²³ A remote possibility has been occasionally raised that the commissioner of CBN, Colocci, emended attribution rubrics in this section of the manuscript but most scholars consulted reject this idea. Full details are provided in Chapter 5, §337.

1221/CV 826). In principle, therefore, Pero Velho de Taveirós should be in this lacuna.²⁴

CBN 143-4, two satirical pieces by Martim Soares, are the only obvious examples of later additions in CBN's ancestor.²⁵ Finally, Lacuna 3 should include the illumination and opening of Paio Soares de Taveirós, in CBN this is represented by 145 and the opening of 146.²⁶ Overall, the arguments by Oliveira based on textual evidence are considerably mitigated and so do not offer, by themselves, compelling reasons to revise Michaëlis's theory.

Concerning Paio Soares de Taveirós, we cannot verify that the CA compiler did not enrich his base-manuscript at the beginning of the cycle, but we have no reason *a priori* to assume he did.²⁷ Assuming that CA and CBN opened Taveirós's corpus with the same lyric material, we can calculate how many folios that would take in the CA. The answer is that such a small amount of text can only go back to the verso of 1^β of our lost gathering (Appendix 2, pp.28-9).

§ 89. *Reconstruction.*

Part of this result is surprising, forcing a revision of an observation advanced in chapter 1, §40-1: the fact that in the earliest gatherings all surviving illuminations fall on a recto must be a coincidence.²⁸ Therefore, blank pages could be either recto or verso, even in phase 1.

The surplus of three blank manuscript lines is inevitable given the occurrence of three stanzas with an odd number of lines in CBN 145. Since

²⁴ Appendix 3.1, 17.

²⁵ Appendix 3.1, 17b.

²⁶ Appendix 3.1, 18.

²⁷ In fact, in the next chapter we will find evidence that he did not, but one should keep an open mind at this stage.

²⁸ Ramos attributes great importance to the fact that the first surviving illumination on a verso occurs on fl.40, gathering VII; *data venia* we regard this as a mere coincidence.

three lines could not be accommodated with staves, these would be left blank between the beginning and end of the two *cantigas*. The practice of leaving up to six lines for stave space was recorded in §60. Surely, the same would have happened in the lost folio.

5. Lacuna 4

Textual evidence compels us to admit the existence of Lacuna 4. The abrupt start of CA 40 by Martim Soares, on fl.10r, at the fourth line of stanza 2, indicates that a folio (gathering II, 3^a) with the corresponding illumination for this new cycle was lost. Looking back to fl.9v we find the last piece by Taveirós, CA 39, a single-stanza composition unique to CA, followed by a large blank. Hence, this lost folio must be reconstructed working backwards, based on CA 40.²⁹

§ 90. *Textual evidence.*

Material evidence was again obscured by restoration which added modern parchment over an original stub.³⁰ The new stub has about 3.5cm and is pasted down on the verso of fl.12. The small original stub of what was once 3^a can still be described, it measures 0.2cm on the bottom and 0.5cm on top. It is irregular both in size and in its cut. On fl.10r there is a discreet indentation or low-relief, but it is probably due to prolonged pressure from the stub rather than a blade scar. Michaëlis recorded the damaged state,³¹ whereas Gregory's Law is re-established by projecting the folio (Appendix 1, p.9, q.4).

§ 91. *Material evidence.*

In CBN Martim Soares's corpus opens with CBN 151 which, in CA, is copied as the closing piece, CA 61.³² Moreover, CA 61 is interrupted by Lacuna 5. With CBN 152/CA 40 the two manuscripts resume a common sequence of poems.

§ 92. *Comparative textual evidence.*

²⁹ Appendix 3.1, 18 and 19.

³⁰ See also the diagram of the 1994 facsimile, Appendix 1, p.9, q.2 and Ramos, p.143.

³¹ 1904, II, p.147 "A folha 51 ainda ficou segura, porque da sua primeira metade, cortada às tesouradas, deixaram subsistir as rebarbas."

³² Appendix 3.1, 19.

The reconstruction of the lost beginning of CA 40, takes us thirty-one lines back in col.^d (Appendix 2, pp.30-1). Therefore, CA 40 was definitely not the first poem by Martim Soares in the CA and this raises the following alternatives:

§ 93. *Possible reconstructions.*

Theory 1: Taveirós's cycle ended with the partially copied CA 39 on fl.9v (extant folio); Martim Soares began on 3^a recto (lost folio). CA had a number of poems by Martim Soares which were not copied in CBN's ancestor. In other words, the CA compiler had access to an independent source, added this source here, the copy of this material is now lost with Lacuna 4 and, by the point we can verify the copying process again (CA 40, fl.10r) this extra material is over and we coincidentally witness the return to the base-manuscript. This is possible, but unlikely.³³

Theory 2: The recto of 3^a was blank and Martim Soares started on the verso. With an illumination of twelve lines (phase 1 standard, §23), we are left with exactly forty-nine lines in total – thirty-four in col.^c and fifteen in col.^d. With forty-nine manuscript lines, there could only be one *cantiga* by Martim Soares between the illumination and CA 40.

Theory 2a: Either this *cantiga* is not copied in CBN (neglected by Colocci's scribe? Neglected by CBN's ancestor? Independently sourced by CA?).³⁴

Theory 2b: Or this *cantiga* is in CBN, namely, it is CBN 151, that same which is copied as CA 61 at the end of Martim Soares's sequence.

³³ This same problem was identified by Ramos who seems to favour this solution: Ramos, 2008, I, p.144. The idea is shared by Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1005.

³⁴ This in turn seems to be Michaëlis's favourite solution: "Segundo os meus cálculos, essa continha na face o final da cantiga 39^a e no verso, guarnecido de Vinheta e capital ornamentada, uma poesia ignota de Martim Soares, assim como o principio da 40^a." Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.204.

There is no other alternative and all of them are problematic, but Theory 1 is the least compelling. It posits a number of poems – four, by Ramos’s reckoning – exclusive to CA of which we are deprived due to Lacuna 4. This appears to us as too much of a coincidence.

The second option (Theory 2b) is similar to the previous, but at least it reduces the possibly four lost *cantigas* to just one.

The remaining solution is to postulate CBN 151 as the first poem by Martim Soares in CA and then copied as a *doppio* as CA 61, by mistake. This is not an optimal solution because our CA compiler is now guilty of a crude error and one which only happens once in the CA (CA 248/CA 253b), in Charinho’s corpus – which abounds with irregularities – and towards the end of the songbook. Lacuna 5 makes assessment all the more difficult, by interrupting CA 61, whereas, if the folio had survived, we could at least see if it was annotated by a reviser. But at least the *doppio*, whose origin is inevitably double sourcing, emerges in its expected position, the end of the base-manuscript. In other words, it is not exceptional that the *doppio* (CA 61) should coincide with the additional source and this should be at the end of a cycle; the exception is the occurrence of a *doppio*.

§ 94. *A potential doppio.*

The ultimate proof is the reconstruction of CBN 151 in the available space to check if it accounts for those forty-nine manuscript lines (Appendix 2, pp.30-1).

§ 95. *Reconstruction.*

The result is inconclusive: CBN 151 may or may not have been the first poem in Martim Soares’s sequence. It is important to note that when CA 61 (= CBN 151) is copied, it uses only twenty-four lines – five underlaid lines extant in fl.14v, and one lost in Lacuna 5, for the last two

words of the stanza (“*leixan quitar.*”). But the comparison may not be appropriate because as the first poem of a sequence, CBN 151 would start in CA with a wide first initial, a *P*, possibly entailing an additional underlaid line (*vide* §72). The best estimate relates to three cases of initial *cantigas* sharing CBN 151’s metrical features: seven-line stanza, octosyllabic in length. The first two occurrences take twenty-four lines, the third takes twenty-seven.³⁵ So, CBN 151 is only a good match if the scribe’s handwriting is thought to be more spaced. The alternative, a surplus of four lines indicates an additional line for staves and so a metrical profile different from CBN 151. Thus, a final decision between Theories 2a and 2b is not possible, even if we are more inclined to imagine one poem being copied twice.

Despite this, a standing question for Theory 2 is how to account for a blank recto in 3^a. The previous folio, fl.9v, already has a large blank area but it may not have been intended to remain as such: in CA single-stanza *cantigas* are followed by *réservés* (§54) and CA 39, in fl.9v, only has one stanza. Thus, it seems plausible that fl.9v and 3^a recto had a larger blank space, given the expectation to fill fl.9v with extra stanzas. The real inconvenience is rather the existence of an illumination in a verso, rather than on the recto. Perhaps this led Ramos towards Theory 1 above and the idea of some four lost *cantigas* by Martim Soares – hers is the initial observation, restated in the previous chapter, that the first surviving illumination on a verso occurs in gathering VII, fl.40v, phase 2 (§40-1). Yet in the previous lacuna, we have just admitted the strong possibility of an

³⁵ In gathering II this would equal twenty-eight because no line is subtracted between illumination and text, §8.

illumination for Taveirós on a verso, implying that the occurrence of illuminations on the recto only, in phases 1 and beginning of 2, is a coincidence rather than a feature of confection. It is, admittedly, a coincidence and, as such, inconvenient, but it seems less so than the alternative.

6. Lacuna 5

The present Lacuna offers some challenges, but it is safe to regard it as an extracted folio (gathering III, 1^a — Transitional to Phase 2). Material evidence is not straight-forward: Michaëlis described it as “folha arrancada” and “cortada”, but she did so taking for granted the existence of a lacuna.³⁶ The proper description of the original stub is not provided, but insinuated: “A folha 56 ainda se conserva presa, pelo mesmo motivo indicado com relação á f. 51.”³⁷ Does that mean that the current fl.19 (1^b) also had a torn stub? One is left in the dark. The electronic facsimile displays a broad, clean stub, projecting large shadows on fl.14v and 15r; the diagram in the 1994 facsimile (Appendix 1, p.10, q.2) reports that this is now a new stub. The new parchment stub measures between 2.8 and 2.9cm, the damage seemingly occurred right at the fold and is currently invisible. Gregory’s Law is interrupted and in a delicate position: the opening of a gathering. The reconstruction of a lost folio, thus, recreates the expected sequence according to which a gathering should open on the flesh-side (Appendix 1, p.10, q.4). The possibility of a planned half-sheet must be dismissed given the absence of any stub and because, externally positioned, fl.19 would be too vulnerable to accidents.

§ 96. *Material evidence.*

Textual evidence corroborates the presence of the lacuna: CA 61 (= CBN 151) on fl.14v is interrupted already in its first stanza. Whether this piece was a *doppio* or not (see §94), it can be expected to continue on the

§ 97. *Textual evidence.*

³⁶ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.128; II, p.204, *Miscella* 24.

³⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.148.

subsequent lost folio and its reconstruction is possible thanks to CBN 151, where the piece is copied in full.

This leaves twenty-one lines in col.^a and the whole of col.^b in blank (Appendix 2, pp.32-3). The comparison with CBN and even with C is of little use.³⁸ With CA 60/CBN 171 the correspondence between the two manuscripts momentarily ceases. At this point, CA innovates on the one hand with CA 61, not copied in CBN whereas, on the other, CBN 172 presents a satirical piece, which, presumably, would not be copied in CA. After this brief discrepancy, the two sources resume their parallelism, with CA 62/CBN 173 (gathering III, fl.15r), which, nevertheless, each manuscript *seems* to attribute to a different poet.³⁹

§ 98. *Reconstruction and comparative textual evidence.*

The reconstruction, therefore, cannot go beyond this point and so 1^a verso must be left blank too. It could feature other poems by Martim Soares, if we conceive the CA compiler enriching his base-manuscript with an alternative source. Yet the end of Taveirós's cycle has just faced us with a large blank section – three columns and a half – which is what could be happening here too.

³⁸ Appendix 3.1, end of 19 and 20.

³⁹ The word *seems* being the operative one here, see Chapter 3, §234.

7. Lacunae 1, 3 and 5 in context

Our discussions of Lacunae 1, 3 and 5 in previous sections largely restate Michaëlis's theory. An alternative theory, by Ramos and Oliveira, proposes that gatherings I and II would be quiniones. If this was the case, we would need one lost bifolium in each gathering, positioned externally. This would mean:

an additional folio (1^a) in Lacuna 1;

one folio from gathering I (1^b) in Lacuna 3 and a second folio, from gathering II (1^a), in Lacuna 3; and

an additional folio from gathering II (1^b) in Lacuna 5.

§ 99. *The solution
by Ramos
and
Oliveira.*

Gathering I

1^{α}		
1 st Lacuna		
1	r	CA 1-2
	v	CA 3-4
2	r	CA 5-7
	v	CA 7-9
3	r	CA 9-11
	v	CA 11-3
5^{α}		
2 nd Lacuna		
4	r	CA 14-5
	v	CA 15-7
5	r	CA 18-20
	v	CA 20-2
6	r	CA 22-4
	v	CA 24-6
7	r	CA 26-8
	v	CA 28-30
1^{β}		
3 rd Lacuna		

Il. 1

Gathering II

1^{α}		
8	r	CA 31-3
	v	CA 33-6
9	r	CA 36-8
	v	CA 39
3^{α}		
4 th Lacuna		
10	r	CA 40-2
	v	CA 42-4
11	r	CA 44-6
	v	CA 47-8
12	r	CA 48-50
	v	CA 50-2
13	r	CA 52-4
	v	CA 55-7
14	r	CA 58-9
	v	CA 59-61
1^{β}		
5 th Lacuna		

[CA 61]

Gathering III

1 ^α			
			[blank]
15	r	CA 62-3	Il. 2
	v		blank
16	r	CA 64-5	Il. 3
	v	CA 65-7	
17	r	CA 68-9	Il. 4
	v		blank
18	r	CA 70-1	Il. 5
	v	CA 72-4	
19	r	CA 74-6	
	v	CA 77-9	

Fig. 1 — Reconstructed gatherings I and II as quiniones and its impact on Gregory’s Law and the lacunae. (Copyright C)

The impact of one folio on Lacuna 1 is impossible to assess – its enormous size, position and complexity already prevented a precise reconstruction in the first place. We cannot say if it has four gatherings, five gatherings and one folio or some other length.

§ 100. *Our textual assessment of Lacuna 1.*

Lacuna 5, however, is very easy to evaluate: it would increase to two folios (gathering II, 1^β plus gathering III, 1^α) and, in this scenario, we are left with more than three pages, or seven columns, unaccounted for. One would still need to advance what would have been copied, or explain an unusual amount of blank pages, but none has yet proposed any solution in this regard. More economical is to admit what one readily sees in the examination of the extant codex, namely, that Lacuna 5 is restricted to one lost folio and that the difference between CA and CBN is marginal, one poem in each. Admittedly, this does not prove the alternative theory wrong, but it indicates to us that Michaëlis’s original solution may be preferable.

§ 101. *Our textual assessment of Lacuna 5.*

Michaëlis approaches Lacunae 1 and 3 from several angles: the signatures in gathering VI indicate five lost gatherings (§51). Textual evidence tells her of a considerable amount of lost text in both Lacunae. Gatherings I and II are quaterniones, her preferred length. Finally, cut stitching between gatherings I and II provide her with material evidence (§49).⁴⁰ All this leads her to postulate one lost gathering in Lacuna 3 and four in Lacuna 1.

§ 102. *Michaëlis’s textual and material approach.*

Her complete reconstruction of lost gatherings runs like this:

§ 103. *Michaëlis’s reconstruction.*

	Codicological signs
Lacuna 1 — gatherings I-IV	None
Gathering I — original V	
Lacuna 3 — gathering VI	Cut stitching
Gathering II — original VII	
Gathering III — original VIII	
Gathering IV — original IX	
Gathering V — original X	
Gathering VI — original XI	Signature “xj”
Lacuna 12	Cut stitching
Gathering VIII — original XII	
Gathering IX — original XIII	
Gathering X — original XIV	Signature “xiiij”
Gathering XI	
Gathering XII	

⁴⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.147.

Gathering XIII

Lacuna 25

Cut stitching

Gathering XIV

This ultimately proves unsatisfactory to her. The problems start with six folios from Évora forming gathering VII which she inserts in Lacuna 12, a place with cut stitching. The insertion is also supported by textual comparison with CBN. Yet she realises that the inserted folios do not fill the whole lacuna, and she posits another lost gathering in Lacuna 12. All this is contradicted by her direction-line argument: the sequence of gatherings running from signatures eleven to fourteen implies no lost gathering and so, no Lacuna 12 (§51).

Problems notwithstanding, Michaëlis settles on four lost gatherings in Lacuna 1 and an original gathering VI on Lacuna 3.⁴¹ If it failed, by her own admission, to resolve all outstanding questions, at least for this early section of the manuscript, we feel, it remains quite compelling. It is not even an exaggeration to say that all the mysteries relate to the second pair of signatures.

Ramos, in turn, seemingly accepts the signature argument, when ascribing five lost gatherings to Lacuna 1.⁴² She considered the operation of Gregory's Law to be irregular and, accordingly, here she reconstructs gatherings I and II opening on the hair side, even though subsequent gatherings open on the flesh. She accepts Oliveira's counter-argument against textual evidence. And she reforms Michaëlis's tendency to regard

§ 104. *Ramos's material approach.*

⁴¹ In 1904, II, p.135 “[...] faltam-lhe, a meu ver, as primeiras 32 folhas, ou quatro cadernos, com as 92 poesias que se acham inventariadas a principio da Tavola Colocciana.”; p.151 “Inavaliavel por indicios externos, supponho por analogia com os apographos italianos que a do principio abrange quatro cadernos [...]”.

⁴² Ramos, 2008, I, p.237.

every gathering as a regular quaternio. As far as we could locate, Ramos seemingly does not address Michaëlis's view on cut stitching whether in Lacuna 3 or elsewhere.

It is our understanding that cut stitching may be due to simple wear over time (§49). Michaëlis does not explain why she equates cut stitching with plundering, and she may have just assumed it. Overall, we are sceptical about a necessary relationship between broken stitching and lost gatherings, specifically, it is irrelevant to understand the lost gatherings of Lacuna 1 and it may be irrelevant in Lacuna 25, to be discussed in due course. But Michaëlis original theory that cut stitching is related to loss of gatherings in Lacunae 3 and 12, whether by accident or plundering, seems perfectly legitimate. The distinctive feature is that in the latter cases there is textual evidence corroborating the idea of lost gatherings, thus the stitching functions as additional clue (see also the end of §52). In Lacuna 3, there are also considerations about the extent of Lacuna 5. § 105. *Our response.*

Again, we have no evidence against Ramos's and Oliveira's theory in connection to Lacuna 3. We just favour Michaëlis's as an economical solution: a single material sign – the stitching – explains one occurrence of damage and one lacuna. The alternative solution postulates the loss of a bifolium in gathering I, the loss of another bifolium in II and the accidental wear and break of the stitching in Lacuna 3. Three separate events, two leaving no material sign and a material sign unrelated to Lacuna 3 itself.

We adopt therefore the view that gatherings I and II are quaterniones opening on the flesh side and Lacuna 3 is a lost gathering.

8. Corollaries from the reconstruction to group 1, gatherings I and II

The codicological and textual objections adduced here against the recent theory justify a return to Michaëlis and some new conclusions. Gatherings I and II were perfect quaterniones, both opening and closing on the flesh-side of the parchment.⁴³ This is the ideal norm, the practice of phase 1 to which subsequent work relates. Does that mean that all subsequent gatherings must be explained in relation to this ideal?

§ 106. *Phase 1 as a model.*

The answer to this question is not simple. This seems to be Michaëlis's view; in as much as all subsequent gatherings were seen as damaged or unfinished, she would probably expect that decoration would eventually reach phase 1's standards. In the same vein, for her all gatherings tended to be quaterniones. Ramos would presumably disagree, for she realised, more fully than Michaëlis, that work in subsequent gatherings is not just unfinished, it is simplified and, clearly, her reconstructed gatherings have no ideal length – they range from quinio to trinio.

The theory of phases presented in the previous chapter allows us to reconcile these views. Phase 1 is the ideal and subsequent phases do not reinvent conventions from scratch, they tend to look back to phase 1 as their guideline. But they look back with practical restrictions, as they adapt the ideal to the attainable.

Here it is important to record that our analysis of phase 1, the “best” workmanship, establishes regular quaterniones, the invariable operation of

§ 107. *Gathering structure and Gregory's Law.*

⁴³ As illustrated in Fig. 1, §99, a quinio structure would also cause gatherings I and II to open and close on the hair-side, making the CA even more irregular in its confection.

Gregory's Law and the opening and closing of gatherings on the flesh-side (Appendix 1, pp.7-9, q.4).

Finally, it follows from our reconstruction that the occurrence of an illumination on the verso for the first time in gathering VII, an observation which is significant for Ramos, is an artefact of the incomplete state of CA. Gatherings I and II once had illuminations on verso pages too. Therefore, in phase 1, the aesthetic or layout regularity relates to blank pages, rather than position for illuminations and opening of cycles. This too starts to change gradually from phase 2.

§ 108. *Blank pages.*

9. Lacunae 6 and 7

The idea of two lacunae, numbered 6 and 7, stems from Michaëlis. But on close inspection these appear to be non-existent. The following discussion relies heavily on a comparison between the various attempts at describing gathering III reproduced in Appendix 1, p.10.

Beginning with the common ground, the gathering starts with Lacuna 5 (*vide* §96), so that the lost 1^a is the counterpart of fl.19 (1^b). This is followed by an extant bifolium, fl.15 (2^a) and fl.18 (2^b). Folios 16 and 17 came from Évora.

§ 109. *Previous solutions.*

Michaëlis (first diagram, q.1) posits a lost bifolium 3 and suggests that fl.16 and fl.17 are bifolium 4. This makes up a regular quaternio.

Matos; et al. (second diagram, q.2) describe a different situation: fl.16 and fl.17 would be both torn fragments of two different bifolia so that the lacunae would relate to 3^a and 4^a. We are also left with a perfect quaternio. This is the state of the codex after the first restoration.

The last restoration, in turn, decided to adapt the codex to Michaëlis's diagram. The conservators' report reads:

- [...]
- Situação anterior → folhas independentes com carcelas.
 - Observação → Continuidade da aparência da pele e corte das margens internas coincidentes.
 - Alteração → Eliminação das carcelas e junção das folhas recuperando o bifólio original.⁴⁴

The third diagram reflects this and gives a damaged trinio, without inferences as to its original length.

⁴⁴ Relatório Técnico da Recuperação da Obra Cancioneiro da Ajuda. [n.d.].

A solution to our current problem, therefore, must start with a decision concerning fl.16 and fl.17 – are they two damaged halves of one bifolium or independent folios?

§ 110. *Our material observations.*

Our *in loco* analysis provided some observations which, by themselves, are insufficient to answer the question. Seemingly, the plough cut the top of the folios, judging from the cropped illumination, as well as their sides. These trimmed sides have a wavy layout which matches perfectly the subsequent folio, proving that fl.16 and fl.17 were trimmed and bound with the whole codex. It is possible that the plough never touched the bottom edge, whose layout may still be the original. The bottom part on both is shorter by around 1cm, when compared to average folios (Fig. 2 and 3).

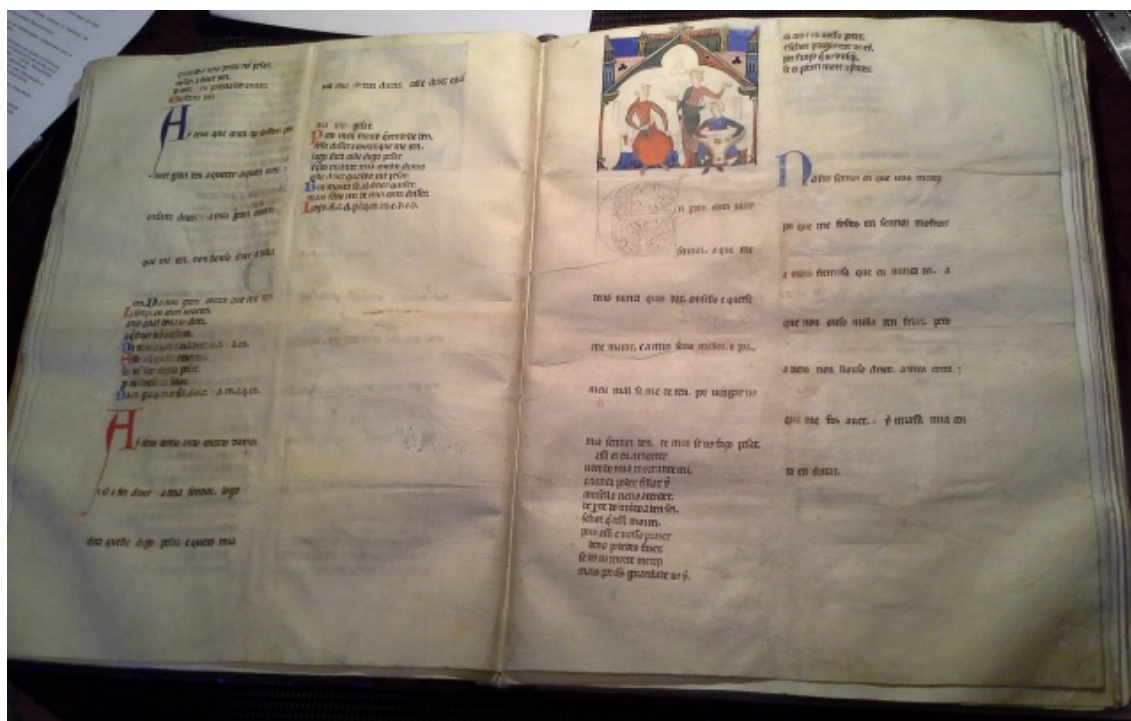


Fig. 2 — Folios 16 and 17 as a bifolium. (Copyright B)



Fig. 3 — fl.17r. (Copyright B)

The current dimensions of these folios, when open on the recto, are:

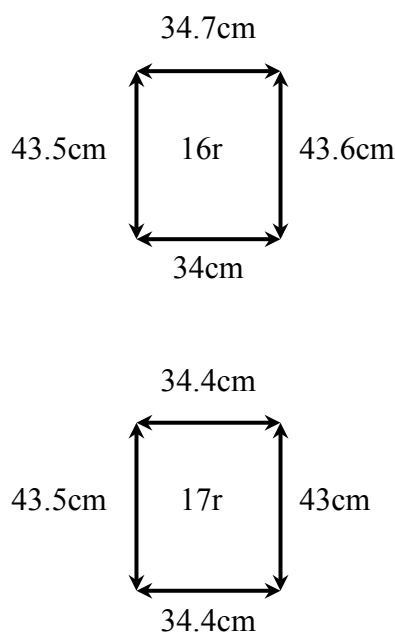


Fig. 4 (Copyright C)

The matching dimensions, particularly at the gutter where they would be conjugated, corroborate the bifolium hypothesis. Apart from that, they were both heavily folded, top to bottom-wise, around the middle column, but presumably that is from their period as extracted folios in Évora.

Michaëlis initially cannot adduce any material evidence, since a whole missing bifolium would not leave stubs or residues.⁴⁵ In her account of how she re-inserted the Évora folios there is a suggestion that the outline of the folios, including 16 and 17, matched one another.⁴⁶ The passage is obscure, but it adds nothing to the more recent conservators' report: "corte das margens internas coincidentes".⁴⁷

§ 111. *Michaëlis on material evidence.*

⁴⁵ Lacuna 6 in 1904, I, p.134; Lacuna 7 in p.148. Also, Lacuna 6 in 1904, II, p.205 *Miscella* 27; Lacuna 7 not mentioned.

⁴⁶ 1904, II, p.136.

⁴⁷ The passage is reproduced and discussed in §129.

Ramos, analysing this same problem, opted for two independent folios. Her reconstructed diagram indicates a return to model of Matos; et al., which she justifies:

§ 112. *Ramos on material evidence.*

“Quando observei o códice, pela primeira vez, estes dois fólhos estavam, na realidade, desunidos, situação que interpretei como deterioração ulterior à descrição de C. Michaëlis. É um facto que as dimensões actuais dos dois fólhos e a concordância do pêlo com a carne e talvez o aspecto da pele autorizariam, no entanto, este reforço efectuado agora pelo restauro. Com esta intervenção, deixou, por conseguinte, de haver lacuna, a seguir ao fl. 15/p.107, o que indica que não é imaginável sequência textual, referente ao ciclo atribuível a RoyGmzBret. Do ponto de vista material, esta união tem naturalmente uma implicação textual significativa e não deixa também de questionar as causas deste acidente invulgar, quer dizer, um bifólio que se separa completamente ao meio, mantendo os seus dois elementos.”⁴⁸

We are not convinced that the difference noticed by Ramos was “deterioração ulterior”; we would rather explain it as the difference between Michaëlis’s reconstructive diagram and the actual 1890s restoration. Michaëlis’s diagram, in our understanding, was not meant to be descriptive in this regard. On the other hand, the direction of the stubs would merely reflect the nineteenth-century conservators’ *modus operandi*, to be described in §128.

Secondly, Ramos provides material evidence corroborating Michaëlis’s reconstruction: the size, the hair and flesh sides and even the parchment’s aspect are consistent with a single divided bifolium.

Thirdly, we question that it would be rare (“invulgar”) for a divided bifolium to survive in separate halves. Of the eleven Évora folios, by everyone’s admission, six are three bifolia in halves (§134), so we see no obstacle to admit the same here.

⁴⁸ Ramos, 2008, I, p.146.

Overall, we consider that the collection of material evidence available today, in Ramos's description prior to the 2000 restoration and in the conservator's report, supports the bifolium hypothesis.

All previous attempts to reconstruct these lacunae have met with difficulties, since the comparison with CBN does not reveal missing text in any of the possible positions (Appendix 3.1, between 20 and 21; between 22 and 23). For Ramos fl.16 and fl.17 could be original half-sheets. Michaëlis mentions CBN 175 (Appendix 3.1, 21) which, in this *cancioneiro*, opens Airas Carpancho's corpus and which could fall in Lacuna 6, except that CA provides us with Carpancho's illumination and first poem, namely, CA 64/CBN 176. Therefore, this poem, even if in Lacuna 6, could not be attributed to Carpancho in CA and Michaëlis supposes a new lost poet, in CA only, with a small corpus and then the same in Lacuna 7. § 113. *Our solution.*

For us the total absence of textual evidence – no textual interruption in CA, no additional text in CBN – invites a more radical questioning of Michaëlis's hypothesis. The solution is simple: lacunae 6 and 7 do not exist. Without material or textual evidence, Michaëlis utterly failed to prove them. Instead, material evidence contradicts Michaëlis: Gregory's Law, as it stands today, is undisturbed, whereas the insertion of an imagined bifolium would perforce be disruptive between fl.15v/16r and fl.17v/18r. Michaëlis seemingly proposed the lacunae to attain a perfect quaternio structure in gathering III, but Ramos's study on gathering structures⁴⁹ and our theory of phases releases us from this assumption.

⁴⁹ Ramos, 2004, pp.13-40.

That which was recorded prior to the 2000 restoration, two folios with stubs, has little relevance as it only reflects the 1890s restoration. The last restoration simply completed Michaëlis's reconstruction and, judging from the material evidence listed here, it seems a reasonable intervention. Therefore, our diagram shows fl.16 and fl.17 as a reunited bifolium.

The only recent solution which tries to correct Michaëlis's textual hypothesis, while keeping its codicological aspects, is by Ron Fernández, who posited blank folios, on all rectos and versos.⁵⁰ We consider this non-compelling: the presumed amount of blank space is at odds with conventions of phase 2, the idea of a regular quaternio structure is an outdated conception, and Gregory's Law would be broken as a result.

Lacunae 6 and 7 are therefore denied and henceforth removed from our analyses. Gregory's Law is observed and we are left with a perfect – albeit today damaged – trinio (Phase 2).

⁵⁰ Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1006.

10. Lacuna 8

With Lacuna 8 we arrive at gathering IV (transitional to Phase 2) and new challenges emerge (Appendix 1, p.11). In short, no evidence, whether material or textual, proves the existence of a lacuna. The idea of a lacuna stems from fl.24, which lacks its counterpart, so the question we must pose is whether fl.24 is a damaged bifolium or a planned half-sheet.

Within the CA, there is no textual break. Torneol's cycle ends with CA 81 on fl.20v occupying seven lines in col.^c, leaving the two columns on this page largely blank. Folio 21r opens Pero Garcia Buralês's cycle with its illumination and CA 82. § 114. *Textual evidence.*

The comparison with other sources is of little help.⁵¹ CA and CBN had a matching order of poems throughout Torneol's cycle. CA 81/CBN 184b has the same length in both manuscripts, four stanzas, that is, its copy was not interrupted in CA. This is important because, in CA, the poem is followed by a large blank area but, in CBN, we find an extra poem, CBN 185b. With CBN 186b we return to the common sequence, with the beginning of Buralês's corpus. That is to say that the only possibility of textual evidence for a CA lacuna must be dismissed: CBN 185b was independently sourced in the other branch of the *stemma*. C also diverges, but it must be disregarded here. It implies that Torneol's corpus had a further twenty-eight poems, C 196-223, but this must be a mistake given that the *Tavola* does not make any mention of Buralês. One infers that C

⁵¹ Appendix 3.1, end of 23 and 24.

skipped Burgalês's name, hence the suggestion, *ex silentio*, of twenty-eight poems by Torneol can be dismissed.⁵²

The material evidence available, in turn, is inconclusive, but suggests a lacuna. Michaëlis remarks on a stub with signs of damage.⁵³ As of today, only a new stub of 2.8cm, inserted after the first restoration, is visible and one is therefore unable to conduct further checks.⁵⁴ Gregory's Law supports the idea of a plundered folio: by projecting the 2^a, the sequence hair-hair, flesh-flesh would be restored (Appendix 1, p.11, q.4). The single sign of damage detectable today is this: at approximately 10.5cm from the bottom edge, the stub of fl.21 is visible, pasted onto fl.24r for some 9cm. This is a side effect of some restoration work. If the stub is delicately raised, the damage on fl.24 is visible beyond the fold, an indentation which ranges some 4.5cm, supporting the idea of a damaged bifolium.

§ 115. *Material evidence.*

Four hypotheses are possible to solve this question. Michaëlis imagined an extracted folio with a small cycle. The cycle is circumscribed to the folio and its loss leaves no textual evidence in the extant *cancioneiro*.⁵⁵ This is not compelling, repeating unverifiable coincidences. Ron Fernández suggests a continuation of Torneol's cycle with three or four poems, exclusive to CA.⁵⁶ This is less persuasive, given that the cycle clearly ends on fl.20v with a large blank area. Ramos, without excluding the

§ 116. *Reconstruction.*

⁵² This inference is quite obvious and was first recorded by Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.205 *Miscella* 30.

⁵³ Initially, "folha arrancada, ou antes cortada á tesoura" in 1904, I, p.172. Later, "Da f. 6l tenho que observar o que já ficou dicto da 51^a e 56^{aa}" i.e. when she stated in relation to Lacuna 4 "A folha 51 ainda ficou segura, porque da sua primeira metade, cortada ás tesouradas, deixaram subsistir as rebarbas." in 1904, II, p.147-8.

⁵⁴ Detectable in the electronic facsimile fl.21r. The diagram of the 1994 facsimile, Appendix 1, p.11, q.2 confirms it as "new stub". Ramos, p.153 also mentions a "carcela moderna".

⁵⁵ 1904, I, p.172 and II, p.205 *Miscella* 31.

⁵⁶ Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1006.

first hypothesis, suggests a third: the extracted folio was left fully blank, so that the CA compiler could eventually add extra material to Torneol.⁵⁷ This is convincing and convenient because it addresses the apparent material evidence of damage. But given that fl.20v is mostly blank, it posits a very large blank area, almost six columns, which has not been observed so far. The final hypothesis is to regard fl.24 as a planned half-sheet, meaning that Lacuna 8 does not exist. This is an economical solution in terms of structure and use of blank pages, but falls short in terms of material evidence, since a half-sheet must have a stub and it is difficult to imagine how it could have disappeared here.

It remains impossible to make a final decision between the last two hypotheses, although we are more inclined to adopt Ramos's on material grounds. But ultimately, the difference between them are only relevant from a codicological point of view, that is, for the establishment of CA's original content, a possible blank folio is irrelevant, or, which is the same, hypotheses three and four have the same textual implications. Thus, only the unlikely confirmation of hypothesis one would impact on the conclusion of the next chapters.

⁵⁷ Ramos, 2008, I p.154.

11. Lacuna 9

The present lacuna can be confidently confirmed and easily reconstructed. The lost folio (gathering IV, 3^B — transitional to Phase 2) is confirmed by textual and material evidence.

At this point in the CA, Pero Garcia Buralês's corpus has started and the order of poems runs in parallel, undisturbed, in both manuscripts, that is, from CA 82/ CBN 186b to CA 110/ CBN 219, a total of thirty-two poems.⁵⁸ The lacuna occurs in the middle of the sequence, making it easier to reconstruct it than those cases in which the lacuna coincided with the opening or closing of a sequence. It affects CA 94 (=CBN 198) and CA 95 (=CBN 202), both being interrupted. Between them, CBN offers three complete poems.

§ 117. *Textual evidence.*

Material evidence includes a stub related to fl.21. This remains today in its original condition, very unevenly cut, as seen on the image of fl.24r in the electronic facsimile, on the photos below, and recorded in secondary literature.⁵⁹ Its size ranges from 0.5 to 2cm. The folio, which featured text, was plundered – cut or torn – for some obscure purpose. The interruption of Gregory's Law confirms the gap and the presumed counter-part of fl.21 would restore the expected sequence (Appendix 1, p.11, q.4).

§ 118. *Material evidence.*

⁵⁸ Appendix 3.1, 24.

⁵⁹ Ramos, 2008, I, p.156: "A pestana subsistente é original com indícios de corte assimétrico com cerca de 1,2/1,3 cm." The diagram of the 1994 facsimile, Appendix 1, p.11, q.2, also states that this is the original stub.



Fig. 5 — Stub between fl.23 and 24. (Copyright B)



Fig. 6 — Stub between fl.23 and 24. (Copyright B)



Fig. 7 — Stub between fl.23 and 24. (Copyright B)

The reconstruction of seven *cantigas* by Michaëlis, by her own admission, was not a good match for the lost folio.⁶⁰ Rather, the reconstruction of the interrupted poems of CA and the three poems transmitted in the Italian manuscript, CBN 199-201, is a perfect fit to the lacuna (Appendix 2, pp.34-6).⁶¹

§ 119. *Reconstruction.*

The single blank line in col.^c is inevitable given the odd number of lines in CBN 200. The line is entered between stanza 4 and *fiinda*, a practice seen in CA 101, 104, 107.

⁶⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.795; 1904, II, p.205, *Miscella* 37.

⁶¹ *pace* Ramos, 2008, I, p.156 “Se a transcrição deste final de uma cantiga e de três outras deveria preencher o fôlio (rosto e verso) desaparecido, parece-me que teríamos ainda de considerar uma cópia bem espaçada, talvez até com previsão de espaço para estrofes”.

The only item requiring clarification is the assignment of twelve lines to the *fiinda* of CBN 200. As mentioned before, *fiindas* may or may not have stave spaces for dedicated tunes; this is not a change on the *mise-en-page* reflecting instead a change on the sources (§53).⁶² Up to CA 89 *fiindas* do not have staves, then from CA 95, in the middle of Burgalês's corpus, all *fiindas* have staves. It is a coincidence that CBN 200 falls right in the intersection of these two blocks. Therefore, by assigning twelve lines to this *fiinda*, a number consistent with a decasyllabic tercet, we posit that CBN 200 had staves. The poem came from the same source as CA 95/CBN 202, which will have an impact on the analyses of Burgalês's corpus in the next chapters.

§ 120. *The fiinda
of CBN
200.*

With this satisfactory reconstruction, plus the revisions of Lacunae 6, 7 and 8, henceforth this will be called textual Lacuna 6.

⁶² Ramos, 2008, I, p.333ff; Ramos, 1984, pp. 11-22.

12. Lacuna 10

The reconstruction of this Lacuna has been unanimous in secondary literature.⁶³ On the same lines, here is posited the loss of one folio (gathering V, 4^β — Phase 2), the counterpart of fl.29, as confirmed by material and textual evidence. Furthermore, Michaëlis and later scholars have correctly projected the β half to be missing, against the earlier restoration, which suggested that it was the α half (Appendix 1, p.12, q.2). As with fl.16 and 17, discussed under Lacunae 6 and 7, this fl.29 comes from Évora and, once again, we see the last restoration perfecting the gathering structure (Appendix 1, p.12, q.3).

The existing stub is a mixture of new and original materials. The original stub survives pasted to the new, the latter ranging from 0.1 to 0.4cm and occasionally none whatsoever; the former ranges 3.1 to 3.5cm. There are no scars or marks of any kind on fl.29. Further material evidence relates to Gregory's Law: in the reconstruction adopted here, the hair-flesh sequence is not disrupted (Appendix 1, p.12, q.4). This would not be possible with the first restoration.

§ 121. *Material evidence.*

The textual sequence in CA has the end of Camanês's sequence in fl.29v and the abrupt beginning of Esgaravunha's corpus in fl.30r. The lost folio not only had to contain Esgaravunha's illumination but also the beginning of CA 114. The comparison with CBN further reveals the existence of three poems, CBN 227-9.⁶⁴

§ 122. *Textual evidence.*

⁶³ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.234, 809, II, p.148; Oliveira, 1994, p.145; Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1007; Ramos, 2008, I p.161.

⁶⁴ Appendix 3.1, 26.

The reconstruction of these elements in the presumed lost folio initially gives eleven blank lines divided over columns c and d (Appendix 2, pp.37-9). The result is surprising and forces a revision. In principle, the idea of CBN 227-9 being here is solid, so the revision must be of our line-by-line reconstruction. Of course, if the scribe were to leave a *réserve* somewhere in the folio, we would not be able to know it from CBN but, again in principle, the theory should not assume one without reason. The best solution thus is to increase the length of initial stanzas.

§ 123. *Reconstruction.*

CBN 227 is the first poem of the sequence with seven octosyllabic lines. We have already encountered this same problem before, in connection to Martin Soares, under Lacuna 4, when it was first recorded that this metrical profile may either take twenty-four or twenty-eight lines (§95). It was suggested there that the longer dimension was preferable, and the same happens here. The minor difference is that with an illumination of thirteen lines, the length must be reduced to twenty-seven lines.

Secondly, we would preferably revise the length of CBN 228's first stanza because it employs decasyllabic lines. Although its metrical profile often takes twenty-four lines, it may also take twenty-eight (e.g. CA 125).

With eight lines less, the surplus is reduced to three lines, just enough to prevent the scribe from inserting the last underlaid line of CA 114 in the lost folio. Forced to copy it on fl.30r, the remaining three lines would normally be left blank between the end of CBN 229 and the beginning of CA 114 (Appendix 2, pp.40).

With this reasonably satisfactory hypothesis, this will henceforth be called textual Lacuna 7.

13. Lacuna 11

The following Lacuna is more challenging given the absence of clear material and textual evidence (Appendix 1, p.13). Ultimately, the situation is identical to Lacuna 8.

Firstly, the text in CA is not interrupted: fl.36v ends with CA 143. § 124. *Textual evidence.*
The poem is complete, with its three stanzas, and is followed by a large blank area, sixteen lines in col.^d. Seemingly, the sequence in question, Rui Queimado's corpus, ends here. The next folio, in turn, opens with an illumination and CA 144. Thus, from CA's point of view, no noticeable textual break. The comparison with CBN does not add anything relevant, where Queimado ends and the new sequence, attributed to Vasco Gil, starts with CBN 267 (= CA 114). After CBN 264 (= CA 143) there are two poems by Queimado, but the first, CBN 265, is a *cantiga d'amigo*.⁶⁵

Materially, the stub dates from the first restoration.⁶⁶ Its size ranges § 125. *Material evidence.*
2.7 to 3cm, with damage occurring at the fold, but occasionally extending to fl.36 itself, with indentations of 0.1 or 0.2cm. The analysis of Gregory's Law as means of checking the scriptorium's work is virtually impossible. Folio 36 is another of the Évora folios and was inserted in gathering VI as the middle folio in the first restoration. Physically, what we see is a repetition of what just occurred in the previous Lacuna, in gathering V: the early conservators regard the folio as the β half of a bifolium, whereas Michaëlis, Ramos and the latest restoration regard it as 4^a.

⁶⁵ Appendix 3.1, 27.

⁶⁶ Ramos, 2008, I, p.124 described it as "cortado ou, pelo menos, aparado". Matos; et al. (Appendix 1, p.13, q.2) states "new stub". The stub is partially reproduced in the electronic facsimile on fl.36v and 37r.

The position of this folio is unquestionable because CA 138 starts in fl.35v and carries over to fl.36r. If this was a planned half-sheet, both interventions are possible and the sequence of hair-flesh is inevitably interrupted somewhere. The idea, once advanced by Michaëlis, of a half-sheet featuring CBN 265-6 must be dismissed.⁶⁷ Firstly, with CBN 265 being an *amigo* piece, the two poems must have been inserted by a later compiler, using another source and disregarding the genre division of the base manuscript. Secondly, the sixteen blank lines in fl.36v would definitely be used by the scribe.

§ 126. *Our solution.*

Ramos, for these same reasons, rejected Michaëlis's solution in favour of a presumed lost blank folio for future addition of material.⁶⁸ This hypothesis explains the damage detected on fl.36 and is thus preferable to an original half-sheet, but ultimately a lost blank folio and planned half-sheet have the same implication: no lost text.

⁶⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.288, 815; II, p. 206, *Miscella* 40.

⁶⁸ Ramos, 2008, I, p.167. The hypothesis is shared by Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1008, who, nevertheless, also admits a lost poet in the folio. We disregard this last hypothesis.

14. Gatherings III, IV, V and VI

14.1 The five Évora folios

At this point in the analysis we have seen five of the eleven folios found in Évora. They are:

fl.4 (gathering I),

fl.16 and fl.17 (gathering III),

fl.29 (gathering V),

fl.36 (gathering VI).

The other six, fl.40-5, constitute the whole of gathering VII, to be discussed under the next lacuna, but first we must emphasize something very peculiar about these five which has not been given enough attention. All of them were the *middle* folios or bifolia of their respective gatherings, the fourth of a quaternio or third of a trinio. In light of this, they may not have been extracted, but, being in vulnerable positions, just happened to fall out by accident. Two of them, fl.4 and 29, definitely suffered the loss of their other halves. One, fl.36, could have been a half-sheet, though a damaged bifolium is more likely. The other two, in the present solution, are the divided halves of the same bifolium. It is coincidental that four have illuminations, but they really do not seem to have been extracted on account of these.

§ 127. *Common features.*

Another distinctive feature is how they were reinserted in the codex during the first restoration. Invariably the folio is placed as the β half, to the right-hand side of the stitching, and the stub on the left (Appendix 1, pp.7, 10, 12, 13). This further emphasizes our challenge to Ramos's solution

§ 128. *Modus operandi of early conservators.*

relating to former Lacunae 6 and 7 (§112): the conservators just had a fixed *modus operandi*, rather than signalling hypotheses with the direction of the stubs, these remain disconnected from Michaëlis's or any plausible view of the codex.

Finally, a statement by Michaëlis must be revisited. In relation to the eleven folios she states that anyone should agree with her hypotheses: § 129. *Michaëlis's account.*

“[...] bastava, aproximarem as laudas, muito irregularmente cortadas, ás rebarbas das meias-folhas correspondentes que os saqueadores deixaram subsistir no volume. [...] Só num caso, em que as folhas (V a X), cortadas direitinhas, exactamente pela dobra, formam um caderno coerente no fundo e na forma, o expediente não podia surtir efeito.”⁶⁹

There is something definitely puzzling here: Michaëlis claims to see stubs left by plunderers and she sees a physical resemblance between stubs and folios. But where are such stubs? If we except fl. 16 and 17, all the other folios have lost their other halves. That is, that which could provide her with material evidence does not exist.

⁶⁹ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.136-7.

14.2. Corollaries from the reconstruction to group 2, gatherings III, IV, V and VI

With Lacunae 5 to 11, we have reconstructed gatherings III to VI and can now reassess group 2. In terms of lacunae, our reconstructions largely agree with those undertaken by Michaëlis and the revision by Ramos. Unlike Michaëlis, Lacunae 6 and 7 are rejected; unlike Ramos, we do not see these cases as half-sheets.

§ 130. *Lacunae.*

It is tempting to contemplate the possibility of half-sheets in relation to Lacunae 8 and 11, but it is probably safer to admit the loss of blank folios. Otherwise, we cannot explain what happened to the stubs, since these are less likely to be stolen or damaged than whole folios.

§ 131. *Half-sheets.*

In terms of gathering structure, we are left with a perfect trinio in III and perfect quaterniones in IV, V and VI (Appendix 1, pp.10-13, q.4). The reasons behind the change remain a mystery. What remains, however, is the fact that quaterniones still predominate in this phase and Gregory's Law is still observed. If one considers the hair and flesh sequence in Appendix 1, every interruption is accountable by loss of folios, with every gathering still opening and closing on the flesh. This attention to detail will eventually disappear in later gatherings.

§ 132. *Gathering structure and Gregory's Law.*

Lastly, we begin to see a disruption from this phase in the conventions regarding the use of blank pages. If gathering III begins with a structure resembling phase 1, we find in the passage from fl.16 to 17 an exception, that is illumination 4 which is not preceded by a blank page. In gathering IV we would either have no blank at all, if fl.24 was a half-sheet,

§ 133. *Blank pages.*

or a whole blank folio, recto and verso, before illumination 6. In gathering V, again, the passage from fl.29 to the lost 4^b involves no blank page, whereas in gathering VI we seem to have two blank pages before illumination 9. These gatherings, therefore, set themselves apart from the initial gatherings of Phase 1 on the grounds of these aesthetic conventions.

15. Lacuna 12

Under Lacuna 12, Michaëlis originally addressed a collection of codicological and textual issues, which can be profitably disentangled. This is the location where the nineteenth-century conservators inserted the remaining six Évora folios, the current gathering VII (Appendix 1, p.15), and despite this operation, a lacuna remains.

Firstly, there is enough evidence that these six folios were once three bifolia.⁷⁰ We also conducted an additional check of this gathering by holding its pages against the light. In the picture below, of fl.40r, it is evident that at around 17cm from the bottom, there is a torn indentation of about 3cm long, and up to 1.2cm deep at its highest point. This indentation is otherwise invisible, given that the conservators covered this area with some new pastedown.

§ 134. *Three bifolia.*

⁷⁰ Although subsequent scholars have not challenged this, there is an important descriptive divergence in secondary literature. Ramos's list of hair and flesh sides (2008, I, Anexo I, p.523-5) states that fl.40r is flesh and fl.45v is hair, whereas Aldea (2009, p.116) described both as hair. Naturally, if Ramos was right, these two could not be a conjugate bifolium. Our inspection confirmed fl.40r as the hair side. In order to determine this we touched its surface, used a microscope to verify some remains of hair and checked the dry point ruling, done on 40v, that is, the flesh side, as it is customary in the CA.

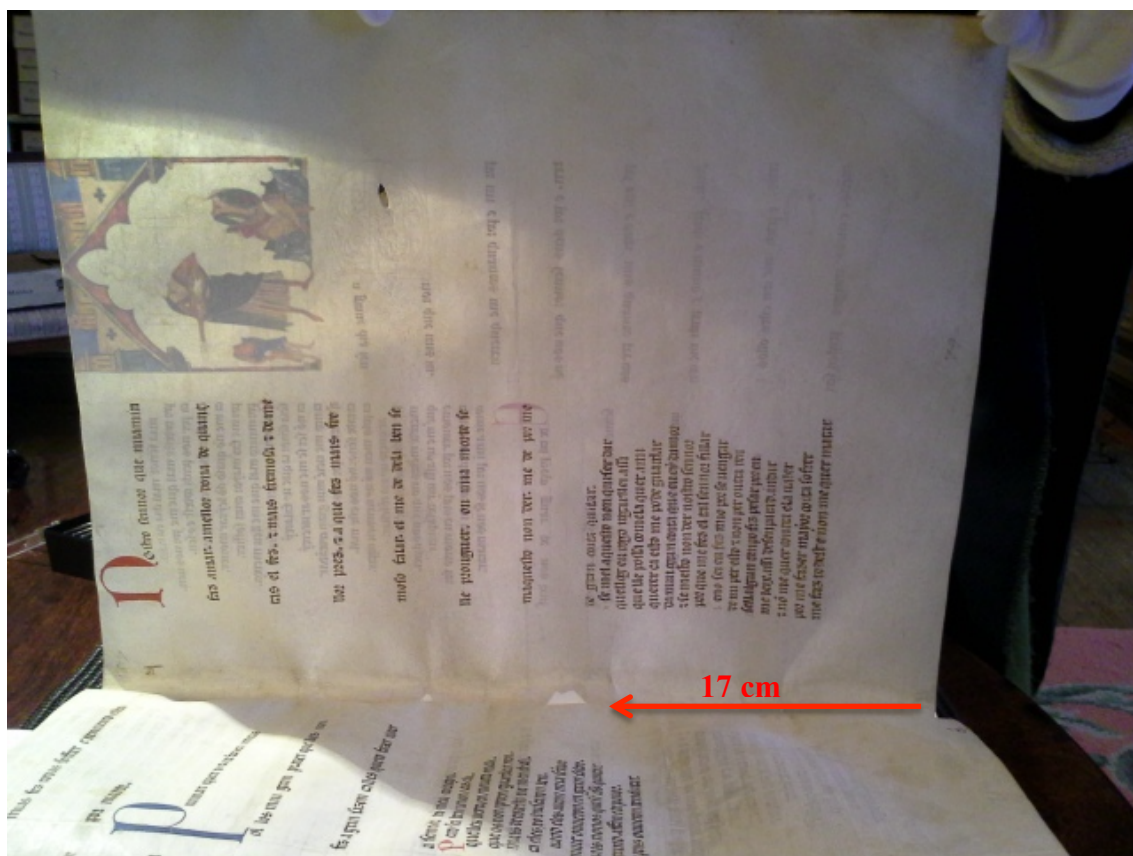


Fig. 8 — Folio 40r. (Copyright B, modified)

This indentation is repeated on fl.41 and 42, that is, in all three α folios of the gathering, which we take, for this reason, as signs that they were torn, not necessarily in a single action, but their extraction is connected. There are also smaller indentations in the lower part on all three folios. The β folios have no indentation except for a very discreet one on fl.45.



Fig. 9 — Folio 40r, indentation. (Copyright B)



Fig. 10 — Folio 41r, indentation. (Copyright B)



Fig. 11 — Folio 42r, indentation. (Copyright B)

Let us now rewind history to that moment when the folios had not yet been added to the codex and ask what prompted Michaëlis, firstly, to posit a lacuna, and secondly, to propose the insertion of these folios here and not somewhere else.

§ 135. *Michaëlis's material evidence.*

Material evidence for Michaëlis is broken stitching, as alluded before (§49), which she invariably takes – perhaps prematurely – as a sign of plundering.⁷¹ This is done in spite of her signature's argument, or rather, of the second signature, in gathering X.

⁷¹ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.148.

Textual evidence for CA itself is non-existent. Michaëlis would have seen gathering VI closing on fl.39v, the end of CA 156, which completes Vasco Gil's corpus and a space of twelve blank lines in col.^d. At this point the stitching was broken (§103). Next there would be fl.46, a folio not stitched to any gathering. But Michaëlis argued that this folio was the only surviving part of a gathering lost prior to binding, that is, the binder would have inserted it randomly in this position.⁷² The next folio, numbered 47, has an illumination on the recto, so, disregarding fl.46, between fl.39 and fl.47, there is no textual break.

§ 136. *Michaëlis's textual evidence.*

CA's original state:

Gathering VI, fl.39v — CA 156, end of V. Gil

Lacuna — broken stitching

Gathering VIII, fl.47r — Illumination and CA 185, start of Anonymous 3.

The comparison with other sources is what provides textual evidence. The poems transmitted in the six Évora folios are partially transmitted by CBN: CA 164 (fl.42r, gathering VII) = CBN 317 (fl.70r, ninth gathering) up to CA 179 (fl.45v, gathering VII) = CBN 330 (fl.77r, tenth gathering). CA 163 also survives fragmentarily as CBN 316.⁷³ Before this poem, CBN has a lacuna, so the attribution rubric and the first five poems in the sequence are lost in this source. The poet's name, João Soares Coelho, is deduced this time from the *Tavola Colocciana* and the Évora folios are inserted as CA's gathering VII.

⁷² “Segue uma folha avulsa , 46 (75), cosida pelo encadernador. [...] A pesar d'isso propendo a crêr que o seu logar não era aqui, sendo ella o unico resto de um caderno perdido, collocado aqui á toa.” Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.148.

⁷³ Appendix 3.1, 29, 30, 31.

Insertion of CA's gathering VII:

	CA	CBN	C	CV
	V. Gil (CA 114)	V. Gil (CBN 267)	V. Gil	Lacuna
	(CA 150-6)	Lacuna		
Lacuna	Lacuna (reduced)		G.A. Vinhal	
	Gathering VII (CA 157)		J. Aboim	
	[J.S. Coelho] (CA 158-62)		J.S. Coelho	
	(CA 163-79)	[J.S. Coelho] (CBN 316-30)		

The resulting operation reduces the original Lacuna in length, and now Michaëlis estimates it as a gathering and a folio (Appendix 1, p.14-5, q.1).⁷⁴ The reconstruction of the remaining CA lacuna is not simple, because CBN's lacuna is even larger. Once gathering VII is inserted, CA provides one poem, CA 157, on fl.40r, without illumination, so, an interrupted textual sequence. This is followed by Coelho's corpus, from the beginning. In contrast, CBN's lacuna affects Vasco Gil and João Soares Coelho, corpora which survive intact in CA. The result is that despite gathering VII, CA still has a lacuna, now more explicit by an interrupted textual sequence (CA 157) and all three songbooks – CA, CBN, CV – have lacunae affecting this textual segment. The only source to provide textual indication, albeit condensed, is the *Tavola Colocciana*.

The comparison with C only is dangerous but it may be attempted, tentatively. C provides what was available in the right branch of the *stemma*

§ 137. *Our response: the lost gathering.*

⁷⁴ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.310.

(to be seen in §212). Assuming that this branch was not enriched with extra sources, CA would feature:

Vinhal, with fifteen *cantigas*, C 280-94;

Aboim, with seventeen, C 295-311;

Aboim (?), with CA 157.

Michaëlis correctly estimated Aboim's corpus as seventeen *cantigas* (C 295-311). This contrasts with Gonçalves's edition of the Tavola which gives "312. Johan Coelho. / 301. Rodrigu'Eanes Rredondo", thus suggesting that Coelho and Redondo's positions in the order of poets were swapped and that Aboim only had six pieces (C 295-301).⁷⁵ In the facsimile that follows this same edition, however, one can clearly see the number 331, rather than 301, before "Rodrigu'Eanes".⁷⁶

The gathering is thus posited entirely on comparative textual grounds, from a problematic source. The only codicological evidence may be the existence of fl.46 (§156). We regard the lost gathering as possible, even likely, but not definitively proven (Appendix 1, p.14, q.4).

Furthermore, we do not consider that CA 157 could be C 300. This is because this poem was copied by hand 2 (§31, §36, §38). It was posited that fl.40r was originally blank during phase 2, being filled later, in phase 3. The poem was not in the base manuscript and so not transmitted to C by the archetype. Ultimately, nothing proves that CA 157 was attributed to Aboim, for CA could have added a poet as part of its compilation process, but it is the best possible guess.

§ 138. *CA 157 is different from C 300.*

⁷⁵ Gonçalves, 1976, p.410.

⁷⁶ Gonçalves, 1976, pl.3.

It could be argued that if fl.40 was 1^a of its gathering, we would need perforce to imagine an illumination and the beginning of the sequence in a lost gathering. For reasons which will become clear in the next section (§140), our understanding is that an external bifolium, 1^a, of gathering VII was probably lost and fl.40 was 2^a (Appendix 1, p.15, q.4). Thus one could imagine the loss of only the external bifolium, without a gathering. In this scenario, C gives elements exclusive to the Italian branch and the cycle which now closes on fl.40v would merely encompass a lost folio 1^a, making gathering VII a regular quaternio and potentially reducing the present lacuna to a folio.

§ 139. *The
external
bifolium.*

With the current codicological evidence, we are therefore unable to determine the extent of this Lacuna. One folio or a gathering and a folio are both plausible, but Michaëlis's original theory is preferred. We accept the insertion of gathering VII here as an accurate inference, hence the Lacuna perforce exists. This will henceforth be called textual Lacuna 8.

16. Lacuna 13

We consider here the loss of an external bifolium of gathering VII now approached from 1^β (Appendix 1, p.15, q.4).

If the bifolium never existed, gathering VII was a regular trinio, a size consistent with our reconstructed gathering III. Thus, unlike Michaëlis, we do not posit the loss of 1^β merely to maintain a quaternio structure. What is more startling is that current gathering VII opens and closes on the hair side. Of course, this gathering is abnormal whichever way we look at it, given that bifolium 40/45 necessarily disturbs the hair and flesh sequence. But an external bifolium could bring some regularity back in what we regard as a crucial position, the opening and closing of a gathering.

§ 140. *Material evidence.*

Our only piece of proper evidence here lies in the absence of signatures. In Chapter 1, it was argued that the *mise-en-page* of gathering VII is perfectly consistent with all the others from phases 1 to 2 and if the first line of each of its folios is particularly damaged, this is due to the whole gathering being trimmed at slightly higher point. As a result the bottom margin looks wider (§51). If this is accepted, the signatures should be visible in gathering VII. Given their absence, it seems likely that the external bifolium was lost.

A comparison with other manuscript sources reveals that R.A. Redondo follows João Coelho in both C and CBN.⁷⁷ C and CBN feature a series of six pieces with matching numbers, C 331-6 and CBN 331-6. On close inspection, however, CBN 331 is actually a duplicate of CBN 335,

§ 141. *Comparative textual evidence.*

⁷⁷ Appendix 3.1, 32.

whereas CBN 332 is a *cantiga d'amigo*. This is a clear case of double sourcing, that is, CBN 331-2 must have been sourced separately from CBN 335. What needs to be determined is what could potentially be in CA and so when the second source was added.

Without positing double sourcing Michaëlis imagined that five poems would be in this lacuna, she would exclude the duplicate poem, but include the *amigo* piece. She also sensed that five poems might not fit in a folio and so expressed doubts as to whether Redondo would be in the Lacuna at all.⁷⁸ Oliveira, in turn, used Michaëlis's doubts to argue that Redondo was not in CA or in its base-manuscript.⁷⁹

§ 142. *Earlier solutions.*

The present theory, instead, posits that CBN 331-2 should be excluded from CA. It is quite conceivable that Redondo's corpus was originally transmitted as a smaller sequence of four poems and that the other two were inserted at the beginning later. The reconstruction shows that these four poems fit neatly into the lost folio (Appendix 2, pp.41-3) and has the advantage of addressing Ramos's misgivings that a whole folio could not be blank.⁸⁰

§ 143. *Our solution.*

Consequently, in all scenarios, the passage from gathering VII to VIII causes a change in the conventions relating to blank pages. Without the Lacuna, fl.45v ends with text and fl.47r follows right after. With the Lacuna, Redondo would fill both pages and this same situation is repeated twice. Alternatively, we would need to imagine two blank pages in which case

⁷⁸ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.354; 819-28; II, p.206, *Miscella* 49.

⁷⁹ Oliveira, 1994, p.93.

⁸⁰ "Não escondo que esta reconstrução levanta sérios problemas, sobretudo quanto à parte final do caderno. Se o actual fl. 45v/p. 168, como vimos, contém a cantiga final do ciclo, teríamos, nestas condições de conjecturar um fólho totalmente em branco, rosto e verso no final do caderno" Ramos, 2008, I p.174.

Redondo was not in CA. Ultimately, it is not possible to determine here, on codicological bases alone, which is the most likely solution and the problem will be revisited in the next chapter under discussions of compilation. This will now be called textual Lacuna 9.

17. Folio 46

Folio 46 was mentioned in passing and must be addressed now more fully since its exact position and relation to gathering structure still defies understanding. It was part of the original bound codex, stitched as a half-sheet in isolation before gathering VIII and after the broken stitching of former Lacuna 12 (Appendix 1, p.15, q.1). It features five poems, CA 180-4, occupying the recto and verso and their author is here referred as Anonymous 2.

Michaëlis initially attributed them, with doubts, to R.A. Redondo,⁸¹ abandoning the identification already in her second volume. This can now be considered obsolete, as no scholar has attempted to resurrect it. J.M. D’Heur was isolated in attributing CA 180-3 to J.S. Coelho and CA 184 to J.P. Aboim. His theory ignores the aesthetic conventions of the CA relating to illuminations as markers of new cycles and Ramos provides detailed reasons against it.⁸²

§ 144. *Identifications of Anonymous 2.*

In recent decades, instead, the identification of Anonymous 2 with Aboim, as alleged author of the five *cantigas*, has gained widespread favour. The first to advance it was, once again, Michaëlis, who reviewed her earlier hypothesis in her second volume.⁸³ It was then repeated by Nobiling and, later, by Tavani, who offered a footnote in favour of the argument and

§ 145. *Anonymous 2 as Aboim.*

⁸¹ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.354-362.

⁸² D’Heur, 1973, pp.32-3; 52; 66; republished in D’Heur, 1975b, p. 24-5; 44-5; 59.

⁸³ “Segue urna folha avulsa, 46 (75), cosida pelo encadernador. A rebarba saliente foi bem aparada pelo proprio artista. A pesar d’isso propendo a crêr que o seu logar não era aqui, sendo ella o unico resto de um caderno perdido, collocado aqui á toa.” (1904, II, p.148); *Miscellae* 49 and 51 (1904, II, p.206-7).

then assumed this hypothesis subsequently.⁸⁴ From then, with different degrees of doubt, many have advanced the identification between Anonymous 2 and Aboim.⁸⁵

Their argument is reducible to one: CA 184 is transmitted as CBN 677/CV 279, the last piece in Aboim's *cantigas d'amigo* corpus, in a section of the Italian manuscripts which has no parallel in CA as it transmits mostly *amigo* poems. Therefore, at the very least, all these scholars have tacitly admitted that the piece has undergone double transmission, since, in their assumption, the poem would be in Aboim's corpus, in the *amor* section, on that triple lacuna between CA, CBN and CV. They take for granted that despite the double transmission, the attribution would coincide although, from the point of view of medieval lyric broadly considered, this may not be the case; in other words, double transmission often involves double attribution.⁸⁶ We see this with CA 213, in F.G. Seabra's corpus, but as CBN 443/CV 55, in Airas Veaz's; or CA 291 attributed to Pero da Ponte, but to Sancho Sanches as CBN 394/CV 4.

§ 146. *Textual argument.*

Among the scholars listed above, only Oliveira gave some thought on how folio 46 would actually be in the codex and its relation to the lacunae. He acknowledged that folio 46's position was disrupted by the insertion, in the nineteenth-century, of gathering VII. For him, folio 46 should be located before folio 40, being the last folio of an otherwise lost gathering, as discussed under Lacuna XII. In this way, Oliveira believes he can recuperate all six poems by Aboim referred by the Tavola Colocciana,

§ 147. *Codicological possibility.*

⁸⁴ Nobiling, 2007c, p.224-5; Tavani, 1967a, p.440, n.5; 2002, p.405.

⁸⁵ Beltran, V. 1993. "Johan Perez d'Avoin" in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, pp. 355-6. Oliveira, 1994, p.53; 358-9, Lopes, Ferreira, et al.

⁸⁶ Brunetti, 1994, p.610.

so that C 295-9 = CA 180-4 (fl.46) and C 300 = CA 157 (gathering VII, fl.40r).

But his theory must now be reviewed because there is codicological evidence that CA 180-4 was not attributed to Aboim.

The first argument is that fl.46v, reproduced below, ends with precisely four lines (Fig. 12). Folio 40, in turn, opens with “*Nostro sennor que miamín*”, the first underlaid line of CA 157, that is, exactly four lines. Therefore, if folio 46 preceded 40, it would be expected that the first line of CA 157 would be at the bottom of folio 46. To say that there is space, of course, does not automatically mean that the scribe would behave in this way but, as demonstrated in Chapter 1 (§61), if we disregard two exceptions within Guilhade’s corpus, this is the widespread practice in the CA.

§ 148. *First objection.*

Aboim. If scholarship had found the six poems by Aboim, C 295-300, obviously they would be preceded by an illumination. Yet fl.46r begins midway on the first stanza of CA 180. This first poem would therefore require a first stanza spreading over two whole columns, which is completely absurd, since such a space should rather take at least two whole poems. Or else, one needs to imagine more poems by Aboim in CA than in C, which is an admission that we have not found C 295-300.

Another point relates to conventions pertaining to Gregory's Law so far. This is less an argument and more an indication since Gregory's Law is here being reconstructed, rather than taken *a priori*. But it is telling that, so far, all the reconstructed gatherings have opened and closed on the flesh side. Yet folio 46 verso is the hair side. If the alleged lost gathering of Lacuna 12 is to be consistent with the previous gatherings, it should open and close on the flesh side, and this is not possible if folio 46 was its surviving 1^{β} (Fig. 13).

§ 151. *Fourth objection.*

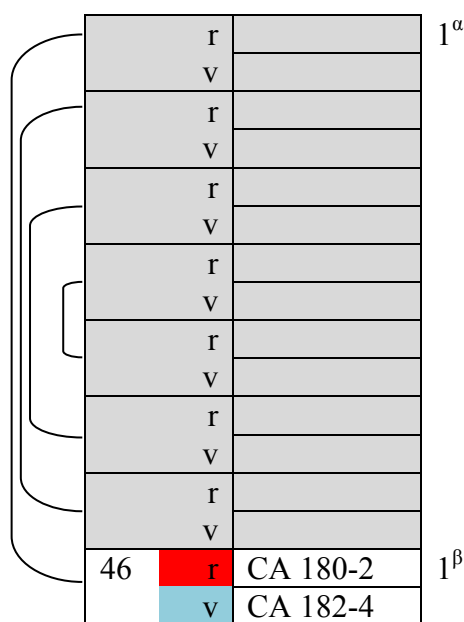


Fig. 13 — Oliveira's reconstructed gathering (Lacuna XII), ending on the *hair* side. (Copyright C)

As yet a further material argument, we must draw attention to the position of the stub of this folio. After the last restoration, the stub was bent to the left, towards the recto (Appendix 1, p.15, q.3), according to Oliveira's hypothesis, but originally it was turned towards the verso (Appendix 1, p.16, q.2).⁸⁷ That is to say that fl.46, in its original structure, could never be the surviving 1^β of a damaged bifolium, at best the β half was the one lost or extracted. So, rather than closing the lost gathering, in this imagined position, it could only open gathering VII. It seems prudent to claim that CA 184 was not attributed, in CA, to Aboim, which is *not* to say that it is not by Aboim, if the attribution of CBN 677/CV 279 is deemed accurate.

§ 152. *Fifth objection.*

Alongside the identification with Aboim, a similar theory would also have this folio as belonging to lacuna XII, featuring poems by Vinhal.⁸⁸ Thus, rather than the last folio of the gathering, it would be somewhere in the middle, before Aboim's sequence. The theory for Vinhal assumes that neither CA nor the right branch of the stemma, represented by C/CBN, suffered contamination – a dangerous assumption, as will be clearer in Chapter 3. If that was the case, however, CA 180-4 should not be by Vinhal either. As demonstrated, CA 184 appears to be the last poem of its cycle – as any poem to follow it would have its *incipit* at the bottom of col.^d – and this was seemingly in the α half of the gathering. According to the *Tavola*, Vinhal has fifteen pieces, C 280-294, followed by Aboim with six, C 295-300. If CA 180-4 were C 290-4, we would need a large number of α folios – around four or five – but Aboim would barely fill two folios to the right side

§ 153. *Anonymous 2 as Vinhal.*

⁸⁷ Ramos, 2008, I p.176.

⁸⁸ Oliveira, 1994, p.359; Ramos, 1993. "Rodrigo'Eanes Redondo" in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, pp.579-80.

of the stitching. It does not prove that CA 180-4 were not by Vinhal, but it is a clear indication that reconstructions purely based on the *Tavola* are far too dangerous.

Instead, answers to fl.46, yet provisional, must come from internal evidence from the CA itself. The first point is textual: CA 180 poses severe editorial problems. The use of Michaëlis's edition is problematic as, by her own admission, it was not even possible to establish its rhyme scheme.⁸⁹ We quote instead Carter's edition with a few changes, namely some inter-stanza spacing as visual aid and the rhyme scheme added to the right.⁹⁰

§ 154. *Our analysis: textual considerations.*

	Que me uos nunca quisestes fa zer en que me uistes de me mal querer.	a a
5	Por deus e por mesura e por mí dizede mesto que u9 uin rogar etal rogo non uos deu a pesar eterrei que me fazedes ben ã	b c c b
10	Por aquesto que u9 rogo señor dizede mio ca uos non iaz ã mal nen uos rogueu que me digades al e terrei que me fazedes amor	d e e d
	[E] uedes por queo quero saber por me guardar de uos pesar faž	a a

The piece lacks the beginning, with apparently four metric lines copied on the previous lost folio. The majuscule *Q*, rubricated, is a tertiary initial, smaller than the standard secondary initial, implying the beginning of a refrain (§18). In other words, the surviving bits of the first stanza have the morphology of a *refrão* piece. But the poem is not a *refrão* piece. After the

⁸⁹ Michaëlis, 1904, I p.357.

⁹⁰ Carter, 1975, p.107.

aa rhyme (*fazer-querer*), what follows are quatrains on an abba scheme, with no indication whatsoever of refrain. And to make it even more bizarre, the aa scheme couplet returns as a *fiinda* with rhymes in *êr*, *saber-faz[er]*, echoing the absent refrain. The division in three stanzas plus *fiinda* is not editorial, Carter reflects the CA's structure based on rubrication and capitalization patterns.

A possible solution to this puzzle is to imagine a standard *refrão* poem, rhyme-scheme abba-CC, in which the scribe neglected to write the lines of the abbreviated refrain in stanzas two and three. The whole folio, recto and verso, lacks correction marginalia thus, conceivably, the folio could have been marked down for disposal by the scriptorium as defective. The question is whether the scriptorium would rather dispose of this amount of material and work because of two lines or whether they would just add marginal corrections.

The second point concerns the dimensions of fl.46. In past sections, we have seen how the margins of the CA were reduced as part of the binding process, including how early modern marginalia were cropped as a result of this (§52). But fl.46 was originally smaller, being about 1cm shorter today on its external margin (Fig. 15). Its full dimensions are:

§ 155. *Material considerations.*

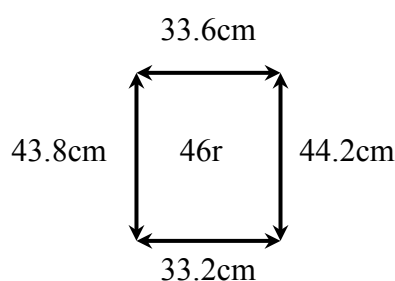


Fig. 14 (Copyright C)

This contrasts with the neighbouring folios which have about 34.5cm on the left-right axis.



Fig. 15 — Folio 46. (Copyright B)

What is peculiar here is that, unlike fl.16 and 17, we were able to determine with reasonable certainty that fl.46 was trimmed together with adjacent folios. A matching outline emerges from the comparison of fl.46 and 47, as it is evident from the indentation highlighted below:



Fig. 16 — Folios 46 and 47. (Copyright B, modified)

And yet the inner margin, measured between col.^a and the fold, conforms to the ordinary standard of approximately 4.5cm. This proves that the folio is not short due to extraction of a conceivable conjugate half, it was short by confection (contrast with §179 and §189).

The stub, in turn, was described by Michaëlis in the following terms: “A rebarba saliente foi bem aparada pelo proprio artista.”⁹¹ As of today, the folio is bound in isolation, that is, independent of any gathering. The range of the stub is 0.5 to 1cm, with a wavy layout, no scar or tear mark of any kind. The contour is slightly smoother than others which we take to be plundered, for example, 3^b of gathering IV. Some incisions are visible on its upper part (Fig. 17), and it is not clear if these were caused by natural wear or not. The lower part has instead some folds (Fig. 18). In all, the well-trimmed stub and the shorter dimension suggest not a damaged bifolium, but an original half-sheet from parchment not large enough to make a bifolium (§45).



Fig. 17 — Folio 46 – stub, upper part. (Copyright B)

⁹¹ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.148.



Fig. 18 — Folio 46 – stub, lower part. (Copyright B)

A further codicological aspect is the folio's position. The early modern binder, as established before (§52), was not an industrious person: he bound the *Livro de Linhagens* randomly, he pasted two folios, 87 and 88, from the songbook in the wooden boards and appended another, fl.74, as flyleaf to the codex. If he got the order of CA's gatherings right, it is because these once had signatures. So, what could prompt such a mind to include this folio before gathering VIII? In other words, if the binder had appended it randomly ("á toa") as wanted Michaëlis (cf.§136, footnote 72), it should be with the other half-sheets, 88 and 74, at the beginning of the codex.

A final, inconclusive observation relates to how the plough affected the upper margin. Normally, folios are not trimmed separately, the whole

codex must reach the plough together, stitched and glued, just lacking the hardcover. The damage caused by the plough on this folio's upper margin is consistent with gathering VI: close but yet preserving the first line of text. Gathering VII was more damaged whereas VIII is less.

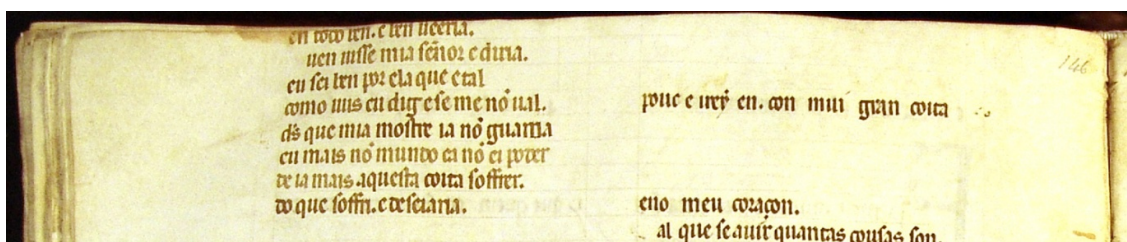


Fig. 19 — fl.34v, gathering VI. (Copyright A)

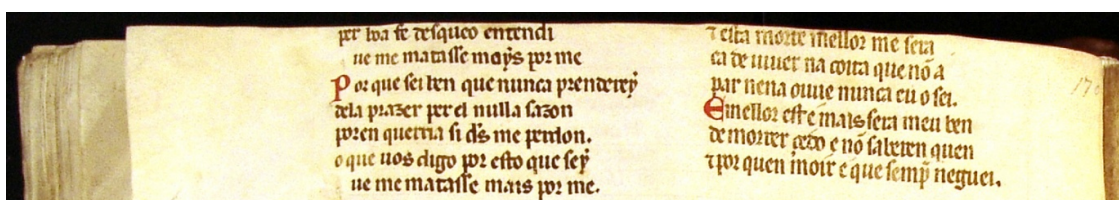


Fig. 20 — fl.46v. (Copyright A)

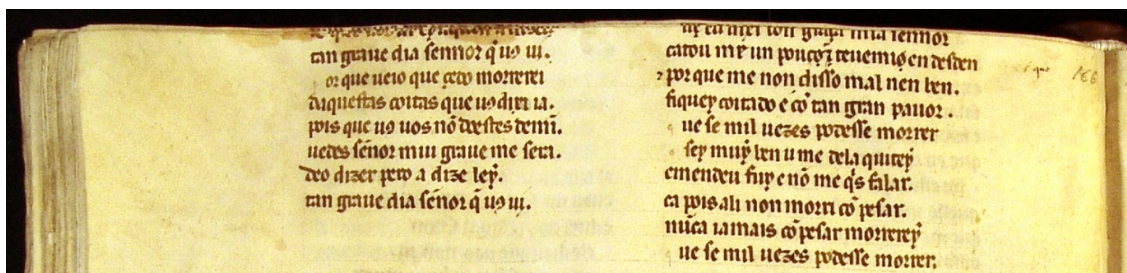


Fig. 21 — fl.44v, gathering VII. (Copyright A)

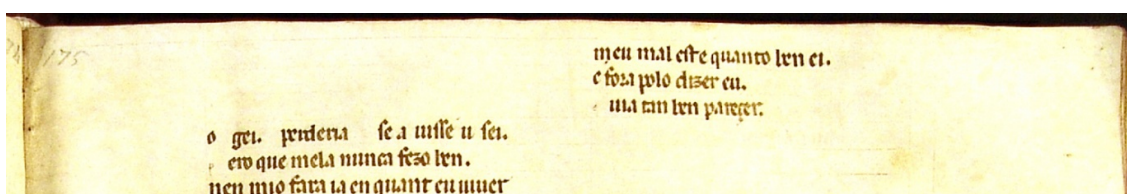


Fig. 22 — fl.49r, gathering VIII. (Copyright A)

There are, of course, at least two other places where gatherings are missing: Lacuna 1 and Lacuna 3. Aesthetically, folio 46 does not seem to have been produced in phase 1. It only includes red initials, regardless of size, lacking filigrees or penflourishing, thus excluding Lacunae 1 and 3. The use of red initials only is consistent with the first folios of gathering VII. On fl.46r col.^a the *Q* on top and the *C* on the bottom are clear examples of tertiary initials used to mark a refrain within underlaid stanza. This pattern of rubrication is quite specific and exclusive to gatherings VII to XI (§30), thus excluding the questionable Lacuna 25, after gathering XIII. Given this relatively narrow space, fl.46 might be the last surviving fragment of the lost gathering from textual Lacuna 8 (former Lacuna 12).

§ 156. *Rubrication patterns.*

The conclusion is that folio 46 still defies our understanding as it presents far too many problems. With the current state of knowledge, any speculation is too dangerous. It could be a folio marked down for disposal, it could be an original half-sheet, it could be the last fragment of a lost gathering. It presents visual characteristics of phase 2 and a specific rubrication pattern, being therefore more *likely* to have been intended somewhere between gatherings VI and VII (Appendix 1, p.14, q.4).

If the folio is part of the lost gathering from textual Lacuna 8 – that is, positioned before gathering VII – we would infer the following order of events: loss of gathering but survival of fl.46 before binding; the binder stitches gathering VI, VII, fl.46 (slightly out of place), VIII; extraction of gathering VII and consequential breaking of the stitching. It seems implausible that the lost gathering and VII could be extracted but fl.46 would remain stitched before gathering VIII.

Whether Anonymous 2 is Vinhal, Aboim or a third poet is impossible to know from CA. Anyone who wishes to go beyond that would need to account for a large number of codicological and textual issues.

18. Lacuna 14

Gathering IX survives as a trinio opening and closing on the hair side (Appendix 1, p.17). Michaëlis posited a lost bifolium externally positioned, thus imagining Lacunae 14 and 15 (1^a and 1^b of gathering IX). It is a delicate case, since we cannot refer to stubs: when a whole bifolium is lost, there is no material evidence of damage.⁹²

Yet even if one is sceptical about Michaëlis's tendency to imagine a regular quaternio structure in each gathering, there are textual evidences supporting her theory. On Lacuna 14 a gap can be detected not by any textual break but by an excessive amount of blank space: fl.54v is wholly blank and this is followed by fl.55r, equally blank. To avoid such a large amount of blank space, a lost folio, with a small cycle filling two pages would be the natural solution. Lacuna 15, in turn, reveals a clear textual break and, opportunely, it will be made clear that it is safer to assume these two were a single lost bifolium.

§ 157. *Internal textual evidence.*

A material consideration is that Gregory's Law is currently interrupted: fl.54v (flesh) is followed by fl.55r (hair). The lost folio would make this gathering conform to all the previous ones, by starting and closing on the flesh side.

§ 158. *Material evidence.*

The textual reconstruction of this Lacuna, however, is very difficult. CBN and C feature in their relevant areas four poets but five entries: F. F. Cogominho, R.A. de Vasconcelos, P. Mafaldo, A.M. de Besteiros and again

§ 159. *Comparative textual evidence.*

⁹² The "talón orixinal" referred by Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1009, is a clear error stemming from a misquote.

P. Mafaldo.⁹³ The number of poems are twenty-three in C and twenty-five in CBN, of which three are not *amor* pieces and so should not be in CA.

Ramos seems undecided about this Lacuna and does not offer a clear textual solution.⁹⁴ Oliveira, in turn, manifestly accepts Michaëlis's theory that folio 1^β is missing, that is Lacuna 15, but is unable to solve Lacuna 14 satisfactorily.⁹⁵ He begins by positing the lost 1^α and argues that, in a folio, only R.A. de Vasconcelos would fit in it ("com três cantigas"). He then supposes that, apart from the folio, an extra gathering might give space to the whole sequence of twenty-five poems represented in CBN. But he abandons this route because Vasconcelos, Mafaldo and Besteiros "fogem um tanto à ordenação existente nesta zona ao apresentarem, nesta secção, cantigas de amigo e uma cantiga de escárnio e, na secção das cantigas de amigo, uma cantiga de amor."⁹⁶ His conclusion is that none could be in the Lacuna because at least Besteiros and Vasconcelos were active around 1290, making them slightly later poets. But this means that he ultimately leaves the problem unresolved: if he accepts at least the existence of 1^β, he should not ignore 1^α.

§ 160. *Previous solutions.*

Considering Oliveira's arguments in turn, although he quotes and seemingly attributes the theory of a lost gathering to Michaëlis, the idea stems exclusively from him. Indeed, Michaëlis edits a large sequence of poems in the relevant appendix to this short lacuna: twenty-eight poems, namely, the aforementioned twenty-five by Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo and Besteiros, plus another three by the next poet, F.G. de

§ 161. *Our solution.*

⁹³ Appendix 3.1, 37a to 37e.

⁹⁴ Ramos, 2008, I, p.188.

⁹⁵ Oliveira, 1994, p.54.

⁹⁶ Oliveira, 1994, p.48.

Seabra.⁹⁷ But she is very clear regarding the extent of this lacuna: “FALTA UMA MEIA-FOLHA: No. 1^a DO CADERNO IX.”⁹⁸ The explanation is only to be found later:

Pode ser que a folha cortada do CA contivesse inteira a menor das quatro series que CB apresenta, ou partes de uma das restantes. Só por este motivo é que as publico todas no *Appendice XII*.⁹⁹

The possibility of a gathering lost prior to binding is open, but we would rather leave it for lack of any compelling evidence.

Michaëlis is also more moderate in contrast with Oliveira. Not only R.A. de Vasconcelos but, indeed, any of the poets could be in the lacuna, either wholly or in part. Indeed, since we have clearly been dealing with contamination, the compiler of CBN’s ancestor could be enriching an originally short sequence inherited from the base-manuscript. The only minor criticism one can raise against Michaëlis is that the three pieces by F.G. de Seabra could not possibly be in Lacuna 14 as they would *precede* Seabra’s illumination on fl.55v.

As for Oliveira’s last argument, the dating of Besteiros and Vasconcelos is also problematic. Their chronology seems coherent with Ulhoa, the last poet before the Lacuna. In any case, according to Oliveira himself, they were either dead or very old by 1300, a lifespan consistent with the CA, a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscript. Hence Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo and Besteiros all qualify for this Lacuna on chronological grounds.

⁹⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, I, pp.829ff.

⁹⁸ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.408.

⁹⁹ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.207.

In summary the former Lacuna 14 is one folio containing a small number of poems by one poet, here referred as Unknown 1, which could be either Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo or Besteiros. This will henceforth be referred as textual Lacuna 10.

19. Lacuna 15

As seen above, Michaëlis imagined an external bifolium lost from gathering IX and the current lacuna relates to its second half, 1^b of gathering IX (Appendix 1, p.17).¹⁰⁰ Ramos expressed doubts about the lost bifolium, but ultimately accepts it when she acknowledges Lacuna 15; Oliveira, as noted above, admitted it too.¹⁰¹

Michaëlis's theory is solid because the lost opening of CA 226 and the lack of an illumination marking Tenoiro's sequence prove the occurrence of a lacuna here. The lost folio had to close gathering IX, rather than opening X, because the latter's current first folio, fl.61r, has a signature, confirming that this is the gathering's actual first folio. Furthermore, a bifolium lost from gathering X before fl.61r would eventually cause the interruption of CA 249, since at the end of gathering X there is no lacuna. Finally, Gregory's Law is restored to its expected regularity: gathering IX would open and end on the flesh side, just like current gathering X.

§ 162. *Textual and material evidence for a lost bifolium from IX.*

Given that the last extant folio in gathering IX, fl.60v, is wholly blank, it is safe to assume that 1^b recto was written on and, indeed, in CBN, there are four *cantigas* before CA 226/CBN 401/CV 11.¹⁰²

§ 163. *The extent of textual loss.*

The beginning of Tenoiro's sequence, including illumination, the lost text represented by CBN 397-400/CV 7-10, and the beginning of CA 226 can be projected on the lost folio, with a few caveats. Firstly, this is an area of the manuscript where, comparatively, the scribe takes large spaces to

§ 164. *Reconstruction.*

¹⁰⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.436; II, p.149.

¹⁰¹ Ramos, 2008, I, p.188-191; p.193.

¹⁰² Appendix 3.1, 41.

fit underlaid text. The surviving fl.61r is a good example: six decasyllabic metric lines extending over thirty-two manuscript lines, although this same metrical layout may take as little as twenty lines in CA 128, fl.32v. If all Tenoiro's *cantigas* were copied so generously, they would not fit in the lost folio. Secondly, this is the first case of a *cantiga* with only two stanzas, CBN 398, falling on a lacuna and, as seen in the previous chapter, the scribe's default attitude is to reserve a blank space, perhaps just the length of a third stanza, perhaps longer. So, one could imagine a more average handwriting and a reasonable *réserve*, a more spread handwriting and no *réserve* or something in between.

Three lines would be left blank, in a scenario without *réserve* and with around thirty-two lines for underlaid text (Appendix 2, pp.44, 45, 47). In this reconstruction stanza 1 of CBN 399 was given thirty-two manuscript lines, which we frankly consider excessive. Alternatively, there could be an eleven-line *réserve* in col.^b and no blank line elsewhere (Appendix 2, pp.44, 45, 46, 48). The *réserve* reconstruction is our preferred option, given the attitude documented throughout the manuscript towards two-stanza poems.

This lost folio, which could only be in gathering IX, is hereafter called textual Lacuna 11.

20. Corollaries from the reconstruction to group 3, gatherings VII, VIII and IX

Having reconstructed gatherings VII to IX, it is time to review this group of gatherings. The gathering structure remains very similar to those of group 2: gathering VII is either a trinio or a quaternio, whereas VIII and IX are perfect quaterniones (Appendix 1, pp.15-17, q.4). A half-sheet, that is, fl.46, may have been introduced in this phase for the first time, but we were unable to determine its precise location.

§ 165. *Gathering structure and half-sheets.*

Gregory's Law is still largely observed and if gathering VII was indeed a quaternio, all gatherings would still open and close on the flesh side. A disruption occurs, however, and remains inexplicable, precisely in this gathering (on bifolium 2, Appendix 1, pp.15, q.4).

§ 166. *Gregory's Law.*

Concerning blank pages, there is a tendency to observe the standard detected in phase 1 (I and II), with a few exceptions, typical of phase 2. In considering just the three gatherings of the present phase as displayed in Appendix 1, it is evident that most blank pages precede an illumination, regardless of recto or verso side, for instance: fl.47v precedes illumination 12; fl.51r, 13; fl.55r, 14; fl.58v, 15. Folio 40r before illumination 10 is a false exception, given our theory that it was originally left blank, but underlining how these blank pages may have had a double function, as aesthetic elements and in providing leeway for additional material. The exceptions are fl.45v which would be followed by R.A. Redondo in gathering VII, illumination 11 which would be preceded by Redondo, in VIII and fl.59v before illumination 16.

§ 167. *Blank pages.*

21. Lacuna 16

The following Lacuna is assumed on textual evidence and despite a lack of material evidence (Appendix 1, p.18).

CA 228, the first piece by João Garcia de Guilhade, starts abruptly mid-way through on fl.62 after fl.61v, a blank page. The folio in between (gathering X, 2^a) should equally contain Guilhade's illumination. The comparison with the Italian manuscripts, further reveals the loss of one poem, CBN 417/CV 28, so initially we should be looking for a single page of text.¹⁰³

§ 168. *Textual evidence.*

The analysis of gathering X does not reveal clear material evidence. Between fl.61 and 62 there is no stub. The corresponding section on the gathering's β half is even more disconcerting: fl.66v ends on CA 245, the last poem by Talaveira followed by a reasonable blank area. Then, fl.67r follows with an illumination *réserve* and the opening of Charinho's sequence. The comparison with the Italian sources shows no poet in between the two. The only material sign, in CA, of the lacuna is the interruption of Gregory's Law which happens both between fl.61-62 and fl.66-67.

§ 169. *Material evidence.*

Working back-to-front on our reconstruction, Guilhade's initial elements largely fill 2^a verso (Appendix 2, pp.49, 51). Slightly unexpected, but not problematic, the surplus of four lines is easy to account for if it is assumed that an underlaid stanza or *fiinda* required an extra line of text. Yet this hypothesis only accounts for half the folio, since our imaginary recto is

§ 170. *Reconstruction: the verso.*

¹⁰³ Appendix 3.1, 43.

still blank whereas the surviving page which precedes it is also blank. So the next challenge is to decide whether there were two blank pages or not and, if not, what could have been on the recto.

In previous literature, it has been assumed that Guilhade must fill the whole lost folio, recto and verso. Michaëlis, realising that the amount of text described above would not fill two sides of a folio, added two poems which *close* the sequence in the Italian manuscripts. Consulting Appendix 3.1, 43, it is clear that after CA 234/CBN 424/CV 36 the Italian sources transmit CBN 425/CV 37, CBN 426/CV 38 which is fact a *doppio* of CA 228/CBN 418/CV 29 and CBN 427/CV 39. So, her initial theory is to include these texts minus the *doppio* in the lacuna; later she would forsake this view.¹⁰⁴ Ramos believes instead that Guilhade's corpus was transmitted somewhat independently to CA and CBN/CV. So, while maintaining that Guilhade would start on the recto, Ramos declines to solve the lacuna on the assumption that CA's lost text may not have been in CBN/CV.¹⁰⁵ Lastly, Oliveira and Ron Fernández recuperate Michaëlis's first attempt when they conceive CBN 425/CV 37 in the lacuna.¹⁰⁶ We regard these attempts as unsatisfactory because no argument is given as to why Guilhade would start on the recto. If we follow strictly the order of poems in the Italian manuscripts, Guilhade would fill precisely one page, the verso. That is not to say that previous theories are not possible, just that there is no reason *a priori* to disregard the order of poems in CBN/CV.

§ 171. *Previous solutions for the recto.*

The comparison with the Italian sources further reveals two poets between Talaveira and Guilhade, namely, Afonso Fernandes Cebolhilha and

§ 172. *Reconstruction: the recto.*

¹⁰⁴ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.442; II, p.210.

¹⁰⁵ Ramos, 2008, I, p.195ff.

¹⁰⁶ Oliveira, 1994, p.148; Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1010.

D. Afonso Sanches.¹⁰⁷ The latter was D. Dinis's son, a much later poet, who could not possibly be in a *cancioneiro* like CA, let alone in its sources. Oliveira admits lacking biographic information on Cebolhilha but given Sanches's status, he assumes that Cebolhilha is equally a later poet.¹⁰⁸ This may or may not be right, but it must still be verified if Cebolhilha could fit in 2^o's recto.

CBN 398-403b, as C 398-403, are attributed to Cebolhilha by mistake; here it is CV which offers the optimal sequence: these same pieces are copied as CV 8-14, correctly attributed to Tenoiro, whereas Cebolhilha authored CBN 404/CV 15 and CBN 405/CV 16. The projection of these two poems plus illumination gives a deficit of at least ten manuscript lines (Appendix 2, pp.50-1).¹⁰⁹ Ten lines is a considerable amount of space and it is not even a multiple of four. It seems therefore impossible that Cebolhilha was in the lacuna with two poems. He could, conceivably, be transmitted in CA with just one piece, but no clear sign of double sourcing is to be found.

We posit that Guilhade's sequence filled the verso of the lost folio according to the Italian sources while leaving the matter of the recto side open, with a strong possibility that it was blank. This will be called textual Lacuna 12.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 3.1, 42a and 42b.

¹⁰⁸ Oliveira, 1994, p.73-4.

¹⁰⁹ Our reconstruction assigns only twenty-seven manuscript lines to stanza 1 of CBN 404, a very conservative estimate, as more often its metrical profile takes thirty-five (see footnote 35 in Appendix 2), thus the deficit could be more than ten lines.

22. Lacuna 17

This Lacuna relates to the presumed lost counterpart of fl.64, which would be 5^b of gathering X (Appendix 1, p.18). No textual evidence can be adduced: in CA we have the end of Guilhade's sequence and the beginning of Estevão Faião's without breaks; the Italian sources match this. The original stub survives and can be seen in the electronic facsimile (fl.64v/65r). It was also described by Michaëlis and Ramos, who remarked on its damaged condition.¹¹⁰

On our inspection, we collected a number of codicological details which complement their observations. The stub is irregular with a size range of 0.6 to 1.8cm. On the verso side of the stub itself, several blade marks were detected, deep enough to scar but not to cut the parchment. Over thirty scars were counted, mostly on the upper half of the stub, often parallel to themselves, but not to the folio, that is, they were in a perpendicular angle. The blade's attacks start from the inner margin moving away from it.

§ 173. *Our material observations.*

¹¹⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.466 "A que falta, e foi brutalmente arrancada, deve portanto ter contido outra serie, restricta, mas completa (de duas a cinco cantigas), com attribuição a um poeta diverso, a não ser que estivesse totalmente em branco."

Ramos, 2008, I, p.193: "fólio com pestana de 1 cm" and "A lacuna correspondente ao fl. 64/p. 205 oferece a pestana original irregular com uma medida de 0,9 cm a 1,5 cm." p.205.



Fig. 23 — Stub: gathering X, 5^β. (Copyright B)

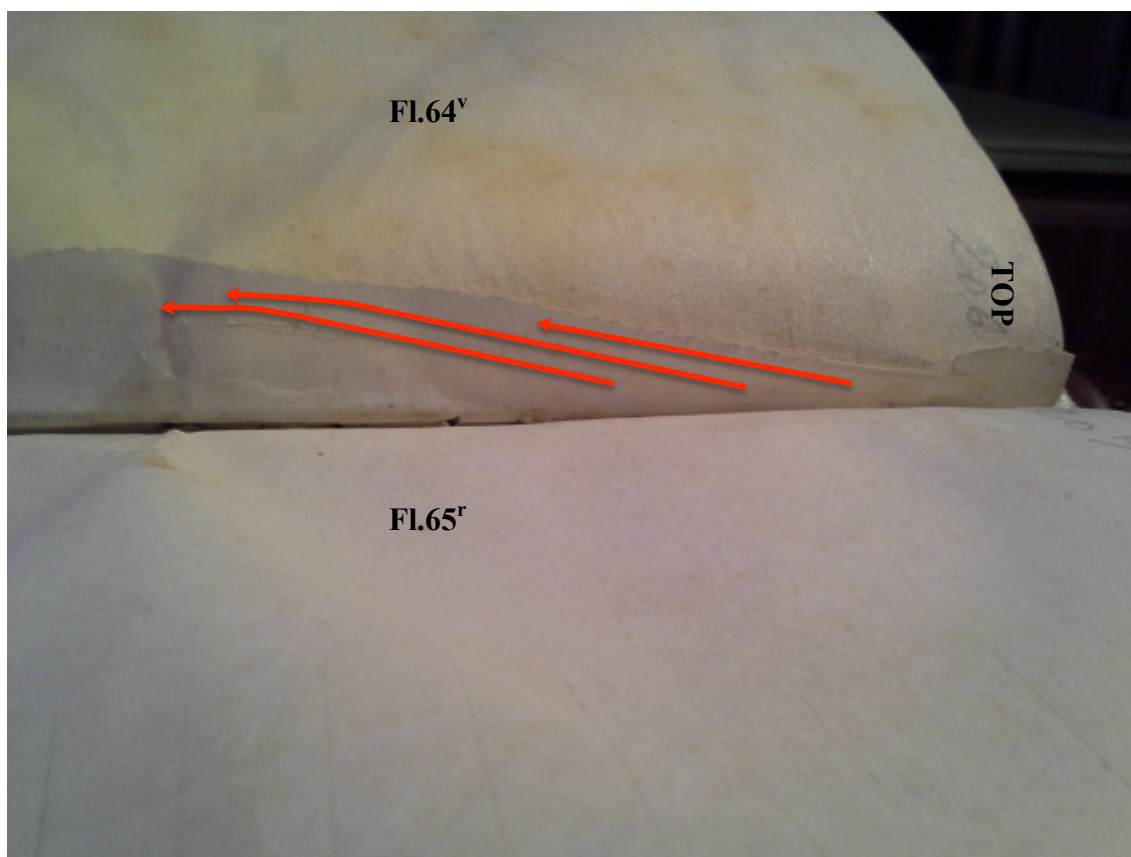


Fig. 24 — Stub: gathering X, 5^β. The arrows represent the direction of the blade. (Copyright B, modified)



Fig. 25 — Stub: gathering X, 5^β. Middle section, still with blade marks. (Copyright B)

In this section, the stub's edge is wavy and frayed, with tiny bits protruding, an aspect typical of torn parchment, rather than cut.



Fig. 26 — Stub: gathering X, 5^β. Close-up. (Copyright B)

At the bottom, however, the stub has a very different aspect: for 7.3cm it is cut straight, running more vertically. This is matched on fl.64v by a scar, starting at the bottom, running for about 7cm, starting strong and gradually getting lighter. There is also another short scar on top of fl.64v, it is parallel to a scar on the stub and it matches the stub's layout. It measures about 1.3cm and it is not deep.



Fig. 27 — Stub: gathering X, 5^b; bottom. Arrow pointing to matching scar on fl.64v. (Copyright B)

It seems clear that after successive blade strikes at the top of the folio, a plunderer made a longer, deeper cut from the bottom. This was strong enough to cut 5^b for some 7cm and to mark fl.74 below, for nothing was placed in between to protect it. After this cut, the plunderer simply tore with his bare hands the remaining part, hence the irregular and torn aspect of the stub's upper section. The upper cuts might have been failed attempts or else a way of weakening the parchment prior to tearing.

Given the violence and even clumsiness of this extraction and on the understanding that the scriptorium could cut a half-sheet but not tear its stub, this must be a lacuna. The folio could be wholly blank or, less likely, feature a poet known to CA only.

23. Lacuna 18

Under Lacuna 16 it was necessary to admit a lost 2^a folio, but this has no clear 2^b counterpart on textual evidence (Appendix 1, p.18). Materially, there is nothing to be noticed except the break in Gregory's Law. Our preferred solution to this problem is to assume a lost half-sheet for Guilhade, the 2^a. It would address the textual issues, restore Gregory's Law between 1^a and 3^a, while understandably disrupting it between fl.66 and 67. This was Michaëlis's preferred hypothesis, though she later changed her mind.¹¹¹ Alternatively, this could be a whole blank folio, recto and verso, as argued by Ramos. This may be a better solution if we consider that in gathering X two blank folios after a sequence was the norm: two pages before Guilhade (fl.61v and 1^a recto); two in 5^b, in former Lacuna 17; and two in 2^b, the current Lacuna. The only exception to this inference is fl.65v, a single blank page rather than two after Faião. On the other hand, a half-sheet might be better if we consider gathering length throughout the codex: as remarked by Ramos, quiniones are not a usual size.¹¹² So, the half-sheet would keep this gathering at four bifolia and a half. Solutions involving lost text by a lost poet seem hardly compelling.¹¹³

§ 175. *A half-sheet or a blank folio.*

¹¹¹ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.478; II, p.149.

¹¹² Ramos, 2008, I, p. 205: "Por outro lado, a constituição estrutural em quínios não parece ser primordial no Cancioneiro. Este tipo de composição parece intervir só no início do actual estado do códice com os dois primeiros cadernos onde foi possível também prognosticar uma organização com uma disposição quínia." In our analysis the first gatherings are not quiniones either.

¹¹³ See again Michaëlis; Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1011.

24. Lacuna 19

This Lacuna is another challenging case. Again no textual evidence can be adduced: Paio Gomes Charinho's corpus ends on fl.70r, leaving the verso blank, currently followed by fl.71r where Fernão Velho's sequence starts (Appendix 1, p.19).

Material evidence is a stub, 4^o of XI, relating to fl.71r. At this point Gregory's Law is disturbed. Just like before, Michaëlis admitted a half-sheet having later changed her mind.¹¹⁴ Ramos again understands that the folio would be wholly blank.¹¹⁵ Ron Fernández supposes a lost cycle.¹¹⁶ The problem here is whether we really should assume three blank pages – fl.70v plus the lost folio –, which seems quite a lot.

§ 176. *Material evidence and previous solutions.*

The original stub received some pastedown restoration on its recto. Hence the image available on the electronic facsimile (fl.71r) is misleading as it only reveals the modern surface. The only view of the original parchment is actually the verso, documented below (Fig. 28-30). Disregarding the pastedown, the original stub is irregular and on a small section was destroyed all the way down to the fold, but in general its range is 1 to 1.5cm. There are no clear scars on adjacent folios, but a small indentation crease on fl.70v, which we take to be caused by pressure from the stub, rather than from a blade. Folio 71 has standard dimensions, circa 34.5cm x 44cm (width x height), and yet some details on the stub are

§ 177. *Our material observations.*

¹¹⁴ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.502; II, p.149.

¹¹⁵ Ramos, 2008, I, p.208-9 “uma lacuna com pestana e carcela de cerca de 1 cm, correspondente ao fl. 71/p.219, que permite imaginar que este fólio perdido estaria em branco” and “A pestana do fl. 71/p. 219 é original com recorte irregular que conserva 1,5cm a 1,8 cm.” p.210.

¹¹⁶ Ron Fernández, 1996, p.1011.

definitely puzzling. It shows some clear pricking holes from a former stitching, a black line running across the stub and, in conjunction with this line, signs of folding.

We take this line to be the original fold and the holes, its original § 178. *Deduction.* stitch. The folio then must have had its counterpart removed, the cut occurring too near the fold. Unable to stitch it with the original holes, someone must have removed the folio, displaced it left-wise and, in so doing, the former fold shifted to the stub position. New holes and a new fold were created in the folio's inner margin.



Fig. 28 — Stub: 4^a of gathering XI, top. Stitching holes, black line and creased marks of fold. (Copyright B)



Fig. 29 — Stub: 4^a of gathering XI, bottom. Restoration parchment
pasted behind. (Copyright B)



Fig. 30 — Stub: 4^a of gathering XI. (Copyright B)

These original stitching holes occur more clearly as pairs on both the top and bottom of the stub. They do not, it must be noted, relate in any way to the current stitching pattern of the codex. When a folio is displaced to the left, a natural effect is the loss of the external margin, an effect which would make it analogous to fl.46. Yet this fl.71 has standard dimensions, which means that the operation occurred very early. Given our overall theory, we must date it prior to the early modern binding in which occasion all three margins are trimmed and reduced to fit the wooden boards (§52). This trimming brought all the folios to the standard dimensions and so we are unable now to verify the loss of the external margin.

The ultimate proof, instead, comes from the inner margin, which in fl.71 is about 1cm shorter than the average folio.¹¹⁷ This, again, shows how fl.46 was not only originally shorter, but considerably shorter, in at least 2cm and potentially more. It also proves that the early modern binder disposed of a minimum of 1cm just on the fore-edge – a huge amount of parchment by any standard.

§ 179. *Analysis of margins.*

So far we have been working with evidence of loss or extraction of folios *after* the binding. The only important case of loss prior to the binding is Lacuna 1, a collection of gatherings which never reached the binder. Folio 71 is thus the earliest datable case of a bifolium having one of its halves extracted. Was this by vandalism or some other reason? We cannot prove it, but the pattern so far suggests most damage occurred relatively late, in which case we would rather search for some other reasons to account for this. Specifically, we would suggest a decision springing from the scriptorium to review this particular section. It could be a major mistake and its subsequent correction, it could be a hindsight decision to have fewer blank pages here (§46, §47). Given the inferred profile of the binder, we consider it unlikely that this operation was by him.

§ 180. *Chronology of intervention.*

That means that the gatherings of the CA were formerly stitched, in a distinctive way, before its first binding as a codex. This is consistent, firstly, with our argument that these gatherings were once read as units by different early modern readers, who did not necessarily access all the gatherings, but accessed every folio in each gathering. Secondly, the early modern binder managed to get the order of the text right because he received a collection of

§ 181. *The first stitching.*

¹¹⁷ We thank Dr Parkinson for this simple and yet brilliant idea of measuring the inner margins as the final piece of evidence.

gatherings, each stitched to itself but not to one another, and each one of these units was signed. Thirdly, as demonstrated in the previous chapter based on coloured ink offsetting (§64), the pages of the CA were being copied as folded gatherings. It is perfectly consistent, therefore, that the earliest stitching is from the scriptorium and so may be this early re-stitching. Fourthly, we quote this observation, brought forward in the last in the last conservator's report:

Tanto o Nobiliário como o Cancioneiro da Ajuda apresentam sinais de duas costuras distintas que:

1. Não são coincidentes entre si.

→ A obra Nobiliário e a obra Cancioneiro da Ajuda originalmente foram encadernadas separadamente.

2. No caso do Nobiliário coincide parcialmente com as furações das pastas.

→ Possível utilização desta encadernação isoladamente no Nobiliário e reutilização aquando da reunião das duas obras.¹¹⁸

Again we see confirmation that the CA had an early stitching and was re-stitched later as part of its incorporation between the wooden boards.

We would therefore be inclined to regard the missing half of fl.71 less as a lacuna and more as revision work. Materially, however, this was not an original half-sheet, but a natural bifolium. What, if anything, was copied there originally remains inscrutable.

¹¹⁸ Relatório Técnico da Recuperação da Obra Cancioneiro da Ajuda. [n.d.].

25. Lacuna 20

The following is a straightforward case of lacuna, both on account of textual and material evidence (Appendix 1, p.19).

Textually, the Lacuna must be posited because CA 264 is interrupted on fl.72v in the middle of a word, *nun[ca]*, requiring the recto of 2^º, gathering XI, to complete the *fiinda*. The comparison with the Italian sources further reveals the loss of another poem, CBN 442/CV 54, which closes Velho's sequence.¹¹⁹ Materially, the original stub remains.¹²⁰ It has a wavy layout, except for the top, where one sees what are perhaps scissors' marks, in a series of small attacks. No scar was detected on adjacent folios and the stub ranges 0.8 to 1.9cm. Finally, the projected lost folio restores Gregory's Law.

§ 182. *Textual
and
material
evidence.*

¹¹⁹ Appendix 3.1, 47.

¹²⁰ Photographed in the electronic facsimile on fl.73r. Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.518 "foi brutalmente cortada á tesoura" Ramos, 2008, I, p.210 "A pestana do fl. 69/p. 215 é original com 0, 6 cm."



Fig. 31 — Stub: 2^b of gathering XI, top. (Copyright B)



Fig. 32 — Stub: 2^b of gathering XI, bottom. (Copyright B)

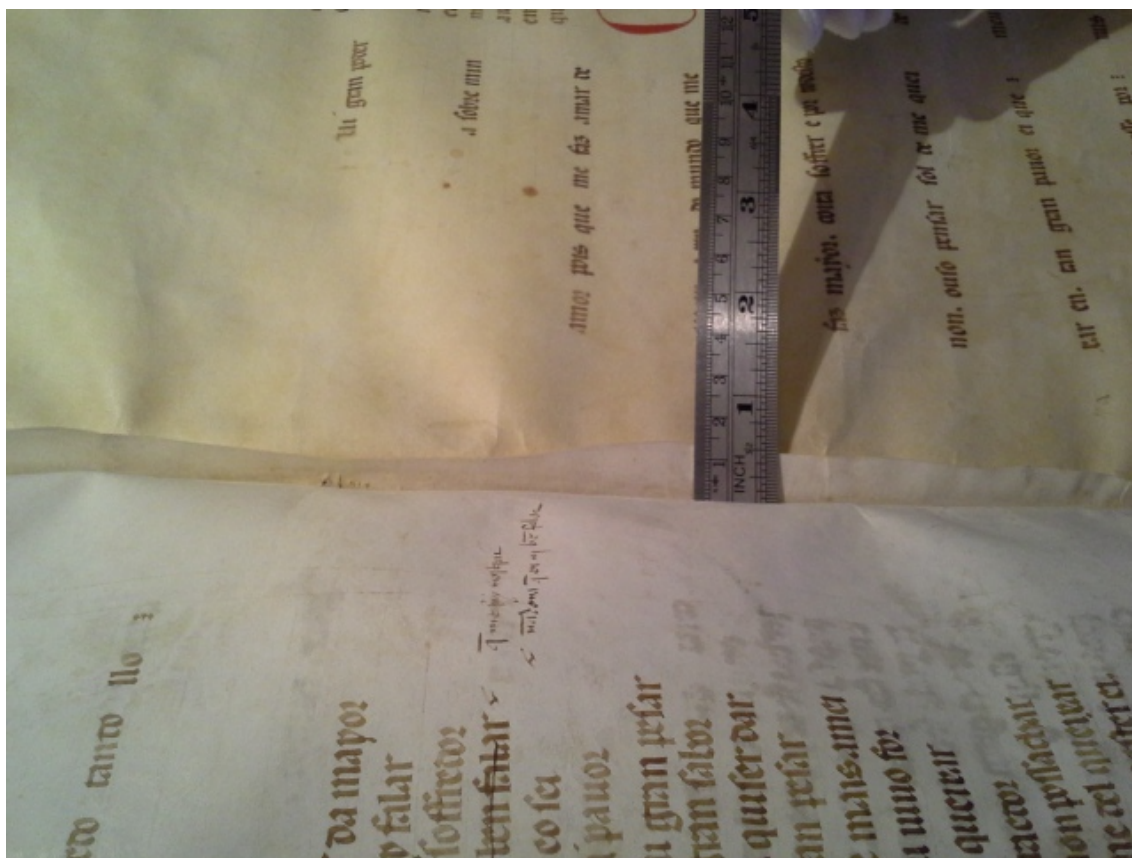


Fig. 33 — Stub: 2^b of gathering XI. (Copyright B)

The reconstruction of Velho's lost text is simple and takes us to the recto of the lost folio (Appendix 2, pp.52-3). Column b is left blank, but this is not a problem since we are now at the end of a sequence. So far our reconstruction follows Michaëlis's original hypothesis.¹²¹ Ramos predicted solely the loss of CA 264, without mentioning CBN 442/CV 54. Both scholars understand that the verso would be blank, although Michaëlis admitted the possibility of a lost poet on the verso.¹²²

§ 183. *Reconstruction: the recto.*

The comparison with the Italian *cancioneiros* reveals two poets – Pero Viviães and Airas Veaz – between Velho and Bonifácio Calvo.

§ 184. *Comparative textual evidence.*

¹²¹ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.889.

¹²² Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.518.

Ramos, 2008, I, p.210. "A segunda lacuna, correspondente ao fl. 69/p.215, entre os fl. 72v/p. 222 e fl. 73/p. 223, deveria conter a parte final de A 264/ B 441/V 53, Meus amigos muito me praz do ciclo de FerVelho e espaço separativo de autor [i.e. blank page]."

Oliveira, analysing this Lacuna suggested a blank verso. Although he lacked biographic information for both Viviães and Veaz, he excludes them from CA with more or less certainty.¹²³ Still, it is worth considering if there was space for them in the verso of 2^b.

Veaz has four pieces in the Italian sources, far too much to fit in a page.¹²⁴ But the first, CBN 443/CV 55, is transmitted as CA 213 under Fernão Gonçalves de Seabra, whereas the last, CBN 446, is a satirical piece. Assuming these would not be in the Lacuna, there remains CBN 444/CV 56 and CBN 445/CV 57.

§ 185. *Reconstruction: the verso.*

The two poems fit (Appendix 2, pp.54-5), although to suppose that just the middle section of Veaz's corpus would be in CA is not the optimal solution. Therefore, Veaz's presence in CA is possible but unlikely.

Concerning Viviães, Oliveira expressed stronger doubts. The poet features with two *amor* pieces in the Italian manuscripts.¹²⁵ But on the line-by-line reconstruction, they cannot fit, with a deficit of at least eight manuscript lines (Appendix 2, pp.56-7).

In this purely hypothetical scenario, the scribe would take an average amount of lines for stanza 1 of CBN 447¹²⁶ but would make an unprecedented effort to compress the first stanza of CBN 448. Even so, the two *cantigas* will not fit. Thus, unless the inclusion of a single poem by Viviães is imagined, it is virtually impossible that he was in CA either.

Therefore, we find the reconstruction of the verso side ultimately impossible to prove, but there is at least one stronger solution. Veaz and

¹²³ Oliveira, 1994, p.48-9; p.94-5.

¹²⁴ Appendix 3.1, 48a.

¹²⁵ Appendix 3.1, 48b.

¹²⁶ Thirty lines is the average; twenty-six lines is possible as recorded in footnote 41 in Appendix 2, but this would have no substantial impact.

Vivães are unlikely candidates and so by far the dominant theory of a blank page is the safest hypothesis. This is also in keeping with the convention of a blank page before the illumination. Textual Lacuna 13.

26. Corollaries from the reconstruction to group 4, gatherings X and XI

In these last two gatherings of phase 2, Gregory's Law remains regular, with gatherings X and XI opening and closing on the flesh, without internal disruptions (Appendix 1, pp.18-19, q.4). Gathering structure is peculiar: XI follows a three and a half structure; X is more difficult to assess: it could have four complete bifolia and one half-sheet, or even a regular quinio. Either way, it is slightly over-sized in comparison to previous gatherings. These notes exclude the problematic fl.74 which may or may not have been attached to gathering XI (to be discussed in Section 28).

§ 186. *Gathering structure and Gregory's Law.*

A reconstructive solution would be possible if we imagine that gathering X had its own distinctive pattern in the use of blank pages. As remarked above, it is possible that three out of four cases in this gathering had two blank pages preceding an illumination. Gathering XI, however, does not seem to share in this.

§ 187. *Blank pages.*

27. Lacuna 21

With the following Lacuna, we enter into gathering XII and phase 3. From this point onwards there is scant relation between the lyric material in CA and the Italian sources. All three poets represented in this gathering are exclusive to it and they remain anonymous for this reason. Therefore, reconstruction of lacunae becomes virtually impossible.

The former Lacuna 21 ranges two presumed folios, 3^β and 2^β, since § 188. *Material evidence.* fl.76 and 77 lack their counterparts (Appendix 1, p.20). There is no textual evidence of a lacuna as fl.77v starts and ends with CA 227, whereas a new poet starts in fl.78r. The stubs are different: the one relating to fl.77 is original, while that of 76 is new. The two stubs can be seen on the electronic facsimile on fl.78r where a short, darker stub precedes the broader, whiter, and new stub.

The sequence of hair and flesh side is at least intriguing. If fl.76 is a damaged bifolium, the reconstructed 2^β restores Gregory's Law. But fl.77 is disruptive regardless of reconstruction. In order to re-establish the expected sequence, one should posit not one but two lacunae:

75	r	CA 270-2	
	v	CA 272-4	
76	r	CA 274-6	
	v	CA 276	
4 ^α			
77	r		blank [Il. 23]
	v	CA 277	
3 ^β			
78	r	CA 278-9	[Il. 24]
	v	CA 280	

Fig. 34 (Copyright C)

However, this is at odds with all previous descriptions (Appendix 1, p.20, q.1, 2) and so, seemingly, the current situation still reflects the state of the original early modern stitching.¹²⁷ Let us also remark, that if the two stubs are in different states, it is unlikely that they suffered the same material accident or process.

Our analysis suggests fl.76 is a damaged bifolium. The new stub, currently ranging 2.3 to 2.5cm, covers some discreet tear indentations beyond the fold of up to 0.3cm. This, together with Gregory's Law, suggests damage.

§ 189. *Our material observations.*

Folio 77, instead, appears to be a half-sheet. The 3^b stub was reinforced with some restoration pastedown on the verso and its size ranges 0.2 to 1.3cm. Despite this range in size, it has a wavy outlook, less consistent with torn parchment and more consistent with blade cut. There are no scars or marks nearby of any kind. Very similar to former Lacuna 19 – also the inner sheet of gathering X – this stub shows pricking holes of former stitching, mostly on the top and bottom, but occasionally on the middle section too. Here there is no black mark, but a possible crease which was then flattened and smoothed. Like fl.71, this folio size is regular, without any loss on the outer margin, but with the inner margin being about 1cm shorter.

¹²⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.546; II, p.149; 1994 facsimile; Ramos, 2008, I, p.214ff.

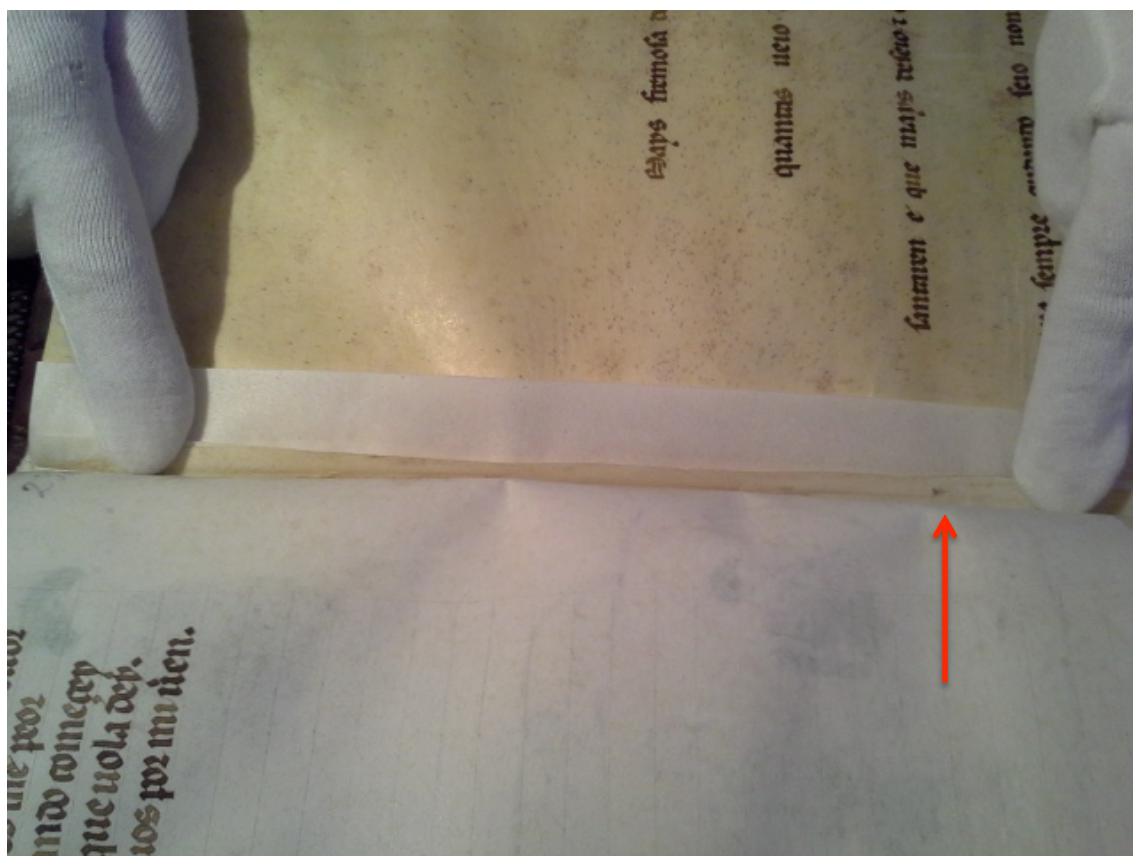


Fig. 35 — Stubs: 3^b (front) and 2^b (back) of gathering XII, top.

Arrow pointing to hole. (Copyright B, modified)

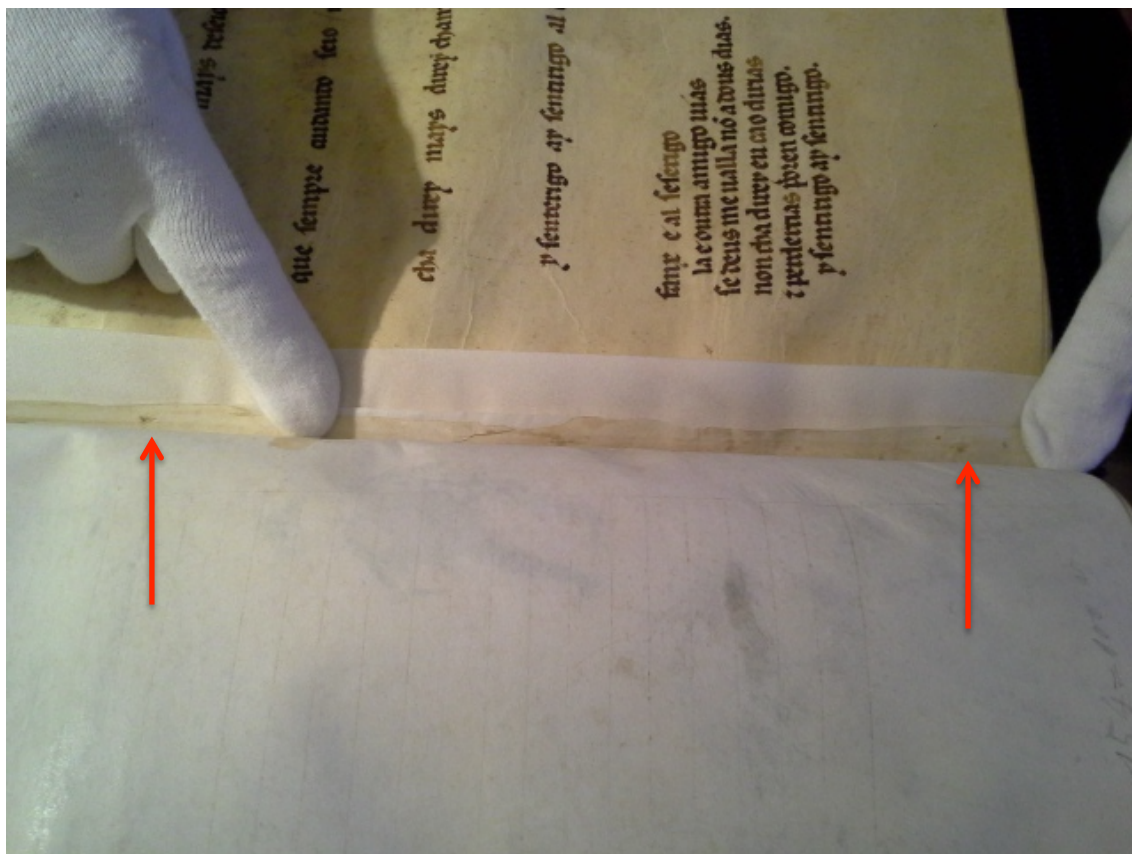


Fig. 36 — Stubs: 3^b (front) and 2^b (back) of gathering XII, bottom.

Arrows pointing to holes. (Copyright B, modified)



Fig. 37 — Stubs: 3^b and 2^b of gathering XII. (Copyright B)

Like fl.71, we regard this as some revision by the scriptorium, reinforced by the disruption of Gregory's Law. In this case, the lacuna exists but is reduced solely to the loss of 2^b. In any case, this presumed lacuna, as admitted by previous scholars, could once have had another small corpus, like Anonymous 5 and 6, each occupying a folio each, or two blank pages. Textual Lacuna 14 (?).

28. Lacuna 22

The former Lacuna 22 was posited by Michaëlis as the counterpart of fl.74, a folio which was originally bound at the beginning of the codex, as a flyleaf, before the *Nobiliário*.¹²⁸ Different from fl.46, its relative position, between fl.73 and 75, can be determined thanks to textual continuity: the recto opens a new cycle, with a *réserve* for illumination, whereas the verso ends with CA 270, which carries over to fl.75. The exact position, in terms of gathering structure, however, remains controversial.

Michaëlis's solution (Appendix 1, p.20, q.1) regarded it as the first folio of gathering XII, so that both gathering XI and XII would be regular quaterniones, while positing a conceivable lacuna between fl.78 and 79. Folio 78 closes the cycle of Anonymous 6 with CA 280; fl.79 opens the cycle of Pedro Anes Solaz, thus a lost 1^β of XII as a blank folio is possible. In this scenario, the gathering opens and closes on the flesh side, which is regular, but Gregory's Law is broken with the bifolium 75/78. § 190. *Michaëlis.*

During the first restoration (Appendix 1, p.19, q.2), the folio was moved and stitched at the end of gathering XI as fl.74. Gathering XI then closed on the hair, whereas XII became a damaged trinio, opening and closing on the flesh side. Consequently, our Lacuna 22 was anticipated to an earlier position – between former Lacunae 18 and 19. We record this here but we do not believe this to be an actual nineteenth-century codicological hypothesis. As argued before (§128), it was part of their *modus operandi* to stitch all independent folios in the β position, so they could have opted for § 191. *First restoration.*

¹²⁸ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.136; 149; Ramos, 2008, I, p.131; 211ff.; 231.

this physical solution, to signal Michaëlis's theoretical explanation. Indeed, to attach fl.74 as the damaged 1^b of XI is problematic: CA 249 starts on fl.67 and ends on fl.68, meaning that a lacuna between those two folios is impossible. It could be a half-sheet at the end of XI, but then we still have to explain why a gathering now closes on the hair side.

The last restoration (Appendix 1, p.19, q.3), isolated fl.74, making it independent of both gathering XI and XII. Ramos followed their track and imagined a lost gathering of which this is the last fragment.¹²⁹ Again, we are not convinced that the physical solution adopted in conservation signifies a theoretical inference. The conservator's report certainly makes no claim of it; rather on three occasions – fl.46, 74 and 88, which they call “Página 168”, “Página 226” and “Página 253” – independent folios are stitched in isolation. It seems that the material intervention reveals sheer indecision, rather than a valid reconstructive solution. Nor could we find any evidence of a lost gathering, whether textual or material.

§ 192. *Second restoration.*

By everyone's admission, fl.74 was already an independent folio – not a bifolium – by the time of the first binding.¹³⁰ This is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, we have located bifolia which are turned into half-sheets prior to binding (fl.71 and 77) and we have identified bifolia damaged after the binding (most lacunae). Folio 46 is a half-sheet which defies understanding, but it is not damaged. But we have not yet found any case of damaged bifolia prior to binding. Secondly, one wonders why this

§ 193. *Our response.*

¹²⁹ “Deveria este fôlio constituir também o último de um caderno extraviado. [...] A nova situação material, ao isolá-lo, faculta a apreciação de que o fôlio teria uma existência física diferenciada e que deve ser interpretado como o final de um caderno desaparecido, agregando-o assim, ao caderno perdido, caderno XIa e não a este caderno XII.” Ramos, 2008, I, p.213.

¹³⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.554: “A lacuna, de resto, já existia quando o volume foi encadernado.” Also Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.136 and Ramos, 2008, I, p.211ff.

folio was bound as a flyleaf. Folio 46 was positioned in a specific section of the codex and all the *cancioneiro* gatherings are in a good sequence, whereas the *Nobiliário* manuscript was in a completely arbitrary order. Again, we see evidence that the binder was basing his work on now lost signatures – he or his patron is clearly not checking the text, otherwise they would have found this folio’s relative position. But then, if fl.74 was either opening or closing a gathering – any gathering – how come it lacks a signature? For it is certain that two signatures were inscribed in the outer sheets of each gathering. A solution to this puzzle could lie in some change occurring in phase 3. The last signature occurs in gathering X, bifolium 61/67. One could suppose that gathering XI (phase 2) followed the same pattern of double signatures on bifolium 68/73. Gathering XII and XIII could have had signatures in another pattern – only on the front or only on the back – or no signature whatsoever. In the latter case, we would have to admit that these two gatherings were bound in the correct sequence by chance, with the odds for the binder being fifty-fifty. The gatherings cannot be out of sequence on account of a clear evolution on the successive scribal hands. In any scenario, fl.74 whether closing gathering XI, opening XII or closing a lost gathering, lacked a signature.

Our material analysis revealed that fl.74 is attached to a new stub of 1.3 to 1.7cm which is pasted on its recto side. The folio has marks from the wooden board pastedown on top and side and its original size was compromised:

§ 194. *Our material observations.*

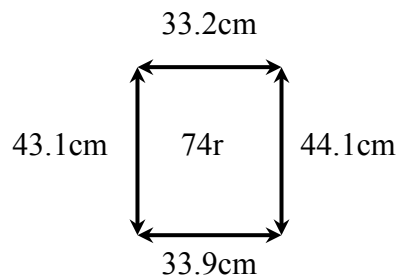


Fig. 38 (Copyright C)

The damage is located in the gutter and went deep into the folio. Today, tear indentations are visible under the stub pastedown of up to 0.6cm. However, the inner margin is shorter by around 2cm, meaning that the damage occurred well beyond the fold. Although fl.74v inaugurates the copy by hand 3, fl.74r is still copied by hand 1 and was apparently ruled according to the earlier pattern, hence the inference of a loss of about 2cm on the gutter is solid.

We therefore face a unique case. This might have been an unsigned bifolium and the loss or extraction of its imaginary half – folio 1^b in Michaëlis's theory – occurred extremely early, escaping all patterns detected here. It might have been an unsigned half-sheet, but we struggle to conceive of an accident which would cause the disappearance of the stub and 2cm from fl.74. Either way, it already reaches the binder unstitched to any gathering. And in every conceivable circumstance, Gregory's Law is interrupted in one way or another. The lacuna, if it exists, cannot even be ascribed a specific location.

29. Lacuna 23

In gathering XIII, again, we find a trinio with the two inner bifolia missing their counterparts 2^a and 3^a (Appendix 1, p.21). There is very little to be inferred here and as result the secondary literature available has not done much beyond identifying the lacuna. There is no textual break, with fl.79v closing a cycle and fl.80r opening a new one.

The surviving fl.80 and 81 are undoubtedly damaged bifolia. The 2^a stub, relating to fl.81, ranges 1.0 to 1.7cm, with a wavy and irregular top. It seems to have suffered successive blade strikes, rather than been torn. The 3^a ranges 1.0 to 1.8cm and has a very similar outlook. No scar or mark was detected on neighbouring folios. The two stubs have slightly different contours and so the folios must have been extracted in two separate actions. The stubs have also received some sort of tape “protection” on given sections rather than a full pastedown. On the first stub, of 2^a, there is a small handwritten *a*, 14cm down counting from the top, in a hand consistent with *lettres d’attente* used elsewhere in the manuscript. We call special attention to a matching mark in fl.80r where, in the exact same position, we find a long-s on the margin. This *s* stands for the unpainted first initial of CA 285, *Se vos prouguess’, Amor, bem me devia*. We therefore infer that 2^a was not only an extracted folio, but also that its recto once had an illumination and the beginning of a new cycle. Of this poet’s corpus, now lost, we can only say that the first letter of the first line of the first *cantiga* was an *A*. It would conceivably extend to 3^a. We will refer to this lost anonymous as Unknown 2. Textual Lacuna 15.

§ 195. *Our material observations.*



Fig. 39 — Stubs: 2^a (front) and 3^a (back) of gathering XIII, top.

Small *a* written on first stub. (Copyright B)



Fig. 40 — Stubs: 2^a and 3^a of gathering XIII. (Copyright B)



Fig. 41 —Stubs: 2^a (left) and 3^a (right) of gathering XIII, top.

(Copyright B)



Fig. 42 —Both stubs raised, fl.80r and small long-s exposed.

(Copyright B)

30. Lacuna 24

The former Lacuna 24, as posited by Michaëlis, is rejected in the present study. We find no evidence, textual nor material, of a lost folio between fl.80 and 81 (Appendix 1, p.21). Michaëlis must have imagined it in order to keep a regular quaternio structure. In this regard, we follow Ramos's preference instead who considers this gathering as a damaged trinio. Gregory's Law is maintained and the lacuna is altogether denied.

§ 196. *Rejected
Lacuna.*

31. Lacuna 25

The former Lacuna 25, again, is denied here. Michaëlis listed it as a possible lost gathering with much doubt, based solely on the broken stitching between gatherings XIII and XIV (Appendix 1, p.22). Apart from that, there is no textual evidence. The lacuna is indeed possible, but we find no compelling reason to assume it here, given that the stitching can be broken accidentally, without any loss of gatherings.

§ 197. *Rejected
Lacuna.*

32. Lacuna 26

The following lacuna must be posited on account of a textual gap. We are now on gathering XIV, which is largely made of half-sheets: fl.83, 84, 85 and 88 are all singletons (Appendix 1, p.23, q.4). Michaëlis originally described fl.83 and 87 as conjugated (Appendix 1, p.23, q.1), but this is contradicted by all subsequent descriptions (Appendix 1, p.23, q.2, 3), which point to fl.86 and 87 as the bifolium. Assuming that there was no intervention in the sense of uniting two separate folios, it follows that Michaëlis made an error.

The lacuna here in question is of uncertain length, but encompasses at least a folio, 3^a, with both pages written on. In fl.84v, Vasco Rodrigues de Calvelo's corpus is suddenly interrupted in the first stanza of CA 302, a poem exclusive to CA. The fragment includes four complete decasyllabic lines, rhyme scheme abba[...], plus eight syllables of the next line (*sennor de mi 7 de quanto*). So, another two syllables and a sixth line, at the very least, are necessary to complete the metric and rhyme scheme, which, based on Calvelo's corpus, could be another abbaCC *cantiga*.¹³¹ This means at the very least another underlaid line, possibly more, and subsequent stanzas, a total of three being the norm in Calvelo's corpus. And there could well be more pieces by Calvelo.

§ 198. *Reconstruction.*

In addition, in fl.85r, one finds the last three lines of CA 303 by Martim Moxa, again a poem unknown to other sources. The surviving fragment is decasyllabic, with rhymes ôr-ôr-ar, scheme [...]aax. The

¹³¹ Appendix 3.3, 56.

previous page would feature the beginning of this stanza, perhaps another two and the first, underlaid stanza, in a possible total of four, Moxa's preferred length.¹³² This amount of text is unlikely to fill two full columns. If we assume an illumination at the beginning of this page, there would still be space for one lost *cantiga* by Moxa.

There is no clear material evidence for this lacuna: if this lost 3^a was originally a bifolium, then both halves were lost and no stub survives. However, even if the texts are interrupted between fl.84 and 85, the sequence of hair and flesh sides are not. Therefore, if only one folio was lost, it would perforce break Gregory's Law. One way to avoid this would be to assume an even number of lost folios and a larger lacuna.

§ 199. *Material evidence.*

Our preferred, albeit speculative, solution is to suppose this 3^a to be a lost half-sheet, disrupting Gregory's Law between fl.84 and 85 only and keeping gathering XIV as an irregular quinio, rather than a regular sexternio. Textual Lacuna 16.

¹³² Appendix 3.3, 57.

33. Lacunae 27 and 28

Little can be said here of former Lacunae 27 and 28. In Michaëlis diagram (Appendix 1, p.23, q.1), these two are presented as a single lacuna, encompassing 5^β, 4^β, 3^β and 2^β of gathering XIV, which was then presented as a very damaged quinio. In the first intervention, the two Lacunae are split with the insertion of fl.88 between the bifolium 86/87 (Appendix 1, p.23, q.2). The folio, as usual to this restoration team (§128), is stitched as β but, again, we do not consider this to be a reconstructive codicological suggestion. The latest restoration, instead, bound fl.88 in isolation (Appendix 1, p.23, q.3).

It is currently attached to a new stub of about 3.2cm. The damage on fl.88 goes deep inside, an average of 0.6cm, but it can reach up to 1.4cm. Formerly, this folio was used as the front wooden board pastedown, and it has reduced top to bottom dimensions as a result:

§ 200. *Our material observations.*

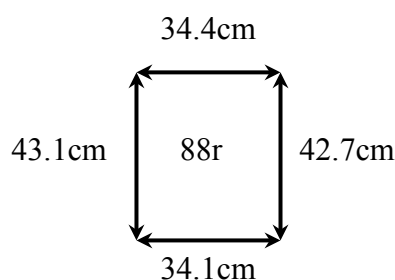


Fig. 43 (Copyright C)

Ramos does not issue a clear statement on where this folio could originally be. In the present study, we consider the nineteenth-century intervention as the most attractive hypothesis, provided that the folio is regarded as the α rather than the β half. In this way, we have the end of

§ 201. *Our solution.*

Moxa's cycle with CA 307 in fl.86r, followed by a blank page and the beginning of Rui Fernandes de Santiago's cycle on the next page. Although we are in gathering XIV, a very damaged quire, and in phase 3, a very irregular section, we believe that one blank page between two cycles is in keeping with the aesthetic conventions. Hence, it seems unlikely that fl.88 would follow fl.86v and fl.87 – three blank pages. Equally, as the folio containing the only interrupted text in col.^c, with col.^d blank, it seems unlikely that it could precede any other folio, that is, its position is likely to be the last written folio. Given its damaged state, its lost counterpart could have been wholly blank, like fl.87.

Regarding fl.83, 84 and 85, all have their original stubs. From the inner to the outer section, 4^β, relating to fl.85, is the first stub. It is the largest of the three, with bookworm holes, just like the neighbouring folios. Its size ranges from 2.0 to 2.5cm, cut fairly straight except for an irregular top. It currently has discreet signs of tape restoration. The second stub, 3^β, is conjugate to fl.84 and received an extensive pastedown restoration on its verso side. Its cut is also somewhat straight, with a shorter width, between 0.8 to 1.5cm. The third and final 2^β stub is straight, also with some tape restoration and a range of 0.9 to 1.5cm.

§ 202. *Material observations on the other folios.*



Fig. 44 — Stub: 4^b of gathering XIV, top. (Copyright B)



Fig. 45 — Stub: 4^b of gathering XIV. (Copyright B)



Fig. 46 — Stubs: 4^b (left) and 3^b (right) of gathering XIV, top.

(Copyright B)



Fig. 47 — Stub: 2^b of gathering XIV, top. (Copyright B)



Fig. 48 — Back to front: 4^b, 3^b and 2^b of gathering XIV, top.
(Copyright B)

Given these folios' position, closing an interrupted manuscript, we are unable to determine whether these were all half-sheets or bifolia with blank folios which were later extracted. No decisive codicological evidence was found, but damaged bifolia would be expected.

34. Corollaries from the reconstruction to group 5, gatherings XII, XIII and XIV

In these three gatherings, representing phase 3 in the confection of CA, the gathering structure lacks any standard (Appendix 1, pp.20-23, q.4). Gathering XII may be a binio with a half-sheet, although indecisions concerning fl.74 may change this. Gathering XIII is today a damaged regular trinio. Gathering XIV may be a quinio with half-sheet or a regular sexternio.

§ 203. *Gathering structure and half-sheets.*

Gregory's Law becomes most uneven first with the introduction of fl.74, then with fl.77 inside XII. Gathering XIII is the most regular. The most irregular is gathering XIV, the only one in the entire *cancioneiro* which unquestionably opens and closes on the hair-side. The lost folio 3^a would equally be disruptive.

§ 204. *Gregory's Law.*

New cycles may or may not be preceded by a single blank page. A number of blank folios may have been left in the end of gathering XIV.

§ 205. *Blank pages.*

Lastly, the abrupt interruption, mid-way through CA 310 has been interpreted as a sign of a sudden event, like a patron's death. Yet one should realise that it is not wholly sudden, actually it is methodical, even if it leaves CA 310 unfinished. Namely, CA 310 is copied all the way down to the bottom of col.^c. This reveals that hand 2's units of work were not the *cantigas*, but columns, that is, hand 2 simply seized an arbitrary moment – and any moment would be more or less arbitrary given the end of the base-manuscript – which coincided with the end of his copying by columns procedure. Why the piece was left unfinished, however, we cannot guess.

§ 206. *The abrupt interruption of CA.*

35. Conclusion

Below is offered a synoptic summary on theories concerning the CA's lacunae. On the first and second rows, Michaëlis's and Ramos's views are listed. The present solution, described in this chapter, is subdivided in two rows. There is a list of textual lacunae and a list of material lacunae. By textual lacuna it is meant those physical losses which caused a loss of text. Material lacunae, in turn, stand for all the lacunae, including blank folios.

Table I

		Present solution	
C. Michaëlis ¹	Ramos ²	Textual Lacunae	Material Lacunae
Lacuna 1 (at least one gathering, possibly four)	Lacuna 1 (one folio: 1 ^a of I; possibly more)	Lacuna 1 (various gatherings)	Lacuna 1
Lacuna 2 (one folio: 4 ^a)	Lacuna 2 (one folio: 5 ^a)	Lacuna 2 (one folio: 4 ^a)	Lacuna 2
Lacuna 3 (one gathering: quaternio)	Lacuna 3 (two folios: 1 ^b of I and 1 ^a of II)	Lacuna 3 (one gathering)	Lacuna 3
Lacuna 4 (one folio: 3 ^a)	Lacuna 4 (one folio: 4 ^a)	Lacuna 4 (one folio: 3 ^a)	Lacuna 4
Lacuna 5 (one folio: 1 ^a)	Lacuna 5 (two folios: 1 ^b of II and 1 ^a of III)	Lacuna 5 (one folio: 1 ^a)	Lacuna 5
Lacuna 6 (one folio: 3 ^a)	Lacuna 6 (two folios: 3 ^a and 4 ^a)		
Lacuna 7 (one folio: 3 ^b)			
Lacuna 8 (one folio: 2 ^a)	Lacuna 7 (one folio: 2 ^a)		Lacuna 6 – Blank folio (less likely half-sheet)
Lacuna 9 (one folio: 3 ^b)	Lacuna 8 (one folio: 3 ^b)	Lacuna 6 (one folio: 3 ^b)	Lacuna 7
Lacuna 10	Lacuna 9	Lacuna 7	Lacuna 8

¹ Michaëlis, 1904, I; reviewed on 1904, II, especially pp.147-150.

² Ramos, 2008, I, p.134-228.

(one folio: 4 ^β)	(one folio: 4 ^β)	(one folio: 4 ^β)	
Lacuna 11 (one folio: 4 ^β)	Lacuna 10 (one folio: 4 ^β)		Lacuna 9 – Blank folio (less likely half-sheet)
Lacuna 12 (one gathering: quaternio; plus one folio: 1 ^α of VII)	Lacuna 11 (one folio: 1 ^α of VII)	Lacuna 8 (unknown length, but seemingly one gathering plus one folio)	Lacuna 10
Lacuna 13 (one folio: 1 ^β)	Lacuna 12 (one folio: 1 ^β)	Lacuna 9 (one folio: 1 ^β either Redondo or blank)	Lacuna 11
Folio 46 Damaged bifolium of a lost gathering, uncertain position.	Folio 46 Damaged bifolium of a lost gathering, uncertain position.	Folio 46 Half-sheet of a lost gathering, possibly Lacuna 12.	
Lacuna 14 (one folio: 1 ^α)	(undecided)	Lacuna 10 (one folio: 1 ^α)	Lacuna 12
Lacuna 15 (one folio: 1 ^β)	Lacuna 13 (one folio: 1 ^β)	Lacuna 11 (one folio: 1 ^β)	Lacuna 13
Lacuna 16 (one folio: 2 ^α)	Lacuna 14 (one folio: 2 ^α)	Lacuna 12 (one folio: 2 ^α)	Lacuna 14
Lacuna 17 (one folio: 5 ^β)	Lacuna 15 (one folio: 5 ^β)		Lacuna 15 – Blank folio (one folio: 5 ^β)
Lacuna 18 (one folio: 2 ^β)	Lacuna 16 (one folio: 2 ^β)		Inconclusive Blank folio or half-sheet
Lacuna 19 (one folio: 4 ^α)	Lacuna 17 (one folio: 4 ^α)		Scriptorium's revision: bifolium turned into half- sheet.
Lacuna 20 (one folio: 2 ^β)	Lacuna 18 (one folio: 2 ^β)	Lacuna 13 (one folio: 2 ^β)	Lacuna 16

	*		
Lacuna 21 (two folios: 4 ^β and 3 ^β)	Lacuna 20 (two folios: 3 ^β and 2 ^β)	Lacuna 14 (?) – Unknown content: lost poet or blank (one folio: 2 ^β)	Lacuna 17
Lacuna 22 (one folio: 1 ^β)	* Lacuna 19 (a lost gathering of which fl.74 is the last fragment)		Lacuna 18 – Inconclusive (possibly blank folio 1 ^β)
Lacuna 23 (three folios: 2 ^α , 3 ^α and 4 ^α)	Lacuna 21 (two folios: 2 ^α and 3 ^α)	Lacuna 15 (two folios: 2 ^α and 3 ^α)	Lacuna 19
Lacuna 24 (one folio: 3 ^β)			
Lacuna 25 (“ <i>Parece</i> <i>faltar</i> <i>um</i> <i>caderno</i> ”)			
Lacuna 26 (one folio: 3 ^α)	Lacuna 22 (one folio: 3 ^α)	Lacuna 16 (at least one folio)	Lacuna 20
Lacuna 27 (four folios: 5 ^β , 4 ^β , 3 ^β and 2 ^β)	Lacuna 23 (four folios: 4 ^β , 3 ^β , 2 ^β and 1 ^β)		Lacuna 21 – Blank folio? (one folio: 6 ^β)
			Lacuna 22 – Blank folios? (three folios: 4 ^β , 2 ^β and 1 ^β)

Employing Michaëlis's numbers as a reference, the lacunae for which there is textual evidence are: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 20 and 26.

To these, we add 13, 14, 21 and 23 as cases lacking textual evidence but which we inferred to be textual lacunae despite that.

The main difference is the number of lacunae: from Michaëlis's original twenty-seven lacunae, we come to Ramos's figure of twenty-three. And whereas we agree with most of Ramos's codicological revisions, it is possible to reduce them even further, for instance, former Lacunae 6 and 7, which are rejected here. Other cases, like Lacuna 3, had their length revised back to Michaëlis's original theory, though.

Yet if we were to focus just on the textual lacunae, the damage is reduced to sixteen lacunae, most of which are reconstructable. In short, we believe that the lost gatherings represent the major textual loss. Otherwise, regarding folios, the textual loss is marginal.

A second outcome of this chapter is that we have inscribed these lacunae in their historical context. Seemingly, no study on the CA's lacunae to date has taken chronology into account with the effect that all lacunae seem contemporary. We provide here a relative chronology, for instance, the central bifolia of gatherings XI and XII, which were reduced to half-sheets before the sixteenth-century binding, fl.74 which was possibly damaged also before binding.

Methodologically, we have here made full use of the stubs and other minor details for an effective analysis, given that their importance as codicological evidence somehow has been missed. They are most relevant,

whether the codicologist is dealing with half-sheets or bifolia, and indeed help to confirm how and when damage occurred.

Lastly, this chapter is the first step in confirming an idea announced in the previous chapter and which will occupy the next: the order of the poets in the CA, at least from gatherings I to X, is very close to CBN. We therefore close by summarizing our conclusions with a table on the poets of the CA.

Table II

Airas Moniz d'Asma (?)	Lacuna 1 ¹³⁵
Diego Moniz (?)	
Bazaco	
J. Velaz	
D. Juano	
J. S. Paiva	
P. R. Palmeira	
R. D. Cameiros	
A. Soares	
O. Anes	
N. F. Mirapeixe	
G. Sanches	
R. G. Freire	
F. R. Calheiros	
F. P. Tamalancos	
V. P. Sandim	
J. S. Somesso	
N. A Cerzeo	Lacuna 3 ¹³⁶
P. V. Taveirós	
P. S. Taveirós	
M. Soares	
An. 1	
A. Carpancho	
N. R. Candarei	
N. F. Torneol	
P. G. Burgalês	
J. N. Camanês	
F. G. Esgaravunha	
R. Queimado	
V. Gil	
G. A. Vinhal (?)	former Lacuna 12 ¹³⁷
J. Aboim ¹³⁸	
J. Coelho	
R. A. Redondo (?)	former Lacuna 13 ¹³⁹
An. 2 ¹⁴⁰	
An. 3	
R. P. Ribela	
J. L. Ulhoa	
Unknown 1 ¹⁴¹	former Lacuna 14

¹³⁵ Unknown number of gatherings.

¹³⁶ One lost gathering.

¹³⁷ Unknown length; Vinhal and Aboim are inferred based on C alone.

¹³⁸ Only CA 157 survives; attribution to Aboim is likely but not proven.

¹³⁹ A lost folio of unclear content.

¹⁴⁰ CA 180-4, that is, folio 46. The position of this folio and hence of this poet remains undetermined.

¹⁴¹ Either Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo or Besteiros.

F. G. Seabra	
P. Barroso	
A. L. Baião	
M. R. Tenoiro	
None (?) ¹⁴²	former Lacuna 16
J. G. Guilhade	
E. Faião	
J. V. Talaveira	
P. G. Charinho	
F. Velho	
None (?) ¹⁴³	former Lacuna 20
B. Génova	
An. 4	
An. 5	
None or lost poet?	former Lacuna 21
An. 6	
P. A. Solaz	
Unknown 2	former Lacuna 23
F. Padrom	
P. Ponte	
V. R. Calvelo	
M. Moxa	
R. F. Santiago	

¹⁴² A. F. Cebolhilha is possible, but unlikely.

¹⁴³ Airas Veaz and Pero Vivães are possible, but unlikely, candidates.

Chapter 3.

Stemmatics of the Galician-Portuguese songbooks

Contents

In this chapter we endeavour to:

- ❖ Summarise earlier theories on compilation relevant to Galician-Portuguese secular lyric (§207-218);
- ❖ Evaluate to what extent existing theories sufficiently explain the complexities of the phenomena (§219-229);
- ❖ Infer how an archetypal compilation of *cantigas d'amor* was created in two stages (§230-248);
- ❖ Analyse how the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* departs from this compilation (§249-254);
- ❖ List poetic cycles absent from this archetypal compilation but present in the ancestor of the Italian manuscripts (§255);
- ❖ Consider how the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the archetypal compilation continued to evolve after the former copied the latter (§256-258).

Outcome:

The reconstruction of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the deductions on its last gatherings lead to a new compilation theory; this chapter infers the structure and content of lost manuscripts and offers a general theory on compilation.

Note:

The reader is expected to refer to Appendix 3.

1. Introduction

In the previous chapters we undertook a codicological analysis of the CA and the reconstruction of its lost folios, challenging and confirming past theories on its lacunae and the poems originally contained there.¹

In this chapter we will outline a brief history of theories on stemmatics – from Tavani to Oliveira –, offer a critique, suggest some amendments and draw an overall *stemma codicum*. This will pave the way for chapter four, when we consider how compilation gradually developed from loose sheets to fully-fledged *cancioneiros* (henceforth, compilation history) and, finally, how we can associate certain poets based on manuscript evidence.

¹ Contrast the table closing the last chapter with Michaëlis, 1904, II, p. 201-9 and Oliveira, 1994, table 12, p.97-8.

2. Former theories

2.1. The Galician-Portuguese *stemma codici*

We begin, as usual, with Michaëlis, who provides a comprehensive list to every mention of possible Galician-Portuguese *cancioneiros*, culminating in her *stemma codicum*.² Michaëlis's *stemma*, reproduced below, is vertical, acknowledging a considerable amount of conflation of manuscripts.³

§ 207. *Michaëlis's stemma.*

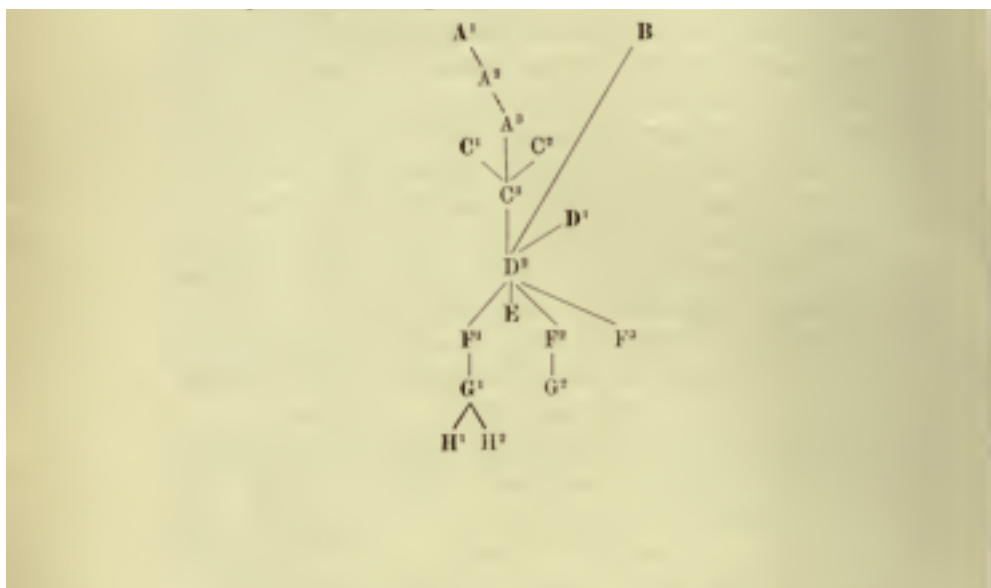


Fig. 1 (from Michaëlis, 1904, II, pp.288)

The current debates on stemmatics, however, are mostly rooted in Tavani's research in the 1960s, which superseded earlier attempts.⁴ According to his theory, an archetype was copied twice, giving the extant

§ 208. *Tavani's stemma.*

² Strictly, a *stemma codicum* is a graph representing the various relations between manuscripts based on their divergent readings and made with the purpose of editing the text. In the next pages, following Avalle, the term is employed more loosely for any graph representing manuscript relations since what we are about to do lacks a pre-existing technical name. We owe this scrupulous observation to Dr Juan-Carlos Conde.

³ Michaëlis, 1904, II, pp.285-288.

⁴ Originally published in Tavani, 1967b. Republished subsequently; we quote the Portuguese translation in Tavani, 1988a.

CA and α , the lost ancestor of the surviving Italian manuscripts, CBN and CV. Below is Tavani's *stemma codicum* with its estimated chronology.⁵

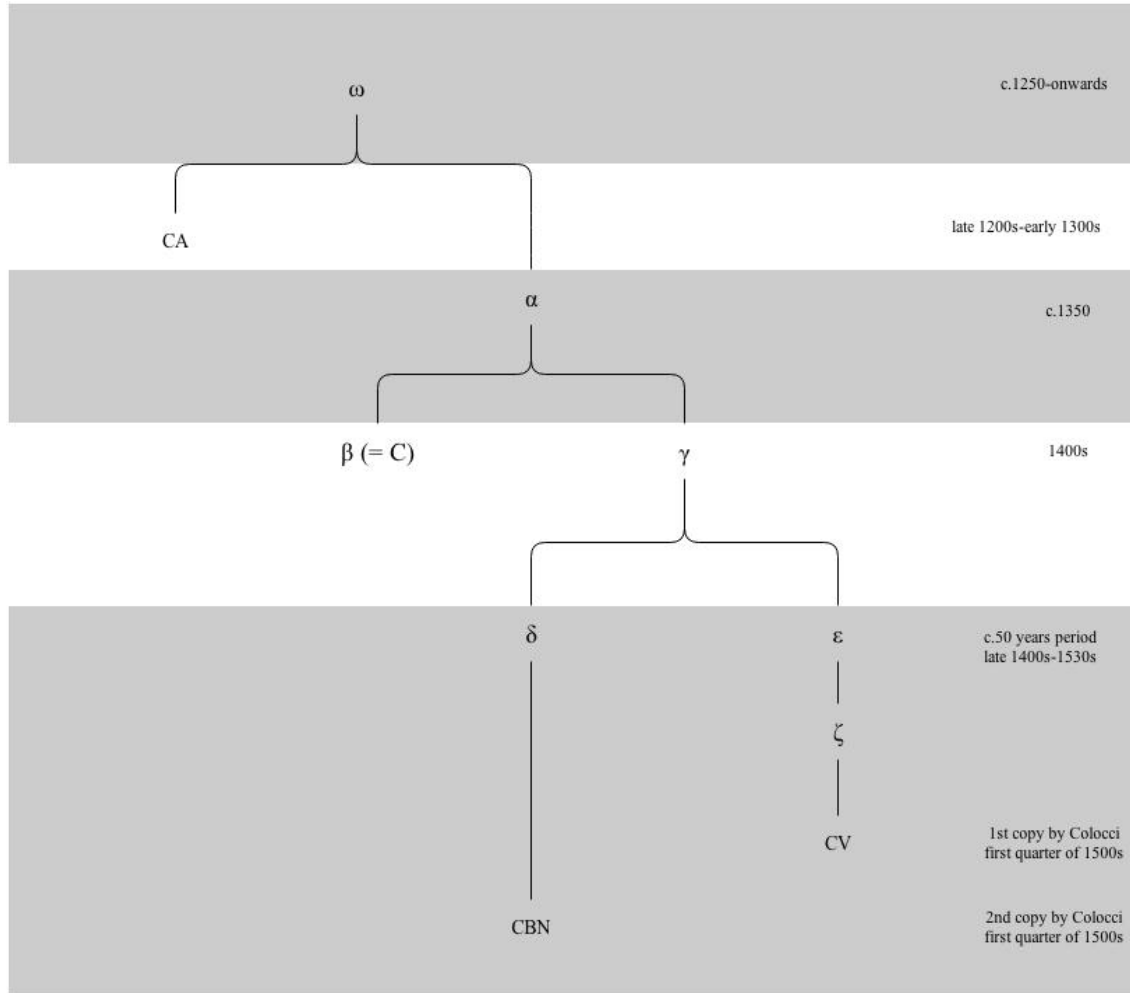


Fig. 2

One should note that Michaëlis's contributions must be considered in the light of her period: her *stemma* was produced in the nineteenth century in a limited context, if compared to what is available today. This is not mentioned here as a superfluous attempt to justify Michaëlis, but because later studies hinge on a debate with her and it is worth, therefore, spelling

§ 209. *A comparison of the two theories.*

⁵ Tavani, 1988a, pp.92ff.

out to what extent Michaëlis's and Tavani's conceptions differ and converge, and which aspects of each can be maintained today.

The central point in Michaëlis's *stemma* is D^2 , the *Livro das Cantigas do Conde de Barcelos*, a manuscript which combines all previous sources and from which all subsequent copies descend.⁶ It relates to Tavani's α , also identified by the Italian scholar as the lost compilation of the Conde de Barcelos. G^1 and G^2 stand for CV and CBN respectively and, in this regard, Tavani and Michaëlis largely agree. It is in the upper part of their *stemmata*, however, that they are most at odds.

Michaëlis conceives that freestanding material (A^1) was first compiled in three volumes (A^2) so that poems were arranged chronologically and divided by the three main genres. This first compilation is the basis for CA (A^3) and, after successive recom compilations, we reach D^2 , the most comprehensive manuscript. Michaëlis's A^2 is analogous to Tavani's archetype, referred by him as ω , after the Lachmannian convention.

Michaëlis's model *suggests* that CA is the basis for the larger compilation D^2 , or α , but this is contradicted by a number of statements.⁷

⁶ A *Livro das Cantigas*, a lost manuscript, is mentioned in D. Pedro's will, dated 1350.

⁷ As examples, we could quote Michaëlis's recurrent statement that the CA was left unfinished. She was also aware that CA could at best represent ω 's first volume, that relating to *cantigas d'amor*, although she seems undecided as to whether two other volumes were started at the time of the CA or whether they never existed. On another passage (II, p.225), she declares that the CA cannot be regarded as the model for the Italian manuscripts. Finally, in explaining her *stemma*, Michaëlis states that CA's model, rather than CA itself, was the source for the "Livro das Cantigas do Conde de Barcellos" [sic].

How are we supposed to make sense of these conflicting ideas? As mentioned before, Michaëlis does not always excel by her consistency and perhaps here she did not feel the need to specify how CA fitted in her *stemma*. Her basic belief is probably summarized by her own aphorism, "Cada geração, cada cancioneiro" (II, p.228), that is, Alfonso III, D. Dinis and the Conde de Barcelos were responsible for copying the previous generation's compilation while enlarging it with new, contemporary material. In such a

Nevertheless, her precise ideas concerning CA's relation to the other manuscripts are not very important today since Tavani demonstrated that CA cannot derive from nor be the basis for α , meaning that CA and α can only derive from a common source.⁸ But her views on the archetype, we would argue, are still thought-provoking. Firstly, Michaëlis considers that CA, from its beginning up to gathering XII, largely matches CBN until Bonifácio Calvo, de Gênova (CA 266/CBN 450). This is followed by CA's last two gatherings, XIII and XIV, where sixty-four poems (CA 267-310) are "correctly" copied in CA according to the archetype's original plan, whereas, in the Italian manuscripts, they were allocated "com erro evidente."⁹ Looking at her *stemma*, one realises that hardly any other alternative would be possible: CA was then a more primitive copy of the early archetype, which was progressively enriched, even if slightly shuffled, until the ultimate comprehensive compilation. This particular idea of progressive conflation of material is of particular interest here and, although accepted by Tavani, it was never a major concern of his.

§ 210. *The last gatherings of CA for Michaëlis.*

Tavani's *stemma*, in turn, has enjoyed a more lasting success, which testifies to its many qualities, among which, one could count a comparison between the three main manuscripts, involving order of poets, poems and specific readings. Such analysis was perhaps impossible to Michaëlis in the late nineteenth century. Still, as a Neo-Lachmannian, Tavani is essentially monistic or unitary, in other words, his underlying conception is that *one* codex is copied into *one* codex. That is to say that, for Tavani, ω is a

§ 211. *The last gatherings of CA for Tavani.*

model, CA had an imprecise place on the higher branches of the *stemma*, as an Alfonsine compilation.

⁸ Tavani, 1988a, p.89.

⁹ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.218.

complete book, copied as such twice, first as CA then as α . He only admits conflation of freestanding material into α , whereas CA is a faithful copy of ω . So, any mismatch in the order of poems or poets between CA and α , is explained as mistakes or deviations in the copying process from the original and accurate source, ω . Faced with the fact that CA and the Italian manuscripts do disagree throughout, but most notably towards the end – around the last two gatherings of CA –, Tavani offers a problematic solution which, judging from secondary literature, has not met with much favour. Against Michaëlis, who regarded the CA's gatherings XIII and XIV as an image of the original order of poets, and unlike the general scholarly consensus, which has always regarded the CA as an *amor* compilation only, Tavani supposes instead that these last two gatherings are unrelated fragments of former gatherings, carelessly bound together in the sixteenth century. In this regard, he imagines that the Italian manuscripts represent the source more accurately than CA in its present state, that is to say, the CA would now have an enormous lacuna towards its end, encompassing some 500 *cantigas*, making it a compilation of *cantigas d'amor* and *d'amigo*.¹⁰

After Tavani, a new moment of the debate was initiated by J.-M. D'Heur, and closely followed by E. Gonçalves and A. Ferrari.¹¹ Among other issues, they questioned the position ascribed by Tavani to C, the *Tavola Colocciana*, which he regarded as an index of a lost manuscript β .

§ 212. *The Tavola Colocciana.*

¹⁰ “toda a seção da *cantigas d'amor* e boa parte das *cantigas d'amigo*” In 1988a, pp.100-4.

¹¹ D'Heur, Jean-Marie, 1974; Gonçalves, Elsa, 1976; Gonçalves, Elsa, 1995; Ferrari, Anna, 1979. See also the reply published in 1979, quoted in Tavani, 1988b.

Instead, those scholars proposed that it was merely the index of CBN, thus reducing Tavani's stemma above to a much simpler one.¹²

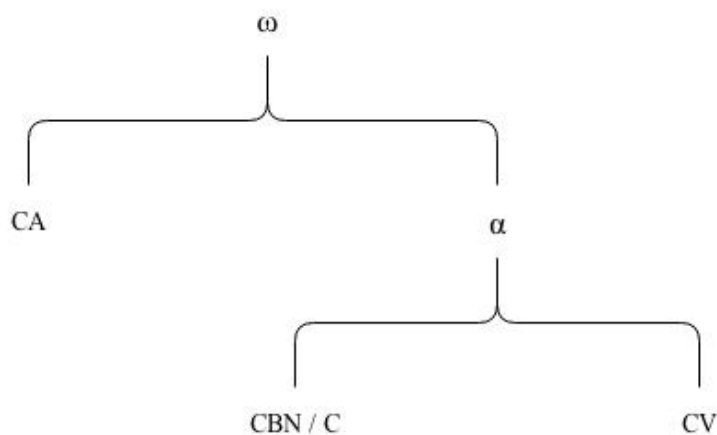


Fig. 3

The debate itself is hardly new – indeed it can be traced back to Michaëlis¹³ – although it certainly acquired new connotations, given that D’Heur’s arguments, if accepted, change considerably the lower part of the *stemma*. Here, however, this mere allusion is offered, for the focus of interest is less α’s presumed later copies, but rather α itself. Whichever position scholars take in this debate, it seems that none has ever questioned Tavani’s proposed dating for α. Furthermore, the hypothetical order of poems, poets and attributions which we can infer to be represented by α is largely the same even if we arrive at it through different routes: by

¹² Calling the *Tavola Colocciana* an index is, strictly, a misnomer for the *Tavola* is even less than this. A proper index of medieval lyric would list the name of poets and *incipits*, judging from *troubadour chansonniers*. As for the *Tavola*, a summary of an index is a closer description, of the sort we find in the opening of Occitan manuscripts I and K. The *Tavola* is just such a list of names with a cumulative number of poems.

¹³ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.49-51 reports on the discovery of the *Tavola* and how, initially, Italian scholars like Monaci and Molteni already argued that the index represented an independent manuscript from CBN and CV. Michaëlis own intuition, and fine foreshadow of a debate to come, however, went in the opposite direction: “eu propendo até hoje a ver no índice antes a synthese do CB, feita com algum desleixo, do que copia de um índice mais antigo que acompanhava o ms. pae.”

contrasting C, CBN and CV, as it would be done by Tavani; or only the two Italian manuscripts, as it would be done by his opponents.¹⁴

Finally, Oliveira's research in the 1990s, although lacking a *stemma codicum*, proposes new elements which could be visually represented in the following graph:

§ 213. Oliveira's theory.

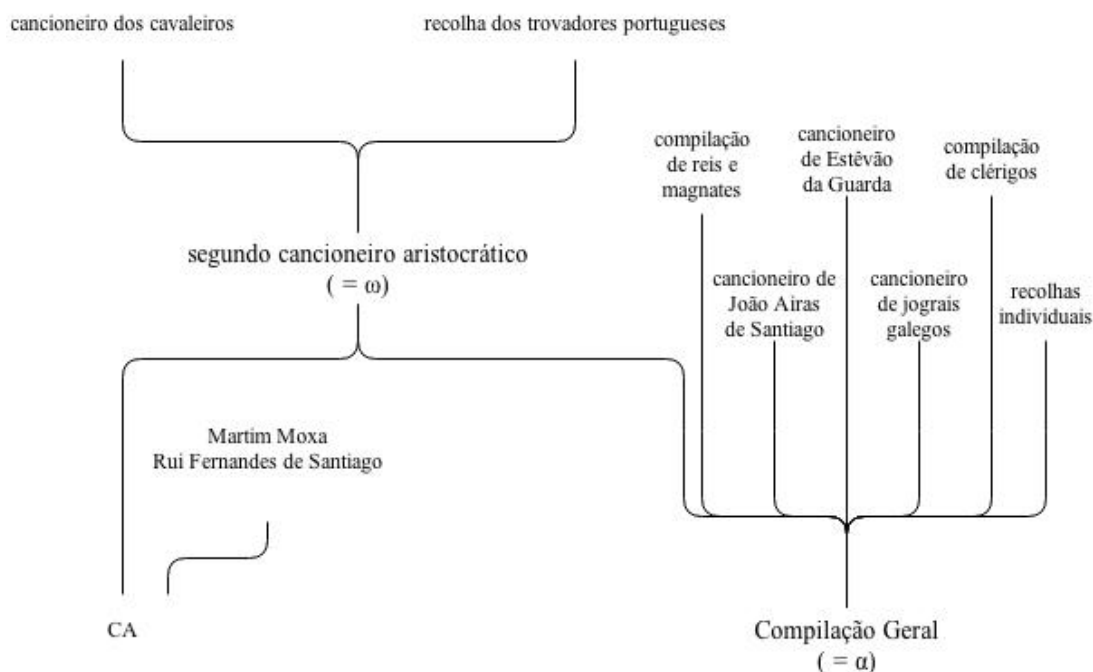


Fig. 4

¹⁴ We can barely hide our wish that Tavani's theory be eventually proven right, although this seems increasingly less likely. If the *Tavola*, despite its inconclusive content, were to represent an older order of poets, one which is closer to or, even, the order of α , we could solve some problems of attributions.

As a very marginal contribution to this debate, we could add, however, that Tavani's *stemma* assumes that α numbered all the poems cumulatively and that such numbering system was preserved in β and CBN, but was changed in CV. This manuscript numbers poets, rather than poems, starting with Sancho Sanches on fl.1v, numbered eighty-six, in roman numerals. Is it reasonable to imagine that CBN preserved an old feature while CV did not? Or is it not more economical to accept that cumulative numbering stems from Colocci, who imposed it on CBN in order to make his index? This acquires special importance if we consider that our surviving medieval sources on Galician-Portuguese lyric, namely, CA, *Pergaminho Vindel* and *Pergaminho Sharrer* also do not offer any numbering system.

Yet numbering lyric pieces cumulatively throughout the manuscript is an ordinary feature in Occitan lyric compilations. As an enthusiast of *troubadour* poetry, Colocci would certainly be acquainted with this: he purchased the Occitan manuscript M in 1515, a medieval *chansonnier* which had an index with names, *incipits* and a cumulative numbering system. Was CBN, therefore, modelled by Colocci on his Occitan manuscript? The sad consequence of this solution is that the *Tavola* must be then regarded as a largely redundant document.

Oliveira argued that a first codex, the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, was made in the 1270s.¹⁵ It was organized in three sections, each representing one of the main genres. This was followed by the so-called *segundo cancioneiro aristocrático*, which corresponds to Tavani's ω .¹⁶ This new codex conflated the former *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* with the *recolha de trovadores portugueses* which, throughout his study, Oliveira seems to regard as a codex but later admits that it might never have existed as such.¹⁷ That is, ω conflates the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* with freestanding material, but such material – seventeen poets with almost 170 *cantigas* in the *amor* section alone – is inserted into the middle of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, splitting it in to two parts. And this insertion is also performed in the presumed *amigo* and satirical sections, following the pre-existent tripartite structure. The operation results in a second codex, ω , from which a third codex is copied, the CA, though it only copies the first of the sections of ω , the *cantigas d'amor*, meaning that Oliveira explicitly rejects Tavani's theory of lost *cantigas d'amigo* in the CA.¹⁸ Concerning CA's last two gatherings, Oliveira attempts a return to Michaëlis's solution, a movement which is problematic given Tavani's current *stemma*. Still according to Oliveira, shortly after the CA – from twenty-five to fifty years later –, a second and fuller copy of ω is made, which he calls *Compilação Geral*, being here still referred as α .¹⁹ Unlike CA, this codex expands on its original

¹⁵ Oliveira, 1994, p.258.

¹⁶ Oliveira himself avoids this equation, *vide* 1994, p.30.

¹⁷ Contrast Oliveira, 1994, p.182 against p.230; p.250; p.262, n.30.

¹⁸ Oliveira, 1994, p.34, n.62; p.232.

¹⁹ Oliveira apparently admits such identification, p.60, n.31, but contrast with p.38. In any case, on p.233, he admits that his *Compilação Geral* “tem sido indentificado com o

source by adding in a further four *cancioneiros* and a vast amount of freestanding material.

According to this theory, CA and the greater part of the *Compilação Geral*'s first section should be mechanical copies of the same source, ω , and should therefore match. But reality is somewhat more complex, and, in an important passage, Oliveira explains his method for determining, in the cases of variants, which manuscript is more "accurate".²⁰ For him, a mismatch in the order of poems, poets or attributions between CA and the Italian manuscripts can either mean that the text was not in ω or that some change or mistake happened in the copying process of either CA or α . His method largely consists in checking whether he can draw a parallel between the Italian manuscripts' *amigo* section and CA, aided by biographical data on the poets. With this method, Oliveira posits that Martim Moxa and Rui Fernandes de Santiago – CA's last two poets – were added independently of ω . In every other aspect, the CA is a perfect copy of ω , whose image in α is only distorted by the successive changes that this manuscript alone suffers.

As a final word, one sees that essentially Michaëlis, Tavani and Oliveira have identified the same two basic compilations: an earlier, prior to CA and a later, which they have all inferred to be the "Livro das Cantigas of the Conde de Barcelos". It is a belief of ours that a multitude of names for similar concepts can only spread misunderstanding and Tavani's ω and α are

§ 214. *Definition of ω and α .*

'Livro das Cantigas' mencionado pelo conde D. Pedro no seu testamento de 1350", an idea which he openly adopts on p.280: "Atribuível ao conde D. Pedro, a sua confecção situar-se-á [...] na década de quarenta do séc. XIV." Concerning the dating, he believes that CA was produced in the first quarter of the fourteenth-century, whereas α emerges progressively from 1325 to 1350, pp.265; 275.

²⁰ Oliveira, 1994, p.30ff; 43ff.

favoured as being earlier than Oliveira's and more widespread than Michaëlis's.

2.2. Gustav Gröber's compilation theory

The theories above are indebted to Gröber's study who, in 1877, analysed Occitan manuscripts and offered a general account of compilation history which is still valid today. Although working exclusively on Occitan, Gröber's theory enjoyed great success, being exported to Galician-Portuguese debates. His point of departure is that troubadour lyric was composed in writing and that it was originally recorded in *rotuli* or *Liederblätter* ("song-sheets").²¹ Gröber was never able to produce any *Liederblatt* to be inspected by sceptical scholars: his method is a purely deductive one and, indeed, the absence of surviving *Liederblätter* can be easily accounted, within his own theory, as being very fragile and ephemeral documents. The material confirmation would have to wait until 1914 and came, not from Occitan, but from Galician-Portuguese lyric, when Pedro Vindel found a sheet of parchment (Morgan Library, New York, Vindel ms. M. 979) now regarded as a unique example of a surviving *Liederblatt*.²²

§ 215. *Liederblätter.*

A new moment for Occitan lyric starts when, within Gröber's theory, pieces start to be recorded not only on loose sheets, but in bound volumes, inaugurating what we here call compilation history. The German scholar distinguished between *Liederbücher* ("song-books"), dating from *circa*

§ 216. *Liederbücher and songbooks.*

²¹ Avalor, 1961, p.83; Gröber, 1877, p.337.

²² For more information on *Pergaminho Vindel*, see Michaëlis, 1915; Ferreira, 1986; Tavani, 1988c; Ferreira, 1998b; Marcenaro, 2015. For information on *Pergaminho Sharrer*, see Sharrer, 1991. Unfortunately, these two fragments are outside the scope of this thesis and, given limitations of space, we can only allude to them here.

1250, being collections of a single poet,²³ and *Gelegenheitssammlungen* (“casual or occasional collection”), dating back to the first half of the 1200s or even 1100s. For Gröber, the latter could be made by either sewing former *Liederblätter* together or by copying them into a codex in the order in which they became available.²⁴ *Gelegenheitssammlungen* constitute for Gröber the earliest type of anthology, that is, unlike *Liederbücher*, they featured a number of troubadours. Based on Occitan manuscript D, Gröber establishes that, from around 1210s, anthologies would for the first time be divided by genre, from which two further types of anthologies derive. The first he calls *Zusammengesetzte Handschriften* (“composite manuscripts”), in which the earlier “occasional collections” are just juxtaposed, by author, one after the other.²⁵ The second is called *einheitlich geordnete Sammlungen* (“uniformly ordered collections”) since the order of poets is not random, but follows a given criterion: chronological, chronological-aesthetic, aesthetic or religious.²⁶

The Gröberian distinction between three types of anthology – *Gelegenheitssammlungen*, unordered collections of loose-sheets; *Zusammengesetzte Handschriften*, simple juxtaposition of earlier anthologies; *einheitlich geordnete Sammlungen*, re-compilation of anthologies based on specific criteria – is vital for studies on *stemmata* and compilation history. However, judging from the secondary literature consulted, this aspect of his theory has not received the deserved attention within Galician-Portuguese scholarship. We may also remark on the

²³ Avallé, 1961, p.84-8; Gröber, 1877, p.345.

²⁴ Avallé, 1961, p.89-94; Gröber, 1877, p.355.

²⁵ Gröber, 1877, p.358.

²⁶ Gröber, 1877, p.459.

absence of pre-existing scholarly technical terms to distinguish between those three types of anthologies, apart from Gröber's own long German names.

A worthy contribution to Gröberian terminology was the introduction within Occitan scholarship of the expression *editio variorum*. It apparently goes back to Dain, who studied Classical texts, being imported by Aualle in his studies of Occitan manuscripts and refers specifically to a manuscript which records variant readings, in successive lines or in marginalia, functioning somewhat like a modern critical edition.²⁷

§ 217. *Editio variorum.*

Lastly, the Gröberian sensitivity to the singular character of lyric poetry, as opposed to prose or long poems, when it comes to compilation has been very rarely heeded in the Galician-Portuguese debate. Lyric poetry is more fluid because short pieces can be added and rearranged more easily by compilers than a long continuous text, making *stemmata* inevitably more complex.

§ 218. *Compilation and recompilation.*

²⁷ Dain, 1975, p.141: "Le scribe qui reproduit les exemplaires officiels ou le modèle d'atelier peut choisir à son gré dans le lot des variants qu'il a sous les yeux. Le prototype est devenu une *editio variorum*."

Aualle, 1961, p.58 and pp.99-109; 1960, p.XLVII.

3. A critique

In order to plunge deeper into this discussion, one must consider the precise relationship of the extant manuscript sources. Firstly, a distinction must be drawn between order of poets and order of poems – when these two perfectly match in different manuscripts, ω is a very powerful hypothesis; yet there are times, in comparing CA with the Italian manuscripts, when a common order of poets presumably persists, but the order of poems is somewhat abandoned. One must say *presumably persists* because, obviously, the comparative order of poets is a scholarly deduction: CA lacks any attributions so, ultimately, what is comparable is an at times more, at times less regular order of poems, from which authorship is inferred. The whole comparison of the relevant *cantigas d'amor* is made here in Appendix 3, whose rationale was explained in the thesis's Introduction, section 3.2.3. When referring to a specific place in the Appendix, we provide the number of the composition, the poet's name and number, according to the order in which he comes in the Appendix. The background colour is an integral part of the analysis, representing the source which we infer to be behind the surviving manuscript, and their meaning is made explicit in the key in the Introduction to the Appendix (Volume II, p.63). The metrical data, however, is not relevant to this chapter and may be ignored at this stage.

§ 219. *Order of poets and order of poems.*

Returning now to *stemmata*, for the sake of comparison both with Tavani’s and Oliveira’s theories, below is offered an abridged version of the *stemma codicum* to be proposed in this chapter, focusing for now on the copying and adaptation of ω .

§ 220. *Our stemma, in short.*

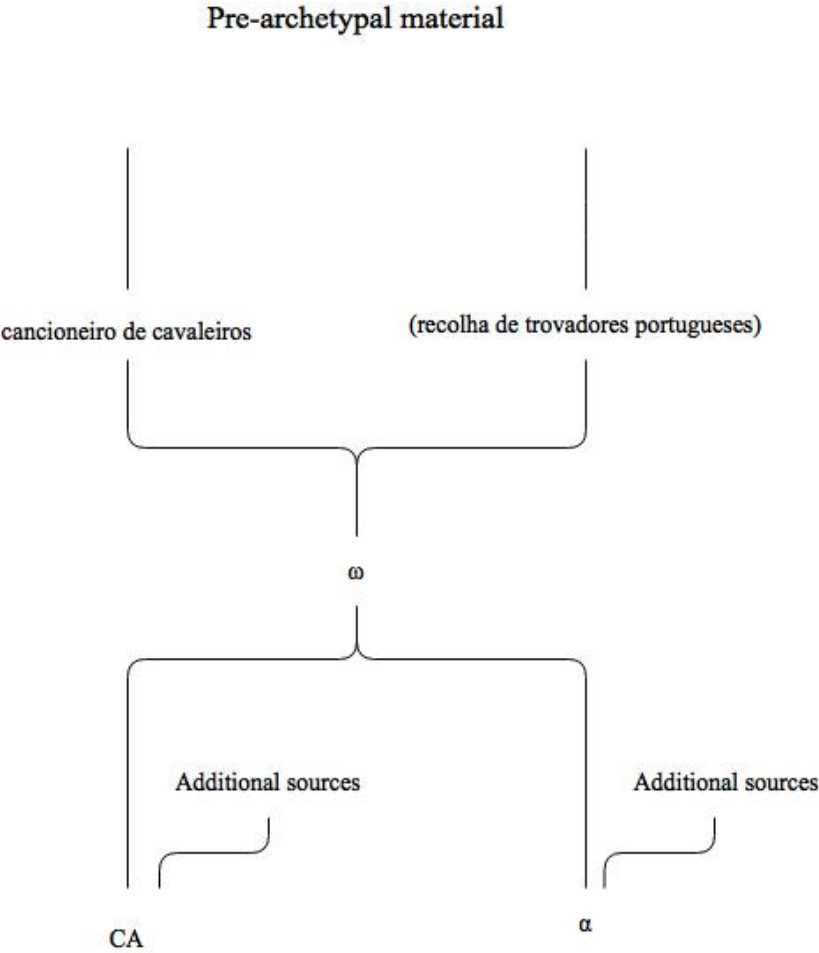


Fig. 5

3.1. First criticism: a compilation has several sources

Our major criticism of Tavani relates to his idea of sources and it is worth spelling out why Oliveira is so revolutionary when compared with Tavani’s earlier *stemma*. If Tavani’s *stemma* offers a solid general theory, it

§ 221. *Several sources.*

does so at the expense of a throwback: Michaëlis's branching upwards *stemma* was completely abandoned, as was Gröber's perception that lyric compilations emerged from several sources. Tavani's conception of compilation practice in this regard may be considered too rigid for lyric poetry.

When contrasting the *stemma* above with Tavani's, the first and main difference that surfaces is the number of *codices* conflating material. In Tavani's theory, only α had more than one source, and only to the extent that it conflated material later to ω , which was already massive, around 1200 *cantigas*.²⁸ In Gröber's terminology, Tavani's α is a "composite manuscript", the type of anthology which merely juxtaposes pre-existing anthologies.

Therefore, ω , α and CA, at least in the *amor* and *amigo* sections, enjoyed a perfectly monistic relation of *one* book being copied into *one* book, with little or no room for adding or suppressing pieces.²⁹ In this theory, if CA does not conform to this, it is due to its fragmentary state – an idea which goes counter to what was argued in the last chapter, where CA emerged as *less* damaged than it has been thought so far.

Here we argue that a simple copy from ω to CA, or from ω to α , did not take place. None of these *codices* were crystalized units, like a modern book, but compilations. Thus, ω , in CA, is just its most important part, its nucleus, but complemented by alternative sources, diluting, in CA, the former ω unit. The present theory is thus inscribed in a trend of recent

²⁸ Tavani, 1988a, p.104.

²⁹ A minor exception to this would be Pedro Anes Solaz sourced by CA and α independently. In: Tavani, 1988a, p.103; 1988e, p.360.

scholarship of accepting pluralistic sourcing: *several* sources being copied into *one codex*.

In classic Lachmannian theory the equation between text and book may have been functional, but for medieval lyric, the concept of book is complex, since we are almost exclusively dealing with compilations and anthologies. The book here is not a reliable unit, given that any “book” is composed of smaller highly independent units, lyric poems, which can to a certain extent be mixed and matched freely. One could argue, therefore, that Tavani’s *stemma* is good as a general theory, fully operating when the three extant manuscripts agree, while being less successful on a small scale, specially when problems of attribution emerge.

3.2. Second criticism: sources were not juxtaposed but “recompiled”

Unlike Tavani, the comparison between Oliveira and our *stemma* shows that we both acknowledge conflation of material in CA, α and ω . Nevertheless, Oliveira’s idea of compilation is still rigid. He admits, to employ the Gröberian terms, the existence of *Gelegenheitssammlungen*, the type of anthology made of loose-sheets, and also the “composite manuscripts” in which sources are juxtaposed, but not the more complex *einheitlich geordnete Sammlungen*, the “uniformly ordered collections”, in which sources are “recompiled”, that is, merged into a new compilation.

§ 222. *Compilation is not mechanical copy.*

Firstly, if one takes a closer look at Oliveira’s compilation theory, it becomes evident that only α is a truly dynamic compilation; excepting Moxa and Santiago, any compilation work which Oliveira sees in CA is

ultimately attributed to ω .³⁰ This is nominally the opposite of Tavani: Oliveira thinks that the original order of poets is better represented in CA because this manuscript is older, Tavani prefers the Italian manuscripts because he is convinced that the CA is too damaged in its end.³¹

As for us, neither is correct because the idea of compilation conflicts with that of mechanical copy. In principle, no manuscript is more accurate than the other regarding compilation, for the copying of ω is only evident when the two branches overlap and, when they fail to do so, they are not, typically, distorted copies, but conflating independent material. Therefore, we would also contend that solutions for complex problems of attribution and corpora length cannot be based on an *a priori* preference for either CA or α , but on a case-by-case basis and some are, eventually, unsolvable.

Secondly, the rationale behind Oliveira's preference for CA is flawed: his most central argument being that CA is older than α .³² This may be true, but it means very little, although, back in 1904, this was a valid route for Michaëlis. The reason for this lies in the *stemmata*. If one considers Michaëlis's *stemma*, CA appears in a middle position between the first compilation and the later *Livro das Cantigas do Conde de Barcelos*. It is as an *interpositus* between ω and α , more than as an earlier compilation, that we should understand Michaëlis's preference for the order of poets represented in CA. Understand, but under no circumstance adopt it, for, since Tavani, the archetype bifurcates. CA and α are acknowledged as two direct and independent copies of ω , with a maximum difference of fifty

§ 223. *Recentiores, non deteriores.*

³⁰ Oliveira, 1994, pp.44; 76; 129; 227.

³¹ At least in two occasions, Oliveira draws this very distinction and keenly expresses his preference, against Tavani, for CA: Oliveira, 1994, p.33-4; 43ff.

³² Oliveira, 1994, pp.44; 61; 67; 69, 120.

years, according to Oliveira's own reckoning. And, given that fifty years is hardly anything in terms of manuscript history and both CA and α enjoy an equally direct relationship to ω we can only say that both are equally reliable.³³

It is important to bear in mind at all times that these objections concern order of poets, poems and attributions *only* because these are hypothetically reconstructed as being α 's, a fourteenth-century manuscript. Naturally, the situation changes if one considers readings: in this case one compares CA with CBN/CV, manuscripts which are further from their source in number of *interpositi* – a very different situation altogether. So, our critique does not touch on the idea that the text of later copies deteriorates after successive copies. Concretely speaking, a compiler who decides to add or skip entire poems from his source is not making an error, he is making a decision and his product is neither better nor worst for that. An error would happen if the compiler skipped a poem or a poet *by accident*, which is difficult to happen and even harder to prove.

Thirdly, we would also contest Oliveira's idea that, in the genesis of ω , an influx (*recolha de trovadores portugueses*) was inserted in the middle of an earlier compilation (*cancioneiro de cavaleiros*). Once again, this theory is rigid, for Oliveira's ω is not a dynamic Gröberian recompilation in which lyric pieces are rearranged after a given rational criterion. Rather, it is a clumsy juxtaposition and, even as a "composite manuscript", it fails to convince. In a typical Gröberian "composite manuscript", compilation work

§ 224. *The two putative halves of the cancionero de cavaleiros.*

³³ There is a generally held principle in the field of Textual Criticism, stemming from Pasquali, 2010, p.41, known as *recentiores, non deteriores*, that is, a manuscript's age does not impact on its quality. Handbooks often quote examples of a fifteenth-century manuscript being perfecter than a thirteenth-century (Spina, 1977, p.93) or a thirteenth-century one being preferable to an eleventh-century (Maas, 1958, p.43).

is reduced to its minimum, because the copyist's task is just to reproduce pre-existing anthologies one after the other, meaning that each source is clearly detectable in the new copy. But Oliveira imagines that freestanding material is juxtaposed in the middle of a former anthology, partially ruining its original chronological order. Therefore, while we acknowledge Oliveira's first half of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and the *recolha de trovadores portugueses*, we must reject the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*'s second half. Indeed, one ought to ask from the start why would any compiler split a codex in two. It is troublesome for scribes and irrational planning, since nothing would be gained in terms of organisation. Instead the chronological order of poets in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* would be disrupted on account of this decision.

The problem is aggravated when one considers that this would have happened not once, but thrice for, in Oliveira's theory, both compilations (*cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and ω) are divided in three sections representing each of the main genres. Oliveira's hypothetical reconstruction of the archetype, would run like this, concerning the order of poets:³⁴

³⁴ Vide Oliveira, 1994, p.179; 182. Oliveira employs parenthesis to mark the supposed original positions of poems which actually appear in the *amor* section. What is here referred as Anonymous 3, 4, 5 and 6 are called by Oliveira 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Question marks are used by Oliveira to mark his own doubts concerning the position of Asma and D. Moniz. The use of bold type is explained below.

Table I

*cantigas d'amor**cantigas d'amigo*

satirical

CANCIONEIRO DE CAVALEIROS	Airas Moniz d'Asma?		
	Diego Moniz?		
	Bazaco		
	J. Velaz		
	D. Juano		
	J. S. Paiva		J. S. Paiva
	P. R. Palmeira		
	R. D. Cameiros		
	A. Soares		
	O. Anes		
	N. F. Mirapeixe		
	G. Sanches		
	R. G. Freire		
	F. R. Calheiros	F. R. Calheiros	F. R. Calheiros
	P. G. Ambroa		
	F. P. Tamalancos		F. P. Tamalancos
	V. P. Sandim	V. P. Sandim	
	J. S. Somesso		(J. S. Somesso)
	P. S. Taveirós	P. S. Taveirós	
			(P. V. Taveirós)
	M. Soares		M. Soares
	An. 1		
	A. Carpancho		
	N. R. Candarei		
	N. F. Torneol	N. F. Torneol	N. F. Torneol
	P. G. Burgalês	P. G. Burgalês	P. G. Burgalês
	J. N. Camanês	J. N. Camanês	
		A. Carpancho	
RECOLHA DE TROVADORES	F. G. Esgaravunha		
	R. Queimado		R. Queimado
	V. Gil	V. Gil	
	G. A. Vinhal		G. A. Vinhal
	J. Aboim	J. Aboim	J. Aboim
	J. S. Coelho	J. S. Coelho	J. S. Coelho
			V. Gil
	Anonymous 3		
	R. P. Ribela		R. P. Ribela
	J. L. Ulhoa	J. L. Ulhoa	
		G. A. Vinhal	
		R. Queimado	
	F. G. Seabra		
	P. G. Barroso		P. G. Barroso
	A. L. Baião		A. L. Baião
	M. R. Tenoiro	M. R. Tenoiro	M. R. Tenoiro
			A. P. Vuitoron

CANCION. DE CAVALEIR.		E. Travanca	
		P. G. Barroso	
		F. G. Seabra	
		A. L. Baião	
	J. G. Guilhade	J. G. Guilhade	J. G. Guilhade
	E. Faião		
			F. G. Esgaravunha
			G. P. Conde
	J. V. Talaveira	J. V. Talaveira	J. V. Talaveira
			E. Faião
	P. G. Charinho	P. G. Charinho	P. G. Charinho
	F. Velho	F. Velho	F. Velho
	B. Génova		
	An. 4	V. P. Pardal	V. P. Pardal
			R. G. Briteiros
			J. N. Camanês
	An. 5	A. A. Coton	A. A. Coton
	An. 6		
	P. A. Solaz	P. A. Solaz	
	F. Padrom		
	P. Ponte	P. Ponte	(P. Ponte)
	V. R. Calvelo	V. R. Calvelo	

The question to be raised is whether the hypothetical split happened at a precise moment in all three sections. Whereas the imagined second half always starts with Fernão Velho, the first ends with different poets depending on the genre section: Camanês, Carpancho and Buralês. In other words, Oliveira imagines that a compiler browsed three sections of a standing manuscript, identified Fernão Velho and decided to consistently insert an alternative source before him. But Oliveira was not able to provide any answer on the reasons behind this decision, why a compiler would decide to split an existing compilation three times before Velho and not some other poet.

Furthermore, there are cases of poets, here marked in **bold** for clarity, who, having composed poems in more than one genre, disrupt the alleged parallelism between the three sections. Given that not every poet

§ 225. *Parallelism in the order of poets.*

composed in the three genres, if a poet only appears in one section, Oliveira's method of comparing the order of poets across the three sections is ineffective for obvious reasons. It is our understanding that this would not pose a problem to his theory if the order of poets who composed in more than one genre was always consistent. And in the first half of Oliveira's *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, the parallelism is almost perfect, only disrupted by Carpancho, in the *amigo* section, and Camanês, in the satirical.

But from the *recolha de trovadores portugueses* onwards we are reluctant to accept Oliveira's claim. Indeed, what we have after A. Carpancho's second occurrence are loosely parallel nuclei or small blocks of poets, for example, R. Queimado and G. A. Vinhal; or J. Aboim and J. S. Coelho; or F. G. Seabra, P. G. Barroso and A. L. Baião; or J. V. Talaveira, P. G. Charinho and F. Velho. Such pairs and trios seem to be associated in more than one section, but their exact position and relation to one another vary. The sheer amount of bold type used in the table above, circumscribed within the limits of the *recolha*, tells us that if the compiler had indeed tried to maintain the same order of poets across three sections, he proved thoroughly inept. After the *recolha*, a very mild parallelism is only re-established at the very end, with Solaz, Ponte and Calvelo.

Yet the existence of a *recolha de trovadores portugueses* is accepted here. Given that Oliveira's final words is that the *recolha* was not a compilation, but freestanding material added in ω , there is no problem in the fact that the parallelism is greater in the *cancioneiro* than in the *recolha*: they are the work of different compilers. A second argument, of codicological nature, may be added here, namely the existence in CA of

§ 226. *The
recolha de
trovadores
portugue-
ses and
fiinda
staves.*

reserved spaces (or *réserve*) for *fiinda* staves, occurring from Pero Garcia Burgalês up to Fernão Velho, a sign which is taken here as marking the boundaries of the *recolha*.³⁵

Although it is not clear whether *fiindas*' staves were meant to record independent tunes or a variation on the main melodic phrase, according to Ramos's theory, the CA's *réserve* is more of a scribal idiosyncrasy, rather than compositional peculiarity. In other words, the fact that some *fiindas* had staves and others did not is associated with *Liederblätter* of different provenances and qualities. In this regard it is remarkable that for some poets, all pieces with *fiindas* have staves (Esgaravunha and Queimado), for others, *fiindas* with and without staves come in separate blocks (Burgalês, Coelho and Guilhade), while still for others *fiindas* with and without staves alternate randomly.³⁶ This situation reinforces our conviction that the *recolha* was a mass of independent sources appended by ω 's compiler at the end of a former, more organised and homogenous compilation, the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*.

Yet how can we be certain that the *recolha* was not a pre-existing codex and ω was not just reproducing a former less organised anthology, thus juxtaposing two pre-existent compilations? The answer is that we have no reason to imagine such a compilation and, therefore, the most elegant solution is to proceed as if it does not exist, since one cannot prove the non-existent: any evidence produced can only point to existence. Thus, a compiler producing a mechanical copy, with no trace of his work, must be

§ 227. *The
recolha de
trovadores
portugue-
ses before
the
archetype.*

³⁵ Initially noticed by Ramos, 1984 and later acknowledged by Oliveira, 1994, p.185ff.

³⁶ For our case-by-case analysis of the *fiindas*' *réserve*, the reader should check the eighth column in Appendix 3, where the icon ♪ marks predicted stave space while its absence implies lack thereof.

regarded as non-existent in theoretical terms, otherwise scholars would be positing *interpositi ad infinitum*.

Now, if the *recolha* did not pre-exist ω as an independent entity, if it is only freestanding material incorporated in ω , we do not need to posit an accompanying amigo or satirical section, since the compiler would be subject to what becomes available and we cannot assume that the whole corpus of every poet was equally available. Nor do we have to accept that the other two hypothetical sections were ever meant to follow the exact same order of poets represented by the *amor* section.

As a result, ω is more of a Gröberian “composite manuscript”, juxtaposing a previous anthology (*cancioneiro de cavaleiros*) with extra material at the end, not in its middle. Oliveira’s second part of *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* will be re-analysed: part will be associated with the *recolha de trovadores portugueses*, part will be considered freestanding material incorporated directly in the CA with no intermediate source, being, therefore, non-archetypal material.

3.3. Third criticism: compilation is a human activity and must be humanly conceived

In discussing compilation, one must not only pay attention to the manuscripts, but also support it with some pragmatic view on how the process took place, that is, how a medieval scriptorium functioned. A problem of previous attempts is that their ideas are so abstract that they lose sight of what is humanly possible. A good example of what we believe scholars should do is Poe’s study of Occitan manuscript H. Poe starts with

§ 228. *A pragmatic view on how scriptoria worked.*

concrete details: her manuscript is a palimpsest of a school-book, from which one deduces that its owner – a scholar or student – lacked the means to have his own *chansonnier* manufactured.³⁷ This student then recycles a pre-existing codex and copies, of his own hand, a collection of *troubadour* poetry. Here, compiler and scribe are one and the same person, but Poe is wise enough to continually distinguish the two roles, for those are separate activities which a human being must carry out separately. She is then able to analyse the several sources used in creating this particular manuscript and eventually provide detail on how the several steps – compiling, copying, correcting, editing – followed one another.³⁸

Let us now conceive what are the possibilities for the main Galician-Portuguese lyric manuscripts. Firstly, one notices that the type of work ordered by Colocci, the two surviving Italian manuscripts, is far cheaper and simpler than that involved in the CA. We do not mean, with this statement, the obvious observation that a parchment manuscript in colour, with lavish decoration and in formal Textualis hand-writing is more expensive than a space-economical, paper manuscript in cursive. Rather, we mean the difference between copying and making a *cancioneiro*. Colocci copied a pre-existent *cancioneiro*. This is a simple process: as long as one has a base-manuscript and the money to pay for a copyist, the manuscript is produced. The *making* of a *cancioneiro*, however, is a whole different enterprise. If one is compiling poetry, he needs to gain access to a number of sources. This already tells us something about its patron: in an age before print, getting access to texts is not straightforward. If the patron is ordering a large

³⁷ Poe, 2000, p.18.

³⁸ Poe, 2000, p.253.

collection of poetry, based on a number of sources, he either has the power to attract *trovadores* and *jograís* to be around him as satellites or he has the means of having written sources shipped to him, from other parts of Iberia, just to be copied. In such an age, again, one assumes, every text is valuable; not necessarily expensive or richly made, but because every copy is unique and each copy must be manufactured by hand, which takes time, energy and money, it is reasonable to expect that its owner wants it back. So, our patron must be able to gather a number of sources, copy and return them all to their owners, and that is complex logistics.

Once our patron has gathered all his sources, compilation work can actually begin. Once again, we can contrast the inexpensive method used in Poe's manuscript H with an elaborate compilation such as a Gröberian *einheitlich geordnete Sammlungen* ("uniformly ordered collections"). The poor scholar, working on his own, would typically copy his first source, then his second and so on, leaving editing to the end. Again, this is simple. Let us now contrast it, for the sake of example, with Martim Soares, as he appears in CA.³⁹ Our compiler selected the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* as his base-manuscript, but now he faces a choice: he can copy this manuscript, from beginning to end, and then append at the end his extra source or sources (juxtaposition) or he can merge them all into a new compilation (recompilation). He chooses the second and new problems emerge. Once he detects that his base-manuscript features Martim Soares in a given sequence of poets he decides that any extra material by this poet must be inserted among his corpus without disturbing the pre-existing order of poets. The

³⁹ Appendix 3.1, 19.

compiler must now check all his other sources for pieces by Martim Soares. If we start simple, he is just browsing for matching rubrics or some sort of identification in his material. This preliminary stage, however, already implies a good grasp, by the compiler, of who are the poets represented in his sources. Imagining now, still as a simple example, that our compiler has browsed all his material and identified just one extra source containing poems by Martim Soares. Probably his two sources are of different qualities in terms of hand-writing, accuracy, finish, musical notation, to name a few, and this will impact on copying and editorial practice. But before any comparative work can begin, our compiler must know *what* his sources provide him with. Do they offer him different poems, do they offer him the same poems or, what is more likely, do they have some material in common and some peculiar to each source? In order to know this, the compiler must read and assess all those poems. And that is not merely looking at *incipits*: a poem may be transmitted by two sources with different numbers of stanzas or with different order of stanzas and the compiler must be sensible to that.

Contrasting CA and CBN, we see that the latter transmits the same poem, CBN 57 and 72, in Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros's sequence, but CBN 72 is two inverted stanzas of the longer, four-stanzas long CBN 57.⁴⁰ Here a compiler identified authorship correctly, merged a piece within the right sequence of poets but failed to assess its identity with a pre-existing piece. Alternatively, the compiler decided to record both versions, regarding them as radically different. In any case, he exempted himself from the editorial task.

⁴⁰ Appendix 3.1, 12.

Although the compiler in CA would conceivably be exposed to the same type of phenomenon, only one *cantiga* is duplicated in the surviving manuscript. In the previous chapter, under Lacuna 4 (§94), we have opened the strong possibility that this would have occurred a second time, within Martim Soares's cycle, involving CBN 151/CA 61. Otherwise, at least in the early section of the manuscript, compilation work in CA is of a very high standard. Indeed, CA occasionally leaves a blank space after some *cantigas* to add extra stanzas later, indicating with this that the source was deemed defective and that there was prospect or hope of correction. At this point of his work, our compiler will better keep some record as he is unlikely to memorize all that, and, in our exercise, we are just imagining one alternative source to the base-manuscript. If we were to talk about a number of *Liederblätter*, his challenge would increase exponentially. And all that must take place *before* any scribal work can begin. In other words, by the time our material reaches the scribe, the compiler must know this same material inside-out and he must be able to give clear directions as to when to start, stop, change source, include, return to base-manuscript and so on. We do not know how exactly this all happened, but anyone who tries to reproduce some of what has been described here will find himself entangled in a myriad of practical problems. And yet, a professional scriptorium was able to do that, with a high degree of accuracy while, presumably, coordinating all sorts of different tasks.

The description above is admittedly simplistic, yet it is concrete enough to give a parameter to judge previous theories, which, in the face of it, reveal their inner paradoxes. To give a few examples: Oliveira imagines

§ 229. *Recompilation has been reduced to error.*

that CBN 143-4, by Martim Soares, were satirical pieces available in ω 's satirical section, which were then transposed either before or in α to the *amor* section.⁴¹ That this could be from a freestanding source which just happened to be included in α 's *amor* section, he never considers. In a space-saving manuscript like CBN, the distance between CBN 143-4 (fol.36) from the rest of Martim Soares's satirical corpus (fol.290) is 254 folios. The imagined transposition could have taken place higher up in the *stemma*, when there was less material and, thus, the distance between the *amor* and satirical sections was shorter. But there would still be dozens, possibly hundreds of folios in a space-generous manuscript like CA. Under which circumstance, then, could this ever happen? If it is a mistake, how can a scribe accidentally skip so many pages and return to his original point of departure inadvertently? If deliberate, who would make such an irrational choice?

To support his theory, Oliveira argues that it was the insertion of Lopo Lias in the fourteenth century in α 's satirical section that would have caused two pieces of Martim Soares's original material to be transferred to the *amor* section.⁴² But how could this happen physically? First, if a scribe adds material in his copy – the poems by Lopo Lias – the new text stands in between whatever was in the base-manuscript. The copying of the base-manuscript is not affected. Secondly, how can two poems originally in the satirical section travel *backwards* to the *amor* section, which, at this point, is already copied?

⁴¹ In Oliveira, 1994, p.51. Similar solutions by Oliveira are João Soares Somesso (p.142), Paio Soares de Taveirós (p.142), João Garcia de Guilhade (p.148), Pero Velho de Taveirós (p.91), to name a few.

⁴² In Oliveira, 1994, p.85.

In this particular, Oliveira and Tavani rely, too heavily, we feel, on this idea of lyric material being transferred or shifted across different sections of a manuscript, an idea entirely abolished in the current theory. That text could be relocated in the copying process is very unlikely; a more plausible idea is the transfer occurring not in the copying process, but as a physical movement of sheets, and there will be time to consider whether *cancioneiros* were recopied or had material appended to them. But these transfers are virtually impossible to prove. Worst still, they are never supported by a statement on how they would have improved the compilation, rather they tacitly suggest a compiler creating random chaos.

These statements are offered here with the sole purpose of showing that, taken to its ultimate consequences, previous theories are at odds with the phenomena they attempt to describe. The very idea of compilation implies several sources and rearrangement of lyric pieces in sequences which will vary in each new copy. The gravest mistake of previous scholarship is to deduce from partial overlap a copying error from a hypothetical single source: complexity has been reduced to error. The specific solutions to be offered over the next pages, therefore, are not just an alternative to former theories, they are the only feasible route to those who have come to accept that medieval *cancioneiros* grew over the passing of years.

4. The present solution

4.1. The archetype (ω)

Having considered the full implications of multiple sources, it must be noted that we do not share in some of our colleagues' confidence in reconstructing ω beyond the overlap between CA and α . We honestly do not know whether ω possessed one, two or three sections representing each of the main genres. Since CA is a *cantigas d'amor* compilation, it only represents the first of those hypothetical sections, thus demonstrations on the other two will be more precarious. Thus, ω is taken here precisely as the coincidence in the sequence of poets and poems in the surviving manuscripts.

§ 230. *General description of the archetype.*

We can state, therefore, that ω is considerably smaller than Tavani's conception and, in a number of aspects, different from Oliveira's too. Furthermore, Oliveira excludes from CA a number of poets partly based on his tripartite comparison, partly on his biographical research.⁴³ This was initially rectified in the last chapter, when we re-evaluated the lacunae on codicological basis, bringing back to the CA poets which contradicted Oliveira's theories. Given our misgivings against comparisons involving two hypothetical genre sections, we equally regard with scepticism his attempts to identify the three anonymous poets in CA based on such comparison: if one cannot prove that the archetype had three sections and that the order of poets was perfectly symmetrical across them, the whole attempt to identify the anonymous poets falls apart.⁴⁴

⁴³ He offers a list on Oliveira, 1994, pp.133-4.

⁴⁴ Our Anonymous 3, for Oliveira, 1994, p.70, "Anónimo 2" identified as E. Travanca. Anonymous 4 and 5 in Oliveira, p. 62, are "Anónimo 3" identified with V. P. Parda and "Anónimo 4" with A. E. Coton.

Finally, the present theory posits that the CA never attempted to be a faithful copy of ω but, from beginning to end, pre- and non-archetypal material is constantly being fed in, making CA a true compilation in its own right. Above all, we will demonstrate that the CA's last three gatherings are the product of appended material in its end, a solution which largely blocks both of the previous routes, since poets figuring after Bonifácio Calvo would not be in ω at all.

4.2. The *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*

Within ω , the first nucleus is the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. Just like Oliveira, we posit that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* was an autonomous large compilation, possibly the first of its kind, whose content is hypothetically reconstructed as follows:

§ 231. *Poets of the cancionero de cavaleiros.*

Airas Moniz d'Asma?

Diego Moniz?

Bazaco

J. Velaz

D. Juano

J. S. Paiva

P. R. Palmeira

R. D. Cameiros

A. Soares

O. Anes

N. F. Mirapeixe

G. Sanches

R. G. Freire

F. R. Calheiros (part)

F. P. Tamalancos

Reconstructed (CA Lacuna 1)

V. P. Sandim

J. S. Somesso (part)

N. A. Cerzeo (part?)

Reconstructed (CA Lacuna 3)

P. V. Taveirós

P. S. Taveirós (part)

M. Soares (part)

Anonymous 1

A. Carpancho (part)

N. R. Candarei (part)

N. F. Torneol (part)
P. G. Burgalês (part)

The use of **bold** type represents poets now lost in CA due to lacunae, so only nine poets can be solidly proven based on a comparison between the two branches, CA and α . The *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* apparently created the chronological criterion according to which the earlier poets precede the later, making it a “uniformly ordered collection”. Otherwise, we would have to regard it as a *Gelegenheitssammlungen*, a disorganized collection of the earliest lyric which, arriving in the ω compiler’s hands, then receives the chronological order, but this is unlikely.⁴⁵ Noteworthy divergences from Oliveira in the list above are the addition of Cerzeo and P.V. de Taveirós, as discussed in the previous chapter, the subtraction of Ambroa, and the extinction of the second part of *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, that is, nine poets, from Velho to Calvelo.⁴⁶

Whether the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* was tripartite – or bipartite – is a compelling question. Oliveira quotes a rubric opening the *amigo* section which reads “En’esta folha adiante se começam as cantigas d’amigo que fizeram os cavaleiros”, presuming that the *amor* and satirical sections would once feature similar rubrics marking their beginnings. This argument, conspicuous as it may be, depends on future studies on rubrics before being accepted. If the whole compilation was indeed by *cavaleiros* would it be really necessary to restate this over and over again, or would the rubricator simply include a mention to *cavaleiros* at the beginning, later informing the

§ 232. *The
cancioneiro
de cavaleiros
as a
tripartite
manuscript.*

⁴⁵ It would be impractical to paraphrase all of Oliveira’s arguments here. Essentially, he detects chronological, social and spatial criteria for grouping poets which in isolation would be meaningless, but in conjunction suggest the existence of an organised early collection.

⁴⁶ The list may be contrasted against Oliveira, 1994, p.179.

genre only? Secondly, where were rubrics placed? Given the exceptional nature of Galician-Portuguese rubrics, only transmitted by the Italian manuscripts, in order to provide a partial answer to these questions, we have sampled Occitan *chansonniers* and observed how rubrics are presented there.

A tripartite manuscript like E, with no index, barely includes any indication of genre: from fl.1r-188v we have *cansos*, from fl.189r-210v, we have *vidas*, but no rubric announces these blocks. On fl.211r, however, we found “[tenf]of epartimenf.” after which the word “tenfo” is repeated before each piece, thus marking genre in this section. Manuscript K, however, features rubrics in the index summary, in the index proper and, within the compilation, in the beginning of the satirical section. It reveals that long, redundant rubrics did happen at least in indices and their summaries. Of special interest is the rubric “A qui fon escrig li nom delz trobadoꝝ que / fon enaqueft liure que ant trobadas / las tenfos luns apꝛes lautre.” (fl.II^v) later paraphrased as “Daiffi enauan fon escrig li comenzamẽ / de las tenzos que fon escritas enaqueft / libꝛe de domnas ede caualliers.” (fl.VII^r). It is not clear what prompts this sudden interest in rank, nor even if “ladies and knights” are synonymous to *troubadours*. Thus, we prefer to be cautious concerning the unique rubric used by Oliveira to argue for a tripartite *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*.*

Noteworthy here are the remarks by Gonçalves: “[...] la lettre de la rubrique qui précède les *cantigas d'amigo* n'est pas tous à fait identique à

* These are our own transcriptions from the electronic facsimiles. It is intended to be diplomatic, maintaining abbreviated words; long-s is represented by f and round-r by ꝛ.

celle qui signale le commencement du secteur primitif des *cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer*".⁴⁷ The rubrics therefore lead to an opposite conclusion, given that although there could exist three matching rubrics, the fact is that they do not exist. Like Oliveira, Gonçalves supposes that α had a rubric marking the beginning of the *amor* section, but that the manuscript was acephalous when copied by CBN/CV. We would counter-argue: if the earliest compilations were monothematic, compiling *cantigas d'amor* only and excluding the other genres, there would be no need for a rubric at all.

The order of poets running across the three sections until Buralês, however, is perfectly consistent, only disrupted by Lopo Lias in the satirical. This consistency, far superior to what occurs in the *recolha*, suggests a tripartite compilation. Yet the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*'s compiler could be responsible only for devising this order of poets, mixing all three genres. The genre division, in this case, would be the work of a subsequent compiler who, intentionally or not, maintained this same order of poets when dividing the compilation in genres, creating the mirage that both actions are contemporary to one another. In this regard, it has yet to be established that the rubric is contemporary to the compilation.

The strongest argument for a tripartite *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* may be the successive stages identified by Gröber in the Occitan tradition. If we assume that Iberian and Occitan songbooks followed the same course of development, the chronological criterion which structured the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* would be coetaneous with genre division. That is, the earlier *Gelegenheitssamlungen* are unordered compilations, songbooks lumping

⁴⁷ Gonçalves, 1991, p.449.

together a number of poets with no criterion. The later *einheitlich geordnete Sammlungen* are ordered according to a criterion, in the Iberian case, chronological and, since c.1210, according to Gröber, they are divided by genres. Thus, assuming that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, rather than one of its copies, organized the poets in chronological order, that the rubric was first written as part of it and mechanically reproduced ever after, and this also assumes that *cavaleiros* does not refer to the *trovadores* in the *recolha*, then it must have been a tripartite manuscript. So, whereas it is possible, perhaps likely that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* was tripartite, it also seems wiser to wait further research before casting a decision in either direction.

Turning now to Appendix 3, what we see is how the *amor* section of *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, taken as a common source for CA and α , is a solid theory – a feature which is all the more remarkable if we contrast it with later locations in the extant manuscripts, where one finds little or nothing in common. Disregarding CA's initial large lacuna, the order of poems is what emerges as a solid common ground, even to the detriment of the order of poets. Specifically, the two main problems of attribution here emerge from an undisturbed order of poems contradicted by variation on the order of poets.

The first case is CA 62-3/CBN 173-4. The two pieces appear in CA, after Martim Soares.⁴⁸ Headed by an illumination, which in this manuscript always represents a new poet, they are clearly attributed to a discrete poet whose name remains unknown, given the lack of attribution rubrics in CA. In CBN, the same two poems follow in the same order, after Martim Soares

§ 233. *The
cancionei-
ro de
cavaleiros:
CA vs.
CBN.*

§ 234. *First
problem of
attribution.*

⁴⁸ Appendix 3.1, 20.

but, where one would expect to find an attribution rubric, there is none. CBN thus superficially implies that Martim Soares's sequence extends to include these poems. Yet CBN offers attribution rubrics once at the beginning of a sequence, rather than reiterating rubrics with each new poem. The attribution of CBN 173-4 to Martim Soares is, therefore, *ex silentio* rather than on a positive identification. In this case, it seems safer to refer to this poet as Anonymous 1, since the problem can be economically resolved if we just accept that an attribution rubric was lost between the copy of α and of CBN.

The second problem of attribution refers to CA 68-9/CBN 181b-2.⁴⁹ Again, in CA they come together under an illumination, meaning that both pieces were then attributed to a single poet. In CBN, though, the first piece is attributed to Nuno Rodrigues de Candarei, whereas the second is preceded by the rubric "Nuno Porco". This is a much more challenging case for, unlike the previous, the conflicting attribution is not based on an *ex silentio* argument, but on a positive identification, with a new name added to the order of poets. This should not be counted as an attribution error, but as an initial attribution and its revision. We are unable to offer any reason for preferring any one of the following options: both pieces are by Candarei, both are by Porco or the first is by Candarei and the second by Porco. We count this as an unresolved problem. An interesting solution conjectured by Nobiling proposed that Nuno Porco was an uncomplimentary nickname given to Nuno Rodrigues Candarei, causing this unfortunate attribution

§ 235. *Second problem of attribution.*

⁴⁹ Appendix 3.1, 22.

problem. However, we still prefer to regard them as two separate poets (§317).⁵⁰

Apart from that, what we have are poems recorded in either CA or CBN only, inserted within a poet's corpus right at the beginning or right at the end of an otherwise undisturbed sequence of poems.⁵¹ The implication could not be more obvious: scribes working after ω was finished – in CA or in α – were enriching their compilations despite their main source. Regardless of branch, these later compilers preserve the core sequence intact and make their contributions in the least disruptive positions, the opening and closing of the sequences.

§ 236. *Exclusive poems.*

The exact limits of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, however, remain obscure. Given Lacuna 1 in CA, on its beginning we can rely solely on CBN or, at best, compare it with C, complemented with biographical data. Thus, the inherited scholarly wisdom would have the *lais de Bretanha* as later artistic phenomena;⁵² Asma and Moniz were included with doubts by Oliveira and we have nothing to add in their regard; Lemos and Ambroa are later poets. The extant poets were conceivably transmitted from the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, albeit this is conjectural not proven.⁵³

§ 237. *The limits of the cancionero de cavaleiros.*

⁵⁰ Nobiling, 2007c, p.224. It must be noted, in contradiction to this hypothesis, that “Porco” was “largamente utilizado no ocidente peninsular, estando mesmo documentado junto da nobreza” (Oliveira, 1994, p.396). The first piece by Candarei also has a conflicting attribution involving João de Gaia. This will be addressed separately in Chapter 4, §265.

⁵¹ Some examples in Appendix 3.1 are: 15 – João Soares Somesso (CBN 104-6), 18 – Paio Soares de Taveirós (CA 36-9), 19 – Martim Soares (CBN 151, 172 and CA 61), 21 – Airas Carpancho (CBN 175), 22 – Nuno Rodrigues de Candarei (CBN 180-1), 23 – Nuno Fernandes Torneol (CBN 185b), 24 – Pero Garcia Burgalês (CBN 220-3).

⁵² This dates back at least to Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.201 and has been repeated ever since.

⁵³ Appendix 3.1: the *lais* are the first pieces and are not numbered; Asma and Moniz are 0a and 0b; Lemos is 9b. Pero Garcia de Ambroa, 12b, previously mentioned, is also excluded, *pace* Oliveira.

These poets were previously discussed in Chap.2 (§79, §80, §81). On Lemos being a later poet, *vide* Oliveira, 1994, p.90.

As for its lower limit, Oliveira offers his argument for Camanês,⁵⁴ whereas we rely initially on codicological indications in CA for the change of source, which points right to the middle of Burgalês's corpus, namely the sudden appearance of *réservé* for *fiinda* staves in a cohesive block.⁵⁵ Given that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* never predicts such staves, we have no difficulty in imagining that the first half of Burgalês's corpus (and hence, his place in the order of poets) is transmitted by this compilation, which is then enriched with material from the *recolha* (with staves). It is possible, though, that Camanês was in the *cancioneiro* after Burgalês. If so, the addition of the Burgalês's material would have just slightly postponed the copying process of Camanês, which is then in between two additions from the *recolha*. Given the lack of *fiindas* in Camanês's corpus, the question must remain unanswered. Still, in our *stemma*, Burgalês is regarded as the last poet of the collection, and in a possible tripartite compilation, all sections would have ended with him.

One implication of this reconstruction is that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* emerges as a type of early canon. The careful comparison between the corpora of the nine or ten poets – depending on Camanês's status – which can be seen on both branches, reveals that there is little lyric material added by later compilers: seventeen poems, twelve in α , five in CA. Therefore, by the end of the thirteenth century or early fourteenth, when CA and α were made, these poets were removed in time or space so that their works had been crystallized. Only a small part had somehow escaped the

§ 238. *The cancionero de cavaleiros was stable.*

⁵⁴ Oliveira, 1994, p.187.

⁵⁵ Appendix 3.1, 24 and 25.

original compilation and survived independent of it, so room for recompilation is limited.

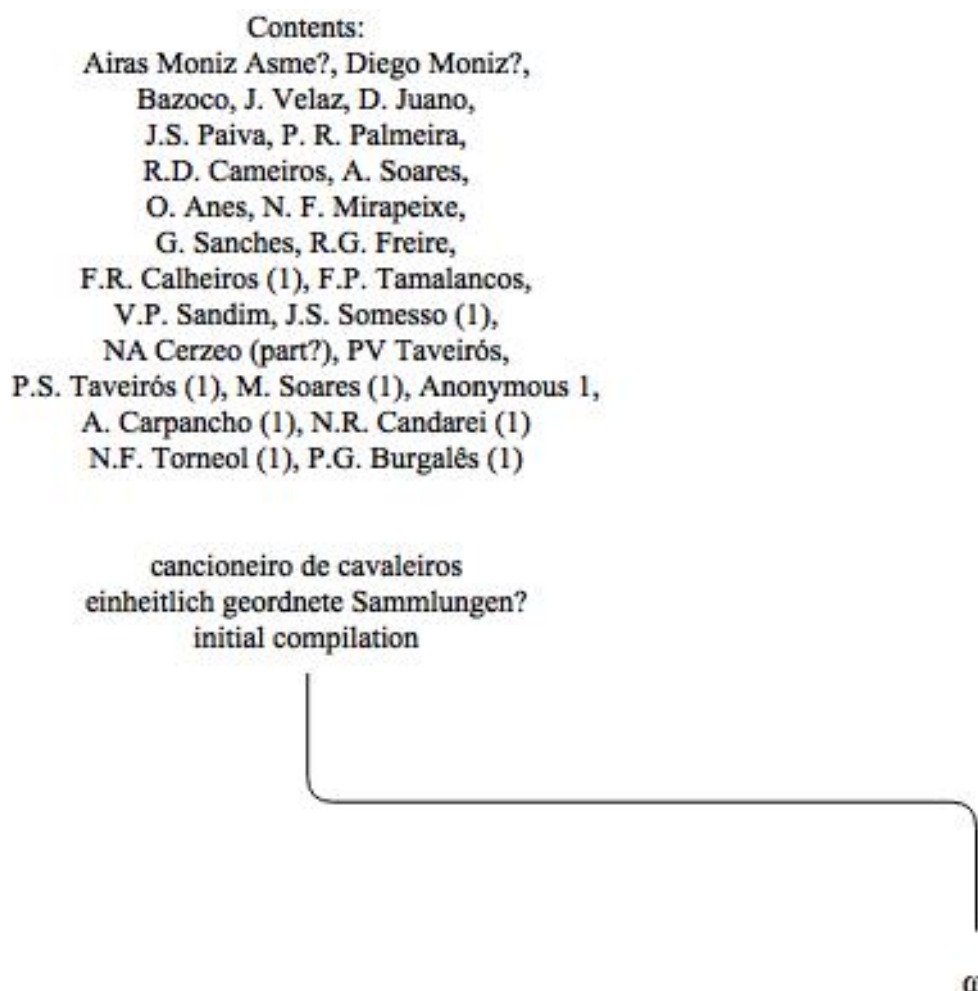


Fig. 6

4.3. The *recolha de trovadores portugueses*

The *recolha de trovadores portugueses* was not an organized independent entity. Strictly one cannot say whether the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and ω are two successive codices or if ω is simply a later, enlarged state of the *cancioneiro* incorporating the *recolha*, but this is not fundamental, as long as we understand that they are the work of different compilers. Its content can be initially defined as:

§ 239. *Initial poets of the recolha.*

P. G. Burgalês (part)
 J. N. Camanês?
 F. G. Esgaravunha
 R. Queimado (part)
 V. Gil
 (G. A. Vinhal)
 (J. Aboim — excluding CA 157)
 J. S. Coelho
 Anonymous 3?
 R. P. Ribela
 J. L. Ulhoa

Once again, the single codicological feature found in the CA § 240. *Fiinda staves.*
 marking the boundaries of the *recolha* is the appearance of *réservé* for *fiinda* staves, the mark of a change of manuscript source; meaning that CA 89/CBN 193, a piece without staves, is still part of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. The first extant piece with *fiinda* staves is CA 95/CBN 202, just after textual Lacuna 6 (former Lacuna 9), but the reconstruction of this lost folio, in the previous chapter, shows that CBN 200 was copied in CA with *fiinda* staves. The influx called *recolha de trovadores portugueses*, therefore, starts somewhere between CA 90/CBN 194 and CBN 199.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note what happens at this precise moment. From § 241. *The archetype was less stable than the cancionero de cavaleiros.*
 CBN 194-9 there are six poems without *fiinda* whose source, for this reason, cannot be verified, yet three of them are shorter in CA than in CBN. CA 90/CBN 194 and CA 93/CBN 197 have three stanzas each in the Italian manuscript, but only two followed by *réservés* in CA. As for CA 91/CBN 195, there are four stanzas in CBN, and three in CA, with no space for future stanzas. This bears similarities with another part of Burgalês's corpus which came from the *recolha*: CA 98 and 99, with two stanzas followed by

⁵⁶ Appendix 3.1, 24.

blank spaces; CA 100 and CA 103 this time with three stanzas and still followed by spaces. CBN does not offer more stanzas in these cases.

The *réservés* in CA 90, CA 93, CA 98 and CA 99 – pieces with two stanzas – show not so much the awareness of missing stanzas, as a default attitude towards pieces with two stanzas (§55). If two are longer in CBN, it is a matter of coincidence. CA 100 and CA 103, with three stanzas, were lacunary in ω . CA reveals awareness of this defect by leaving the blanks, but these were never emended, neither in CA nor in ω . Yet CA 90, CA 93 and CA 91 – a piece which CA did not consider defective – reveal a change in the archetype *after* CA was copied. If ω was complete and stable, its copies should match, but this is not true on the CA's side. Thus, there seem to be two possible explanations here. The first is that CA and ω were not successive manuscripts, but produced at the same time. This is possible, but it would open the gate for a range of theoretical problems and obstacles which we would rather avoid. In the alternative, which is more economical, the nature of the *recolha* is the cause of instability of ω . That is, the *recolha* acquires its first fixed format – as opposed to freestanding material – rather late in history, remaining less canonical than the earlier *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. In the whole of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, as far as can be seen from the extant CA, only two poems received extra stanzas in the α branch: CA 45 and CA 60, both by Martim Soares. This will be developed below.

Returning to the *recolha*'s content, Vinhal is included, though, as discussed before, his position is inferred from C alone, falling, as he does, in the triple lacuna of CA, CBN, and CV. This is also largely the case of

§ 242. *Controversial cases.*

Aboim's corpus.⁵⁷ If we here accept C's testimony, despite the inconclusive results from the last chapter, it is because Vinhal, Aboim and Coelho are all contemporary, living between *c.*1230 and *c.*1280, in keeping with the chronological criterion of the collection. Ironically, according to the theory of phases, CA 157 may be the only surviving piece by Aboim, but it could not be in ω . That is because the scribe who copied it was hand 2, active in phase 3, rather than hand 1 (§38, §138).

R. A. Redondo, between Coelho and Anonymous 3, was a standing problem in the previous chapter. In 1232 Redondo is recorded acting as a witness but his lifespan extends until 1311, thus while the lower limit of his activity period is consistent with other poets around him, his death occurred some decades later. Therefore, we count Redondo as an inconclusive case on the absence of any firm evidence; he will not be listed in any *stemma*. Similarly, Anonymous 2 is circumscribed to folio 46, a loose folio whose exact position within the manuscript is uncertain (Chapter 2, Section 17), being, therefore, safer to exclude him from the *recolha*.

Considering now Appendix 3 as a whole, one realises that the same regularity noticed before on the order of poems and poets, still holds true here until Ulhoa.⁵⁸ The single exception is CA 185, by Anonymous 3: for the first time, CA disrupts both orders by featuring a poem which is absent in CBN and indicating new authorship, through its illumination system.⁵⁹ When a similar phenomenon happens with CBN, for example Lemos, Oliveira typically explains it as later additions in α , made possible by his biographical research. In CA, however, this is impossible, for the poet

§ 243. *The
recolha:
CA vs.
CBN.*

⁵⁷ Textual Lacuna 8 (former Lacuna 12); Appendix 3.1, 29 and 30.

⁵⁸ Appendix 3.1, 36.

⁵⁹ Appendix 3.1, 34.

remains anonymous. Strictly, all we can see is CA and CBN diverging; we cannot state whether CA added a poem and departed from its source or whether α or one of its copies skipped it. Whereas it is unlikely that a copyist would neglect a whole *cantiga* – and hence a poet – one can conceive a material damage, such as the loss of a folio, which could explain the second scenario. The problem, thus, remains unsolved and the poet must be removed from the *stemma*.

After Ulhoa, the relationship between CA and CBN changes considerably. That is to say, from Seabra (CA, gathering IX)⁶⁰ up to Bonifácio (CA, gathering XI)⁶¹ the idea of ω being a common source to CA and α becomes more problematic. These poets belong to phase 2 of the confection of CA, mostly to group 4 of gatherings, a moment in which the CA is aesthetically simplified. These are the poets included in those three gatherings:

Unknown 1⁶²
 F. G. Seabra
 P. G. Barroso
 A. L. Baião
 M. R. Tenoiro (part)
 J. G. Guilhade (part)
 E. Faião (part)
 J. V. Talaveira
 F. Velho
 B. Gênova

An initial enigma on this list is Unknown 1, already discussed on the previous chapter: we know that he was a separate poet with a small corpus filling textual Lacuna 10 (former Lacuna 14), and, if ω remains as common

§ 244. *The last poets of the recolha.*

§ 245. *Unknown I.*

⁶⁰ Appendix 3.1, 38.

⁶¹ Appendix 3.1, 49.

⁶² Appendix 3.1, 37. Either Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo or Besteiros.

source here, he could be either Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo or Besteiros.

But the first challenge emerges with Seabra where the former pattern § 246. *Seabra*. reverses: now, the order of poets imposes itself over the order of poems. Considering Appendix 3, what we see is that either a very small number of poems are shared between CA and CBN or complete small corpora, even if the order of poets appears to remain unchanged: Seabra (5 out of 15), Barroso (2 out of 2), Baião (2 out of 2), Tenoiro (6 out of 8), Guilhade (8 out of 15), Faião (1 out of 3), Talaveira (4 out of 4), Velho (9 out of 9), Gênova (2 out of 2).⁶³ Something has definitely changed here: in CA, seven poems by Seabra are included before the common sequence, which could be another case of a compiler enriching CA, except that when this happened previously, the compiler added the new material *after* a poet's received sequence, not before. Then CA 221 has a slightly ambiguous position as both last poem (CA) and middle poem (CBN) in Seabra's sequence. It is almost as if CA and α agreed that it was Seabra's turn, without relying on the same source. After Seabra, we then have some small common sequences,⁶⁴ some poets only in CBN⁶⁵ and Charinho in CA,⁶⁶ which is a completely new problem altogether and must be dealt separately. With Charinho, however, we can definitely say that ω was no longer a source, though, just to create further doubts, we then have Fernão Velho, a

⁶³ Appendix 3.1, 38 to 49.

⁶⁴ Appendix 3.1, Pero Gomes Barroso 39; D. Afonso Lopes de Baião 40; Mem Rodrigues Tenoiro 41; João Garcia de Guilhade 43; Estevão Faião 44; João Vasques Talaveira 45.

⁶⁵ Appendix 3.1, Sancho Sanches 39b; D. Afonso Sanches 42b.

⁶⁶ Appendix 3.1, 46.

problematic lacuna in CA (former Lacuna 19) and Gênova, two poets shared with the Italian manuscripts and which suggest a return to ω .⁶⁷

This instability extending over the order of poets and the order of poems raises again the question: if CA and α were simple copies of ω , how come the copies do not coincide? They do not coincide because the *recolha* was not as canonical as the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. If the *cancioneiro* featured the earliest poets, the last part of the *recolha* includes poets more contemporary to ω . Hence, ω as known by CA consolidated small corpora but subsequent compilers had access to more material and more room for recompilation.

§ 247. *The recolha was not stable.*

To complete the archetype's profile, ω is the union of the earliest *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* with loose lyric material. The order of poets is largely shared between CA and α – its two branches – therefore this order was crystallized in ω . The implication is that ω was beyond doubt a Gröberian *einheitlich geordnete Sammlung*, or “uniformly ordered collection”, arranged by a chronological principle. Did this principle stem from the ω compiler or was it inherited from the earlier *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*? A definitive proof is not simple; Oliveira believed that the order was inherited, in which case both ω and *cancioneiro* are ordered collections, a theory to which we subscribe (§231, footnote 45). But the *cancioneiro* could conceivably be a *Gelegenheitssammlungen* which acquired the chronological order in ω . The archetype was also what is here called a recompilation. This is clear already from Burgalês's corpus: material coming from the *cancioneiro* and material from the *recolha* are combined,

§ 248. *Conclusion on the archetype.*

⁶⁷ Our result may be contrasted against Oliveira, 1994, p.182.

giving a new order of poems. Curiously, the compiler keeps them apart, so the material is juxtaposed, rather than completely merged. It may be called a partial recompilation, rather than a full recompilation which would rearrange the whole lyric material anew.

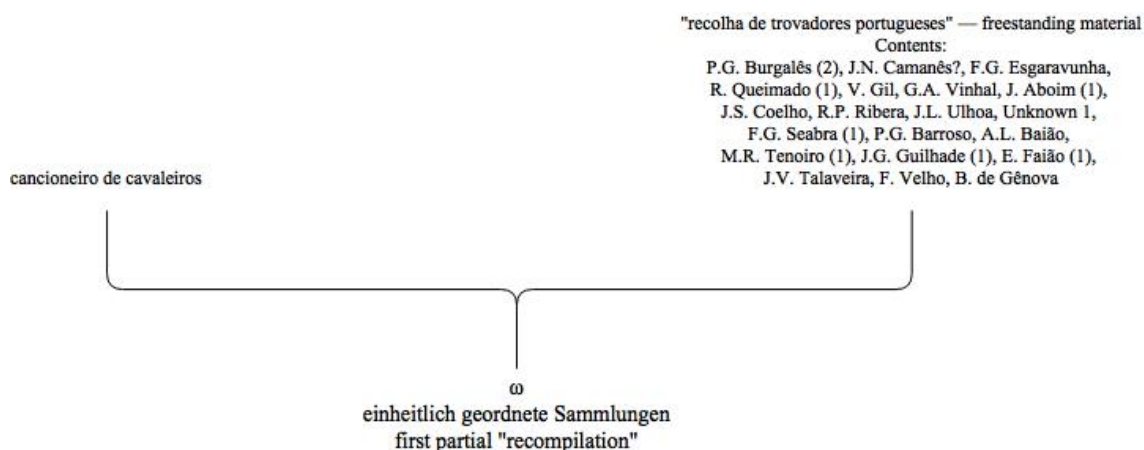


Fig. 7

4.4. Pre-archetypal and non-archetypal material in CA

As yet a further step in defining our views on source, we must also consider if it is reasonable to imagine CA and α copying ω mechanically. If one accepts that the earlier compilations are dynamic, the same should hold for later songbooks. The present theory acknowledges pre-archetypal material being accessed by the CA compilers despite defective lessons in the source. Thanks to this manuscript's unfinished state, one can see the scriptorium's on-going activity, thus emendation marginalia which, in finished manuscripts, are eventually incorporated in the text and erased, here remain. This makes the extant CA an *editio variorum*, as defined by Dain and quoted above: a manuscript which records a main text and alternative readings, copied from other sources and recorded as marginal notes.

§ 249. *Pre-archetypal material.*

Originally, Michaëlis believed that such notes were mere examples of self-correction, but, thanks to Ramos, we know this not to be the case.⁶⁸ There are conjunctive errors (Mass's *Bindfehler*) between CA and CBN, thus revealing a defective archetype ω which the CA's revisers corrected by accessing a more accurate source prior to ω . In this case, we should speak of access to pre-archetypal material, that is, material transmitted through ω being verified by alternative source. Such alternative source could be either an apograph or the autograph itself. But it inevitably complicates the simpler one-to-one relationship between source and its copies.

Unlike pre-archetypal material, non-archetypal material refers to poems never transmitted by ω , but sourced independently. Although formally similar – *Liederblätter* and *Liederbücher* – the route is distinctively different: in the earlier case, archetypal material is being compared with alternative sources which provokes emendation, whereas here the material is alien to the archetype altogether. Those are otherwise freestanding poems and poets being conflated in CA and, therefore, unconnected to ω . These poems are represented in Appendix 3 with the green colour background and their list features:

§ 250. *Non-archetypal material.*

18 – P. S. Taveirós (part)	CA gathering II, phase 1
19 – M. Soares (part)	
30 – J. Aboim (CA 157, fl.40r)	CA gathering VII, phase 3 (group 3 of gatherings)
34 – Anonymous 3?	CA gathering VIII, phase 2 (group 3)
38 – F. G. Seabra (part)	CA gathering IX, phase 2 (group 3)
43 – J. G. Guilhade (part)	CA gathering X, phase 2 (group 4)
44 – E. Faião (part)	
46 – P. G. Charinho	CA gatherings X/XI, phase 2 (group 4)
50 – Anonymous 4	CA gathering XII, phase 3 (group 5)
51 – Anonymous 5	

⁶⁸ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.168ff., and specially “Nenhuma d’estas emendas obrigamos a postular que o revisor se serviu, além do original copiado, de segundo exemplar mais correcto.” p.173. Ramos, 2008, I, p.356.

52 – Anonymous	6	
53 – P. A. Solaz		CA gathering XIII, phase 3 (group 5)
54 – Unknown	2	
55 – F. Padrom		
56 – P. Ponte		
57 – V. R. Calvelo		CA gathering XIV, phase 3 (group 5)
58 – M. Moxa		
59 – R. F. Santiago		

We must pause now to appreciate that the vast majority of non-archetypal material being copied in CA is the work of phase 3. It totals forty-five poems added by hands 2 and 3 in gatherings XII, XIII and XIV, plus the addition of CA 157 in fl.40r, which had been left blank.

§ 251. *The location of non-archetypal material.*

Appendix 3 embodies this phenomenon in its structure. Section 3.1 illustrates the archetype, section 3.2 lays out just the material to be found in the last three gatherings of CA. Section 3.3 provides metrical data on non-archetypal poets both in CA and in the Italian sources.

§ 252. *The structure of Appendix 3.*

It was said that the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* was canonical and the *recolha* unstable; in this context, the poets appended in the last three gatherings of CA are younger than ω itself. They are contemporary instead to the CA. Accordingly, just like Charinho, the transmission of their corpora is less cohesive so, when they reach α , they do so in successive waves. This tradition was more “alive”, this understood here as transmitted by competing simultaneous sources, as opposed to the “locked”, canonical transmission of the earlier poets.

§ 253. *The last poets of the CA.*

Of these surviving nine poets of phase 3, the first three were only sourced by CA or, if sourced by α , the absence of a single poem transmitted by both branches means that they will remain anonymous.⁶⁹ Solaz would

⁶⁹ Appendix 3.2, 50-2.

have suffered a similar fate, but the independent transmission of two pieces by α makes his identification possible (CA 282/CBN 1219/CV 824 and CA 283/CBN 1220/CV 825).⁷⁰ These four poets represent a sequence of sixteen poems unknown to ω or α and none of the earlier theories were ever be able to account for them properly.

Between Solaz and Padrom there was once in CA Unknown 2. His was the most unfortunate fate: the extraction of 2^a and 3^a of gathering XIII, now textual Lacuna 15 (former Lacuna 23), caused the loss of his entire corpus.

Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo, however, establish a new situation: the order of poets and, to a lesser degree, that of poems coincide again between CA and α .⁷¹ This fact alone created the mirage in the eyes of previous scholars that ω had necessarily to extend up to this point. But it is just a mirage, as can be demonstrated by their dedicated section in 3.3 in Appendix 3. In the Appendix, the blue background represents the overlap between CA and α , the green colour represents material exclusive to CA and the red shows that which is peculiar to the Italian sources. Padrom's corpus is restricted to three poems shared by both branches. Ponte, a more prolific poet, has five transmitted by both branches and eight in the α branch. Calvelo has fourteen poems, only five are shared between CA and α , the rest of his corpus is transmitted either by CA alone or the Italians. It is not difficult to see that there is just a partial overlap between the two branches. Their case is very similar to Charinho, all compounded by the fact that, in α , their distance from ω 's *amor* section is of some five hundred compositions –

⁷⁰ Appendix 3.2, 53.

⁷¹ Appendix 3.2, 55-7.

far too long a distance to be a matter of error.⁷² The only question is how to explain the fact that Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo could reach two manuscripts, CA and α , independently in this same order. This can be answered if we posit a freestanding source, like a *Liedersammlung*, long enough to accommodate the corpora of the three poets, in this specific order. The *Liedersammlung* or its copies reached two separate compilers independently, both adopted the material as it came, α enriched the sequences of Ponte and Calvelo; CA that of Calvelo.

Finally, with Moxa and Santiago, as already admitted by Oliveira, this same pattern continues: scant, incidental overlap between the two branches. There is nothing to add here: the two poets were sourced by CA from freestanding material.⁷³

As a final word on the CA, the present theory posits that its compiler § 254. *The CA*. belongs to a “lineage” of compilers who work with the same rationale. The *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* is enlarged in its end by the ω compiler with new material, whereas the CA compiler maintains the chronological principle and also complements the compilation with recent material at the end. Like its archetype, CA was a “uniformly ordered collection”, a partial recompilation because the sequences inherited from the base-manuscript are enriched by juxtaposition, and an *editio variorum* due to its marginalia.

⁷² In Oliveira’s terminology, the overlap still detectable in Bonifácio Calvo, de Gênova occurs in the *amor* section, *zona tripartida*; but Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo are in the *amigo* section, *zona complementar*. Gênova ends with CBN 450, Padrom opens with CBN 976, a distance of 526 *cantigas* and 113 folios.

⁷³ Appendix 3.2, 58-9.

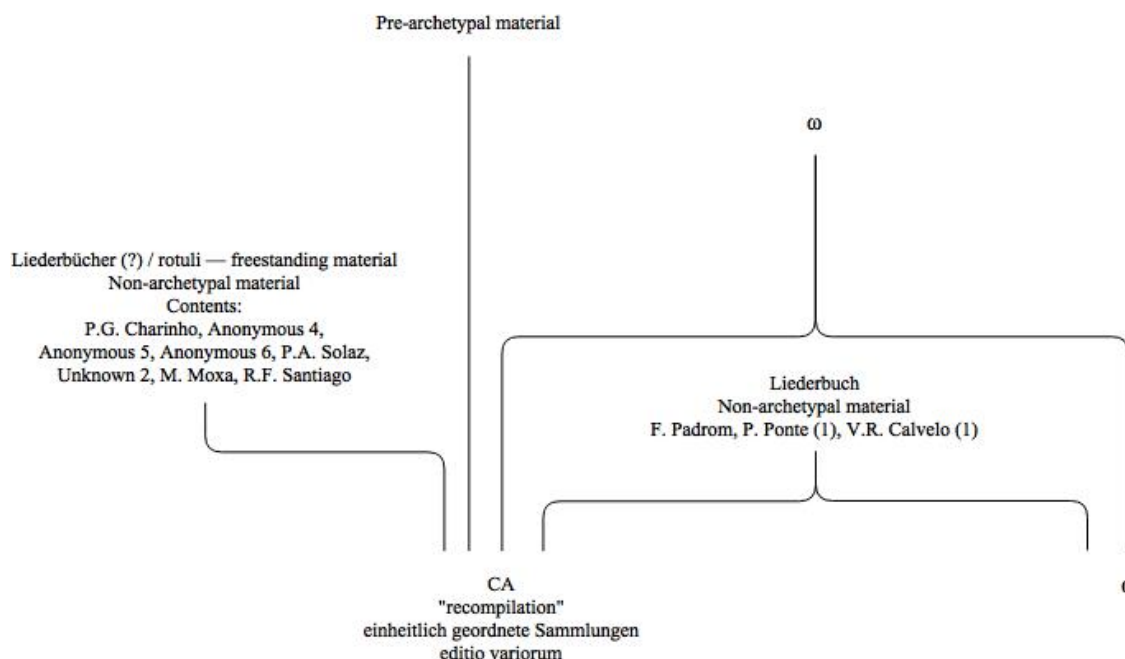


Fig. 8

4.5. Non-archetypal material in α

As for non-archetypal material, a number of poets were correctly removed by Oliveira from ω as additions purely on the α branch. They are Fernão Figueira de Lemos,⁷⁴ João Lobeira⁷⁵ and D. Afonso Sanches⁷⁶ whose activity dates are too late for an early codex like ω . In the same line, one can deduce that the *Arte de Trovar* and the *lais* transmitted by CBN were not in ω . To such a list we would add Pero Garcia d'Ambroa, for we regard Ambroa's lifespan equally as too late.⁷⁷

A different case is Sancho Sanches, mentioned in a document from 1260, according to Souto Cabo, thus with a lifespan consistent with ω and CA. Yet Oliveira has correctly argued that, materially, Sanches could not

⁷⁴ Oliveira, 1994, p.90. Appendix 3.1, 9b; 26b; 42b.

⁷⁵ 1994, p.47.

⁷⁶ 1994, p.55.

⁷⁷ Appendix 3.1, 12b.

have been in CA.⁷⁸ In this manuscript, Pero Gomes Barroso and D. Afonso Lopes de Baião follow one another where the Italians present Sanches. CA has no lacuna, there is just the passage from fl.59v to fl.60r, both being flesh-side. What happened exactly in α is to be addressed in the next chapter, when the identity between Sanches's CBN 394/CV 4 and CA 291/CBN 982/CV 569 is discussed.

The group formed by Cogominho, Vasconcelos, Mafaldo and Besteiros has already been discussed in some length under textual Lacuna 10 (former Lacuna 14), when we concluded that if they could not have been all copied in the CA, at least one of them, or part thereof, had to be so as to fill the lost 1^a of gathering IX. That is to say that, apart from this poet, Unknown 1, the extant poets must be additions occurring on α alone (§161).

Cebolhilha, Veaz and Viviães constitute yet another group of poets, which challenged the codicological analysis in chapter 2. Cebolhilha, discussed under textual Lacuna 12 (former Lacuna 16, §172), could have been transmitted by ω with just one piece, but we find no evidence of double sourcing in his miniscule corpus. His activity period does not flagrantly disrespect the archetype's chronology, but he lived somewhat later than Tenoiro and Guilhade. As for textual Lacuna 13 (former Lacuna 20), the complexity was such that one cannot establish whether the verso of 2^b of XI was blank, included the whole corpus by Veaz or only one of Viviães's pieces (§185). For these two, there is no precise biographical information to date. The debate is open, but we will tentatively list all three as non-archetypal additions in the α branch.

⁷⁸ Oliveira, 1994, p.72. Appendix 3.1, 39b.

Finally, if Anonymous 4 marked a new source and the end of ω in the CA, Pardal plays a similar part in the Italian manuscripts. Thus, unlike Oliveira, who identified Anonymous 4 with Pardal for no reason except the presumed order of poets,⁷⁹ here we necessarily come to regard them as two distinctive poets: since ω ends with Bonifácio but compilation continues, independently, in CA and α , the order of poets must be different in each branch.⁸⁰ Whatever the Italian manuscripts have in common with CA past Bonifácio is fortuitous coincidence of two independent manuscripts, CA and α , accessing similar material independently. This is true of Charinho, Padrom, Ponte, Calvelo, Moxa and R. F. Santiago. As a final word on non-archetypal material, there are thirteen poets who were both transmitted by ω and had their corpora enlarged by α ; these are addressed in the next chapter.

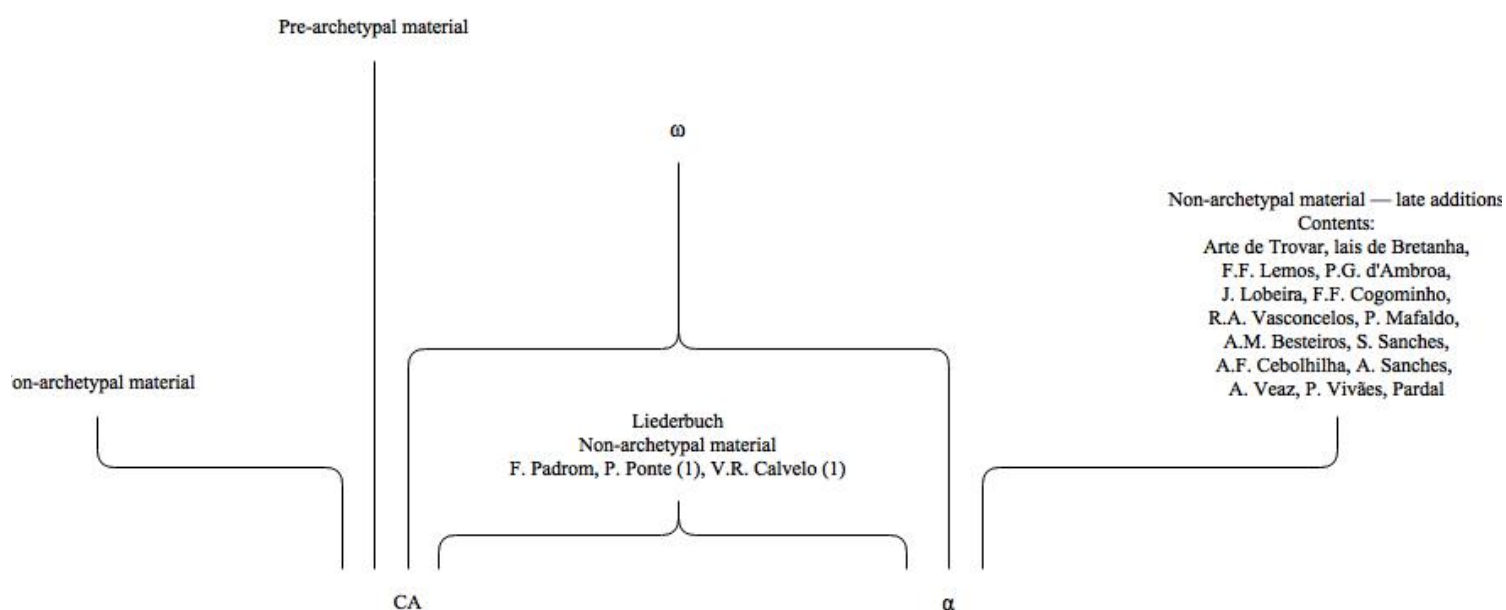


Fig. 9

⁷⁹ Oliveira, 1994, p.61.

⁸⁰ The list here presented can be contrasted against Oliveira, 1994, pp.133-4.

4.6. The relation between ω and α : a manuscript with successive states?

We have seen how pre-archetypal material evolved into ω , how CA accessed pre- and non-archetypal material and how α was also enriched with non-archetypal material in the relevant *cantigas d'amor* section under review. To different extents, most of these ideas develop hypotheses raised by previous scholars. In this section we raise some further possibilities which have not been entertained before.

Firstly, within discussions of Galician-Portuguese secular lyric specifically, it is assumed that a manuscript must be finished before being copied. We have seen absolutely no evidence of that. Rather the opposite seems to be true: ω must have been unfinished when CA was copied, at least in part. We have in sight here seven cases of poems which, being shared by CA and CBN, appear with more stanzas in the Italian manuscript (CA 45, 60, 90, 91, 93, 129, 148). In chapter 1 we already ruled out these being copying mistakes in CA, based on the revisers' profile (§57). It is highly unlikely that the CBN scribe, or any copyist, would have composed them. So, we rule out these being conjectural emendations on the lower levels too. If not conjectural, these emendations had a source. Truly, we could imagine α accessing pre-archetypal material, an analogous situation to the CA marginalia. We note, however, that current scholarship estimates the confection of α between 1325 and 1350. So, a fourteenth-century manuscript would be accessing pre-archetypal material in a more complete form than either ω or CA were ever able to. An alternative solution, simpler and more economical, is to accept that ω continually evolved after CA, into ω' . We have seen that CA flags lacunae in its source by including *réservés*

§ 256. *The archetype was a work in progress.*

on some three or four stanza long pieces (CA 100, 103, 173, 177, 206) (§56). None of these lacunae were emended after CA. Other pieces, which CA did not regard as lacunary, were enlarged in ω' (CA 45, 91, 148) (§57). The archetype thus emerges as an unfinished or open-ended manuscript, incidentally, just like CA. We also record here that the default suspicion displayed in CA towards one- or two-stanza long pieces, discussed in chapter 1, is not awareness of lacunae in ω : they affect both archetypal and non-archetypal material, like CA 38 and 39 (§54, §55).

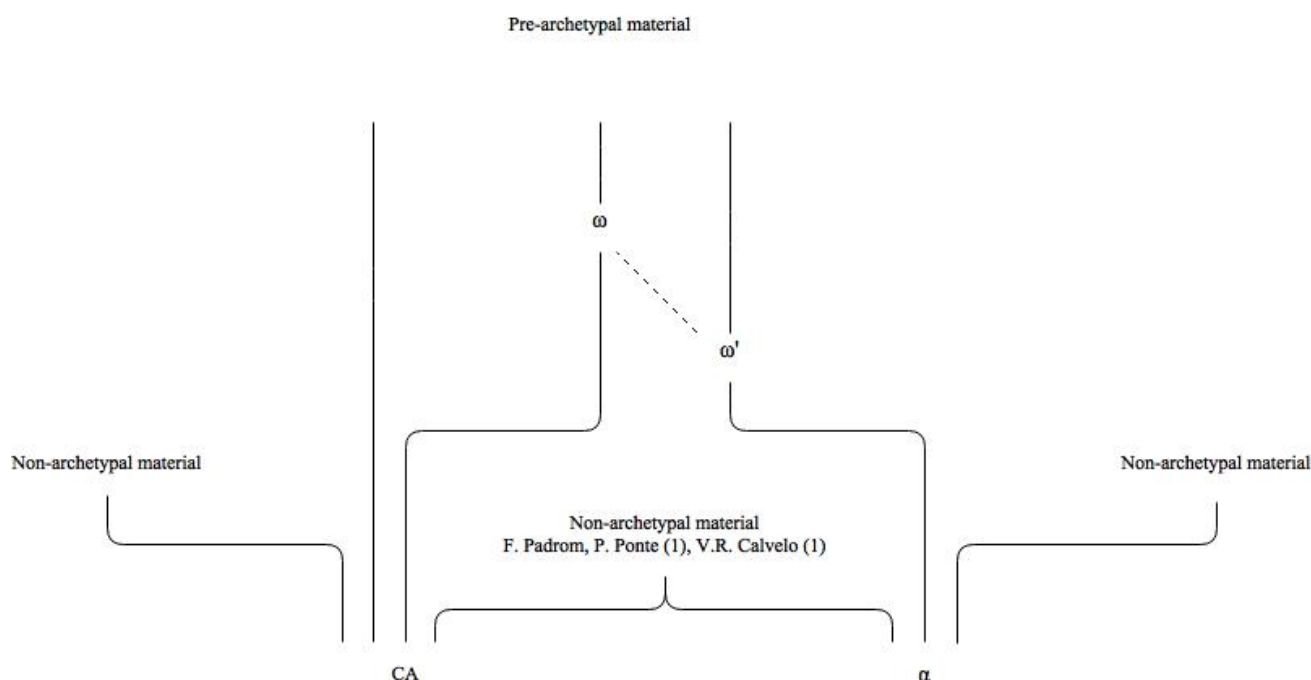


Fig. 10

This hypothesis, which we regard as solid, will be incorporated in our *stemma*.

In the same line that ω was, on one hand, lacunary, on the other, enriched as ω' after the copy of CA, we should question whether ω' and α are two manuscripts or different states of the same manuscript. The concept

§ 257. *The archetype may be identifiable with α .*

of α being a *copy* of a manuscript stems from a Lachmannian-style assumption, shared by every scholar since Michaëlis, as if the only way of producing a longer compilation was by making a new codex from start. But the fact is that one can easily and cheaply produce larger compilations by materially adding extra parchment to a pre-existing codex. Recompilation may not be a scribal practice, but a codicological intervention. In a sense, this is the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*: phase 3 adds sheets to a defunct project rather than recopying it. Compilations, in Gröber's theory, could be made by binding *rotuli* together. Thus, that which has been called α , *Compilação Geral* and – perhaps prematurely – *Livro das Cantigas do Conde de Barcelos* may be a very ancient manuscript, the original *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, transmitted through generations, and which never stopped growing for over a hundred years. It cannot be proven, but it goes some way into explaining why this tradition, despite a number of presumed copies, remains so unitarian, so linear while, paradoxically, no manuscript or fragment survives. If this second *stemma* were to be eventually confirmed, the Italian manuscripts would be more directly related to the archetype and their importance as written testimonies would be increased. The perceptions on conflicting attributions would be framed in different terms: our debates, now saturated with the idea of *error*, would focus on the history of compilation and on medieval *revision*, which if not less challenging is certainly more interesting.

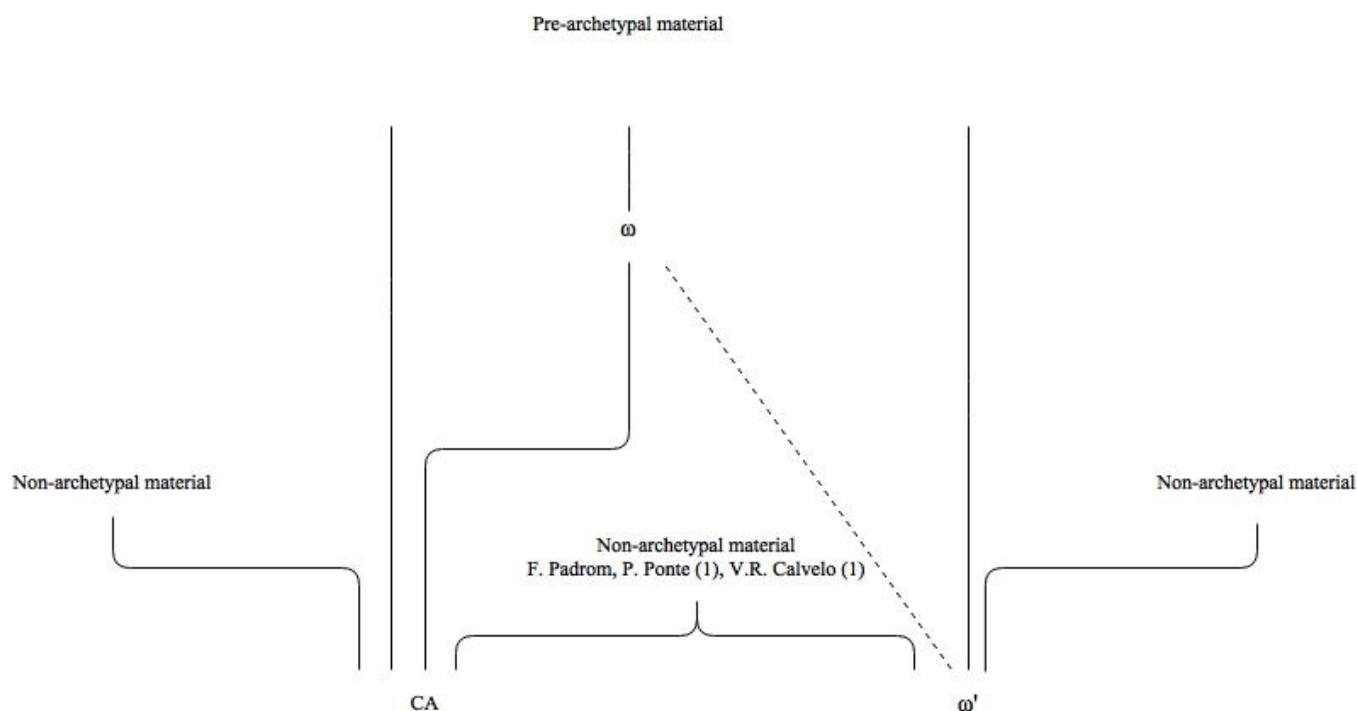


Fig. 11

Both these *stemmata* stand for this conviction: a mutated manuscript does not equal a copied manuscript. The simplest form of modification is not recopying, but alteration of an original. Thus, Textual Criticism should not unduly posit more *interpositi* than necessary; manuscript abundance hinders editorial work and is theoretically inelegant.

Lastly, if the CA was in some sense unfinished, this is acknowledged here in very different terms from the traditional idea. Specifically, the CA *did* make a full, complete, finished textual copy of the *amor* section as represented at the time in the base-manuscript. That is what the CA records, the state of ω in the thirteenth century. And the CA, somehow, in the same or a different scriptorium, received new breath and went beyond the copy of ω and compiled material of its own. The question that remains is: why was the CA a *cantigas d'amor* compilation only? Given that the CA went

§ 258. The CA is a complete copy of its main archetype.

beyond ω , any theory holding to its unfinished condition cannot be sustained. So, either the CA's commissioner was not interested in other genres potentially recorded in ω at the time or these genres were not in ω at all. It is at least plausible that the earliest collections, even back to the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, were monothematic, with other sections being possibly added in ω' or some other later state. The piece of evidence to contradict this is the list of arguments raised for a tripartite *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* which, as discussed above, are more solid and reveal a difference from what happens in the *recolha*.

5. Conclusion

The discussions and *stemmata* in section 4 of this chapter relate to the *cantigas d'amor* section shared between the three extant *cancioneiros*, material exclusive to CA, and the relationship between CA, α and their archetype. This is our main revision to current theories on stemmatics within the Galician-Portuguese secular corpus. The theory and *stemmata* function on a macro scale, holding at the general level of songbooks.

If we were to focus on the Italian sources, however, and their relation to α , we would find that most of the corpus – over a thousand pieces – is unrelated to these *stemmata*. We do not address these here, but will turn to them and discuss some of the existing secondary literature in Section 5 of Chapter 4. In the next chapter, discussion on stemmatics will focus on the micro scale and there will be an opportunity to draw *stemmata* for each poet who composed *cantigas d'amor*, up to the highest level still detectable today, even in those sections of the Italian manuscripts not reviewed here.

These broad discussions therefore can be closed with some important conclusions. We renounce any inference on the archetype's possible bipartite or tripartite structure because the surviving sources – CA *versus* C/CBN/CV – only allow a grounded comparison of the *amor* corpus. The extent of archetypal material shared between CA and α is also reduced – in contrast with former theories – in the *amor* section itself. Rather than extending all the way to R.F. Santiago (CA 310/C 902/CBN 902/CV 487), as hypothesized by Tavani, or to Calvelo (CA 297/C 998/CBN 997/CV 586), according to Oliveira, our archetype would only reach Bonifácio

Calvo (CA 266/C 450/CBN 450), as the latest common element regarding text, order of poems and order of poets (Appendix 3, 3.1). Even so, there are poets, poems, stanzas and readings in both branches, even before Bonifácio, which were not archetypal.

The compilation theory offered here shows the importance of codicology. The physical analysis of the CA, including its mutating *mise-en-page* and the changes in the scriptorium crew form the basis of our revision. The division of the CA as a project in three main phases has been revisited here, for the physical changes match changes in compilation. Group 1 of gatherings (I and II), representing phase 1, starts as a more mechanical copy of a base-manuscript, with little space for active compilation. Phase 2 maintains an adherence to the main source. With Seabra (gathering IX) we have what appears to be a bolder intervention from the compiler, but it is only with Charinho (gatherings X and XI) that a true innovation in compilation can be said to occur. Phase 3 (group 5 of gatherings, XII, XIII, XIV) is codicologically simpler but more elaborate in terms of compilation, lacking a single main source. This will also return in chapter 4, when it might be preferable to distinguish between the first compiler and the compiler of phase 3, as much as we did with the copyists, revisers and rubricators.

The solutions offered here are not mere alternatives to former *stemmata*, but form a coherent structure which follows, by necessity, from recent research. Tavani's *stemma* can no longer be sustained almost unchanged from its conception in the 1960s. The revisions undertaken by D'Heur, Gonçalves and Ferrari preserved the *stemma*'s upper half, as did

scholars working on individual editions. Yet no one has tested the idea of the last gathering of CA being a fragment of various gatherings or that CA was once an *amor* and *amigo* compilation. To untie this logical knot, one needs to accept more complex solutions in which CA, α and ω are all constantly evolving, despite their common materials.

Accordingly, these are the collections properly identified:

- *Cancioneiro de cavaleiros* — c.1250 (1230s-1270s)

As first identified by Oliveira. Its completion date cannot be earlier than Pero Garcia Buralês's lifespan (*flor.*1238-1264) and it should not be much later to him, possibly contemporary, since his corpus had not yet crystallized.

- The archetype, or ω — c.1275 (1250s-pre-1300)

Either a copy of the *cancioneiro* with an appended second compilation or simply the physical addition of former loose lyric material to the *cancioneiro*. In any case, this addition is undertaken by a second compiler, with distinct attitudes. Its start date cannot be earlier than the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. Its “completion” date should not be earlier than Bonifácio Calvo (1253-1266) and Fernão Velho (1250-1275) as these seem to be included in the archetype. The latest “completion” date is more difficult to infer, but a poet such as Vasco Peres Pardal (1250-1300) was not yet present.

- The *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* — c.1300 (1250s-1300s)

The CA is the only confirmed case of a *cancioneiro*'s full copy being made. It was never intended to be a mere copy, though,

but a more comprehensive compilation than its source. The CA provides us with an image of the archetype at a given moment, but the archetype was not a finished collection either. The CA's initial completion date, around gathering XI, is related to the insertion of Paio Gomes Charinho (1248-1295) when its compiler sources this poet independently from ω , but includes him before archetypal poets, like Bonifácio and Velho, in an apparent attempt to improve on the archetype's chronological order. Its final completion date must be contemporary to poets like Martim Moxa (1275-1300) and Rui Fernandes de Santiago (1273). None of CA's last poets – Charinho, Solaz, Padrom, Ponte, Calvelo, Moxa, Santiago – were removed in time since all these corpora, if we except Padrom, are longer in α , that is, they had not had time to crystallise yet.

- The second state of the archetype, or ω'

Once the CA's gathering XI is complete, both ω and CA continue to compile their own materials independently, each following its own path. This early modifications which we term ω' should involve adding extra stanzas to pre-existing corpora (Martim Soares, Pero Garcia Buralês, Rui Queimado and Vasco Gil) and the possible inclusion of Parda (1250-1300) at the end of the collection. As a second state of an existing manuscript, we can only say that the early modifications had to occur after the copy of CA's gathering XI. We find no evidence of a completion date.

- The later modification of the archetype, or α

The label α is reduced to a convenient form of referring to the ultimate format that an evolving compilation eventually acquired. It may have been a copy of ω , it may have been this same perennial evolving manuscript, with more and more material being appended. Its start date, thus, can be as early as the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. It compiled poets as late as D. Pedro, conde de Barcelos (1285-1354) and D. Alfonso XI (1311-1350). It also featured named apocryphal poets, like Alvaro Afonso (*c.1440-flor.1471*), Diogo Gonçalves de Montemor-o-Novo (*flor.1524?*) and Fernando Eanes (*c.1500*). Its ultimate completion date, thus, is late fourteenth or even early fifteenth century.

Chapter 4.

Compilation of the *cantigas d'amor*

Contents

In this chapter we endeavour to:

- ❖ Continue the analysis of the archetypal compilation identified in the previous chapter, mapping its history back to the most remote moments (§259-284);
- ❖ Fine-tune the understanding of the compilation exclusive to the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (§285-291);
- ❖ Draw a profile of successive compilation work (§292-295);
- ❖ Analyse different stages in the compilation of *cantigas d'amor* in those sections of the Italian manuscripts which do not copy the archetypal compilation (§296-323);

Outcome:

The compilation history of all the *cantigas d'amor* is mapped out and described; a better understanding of their sources is achieved; the corpora of different poets are connected on the basis of a common compilation.

Note:

The reader is expected to refer to Appendices 3 and 4.

1. Introduction

In the last chapter we considered the discrete elements, in extant manuscripts, that point to a progressive assemblage of material resulting in *cancioneiros*. But the picture is not complete until those units are reduced to their ultimate size and explained in relation to the compilation process. In this chapter we discuss sequences of *cantigas d'amor* as evidence of early compilation and we will propose *stemmata* for each poet who composed *cantigas d'amor*.

Studies on sequences of *cantigas*, in any genre, are reasonably common and they tend to posit authorial-devised blocks of poems.¹ To this day we have not been satisfied that there is evidence that the sequences of poems, as available today, were devised by the poets and not by someone else.² We will demonstrate in this chapter, however, that some sequences of poems by different poets were organised by the same person or principle. Equally, the sequence of a single poet is occasionally compiled by different compilers or in different moments. Both scenarios are at odds with the idea of authorial-devised sequences.

Our method compares the structure of lyric material across different manuscripts. It also considers text quality and divergent readings in those

¹ Cohen, 2011, pp.637-663; Cohen, 1996, pp.5-49; Perez, 2003; Tavani, 2002, p.152-7.

² Critiques offered by Weiss, 1988, pp.21-37 and Deyermond, 1983, p.121: "It would not follow that the order was chosen by the king [D. Dinis] himself, still less that within each genre it was the order of composition. There are some interesting cases of recurrent features in adjacent poems, but there is no way of knowing whether these indicate consecutive composition or the bringing together of similar poems by the compiler of the original manuscript."

cases in which the same poem was transmitted by different compilers.³ It explores some cases of thematic continuity from poem to poem and considers what they suggest about compilation. Another aspect of prominence is metrical sequences. With the exception of Billy, there has been no investigation of even the most obvious cases.⁴ Yet even Billy is not totally comprehensive and in fact advances little on compilation. He offers codicological observations on the CA, but by tackling metrical sequences in relation to folios and gatherings of the CA, his discussion loses sight of the fact that most sequences are unrelated to this manuscript, going back to archetypal or even pre-archetypal sources.

The structure of this chapter tries to reflect the structure of the manuscripts. For the sake of analysis, we have divided the manuscripts into *cores*. Cores are nuclei or large blocks of poems which have some internal coherence. The first core reflects ω as defined in the last chapter. This will be analysed in Section 2, moving from the most recent collections, to the most remote ones. Section 3 analyses the last three gatherings of CA, material which does not fall into any core or is a core of itself. Section 4 lists the compilers detected in Sections 2 and 3. Section 5 defines and analyses the other cores but the potential for analysis is severely crippled: in the absence of an independent manuscript like CA, the analysis of C/CBN/CV is equivalent to that of a single witness.

A few definitions are also important here. The term *segment*, to be used in this chapter, refers to any detectable influx of lyric material into compilation. In this definition, a segment does not need to derive from a

³ This happens if the text reaches different manuscripts independently or appears twice in the same manuscript.

⁴ Billy, 2004, pp.177-184.

single source. For example, a compiler who would select ten poems from ten different manuscripts and copy these in sequence would create what is here described as a segment, even if the originals lack a unified structure.

A *compiler*, in turn, is not a historical human being, but a detectable rationale in compilation, that is, a compiler is a segment with underlying logic. One suspects that it would be at the historical compilers' discretion to impose or not some logic to their work. When choosing to do so, they would leave a "fingerprint", which can only be erased or changed by subsequent historical compilers. These fingerprints may be widespread principles, like genre division, or very peculiar. Any detectable principle is not treated as the work of chance. That is to say: whenever an ordered sequence is found, a compiler is posited.

The abstract distinction between segments and compilers actually has practical implications. When we detect two segments in a poet's corpus, one archetypal and one non-archetypal, for example, it does not follow that the non-archetypal segment can only be regarded as a single influx: what functions as a single segment at one level of compilation may be the result of several segments at higher levels. Conversely, what we call a compiler, may affect the corpora of several poets. The segments thus help tracing how each poet's corpus was gradually recorded over the years, while the compilers bring together different poets and larger trends in compilation.

2. The first core — ω , CA and α

Under this section we reanalyse all the lyric material from chapter 3, now on a micro scale, constructing a partial *stemma* for each poet. It must be stressed that this series of *stemmata* is not an analysis of CA, but of an abstract region of the *cancioneiros*. We call it the first core. Essentially, it runs from the *lais de Bretanha* in CBN, down to the last archetypal poet, Bonifácio Calvo. It is *abstract* because, in point of fact, it does not exist (and never existed) in any specific *cancioneiro*, but for the sake of analysis we can create this purely imaginary sequence of poets and texts which is laid down in Appendix 3.

2.1. Piano basso (CA and α)

2.1.1. Poets whose corpora were transmitted through multiple sources

Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros⁵

Segment 1: CBN 51 – CBN 71 (presumed)
 Cancioneiro de cavaleiros
 Segment 2: CBN 72
 Never reached ω

§ 259. *Fernão
 Rodrigues
 de
 Calheiros.*

Given CA Lacuna 1, we are deprived of a proper comparison here, as much as with most poets from the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. We posit as obvious that Calheiros's CBN 72 was non-archetypal: the composition represents two inverted stanzas of CBN 57. This implies double sourcing and a separate manuscript transmission, which one would expect to be detected and resolved if it had passed by several compilers. The piece must have been added relatively late, directly into α , at the end of Calheiro's received sequence.

João Soares Somesso⁶

Segment 1: CA 14/CBN 107 – CA 30/CBN 123
 CBN 124 – CBN 128 (reconstructed)
 Cancioneiro de cavaleiros
 Segment 2: CBN 104 – CBN 106
 Never reached ω

§ 260. *João
 Soares
 Somesso.*

CBN 104-106 are inserted in α , the first being a satirical piece, incompatible with ω 's compilation practice. The lost folio in CA (gathering I, 4^a) could not possibly contain any piece by Somesso since CA 14/CBN 107 is preceded by an illumination in this manuscript, as discussed in Chapter 2, under Lacuna 2. This compiler adds material at the opening of

⁵ Appendix 3.1, 12.

⁶ Appendix 3.1, 15.

the sequence, disregarding the tripartite genre division in place, given that CBN 104 is a satirical piece.

Somesso's original sequence definitely extended from CA 14/CBN 107 to CA 30/CBN 123. CBN 124-CBN 128 were presumably in CA's lost gathering, Lacuna 3, and thus in ω , with a *caveat*: as a lost gathering, we could not propose a precise reconstruction, ergo, there remains a margin of doubt as to whether CBN 124-CBN 128 were partially or totally in the archetype. We note, however, that the surviving ω sequence is very homogenous: *meestria* poems, four stanzas in length, each with seven octosyllabic lines. Only CA 25/CBN 118 disrupts the pattern, with two stanzas. In this context, it seems telling that the poems absent from the extant CA are the ones with different metrical profiles.

CBN 104, the *escarnho* poem, has a *refrão*, three stanzas of eight lines, in a combination of hexa- and decasyllabic. This may be due to different compositional approaches, by Somesso, based on genre. But even the two *amor cantigas* that follow it are shorter: two and three stanzas. Here metrics are associated with a different compiler.

Under CA's Lacuna 3, CBN 124 continues the 4×7×8 profile, while CBN 125 innovates with six lines per stanza. The last pieces, while keeping the seven octosyllabic pattern, gradually decrease compositional length: CBN 126 with three stanzas, CBN 127 with two, and CBN 128 with one. This could be the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*'s compiler organizing the material metrically, if we assume them all to be archetypal. Alternatively, we could posit that also these pieces escaping the standard metrical profile were absent from ω and from CA, finding their way into the compilation

later, in ω' or α . In the latter case, the earliest compilers would be ostensibly selecting Somesso's corpus based on metrical features. If this second hypothesis is preferred, our *stemma* below, representing the first hypothesis, would be marginally amended, with a segment 3 reaching α .

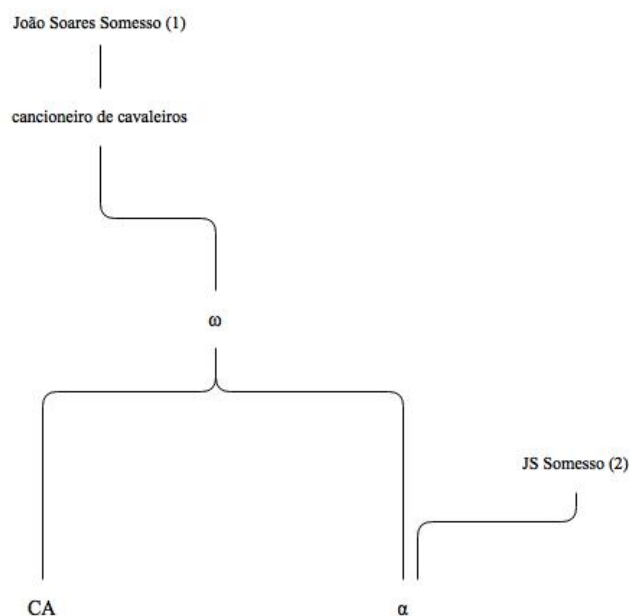


Fig. 1

Nuno Anes Cerzeo⁷

Segment 1: unknown
Possibly cancionero de cavaleiros
Segment 2: unknown (presumed)
Never reached ω

§ 261. Nuno Anes
Cerzeo.

Cerzeo is another example which, though excluded by Oliveira from CA, was here admitted in this manuscript after codicological and biographical data, as discussed under Lacuna 3. In short, as argued by Michaëlis, the lacuna seems very long, a whole gathering, making Cerzeo, transmitted in CBN, a good candidate to fill the relevant space.

⁷ Appendix 3.1, 16.

Among Oliveira's arguments, one is of special interest in the context of this chapter, namely, the rubric "Nun Eanes Cerzeo que fez estas cantigas damor", which opens the sequence in CBN and is used by Oliveira as evidence that the whole corpus, nine poems, was not in ω , where such rubric would have been redundant. Such an argument, though persuasive at first sight, bears an inner paradox: if the whole sequence was sourced at a single moment, with their respective rubric, it would follow that all the pieces were *cantigas d'amor*. We contend, however, that CBN 135 is not an *amor* piece and would not fit a cycle headed by such a rubric. The poem is defined by Cerzeo as a *descordo*, a definition which speaks more of its multifaceted metrical structure (its form) rather than its theme (genre). Thematically, the speaker bids farewell to a country where he is and announces a new life for himself, a *cantiga*, therefore, similar to Alfonso X's famous *Nom me posso pagar tanto* (CBN 480/CV 63). Alfonso's piece was compiled among satirical pieces and is occasionally regarded as a *maldizer aposto*,⁸ although, admittedly, Alfonso's language is far more caustic than Cerzeo's, who maintains some ambivalence. Cerzeo's piece, notwithstanding, does not mention any lady and *cantigas d'amor* without the keyword *senhor* are exceptional. This in itself is enough to question if a compiler would classify it as a *cantiga d'amor*. The conflict between rubric and the peculiarities of CBN 135 makes it very likely that Cerzeo's corpus was sourced in successive stages. Of course, double sourcing alone does not invalidate Oliveira's ultimate inference – that Cerzeo was non-archetypal – but it

⁸ The view is sustained by Michaëlis, 2004, GM V, pp.165-74; Hart, 1999. However, this is disputed by De Lollis, 1901, pp.382-6; Lapa, 1970, p.13.

completes our argument that Cerzeo may have been partially sourced in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*.

The number of *cantigas* by Cerzeo which may have been transmitted from ω remains undetermined, though one could venture saying that it was not marginal, given the considerable size of Lacuna 3. If the rubric argument is to be accepted, one would need to imagine the rubric and a number of poems being added in α , a middle section of archetypal material as a second segment and CBN 135 at least as yet a third segment. Overall, we find no evidence that Cerzeo's corpus was built from three sources, it being therefore preferable to leave the question open.

Paio Soares de Taveirós⁹

§ 262. *Paio
Soares de
Taveirós.*

Segment 1: CBN 145 (reconstructed)
CA 31/CBN 146 – CA 35/CBN 150
Cancioneiro de cavaleiros
Segment 2: CA 36 – CA 39
Never reached ω

Taveirós's corpus started with CBN 145 in CA as discussed under Lacuna 3. The common sequence shared by both branches thus extends up to CA 35/CBN 150. In CA only, Paio Soares de Taveirós has four extra pieces, CA 36-39, right at the end of the main sequence. In CBN, Taveirós's last poem is followed by a blank space of thirteen lines (fl.38r) and a whole blank page (fl.38v). There are then three folio stubs but these are not a CBN lacuna. In fact, fl.38v has a catchword, "pero $\bar{q}$ punhen" remitting to the next surviving folio, fl.39r. The sequence as transmitted by CBN must be regarded as the original ω sequence. This is the typical example of a

⁹ Appendix 3.1, 18.

compiler, in this case in CA, enriching the main source without disturbing its order of poets, by adding the extra material once the main copying process is over.¹⁰ This CA compiler shows no metrical concern.

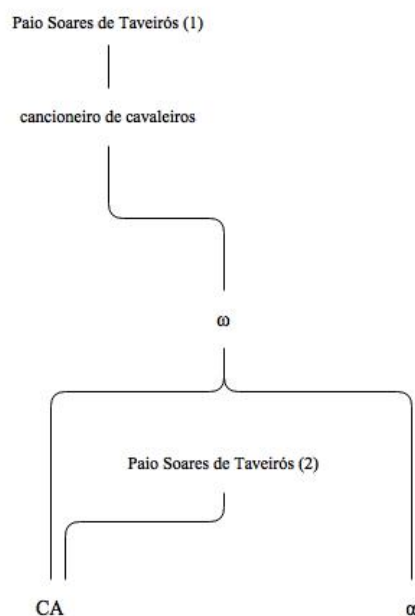


Fig. 2

Martim Soares¹¹

§ 263. *Martim Soares.*

- Segment 1: CBN 151 (reconstructed)
CA 40/CBN 152 – CA 60/CBN 171
Cancioneiro de cavaleiros
- Segment 2: CA 61
CA's lost *cantigas* (?)
Never reached ω
- Segment 3: CBN 143; CBN 144; CBN 172
Never reached ω

Martim Soares is a slight challenge: the central sequence, CA 40/CBN 152-CA 60/CBN 171, shared by both branches, was in ω . In chapter 2, under Lacuna 4, it was seen that Soares would have had one poem opening his corpus but we could not determine on codicological

¹⁰ *pace* Oliveira, 1994, p.142.

¹¹ Appendix 3.1, 17b and 19.

grounds alone which *cantiga* was it. This is most likely to be CBN 151 and so the original ω sequence would include it. Otherwise, we need to imagine a lost poem in CA opening Martim Soares's corpus so, either way, it is acknowledged that the corpus of this poet was enriched by the CA compiler. The reason why we prefer CBN 151 as Soares's first poem in CA is due to an analogy with Taveirós. Clearly a compiler is active in CA here. His *modus operandi*, in Taveirós, is to observe the archetypal order of poets and of poems and enrich the sequences with extra sources at the end. With CA 61 (=CBN 151) we then posit a second source available to CA's compiler. Like in Taveirós's corpus, this is added at the end of the received sequence, but here causing a *doppio*.

Admittedly, it is impossible to determine beyond doubt whether the poem, being transmitted by ω , was copied in each branch in different positions or even if it arrived independently in each branch. Oliveira suggested that CA 61 was the closing piece in ω 's sequence and that α or one of its copies caused it to be miscopied as the opening poem, after CBN 172, a satirical piece, was added.¹² It is however difficult to conceive how the copying of an extra piece (CBN 172) at the end of a sequence could cause a change on the first poem being copied (CBN 151), especially when we consider that the beginning should have been already copied by then.

Given Lacuna 5 and the apparent addition of CA 61 in CA, the possibility of lost poems by Soares in this extracted page is tangible and even likely. In other words, additional lost *cantigas* by Soares may have existed, not in Lacuna 4, but in Lacuna 5.

¹² *pace* Oliveira, 1994, p.142.

A third source must be posited to explain the addition of CBN 143 and CBN 144, satirical pieces, in the α branch. These are inserted carelessly, disrupting not only the genre division but also the order of poets, since they precede Taveirós. Another insertion, that of CBN 172 also disrupts genre, but was done more carefully, in that it is added at the end of Soares's sequence. These insertions may well have been independent of each other.

On the ω sequence a couple of specificities call attention. The compiler does not display special metrical concern, except that two blocks of poems CA 41/CBN 153-CA 44/CBN 156 and CA 50/CBN 162-CA 52/CBN 164 are all *unissonans*. This might be more a matter of coincidence than design. Secondly, CA 45 and CA 60 are shorter than their corresponding pairs CBN 157 and CBN 171. Apparently, a compiler in the α branch double-checked and enriched the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*'s sequence here with pre-archetypal material.

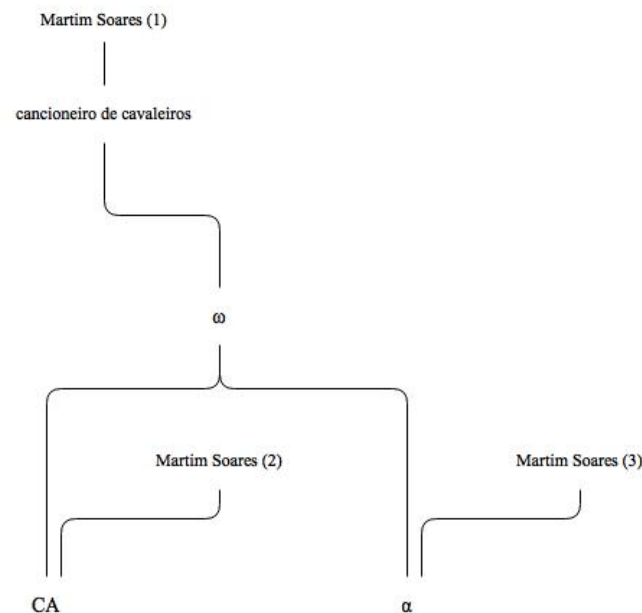


Fig. 3

Airas Carpancho¹³

§ 264. *Airas
Carpancho.*

Segment 1: CA 64/CBN 176 – CA 67/CBN 179
Cancioneiro de cavaleiros

Segment 2: CBN 175
Never reached ω

Carpancho's CBN 175 is similar to Somesso in that a piece added in α was inserted at the beginning of the sequence. As established (§113), the piece was never planned in CA. The additional poem has some specificities when compared with the original sequence, in that it is the only *meestria* poem and the only combining masculine and feminine rhymes.

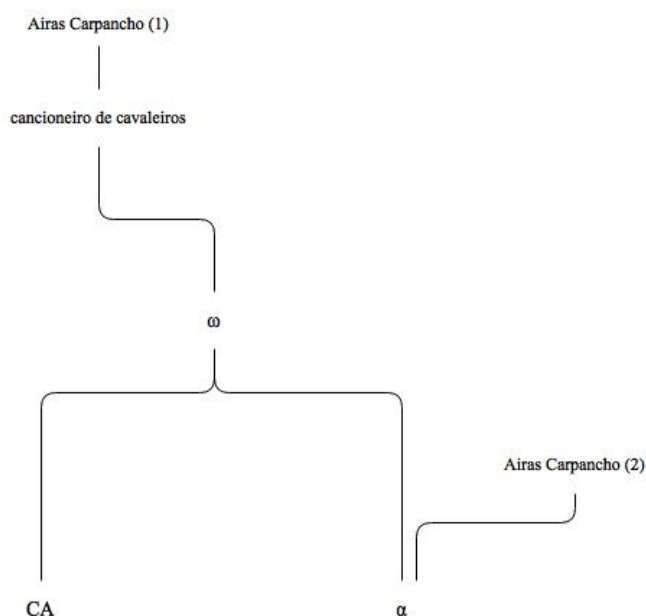


Fig. 4

¹³ Appendix 3.1, 21.

Nuno Rodrigues de Candarei¹⁴

§ 265. *Nuno
Rodrigues
de
Candarei.*

Segment 1: CA 68/CBN 181b – CA 69/CBN 182

Cancioneiro de cavaleiros

Segment 2: CBN 180 – CBN 181

Never reached ω

Like Somesso and Carpancho, Candarei's CBN 180 and 181 were inserted in the α branch before the original ω sequence. Again this is clear from CA's illumination and the denial of former Lacuna 7. Size notwithstanding, Candarei's corpus offers a number of challenges and it is not exaggerate to say that only CBN 180 is uncontroversial.

CBN 181 was inaccurately edited by Michaëlis, who considered it a fragmentary *meestria* piece, with eight octosyllabic lines. The rhyme scheme listed in the critical apparatus is ababcbac, but the text is edited as abxbacac.¹⁵ In her edition, the total number of stanzas and the poem design were left undecided. A much more obvious editorial solution was offered by Lopes, Ferreira, et al. to whom the poem is not fragmentary at all. Instead, it is a *refrão* poem, with two stanzas of six lines, scheme aaBCBC, *rimas unissonans*. In order to achieve that, the editors present it as a heterometric lines, alternating sixteen (lines aa) and eight syllables (refrain bcbc), all ending in masculine rhymes. An alternative to this would be rhyme scheme axaxbcbc, an isometric octosyllabic composition with eight lines per stanza. We consider, therefore, that segment 2 had a perfect manuscript transmission.

As a result, segment 1 is the sole focus of difficulty. CA 68/CBN 181b reappears as CBN 1451/CV 1061 when it is attributed to João de Gaia instead, and is copied with an additional stanza. The three-stanza

¹⁴ Appendix 3.1, 22.

¹⁵ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.792.

composition in CA is followed by a stanza *réserve* of ten lines, whereas the additional stanza of CBN 1451/CV 1061 is not the fourth, but the second. Russo argued that Gaia may have been responsible for extending Candarei's earlier composition – an unconventional theory, though not impossible.¹⁶

We disagree with her on the following grounds: Russo does not consider the ten-line space to be a stanza *réserve*. Our discussion in Chapter 1, §56, reviews this topic when we established that blank spaces after three-stanza compositions are *réserves* derived from the perception, in CA, that ω was damaged or incomplete. It is conspicuous that the *réserve* is located at the end whereas the missing stanza is the second, but it does not follow that Gaia composed it. It is, however, indisputable that the original composition is by Candarei. Gaia is a fourteenth-century poet and could not be present in the thirteenth-century CA. It seems economical to posit that a non-fragmentary version was independently transmitted, added in the satirical section of CBN/CV and for some reason was misattributed.

CA 69/CBN 182 was discussed in Chapter 3, §235. Transmitted in CA under the same illumination, it means that in the thirteenth century, CA 68 and CA 69 were attributed to a single poet, although CBN presents us with two different rubrics, Nuno Rodrigues Candarei and Nuno Porco, respectively. Why CBN 182 is attributed to a “Nuno Porco” remains a mystery, but this seems less an error and more of a fourteenth-century attribution revision. Whether one should favour an early attribution or a late revision is entirely open to debate.

¹⁶ Russo, 1993.

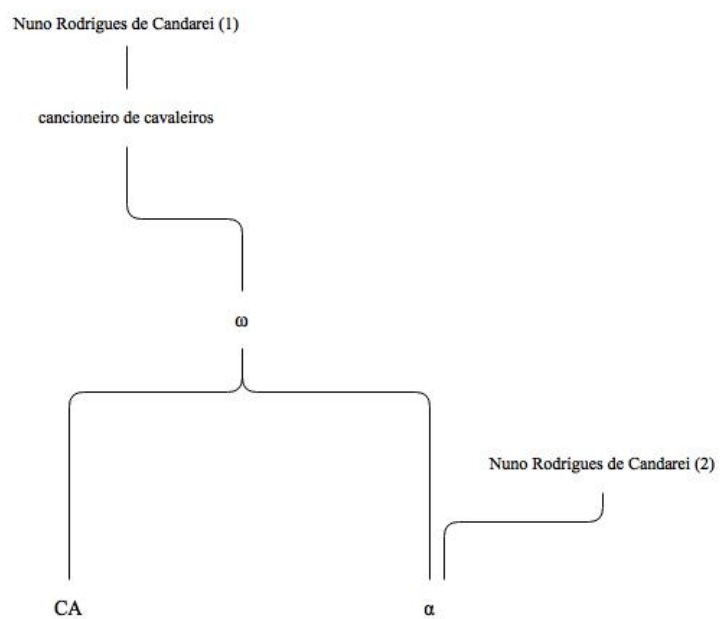


Fig. 5

Nuno Fernandes Torneol¹⁷

§ 266. *Nuno
Fernandes
Torneol.*

Segment 1: CA 70/CBN 183 – CA 81/CBN 184b

Cancioneiro de cavaleiros

Segment 2: CBN 185b

Never reached ω

Torneol must have had one piece, CBN 185b, inserted in α , at the end of his original sequence, since CA 81 ends on fl.20v right at the top of the page. Therefore, presumably, CBN 185b would have been copied in the blank space if it had been in ω . The former Lacuna 8 may not exist or it may have been a blank folio, but it would not include Torneol's poem.

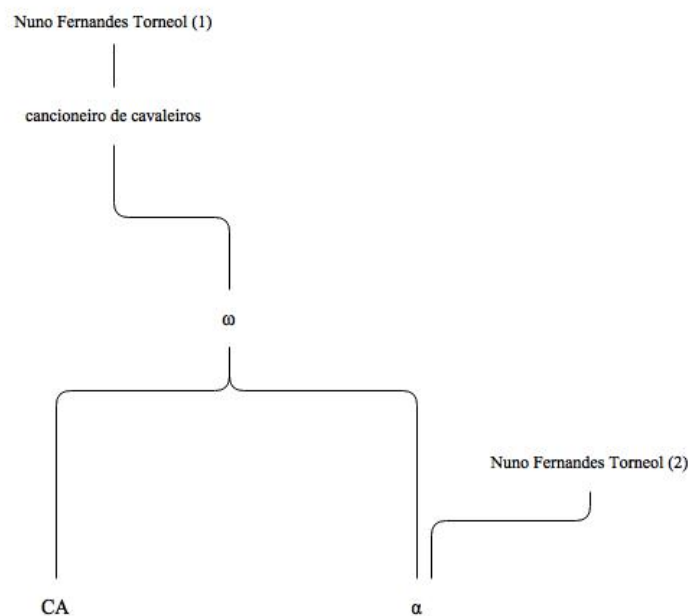


Fig. 6

¹⁷ Appendix 3.1, 23.

Pero Garcia Burgalês¹⁸

§ 267. *Pero
Garcia
Burgalês.*

For segments 1 and 2, *vide* §278.

Segment 3: CBN 220 – CBN 223

Never reached ω

Burgalês's corpus in CA ends on fl.28r, with some blank space in column d, followed by a blank page, fl.28v. There is no material lacuna in CA. The four extra pieces transmitted by CBN would not fit in the blank space and the CA's compiler must have been unaware of them. CBN 222 might be a satirical poem. Whether the compiler would have realised this or not is an open question: the *cantiga* seemingly develops the theme of love, but lacks some usual elements, the word *senhor*, most notably. CBN 221 and CBN 223 are thematically linked, so the compiler was not actively grouping poems by theme. This contrasts with segment 2 of Burgalês's corpus, to be discussed later.

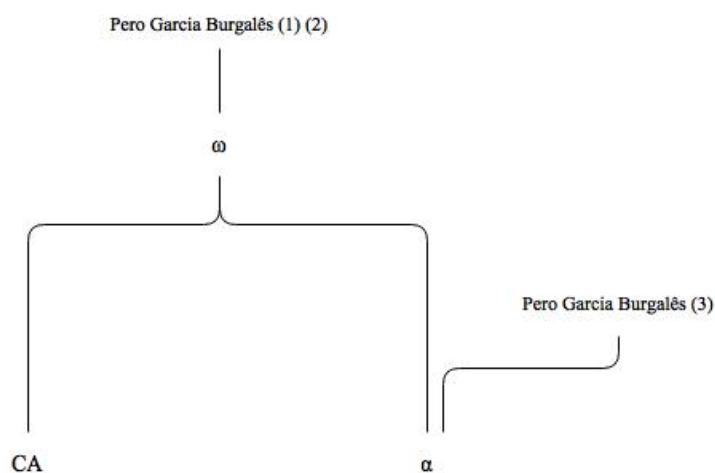


Fig. 7

¹⁸ Appendix 3.1, 24.

Rui Queimado¹⁹§ 268. *Rui
Queimado.*

Segment 1: CA 129/CBN 250 – CA 143/CBN 264

Recolha de trovadores portugueses

Segment 2: CBN 265; CBN 266

Never reached ω

To Queimado's original sequence, two pieces were added in α . The first is a *cantiga d'amigo*, disrupting the genre division and confirming the double sourcing. Furthermore, fl.36v ends with a considerable blank space and the former Lacuna 11, if it was a lost folio, could not contain the CBN pieces, as discussed in chapter 2. The absence of a *fiinda* in CA 129, transmitted in CBN 250, should also point to Queimado's corpus being enriched in ω 's right branch.

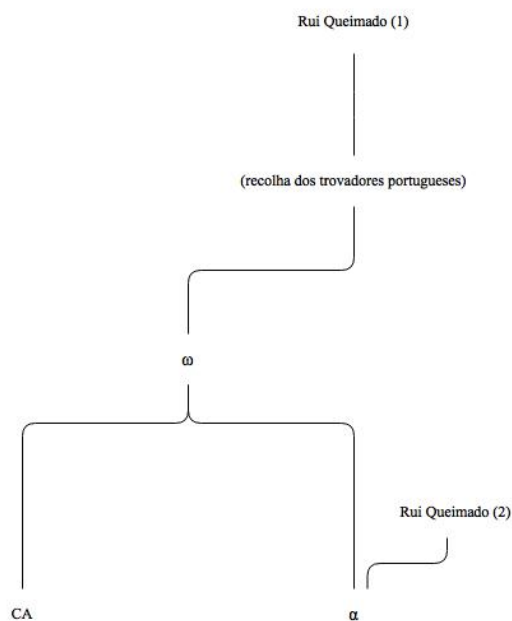


Fig. 8

¹⁹ Appendix 3.1, 27.

João d'Aboim²⁰

§ 269. *João
d'Aboim.*

Segment 1(presumed): C 295 – C 311
Recolha de trovadores portugueses
Segment 2: CA 157
Never reached ω

Aboim's corpus did not survive, but for a mention in the *Tavola Colocciana*. The analysis of fl.40r, palaeographically distinctive, has led us to admit that CA 157 was added in a later confection phase of CA. For this reason, the piece was non-archetypal and his corpus must have been partially enriched in CA.

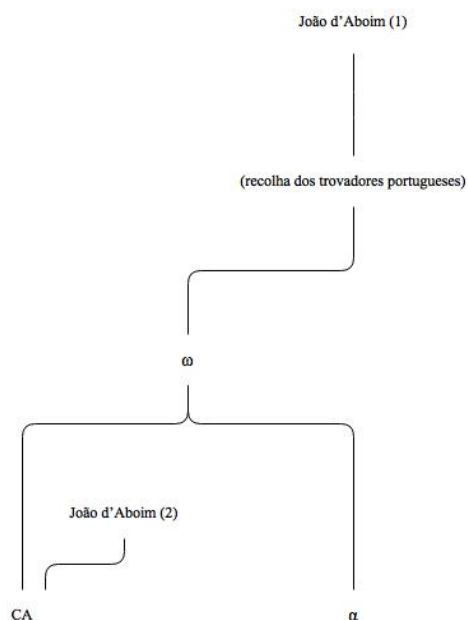


Fig. 9

²⁰ Appendix 3.1, 30.

Rodrigo Anes Redondo²¹

§ 270. *Rodrigo
Anes
Redondo.*

Segment 1: CBN 333 – CBN 336 (reconstructed)
Recolha de trovadores portugueses
Segment 2: CBN 331; CBN 332
Never reached ω

Rodrigo Anes Redondo falls under textual Lacuna 9 (former Lacuna 13), which has given rise to much controversy as to whether he was in CA at all and, if so, with how many poems. The codicological analysis in Chapter 2 argued for the loss of a folio in this lacuna, demonstrated that Redondo could be in this lost folio with four poems, but could not prove then if this really was the case.

Redondo (*flor.*1232-1311) is allocated after J.S. Coelho (*flor.*1235-1279) and before R.P. de Ribela (*c.*1255-1275) and J.L. d’Ulhoa (*c.*1250-1286). This is to say that his position in the order of poets is reasonably consistent with the chronological arrangement associated with ω .

CBN 331 is a duplicate of CBN 335 while CBN 332 is an *amigo* composition. This proves that Redondo’s corpus was sourced in two separate stages, given that a single source would not, ordinarily, duplicate the same text. CBN 331-2 is therefore an addition made in α at the beginning of a presumed original sequence of CBN 333-6.

We cannot offer any definitive proof that CBN 333-6 were all from the same source. Admittedly, the extent of segment 2 could be larger than just CBN 331-2, but, since there is no reason to assume so, we would rather maintain the most economical theory: two poems added in α before an original sequence of four. We cannot prove, either, that segment 1 was originally in ω . In theory, both segments could have been added in separate

²¹ Appendix 3.1, 32.

stages in α only. Our preference for ω is again just the most economical solution. The ω sequence subsequently enriched in α is an ordinary phenomenon and Redondo's chronology is consistent. The fact we have a lacuna in CA of exactly one folio (1^b of VII), just the precise space for those four pieces, is thus eloquent.

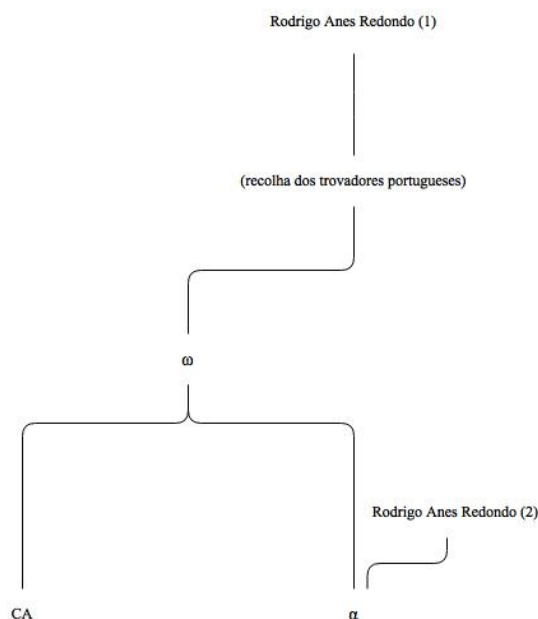


Fig. 10

Fernão Gonçalves de Seabra²²

Segment 1?: CA 210 – CA 216, *vide* §293.

Segment 1: CA 217/CBN 384 – CA 220/CBN 387

Recolha de trovadores portugueses

Unknown segment: CBN 388.

Unknown segment: CA 221/CBN 389.

Segment 2: CBN 390; CBN 391/CV 1

Never reached ω

§ 271. *Fernão
Gonçalves
de Seabra.*

Seabra offers one of the greatest challenges. In CA, his position is in fl.55v, opening gathering IX. The first seven compositions, CA 210-216, are exclusive to this manuscript. It would appear to be another case of compilers enriching the primary source, though it is the only case in CA where the

²² Appendix 3.1, 38.

addition precedes the source. With CA 221, though, the issue becomes even thornier. The comparative order of poems runs like this:

CA	217	218	219	220		221		
CBN	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391
CV								1

The gap in CV is easy to account for: the manuscript is well known for being mutilated in the beginning and may just be ignored here. Now, we have a perfect sequence of four pieces in common to CA and CBN. CBN 388 then intrudes in what would otherwise be a sequence of five, that is, interposing between CA 220 and CA 221. In CA these were copied on fl.58r, with a space of a mere nine blank lines between the two compositions.

After CA 221, we have a blank page, fl.58v, and two extra compositions in CBN, but the probability of it being a *réservé* is almost nil: at this point, we are in gathering IX, phase 2 (at the end of group 3 of gatherings), in which one blank page normally precedes the beginning of a cycle (§167). The question, then, is: how CA and CBN had access to a sequence of poems which is, at once, very similar and yet different? A few possibilities emerge:

1. The sequence was a somewhat stable cycle on its own, like a single rotulus or very short compilation. It reaches CA and α independently, that is not through ω , as CA 217-221 and, in a slightly enlarged state, as CBN 384-391. This must be ruled out otherwise we cannot account for the fact that Seabra's position in the order of poets coincides in both branches.

2. The sequence CA 217-221 is transmitted by ω , and enlarged in α alone (CBN 388, 390 and 391).

3. The sequence CA 217-220 is transmitted by ω , in which case CA 221/CBN 389 arrives in both branches independently.

4. The full sequence, CA 217-221, including CBN 388, six poems, was archetypal, but CBN 388 suffered some damage already in ω . The *réservé* of nine lines in CA would be interpreted as the scribe's awareness of this problem. The text is eventually recovered in ω' , in an analogous situation to the addition of stanzas. The pieces CBN 390 and 391 derive from an independent and later source.

There is nothing metrically which helps decide for any of these possibilities. We are unable to provide a definitive solution to Seabra here, beyond these conjectures. It seems clear that he was archetypal and that his corpus was enriched in the α branch, but what happened exactly is not clear. Only a partial *stemma* can be offered as a result. The topic of CA 210-216 will be revisited later in this chapter.

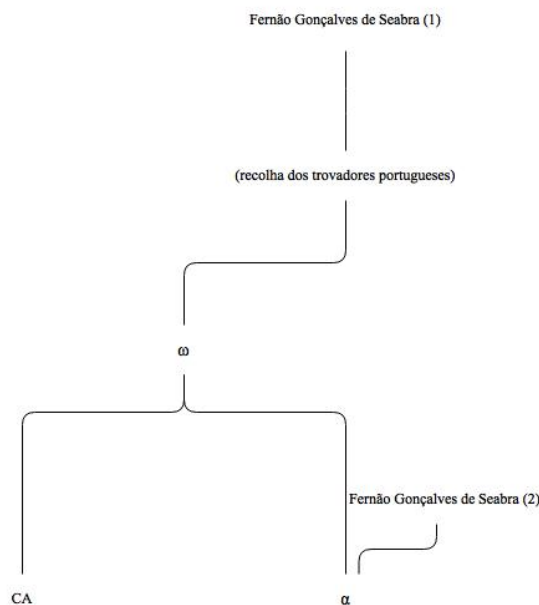


Fig. 11

Mem Rodrigues Tenoiro²³

§ 272. *Mem
Rodrigues
Tenoiro.*

Segment 1: CBN 397/CV 7 – CBN 400/CV 10
(reconstructed)

CA 226/CBN 401/CV 11 – CA 227/CBN
402/CV 12

Recolha de trovadores portugueses

Segment 2: CBN 403/CV 13; CBN 403b/CV 14

Never reached ω

Tenoiro had two poems added in α , CBN 403/CV 13 and CBN 403b/CV 14, respectively an *amigo* piece and a satirical *tenção*. The first only had its first stanza copied, being later copied in full as CBN 718/CV 319, in the *cantigas d'amigo* section. The original ω sequence in any case can be confirmed through CA, which ends in CA 227 on fl.61r followed by a blank space and a blank verso. The first four poems in the Italian sources, CBN 397/CV 7 to CBN 400/CV 10, were in ω and were reconstructed in CA, under textual lacuna 11 (former Lacuna 15).

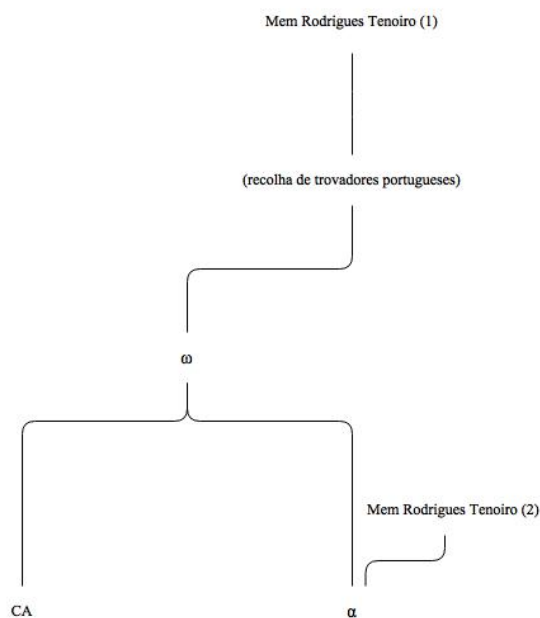


Fig. 12

²³ Appendix 3.1, 41.

João Garcia de Guilhade²⁴

§ 273. *João
Garcia de
Guilhade.*

Segment 1: CBN 417/CV 28
CA 228/CBN 418/CV 29 – CA 234/CBN
424/CV 36
Recolha de trovadores portugueses
Segment 3: CBN 425/CV 37 – CBN 427/CV 39
Never reached ω
Segment 2: CA 235 – CA 239
Never reached ω

Guilhade's original corpus, as transmitted from the *recolha de trovadores portugueses*, ranges from CBN 417/CV 28 to CA 234/CBN 424/CV 36. The first piece was in CA's textual Lacuna 12 (former Lacuna 16), the lost 2^a folio of gathering X. In CA this piece would have had *fiinda* staves, according to our reconstruction in Chapter 2, so that the number of lines occupied by this piece would neatly fit a full lost page. This is eloquent here, because the lost poem with CA 232-3 form a sequence in which all *fiindas* had staves, this being a feature of segment 1.

A second segment consists of CA 235-CA 239, poems not transmitted in the Italian sources. The CA compiler adds them at the end of the received sequence, just as he previously did with Martim Soares and Taveirós. In this source, *fiindas* did not have staves and this is reflected in the CA scribe's attitude.

In yet a third segment, four poems are added in α. In CA there is no lacuna and we see another *doppio*, the paradigmatic feature of double sourcing: CBN 426/CV 38 repeats CA 228/CBN 418/CV 29, that is, two independent sources mechanically juxtaposed to the extent that even their overlap is not corrected by the compiler. CBN 425/CV 37 has been taken as unclassifiable, but we contend that this is not one piece at all, but, at least,

²⁴ Appendix 3.1, 43.

two different poems which have been carelessly copied as one. The rhyme scheme varies for each stanza: ababaa; ababbb; ababcc and the meaning is truncated. Thus, lines 1-10 must be the beginning of a satirical piece, rhyme scheme ababaa abab[...], while lines 11-18 are from either one or two *amor* pieces, [...]bb ababcc. Four original compositions from segment 3 now appear as three poems in CBN/CV.

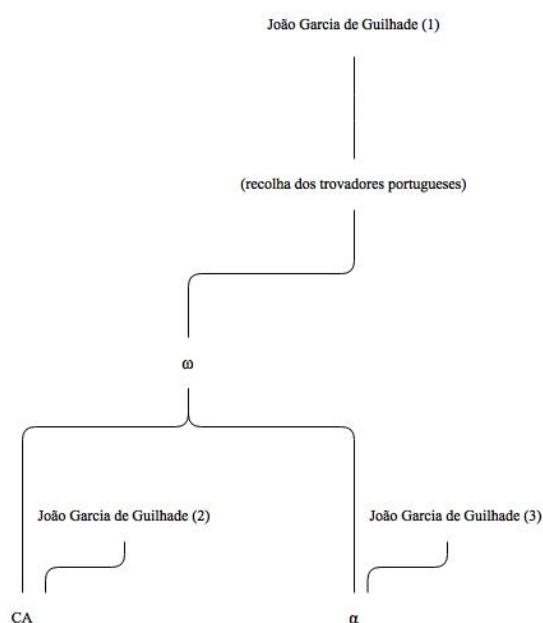


Fig. 13

Estevão Faião²⁵

§ 274. *Estevão Faião.*

Segment 1: CA 240/CBN 428/CV 40
 (Recolha de trovadores portugueses)
 Unknown segment: CA 241
 Independent source never reached ω ?
 Fragmented text in ω ?
 Segment 2: CBN 429/CV 41
 Never reached ω

Only Faião's first poem is shared by both branches of the *stemma*. In CA this is followed by the fragmentary CA 241, a single line of an

²⁵ Appendix 3.1, 44.

interrupted poem, the rest of the column and the whole of the next page left totally blank, while in the Italian sources we find CBN 429/CV 41.

Concerning CA 241, according to Michaëlis, the scribe “interrompeu o seu trabalho, talvez ao reconhecer que tinha cometido um erro.”²⁶ This is possible, but one wonders why the line was not erased, which is normal procedure, and why the poem was not finished. In the electronic edition by Lopes, Ferreira, et al., the editors take Michaëlis’s suggestion further: the scribal error would be a matter of attribution and thus authorship should be suspended. The imagined situation is: the scribe suspends the copy from the base manuscript, changes to a *rotulus*, realises that the text should be in someone else’s cycle and stops copying. Conceivable, but surely if the scribe has a good manuscript and realised the error, the *incipit* would eventually reappear somewhere else, provided that it was a *cantiga d’amor*.

Alternatively, the scribe could have started his work, incidentally interrupted, and neglected to complete it. The poem is in gathering X, late phase 2, though, and one would expect the two revisers, still active at this point, to note the error. In yet a third scenario, the poem could be fragmentary in ω , CA copies whatever was still readable and the fragment is eventually lost or abandoned in α . This last theory, to the best of our knowledge not contemplated by previous scholars, is actually the best solution. It is in keeping with the recurrent inference that ω was incomplete and fragmented, it maintains the poem’s attribution to Faião, and it explains the eccentric behaviour of scribe and revisers in CA. As damaged text, the

²⁶ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.470.

disappearance in another branch is to be expected even if it cannot be proven.

Regarding CBN 429/CV 41, it must be a later addition. The blank page in CA, fl.65v, must be seen as a standard blank page at the end of a cycle, rather than a *réservé*. Thus, seemingly, ω had one complete poem, the α branch added one poem at end of it and a fragment is of uncertain origin.

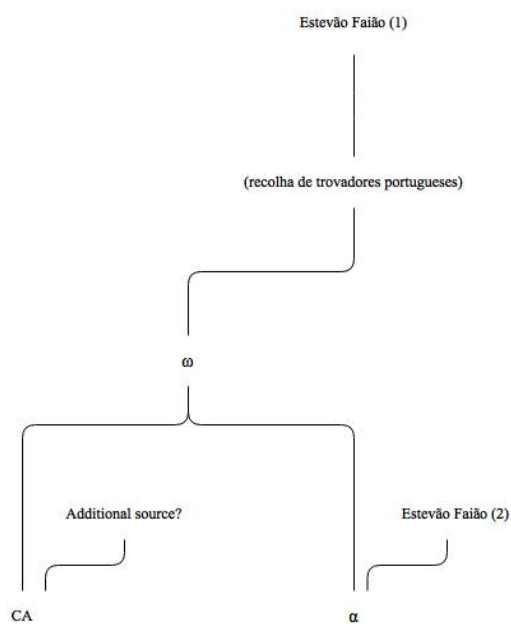


Fig. 14

2.1.2. Poets whose corpora were transmitted through a single source

This situation was already explained at length in the previous chapter and needs not to be repeated here. Mostly, we see later poets added in the α branch, whose names, recapitulating, are: Fernão Figueira de Lemos, Pero Garcia d'Ambroa, João Lobeira, Fernão Fernandes Cogominho, Rodrigo Anes de Vasconcelos, Pero Mafaldo, Afonso Mendes de Besteiros, Sancho Sanches, Afonso Fernandes Cebolhilha, D. Afonso Sanches, Airas Veaz, Pero Viviães and Vasco Peres Pardal. The relevant *stemma* was offered in section 4.5.

§ 275. *Poets
absent
from the
archetype.*

Anonymous 3 in the CA may be an analogous situation, if it is assumed that the CA compiler inserted his single composition despite ω . It is, as explained, an open question, given that he could equally have been lost in the α branch. Other poets exclusive to CA are better discussed under Section 3 below.

2.2. Piani medi (ω, *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and *recolha de trovadores portugueses*)

2.2.1. Poets whose corpora were transmitted through a single source

Vasco Praga de Sandim²⁷

Single segment (presumed): CBN 79 – CBN 90
CA 1/CBN 91 – CA
13/CBN 103

§ 276. In the
*cancionei-
ro de
cavaleiros.*

Pero Velho de Taveirós (?)²⁸

Single segment (presumed): CBN 140 – CBN 142

Anonymous 1²⁹

Single segment: CA 62/CBN 173 and CA 63/CBN
174

Only these three can be said to come exclusively from the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* compiler. Admittedly, a small number for such an old collection, however, of the twenty-six poets inferred to be in the original compilation, seventeen are affected by Lacunae 1 and 3 in CA. Thus we cannot evaluate the transmission of their corpora.

Little can be said about this compiler: he created the chronological order of poets and *fiindas* never have staves, either because of his sources or for some copying procedure which may have eliminated them. Metrically, poems with a single stanza tend to occur in poets from this collection. CBN 43 and CBN 42 [*sic*, in this order] (Osoiro Anes), CBN 45 (Mirapeixe), CBN 128 (Somesso), CA 57/CBN 168 (M. Soares), CA 69/CBN 182 (Candarei), CA 73/CBN 186 (Torneol) could all have been sourced by this

²⁷ Appendix 3.1, 14.

²⁸ Appendix 3.1, 17.

²⁹ Appendix 3.1, 20.

compiler, and they tend to be placed at the end of each poet's sequence. CBN 47 (Lemos) was added in α and CA 39 (Taveirós) in CA, though. The prevalence of single-stanza compositions may not be related to compilation – it could be a compositional feature of the earlier generation, it could even be a matter of accidental transmission. Our difficulty here is how to make an impartial assessment on whether these poems are fragmentary or complete. Only Osoiro Anes's CBN 43 is interrupted in the middle of its last line.³⁰ Those by Mirapeixe, Somesso, M. Soares, Candarei and Torneol have one whole stanza with meaning. The question then is whether Galician-Portuguese lyric had in the beginning an equivalent to the Occitan *cobla esparsa* or whether these are all fragments.³¹

João Nunes Camanês (?)³²

Single segment: CA 111/CBN 224 – CA 113/CBN
226

Fernão Garcia Esgaravunha³³

Single segment: CBN 227 – CBN 229 (reconstructed)
CA 114/CBN 230 – CA 128/CBN 243

Vasco Gil³⁴

Single segment: CA 144/CBN 267 – CA 149/CBN
272
CA 150 – CA 156

Gonçalo Anes do Vinhal³⁵

§ 277. In the
recolha de
trovadores
portugue-
ses.

³⁰ CBN 42 in turn ends with what seems to be an abbreviated *prazer*, thus completing the line.

³¹ See, respectively, in Michaëlis, 1904, I, pp.655; p.659 (“talvez truncada”); p.751 (“É comtudo provável, que a cantiga esteja incompleta.”); p.120, p.157. Also, Brea; et al. 1996, p.703; p.673; p.519; p.648; p.699; p.688 in which all are considered fragments. Also, Tavani, 1967a for occasionally different views. See also Oliveira, 1994, p.394 on CBN 45. Magán Abelleira, 1997 discusses poems with a single stanza.

³² Appendix 3.1, 25.

³³ Appendix 3.1, 26.

³⁴ Appendix 3.1, 28.

Single segment (presumed): C 280 – C 294

João Soares Coelho³⁶

Single segment: CA 158 – CA 162
CA 163/CBN 316 – CA 179/CBN 330

Rui Pais de Ribela³⁷

Single segment: CA 186/CBN 337 – CA 198/CBN
349

João Lopes de Ulhoa³⁸

Single segment: CA 199/CBN 350 – CA 209/CBN
360

Pero Gomes Barroso³⁹

Single segment: CA 222/CBN 392/CV 2; CA
223/CBN 393/CV 3

D. Afonso Lopes de Baião⁴⁰

Single segment: CA 224/CBN 395/CV 5; CA
225/CBN 396/CV 6

João Vasques de Talaveira⁴¹

Single segment: CA 242/CBN 430/CV 42 – CA
245/CBN 433/CV 45

Fernão Velho⁴²

Single segment: CA 257/CBN 434/CV 46 – CA
264/CBN 441/CV 53
CBN 442/CV 54 (reconstructed)

Bonifácio Calvo de Gênova⁴³

Single segment: CA 265/CBN 449; CA 266/CBN 450

³⁵ Appendix 3.1, 29.

³⁶ Appendix 3.1, 31.

³⁷ Appendix 3.1, 35.

³⁸ Appendix 3.1, 36.

³⁹ Appendix 3.1, 39.

⁴⁰ Appendix 3.1, 40.

⁴¹ Appendix 3.1, 45.

⁴² Appendix 3.1, 47.

⁴³ Appendix 3.1, 49.

In this list we have the poets transmitted solely by the archetype, whose corpora were not subsequently enriched. The compiler here is obviously the creator of ω itself, since the *recolha* did not pre-exist and so was not a compilation. His *modus operandi* is to expand the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, continuing the received chronological order of poets. There is no other detectable organisation feature. *Fiindas* with their dedicated music staves alternate with *fíindas* lacking it. There seems to be no particular metrical arrangement either. In fact, the compiler must have added earlier compilations rather mechanically, as any compilatory organisation detected is poet-specific.

2.2.2. Poets whose corpora were transmitted through multiple sources

Pero Garcia Buralês⁴⁴

§ 278. *Pero
Garcia
Buralês.*

Segment 1: CA 82/CBN 186b – CA 89/CBN 193
Cancioneiro de cavaleiros

Segment 2 (?): CA 90/CBN 194 – CA 94/CBN 198;
CBN
199

Segment 2: CBN 200; CBN 201; CA 95 – CA 110
Recolha de trovadores portugueses

Buralês was discussed in Chapter 3 and earlier in here. He is the paradigmatic case of multiple compilation waves: segment 3, CBN 220-CBN 223, being exclusive to α , whereas the ω corpus marks the transition between *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and *recolha de trovadores portugueses*. In the previous chapter this was supported on codicological grounds, based on the *réserve* for *fiindas*, and we now turn to the compilers' profiles. Buralês's corpus has a high degree of self-referencing as, for example, when he composes four poems playing on the disclosure of the lady's name.⁴⁵ The first of these is isolated, it has a *fiinda*, without stave and it is the last poem which we can be sure to come from the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. The other three poems, instead, come in sequence. The distance between the first and the block of three is of seventeen poems. Clearly, the last three are not together by chance. What we see, therefore, is that in segment 1, the compiler only had access to one poem, whereas in segment 2, the compiler had access to more and grouped them thematically. The ω compiler avoids a profound recompilation, he juxtaposes *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and *recolha de trovadores portugueses* and so the different

⁴⁴ Appendix 3.1, 24.

⁴⁵ CA 89/CBN 193; CA 104/CBN 212; CA 105/CBN 213; CA 106/CBN 214/5.

attitudes to thematic grouping survive. Noting, furthermore, that later in segment 3, another two poems with thematic affinity, CBN 221 and 223 are not presented in sequence either.

2.3. Piani alti: early compilers' fingerprints

2.3.1. Thematic evidence

The first example here is again the trio of compositions CA 104/CBN 212, CA 105/CBN 213, CA 106/CBN 214/5 just mentioned. Given that the pieces are grouped thematically and that this feature is not detected in any other intervention by the ω compiler, an early compiler must be posited. This is convenient, since the compiler would have created a cycle of between eighteen (CBN 200-CA 110/CBN 219) to twenty-four (CA 90/CBN 194-CA 110/CBN 219) lyric pieces, a short collection, but more than a *rotulus*. All pieces had *fiinda* staves. There is no obvious metrical arrangement: a series of fourteen poems in decasyllabic lines (CA 97/CBN 204-CA 110/CBN 219) and a series of five in *coblas doblas* (CA 106/CBN 214-CA 110/CBN 219), but there are other poems with these features, sourced by the compiler, which are not grouped together. These groupings may be a matter of chance.

§ 279. *Pero Garcia Burgalês.*

Tamalancos⁴⁶ offers possibly the most complex case of thematic groupings. A proper understanding of his corpus depends on literary considerations, and must therefore wait its relevant section in Chapter 5 (§330). In anticipation of our conclusions, we argue that a *cantiga de change* was thematically grouped in the *amor* section as CBN 75, by one compiler who linked it to CBN 74. This same piece was included in the satirical section by a different compiler as CBN 1336/CV 943 and wrongly linked to CBN 1337/CV 944. This second compiler is responsible for the rubric which now precedes CBN 1336/CV 943.

§ 280. *Fernão Pais de Tamalancos.*

⁴⁶ Appendix 3.3, 13.

Within his satirical corpus, CBN 1334/CV 941 and 1335/CV 942 are presented in sequence, both against the same character, a *jogral* nicknamed Saco. The rubric which precedes the first poem, however, refers to a single *cantiga*, “Dom Fernam Paez de Talamancos fez este cantar de maldizer a um jogar que chamavam jogar Saco [...]”, from which we infer that rubric and sequence were created separately. It is not possible to establish a clear link, however, with the sequence and rubric of CBN 1336/CV 943 and CBN 1337/CV 944.

2.3.2. Metrical evidence

Esgaravunha and Queimado appear together very early in that sequence which is called *recolha de trovadores portugueses*. Both share a distinctive metrical arrangement based on the opposition between *meestria* and *refrão cantigas*. Esgaravunha⁴⁷ was transmitted by ω alone (see §277) and the order of poems, properly reconstructed, runs like this regarding *meestria* and *refrão*: M-R-M-M-M-M-M-M-M-R-R-R-R-R-R-M-R. That is to say, a cohesive block of *meestria* followed by another of *refrão* with exceptions in the second and penultimate position, respectively. Queimado⁴⁸ had his corpus enriched in α (see §268); if we disregard these compositions, the archetypal sequence runs: M-M-M-M-M-M-M-M-M-R-R-R-R-R-R, nine of *meestria* followed by six of *refrão*, no exception. For both poets, the composition of *refrão* became associated with *coblas singulares*, so that their metrical analysis in Appendix 3 also shows tight blocks of *coblas singulares*. Yet the *meestria* versus *refrão* seems to be the actual operative criterion in

§ 281. *Fernão Garcia Esgaravunha & Rui Queimado.*

⁴⁷ Appendix 3.1, 26.

⁴⁸ Appendix 3.1, 27.

compilation. Esgaravunha composed five *cantigas* with *fiindas*, Queimado composed twelve. All the *fiindas* copied in CA had music staves, however, CA 129/CBN 250 is exceptional in that the *fiinda* is not copied in CA at all, only in CBN. These two poets may represent an early *Liedersammlung* incorporated by the ω compiler mechanically.

Gil and Velho⁴⁹ reveal similar patterns of metrical organisation. In their case, however, the block of *refrão* precedes that of *meestria*. They also oppose the earlier pair in another way: Gil is at the beginning of the *recolha*, immediately after Queimado. Velho is the penultimate poet of the *recolha*. Gil's sequence runs with a block of seven followed by a block of six, with no exceptions. Superficially Velho appears to have five *refrão cantigas* followed by four *meestria*. None had their corpora enriched after the archetype. Regarding *fiindas*, those with staves alternate randomly with those lacking them.

§ 282. Vasco Gil
& Fernão
Velho (?).

The type of compilation in this very high level is difficult to determine. Esgaravunha and Queimado may have constituted a single *Liedersammlung*, rather than two sources coincidentally arranged with identical structure. It is perplexing, though, to see these two now so apart in the archetype. If the later ω compiler believed that this would improve his chronological sequencing, then the division of the *Liedersammlung* may have occurred, leaving only their inner order of poems intact. This hypothesis would suggest that the addition of the *recolha de trovadores portugueses* to the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* was by copying, rather than

⁴⁹ Appendix 3.1, 28 and 47, respectively.

material insertion, given the potential difficulties of physically separating an existing manuscript.

At this point, a discussion of CA 259/CBN 436/CV 48 becomes imperative. The poem was initially mentioned in Chapter 1, section 6.2, §58, in connection to blank spaces in CA. Recapitulating the discussion: CA 259 is followed by a space of ten lines, the *in loco* analysis of the manuscript reveals that the *fiinda* of CA 260, copied in the facing column, was miscopied after CA 259 under staves. The two underlaid lines were erased, leaving a large blank space. This cannot be considered a *réserve*, neither for stanza nor for *fiinda*, but the product of a copying mistake. This is important because both editors of Velho's corpus consider that the poem as transmitted in CBN/CV has a two-line *fiinda*.

The first, Michaëlis, edited the poem with three stanzas with six octosyllabic lines, rhyme scheme aBacBc, *rimas singulares*. She considered it a *cantiga de refrão*, noting: “O refram varia de teor e de rima, de estrophe para estrophe.”⁵⁰ This is the very definition of a *cantiga de meestria*. What Michaëlis meant is the repetition of the exact same line inside each stanza, but because the composition rhymes in *singulares*, each subsequent stanza changes rhyme b and hence the whole line. In short, there is no actual refrain, technically speaking, since there is no line repetition across stanzas, only within.

For Lanciani, this is a *cantiga de meestria*. Both editors consider that line 12 was lost and both include the *fiinda* available in CBN/CV.

⁵⁰ Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.507.

What the manuscripts provide is yet different. The CA scribe, unsurprisingly similar to Michaëlis, considered this to be a *cantiga de refrão*. This can be seen on fl.71v: in the underlaid first stanza, line 5, the second b line, would have received a rubricated *P*, the usual sign of refrain in this manuscript. It so happens that, despite variation, the second b line of every stanza starts very similar: *Pois m'eu de vos a partir ei*; *Pois me de vos ei a quitar* and *Pois que m'eu, d'u vos sodes, vou*. Hence, the scribe treats every fifth line as a refrain and suppresses the sixth line in stanzas two (l.12) and three (l.18). Visually, based on rubrication and abbreviation patterns, the poem looks like any *cantiga de refrão* in the CA.⁵¹

The Italian manuscripts coincide with CA regarding stanza one. The second stanza is also provided one line short, although they lack the visual clarity of rubrication and refrain abbreviation. The third stanza is provided with seven lines instead. Perhaps the slightly distinctive line b here misled a scribe into copying the whole stanza: *Pois m'eu* and *Pois me* read very similar in the manuscripts, but *Pois que* sets itself a part. Having copied the whole original stanza, the scribe then adds *Pois me de vos ei*, the beginning of the putative refrain, based on stanza two.

This explains the loss of line 12 in all extant sources and the survival of line 18 in CBN/CV. If this error was caused in α , given that it is a conjunctive mistake of CBN/CV, we must admit for the first time that CA and α were both copies of ω which retained this text's perfect state. However, the CA and α scribes would be making the same conjunctive error regarding line 12 and in treating the poem as a *cantiga de refrão* – not

⁵¹ In a similar vein, see Parkinson, 1987 on false refrains.

impossible, given the uniqueness of the poem, but disconcerting. Alternatively, the suppression of line 12 and even the spurious seventh line of stanza three could go back to the ω scribe, with the CA scribe suppressing two lines from stanza three. In this case, α does not need to be a copy of ω . None of these hypotheses explains the problems involving the *fiinda*. The *fiinda* is a distich, with a blank line followed by a return to rhyme c of stanza three. We know of no other *fiinda* with a blank line such as this. Nor is it clear why it is absent in CA.

It can only be said that the piece must have been visually presented as a *cantiga de refrão* in ω and this attitude, to what is really a *cantiga de meestria*, dates back to the earliest compiler of Velho's corpus, who already divided the corpus between *refrão* and *meestria* and included this poem among those of *refrão* (CA 257/CBN 434/CV 46 to CA 261/CBN 438/CV 50).

2.3.3. Other evidence

The last case to be considered in the highest levels of this manuscript tradition is Coelho.⁵² His twenty-one *cantigas* are all archetypal. From CA 158 to CA 167/8 all *fiindas* but one have staves, after that no *fiinda* has staves. The two blocks here seem related to this feature. Thematically, there is no organisation. CA 166 is the exception in the first block which lacks *fiinda* staves and is thematically related to CA 171 from the second block. Both belong to the famous “ama” cycle, with CA 171 being a clear follow up from the other. There are some minor groups of *meestria* and *refrão*

§ 283. João
Soares
Coelho.

⁵² Appendix 3.1, 31.

poems together, as well as some pairs of *singulars*, *doblas* and *unissonans* compositions, but none of these yields clear metrical arrangements. A possible scenario is to suppose a source 1 (CA 158 – CA 169/CBN 320) juxtaposed to a source 2 (CA 170/CBN 321 – CA 179/CBN 330). The first source would be marked by better music record and total disorganisation, the second source by a poorer music tradition but some metrical organisation (M-M-R-R-R-R-R-R-R-R). This however remains as the most obscure case.

We list as inconclusive Sandim, Martim Soares and Ulhoa.⁵³ The first two were discussed by Billy, who believes in some degree of metrical arrangement. For us, it is unclear what happens in their corpora. It is clear, particularly in Ulhoa, that compositions are displayed in clusters of *singulars* and *unissonans*. In Ulhoa it is also the case that every *singulars* is a *cantiga de refrão* and every *unissonans* is a *cantiga de meestria*. Potentially, a compiler could be looking for either of those features. What is not univocal is whether these clusters are intentional or coincidental. One could perhaps imagine rotuli in which all pieces shared a particular metrical profile being added mechanically and thus retaining the clustered structure. At this point, however, we prefer to avoid any strong opinion.

§ 284. *Inconclusive cases.*

⁵³ Appendix 3.1, 14, 19 and 36, respectively.

3. Beyond the first core in CA — non-archetypal material

We have now completed the analysis of the first core, that is, we have reached a point where the comparison CA versus C/CBN/CV is pointless because the degree of similarity is scant and incidental. The arguments for considering the last three gatherings of CA as independent work were offered in the previous chapter (§251, §253, §254).

But before moving any further, let us review how the conclusions from Chapters 1, 2 and 3 all converge to explain compilation work in a better light. On a palaeographical level, phases 1 and 2 in the manufacture of the CA (gatherings I to XI) were marked by the coincidence of revisers 1 and 2, scribal hand 1, rubricator Type A hand 1. They constituted a specific team, in the understanding that, even if a person could take multiple roles, at least the revisers are seemingly a pair of workers. A compiler certainly integrated this team and his profile can be deduced from the analysis of the first core. He is relatively inactive: work here is mostly a reproduction of the base-manuscript ω . Thus, the aesthetically and palaeographically more sophisticated phases are also the least complex in terms of compilation. This compiler leaves his fingerprints in Paio Soares de Taveirós, in João Garcia de Guilhade and in Estevão Faião, poets whose corpora were enriched in CA by adding extra compositions at the end of the inherited sequence. In the light of this, it was argued above that the solution to Lacuna 4 and Martim Soares's "lost" poem is to imagine CBN 151 as archetypal, with CA 61 being a *doppio* derived from an additional source added by this compiler. This was his first error.

§ 285. *The profile of CA's first compiler.*

Seabra, with CA 210-6, escapes the pattern of additional compositions at the end of the sequence. To consider Seabra's case as active recompilation would be unsatisfactory: proper recompilation would create an entirely new sequence, preferably with a distinctive feature. Yet CA 217-20 constitute a cohesive block in both CA and CBN, while no order, whether metrical or thematic is detected in Seabra's corpus. Thus either the CA compiler changed his *modus operandi* momentarily or CA 210-6 were archetypal. This will be readdressed later (§293).

In conclusion, the profile of CA's first compiler is consistent in phases 1 and 2, thus completing the picture of the initial scriptorium.

3.1. *Caveat lector*: the exceptions in CA until gathering XI

The above conclusion is robust and there is only one true exception: Paio Gomes Charinho. The poet known as Anonymous 1 was archetypal and his corpus was transmitted to α . The loss of a rubric with his name was posited in Chapter 3, section 4.2 (§234). Anonymous 2 is circumscribed to fl.46 and may well have been archetypal if his position in the order of poets coincides with CBN/CV lacunae (§242). Anonymous 3, with a single composition, could have been added by the CA compiler – and constitute an exception – or could have been lost in the α branch (§243). There simply are not enough elements to decide. The idea of lost poets, exclusive to CA in some of its lacunae, as argued by Michaëlis and Ron Fernández, was abandoned in Chapter 2.

Paio Gomes Charinho⁵⁴§ 286. *Paio
Gomes
Charinho.*

Segment 1: CA 246 – CA 256

Never reached ω

Segment 2: CBN 808/CV 392 – CBN 818/CV 402

Never reached ω

Segment 3: CBN 842/CV 428

Never reached ω

With Charinho we are in late phase 2 in the confection of the CA, one which, on codicological grounds, was marked by considerable departures from the original plan and here marks a progressive abandonment of ω as source. Oliveira, though acknowledging the scant overlap between CA and the Italian manuscripts in regard to his corpus, maintains that Charinho was in ω . However, Lanciani and then Ramos have convincingly argued that Charinho was not in ω .⁵⁵ It is forceful to conclude that Charinho's corpus was added independently in three stages: one on the left branch of the *stemma* as CA 246-256, and twice on the right branch as CBN 808-818 and CBN 838-844. This last group of poems should all be *amigo* pieces, but there we find a *cantiga d'amor*, CBN 842/CV 428.

The grounds for inferring that Charinho was not archetypal are firstly the disruption in the order of poets, since CA includes Charinho between Talaveira and Velho, whereas C, CBN and CV do not. When Charinho appears in the Italian sources, he does so in a completely different section, the third core.

Secondly, the order of poems is disrupted. Of the eleven poems in CA, only three (CA 246, 248/253b and 255) are transmitted in the Italian manuscripts, two in Charinho's first occurrence, one within the *amigo* sequence. Equally, the Italian sources feature eight *cantigas d'amor* absent

⁵⁴ Appendix 3.3, 46.

⁵⁵ Lanciani, 2004, p.142; Ramos, 2008, I, p.201.

from CA. The coincidence of three poems between the two branches is therefore random.

Not only it is random, but they also come in radically different versions, with the Italian versions being clearly corrupted. To mention the most prominent divergences, CA 246 has four stanzas, but three in CBN 811/CV 395; CA 248/CA 253b both appear with four stanzas and *fiinda*, whereas CBN 816/CV 400 only feature the first two stanzas; CA 255 has three stanzas and *fiinda*, while CBN 842/CV 428 lack the *fiinda* and swap the order of stanzas two and three.

Thirdly, there is the *doppio* CA 248/253b, the single extant example in CA, which proves, by itself, that the CA compiler was working with multiple sources and failed to notice the repetition until it was too late. According to Ramos's interpretation, the repetition is only realised by the reviser 1, who writes the marginal note *CAn.51 vacat*.⁵⁶ The two occurrences of the poem have graphic differences supporting the explanation of two independent textual traditions.

All in all, we are left with the ineluctable fact that, with Charinho, the CA compiler abandoned ω . The challenge is how to explain that this same compiler returns to ω immediately after, when the copying of Velho and Gênova re-establish a parallelism between the two branches. This can be tentatively solved here with this conjecture: the end of the *recolha* gave the ω compiler poets contemporary to him; Charinho was contemporary to ω but not sourced by its compiler. When the CA compiler was active, part of Charinho's corpus becomes available and, according to the compiler's

⁵⁶ Ramos, 2008, I, p.344; Penafiel, 2015.

belief, Charinho's chronology would better fit an intermediary position between Talaveira and Velho. Thus, the CA compiler is willing to change the received order of poets for the sake of the received chronological principle.

Segment 1 reveals no metrical or thematic arrangement. It was sourced directly by the CA compiler from freestanding material, such as *rotuli*, as these became available. The sequence could not have pre-existed CA on account of the *doppio*, which is only detected in CA with the creation of this very sequence.

Segments 2 and 3 are located in CBN/CV only, in the third core.⁵⁷ They occur relatively close to each other, with six poets, or twenty-one poems in between. Segment 2 is dedicated to the *amor* genre and segment 3 to the *amigo*, but each includes one poem escaping this organisation. Failed genre divisions are often perplexing as they reveal a compiler's intention being frustrated. In these cases, we see no obvious reason, given that CBN 817/CV 401 and CBN 842/CV 428 are, right from their incipits, clear *amigo* and *amor cantigas* respectively. Presumably, like segment 1, these are independent influxes, deriving from freestanding material, being accommodated gradually. They did not pre-exist α and were formed by different compilers, in successive waves, so that each block is separate and, internally, lacks organisation coherence. The very position of segment 2, in the midst of a predominantly *amigo* section, is clumsy and reveals late addition in α . It may even be the case that *rotuli* or loose sheets are being appended in these two places over a period of time.

⁵⁷ See below on section 5.2, §300 for definition of third core.

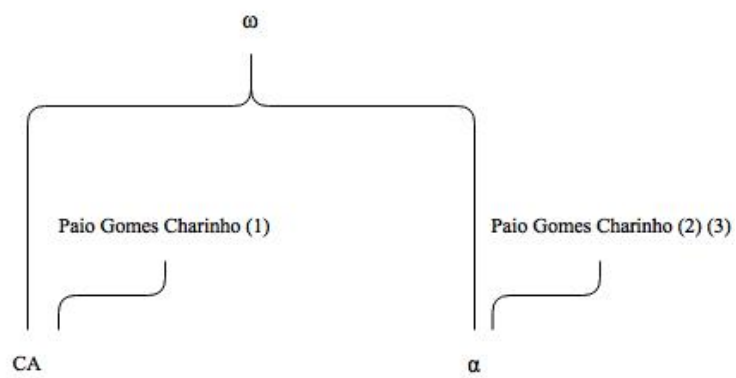


Fig. 15

3.2. CA gathering XII

Anonymous 4⁵⁸

Single segment: CA 267 – CA 276

Anonymous 5⁵⁹

Single segment: CA 277 – CA 276

Anonymous 6/de Santarém⁶⁰

Single segment: CA 278 – CA 280

§ 287. *The last three Anonymous of CA.*

This is the gathering in which scribal hand 3 is active and *lettres d'attente* Type B is detected. The former team is absent: the revisers and illuminator are gone while the rubricator is active with red ink only until half of gathering XII. It therefore seems likely that the compiler is also different, that is, a compiler 2 of CA to be distinguished from the compiler 1. His attitudes are certainly new: more like the situation witnessed in Charinho than in the rest of the codex. These three poets were sourced independently by compiler 2 from short manuscripts, probably *rotuli*. This is non-archetypal material, as discussed in Chapter 3 and their identification is impossible based on the comparison with the Italian sources.

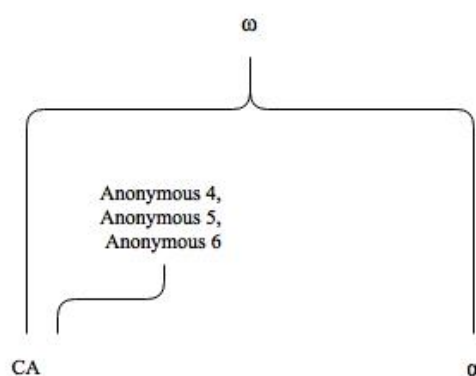


Fig. 16

⁵⁸ Appendix 3.2, 50.

⁵⁹ Appendix 3.2, 51.

⁶⁰ Appendix 3.2, 52.

3.3. CA gatherings XIII and XIV

Pedro Anes Solaz⁶¹

§ 288. *Pedro Anes Solaz.*

Segment 1: CA 281 – CA 284

Reached CA independently

Segment 2: CBN 1219/CV 824; CBN 1220/CV 825

Reached α independently

Following the Anonymous, Solaz is surrounded by texts in CA which are not transmitted in the Italian sources. His identification is possible given some overlap of individual lyric pieces between the CA and α , which remains incidental nevertheless. In CA, Solaz appears with four poems, whereas in C/CBN/CV, only two pieces are transmitted in a section far removed from the *cantigas d'amor*, namely, in the *cancioneiro de jograis* (fifth core, see section 5.4). The sequence of four poems must have reached CA independently of the two poems in α . Curiously, these two poems are presented next to each other and in the same order in both branches. If this is not a matter of chance, a *rotulus* may be posited, independently accessed by our CA compiler 2 and an α compiler. This scenario would suggest that *rotuli* could contain as little as two poems, circulating unchanged for decades. There is, indeed, some metrical and even faint thematic affinity between CA 282/CBN 1219/CV 824 and CA 283/CBN 1220/CV 825. Solaz thus continues the pattern seen in Charinho and the Anonymous of freestanding lyric material lacking a pre-existent structure before their addition in CA.

⁶¹ Appendix 3.2, 53.

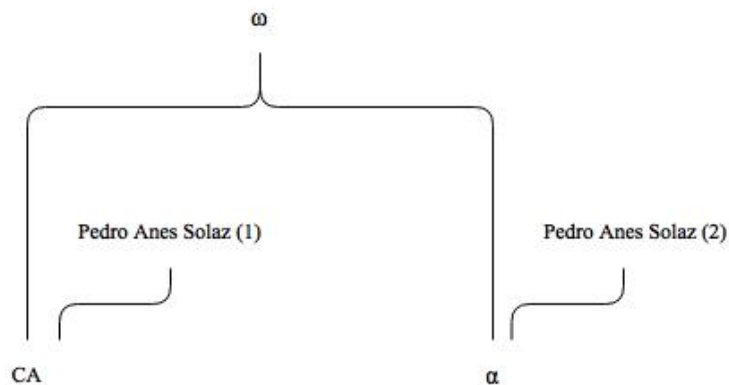


Fig. 17

Fernão Padrom⁶²

Single segment: CA 285/CBN 976/CV 563 – CA 287/CBN 978/CV 565
Reached CA and α independently

§ 289. *The Lieder-sammlung of Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo.*

Pero da Ponte⁶³

Segment 1: CA 288/CBN 979/CV 566 – CA 292/CBN 983/CV 570
Reached CA and α independently
Segment 2: CBN 984/CV 571 – CBN 990/CV 578
Reached α only

Vasco Rodrigues de Calvelo⁶⁴

Segment 1: CA 293/CBN 993b/CV 582 – CA 297/CBN 997/CV 586
Reached CA and α independently
Segment 3: CBN 991/CV 579 – CBN 993/CV 581
Segment 4: CBN 998/CV 587
Reached α only
Segment 2: CA 298 – CA 302
Reached CA only

Padrom's corpus is restricted to three *cantigas*; Ponte has a sequence of five poems opening his corpus in both CA and the Italian sources

⁶² Appendix 3.3, 55.

⁶³ Appendix 3.3, 56.

⁶⁴ Appendix 3.3, 57.

(segment 1); Calvelo has equally five poems shared by both branches (segment 1). Internal evidence sets them apart from Charinho, the Anonymous and Solaz, firstly because the order of these poems is shared between CA and α . Secondly, Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo follow one another, in a block, in both branches, thus re-establishing the order of poets too. Yet the respective sections in each branch are very different. In CA they run from gatherings XIII to XIV. In the Italian sources, this trio comes after the *compilação de clérigos*, in the *cantigas d'amigo* section (fourth core, see section 5.3). In the understanding that a sequence of thirteen *cantigas* by three poets cannot be coincidental, and considering previous solutions unsatisfactory, we have posited in the last chapter a short compilation containing just this material. A small *Liedersammlung*, therefore (as opposed to a *Liederbuch*, which is single-authored), not unlike the possible cases of Esgaravunha-Queimado and Gil-Velho, in which an early compiler may have put just two poets together. The *Liedersammlung* is accessed by CA, which copies it, continues to circulate, being eventually added in α in a very different section, but keeping its internal structure. In this regard, compiler 2 innovates by sourcing a pre-existent compilation rather than loose material. The compiler of the *Liedersammlung* shows no specific interest, other than genre (*cantigas d'amor*) and it is not clear why these three poets are assembled together.

Concerning Ponte, if the *Liedersammlung* reached CA and α independently, another seven *cantigas* were added in α only, by its compiler, at the end of the original sequence. The *Liedersammlung* includes *cantigas d'amor* only, whereas the second segment has two *amor* pieces

mixed with elegiac and eulogiac poems. Such poems would be completely out of place in an *amor* compilation, which is clearly what the *Liedersammlung* was. It is almost as if the α compiler, having access to this new source, appended it here for lack of better options.

Like his later colleague, compiler 2 in CA added extra material in the end of the *Liedersammlung* in Calvelo's corpus. Here we see this compiler returning to freestanding material. Of the five *cantigas*, two are exclusive to CA. The other three poems constitute segment 3, which was added independently in α before the *Liedersammlung* sequence. That they also appear in CA is incidental as their order is completely different, hence loose lyric material. A final *cantiga* (CBN 998/CV 587) makes segment 4, this time exclusive to the α branch and was added at the end of the *Liedersammlung* sequence. This appears to be independent of segment 3 in as much as its position in relation to segment 1 is different.

There are two final points of interest here. The first is the loose thematic grouping in Ponte's segment 2 although it may not have pre-existed α as a single source. In fact, given the alternation with *cantigas d'amor*, the eight poems almost certainly circulated independently, rather than being the work of an early compiler.

Secondly, CA 291/CBN 982/CV 569 is repeated as CBN 394/CV 4, a single poem under the rubric "Sancho Sanchez". The *Liedersammlung* version, as reproduced in the three manuscripts, contains four stanzas. The other occurrence features stanzas one and four only. Textually, the first stanza is the same in all versions, whereas the last stanza in CBN 394/CV 4 has divergent readings in all its first four lines. Ponte and Sancho Sanches

Martim Moxa⁶⁵§ 290. *Martim
Moxa.*

Segment 1: CA 303 – CA 307

Reached α only

Segment 2: CBN 887/CV 471 – CBN 898/CV 483

Reached α only

With Moxa, the difference between CA and α becomes sharper again. CA transmits five surviving *cantigas*, four exclusive to it. At least another poem, if not more, would have been transmitted by CA on textual Lacuna 16 (former Lacuna 26). CBN/CV instead transmit nine *amor* poems mixed with four satirical pieces in the *compilação de clérigos* (*cantigas d'amigo* section, fourth core, see section 5.3). The two influxes are totally independent, with the latter not even following the expected genre division. Like Solaz, the identification of Moxa can be made thanks to the fortuitous transmission of a poem common to both branches (CA 307 = CBN 895/CV 480). There is nothing in the order of poems to support a common source for this *cantiga*. Instead, there are noticeable divergent readings in lines 3, 6, 11, 13, 15, 16, 32, 33, 34, 41, 44, reinforcing independent transmission.

In the α branch, Moxa is succeeded by Rui Fernandes de Santiago and then by another set of his satirical pieces (CBN 915/CV 502 and CBN 916/CV 503). These may constitute yet another, independent influx. The fact that Santiago follows Moxa in both CA and α must be considered incidental, rather than an actual return to the order of poets. From the evidence just presented on Moxa's corpus, it is clear that the situation is entirely different from the *Liedersammlung*.

Segment 1, accessed by compiler 2 in CA reveals no special organisation, metrical or otherwise. The compiler may have resumed his

⁶⁵ Appendix 3.3, 58.

earlier practice of sourcing freestanding material. Segment 2 is more varied in terms of poems' length, ranging from two to four stanzas, and in the mixture of genres, but again there is no clear organisation pattern. It may be that this also constituted loose lyric material before its addition in α .

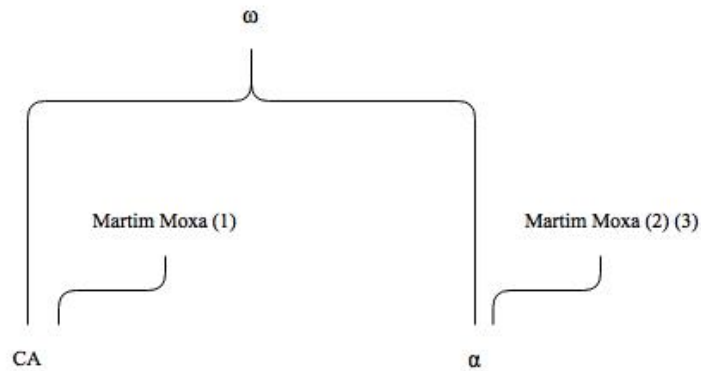


Fig. 19

Rui Fernandes de Santiago⁶⁶

§ 291. *Rui
Fernandes
de
Santiago.*

Segment 1: CA 308/CBN 900/CV 485 – CA 310/CBN 902/CV 487

Reached CA and α independently?

Segment 2: CBN 899/CV 484

Reached α only

Unknown segment: CBN 903/CV 488 – CBN 914/CV 501

In the last poet of CA, three poems, CA 308-CA 310, follow in the same order as CBN 900/CV 485-CBN 902/CV 487. CA features no extra material of its own and CA 310 is abruptly interrupted on fl.88v col.^d. The question to be posed here is whether this short sequence derives from a common source accessed by CA and α or whether this apparent coincidence is the product of sheer chance.

Any attempted definition of this problem will be clouded by the so far unexplained interruption of CA 310. The interruption seems more related

⁶⁶ Appendix 3.3, 59.

to scribal procedure – the end of a column and hence of a unit of scribal work – than to a problem on the source, that is, the interruption is unrelated to compilation. The segment could therefore extend beyond CA 310, but we are just blocked from this check given the scribe's attitude.

In the Italian sources, another poem, CBN 899/CV 484, opens Santiago's sequence, CA 310 is then given in full as CBN 902/CV 487 and fourteen *cantigas* follow it. Ironically, the last piece, CBN 914/CV 501, is also interrupted mid-way.

Textually, the versions of the three poems in CA match those of CBN/CV. The only noticeable divergence is line 3 of CA 310/CBN 902/CV 487, wholly omitted in CBN, but included in CA/CV. Obviously, the error stems from CBN's copyist, rather than being a matter of source. Given the textual similarities and the common order of poems, albeit short, it seems prudent to acknowledge a common source here. The nature and size of this source, however, remains a mystery. It could be anything from a short *Liederblatt* to a longer anthology. Our preference goes for loose lyric material given that CBN 899/CV 484 reveals an independent short segment accessed in α and the tendency of compiler 2, in CA, to work with *rotuli*. In this scenario, most, if not all of CBN 903/CV 488-CBN 914/CV 501 would be freestanding material solely accessed by α .

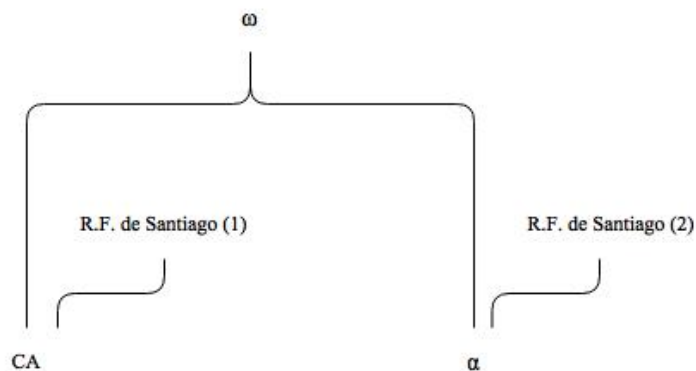


Fig. 20

3.4. The two compilers of CA

Rui Fernandes de Santiago thus marks the end of the possibility of verifying the work of compiler 2. It does not necessarily marks the end of the compiler's actual work. As a final word on compiler 2, we note that his intervention marks a break from the *recolha de trovadores portugueses* in that none of the *fiindas* that he compiled has staves. The last *fiinda* with this feature is Fernão Velho's, after whom there is only Gênova who did not compose *fiindas* at all. Thus, all the sources from Anonymous 4 down to Santiago (gatherings XII, XIII and XIV, phase 3) were deprived from this musical feature. In the light of this, it seems telling that Charinho, sourced by compiler 1, in a *modus operandi* similar to compiler 2, also lacks staves, just like Guilhade's segment 2.

§ 292. *Fiindas and compilers.*

In Seabra's CA 210-6, *fiindas* with and without staves alternate, approaching once again this sequence to the *recolha* rather than to independent additions in CA. The *cantigas* must have been lost or removed in ω' or α, in which case a blank page, fl.86v in CBN, may be a later sign of

§ 293. *Seabra.*

this accident. This is our preferred if unproven solution to these seven poems.

Whether compilers 1 and 2 were different people or different attitudes is not answered and may not even be relevant, just as different hands, in palaeography, are more about graphic evidence than historical reality. They reveal two radically different moments in the confection of CA, moments which are related to the end of phase 2 and the beginning of phase 3 and which see Charinho as a type of bridge or precursor of what was to follow.

§ 294. *The compilers' profile.*

To our table of roles in CA, presented at the end of Chapter 1, we can now add this:

Table I

Compiler	
Compiler 1	Poets: from Sandim to Bonifácio
	Active: gatherings I to XI; Phases 1 to 2
	Profile: copies from base-manuscript (ω) mechanically adopting its order of poets and poems. Compilation work mostly visible in the enrichment of his main source, added at the end of a poet's sequence. The addition of Charinho is his greatest innovation and prefigures the work of compiler 2. One extant error, a <i>doppio</i> , in Charinho. The reconstruction of Lacuna 4/Martim Soares should also add another <i>doppio</i> to the list.
Compiler 2	Poets: Anonymous 4 to Santiago, CA 157 (Aboim)
	Active: gatherings XII to XIV; Phase 3
	Profile: an active compiler who uses no single base-manuscript, but a variety of sources which he arranges himself. A small exception is the trio Padrom-Ponte-Calvelo, a pre-existent source which was added somewhat mechanically. This compiler enriched Aboim's former corpus.

4. The compilers from the beginning down to CA (c.1300)

Little needs to be added beyond the obvious statement that each of the compilers identified so far should be distinguished. They can be dated and described according to the compilations they created. Again, these compilers are more about a set of identifiable attitudes than actual human beings. Working in reverse chronological order these are the compilers so far identified:

§ 295. *Definition of eight compilers.*

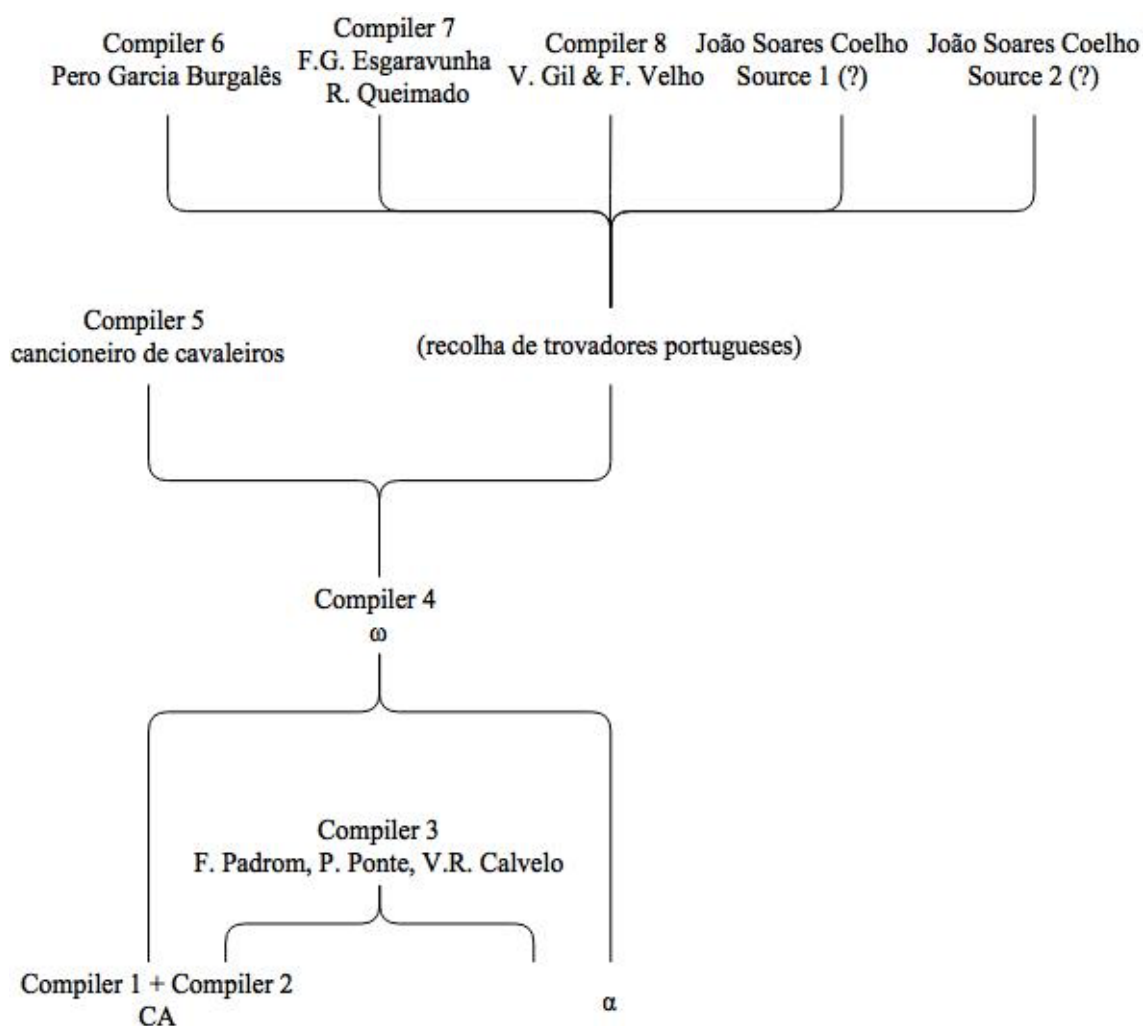


Fig. 21

Table II

Compilers 1 + 2	Poets: See previous section.
	Level: <i>piano basso</i> ; CA; 1250s-1300s.
	Features: See previous section.
Compiler 3	Poets: Padrom, Ponte, Calvelo
	Level: non-archetypal <i>Liedersammlung</i> ; active before CA.
	Features: Organised a sequence of thirteen <i>cantigas</i> , involving three poets, independently transmitted by CA and α .
Compiler 4	Poets: from Airas Moniz d'Asma (presumed) to Bonifácio Calvo.
	Level: <i>piano medio</i> ; ω ; from 1250s to pre-1300.
	Features: Continued the work of compiler 5 with more recent material. <i>Fiindas</i> may or may not have staves.
Compiler 5	Poets: from Airas Moniz d'Asma (presumed) to Burgalês (segment 1)
	Level: <i>piano medio</i> ; <i>cancioneiro de cavaleiros</i> ; 1230s-1270s.
	Features: Organised the earliest known <i>cancioneiro</i> by collecting works by noblemen who were sequenced in chronological order. <i>Fiindas</i> never have staves.
Compiler 6	Poet: Burgalês (segment 2)
	Level: <i>piano alto</i> .
	Features: Organises CA 104-6 in a thematic sequence. All <i>fiindas</i> have staves. Possibly, the whole text of CA 101-4 was underlaid.
Compiler 7	Poet: Esgaravunha, Queimado.
	Level: <i>piano alto</i> .
	Features: Metrical organisation with <i>meestria</i> pieces followed by <i>refrão</i> . All <i>fiindas</i> have staves.
Compiler 8	Poet: Gil, Velho.
	Level: <i>piano alto</i> .
	Features: Metrical organisation with <i>refrão</i> pieces followed by <i>meestria</i> . <i>Fiindas</i> with and without staves alternate.

5. Non-archetypal material in *α* from Pardal (C 451/CBN 451/CV 58)

The discussions and *stemmata* in Sections 2 and 3 of this chapter relate just to the *cantigas d'amor* section shared between the three extant *cancioneiros* and exclusive material to CA. The shared corpora extend up to Bonifácio Calvo (CA 266/C 450/CBN 450) and account for approximately half of the whole *cantigas d'amor* and less than a third of the Galician-Portuguese secular corpus. To employ Oliveira's terminology, it relates to the *cantigas d'amor* section, "zona tripartida". This area has been referred here as "first core" and is analysed in full under Appendix 3.

§ 296. Cores two to six.

After this point, if we focus on the Italian sources, we would still find another five cores. They are:

- Second core (*cantigas d'amor* section, "zona complementar")
 - Begins: V.P. Pardal, C 451/CBN 451/CV 58
 - Ends: Pero de Ornelas, CBN 625/CV 226
- Third core (*cantigas d'amigo* section, "zona tripartida")
 - Begins: F.R. de Calheiros, C 627/CBN 626/CV 227
 - Ends: Mendinho, C 852/CBN 852/CV 438
- Fourth core (*cantigas d'amigo* section, "zona complementar")
 - Begins: A.P. de Braga, C 853/CBN 853/CV 439
 - Ends: M.P. Alvim, C 1059/CBN 1059/CV 649
- Fifth core
 - Begins: Pero de Ver, CBN 1122/CV 714
 - Ends: João de Requeixo, C 1293/CBN 1293/CV 898
- Intersection

Begins: Fernando Esquio, C 1294/CBN 1294

Ends: Mem Rodrigues de Briteiros, C 1293/ CBN 1293/CV 898

- Sixth core (satirical section, “zona tripartida” and “zona complementar”)

Begins: J.S. de Paiva, CBN 1330b/CV 937

Ends: Juião Bolseiro, C 1675 (lost, last extant is P.A. de Sevilha, CV 1205)

Such cores, presented in turns under Appendix 4, put together poets who share characteristics worth being analysed as groups. We cannot realistically cover in depth this mass of material in the present thesis, thus the notes presented here intend merely to scratch the surface in the hope of being completed in future. For this reason, the focus goes to the *cantigas d'amor* only and other genres, when listed in the Appendix, are not metrically analysed. Appendix 4 itself is a much more limited tool in comparison to Appendix 3, but it is included here, lest the following discussion became too abstract.

5.1. The second core

This core⁶⁷ continues the first section in the Italian manuscripts, § 297. *Pardal*. where *cantigas d'amor* predominate. It starts with V.P. Pardal, whose insertion in the compilation has yet to be determined. He could not be in the CA – the codicological analysis from last chapter has shown that – and he is not to be identified with CA's Unknown 2. Pardal's first *incipit* begins with

⁶⁷ Appendix 4.1 (p.115 ff.).

Sempreu, whereas the lost anonymous' first *cantiga* started with an *A*. The attempted identification between CA's Anonymous 4 with Pardal has been rejected with a number of arguments. Pardal's activity period has not been established to date, but his corpus includes *amigo* and satirical pieces inserted after F. Velho in the third and fifth cores (Oliveira's "zona tripartida"). This may be an isolated early insertion in α after CA was copied from ω .

In the sequence, we find the "Compilação de reis e magnates" with Garcia Mendes d'Eixo, D. Gonçalo Garcia, D. Alfonso X, D. Dinis, D. Alfonso XI and D. Pedro, conde de Barcelos. The first two poets have one composition each neither in the love genre. D. Alfonso X's corpus also disrupts the genre conventions by lumping together *amor*, *amigo*, debate, satirical and Marian pieces. The first piece, CBN 456, is associated to a controversial rubric, which casts doubts on its authorship. Another, CBN 471, placed at the end of the *cantigas d'amor*, is apocryphal, given the use of Castilian language. CBN 477 is a *tenção* started by Arnault, and should have been transmitted under a separate rubric, but was lumped in this section as the king was the respondent. This means that three *amor* pieces were penned by D. Alfonso X. D. Dinis follows with a first group of compositions, CBN 497/CV 80 to CBN 552/CV 155, where the *amor* genre predominates, excepting CBN 523a/CV 116, an *amigo* composition, and three *pastorelas*. As male-voiced compositions, the *pastorelas* are in the appropriate section, thus only one poem breaks the genre structure. In the second group, CBN 553/CV 156 to CBN 604/CV 207, run the king's *amigo* pieces. After D. Dinis, there is the apocryphal *cantiga* CBN 605-6/CV

§ 298. *Compilação de reis e magnates.*

208.⁶⁸ D. Afonso XI and D. Pedro's compositions are all male-voiced love compositions, but the first is in Castilian.

We are inclined to regard the “Compilação de reis e magnates” as a very late insertion in α . It is the amalgam of:

- a) a *rotulus* (?) with two pieces by Eixo and Gonçalo Garcia, early thirteenth-century poets, both from the Sousa lineage;
- b) a disorganised collection of *rotuli* or a small *Liederbuch* with compositions associated with Alfonso X;
- c) a *Liederbuch* by D. Dinis, organised in two sections, *amor* and *amigo* – his satirical pieces (CBN 1533-42) seem dissociated from this source;
- d) the small corpora of D. Pedro and Alfonso XI, son and grandson of D. Dinis.

There is little concern with genre organisation, furthermore, D. Pedro and Alfonso XI were both active in the fourteenth-century, therefore the whole section was compiled relatively late. There are two apocrypha circumscribed within the limits of this specific compilation and we must ask whether their insertion is in any way related to the surrounding compositions or were compiled even later. The apocrypha share common traits with themselves, like the opening vocative *Senhora*. The use of Castilian in CBN 471 resembles a piece from the “Compilação de reis e magnates” by D. Alfonso XI. The king died in 1350, so CBN 471 could be fourteenth-century; as for CBN 605-6/CV 208, Tavani dates it from the fifteenth century. Unlike the surrounding compositions, these two lack

⁶⁸ As argued by Nobiling, 2007b, p.167-170; Tavani, 1988d, p.317-25, against Lapa, 1930, p.11; Lapa, 1982, pp.197-203.

rubrics and whereas CBN 605-6/CV 208 was inserted at the end of a poet's sequence, CBN 471 is to be found in the middle of a cycle. Nobiling also remarked that CBN 605-6/CV 208 has defective readings because the CV copyist frequently confused *i* and *r* with *s*, thus the original may have been palaeographically distinct. Overall, their insertion appears to be later, even though a precise definition on date is still difficult.

After the “Compilação de reis e magnates”, there are the “Recolhas individuais” of Pero Larouco, Estêvão Fernandes d’Elvas and Pero de Ornelas. Larouco has no actual *cantiga d’amor*, Elvas’s small cycle has both *amigo* and *amor* pieces, Ornelas comes with a single *cantiga d’amor*. Overall, these may still be later *rotuli* being appended in this section. Between Elvas and Ornelas, though, Estêvão da Guarda was copied with six *amor* pieces. The possibility has been raised that these were once part of a pre-existing *Liederbuch* divided in three genres, the “cancioneiro de Estêvão da Guarda”.⁶⁹ Its three constituent parts would have been severed and inserted in α’s three sections (*amor* C 619/CBN 619/CV 220 to C 624/CBN 624/CV 225; *amigo* C 779/CBN 779/CV 362; satirical C 1300/CBN 1300/CV 904 to C 1326/CBN 1326/CV 932). We see no evidence of this and it seems particularly counterintuitive that a tripartite *Liederbuch* should have a single *cantiga d’amigo*. Guarda is therefore listed here as part of the freestanding individual collections.

§ 299. *Loose lyric material.*

⁶⁹ Oliveira, 1994, p.195.

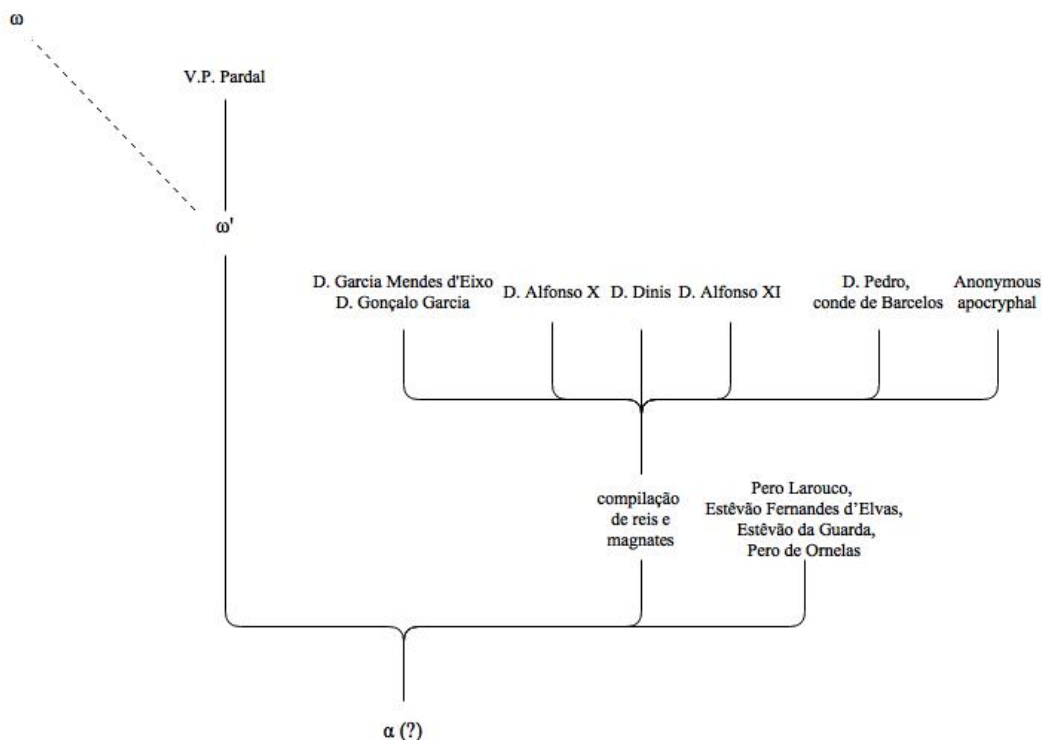


Fig. 22

5.2. The third core

The third core⁷⁰ opens the second section, relating to *cantigas d'amigo*. Its first poets are Calheiros, Sandim, P.S. Taveirós, Torneol, Burgalês, poets already documented in the first core, in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. All poems here belong to the expected genre and we admit the possibility of this being part of the original compilation predating ω.

§ 300. *Cantigas d'amigo* section, first half.

Next one finds fifteen poets: Camanês, Carpancho, Vasco Gil, Aboim, Coelho, Estêvão Reimondo, Ulhoa, Cogominho, Vinhal, Queimado, Tenoiro, Estêvão Coelho, Travanca, R.A. Vasconcelos and A.M. de Besteiros. Their compositions all belong to the female-voiced genre and

⁷⁰ Appendix 4.2 (p.121 ff.).

their names are familiar from the first core, in the *recolha de trovadores portugueses*. The order in which they are presented here, however, differs, and we list this as an unknown source. Besteiros's last piece, for the first time in this core, disrupts the expected genre: CBN 731/CV 332 is an *amor* poem.⁷¹

So far, there is an early section (C 627/CBN 626/CV 227 to C 650/CBN 650/CV 251) which may have existed as pre-archetypal material. From Camanês (C 651/CBN 651/CV 252) to Vasconcelos (C 728/CBN 728/CV 329) there is an early compilation, but which we are unable to precise date or origin, in which every poem belongs to the expected genre.

From Besteiros (C 729/CBN 729/CV 330) we have a less organised section, where one finds Barroso, Vivães, Seabra, Baião and Guilhade's first occurrence. His corpus also includes a *cantiga d'amor*, CBN 748b/CV 351. Estevão da Guarda, Ornelas, Sanches, Guilhade's second occurrence follow, all respecting the expected genre. Guilhade's status raises the question as to whether his corpus was sourced in two separate occasions or, less likely, divided by subsequent insertions. With Talaveira, Sandeu, Folhente nothing exceptional happens until CBN 803/CV 387. This is another apocryphal male-voiced composition: in CBN a number is recorded next to a *réserve*, in CV the piece survives. Next in sequence is Froiaz, with *amigo* compositions, and Paio Gomes Charinho's first occurrence. We have already seen evidence that Charinho's multiple insertions in CA and in α are non-archetypal (section 3.1). His metrical analysis is conducted individually in Appendix 3, section 3.3, and reveals a sequence of eleven pieces, CBN

⁷¹ Appendix 3.3, 37d.

808/CV 392 to CBN 818/CV 402, where two are shared with CA, split in ten *amor* and one *amigo*. From Charinho, follows Velho with an amigo piece and CV 404, only recorded in this manuscript. We follow Lanciani in regarding this as another apocryphal male-voiced love poem.⁷² We then have Pardal and CV 410, the third apocryphal piece. The compilation resumes to apparent normality with Cotom, Solaz and Ponte, until Charinho is repeated, with six *cantigas d'amigo* and one *d'amor*. This core ends with *cantigas d'amigo* by João Garcia, Raimon Gonçalves, Garcia Soares and Calvelo.

Apart from genre disruption and the double entries for Guilhade and Charinho, there is a third distinctive element, the apocryphal. Again, they are circumscribed to a short interval, the three are recorded solely by CV and two can be dated as fifteenth-century compositions, when “mote e volta” (CV 387) and “perguntas” (CV 410) were in vogue. These seem codicologically distinct in α . CBN can be said to avoid its copy, even if one (CV 410) had no rubric or attribution, so the copyist would assume it to be Pardal's, unless a major element told him otherwise. And it is safe to assume that they were avoided in CBN, rather than added in CV, because the former includes the number 803 with a *réserve* and allocated a unnumbered *réserve* between CBN 824 and 825 at the bottom of fl.174r.

Of interest in this core are the few *cantigas d'amor*, tentatively explained in this *stemma* as independent additions in α .

⁷² Lanciani, 1975-6, p.157-70.

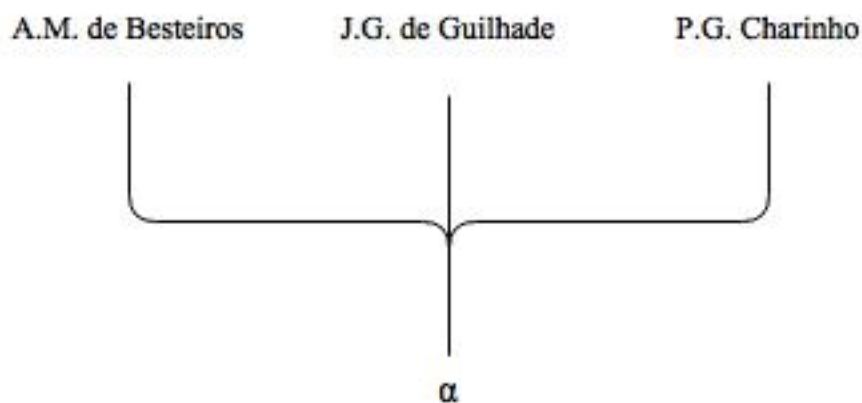


Fig. 23

5.3. The fourth core

The third core closed as a proper, if slightly disorganised, *amigo* section. Here, Mendinho, with his single composition, follows suit. But immediately after, we find A.P. Braga, M.R. Briteiros and J.M Briteiros, mostly with *amor* compositions.⁷³ These have all been labelled as another set of “recolhas individuais”, but we would venture connecting Mendinho with the previous influx. Braga and the two Briteiros must have been sourced together by one compiler, given their matching chronology and personal relations. João Mendes’s cycle seems deliberately divided in two sections, *cantigas d’amor* (five compositions) followed by *d’amigo* (four compositions).

§ 301. *Cantigas d’amigo* section, second half.

⁷³ Appendix 4.3 (p.127 ff.).

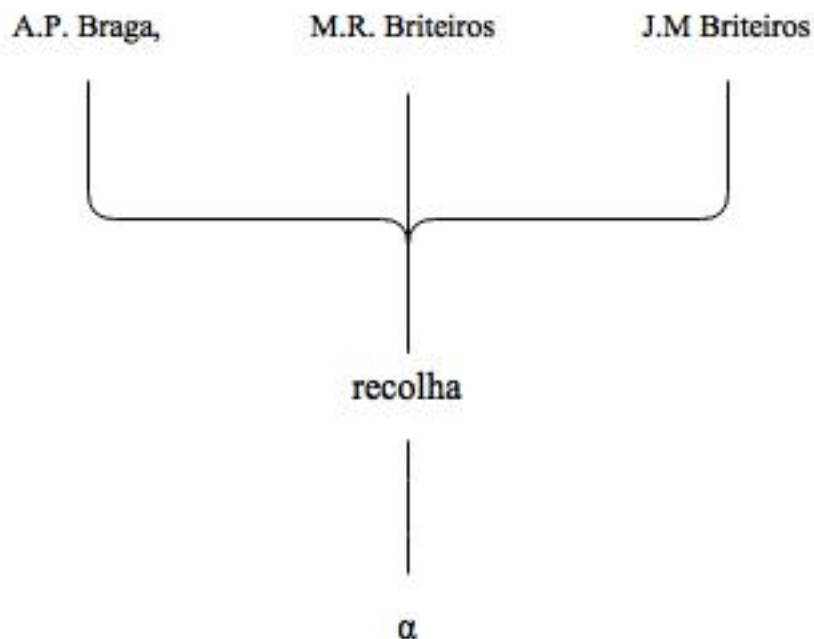


Fig. 24

By this fourth core, we clearly arrive at what Oliveira called “zona complementar” of the *cantigas d’amigo* section. But if our third core shows a proper female-voiced lyric compilation being progressively shuffled with other genres, the fourth core has a very tenuous claim to a *cantigas d’amigo* section. In fact, just like the second core, one should rather speak of extra lyric material appended at the end of an existing compilation, comprising collections of specific social groups and loose lyric material.

After the small “recolhas individuais” of Braga and the two Briteiros, the elements which have been identified constituting this core are a compilation of clergymen, a *Liederbuch* of João Airas de Santiago and further “recolhas individuais”.⁷⁴ The first would include Airas Nunes, A.

⁷⁴ Stegagno Picchio, 1968, pp.57-60 first noticed the “clerical anthology” (“silloge clericale”); Tavani, 1988a, p.120 remarks on a clerical *Liedersammlung*; Oliveira, 1994, p.196-9 speaks of “Compilação de clérigos” and “Cancioneiro de João Airas de Santiago”.

Gomes, Martim Moxa, Rui Fernandes de Santiago, D. Gomes Garcia, Paio de Cana, Sancho Sanches. All but Afonso Gomes, a *jogral*, were clergymen, but the *jogral*'s single poem is addressed to Moxa and, following Oliveira, we consider that it was compiled together with Moxa's corpus. A very similar case is Pero Anes Marinho, whose composition is a *cantiga d'amor* responding to João Airas. Originally, it would have been included at the opening of João Airas's cycle, but in the final compilation Sancho Sanches, a clergymen, is interposed in between the two, splitting the original compilation.

Concerning João Airas, Rodríguez was inclined to see successive insertions in α , one having mostly *cantigas d'amor*, in this core, the second still in this core mostly with *amigo* pieces, and a third insertion with satirical poems only in the sixth core. These would be *rotuli*, possibly specialized in specific genres.⁷⁵ Oliveira believed instead in a tripartite *Liederbuch*, dismantled when reaching α . Again, we see no evidence of a personal *cancioneiro* here. Indeed, João Airas's corpus is extensive, with twenty-five, forty-nine and eight compositions in each section, which could support a larger source, like a *Liederbuch*. But one would expect at least the *amor* and *amigo* sequences to follow one another, like in D. Dinis's case. Instead, eight poets are now between João Airas's two occurrences in this core, namely A.A. Cotom, A. Engeitado, R.A. de Alvares, Padrom, Ponte, Calvelo, R.M. Ulveira and P.G. Barroso. Oliveira's analysis was partly compromised by his view that Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo were in the archetype, being transported into this core. But even so, João Airas's first

⁷⁵ Rodríguez, 1980, pp.23-6.

occurrence features a *cantiga d'amigo* (CBN 963/CV 550) and a satirical piece (CBN 966/CV 553) among male-voiced lyric, while his second occurrence has a satirical piece (CV 601) and a *tenção* (CBN 1052/CV 642); thus not even the alleged tripartite genre division holds perfectly.⁷⁶ Other clues, highlighted by Rodríguez but disregarded by Oliveira, confirm our suspicion that Santiago's corpus never formed a *Liederbuch*. Firstly, there are two *doppi* within his forty-nine *cantigas d'amigo*: CBN 1023/CV 639 and CBN 1044/CV 634 are repeated as CBN 1049/CV 639 and CBN 1048/CV 638, respectively, noting that these repetitions occur in sequence. CBN 1048/CV 638 also has some significant textual variants, most notably the *incipit*. Secondly, within his satirical poems, one finds a rubric *Johan ayras de Santiago* before CBN 1461/CV 1071 and a second, redundant rubric *Johan ayras* preceding CBN 1467/CV 1077. Together, these elements reveal loose lyric material, added without a perfect division by genre, without avoiding duplicates and without removing rubric repetition. We note, incidentally, how this situation contrasts with D. Dinis's whose single anomaly is the insertion of the *cantiga d'amigo* CBN 523a/CV 116 in the *amor* sequence, its *doppio* CBN 570b/CV 174 later occurring in the correct section, among other *amigo* pieces. Thus, if João Airas's *Liederbuch* existed, it was so carelessly compiled that its existence can be disregarded on theoretical grounds since no coherent structure can be inferred from it.

Our preliminary solution for this section, then, is to consider a long series of "recolhas individuais" running from Pero Anes Marinho and João

§ 302. *Loose lyric material and the compilação de clérigos.*

⁷⁶ Rodríguez, 1980, p.24; pp.130-6 also lists CBN 960/CV 547 as "Cantiga dificilmente clasificable como de amor"; and although we sympathise with his arguments, there is virtually no other section where a compiler could have added it, hence it does not disrupts the genre division from a compilation point of view.

Airas, once associated, down to Martim Peres Alvim. Another set of poets, Pero Gonçalves de Portocarreiro, Pero Guterres and Estêvão Peres Froiã, located in the middle of the “Compilação de clérigos”, was also identified by Oliveira as an influx of “recolhas individuais”, since these poets were not clergymen. The opposition between “Compilação de clérigos” and “recolhas individuais”, however, may not be fundamental because the *compilação* does not seem to have pre-existed α as an independent collection. This appears to be Oliveira’s conclusion and it certainly follows from the analysis of its contents: poems from virtually every genre were sourced, Moxa and Rui Fernandes de Santiago have two occurrences, Sancho Sanches is inserted between Marinho and João Airas, who once formed a single cycle. Thus, what we have are disorganised influxes of “recolhas individuais”, with a segment where clergymen predominate and another even less coherent segment. We are, however, unable to determine any relative chronology between these two. It is unnecessary to repeat the explanation offered earlier in this chapter that the trio Padrom, Ponte, Calvelo were transmitted in this order with a central nucleus of poems, accessed independently by CA and α , and that α further enriched Ponte’s and Calvelo’s cycles.

5.4. The fifth core

The segment running from Pero de Ver to João de Requeixo has some internal coherence, which makes it worth exploring in isolation.⁷⁷ We face another *cancioneiro*, as acknowledged by previous scholars. Tavani first posited a “Bernal de Bonaval-Sammlung”, based on a rubric and an undisturbed sequence of *amor* pieces.⁷⁸ The rubric, transmitted by CBN and CV with minor differences, reads: “En esta folha adeante se começam as cantigas damor primeiro trovador Bernal de bonavalle”. For Tavani, the collection would run from Bonaval to Pero d’Armea, in a total of twenty-seven *cantigas*.⁷⁹ Oliveira, in far more detail and with more pieces of evidence, analysed this section arguing for a “cancioneiro de jograis galegos”. According to him, the compilation was appended at the end of α ’s amigo section and mimicked the earlier *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, in a tripartite genre structure. Below is the structure idealised by Oliveira.

§ 303. *Cancioneiro de jograis.*

Table III

cantigas d’amor

cantigas d’amigo

satirical

CANCIONEIRO DE JOGRAIS		Pero de Berdia	
		Nuno Porco	
	Pero de Ver	Pero de Ver	
	Bernal de Bonaval	Bernal de Bonaval	
	Abril Peres		
	João Servando	João Servando	João Servando
		João Zorro	
	Juião Bolseiro	Juião Bolseiro	
		Martim Campina	
		Pero Meogo	
		Martim de Caldas	
		Nuno Trez	
	Pero de Armea	Pero de Armea	

⁷⁷ Appendix 4.4 (p.1134 ff.).

⁷⁸ Tavani, 1988a, p.119.

⁷⁹ The figure of twenty-eight used by the scholar is a clear counting mistake, possibly due to the fact that CBN 1087 and 1088 are actually one piece (=CV 679).

Pedro Amigo de Sevilha	Pedro Amigo de Sevilha	
Airas Pais		
Lourenço*		Lourenço
João Baveca	João Baveca	João Baveca
	Pero Garcia d'Ambroa	Pero Garcia d'Ambroa*
	Paio Calvo	
	Martim Padrozelos	
Galisteu Fernandes	Lopo	
Lopo	Galisteu Fernandes	
Lourenço*	Lourenço	
[João, jogral de Leão]		
	Golparro	
	João de Cangas	
	Martim de Ginzo	
	Martim Codax	
	Airas Pais	
	Fernão do Lago	
	João de Requeixo	
		Diego Pezelho
		Pedro Amigo de Sevilha*
		Pero Garcia d'Ambroa*
		Pero de Armea
		Pero Garcia d'Ambroa*
		Pedro Amigo de Sevilha*
		Juião Bolseiro

Moving beyond the rubric, Oliveira notices a few facts here. The sequence of *cantigas d'amor* referred by the rubric starts before Bonaval and, therefore, before the rubric itself. It extends all the way to Lourenço's CBN 1115/CV 706, after whom we have the *jogral* João and a new sequence of *cantigas d'amigo*. There are, to be sure, a few exceptions which escape the respective genres, and these need to be explained separately. In this regard, one sees how Tavani's decision to limit his *Sammlung* up to Armea is unsystematic, given that another six poets also have *cantigas d'amor*. His decision is never explained, but it may not be arbitrary and we will need to consider in due course what happens after Armea. Returning to Oliveira, the second observation is that the new sequence of *amigo* compositions mirrors the sequence of poets of the *amor* block. Thus, we

currently find, at the end of his “second section”, “Zona Complementar”, a series of *amor* poems followed by a series of *amigo*, with a matching order of poets. Thirdly, all these poets are *jograis*.

With such arguments, there is enough ground to posit a *cancioneiro de jograis*. That they are all or largely Galicians, as Oliveira wants it, is largely debatable. *Jograis*, by their social condition, lack the archival documentation available to noblemen, hence many of the alleged Galician *jograis* are simply poets who have mentioned a specific location in Galicia, sometimes extensively in the corpus, sometimes as a one-off. We do not consider a stylistic element in a fictional text to be sufficient evidence to establish the author’s origin. Without any stretch of imagination, we can all list a number of reasons why a poet would name a place in Galicia, none of which is necessarily related to place of birth. There are yet fourteen poets for whom there were no prior suggestion of origin or were associated by scholars to other areas, like León and Portugal, and yet Oliveira believes that these should be reconsidered as Galicians. We would note that this has nothing to do with *cancioneiros* or compilation, Oliveira merely claims to have identified a large number of Galician *jograis* and from this all or most *jograis* should be Galicians – the putative link between cause and effect remains obscure for us.

§ 304. *On the origin of the jograis.*

Our second objection relates to a tripartite *cancioneiro*. Part of Oliveira’s merit is to realise that the *amor* and *amigo* sections of this *cancioneiro* match and follow from one another. To imagine a third section being removed and added later goes against the first observation. We would

§ 305. *The putative satirical section.*

go further, noting how most unlike the first two sections the satirical sections is:

Table IV

Non-Jograis	Jograis	
	João Servando	CV 1028-31
	Lourenço	CV 1032-6
D. Pedro		
João de Gaia		
Rui Pais de Ribela		
Pero Gomes Barroso		
João de Gaia		
	João Baveca	CBN 1453/CV 1063- CBN 1460/CV 1070
João Airas de Santiago		
Afonso Lopes de Baião		
Mem R. Tenoiro		
Airas Peres Vuitorm		
João Garcia de Guilhade		
Fernão Velho		
Vasco Peres Pardal		
Fernão Garcia Esgaravunha		
Vasco Gil		
Pero Mafaldo		
Gil Peres Conde		
D. Dinis		
Rui Gomes de Briteiros		
João Vasques Talaveira		
Nunes		
Fernão Soares de Quinhones		
Afonso Mendes de Besteiros		
Estêvão Faião		
Mem Pais		
Pero Vivães		
	Pero Garcia d'Ambroa	CBN 1572-8
Afonso Anes do Cotom		
	Diego Pezelho	CBN 1592
	Pedro Amigo de Sevilha	CBN 1593/CV 1125- CBN 1595/CV 1127
	Pero Garcia d'Ambroa	CBN 1596/CV 1128- CBN 1599/CV 1131
Pero Mendes da Fonseca		
Airas Nunes		
	Pero de Armea	CBN 1602/ CV 1134
	Pero Garcia d'Ambroa	CBN 1603/ CV 1135
Fernando Esquio		
Vidal		

Fernando Esquio		
João Velho De Pedrogãez		
Cubel		
Barreto		
Lugo		
Redondo		
Cotom		
Vivães		
Caldeïrom		
Vivães		
Marinho		
Sarraça		
Caldeïrom		
Charinho		
Ponte		
	Pedro Amigo de Sevilha	CBN 1658/ CV 1192- CV 1205
	Juião Bolseiro	C 1675

Spread across most of the satirical sections, with dozens of non-*jograis* in between, the *jograis* here hardly come together. In fact, we would sustain that if there is any evidence, it is the opposite. Most *cancioneiros* were not originally tripartite, the satirical section at least seems a very late invention. We saw this with D. Dinis – a *Liederbuch* with *amor* and *amigo* sections only – and the same is repeated here.

There is another aspect to be considered in the satirical section, which also applies to the first two, namely, the extent to which poets really come in the same order and the occasional occurrence of a single poet in several positions. To conclude our arguments against a satirical section, we note how Sevilha, Armea and Bolseiro, marked in bold in the first table, do not appear in analogous positions in the other sections. Sevilha and Ambroa, marked with asterisks, occur two or three times. This is very different from the *amor* and *amigo* sections and therefore the satirical section contradicts the very evidence used to posit the *cancioneiro* in the first place. That is to

say, in the satirical section only Servando, Lourenço, Baveca and Ambroa's first occurrence is similar to the *amor* and *amigo* sections, but only Servando and Lourenço come together in the satirical section.

Having denied a satirical section in this *cancioneiro de jograis*, we will now try to establish its limits, again, based on the order of poets and their repetition while also taking into account Tavani's idea of a collection extending up to Armea's CBN 1090/CV 681. In order to accomplish this, the *cancioneiro de jograis* will be divided in sections, in an analogous technique used here to discuss CA, CBN and CV by cores. Below is the graphic representation of the order of poets relevant to the *cancioneiro de jograis* divided in sections, and excluding non-jograis.

§ 306. *The limits of the cancionero de jograis.*

Table V

		<i>cantigas d'amor</i>	<i>cantigas d'amigo</i>	
CANCIONEIRO DE JOGRAIS			Pero de Berdia	5th section
			Nuno Porco	
		Pero de Ver	Pero de Ver	
	1st section	Bernal de Bonaval	Bernal de Bonaval	2nd section
		João Servando	João Servando	
			João Zorro	
		Juião Bolseiro	Juião Bolseiro	
			Martim Campina	
			Pero Meogo	
			Martim de Caldas	
			Nuno Trez	
	3rd section	Pero de Armea	Pero de Armea	4th section
		Pedro Amigo de Sevilha?	Pedro Amigo de Sevilha?	
		Airas Pais		
		Lourenço*		
		João Baveca	João Baveca	
			Pero Garcia d'Ambroa	
			Paio Calvo	
			Martim Padrozelos	
		Galisteu Fernandes	Lopo	
		Lopo	Galisteu Fernandes	
		Lourenço*	Lourenço	
		[João, jogral de Leão]		
			Golparro	
			João de Cangas	
			Martim de Ginzo	
			Martim Codax	
			Airas Pais	
			Fernão do Lago	
			João de Requeixo	

5.4.1. First section

Rubric
 Bernal de Bonaval: CBN 1062/CV 653-CBN 1072/CV 663
 João Servando: CBN 1074/CV 664; CBN 1075/CV 665
 [Diogo Gonçalves de Montemor-o-Novo: CBN 1075b/CV 666]
 Juião Bolseiro: CBN 1076/CV 667
 [Anonymous: CV 668]
 Pero d'Armea: CBN 1077/CV 669-CBN 1090/CV 681
 [Estêvão Fernandes d'Elvas: CBN 1091/CV 682-CBN 1093/CV 684]
 Pedro Amigo de Sevilha: CBN 1094/CV 685-CBN 1099/CV 690

The first section largely coincides with Tavani's "Bernal de Bonaval-Sammlung". Remembering that Tavani does not justify his decision to limit the *Sammlung* from Bonaval to Armea, we offer here only our observations on what is peculiar to this section.

The key piece of evidence is the rubric, which is clearly an *opening* element of a former codicological unit. Oliveira is right to observe that there are *cantigas d'amor* before the rubric, but this must be explained as a separate phenomenon, in other words, Pero de Ver's inclusion should not be contemporary to the rubric.

§ 307. *The rubric.*

Bonaval (c.1200-c.1250), Servando (c.1250), Bolseiro (c.1250) and Armea (c.1250) are all jograis from the earliest period. Their corpora in this section features *cantigas d'amor* exclusively. The Abril Peres listed in Oliveira's list is irrelevant to the order of poets, given that Peres merely responds to a *tenção d'amor* started by Bonaval. Interpolated in this section are Diogo Gonçalves, a fifteenth-century poet; the anonymous CV 668, estimated from the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century; and Estêvão

§ 308. *Undisputed cases.*

Fernandes, possibly active in the first half of the fourteenth century. These will be addressed separately.

Next in sequence is Pedro Amigo de Sevilha, whose chronology is § 309. *Sevilha*. yet disputed, even if his *jogral* status is largely accepted. The main element to set Sevilha apart from the others is the occurrence of a satirical poem (CBN 1099/CV 690) at the end of his sequence. The *pastorela*, occurring immediately before the satirical poem, as a male-voice love poem, does not disrupt the expected genre. Sevilha's position in the sections discussed here, therefore, hinges on how we account for the satirical piece. If it is assumed that all his six compositions derive from a single source, he could not be in this section, in a clear disruption of the genre announced by the rubric. If it is accepted that Sevilha's love corpus derive from one source with CBN 1099/CV 690 added at a later stage, in analogy with so many other cases discussed in this chapter, there is no obstacle for including him in this section.

5.4.2. Second section

Bernal de Bonaval: CBN 1135/CV 726-CBN 1141b/CV 733

João Servando: CBN 1142/CV 734-CBN 1147b/CV 750

João Zorro: CBN 1148b/CV 751-CBN 1158b/CV 761
[Rui Martins do Casal: CBN 1159/CV 762-CBN 1164/CV 767]

[Anonymous: CBN 1164a/CV 768-CBN 1164c/CV 770]

Juão Bolseiro: CBN 1165/CV 771-CBN 1181/CV 786]

Martim Campina: CBN 1182/CV 787-CBN 1183/CV 788

Pero Meogo: CBN 1184/CV 789-CBN 1192/CV 797

Martim de Caldas: CBN 1193/CV 798-CBN 1199/CV 804

Nuno Trez: CBN 1200/CV 805-CBN 1203/CV 808
 Pero de Armea: CBN 1204/CV 809-CBN 1207/CV
 812
 Pedro Amigo de Sevilha: CBN 1208/CV 813-CBN
 1218/CV 823

All the four or five poets – depending on Sevilha’s status – from the first section reappear here, in the same order, now with *cantigas d’amigo*. There are, however, some distinctive elements worth stressing.

The first and most striking of all is the absence of a matching rubric. Of course, this may be due to accidental transmission but, equally, it may be a sign that the *amor* and *amigo* sequences were not created concomitantly, despite their similarity.

§ 310. *The rubric.*

Biographical data is inconclusive: most of these poets are thought to be *jograis*, but archival evidence is lacking even for basic chronological limits. Rui Martins do Casal, Pedro Anes Solaz and three anonymous compositions are certainly alien to a compilation of *jograis* and will be addressed in due course. If we disregard these three, we are left with an almost undisturbed collection of *cantigas d’amigo*. The exception to this is Zorro with a *cantiga d’amor* (CBN 1151b/CBN 1152b/CV 754) and Bolseiro with a satirical (CBN 1171/CV 777) and a *tenção* (CBN 1181/CV 786). Unlike Sevilha’s CBN 1099/CV 690, located at the end of the sequence, Zorro’s and Bolseiro’s exceptions appear in the middle of their sequences.

§ 311. *Biographical data and genre disruption.*

5.4.3. Third section

Airas Pais: CBN 1100/CV 691-CBN 1101/CV 692
 Lourenço: CBN 1102/CV 693
 João Baveca: CBN 1103/CV 694-CBN 1110
 Galisteu Fernandes: CBN 1111/CV 701; CBN 1111b/CV 702
 Lopo: CBN 1112/CV 703-CBN 1114/CV 705
 Lourenço: CBN 1115/CV 706
 [João, jogral de Leão: CBN 1116/CV 707; CBN 1117/CV 708]

§ 312. *Cantigas d'amor.*

In the third section, occurring between the first and the second, there are only *cantigas d'amor*. Airas Pais (*flor.*1293-1304) is documented as a slightly later poet. On the others there is no documentation, but based on connections with dated *trovadores*, Lourenço and Lopo were active around 1250. Chronologically considered, this section seems largely consistent with the first. The exception is João, the last in the sequence, who despite being a *jogral*, was active in the fourteenth century. His poems are the only to escape the love genre. Lourenço, exceptionally, occurs twice in the order of poets and this points to a progressive insertion of his corpus.

5.4.4. Fourth section

[Pedro Anes Solaz: CBN 1219/CV 824; CBN 1220/CV 825]
 João Baveca: CBN 1221/CV 826-CBN 1234/CV 839
 Pero Garcia d'Ambroa: CBN 1235/CV 840
 Paio Calvo: CBN 1236/CV 841-CBN 1237/CV 842
 Martim Padrozelos: CBN 1238/CV 843-CBN 1247/CV 852
 Lopo: CBN 1248/CV 853-CBN 1255/CV 860
 Galisteu Fernandes: CBN 1256/CV 861-CBN 1259/CV 864
 Lourenço: CBN 1260/CV 865-CBN 1265b/CV 871
 Golparro: CBN 1266/CV 872
 João de Cangas: CBN 1267/CV 873-CBN 1269/CV 875
 Martim de Ginzo: CBN 1270/CV 876-CBN 1277/CV 883

Martim Codax: CBN 1278/CV 884-CBN 1284/CV 890
 Airas Pais: CBN 1285/CV 891-CBN 1287/CV 892
 Fernão do Lago: CBN 1288/CV 893
 João de Requeixo: CBN 1289/CV 894-CBN 1293/CV 898

The relation between sections four to three is analogous to the relation of two to one. All the poets from the third reappear in the fourth, which also has names exclusive to it. The reason why we see a divide between sections four and three against the earlier pair lies in the order of poets. The poets from section one were duplicated, in the exact same order, in section two. Yet there are no two poets occurring in the same order between sections three and four. Airas Pais, Lourenço (first occurrence), João Baveca, Galisteu Fernandes, Lopo and Lourenço (second occurrence) become Baveca, Lopo, Galisteu Fernandes, Lourenço (single occurrence) and Airas Pais.

§ 313. *Order of poets.*

The only poet dated with some certainty exclusive to this section is Ambroa, active in the mid-thirteenth century.

§ 314. *Biographical data.*

Section 4 follows 3 in its focus on *cantigas d'amigo*, with the following obvious exceptions: Baveca with a *tenção d'amor* (CBN 1221/CV 826) opening his sequence and Padrozelos with a *cantiga d'amor* (CBN 1247/CV 852) closing his sequence. A less obvious disruption to the intended genre is Lourenço's CBN 1262/CV 867, a *cantiga d'amor* in the middle of his sequence, but which may have fooled the compiler given the existence of a female character's voice.

§ 315. *Genre disruptions*
 .

5.4.5. Fifth section

Cantigas d'amor

Pero de Ver: CBN 1060/CV 650-CBN 1061/CV 651

Cantigas d'amigo

Pero de Berdia: CBN 1118/CV 709-CBN 1121/CV 713

[Anonymous: CBN 1121b]

[Pero Mendes da Fonseca: CBN 1122/CV 714-CBN 1126/CV 718]

Nuno Porco: CBN 1127/CV 719

Pero de Ver: CBN 1128/CV 720-CBN 1134/CV 725

In the fifth section, we include Pero de Ver with two *cantigas d'amor* before section 1 and Berdia, Porco and Ver, again, with *cantigas d'amigo* before section 2. The rationale is that the opening rubric preceding Bonaval's corpus in section 1 must be older than the insertion of Ver's *amor* corpus. Ver also precedes Bonaval immediately in the *amigo* segment, hence Ver and all those before him were added at a later stage, when, at least, sections 1 and 2 already existed. All of these insertions respect the expected genre division. Their activity period has not yet been firmly established.

§ 316. *Poets preceding the rubric.*

This line of reasoning, brought forward by Oliveira, leads us to regard Nuno Porco as a *jogral*. This is against Nobiling's theory that Nuno Porco and Nuno Rodrigues Candarei were the same person. Candarei is definitely a *trovador*, present in the CA and therefore would be at odds in a *cancioneiro de jograis*. If Nobiling was right, Nuno's insertion would be associated with the Anonymous and Fonseca.

§ 317. *Nuno Porco.*

5.4.6. The *cancioneiro de jograis*

Our *cancioneiro de jograis* distinguishes itself from Tavani's "Bernal de Bonaval-Sammlung" or Oliveira's "cancioneiro de jograis galegos" in that its compilation is necessarily gradual. The five sections may not represent five separate moments. But they do reveal some degree of progressive material assemblage.

We cannot determine yet the relative chronology of these sections. Was it the case that sections 1 and 3 were first compiled and then 2 and 4 were added, or was it instead 1 and 2 an original compilation with 3 and 4 being later additions? We cannot answer this, except that section 5 seems later than 1 and 2.

Finally, the following poets are located in the fifth core, but they would not belong, strictly, to the *cancioneiro de jograis*. This was posited by Oliveira and we follow his rationale:

- Diogo Gonçalves de Montemor-o-Novo, with a *pregunta*, an apocryphal piece;
- Anonymous (CV 668), an apocryphal love poem;
- Estêvão Fernandes d'Elvas, with three *cantigas d'amigo*;
- João, jogral de Leão, with elegiac and eulogiac compositions;
- Anonymous (CBN 1121b), a distich from an apocryphal poem;
- Pero Mendes da Fonseca, with five *cantigas d'amor*;
- Rui Martins do Casal, with four *cantigas d'amor* and two *cantigas d'amigo*;
- Anonymous (CBN 1164a/CV 768 to CBN 1164c/CV 770), three apocryphal compositions;

§ 318. *The compilation of the cancioneiro de jograis.*

§ 319. *Ineligible poets.*

- Pedro Anes Solaz, with two *cantigas d'amor*.

Chronologically these are mostly late compositions: fourteenth-century (João) and late fifteenth-century (Diogo and the apocrypha). Apparently only João was a *jogral*. Additionally, they often disrupt the expected genre division. Of these late insertions, sections 3 and 4 are the least disturbed. Ramos, has recently addressed the strange phenomenon that such a high number of late insertions should occur in a very specific region of CBN/CV. In her view, the traditional explanation that these compositions would have been added in blank spaces of α is perhaps unsatisfactory. She raised the possibility that the poems were added in the *cancioneiro de jograis* itself. In this case, the compilation is assembled over a much more extended period of time and its ultimate insertion in α is later than 1350, its putative completion date.⁸⁰ This is in line with our understanding that even “original” *cantigas d'amor* and *d'amigo* by the jograis were collected progressively.

5.5. The sixth core

5.5.1. Intersection zone

After the *cancioneiro de jograis*, there seems to be some appended lyric material without any genre concern.⁸¹ This intersection starts with Fernando Esquio (CBN 1294) and extends until Mem Rodrigues de Briteiros (CBN 1330/CV 936). Esquio has two *amor* and two *amigo* compositions. João Fernandes de Ardeleiro has a satirical and an *amor*

§ 320. *Cantigas d'amor appended at the end of the cancionero de jograis.*

⁸⁰ Paper presented in the V Congreso de Convivio, Università di Verona (Italy), 18th February - 20th February 2016, congress proceedings to be published in *Poesía, poéticas y cultura literaria*, ed. by Andrea Zinato; Paola Bellomi, “Cauterio Suave” (series number tbc), Pavia: Editorial Ibis, 2017.

⁸¹ Appendix 4.5 (p.144).

composition. Estêvão da Guarda and Mem Rodrigues de Briteiros only have satirical pieces. We regard this as another insertion of “recolhas individuais”, that is, *rotuli* being appended at the end of the larger compilation. This coincides with Oliveira’s theory, except with regards to Estêvão da Guarda, to whom Guarda was transmitted as a *Liederbuch*. We need not repeat the reasoning against this *Liederbuch* and, indeed, the theory is perfectly harmonic with these four poets being all sourced in the same way.

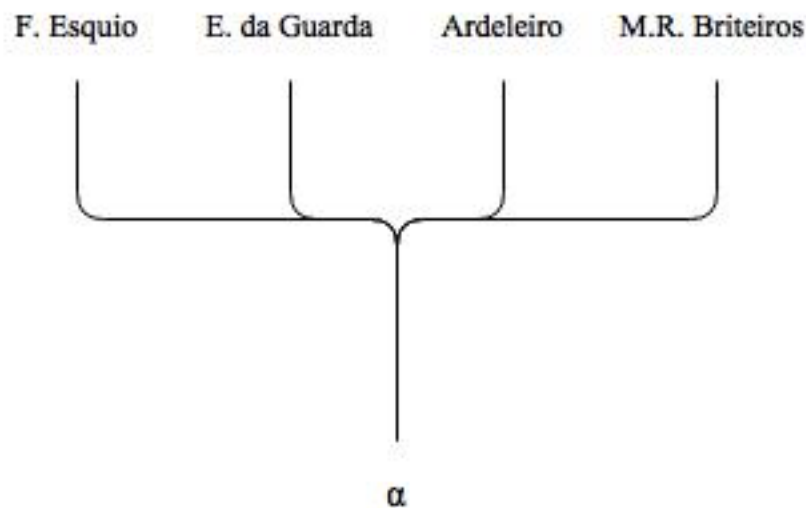


Fig. 25

5.5.2. The satirical section

After Briteiros, we find João Soares de Paiva with one composition, CBN 1330b/CV 937.⁸² It is headed by the following rubric: “Aqui sse começam as cantigas descarn e de maldizer”, this being the formal beginning of the satirical section which is not analysed in this study. However, we note that, unlike the other two sections, the satirical respects almost perfectly its

§ 321. *Cantigas d’amor in the satirical section.*

⁸² Appendix 4.5 (p.145).

intended genre. There are absolutely no *cantiga d'amigo*.⁸³ There are some rare cases of male-voiced love poems, namely: a *cantiga de change* by Tamalancos, three *cantigas d'amor* attributed to João de Gaia, one *cantiga d'amor* by Gil Peres Conde, the compositions by Vidal, and two *tenções d'amor* by Burgalês and Pero da Ponte.

João de Gaia occurs with CBN 1434/CV 1044. Shortly after, Gaia has a second occurrence in the order of poets, with a total of five compositions, two being satirical, three being *amor*. One of these, however, may not be his, CBN 1451/CV 1061, which is transmitted earlier by CBN and CA under Nuno Rodrigues de Candarei (*vide* §265). Despite the perennial problems of attribution involving Candarei, it seems clear that the poem had to be composed before 1300 to be in CA, whereas Gaia is a fourteenth-century poet. Problems of attribution notwithstanding, it seems reasonable that Gaia was inserted from *rotuli* in this section without much care for genre division, as already admitted by Oliveira. Each separate occurrence presumably relates to a separate insertion, rather than one insertion being later subdivided.

§ 322. *João de Gaia.*

Gil Peres Conde is the other poet to break the genre division, with the *cantiga d'amor* CBN 1530 amid satirical pieces. Finally, there is Vidal, a late poet with two male-voiced love compositions, not quite *cantigas d'amor* in the strictest sense, but disrupting the *cancioneiro*'s genre structure nonetheless. In all cases, we would venture positing "recolhas

§ 323. *Gil Peres Conde and Vidal.*

⁸³ The main observation has been highlighted by Gonçalves, 1991, p.455, however, the scholar misread two poems by Vinhal, CBN 1390/CV999 and CV 1008, which she list as *cantigas d'amigo* within the satirical section. "La position de deux *cantigas d'amigo* (B 1390/V999 et V 1008), l'une à l'ouverture et l'autre à la fin du cycle des chansons de raillerie de Gonçal' Eanes do Vinhal, semble indiquer que cette dérogation résulte d'une décision du compilateur". The two poems are satirical, as previously demonstrated by Michaëlis, 2004, GM XIII, p.330.

individuais” although, in point of fact, this may be redundant in the satirical section. As discussed before the satirical section seems a later invention. This probably explains its almost perfect genre purity but also means that all compositions were sourced rather late in history, from loose sources. That is, the satirical section, with its more chaotic order of poets and numerous reoccurrences may be a huge lump of “recolhas individuais”.

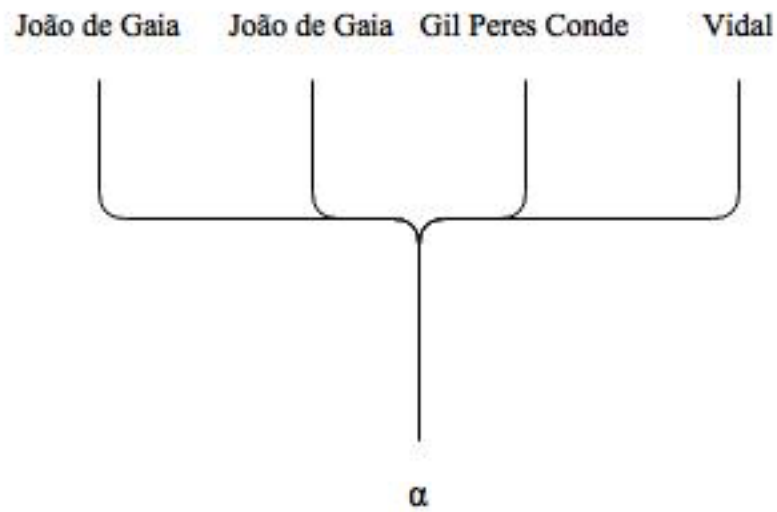


Fig. 26

6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed case-by-case analysis of *cantigas d'amor*. Following from the more general *stemmata* and overarching theory of Chapter 3, we have drawn *stemmata* for each poet who composed in the male-voiced genre. These corpora were analysed according to segments and compilers, thus making fine distinctions within each poet's corpus. We have occasionally reached the highest levels of compilation work and posited that some compilers arranged lyric material based on specific features of interest, such as thematic or metrical clusters. We have also linked some poets together through compilation.

A few aspects are worth highlighting here. The sequence of *cantigas* which we have called first core stands for a collection of lyric material in CA, on one hand, and in C/CBN/CV, on the other. The material common to both branches reveals the archetype, the material specific to either of these branches, as a rule, was independently inserted in CA or in α . What does it mean to speak of an archetype in this context? Obviously, we are moving slightly away from strict Neo-Lachmannism, in the sense that the archetype represents a part of the surviving manuscripts. In a purist approach, we would posit an ω for each poem or each small sequence of poems. But instead, we identified ω with what Michaëlis and Tavani had noticed before, a large compilation which gives, in the surviving manuscripts, a common sequence of poets and poems. Naturally, the archetype, in this definition, is not an autograph, but is even subject to further subdivisions and branching

upwards. Our ω may be said to be the *archetypal compilation* rather than the archetypal text, which is even more distant.

This archetypal compilation is the most accessible to analysis. We can see it by contrasting CA with C/CBN/CV. Most of this chapter is devoted to its history, from the lowest to the highest levels of text compilation.

The last three gatherings of CA are outside the first core. If we except the *Liedersammlung* of Padrom, Ponte and Calvelo – independently accessed by α – everything else is uniquely arranged by the second compiler of CA. Likewise, from Pardal onwards, in C/CBN/CV, that is, cores two to six, compilation is largely specific to α .

The possibility of analysis of these areas is compromised. CA, in its last gatherings, is a unique witness. C/CBN/CV, although constituting three manuscripts, are so similar that, in practical terms, they function as a unique witness. We have followed earlier scholars in detecting smaller groups of poems in cores two to six, but we lack an alternative source to map compilation more efficiently. Still, it was possible to see in part how compilation occurred gradually: smaller compilations depositing step-by-step, like layers building up until we reach the large surviving collections. This history of compilation was indeed the goal of this chapter.

Chapter 5.

The first generation – the beginning until c. 1240

Contents

In this chapter we endeavour to:

- ❖ Discuss a small group of early poets whose corpora did not survive (§324-326);
- ❖ Study in detail the corpora of D. Gil Sanches and Fernão Pais de Tamalancos, whose production is formally and thematically very distinct (§327-330);
- ❖ Analyse the *cantigas d'amor* by poets active until c.1240 (§331-354).

Outcome:

The chapter draws a profile of the earliest poets' formal preferences; discusses the gradual establishment of the *cantigas d'amor* both thematically and formally; proposes that the concept of genres emerged gradually through experimentation and crystallisation of poetic forms.

Note:

The reader is expected to refer to Appendix 3.

1. Introduction

If we were to divide Galician-Portuguese lyric in strict periods of twenty years, we should speak of a late twelfth-century generation (1180-1199), an early thirteenth-century (1200-1219) and the 1220's generation. This, however, would be of little profit since the first two would only feature four poets with no extant *cantiga d'amor* and so the period of 1180 to 1239 is here considered together, although not as a homogenous block.

This chapter starts by discussing the poets active from 1180-1219, first by focusing on those with no extant *cantiga d'amor*, followed by two poets with surviving *amor* pieces. The rest of the chapter analyses poets active between 1220-1239.

Most of the early poets here represented were compiled in the archetype, the exceptions are the three *jograís* Bonaval, Lopo and Pero de Ver, who were compiled much later. Overall, in the corpora of this generation, there are few references to other poets, presumably due to a lack of satirical poetry, but which could also mean that they were composing in isolated clusters. This changed radically in the second generation (outside the scope of this thesis).

2. The *cantigas* in their infancy – the earliest poets and the lack of defined genres

2.1. From 1180 to 1219

The rise of Galician-Portuguese lyric in the late twelfth century has given rise to a scholarly controversy, with two basic theories. The first posits that Portuguese poets established in Castile were exposed to troubadour lyric and started to compose in their own language. The second argues that the origins are connected to Galician nobility based in León-Galicia.

§ 324. *Debate on origins.*

This debate is not just a matter of minutiae on the exact birth location – Castile or Galicia – but seeks to question what is the background of the earliest Galician-Portuguese lyric. The first theory suggests the rise of Iberian lyric in a region where Galician-Portuguese was not the spoken language, but highlights an international setting, the contact with Occitan lyric, available in Alfonso VIII's court. The second favours an autochthonous genesis, in a region where lyric and vernacular language overlapped. The link with Occitan is not denied but attenuated in this theory.

Oliveira offered a range of biographical data and successive syntheses in 1990s.¹ His narrative posits four periods which he labelled “recepção”, “implantação”, “transformação” and “esgotamento”. In the first period he focus on four poets, mostly of Portuguese origin, but living or spending time in Castile, where Occitan lyric was in vogue.

¹ Oliveira, 1994; Oliveira, 1995; Oliveira, 1996, pp.675-81.

Souto Cabo, who has conducted the most recent research on biographical data on the early poets, added data on Galician poets lacking in earlier studies and revised some of Oliveira's suggestions. Of these revisions, while some are rigorously grounded, others must be regarded in the perspective of what the author himself calls conjectures – plausible but yet disputable. Souto Cabo sees a strong connection between Catalan nobility and Galicia, noting the role of the Cabrera family. He also notes strong bonds between Ramon Berenguer IV, father of Alfonso II of Aragon, and king Ferdinand II of Leon who, nevertheless, was not a patron as far as we could determine.

We consider that at the turn of the thirteenth century, at least five and possibly seven poets were active: Pero Pais Bazaco (c.1200), João Velaz (*flor.*1158-d.1181), D. Juano (?), João Soares de Paiva (*flor.*1170-1200), Pero Rodrigues de Palmeira (*flor.*1180-1225), D. Rodrigo Dias dos Cameiros (*flor.*1186-1230) and Airas Soares (?). This is also the chronological order established by compiler 5, working on the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* (assuming that Juano and Soares are not later interpolations). Asma and Moniz, the first two poets, offer doubts, to be discussed below. To the early poet's we add D. Garcia Mendes de Eixo (*flor.*1197-d.1239), with a non-*amor* poem compiled in the "Compilação de reis e magnates".

Pero Pais Bazaco (c.1200) was traditionally spelled as Bazaco, following the *Tavola Colocciana*, the only source to record his name. However, scholars have recently detected both this character and his family, causing this graphic revision. He was originally from Galicia and his place of activity has yet to be established.

§ 325. *Biographic
al data on
the earliest
poets.*

João Velaz (*flor.*1158-d.1181) was identified by Souto Cabo as a Galician nobleman and nephew of the Catalan *troubadour* Guiraut de Cabrera. He was active in León and perhaps in Galicia, dying before 1200, making him the earliest dated poet.

João Soares de Paiva (*flor.*1170-1200), since Michaëlis outlined the basics, has been unanimously regarded as a nobleman born in Portugal around 1140, moving in adulthood to the “Nordeste da Península”.² The expression employed by Michaëlis is intentionally imprecise, as the place of activity continues to defy scholars. Oliveira places him in Aragon and hypothesizes that he composed his pieces “junto de” D. Rodrigo Dias dos Cameiros – without explicitly linking this to a vassalage relation.³ Miranda, in turn, clearly posits a vassalage relation between both poets – “seria certamente na qualidade de seu vassalo” – without spelling out his reasons.⁴ In a different line, Souto Cabo places him in Aragon, and hypothesizes that Paiva was a vassal to the lord of Monzón, whose overlord was Cabrera.⁵ We would note that much of these suggestions were prompted by Paiva’s only surviving poem, a piece which is vague. The lyric text in itself merely condemns a Navarrese attack, it is only the accompanying rubric that refers to an attack on Paiva’s land. And, although we have no reason to reject the rubric’s account, we should not accept it unconditionally either, as the composition of the two texts may be well distant in time from one another.⁶

² Michaëlis, 2004, GM XI, p.299-313.

³ Oliveira, 1994, p.172; p.371.

⁴ Miranda, 2004, p.40.

⁵ Souto Cabo, 2012, p.57-78.

⁶ The analysis of a rubric in Tamalancos’s corpus, below, shows that the author of the rubric invented meanings; potentially the same could happen here.

Pero Rodrigues de Palmeira (*flor.*1180-1225) was Portuguese from a lineage connected to king Afonso Henriques. There is no evidence that he ever left Portugal, the documents raised so far merely reveal that he was in Portugal in 1180s and in 1225. Michaëlis and more recently Miranda both addressed the fact that Palmeira is recorded in two *livros de linhagem* as “*o que morreo de amor*”.⁷ It is possible that the statement testifies more to the novelty represented by the *cantiga d’amor* at the time than to a historical event, as advanced by Miranda, and it certainly signals the emergence of the genre around 1200s.

D. Rodrigo Dias dos Cameiros (*flor.*1186-1230) was Castilian by birth and was documented in the Castilian courts of Alfonso VIII and Fernando III. His father-in-law was Diego López de Haro, Lord of Biscaya, a prominent character in Castile at the time and a known patron of *troubadours*.

Alongside these seven, the *Tavola Colocciana* also records the names of Airas Soares and D. Juano, who remain otherwise unknown. Concerning the first, an “Airas Soares laicus” was identified active in 1204 by Oliveira, while Souto Cabo argues that his actual name should be “Airas Oares”, conjecturing an identity with an “Arias Odoarii” documented in 1187.⁸ As for the latter, Souto Cabo, again changing the poet’s name, conjectures an identity with “domnus Julianus” documented in Galicia around 1151(?)–1202.⁹

⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.573; Miranda, 2004, p.46.

⁸ Souto Cabo, 2012 p.121-3.

⁹ Souto Cabo, 2012 p.189-197.

Regarding the production of these poets, only the one piece by Paiva survived.¹⁰ We thus have seven poets with twenty-four lost poems, presumably *cantigas d'amor*, given their position in the *cancioneiro*. Bazaco and Velaz were active in Galicia, Paiva possibly in Aragon, Palmeira in Portugal, Cameiros in Castile: all the main Iberian kingdoms but León. Shortly after came D. Garcia Mendes de Eixo (*flor.*1197-d.1239). We do not know the language used by his predecessors, but Eixo's only surviving piece was composed around 1215 in Occitan.¹¹ He was from the Sousa lineage, originally based in Portugal in connection with king Sancho I, of Portugal. When Afonso II, of Portugal, rose to the throne, he *might* have moved to the court of Alfonso IX, of León, with the dissident party, as has been occasionally suggested. This relocation has not been confirmed, but his brother certainly did move to León, supporting king Afonso's sisters. What is certain is that Eixo eventually appears in the Portuguese court of Afonso II.

§ 326. *The corpus of the earliest poets.*

In the chronological sequence, we would list D. Gil Sanches (*flor.*1207-1236) and D. Fernão Pais de Tamalancos (*flor.*1197-1242), to be discussed below. Between the lost poets and D. Gil Sanches one finds Osoiro Anes and Mirapeixe. We do not know how medieval ideas on chronology worked, so our sequence is better based on contemporary research rather than on a strict observation of manuscript order.

In Chapters 3 and 4 we have seen that most if not all of these poets were included in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* by compiler 5, whose pioneer initiative structured the order of poets chronologically, with earlier

¹⁰ Editions: Michaëlis, 2004, GM XI, p.299-313; Lapa, 1970, p.369-70.

¹¹ Editions: Machado; Machado, 1949-1964, II, p.293. For Brea; et al., 1996, p.999, "Cantiga en provenzal (cansó)"; Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011, suggest "gascão".

poets at the beginning of the compilation, a structure which remains the base of all extant *cancioneiros*. The section including the earliest *cantigas d'amor* is now lost in all three main sources and the only glimpse we have of these poets is with CBN 1330b/CV 937 and CBN 454, preserved at beginning of the satirical section. If we know of their lost existence, it is through the *Tavola Colocciana*, which lists their names and number of compositions.

Although we can – and an early medieval compiler certainly did – classify with hindsight the surviving pieces as *cantigas de maldizer*, at least one of them (CBN 454) fits its genre uneasily. Indeed, we would suggest that, at this early stage, there were no genres, just *cantigas*, genres being gradually constructed as poets experimented and crystalized possibilities. But for that unknown compiler who first divided a *cancioneiro* in sections, a man who produced his compilation in an environment where genres were a *fait accompli*, for him, looking backwards, the earliest production was divisible into *cantigas d'amor* and *d'escarnho*. Of this early corpus, twenty-four pieces (from Bazaco to A. Soares, excluding Asma and Moniz) were associated with male-voice love lyric. Thus, the first distinction must have been of a binary sort: love and non-love poetry.

Overall, it emerges that up to 1240, the large majority of the corpora produced were classified as *cantigas d'amor* with occasional pieces being considered satirical, and without a single *cantiga d'amigo*. Eixo's language is different, whereas Paiva's language already conforms to the more recognisable Galician-Portuguese employed by Sanches and Tamalancos, opening the possibility that the lyric language established itself gradually

over this generation. Most poets would have spoken Galician-Portuguese and even most Castilian kings, who acted as patrons, were raised in Galicia, which may go some way into explaining the emergence of the language as a lyric *koiné*, an idea already raised by Michaëlis.¹² The poets' origins include Portugal, Galicia and Castile, with the first two predominating, while areas of activity ultimately extend all over Iberia. Perhaps the distinction drawn by the two theories on the origins of the lyric is more theoretical than practical. The data at least suggests a very cohesive Iberian environment, permeated by incoming Occitan culture, often patronised by major Iberian lords.

2.2. D. Gil Sanches

On the threshold of the 1220's generation is D. Gil Sanches,¹³ whose only surviving piece acquires special significance as, possibly, the earliest extant *cantiga d'amor*. Sanches was the bastard son of king D. Sancho I of Portugal, associated with estates in Vila do Conde (northern Portugal) and Covilhã (centre). He is referred by *nobiliários* as a distinguished clergyman, an occupation which did not prevent him from marrying D. Maria Garcia de Sousa, daughter of D. Garcia Mendes d'Eixo – himself a poet and member of the important house of Sousa. CBN 48 reads:

§ 327. *Activity period.*

Tu, que ora vês de Monte-mayor,
 Tu, que ora vês de Monte-mayor,
 digas-me mandado de mia senhor;
 digas-me mandado de mia senhor,
 ca se eu seu mandado
 non vir', trist' e coitado

¹² Alfonso VII, of León-Castile; Fernando II and Alfonso IX were raised in Galicia with the noble house of Trava. See Cabo, 2012, p.222. For Michaëlis, II, p.258, Fernando III and Alfonso X spoke Galician; a change occurring in next generation with Alfonso XI and Juan Manuel, Prince of Villena.

¹³ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.663. Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.1, 10.

serei; e gran pecado
 fará, se me non val.
 Ca en tal ora nado
 foi que ¡mao-pecado!
 amo-a endõado,
 e nunca end' òuvi al!

Tu, que ora viste os olhos seus,
 Tu, que ora viste os olhos seus,
 digas-me mandado d'ela, por Deus;
 digas-me mandado d'ela, por Deus,
 ca se eu seu mandado
 non vir', trist' e coitado
 serei; e gran pecado
 fará, se me non val.
 Ca en tal ora nado
 foi que ¡mao-pecado!
 amo-a endõado,
 e nunca end' òuvi al!

Critics have so often stressed the conventionality of *cantigas d'amor* § 328. *Analysis.*
 that it is worth lingering on this piece, which is anything but the standard
 handbook example. The poem approaches other *cantigas d'amor* by using
 the key-words *senhor* and *coitado*. The expression “amo-a endõado”
 belongs to the same semantic field of *coita*, however, *endoado* is not a very
 common word in the corpus, this being the sole occurrence in the *amor*
 genre. One wonders, incidentally, if *senhor* and *amo-a* were to be omitted
 whether this would still be recognisable as a *cantiga d'amor*, that is to say,
 while it adheres to the classical semantic fields which typify the genre, it
 lacks the strong reiterative side of later pieces. Within the rhymes selected,
 there is a slight surprise: *senhor* is coupled with *Monte-mayor*, different
 from later pieces which overuse the rhyme *amor* and all those with *-dor*
 suffix.

In other ways CBN 48 approaches the later *cantigas d'amigo*: it employs refrain and parallelism, within and across stanzas, so that every line is repeated *verbatim* twice. The rhetorical question on the beloved's whereabouts is also a *topos* which will later resonate in the courtly *amigo* corpus – we could mention Codax (CBN 1284/ CV 890), Coelho (CBN 690/CV 292), D. Dinis (CBN 568/CV 171), Meogo (CBN 1187/CV 792).

The piece also has a set of distinctive features. Formally, it comprises only two-stanzas, which is rare; the length of the stanzas, with twelve lines, is also unusual, as is the combination of masculine and feminine rhymes. The relationship to the *senhor* and the *coita* endured by the speaker also move slightly outside the typical thematic field: the speaker suffers due to distance and lack of news, rather from the lady's attitudes or from his own fears. There also seems to be a more or less precise reference to her identity through her geographical location. This perhaps has led critics to identify this character with Sanches's wife, even though *cantigas d'amor* are not normally about wives. It would be all the more remarkable, especially because wives only appear as addressees much later, in Castilian poetry, yet nothing in the poem supports such a deduction. The use of "tu" in a *cantiga d'amor*, if not unique, is again certainly rare. It is used as an apostrophe to a vague interlocutor, possibly the listener of the *cantiga*, rather than the later conventional addressees, such as the lady, God, or body parts.

2.3. Fernão Pais de Tamalancos

Fernão Pais de Tamalancos¹⁴ was a Galician nobleman documented between 1197-1242. In 1197 he was *alferes* of Alfonso IX of León, together with his father. A few years later, when his father had moved to the Portuguese court of Sancho I, Fernão Pais became *tenente* of Búbal, in Galicia, a position held between 1216-42.

§ 329. *Activity period.*

Tamalancos has a small and extremely complex corpus, epitomizing the fluidity of genre in the early poets and the challenge it posed to compilers. His corpus was compiled in successive waves (§280) and the understanding of such waves reveals that Tamalancos has been misread. His extant corpus contains 8 pieces, of which 2 *cantigas d'amor*; 2 *cantigas de change*; 3 *cantigas de escárnio*; 1 dubious.¹⁵

§ 330. *Analysis.*

Tamalancos comes right before Sandim, falling in Lacuna 1 of CA, but available in CBN with *amor* compositions, and in CBN and CV with satirical pieces. His *amor* sequence begin with CBN 74:

Con vossa graça, mia senhor
fremosa! ca me quer' eu ir,
e venho-me vus espedir,
porque mi fostes traedor;
c(a) avendo-mi vos desamor,
u vus amei sempr' a servir,
des que vus vi, e des enton
m' ouvestes mal no coração.

¹⁴ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.706 (5 poems). Lapa, 1970, p.213 (5 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.3, 13.

¹⁵ Problems of genre classification involving CBN 74; CBN 75/CBN 1336/CV 943; CBN 78. Tamalancos's corpus is transmitted in the Italian manuscripts only, in two sections (*amor* and satirical, with a *doppio* CBN 75 = CBN 1336/CV 943). Michaelis edits the first section, CBN 74-78 (5 poems), presumably regarding them all as *cantigas d'amor*. Lapa edits 3 *cantigas* exclusive to the satirical section, plus CBN 74 and CBN 75/CBN 1336/CV 943 (5 poems in total). Nunes, 1932, p.v, n.1 lists CBN 78 under "apresentam feição duvidosa", implying that CBN 74 and CBN 75 are standard *cantigas d'amor*. For Tavani, 2002, p.393: "5 cantigas de amor (2 delas jocosas) [...], 3 cantigas de escárnio". For Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2 *cantigas d'amor*; 4 *cantigas de escárnio* (including CBN 78); 2 *género incerto* (CBN 74; CBN 75).

Pero de vos é a min peor
 porque vus vej' assi falir;
 que eu ben poderei guarir
 oymais sen vos; ca mui milhor
 dona ca vos ei por senhor
 e que non sab(e) assi mentir,
 e fará adur tal traïçon
 sobre seu ome, sen razon.

E veeredes qual amor
 vos eu fazia, pois partir
 me vin de vos. E descobrir
 vus éi d'un voss' entendedor
 vilão, de quen vos sabor
 avedes, e a quen pedir
 foste'-la cint(a): e por én non
 vus amarei nulha sazon.

The piece has many traits which later became typical for the genre: *meestria* composition, with three stanzas, octosyllabic lines, *unissonans* rhymes and exclusively masculine rhymes. The rhyme scheme, abbaabcc, however, is unique to this poem. Tamalancos offers one of the earliest extant examples of such important traits, all brought together in this piece.

If form is common to later *cantigas d'amor* versification practice, the content is radically different. The first stanza has fairly common elements of which the opening with an apostrophe to *senhor fremosa* is the most obvious example. In fact, only *espedir* in line three calls attention, otherwise the first stanza conforms to the classic standards of later *amor* poetry. The second stanza innovates especially by adding a new “better” lady, whereas the third is even bolder: the lady has a lover *vilão* – a complex word, with both social (“lower-class”) and moral (“villain”) connotations. At this point, there is not only competition for the speaker but undue preference from the lady who prefers the *vilão* when, tacitly, she should

prefer him. Finally the speaker adds the detail of exchange of a love gift, again an element escaping the later developments of the *amor* genre.

In the sequence, we find CBN 75:

Non sei dona que podesse
vale'-la que eu amei,
nen que eu tanto quisesse
por senhor, das que eu sei,
se a cinta non presesse,
de que m[e] eu despaguei!
E por esto a cambiei.

Pero m' ora dar quisesse
quant' eu d'ela desegei,
e mi aquel amor fezesse
por que a sempr' aguardei,
cuido que lh'o non quisesse!
Tan muito me despaguei
d'ela, pois la cint' achei.

Nen ar sei prol que m' ouvesse
seu ben. E al vus direi:
se a per atal tevesse,
quando m' a ela tornei,
juro que o non fezesse!
Ca tenho que baratei
ben, pois me d'ela quitei.

Ca muito per estivesse
con melhor senhor! e sei
de min que a servirei.

Formally this piece repeats some elements of CBN 74, but adding notable innovations. The lines are all heptasyllabic, a short length within the early generation, although not rare when considering the whole of the *amor* genre. Concerning rhymes, Tamalancos here combines masculine and feminine endings, returning to what was first seen in Gil Sanches. The *fiinda* can be said to be the first ever surviving. The rhyme scheme, abababb, is again unique. CBN 74 and 75 are also the earliest surviving

pieces with perfect *unissonans* rhymes, for Eixo's *Alá u nazq la Torona*, an earlier composition, used *unissonans* in a hybrid format.

Regarding content, unlike the previous, in CBN 75 we have some faint parallelism with each stanza developing in a loosely tripartite structure. Stanza III in particular functions as a paraphrasis of the previous. He insists that there is no better lady than her, except that she accepted the *cinta* and therefore he left her. Another difference is that here there is no mention of the competitor's status. Although thematically similar to CBN 74, the strongest element to create a link between the two is the *cinta*. The *fiinda* is rather surprising. Whereas the first line remains unclear, with some editorial challenges, overall the meaning seems to contradict the *cantiga*'s opening: he found a better lady. We also note the singularity of Tamalancos's *fiinda* when compared to Occitan *tornadas* in that they resemble more the closing twist of the roughly contemporary sonnets, rather than the envoi or address of the Occitan tradition.

If we were to consider just these two pieces by themselves, it is not possible to establish who the lady is. Her identity is not disclosed, she is referred to as *senhor* and the only identifiable element is again the *cinta*. Seemingly, the gift exchange is still kept secret by Tamalancos, the lady would understand it, but this is not the blatant satire which the whole court understands for the details are still scarce.

CBN 75, however, is duplicated as CBN 1336/CV 943 in Tamalancos's satirical section, when it is preceded by a rubric:

Outrossi fez estas cantigas a ãa abadessa, sa coirmã, em que entendia; e passou per aquel moesteiro um cavaleiro e levava ãa cinta e deu-lha,

porque era pera ela, e por en trobou-lhi estes cantares.

We contend that this rubric alone caused a collection of scholarly misreadings. Specifically, it has been posited an apocryphal identity between three distinct characters: the *senhor* of CBN 75 was merged with an abbess and a “cousin”, two chracters mentioned solely in CBN 1337/CV 944.¹⁶

Quand’ eu passei per Dormãa
preguntei por mia coirmãa,
a salva e paação.
Disseron: “Non é aqui essa,
alhur buscade vós essa;
mais é aqui a abadessa”.

Preguntei: “Por caridade,
u é d’ aqui salvidade,
que sempr’ amou castidade?”
Disseron: “Non é aqui essa,
alhur buscade vós essa;
mais é aqui a abadessa”.

This is a testimony to the power of suggestion that medieval paratext still possesses. If earlier we were lead to distinguish different roles in a scriptorium and even in the production of the text, here we see their separate interventions create one new meaning. Tamalancos did not write the rubric and whoever did absurdly misread him. This glossator or commentator

¹⁶ Michaëlis, 1904, II, pp.545-6: “Também na immediata (CV944) vitupera a pérfida dama que aceitou a offerta de uma cinta, da mão de um estranho, com a diferença porém que agora ella nos apparece de cara descoberta — paladinamente — na qualidade duplamente estranha de abbadessa do mosteiro de Dormãa e coirmã do poeta.”

Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011: “São três as cantigas a que a rubrica se refere, esta e duas outras. Todas elas se dirigem à abadessa do mosteiro de S. Cristôvão de Dormeá (a norte de Santiago, no c. de Boimorto), ao que parece prima do trovador, que a servia - até ao momento em que ela aceita dádivas de um cavaleiro-vilão. As cantigas estão em nítida sequência cronológica, assumindo um tom progressivamente mais escarninho. De facto, nesta primeira composição, são ainda utilizadas muitas expressões próprias do amor cortês. Mas trata-se já, de qualquer forma, como anunciam os primeiros versos, de uma cantiga de despedida.”

Lapa, 1970, p.218-20.

Oliveira, A. R. 1993. “Fernan Paez de Talamancos” in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, p.262.

Gonçalves, 1991, p.454.

states that Tamalancos composed *estas cantigas* after which two pieces are presented, not three. Clearly, that is what was available to him. According to the rubric, these pieces were addressed to an abbess, who is also his *coirmã*, who accepted the gift of another knight. Yet CBN 74 and 75 make no mention of abbess or *coirmã*. There is yet a further detail which patently contradicts this misreading: CBN 74 states clearly that the competitor is a *vilão*, not a knight, as in the rubric. The knight detail comes possibly from the glossator's phantasy – who else could compete with the noble Tamalancos for a lady's love? The glossator, as established, never had access to CBN 74, the piece which gives away the *vilão*'s status. Indeed, in CBN 74 Tamalanco's shock and the lady's "falimento" (*Pero de vos é a min peor / porque vus vej' assi falir*) stem not from the rejection of Tamalancos but that the preferred competitor should be of a lower social class.

Additionally, the glossator inferred that the knight went to the monastery in order to give the *cinta* (*passou per aquel moesteiro um cavaleiro e levava ãa cinta e deu-lha, porque era pera ela*) based on CBN 75, l.5: *se a cinta non presesse* (= if she had not took/received the belt). But in CBN 74 it is made clear that she was the one to request it: *a quen pedir / foste'-la cint(a)*. There are yet further complications, CBN 1337/CV 944 makes a very clear opposition between the *coirmã*, who is *salva e paaçãa* and, as the speaker is informed, is *not* there: *alhur buscade vós essa; / mais é aqui a abadessa* – search elsewhere for *coirmã*, here is only the abbess. One could read it symbolically as a search for a woman, pure as the speaker remembered who is then disillusioned to find this same person as a depraved abbess, but it honestly feels like a hermeneutic stretch. The

obvious meaning is that these are two characters completely unrelated to the undefined *senhor* of CBN 75, except in the glossator's wild phantasy whose power of suggestion, again, shaped subsequent readings in detriment of the actual poems' stated narrative.

On its own, CBN 1337/CV 944 reads just like Airas Nunes's CBN 871/CV 455 (*Porque no mundo mengou a verdade*), one of the most brilliant pieces in the satirical repertoire. The speaker makes the round of monasteries asking for *verdade* but is told by disillusioned monks that it has been long since any truth has visited them, being continually told that he should try elsewhere. The phrase *Alhur la buscade*, l.4, even echoes Tamalancos's *alhur buscade vós essa*. Airas Nunes's poem reads slightly more as a general satire, while Tamalancos seems to be more specific in that he searches for virtue in a concrete character but finds unnamed vice in another one, the abbess. However, we would contend that only one of these two, the abbess, can be properly called a character, the *coirmãa*, instead, is a personification. As a parallelistic piece we have *preguntei por mia coirmãa, / a salva e paaçãa* substituted by *Preguntei: "Por caridade, / u é d' aqui salvidade, / que sempr' amou castidade?"*. Whereas in the first the adjectives are linked to a person, in the second the noun is *salvidade*, an abstract quality. In fact although the basic meaning is the one edited by Michaëlis, we can imagine how in performance these lines could acquire a double meaning "Preguntei por Caridade". Thus *coirmãa* seems less a specific character and more an abstract virtue, giving the skilled versifier a suitable rhyme to *Dormãa*, and the speaker a personal link to virtue. The abbess, on the other hand, might be an indirectly named person understood

by his immediate circle or a general satire against nuns. There is no implication that Tamalancos requested the abbess's love nor that she accepted anyone's advances, though sexual relation must be connected to Tamalancos criticisms as we infer from the key-word *castidade*. Above all there is no single element pointing to the absurd idea that in CBN 74 and 75 Tamalancos was wooing a *senhor* from a religious order nor that they were relatives. As a result we question that this *coirmã* could be taken as a biographical reference to Tamalancos.

Tamalancos's corpus reveals the challenge which earlier poets posed to later compilers: if CBN 75 was compiled both in *amor* and in satirical section by different compilers, it is because at this point there are not yet clear-cut genres. With hindsight we would consider both CBN 74 and 75 as *cantigas de change*, a minor genre in the border of the strict realm of *cantigas d'amor*. Accordingly, only three poems by Tamalancos should be considered strictly satirical. However this is done retrospectively: diachronically, we would say that they lack genre altogether, instead the two "genres", *amor* and satirical, are a continuum or spectrum. Equally, in this vein, CBN 76 and 77 are the only properly *amor*, although a few words are in place. CBN 76 immediately follows the two *cantigas de change* in the *amor* section:

Vedes, senhor, u m' eu parti
de vos, e vus depoi[s] non vi,
ali tenh' eu o coração:
En vos, senhor, e [en] al non!

Superficially this reads like an ordinary *cantiga d'amor*: he departed from her, yet his heart remained with her. One of the key-words of the genre, *coita*, does not appear but is skilfully implied. Instead the key-word

used is “partir” in rhyme position as *parti* (l.1) and as *partir* (l.10). The verb *partir*, with two meanings (“viagem/partida física”, “rompimento das relações”) already appeared in CBN 74 once in rhyme position. So, on its own, CBN 76 appears to be a piece about his suffering after physical separation, but in sequence with CBN 74 and 75 its basic meaning seems to be of a *cantiga* of reconciliation: I gave up on you, but not really, my heart remains loyal. This seems emphasized in the subsequent piece, CBN 77:

Vedes, senhor, pero me mal fazedes,
mentr' eu viver', ja vos sempre seredes,
senhor fremosa,
de mi poderosa.

Again, seemingly a conventional idea – although I suffer, I remain your loyal lover – it keeps the ambiguity. Here the *mal* could be the villainy which he despised in the *cantigas de change*. Yet we would be careful about reading too much into sequences, as we attribute them to the compiler, not to the poet. These pieces do stand on their own with simple meanings. Regardless of this Tamalancos's love corpus often plays on the idea of maintenance versus the breaking of love service. In CBN 77, specifically, we would also note that Michaëlis's decision to present the last two lines with four and five syllables is probably inaccurate. It stems from the layout in CBN, which picked up the internal rhyme (*fremosa-poderosa*) of what must have been an ordinary decasyllabic line. This is also the refrain, repeated throughout the poem.

CBN 78 is perhaps his most mysterious poem:

Gran mal me faz agora 'l rei
que sempre servi e amei,
porque me parte d' u eu ei

prazer e sabor de guarir.
 Se m'eu da Marinha partir',
 non poderei alhur guarir.

Although it is presented as the last *cantiga* in his *amor* sequence, we cannot decide on its basic meaning and, thus, on its genre. Michaëlis already pointed to the ambiguity that the name *marinha* poses: as both place and proper name.¹⁷ As a rule scholars have regarded it as a *cantiga d'amor*.¹⁸ Nunes expressed doubts.¹⁹ Only Lopes, Ferreira, et al. considered it as purely satirical, as a *maldizer aposto*, in the understanding that Marinha is a *soldadeira*.²⁰ Its classification as *amor* seems to be based on its manuscript position which in turn reflects that of a compiler. Assuming, though we cannot verify, that CBN 78 was in the original sequence transmitted by ω , compiler 5 would have added it in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*, but the genre classification would still be his. Otherwise, it could be a later addition if we imagine that its inclusion in the manuscript tradition could have occurred anytime between the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* and CBN. As a *cantiga d'amor* it would be most unusual, even for Tamalancos. There is no apostrophe, nor mention of the *senhor*. The only basic element is his suffering – not *coita*, but his inability to *guarir*. If Marinha is a proper name in a *cantiga d'amor*, then we have further complexity, since anonymity was an inherited trait, known by Tamalancos from his previous pieces, even if he

¹⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.545: “Marinha, nome ambiguo que pertence á toponymia e também á onomástica da península, deixando-nos indecisos sobre a interpretação que melhor lhe quadra.”

¹⁸ Edited in Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.712. Not edited in Lapa, 1970. For Tavani, 2002, p.393-4, “amor jocosas”.

¹⁹ Nunes, 1932, p.v, n.1.

²⁰ A number of Marinhas appear in later satirical poetry, e.g. Dona Marinha (Lopo Lias CBN 1350/CV 957), Marinha Sabugal (Afonso Anes do Cotom CBN 1591/CV 1123), Marinha Foça (Pero da Ponte CBN 1627/CV 1161), Marinha Crespa (Pero da Ponte CBN 1628/CV 1162), Marinha López (Pero da Ponte CBN 1631/CV 1165), Marinha Mejouchi (Pedro Amigo de Sevilha CV 1199).

pushes it to the limits in the *cantiga de change* by identifying the lady as one who received a *cinta*. It could, equally, be a place and another indirect reference to his lady. Other important elements are, again, the use of *partir*, for the third time in rhyme position, now in the refrain. Here, for the first time, its meaning is univocal, but its use, hardly a coincidence, certainly links it to Tamalancos's other pieces which approach more the *amor* than satire. Secondly, he mentions the "rei"; there is no evidence that Tamalancos was in a royal court and we regard it more as literary fiction than biographical reference. Later the idea of parted lovers after the man leaves for service in the royal court becomes a more or less prominent *topos* especially in *cantigas d'amigo*²¹ and, more rarely, in *cantigas d'amor*.²² At this stage Tamalancos cannot be reporting to an established literary tradition, but he could be employing a folk song *topos*, being perhaps an early case of approach to an indigenous tradition.

Taken as whole, formally the love corpus favours octosyllabic lines, which are common in later *cantigas d'amor* and heptasyllabic lines, which were slightly unusual later. CBN 75 and 1337, which we believe to have been joined by mistake, are heptasyllabic. CBN 77 was polymetric for Michaëlis, but, following UNL, we regard it as decasyllabic. The two standard *amor* pieces employ the scheme aa-BB and the borderline CBN 78 creates a variation on it, aaab-BB. *Meestria* is reserved for *cantigas de*

²¹ E.g. D. Dinis (CBN 554/CV 157); Fernão Fernandes Cogominho (CBN 704/CV 305); Pero Gomes Barroso (CBN 733/CV 334); Pero da Ponte (CBN 833/CV 419, CBN 834/CV 420, CBN 836/CV 422); Airas Nunes (CBN 874/CV 458); Pero Gonçalves de Portocarreiro (CBN 918/CV 505); Rui Fernandes de Santiago (CBN 931/CV 519, CBN 932/CV 520); João Airas de Santiago (CV 597, CBN 1041/CV 631, CBN 1042/CV 632, CBN 1043/CV 633, CBN 1044/1048/CV 634/638, CBN 1023=1049/CV 613=639); Lopo (CBN 1248/CV 853, CBN 1249/CV 854).

²² E.g. Airas Carpancho (CA 64/CBN 176) and Pedro Anes Solaz (CA 284).

change, otherwise Tamalancos uses *refrão* throughout his corpus. A *fiinda* is used once only.

Apart from CBN 1337 already discussed, Tamalancos has also two obvious satirical pieces, both against an inept *jogral*, whom he dubs Saco. The poems further emphasize how Tamalancos's corpus was put together progressively: "Dom Fernam Paez de Talamancos fez este cantar de maldizer a um jograr que chamavam jograr Saco [...]". We note the singular form *este cantar*, implying that who wrote the rubric and the compiler responsible for placing the two pieces in sequence were not the same person, otherwise, one assumes, he would have used plural form "estes cantares", as in the other rubric discussed.

With the relativity concerning early genre in mind, we speculate that the following section was originally compiled into the *amor* section of ω : CBN 74, 75, 76, 77, 78. The independent satirical section would run as CBN 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337. Presumably 1334 had a rubric and 1335 was added a posteriori. On the other hand, 1336 and 1337 were either deliberately or fortuitously put in sequence, but the glossator misread them and created a rubric connecting the two.

3. Fernão Rodrigues de Calheiros

Calheiros²³ remains a largely unknown character, given the lack of documentation, but surely an early poet, given his position in the songbooks. Oliveira hypothesized that he could be a member of the lesser nobility associated with the Sousa family, while Souto Cabo argued that Calheiros was a witness in a document dated 1195, hypothesizing from this a link between Calheiros and Osoiro Anes's brother.²⁴

§ 331. *Activity period.*

Calheiros, as previously discussed, is the first poet in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiro*'s *amigo* section and is surely one of the earliest, if not the earliest poet with surviving *cantigas d'amigo*. Calheiros is seemingly also the earliest poet to compose in all the three main genres, with a marked preference for *cantigas d'amor*, which constitute two thirds of his whole corpus. His surviving corpus totals 32 pieces, breaking down into 21 *cantigas d'amor*; 8 *cantigas d'amigo*; 3 *cantigas de escárnio*.²⁵

§ 332. *Analysis.*

CBN transmits Calheiros's corpus divided through its three sections, according to their respective genres. CBN 72, the last piece in the *amor* section, is actually two inverted stanzas of a four-stanzas piece, CBN 57. Provided that Calheiros was really in Lacuna 1 of CA, we should consider

²³ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.669 (22 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.58 (8 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.111 (8 poems). Lapa, 1970, p.219 (3 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.1, 12.

²⁴ Osoiro Anes's identity remains disputed, though, see below.

²⁵ Problem of genre classification involving CBN 63. Michaelis edits 21 *cantigas d'amor* (CBN 51-71), plus CBN 72, which is a *doppio* of CBN 57. Nunes, 1932, p.v, n.1 makes no mention of Calheiros, implying that he regarded all 21 pieces as standard *cantigas d'amor*. So did Tavani, 2002, p.393: "21 cantigas d'amor [...], 8 cantigas d'amigo [...], 3 cantigas de escárnio". Lopes, Ferreira, et al., however, list CBN 63 as *gênero incerto*, justifying: "Embora aparentando ser uma cantiga de amor, a insistência no termo fazenda, repetidamente usado pelo trovador (em dobre, ou seja, na mesma posição ao longo das estrofes) e sempre em relação com a senhora cantada, parece indicar que esta composição teria um intuito satírico. Falta-nos, no entanto, o contexto que permitiria uma compreensão mais cabal do seu sentido." The latter position, though plausible, seems both isolated from the scholarly consensus and weak to motivate any taxonomic change.

CBN 72 as a later addition, given that CA has a single *doppio*, while ω , as much as can be seen, has none.

Formally, the *amor* corpus reveals balance between *meestria* and *refrão* and between three- and four-stanza compositions. Strictly, only two poems, CBN 64 and 66 have two stanzas, for CBN 72 is a fragment or version of CBN 57. His stanza lengths range between six and eight lines, with a preference for six. The lines are either octosyllabic or decasyllabic, in predominantly homometric compositions, with CBN 69 being the sole exception, when an octosyllabic quartet is followed by a decasyllabic refrain. CBN 63 also calls attention as a unique case employing both the *redondilha maior* and exclusively feminine rhymes. Apart from this case, Calheiro's poems employ mostly masculine rhymes, with some rare cases (CBN 59, CBN 60) combining masculine and feminine endings. *Coblas singulares* are the rule, but he also uses *doblas* (CBN 58, CBN 68) and *unissonans* (CBN 59, CBN 63). Hybridism across these three models is extensive, in fact, the norm. Thus, we consider CBN 55 a combination of *doblas* with *unissonans*; whereas CBN 57 mixes *singulares* with *unissonans*.

CBN 51 and CBN 69 escape all existing patterns and are therefore unclassifiable. The former is a *refrão* poem, with four stanzas, the rhyme scheme for Michaëlis is xaabb-CC, whereas for Brea; et al., it is abbcc-DD. Both editions classify it as *coblas doblas*, an insufficient designation. In fact, the first line of each stanza is both *palavra perduda* and *palavra rima* at once, not rhyming with any other line within the stanza, but rhyming with itself across the whole poem. The following distich, then, alternates from –êr (I and II) to –ei (III and IV). The final distich rhymes only with itself

within each stanza and then follows the refrain. In all, the composition moves from *coblas unissonans* (first line), to *doblas* (lines two and three), to *singulars* (lines four and five), to refrain.

Calheiros's mastery of rhyming hybridism could also occur at the most subtle levels. CBN 54 rhymes in *coblas singulars*, but with the device of *palavra perduda* and *palavra rima* in line one of each stanza. CBN 56, also *singulars*, has a scheme abbacc, but the last distich, although not a refrain, rhymes across the whole composition. A similar structure occurs in CBN 61, scheme abbaccd : ccd, when line d rhymes solely in –êr across the entire piece. A more peculiar structure occurs in CBN 62, in which stanzas I and II repeat on rhyme each of I, while IV repeats one rhyme of II, without any clear logic. Lastly, CBN 68, in *coblas doblas*, has *palavra perduda* its first line which is also a *unissonans* rhyme. Within his *amigo* corpus, as previously mentioned, he invented a unique case of *coblas ternas* (CBN 626/CV 227).

Like Tamalancos before him, Calheiros's corpus makes little use of *fiindas*. Unlike his predecessor, though, his stanzas have a larger number of rhymes. Whereas Tamalancos favoured stanzas with two rhymes only, a and b, Calheiros normally has three and, even a fourth rhyme.

4. The Soverosas' court – Sandim and Somesso

Vasco Praga de Sandim²⁶ and João Soares Somesso²⁷ have been identified by Michaëlis and Oliveira as members of the lesser nobility in northern Portugal. Sandim might have been a vassal of Gil Vasques de Soverosa (?- c.1240), who was the father of D. Martim Gil de Soverosa (?- c.1259) – liege lord of Somesso – and D. Vasco Gil de Soverosa, the poet. Beyond the possible feudal connection, Sandim and Somesso are the first two poets in the surviving CA, being thus associated by compiler 5.

§ 333. *Activity period.*

The *Tavola Colocciana* attributes 30 poems (C 79-103 and C 633-7) to him. Only *cantigas d'amor* and *d'amigo* survive, but Michaëlis believed that the name *Praga* was a reference to his satirical lyric. His extant corpus contains 25 *cantigas d'amor*, 21 of *meestria* and 4 of *refrão*; 4 *cantigas d'amigo*, all following the same scheme; a monorhyme distich plus monorhyme refrain.

§ 334. *Sandim: Analysis.*

Sandim was described as *muy boom trovador* in the *Livro de Linhagens*, whereas an early-modern Portuguese reader, hand A, annotated six of his poems (CA_n.1-6), considering *boa* CA 3 and 10. CA 3 is indeed a curious song: formally one could remark on the use of the *palavra rima* in the last line of each stanza (*non*, ll. 7 and 14; *desamar*, ll. 21 and 28) which rhyme in pairs. In terms of content, there is certain development, with each stanza presenting a different idea in what could be roughly summarized as: a request for pity (I), evolving to an affirmation of his faithfulness (II), then a

²⁶ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.3; 713 (25 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.65 (4 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.119 (4 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 14.

²⁷ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.31; 737; 744 (25 poems). Lapa, 1970, p.371 (1 poem). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 15.

praise of her beauty (IV) and culminating with his wish to merely behold her (*fiinda*). Stanza III, however, is the most intriguing:

Ca, de pran, se m'end' ouvess(e) a quitar
 nulha cousa sen morte, mia senhor,
 quitar-m'end'-ia o mui gran sabor
 que vus vejo aver de m'alongar
 de vos mui mais ca outr'ome por én;
 mais, mia senhor, direi-vus ùa ren:
 non vus am' eu por vus ar desamar,

Ben-no creede, mais por vus buscar
 muito serviç' enquant' eu vivo for',
 [...]

Sandim seems to be saying that if he stopped loving her, this would have an undesirable effect: he would not see the pleasure that she currently has in avoiding him. But, he asserts, he does not love her so that she may hate him, but for that service which he seeks to render her. This may be the root of hand A's praise and underneath Sandim suggests that his love and the lady's unattainable attitude are a performance. This idea is more prominent in one of Sandim's best poems, a *cantiga d'amigo*, of which the first two stanzas are:

Meu amigo, pois vós tan gram pesar
 avedes de mi vos eu assanhar,
 por Deus, a quen m' assanharei,
 amig', ou como viverei?

Se m' eu a vós, meu amigu' e meu ben,
 non assanhar, dizede-m' ùa ren:
 por Deus, a quen m' assanharei,
 amig', ou como viverei?

CBN 636/CV 237

Again, working with a conventional element – a beloved *sanhuda* – Sandim's female character replies to her *amigo*'s *pesar*, just to let him know that her *sanha* is nothing but a game. Beyond this poem's witty self-consciousness, however, one notes that this piece hardly conforms to

standard descriptions of the genre. Firstly, the poem is far more repetitive than his *cantiga d'amor*, with each stanza merely paraphrasing the exact same idea. Secondly, we see no indication that this *amiga* is a commoner, nor is there any reference to nature or other female characters, nor is it more “concrete” or visual or narrative or folksy – features commonly attributed to the *amigo* genre. In fact, his other three *cantigas d'amigo* are exactly like the female version of a *cantiga d'amor*: the woman, though addressing her *amigo*, gives voice to the same anxieties formerly expressed by the man, with insistence on *coita* and sight, specially the idea that the presence of the beloved is to be highly expected, while his absence is cause of grief – a *topos* which equally dominates his *amor* pieces.

As a whole, Sandim's corpus shows a clear preference for male over female-voiced love poetry, with no satirical pieces. *Cantigas de meestria* overwhelmingly dominate, excepting four *cantigas d'amor* and all his four *cantigas d'amigo*, which are refrain pieces. It is most conspicuous that all these eight pieces are in *coblas singulares*. By contrast, his *meestria* poems are either *coblas doblas* or *unissonans*, in a very classical format, that is, with no hybridism.²⁸ CBN 89 and 90 are exceptions to this rule, the first is in *coblas doblas*, the second in *singulares*, but they have rhymes that run for the whole composition.²⁹ This suggests a conscious attempt towards formal sophistication, particularly in the treatment of rhyme, with *cantigas de refrão singulares*, being the crystalized alternative although, of course, CBN

²⁸ By *classical* it is meant here: *coblas singulares* must change their rhymes each stanza, *doblas* must come in perfect pairs and *unissonans* must be maintained the same throughout the composition. See section 6.3 in the Introduction to the thesis.

²⁹ CBN 89: first pair ôr (a) êr (b) én (c) ér (d); second pair ér (a) ar (b) ei (c) ôr (d), therefore (a) turns into (d) and vice-versa. CBN 90: strictly only (b) and (c) are *singulares*. The scheme, ababcc-d, opens and closes with the same rhyme, namely, (a) is invariably ôr; (d) is the refrain on; the others are én (b) ei (c); al (b) êr (c); é (b) i (c); ar (b) á (c).

90 is a hybrid between *singulars* and *unissonans*. The two hybrids are the product, however, of Sandim's decision to employ *palavra rimas*, again showing that they are not only conscious decisions, but attempts at formal elaboration. *Fiindas* are rare, appearing in just one composition.

Formally, Sandim prefers four stanzas regardless of genre, having composed only three pieces with three stanzas. In his *cantigas d'amor*, each stanza range from six to eight lines, whereas the amigo pieces are shorter, four lines per stanza and that is the main formal element to set the two genres apart. Metrically, Sandim's compositions are homometric, lines being either octosyllabic or decasyllabic, ending on masculine rhymes. The notable exceptions are CBN 83, 84, CA 10/CBN 100 and CA 11/CBN 101. Of these, two pieces, CBN 83 and CA 10/CBN 100, are polymetric compositions which are mostly made of masculine decasyllabic lines with two feminine enneasyllabic lines per stanza, rhyme c, respectively: ababccb and abcbddc. CBN 84 is a refrain piece, rhyme scheme abba-CC, in which the quartet is decasyllabic (abba) and the refrain is a feminine octosyllabic couplet.

On CA 11/CBN 101 the two metres can be connected by *enjambment*:

Tanto me senç' ora ja cuitado
que eu ben cuido que poder
non aja ren de me valer;
ca esta cuita, mao-pecado,
tal me ten ja que non ei sen
de me temer de neun mal,
nen ar desejar neun ben!

The rhyme scheme is abba-cd, in which two feminine enneasyllables (a) mix with masculine octosyllables, and *enjambments* may connect any

metre. As noted before, these four formally distinctive pieces come in two pairs in the manuscripts and, although this could hardly be fortuitous, it was not possible to detect any clear reason behind it. Thematically they seem unconnected and one cannot explain why the compiler did not group them all together.

Sandim's corpus shows *cantigas d'amor* normally developing different ideas in different stanzas. Though some pieces have a clearer sense of progression than others, it is his *amigo* poems which are most repetitive. However, the fact that both love genres are thematically very similar suggests that, at the time, male and female voiced poetry did not constitute separate genres, but two slight variations of love poetry. The task of making the *amigo* genre something distinctive, outside the realm of the *cantigas d'amor*, fell to the second generation.

Beyond repetition, Sandim occasionally reveals a subtle twist or irony. Thus, for example, CA 13, which Michaëlis paraphrases in just two sentences, in fact operates a deceptive trick. The song continually reiterates the idea that, although his love upsets the lady, he cannot help it; therefore he is himself upset by this situation. Then, in the fourth stanza, he concludes that since God does not avail him, she should yield and give him *ben* – a witty structure for, having created and repeated an *aporia* throughout, a solution is only possible by the bestowing of some favour by the lady.

Like Sandim, Somesso was considered *bom trobador* according to the *Livro de Linhagens*. In the CA, his poems were also annotated by hand A, *marginalia* CAn.7-23, with CA 24 being considered *boa*. The extant

§ 335. Somesso:
Analysis.

corpus comprises 24 *cantigas d'amor*, all of *meestria*; 1 *cantiga de escárnio*.³⁰

The overwhelming majority are four-stanzas long, with seven lines per stanza, octosyllabic lines in homometric compositions. Also dominant are purely masculine rhymes, the single exception being CA 23/CBN 116 with masculine and feminine.

There is a strange coincidence involving compilation and metrical preferences. CBN 104-6 were not in CA, being added later, as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4. CBN 124-8 were presumably affected by Lacuna 3 of CA, the lost gathering. The coincidence is that almost every exception to Somesso's formal preferences are restricted to those pieces. CBN 105 and 106 are the only decasyllabic poems and are also shorter, with three or two stanzas. CBN 126, 127 and 128 have three, two and one stanza, respectively. CBN 125 has six, rather than seven lines per stanza. Only CA 25/CBN 118 is shorter, with two stanzas, and is not part of these groups. It may be that Somesso's corpus was formally more varied, but the bulk of his extant corpus was sourced by a compiler with specific metric interests. Alternatively, CBN 126, 127 and 128, the shorter poems, were placed at the end, a common practice in the CA and on its sources.

Somesso tends to favour *coblas doblas*, some of which were compiled in blocks (CA 18/CBN 111 to CA 22/CBN 115; CA 26/CBN 119 to CA 28/CBN 121). His approach is much less classical than Sandim, but

³⁰ Problem of genre classification involving CBN 128. Nunes, 1932, p.v, n.1 lists CBN 128 under "apresentam feição duvidosa". This is a completely isolated position which has found no echo in subsequent scholarship. Lapa, 1970 did not edit it among his *cantigas de escárnio*. Tavani, 2002, p.420 lists "24 cantigas de amor [...] e 1 sirventês". Lopes, Ferreira, et al. equally consider CBN 128 a *cantiga d'amor*. We see no reason why the consensus should be challenged.

his hybrids are less structured or perhaps less logical than Calheiros. For instance, seven poems in *coblas doblas* and two in *singulars* have some repetition of rhyme which seems to be purely incidental. CA 20/CBN 113 and CA 27/CBN 120 are in *coblas doblas* but having the c rhyme as *unissonans*, in both cases –êr.

CA 14/CBN 107 and CBN 125 are difficult to classify. In CBN 125 the rhyme scheme is abbacc, a and c are seemingly *singulars*, b is definitely *unissonans* (–ei throughout), however in stanza IV, a repeats stanza II and c repeats stanza III. As for CA 14/CBN 107, it is seemingly *singulars* but rhyme repetition is extensive. It is clear that stanzas II and III have the exact same rhymes (–ei, –êr, –ar) in different order, approaching *coblas retrogradadas*. Stanza I also features –êr and –ar, whereas IV features –ei and –êr, each with a new rhyme of its own. The patterns structuring repetition is rhyme c becomes b in the following stanza, then a, and finally c again. Furthermore, there is a change in rhyme scheme, from abbacca in I to abbaccb in II, III and IV.

CBN 105, CA 25/CBN 118 and CBN 127 are the three poems composed with only two stanzas each. All of them are *unissonans*.

Somesso's rhyme scheme preference falls on abbacca and ababccb. The variation ababcca is found once in CA/CBN. The other three exceptions (abbacc, abbcddb and ababaab) are unsurprisingly among those pieces not surviving in CA and which escape his other metrical preferences. Finally, Somesso never composes *fiindas*.

5. Nuno Anes Cerzeo

Nuno Anes³¹ was a Galician nobleman from Cêrceo about whom little is known. Oliveira argued that he was not in the CA, for, in his understanding, the poet was active in 1282, thus disrupting the chronological order of the *cancioneiros*. This has been reviewed here, for we follow Souto Cabo's estimate, according to whom there are documents which prove him to be an early poet, dead by May 1268.³² It is our understanding that Oliveira was slightly misguided, for the document which he quoted, of 1282, points that poet was dead not active by then. Cerzeo, therefore, must have been alive in the first half of the 1200s and dead by c.1265.

§ 336. *Activity period.*

With the exception of his *descordo*, Cerzeo only composed eight *cantigas d'amor*.³³ Problems of attribution involve CBN 140-1. Some scholars³⁴ consider Cerzeo's corpus to include ten *cantigas d'amor*, subtracting two from Pero Velho de Taveirós. This is apparently based on a hand, drawn by Colocci *a posteriori*. Michaëlis originally attributed them to Cerzeo; Tavani considers “muito improvável a atrib. das duas cantigas de amor n.^{os} 3 e 4, que talvez pertençam a Pero Velho de Taveirós” and lists

§ 337. *Analysis.*

³¹ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p. 752 (9 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 16.

³² Souto Cabo, 1994.

³³ Problem of genre classification involving CBN 135. Cerzeo considered his piece a *descordo* (“meu descord’ acabarei”, l.65). Michaelis, though editing it, also classifies it as a *descordo* (I, p.764). Lapa, 1970 did not edit it in his lists of satirical poetry. Nunes, 1932, p.v, n.1 makes no mention of it in his lists of non-*amor* and doubtful pieces. For Tavani, 2002, p.420: “8 cantigas de amor [...] e 1 descort”. According to Lopes, Ferreira, et al., a *sirventês moral*. We here consider *descordo* to be a formal, rather than thematic category, and, given that its theme is not clearly love, we classify it as *cantiga de escárnio*.

³⁴ Oliveira, 1994, p.392; Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011

them under Taveirós.³⁵ We consider the earlier argument as too feeble to pose any serious challenge to those poets' traditional corpora.

He strikes a balance between *meestria* and *refrão*. Poem length tends to be four stanzas, but he occasionally composed with three, five and, in his *descordo*, up to nine stanzas. Stanza length could range from four to nine lines per stanza, with a slight tendency for seven lines. His lines could be octosyllabic, decasyllabic, dodecasyllabic in either monometric or polymetric compositions. His compositions could have either exclusively masculine rhymes or a combination of masculine and feminine. Formally, therefore, Cerzeo sets himself quite apart from his generation with longer compositions, longer line lengths, more polymetry and more feminine endings.

In the love corpus, poem designs involve *coblas doblas* and *singulars* with extensive hybridism. Only two poems, both with refrains, use classic *singulars*. CBN 129 is mostly in *doblas* with refrain, rhyme scheme initially set at abcb-DAD. However c is *unissonans* throughout and in stanzas III and IV the scheme changes to abcb-DED, in other words, the a rhyme is only replicated in the refrain in the first half of the composition. CBN 130 is mostly *singulars* but with one rhyme, b, functioning as *doblas*, connecting stanzas I to II and III to IV. CBN 133 is a case of *doblas alternadas* (I and III, II and IV) but in which every b rhyme is *singulars*. CBN 137 may be described *coblas singulars* with the added effect of *capcaudadas lato sensu*. Rather than repeating the last rhyme of the stanza

³⁵ Tavani, 2002, p.420.

in the next, the poem sends the antepenultimate rhyme, in this case rhyme b, from I to II and from II to III.

CBN 131 and CBN 134 are unclassifiable. The first has four stanzas and rhyme scheme abcaacbd, with rhymes a and d rhyming in pairs. On this account, it has been described as *coblas doblas*. This would suggest that b and c are *singulars*, when in fact all the rhymes in IV repeat an earlier rhyme. Only c in I, b in II and b in III are properly *singulars*. Even rhymes a and d in the second pair repeat rhymes from the first pair, thus the structure also approaches *unissonans*. CBN 134 has been well summarized by Michaëlis: four stanzas, rhyme scheme abcbddaac, in which II has two new rhymes and two from I (–êr, –á); III has repeats two rhymes from I (–ei, –êr) and two from II (–êr, –ar) with a new rhyme of its own; IV has one new rhyme, two from I (–êr, –ei), two from II (–ar –êr) and three from III (–ar –êr, –ei). Their positions continually change, and overall it shows features both of *singulars* and *unissonans*.

Cerzeo never uses the same rhyme scheme twice and indeed most of his poems employ schemes which are unique across the whole lyric corpus (CBN 129, CBN 131, CBN 134, CBN 136 and CBN 137). He uses a simple *fiinda* (a tercet) in CBN 131 and a more elaborate *fiinda* in CBN 134, the two unclassifiable poems. In CBN 134 there are four *fiindas* in distichs and a fifth *fiinda* as a single line. The scheme can be imperfectly describe as ee ff gg hh i in which only e is a new rhyme in the composition while f and i are the same (–êr).

The self-definition of CBN 135 as a *descordo*, “e meu descord’ acabarei” (l.65), invites analysis. The form *descordo* stems from the Occitan

descort. Chambers attributes its invention to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (1180-1205), who composed two examples, *Eras quan vey verdeyar* (392,4) and *Engles, un novel descort* (392,16). In medieval times, however, Garin d'Apchier (c.1200) was credited with its invention.³⁶ In any case, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras certainly composed the most famous examples, later setting the model for the form. His first *descort*, curiously, changes the language in each stanza, without any clear change on versification. When defined much later, in the fourteenth century, in *Las leys d'amors*, *descort* seems to be defined after Raimbaut's multi-linguistic composition as much as a composition with a changing metrical structure yet thematically falling within the realm of standard love lyric: "[...] coblas devon esser singulars. dezacordablas. e variablas. en acort. en so. et en lengatges. E devon esser totas dun compas o de divers. E deu tractar damors o de lauzors o per manera de rancura quar mi dons no mi ama ayssi cum sol o de têt aysso essems."³⁷ For Chambers, again, *descort* is a particular form within the *canso* genre: "In theme (almost invariably declarations of undying love for a lady), the *descort* may be considered a special form of *canso*, whose chief claim to our attention is frequently its bizarre form".³⁸

Cerzeo's *descordo*, in turn, is a composition entirely in Galician-Portuguese, with variable metrics in each stanza but thematically outside the realm of the *cantiga d'amor*. The speaker announces his departure from the land and the people ("da terra, e das gentes" l.2), not from a lady and, on this account, it is not a *cantiga de change*. The composition lacks some key-

³⁶ Boutière; Schutz, 1973, p.343: "[Garins d'Apchier] fetz lo premier descort que enc fos faiz".

³⁷ Gatién-Arnoult, 1841, p.342.

³⁸ Chambers, 1985, p.151.

words which could have signalled to the audience its belonging to the love genre, such as *senhor* and *coita*. In the end there is the professed expectation to find a better life elsewhere (“Assi querrei / buscar / viver / outra vida que provarei,”), again an unprecedented idea within the love corpus. We therefore consider it thematically closer to the satirical genre, not that it is strictly satirical, but because this genre seems to have encompassed everything that was not expressly either male or female love poetry.

Formally, the poem seems to have two main halves. Firstly we have: stanzas I and II, masculine decasyllables, scheme abcbac adedae; stanzas III and IV, decasyllables, scheme abbccb addeed (in which a, b, d feminine; c, e masculine).

The rhymes a are repeated from I to II and from III to IV, but they are all reset from II to III. In the second half, we have:

V and VI: $a^4a^4a^4b^8a^4a^4a^4b^8c^4c^4c^4b^8c^4c^4c^4b^8$

VII: $b^2b^2b^2b^2c^8b^2b^2b^2b^2c^8$

VIII: $d^2d^2d^2d^2c^8d^2d^2d^2d^2c^8$

IX: $c^4b^2d^2c^8c^8$

The rhymes are not reset in this group.

6. Osoiro Anes

Osoiro Anes³⁹ has been identified with at least two different characters. Traditionally he was said to be a Galician clergymen, canon of Santiago, who studied in Paris and was documented between 1220-1239.⁴⁰ It has been suggested that the poets Pero Anes Marinho and Martim Anes Marinho were his brothers, however this was challenged by Oliveira, who estimated his activity period between c.1225-50. Cabo, on the other hand, proposes that the poet was a Galician nobleman associated with king Alfonso IX of León, living c.1165-c.1220 and documented in 1175-1217.⁴¹ According to this identification, the poet would have possible family connections with other early poets, such as Bazaco and Airas Oares. Indeed, if the chronological sequence of the songbooks is to be trusted, Osoiro Anes may be one of the earliest poets, figuring even before D. Gil Sanches.

§ 338. *Activity period.*

Osoiro Anes has only left *cantigas d'amor*. Formally his corpus reveals a marked preference for *meestria* compositions, with only one *cantiga de refrão*. The *cantiga* numbered 43 in CBN – which strangely precedes number 42 – is clearly fragmentary. It is not entirely clear whether CBN 42 is fragmentary or whether it has just one stanza. Thus, apart from this possibility of a Galician-Portuguese *cobla esparsa*, Osoiro's compositions could be as short as two and as long as six stanzas, without any clear preference. Stanzas could range from six to nine lines, mostly

§ 339. *Analysis.*

³⁹ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.645 (8 poems). Cohen, 2010. Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 8.

⁴⁰ López Ferreira, 1983, V, p.372-3.

Valledor mention a will dated 1246, but as carefully outlined by Vieira, 1999, p.144 and Cabo 2012, p.83, this is a mistake for 1236.

⁴¹ Souto Cabo, 2012, p. 116.

homometric octosyllabic or decasyllabic metres. There is, however, one case, CBN 40, of polymetric composition: it includes masculine and feminine heptasyllabic and masculine trisyllabic lines. CBN 41 also combines masculine and feminine endings, otherwise only masculine rhymes are employed. Throughout his corpus, he never employed *fiindas*.

Even though his corpus is small, Osoiro experiments with *coblas doblas*, *singulars* and *unissonans* both in classic and hybrid structures. CBN 39b is a peculiar composition, challenging classification. It resembles the *coblas unissonans retrogradadas* but even this description is insufficient. It has strictly a new rhyme scheme for each stanza: ababccb; baabddb; baabccb. Rhymes a and b are the same in all three stanzas, but figuring in varying positions. Rhyme c occurs in I and III only in the same position, being replaced by rhyme d in II.

CBN 38 is surprising both formally and thematically. Its rhyme scheme is abbacddd, with four stanzas, in which I and II are standard *coblas doblas*. Stanza III introduces four new rhymes, while stanza IV repeats a and b from III in new positions, as c and a, while introducing two new rhymes. It is therefore an elaborate hybrid between *doblas* and *singulars*. In terms of content, the poem fits somewhat uneasily within male-voice love genre. In stanza I, we hear the male speaker in lines 1-5, followed by direct speech in lines 6-8. The structure is repeated in II, except that lines 14-16 introduce the lady's voice, again in direct speech. The female voice will continue, uninterrupted, in stanzas III and IV, in an imaginary inner dialogue with herself.

Although we could not establish any connection between Osoiro and other poets, we see some resemblance between CBN 38 with Tamalancos's and Sandim's corpora. Tamalancos composed two *cantigas de change* in which his departure was due to the lady breaking the conventions of courtly love; Sandim stressed the idea that courtly love was a game in which the lady should love and reject the man at the same time. CBN 38 opens like a *cantiga de change*, in which the speaker announces the break, although the exact reasons remain obscure: he says that having won her love ("des quando guaanhei voss' amor"), he has now lost it ("ca perdud' ei / o seu amor"). The lady's words, which are entirely hypothetical and imaginary, fret and regret his departure. She then imagines a possible competitor but dismisses the possibility, based on some female *esprit de corps*. Similar to Sandim, courtly love emerges as an enactment game, in which departure is the extreme attitude, but even that is codified. Unlike Sandim, who composed recognisable *cantigas d'amigo*, Osoiro composed a hybrid text between *amor*, *amigo* and *change*.

7. The Soverosas' court – the Taveirós brothers and Mirapeixe

Of special interest are the three poets who, according to Oliveira, were associated with count D. Rodrigo Gomes de Trastâmara (?-1261), an important lord in Galicia. Paio Soares de Taveirós and Pero Velho de Taveirós were brothers; along with Nuno Fernandes de Mirapeixe they were members of the lesser Galician nobility. Their suzerain's lifetime spans the Castilian kingdoms of D. Afonso IX, D. Fernando III and D. Afonso X whose courts the count probably attended. To this trio, a fourth important poet, Martim Soares, is also associated. On one hand, the poetic network shows Martim and Paio Soares connected: a notable *tenção* (CBN 144) ridiculing a poor *jogral*, probably composed in the court of D. Fernando III.⁴² But that is not all for compilation evinces at least two links. Pero Velho, Paio Soares and Martim Soares were grouped together in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* by compiler 5. In this arrangement, Mirapeixe, though also compiled, figures apart, seven positions before the other three, implying that, according to this compiler, he was an earlier poet. The second link is the fact that Martim and Paio Soares are also added, by compiler 1 directly in the CA. These two features – a royal court setting and compilation complexity – are peculiar to the two poets if we consider this generation alone, but become widespread in the poets of the next generation (outside the scope of this thesis). In short, Martim and Paio Soares's seem to connect the first and second generations.

§ 340. Activity period.

⁴² Oliveira, p.174; p.402 must have hypothesized this setting based on this text given that there is no other document linking Paio Soares to the Castilian court.

Paio Soares⁴³ is one of the most debated poets, especially because of his less orthodox pieces, the *cantiga da guarvaya* (CA 38) and the *cantiga da parenta* (CA 37). Formally, his pieces normally had three or four stanzas, but they could be as short as two and even one stanza. He composed both *meestria* and *refrão* poems, with a preference for *meestria*. Stanzas ranged from five to nine lines in length. Metrically, there is a tendency for monometric strophes using decasyllabic or octosyllabic lines, although CA 32/CBN 147 involves a mixture of decasyllabic trisyllabic and octosyllabic lines. Paio Soares is perhaps the earliest poet to compose *cantigas* in *coblas doblas* with three, rather than four stanzas. Another innovation was CA 34/CBN 149 in which stanzas I and II are perfect *unisonans* while III repeats the same rhymes in a different order.

§ 341. *Paio Soares: Analysis.*

Thematically, recurrent traits include requests for *ben* or pieces which otherwise revolve around this topic, with the phrases *ben querer* or *querer ben* being common. Another mark is his preference for a delayed apostrophe, which often only comes in the refrain itself rather than in the opening lines. Occasionally, Taveirós abolishes the addressee altogether. A victorious competitor appears in two pieces, as does his personified eyes. The lady is a standard character as is God, the latter, sometimes as character, sometimes as a mere external reference or interjection. The secrecy *topos* is also common. Apart from the *tenção* with Martin Soares, Paio Soares does not have any satirical poem although cases like the *cantiga da guarvaya* and the *cantiga da parenta* push male-voice love poetry to the border of satire.

⁴³ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.3; 713 (25 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.68 (3 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.123 (3 poems). Vallín, 1996. Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.1, 18.

Paio Soares *amigo* corpus resembles Sandim's: only three compositions with a few distinctive traits. They are all three stanzas long, are refrain compositions and have an apostrophe to *donas*. Two have the late apostrophes found in his love pieces and deal with matters of reconciliation, while one has the *topos* of secrecy also seen in the love pieces. The reference to *donas* – rather than *amigas* –, to the lover composing *cantigas d'amor* and the lack of any reference to nature may suggest a courtly setting, as already seen in Sandim.

Despite being quantitatively inexpressive, due to his tiny corpus, two *cantigas d'amor* and one *tenção*, Pero Velho de Taveirós⁴⁴ is a remarkable poet. All his three poems are very distinctive formally.⁴⁵ Unlike the other poets of this generation, Pero Velho only composed in classic *coblas singulares*. His stanzas' length is invariably set at six lines, being comparatively short for his generation. His two *cantigas d'amor* have refrains and only his *tenção* is a *meestria* piece. Metrically, a poem combines twelve and thirteen syllables per line, one is in decasyllabic lines and one in heptasyllabic. His rhymes could be wholly feminine, masculine and feminine or just masculine, a rare feature shared only with Tamalancos. All his rhyme schemes only employ two sets of rhymes, a and b.

In CBN 140 the lady is named right at the beginning, thus resembling CA 38 CA 37 by his brother. It contains only two stanzas, just

§ 342. *Pero Velho: analysis.*

⁴⁴ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.773 (3 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.1, 17.

⁴⁵ CBN features the rubric *pero velho de taverros* before CBN 140 (top page, left column), matching the attribution to be found in the Tavola Colocciana (C 140-143). However, a large hand has been drawn next to the rubric by Colocci, pointing towards CBN 142, the *tenção*, which begins in the top right column. This has been hypothesized as indication that only the *tenção* is by Pero Velho, while CBN 140-1 would still be by Nuno Anes Cerzeo (see discussion above). This is the only manuscript to record Pero Velho de Taveirós's pieces.

like the *cantiga da guarvaya* too. Otherwise, it approaches a standard *amor* piece, gravitating around the pair *ben* and *mal*, with *ben* taking an ambiguous meaning.

Although active in the same feudal court, Mirapeixe,⁴⁶ with two *cantigas d'amor*, does not seem to share any specific trait with the Taveirós. CBN 44 is formally a standard piece, mostly in *coblas singulares* except for rhyme c, which is *unissonans*. CBN 45, as it stands, is unique: a single stanza, with ten lines. Four lines do not rhyme, the scheme is xaaxbbxccc. The poem, however, may be fragmentary.

§ 343. *Mirapeixe:*
analysis.

⁴⁶ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.657 (2 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.1, 9.

8. Bernal de Bonaval, Pero de Ver and Lopo

Bernal de Bonaval⁴⁷ was a Galician *jogral*. He is the first poet in the *cancioneiro de jograis*, whose activity period seemingly begins in the first generation and extends up to 1240s or 1250s. His corpus includes 10 *cantigas d'amor*; 8 *cantigas d'amigo*; 1 *tenção*. He was possibly active in the court of D. Afonso X. He is mentioned by Pero da Ponte, Airas Peres Vuitorom, João Baveca, Abril Peres, D. Afonso X. His importance in the poetic network comes from the later period of his poetic career.

§ 344. Bonaval.

Abril Peres's only extant verses are the reply stanzas to Bonaval in a *tenção d'amor* (CBN 1072/CV 663). As of today there has been no decisive identification for Peres and it is not even clear whether he is a *trovador* or a *jogral*. We note that, since the *tenção* is compiled within Bonaval's corpus, who initiated it, Abril Peres cannot be said to be compiled in the *cancioneiro de jograis*. In the *tenção*'s last stanza, Abril Peres seemingly sets himself apart from Bonaval's social condition as a *segrel*. On the other hand, they both address each other with the formal pronoun *vos*. This may not be relevant, because in *tenções* between known *trovadores* with *jograis*, we find both the opposing forms *tu – vos* and *vos – vos*.

§ 345. Abril Peres.

With this caveat, the poet has been identified with “D. Abril jogral” documented in 1221 in Lisbon in connection with D. Gonçalo Mendes,⁴⁸ with Abril Peres, burgês de Santiago de Compostela, documented in 1269,⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Editions: Nunes, 1932, p.415 (10 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.326 (8 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.361 (8 poems). Camargo; Iannone; Golbi, 1992. Fernández Pousa, 1955. Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.3, 61.

⁴⁸ Oliveira, 1994, p.304.

⁴⁹ López Ferreiro, 1983, V, p.375.

and with D. Abril Peres de Lumiares documented between 1218-44 in Portugal and connected to the Portuguese court.⁵⁰

Pero de Ver⁵¹ was presumably a *jogral*. In Chapter 4 we noticed that he precedes Bonaval and the rubric which marks the opening of the *cancioneiro de jograis*, yet it was admitted that a small group of *jograis* were added later. A Pero Peres de Ver active in Portugal in 1236 and a Pero de Ver in Galicia in 1240 have been suggested as possible identifications for this poet. He composed 2 *cantigas d'amor*; 6 *cantigas d'amigo*.

§ 346. *Pero de Ver.*

Lopo⁵² was a *jogral*, heavily criticized in four satirical pieces by Martim Soares. A contemporary assessment is recorded, within Martim Soares's corpus, by the rubrics in CBN 1363/CV 971: *Outrossi fez estes cantares aposto a un jogar que dizian Lopo, e citolava mal e cantava peor*. This must be regarded with suspicion, given that the rubric seems to merely echo the content of the subsequent *cantiga*. Martim Soares's pieces could be regarded as a contemporary assessment, but taking them at face value is dangerous, given that the *topos* of the bad *jogral* is quite widespread, being perhaps more a literary convention. It suggests, in any case, that he was active in Fernando III's court, acting as another link between the first and the second generation. The corpus comprises 3 *cantigas d'amor*; 8 *cantigas d'amigo*.

§ 347. *Lopo.*

Bonaval conforms formally with his generation in a few aspects: homometric compositions in octosyllabic or decasyllabic lines, only one

§ 348. *Bonaval: analysis.*

⁵⁰ Michaëlis, II, p.298-300.

⁵¹ Editions: Nunes, 1932, p.411 (2 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.322 (6 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.355 (6 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.3, 60.

⁵² Editions: Nunes, 1932, p.495 (4 poems). Nunes, 1926, p.416 (8 poems). Cohen, 2003, p.482 (8 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Appendix 3.3, 62.

poem has *fiinda*. He innovates in CBN 1062/CV 653, a poem with three stanzas, the first two in *coblas doblas*. Rather than leaving the third unpaired, he rearranges the rhymes, with the *retrogradadas* effect, thus going a step further in comparison with Taveirós. CBN 1064/CV 655 is a hybrid: with only two rhymes, a and b, a rhymes in *unissonans* and b in *singulars*. CBN 1067/CV 658 and CBN 1071/CV 662 are both refrain pieces which *retrogradada* rhymes before the refrain.

Ver and Lopo have much shorter corpora, by contrast. Ver's CBN 1061/CV 651 is a three-stanza long poem in *coblas doblas*, a feature only seen in Taveirós and Bonaval. CBN 1060/CV 650 is interesting for creating type of internal parallelism. The first and last line of each stanza are repeated verbatim, however they change in each stanza. Lopo composed three *cantigas d'amor*, with three stanzas and decasyllabic lines. Two have refrains, one has a *fiinda* and all are in *coblas singulars*. CBN 1113/CV 704 has one rhyme, a, as *unissonans*. The most interesting case, however, is CBN 1114/CV 705 a case of Mussafia's Law. Most of the composition employs masculine decasyllables except that in stanza III two lines are feminine eneasyllables.

§ 349. *Pero de Ver and Lopo: analysis.*

With Bonaval, Ver and Lopo, we see the proper rise of the *amigo* genre. Bonaval strikes a good quantitative balance between the two genres, Ver and Lopo compose primarily in the female voiced genre. Rather than giving voice to the lady, as in Sandim, here we have the *amiga*, more recognisable from later developments in the genre.

9. The minor poets

In this section we mention Airas Moniz d’Asma,⁵³ Diego Moniz,⁵⁴ Rui Gomes, o Freire,⁵⁵ and Anonymous 1.⁵⁶ No association with other poets was detected and their corpora are numerically insignificant, hence the designation *minor*.

Two poets open CBN, Airas Moniz d’Asma and Diego Moniz. Michaëlis first attempted to associate the former, whom she called Airas Moniz d’Asme, with the parish of S. Lourenço d’Asmes, near Oporto, thus ascribing him a Portuguese origin. She also suggested, based on the name Moniz, that Diego, of whom she offers no information, would be his brother.⁵⁷ On a different line, Beltrán argued that Airas Moniz was a poet from the early period of D. Alfonso X’s court, connected to Bonifácio Calvo, de Gênova, that is, someone active in the 1250s.⁵⁸ His bases are not documental evidence but alleged points of contact between a poem by Asma and Calvo. Oliveira was inconclusive: he quotes Beltrán, hypothesizes a Galician origin and quotes a document from 1224 referring to an “Arias Nuni de Asma”. More recently, Cabo identified an “Airas Moniz” in 1219, *tenente* of Alva, Galicia – a post also occupied by (his) Osoiro Anes and

§ 350. *Airas and Diego Moniz: activity period.*

⁵³ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.637 (2 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 0a.

⁵⁴ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.642 (2 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011. Cohen, 2010.

Appendix 3.1, 0b.

⁵⁵ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.665 (2 poems). Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 11.

⁵⁶ Editions: Michaëlis, 1904, I, p.129 (2 poems). Lapa, 1970, p.432 (1 poem, attributed to Martim Soares). Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 1992. Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

Appendix 3.1, 20.

⁵⁷ Michaëlis, 1904, II, p.525-6.

⁵⁸ Beltrán, 1985. p.53.

Tamalancos. Both Oliveira and Cabo follow Michaëlis's suggestion believing that Diego would be related to Airas.⁵⁹

What seems certain today is that Asme does not exist in Iberia, whereas Asma exists in Galicia. The name is spelt in CBN, fl.11r, as Ayras Moniz Dasma and does not feature in C. There is no evidence confirming nor refuting possible family connections between Airas and Diego Moniz. With the exception of Beltrán, all scholars have suggested they are early poets, however not the earliest poets, which one would expect from their position as the first two in a chronologically ordered compilation. Incidentally, all documents adduced so far in relation to Airas Moniz points to *circa* 1220. This creates doubts as to whether these two were originally included in the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros* by compiler 5 or whether they were added later (§237).

Concerning his corpus, Asma authored two pieces. The first is unremarkable, with four stanzas, octosyllabic lines, rhyme scheme ababccdd. The second, though fragmentary, calls attention for its form and content. It features the dialogue between two characters, addressed as “Mia senhor” and “Cavaleiro”, each one speaking in a stanza, in a total of five. It rhymes in classic *coblas doblas*, with the last stanza unpaired. The rhyme scheme, abababaab, is unique to this piece. In Michaëlis's edition the line lengths are 7 6' 7 6' 7 6' 8 8 6', so that rhyme b is always feminine.

§ 351. *Airas Moniz: analysis.*

Diego Moniz composed two *cantigas d'amor*. There seems to be a widespread idea concerning “lost” *cantigas* by Diego Moniz.⁶⁰ This,

§ 352. *Diego Moniz: analysis.*

⁵⁹ Oliveira, 1994, p.327. Souto Cabo, 2012, p.135-9.

⁶⁰ Oliveira, 1994, p.326: “desaparecimento de 3 composições”.

however, is more likely to be an error. If the poet was present in CA, his corpus was lost in Lacuna 1. In the *Tavola Colocciana* there is only one poem attributed to Diego Moniz, C 12. CBN offers two pieces, numbered 8 and 8[bis], that is, it repeats the same number by mistake. Clearly, C 12 equals CBN 8 and CBN 8b, as a counting mistake, would naturally be ignored in C. The putative lost *cantigas* have never been explained. It may be the case that the numbers of two separate manuscript sources were added: $\text{CBN 8} + \text{C 12} = 4$ “lost” *cantigas*, but that would be an extremely questionable approach.

CBN 8 is a very sophisticated piece. It has a unique rhyme scheme, aabccaadd, rhyming in *coblas doblas alternadas* (I-III, II-IV). They are also *retrogradadas*, so that the first set, a b c d, turns into c d a b, in the second set, and back again. In this regard, Moniz creates a hybrid with *unissonans* by employing a pre-existing formal device. Moniz employs two masculine and two feminine rhymes, when alternating feminine replaces feminine and masculine replaces masculine. In addition, rhyme b is a *palavra perduda* within each stanza.

CBN 8b is an editorial challenge and it is not easy to settle even its basic features. In the manuscript, it is copied as:

Se foubeffa mha fenhora comomami plaze^{ria}
 deu moirer poys la non ey logueu nõ moreria
 Capero me ben non quer
 Amor me monstraria
 Por me fazer amen pefar viver

Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011: “Acrescente-se que, pelo índice de Colocci, sabemos que, para além das suas duas cantigas de amor conservadas, os cancioneiros incluíam ainda mais quatro composições suas, hoje perdidas.”

Golçalves, E. 1993. “Diego Moniz” in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, p.216: “o exame codicológico do cancioneiro lisbonense associado ao testemunho da Tavola Colocciana permite-nos conjecturar que, no códice outrora pertencente ao humanista, se encontravam mais quatro composições suas, hoje perdidas devido a um acidente material.”

Quandeu labor ouuelle demoirer
 E flhelhi follen dizer
 Comeu esto dizia
 Logo fey q[ue] mha fenhor por mĩ demãdaria

Michaëlis edited it as a *cantiga de refrão*, eight lines, alternating between seven and ten syllables, rhyme scheme xaxaxa-BB. Elsa Gonçalves criticises this editorial option, arguing for a *cantiga de refrão*, five lines, alternating between thirteen and ten syllables, rhyme scheme aaa-BB.⁶¹ Abelleira; Caramés et al. re-edited Michaëlis's text, offering a *cantiga de refrão*, five lines, rhyme scheme aa-ABB.⁶² In the first and third hypotheses, the poem is complete. Lopes, Ferreira, et al. provide yet a further alternative. Maintaining the first stanza with five lines, they leave the second with just two, thus suggesting that the composition is a fragmentary *cantiga de meestria*.⁶³

Both Asma and Diego Moniz share some traits: long stanzas, polymetric compositions, and a combination of masculine and feminine rhymes.

Rui Gomes, o Freire, remains an obscure character, possibly a § 353. *Rui Gomes*. member of the military order of Avis or Calatrava, documented in 1215.⁶⁴ His two surviving *cantigas d'amor* are *de meestria*, with four stanzas, in classic *coblas doblas*. Similar to other early poets – Asma, Diego Moniz, Osoiro Anes, Mirapeixe – Rui Gomes can be distinguished by relatively long stanzas, in his case with eight and nine lines. The two rhyme schemes

⁶¹ “Quanto à segunda composição, a sua estrutura estrófica não pode ser a que apresenta na edição de C. Michaëlis, já que a escrita dos versos conservados parece indicar que se trata de uma cantiga de refram cujas cobras são constituídas por três versos de treze sílabas aos quais se seguem dois decassílabos com função de refram.” Gonçalves, E. 1993. “Diego Moniz” in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, p.217.

⁶² Brea; et al., 1996, p.243.

⁶³ Lopes, Ferreira, et al., 2011.

⁶⁴ Oliveira, 1994, p.432. Souto Cabo, 2012, pp.114-5.

are very similar, only distinguished by one line, *abbacdd* and *abbacddb*, the latter being unique in the secular corpus. Both compositions are homometric, in octosyllabic and decasyllabic lines. One of them has a *fiinda*.

Anonymous 1 is a poet exclusive to the CA, occurring in fl.15r, gathering III, with only two poems, CA 62-3. He is placed between Martim Soares and Airas Carpancho, suggesting a loose chronological activity period of *c.*1240. It has been occasionally suggested that the two poems are actually by Martim Soares,⁶⁵ but this hypothesis has been rejected in Chapter 3 (§234) and by other scholars.⁶⁶ CA 62 is very unusual, both formally and thematically. It employs homometric heptasyllabic lines with purely feminine rhymes. Only Calheiros, Tamalancos and Pero Velho used both features in their corpora, but never combined. Thematically, in the first line, the speaker names a “Dona Elvira”, whom allegedly denies her love. The speaker announces that he will relocate from Sancta-Vaya, to the river Douro, between Oporto and Vila Nova de Gaia. These elements suggest that this may actually be a *maldizer aposto*, rather than a *cantiga d’amor*, which would also explain its unusual metrical profile. CA 63 is a *cantiga de meestria* in three stanzas. The rhyme scheme, *aaabbabba*, is unique and combines masculine decasyllabic lines with masculine and feminine pentasyllables.

§ 354. *Anonymous
1: analysis.*

⁶⁵ Bertolucci Pizzorusso, 1992. Tavani, 1967a. D’Heur, 1973.

⁶⁶ Ramos, 1986a. Revision by Bertolucci Pizzorusso, V. 1993. “Martin Soares” in Lanciani and Tavani, 1993, p.441-444.

10. Conclusion

Galician-Portuguese lyric seems to be born with the *amor* genre and the “lost poets” apparently composed *cantigas d’amor* only. One could say that subsequent genre development is based on an opposition with whatever was perceived as canonical *amor* poetry, hence all genres exist in relation to one another. The first to be distinguished from the *cantigas d’amor* was seemingly satirical poetry. With Sandim, Calheiros and the *jograis*, female-love poetry emerges, initially as a courtly lady expressing similar feelings to the male lover or in direct response to him. Even before the *cantiga d’amigo* proper, we find some rare dialogued *cantigas* in Osoiro Anes and Asma.

There are relatively few connections between poets in the first generation and the whole lyric production is still in the social fringes, if contrasted to the next generation, when royal courts take a leading role. Bonaval and Martim Soares, who enjoy central positions in this weak poetic network, were both active in the second generation. Equally, it is natural that Martim Soares and Paio Soares Taveirós, active in the next generation, benefited from successive compilation waves as, overall, this generation comes mainly from an unitarian transmission of the *cancioneiro de cavaleiros*. Calheiros, Somesso and Cerzeo are the few exceptions for they had their corpora enriched later, without participating in the new social setting of the second generation.

Formally, we would note that the *finda* existed ever since the earliest generation, but it only gains favour in the transition to second generation, with Martim Soares and Pero Garcia Buralês. Even early poets

who were appreciated, such as Sandim and Somesso (cf. the *Livros de Linhagens*), did not favour *fiindas*. This means that the assessment found in the *Arte de Trovar*, favouring the use of *fiindas*, represents a later attitude in secular lyric conventions.

Finally, the analysis of this group of poets suggests that initially there are many varieties or possibilities available for the development of the genre. It may be the case that successive generations selected some formal or thematic features as productive forms, for instance, favouring compositions with three and four stanzas which would preferably have around six or seven lines. But in these early moments, there seems to be no set preference: poems could have just one stanza or six, their length could reach up to twelve lines. This formal diversity seems to have gradually diminished even within the first generation itself. Other features, however, such as hybridism of poem design carried on, giving room to much experimentation. Thematically, too, the first generation encompasses some typical compositions as well as some surprising pieces, occasionally difficult to classify. Poets such as Tamalancos and the Taveirós brothers explored a variety of shades between the *amor* and the satirical genres. Osoiro Anes and Asma composed dialogued pieces which link male and female love poetry. D. Gil Sanches identified, in a very serious composition, his lady. Features which may not have been dominant, but which are worth highlighting as part of the richness of the corpus.

Conclusion.

This investigation is now complete and some aspects may be profitably highlighted. Chapters 1 and 2 focused on the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*. The first privileged descriptive codicology, the second, deductive codicology. After a century of highly regarded academic works, by several scholars, on this manuscript, what contribution have we offered here? These chapters not only produced, but conveyed to readers, a whole, consistent theory on the CA, in which every material aspect is connected to the whole. This is, we hope, one of the main achievements of this thesis, certainly the most challenging and, ironically, the one which was never predicted nor planned. The decision of dividing the thesis into paragraphs and cross-reference its sections through their numbers was meant to convey to the readers that each small item is a brick of a coherent theoretical building: an element on its own, but connected to all the others. Obviously, many, perhaps all the codicological features have been studied before. Yet a good example of what has been achieved here is the discussion on folio 46. Former attempts to identify its anonymous author were not based on a consistent view of the codex, in fact the identifications were almost done despite the CA. We listed extensive features: the type of rubrication, the space at the end of its last column, the absence of an illumination, the quality of one of its poems, to name a few, to integrate it in a holistic view of the codex. Each deduction on the manuscript has this web of connections in mind. We have, in this process, occasionally favoured theories by one or another scholar. Some had the value of proof, some were selected on the basis of being

simpler solutions. We do not expect all of our solutions to be unanimous, but we do hope that their internal coherence will be appreciated.

These chapters also offered a history of the CA. Again several aspects on the history of the CA have been researched before, yet we hope to have synthesized previous works, suggested some new elements and offered a coherent structure. The damage or changes suffered by the codex have a history, often connected to its fragmentary state. The change in hands, identified by previous scholars, was here taken to mean a more radical change in the confection of the manuscript.

Thus we have reduced the textual lacunae of the CA to a maximum of sixteen, reconstructed most of them with reasonable accuracy and established that the last three gatherings of the CA are, in their confection, entirely different from all the other gatherings. These are the bridges to Chapters 3 and 4. Our theory on compilation is rooted on the study of codicology. Whether one considers the general *stemma codicum* or the smaller *stemmata*, our inferred original order of lyric material in the CA comes through. Not that we regard the CA to be more important or better than CBN and CV, rather it is the possibility of contrasting CA against CBN/CV, two moments in compilation, that is really important. In those areas not covered by CA, despite the existence of two Italian manuscripts, what we have is really a single witness, given that the moment represented by them is precisely the same and their difference, marginal.

Our compilation theory has no claim of contributing to Textual Criticism or medieval studies as a whole, nor even to the whole of the Galician-Portuguese corpus. Our single aim was strictly to give Galician-Portuguese secular lyric the best *stemma codicum* to date. Though narrow, we believe this to be the other main contribution of this thesis. Our compilation theory is dynamic, far more dynamic than any of the previous. For instance, the amount of successive additions identified here – of cycles or

of poems – in the main archetypal structure is unprecedented. The former *stemma* was at odds with the latest research on the CA and yet it continued to be reiterated largely unchanged. It was, as we have stressed, good and operative on a very general level, in as much as it posited the archetype in its relation to CA and CBN/CV. But it could not possibly address any specific poet. Chapters 3 and 4, therefore, may be the first attempt to tie a consistent codicological view of the CA, with a general theory on compilation and the specificities of the lyric corpus – conflicting attributions, double transmission, corpora which are transmitted longer or shorter depending on manuscript.

Chapter 5 and the metrical study embedded in Appendix 3 and in Section 6 of the Introduction represent more closely the original thesis's plan and yet, with hindsight, they are frankly the least ambitious. The section on Tamalancos is, we feel, especially insightful, making use of compilation to promote a new literary meaning. The theory on the gradual emergence of genres is another good contribution, yet somewhat crippled by a certain lack of space and time for further analysis. But, overall, the chapter and the Introduction do little more than processing some of the information documented in Appendix 3. The production of this Appendix was, in itself, a large undertaking, consuming much of the past four years, while still leaving room for improvements, particularly in the need to document divergent editions. Yet we hope that it will still accomplish its many uses and potentials in future literary studies. It may be noted that Appendix 3 was to be complemented by a fuller version of Appendix 4, which would have covered the whole of the *amor* corpus, yet for various reasons, this was not possible to achieve.

Regarding future developments, the completion of the metrical data on the *cantigas d'amor* would be the most obvious path. The refinement of Chapter 5 and its continuation, studying the subsequent poets, would also be a natural development.

However, to be honest, if this thesis was to be started today, we would have taken a completely different route altogether. The literary study could have been left out without compromising the first four chapters. Instead, a codicological revision or at least considerations on the *Pergaminhos Vindel* and *Sharrer* would be totally opportune with views to introducing them in the *stemma* and perhaps ascribing their place in the compilation theory. The cut around the *amor* corpus in Chapter 4 would not be inappropriate, given that the CA only transmits *cantigas d'amor*, but could be mitigated, with slightly more room to the other genres. Still, it is perhaps a feature of those investigations which grow from the object, rather than from the scholar, that their ultimate purpose is only learned towards the end and that is how it grew on such time and space that it was granted to it.