
aaBBB: The Strophic Form of Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 7

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Data de recepción: 08/09/2016 | Data de aceptación: 28/09/2016

Abstract:

The refrain of a *cantiga d'amigo* by Fernan Rodriguez Calheiros (B 632/V 233), heretofore misunderstood as consisting of five verses, should be taken as a 3-verse refrain with two internal rhymes in the middle verse, conforming to the strophic form aaBBB. This analysis is confirmed by two virtuosic features: the middle verse of the BBB refrain scans longer than the outer ones but corresponds to the verses of the distich; and the text constitutes an example of a BBB refrain where the third verse repeats the first.

Key words:

Galician-Portuguese lyric; *cantigas d'amigo*; textual criticism; strophic form; historical poetics.

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1. The general form aaB and its kin. 2. Argument and evidence. 3. Summary. 4. Double internal rhyme. 5. Judgement of the court.

aaBBB: A forma estrófica da cantiga 7 de Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros

Resumo:

O refrán da cantiga de amigo de Fernan Rodriguez Calheiros (B 632/V 233), até agora mal entendido como un conxunto de cinco versos, debe tomarse como un estribillo de 3 versos con dúas rimas internas no verso medio, segundo a forma estrófica aaBBB. Esta análise fica confirmada por dúas técnicas especiais: o verso medio do refrán BBB mide máis do que os exteriores, mais correspóndese cos versos do distico, e o texto constitúe un exemplo de refrán BBB onde o terceiro verso repite o primeiro.

Palabras chave:

Lírica galego-portuguesa; cantigas d'amigo; crítica textual; forma estrófica; poética histórica.

Sumario:

1. A forma xeral aaB e formas próximas. 2. Discusión e probas 3. Resumo 4. Dupla rima interna 5. Fallo da corte.

1. The general form aaB and its kin

Our task here is to adjudicate on review a question of textual criticism regarding the strophic form of Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 7, an early 13th-century Galician-Portuguese *cantiga d'amigo*.

We must first consider the general strophic form aaB, which was linked to the genre from the earliest documented period.¹ There are five main varieties of aaB and they seem to reflect a historical development (which would have taken place centuries earlier), expanding from the simplest (*simplex*) to the most *complex* through five successive stages:²

- 1) simplex (verses not divided into cola);
- 2) cola only in the first period (the distich) and without internal rhyme;
- 3) cola in both periods (distich and refrain) without internal rhyme;
- 4) cola in both periods, but internal rhyme only in the refrain;
- 5) cola and internal rhyme in both periods.

We also find verses with cola and internal rhyme in forms that appear to derive from aaB, especially in aaBB, texts [bold in the schema signals a verse with internal rhyme]:

- aaBB** in Gonçal' Eanes do Vinhal 1, Pero de Berdia 4, Nuno Treez 1, Pai Calvo 1;
aaBB in Bernal de Bonaval 5 and Johan Zorro 9;
aaBB in Pae Gomez Charinho 6 (one verse of the refrain has an internal rhyme).

There are in addition 14 *cantigas d'amigo* with aaBBB (the form found in Calheiros 7, a strophic design which poets evidently felt to be exclusive to this genre: it is only used once elsewhere, in a parody of a *cantiga d'amigo*; see below). But only two of these contain metrical cola (Pero Meogo 8, in the refrain; Johan de Requeixo 4, in the distich) and neither employs internal rhyme.³

Here I call *complex* those forms such as aaB, aaBB, aaaBB and aaBBB which have verses made up of two cola in either period, with or without internal rhyme.

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- 1 Cohen (2006, 2011). By *colon* I mean a metrical segment smaller than a verse and capable of standing alone, two *cola* per verse being the normal limit. On *colometry* (strophic design), see Cohen (2010b).
 - 2 See Appendix 1, below, for examples of these five types along with two other types relevant to Calheiros 7. See Cohen (2016: Part One, Appendix 4).
 - 3 The 15 texts are Airas Carpancho 3; Estevan Reimondo 1; Pai Gomez Charinho 1; Garcia Soares 1, 2; Johan Servando 6; Juião Bolseiro 7; Pero Meogo 8; Martin Padrozelos 1; Martin de Giizo 3, 5, 6; Johan de Requeixo 4; Johan Airas 36. There are five aaaBBB texts (Nuno Perez Sandeu 1; Johan Servando 3, 10, 14; Johan Airas 15) but none of these has verses with two cola. On aaB as a stem-strophe, see Cohen, 1996: 20-23, 2014a.

These variants provide evidence –which had been overlooked due to mistakes in colometry— for the development of strophic design, including many poems with two cola which went unrecognized in the text of Nunes (1926-1928), long the standard edition. Nunes apparently did not realize that scribes (those of *B* and *V* or those of their common ancestor) usually had to split long verses to fit the narrow column width available.⁴ In such cases the critical editor must recognize the strophic form (and forget about being faithful to the *lay-out* of the manuscripts, since to let the error stand would be a sin against textual criticism). In correcting the colometry of a text we see a new text. By correcting many, we get a somewhat new view of the genre.

In Cohen (2003) there are 71 aaB texts, already a hefty increase over Nunes. Now I see 105 aaB *cantigas d'amigo*, a further leap of 50%.⁵ But the reanalysis should include all forms that might be extensions of aaB. For instance, Johan Servando 1 should be read as aaaBB (so Monaci, 1875b: 1-2). That text has two cola *without* internal rhyme in the first period and *with* internal rhyme in the refrain. This seems a pivotal form (since rhyme does not appear in the first period) which must have logically and chronologically preceded aaaBB with internal rhymes throughout (aaaBB is not found in any *cantiga d'amigo*; see the second *obiter dictum*, below, and Appendix 4). All told, there are around 145 texts in this genre with aaB, aaBB, aaBBB or aaaBB (nearly the only forms that present verses with two cola), or roughly 30% of the 470 texts with refrain.⁶

2. Argument and evidence

Among the compositions with more than three verses per strophe which need to be revisited, Calheiros 7 stands out. The manuscripts present the refrain only once in full (in the first strophe), on five lines, as if the form were aaBBBBB with a 5-verse refrain, which would be unique in this genre (see Appendix 2). But agreement of *B* and *V* on this question carries no more weight than it ever does when the manuscripts share a mistake. Yet editors clung to the error.⁷ What we now find is that Calheiros 7 displays the form aaBBB with two internal rhymes in the middle verse of the refrain.⁸ The refrain should not be printed like this (Cohen, 2003: 117):

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- 4 On the manuscript tradition see Gonçalves, 1993. It is not, however, clear that *B* and *V* derive from a common exemplar.
 - 5 Cohen, 2016. Much of this increase is due to reading as aaB texts printed in 2003 as aaBB with short verses in the refrain (see also Cohen, 2003: 43 and Cohen, 2010b).
 - 6 Gonçal'Eanes do Vinhal 3 (aaabaB; 7+4) is an exception in a form that uses only two rhymes. Pero Vivaez 1 (abbaCC) has a regular word-break (10 is divided into segments of 4+5), perhaps two cola.
 - 7 Braga (1878: 46-47) (but Monaci, 1875a: 90 cannot be blamed); Nunes (1926-1928: II, 63-64); Cohen (2003: 117).
 - 8 This analysis of the colometry in Calheiros 7 is suggested in Cohen (2014a: 10, note 7).

ai madre, os seus amores ei;
se me los ei,
ca mhos busquei, 5
outros me lhe dei;
 ai madre, <os> seus amores ei

Rather the text should be analyzed like this (regardless of text-critical issues that do not affect overall strophic form).⁹

aaBBB (x3): 11' 11' || 8 13 [4+4+5] 8 ciro a-o asse || ei (ei ei)ei ei

Madre, passou per aqui un cavaleiro
 e leixou me namorad' e co<n> marteiro,
ai madre, os seus amores ei;
se me los ei, ca mhos busquei, outros me lhe dei;
ai madre, <os> seus amores ei. 5

Madre, passou per aqui un fillo d' algo
 e leixou m' assi penada com' eu ando,
ai madre, <os> seus amores ei;
<se me los ei, ca mhos busquei, outros me lhe dei;
ai madre, os seus amores ei.> 10

Madre, passou per aqui que<n> non passasse!
 e leixou m' assi penada – que non leixasse!
ai madre, os seus amores ei;
<se me los ei, ca mhos busquei, outros me lhe dei;
ai madre, os seus amores ei.> 15

B 632 f. 138r-v V 233 f. 33v

9 (The sign || separates periods.) In v. 12 Nunes accepts *mais leixasse* (apparently thought to mean, “I wish he had left me even more so” [that is, more *penada*]; Nunes, 1926-1928: III, 67) but the text seems to be corrupt at this point (maybe *mays* was a gloss which indicated that something was missing and which then crept into the text). My proposal is *que non leixasse* (“I wish he had not left me like that!”). Although the verse scans longer than the other verses in the first period, *que non leixasse* is admissible because a hypermetric verse can be used before the refrain of the last strophe (Cohen, 2003: 47, and cf. Cohen, 2016). The construction is common. See, for example, B 67 = CA 351 (Calheiros), vv. 2-3 *quando m' ela mostrou / que non mostrass'! o seu bon parecer* and B 1097 / V 688 (Pedr'Amigo de Sevilla), vv. 16-17 *aquesta vez que con ela falei, / que non falasse!*

2 co<m> Nunes : co B : ca V 3 madre, seus *Michaëlis* (CA II, 924), fort. recte; cf. vv. 5, 8 5 madre, <os> seus Nunes : madre se9 BV 6 possou V
 8 Madre, <os> seus Nunes : madro se9 BV 11 que<n> non Nunes : q' nõ BV
 12 que non *scripsi* : mays BV

Mother, a knight passed by here
 And left me in love and suffering.
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him,
 And if I'm in love, I wanted to be, and so is he.
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him.

Mother, a nobleman passed by here
 And left me sad, as I am now,
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him,
 And if I'm in love, I wanted to be, and so is he.
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him.

Mother, someone passed by here—who should not have!
 And left me sad like this—I wish he hadn't!
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him,
 And if I'm in love, I wanted to be, and so is he.
 Oh, mother, I'm in love with him.

Excluding this text, there is no *cantiga d'amigo* with a five verse refrain. So the refrain of Calheiros 7 as presented by the manuscripts and the editors is wildly anomalous within the genre.¹⁰ This alone should have been reason enough for editors to see a problem. The problem vanishes if we decide, based on the evidence, that the refrain consists of three verses in the general form aaBBB. Reading the strophic design this way we come up with *double internal rhyme* in the second verse, a highly unusual technique which I will deal with in a moment. The strongest argument in favor of an aaBBB strophe is that Calheiros 7, with its colometry thus emended, becomes yet another example of two well-documented techniques associated with this genre.

The first of these two techniques is metrical. Counting Calheiros 7, there are seven *cantigas d'amigo* with the general form aaBBB where the middle verse of the refrain scans longer than the outer ones but is equal to, or (as in Calheiros 7 and Meogo 8)

10 *MedDB* registers only one text in the secular lyric with the rhyme scheme aaBBBB, by Lopo Lias (*B* 1339/*V* 946; *CEM* 253 *Tercer dia ante Natal*).

a syllable longer than, the verses in the first period.¹¹ This is a key group of texts for present purposes (listed here with the overall metrics in parentheses).

Fernan Rodriquez de Calheiros 7 (11' 11' || 8 13 8)
 Pae Gomez Charinho 1 (7' 7' || 5' 7' 5')
 Johan Servando 6 (12 12 || 8 12 8)
 Juião Bolseiro 7 (15' 15' || 7' 15' 7')
 Pero Meogo 8 (8 8 || 6 9 6)
 Martin de Gĩizo 3 (9 9 || 6 9 6)
 Martin de Gĩizo 6 (11 11 || 8 11 8)

This is precisely the strophic design that Pero Garcia Burgalês uses (10' 10' || 10' 5' 10') to write an obscene parody of a *cantiga d'amigo* (B 1383 / V 992, CEM 385 *Dona Maria Negra, ben talhada*). Calheiros 7, read as aaBBB, is yet another example in the genre.

The second technique which our colometry reveals –and which aligns our text with its genre— is rhetorical: the repetition of the first verse of a refrain in the third. This was not uncommon in 3-verse refrains. There are eight examples in aaBBB *cantigas d'amigo* (see Appendix 3). All told, the third verse of the refrain is identical to the first (or nearly so) in 13 texts (Airas Carpancho 3; Estevan Reimondo 1; Johan Garcia de Guilhade 20; Pero da Ponte 1; Garcia Soares 1 and 2; Johan Servando 3 and 14; Pero Meogo 8; Martin Padrozelos 1; Martin de Gĩizo 3, 5 and 6). Notably, Martin de Gĩizo (whose style I would deem archaic) uses this technique in three texts.¹² Calheiros 7 confirms that this device was in use from early on.¹³ And the parody by Pero Garcia Burgalês (mentioned above) employs this technique along with the first.

So some aaBBB texts deploy two special techniques (which appear together in the parody by Burgalês): one is metrical; the other, rhetorical. Both would have seemed to poet and audience impressive displays of virtuosity.¹⁴ In an early poetic ecosys-

11 Cohen (2003: 405, note).

12 Gĩizo 3 is the closest formal and rhetorical match for Pero Meogo 8, widely seen as a paradigmatic *cantiga d'amigo*, found in penultimate position in an sequence of nine texts (Cohen, 2014: 61, 76-79).

13 Calheiros is assumed by some to be one of the earliest composers of *cantigas d'amigo* (see however Cohen, 2015). His poems in this genre are preceded by a rubric that shows they came first in the *amigo* section of a lost manuscript (Cohen, 2003: 111). On repeated words in refrains see Cohen, 2009: 137-139.

14 Theoretically, the combination of these two techniques would have saved time in the working memory and the brain would have perceived this ease of cognition as aesthetic pleasure (Cohen, 2013c, Fabb, 2014).

tem where aaB was still dominant, special effects in a composition with a 3-verse refrain would have been valued as *high-tech* relative to any variant of aaB. Calheiros 7, reanalyzed, displays both these virtuoso features.

3. Summary

The refrain of Calheiros 7 as presented by the manuscripts and the editors is anomalous and therefore suspect, while our analysis brings the text into line with poetic practice in four ways: 1) the overall strophic form, aaBBB, occurs in 15 other texts in this genre (but never in the *cantigas d'amor*; and in the *cantigas d'escarnho e maldizer* it is used only once, in a parody of *Amigo*); 2) the refrain makes use of internal rhyme (found in around 40 *cantigas d'amigo*), with a double internal rhyme in the middle verse; 3) the middle verse is longer than the outer ones and corresponds to the length of the verses in the first period, a feature found in seven other songs in this genre; 4) it constitutes yet another example of a BBB refrain where the third verse repeats the first.¹⁵ The use of the last two techniques together confirms the analysis.

4. Double internal rhyme

This reading sees *two internal rhymes* in the middle verse of the refrain. Although a rarity, this is found in a *cantiga d'escarnho* of Lopo Lias, where the strophic form, long misinterpreted, should be **aaaBB** with two internal rhymes (and a repeated rhyme-word) in the refrain's initial verse.¹⁶ This verse reaches the longest length admissible in the secular lyric, 16⁷ (the maximum in the *cantigas d'amigo* is 16, found in eight aaB texts). The form is avowedly Moorish: *este son de negrada* means "this Moorish melody".¹⁷

15 Possibly with slight variation, depending on how we decide a text-critical question. Perhaps we should read *madre, seus amores ei* throughout (see the critical apparatus and Appendix 2).

16 On musicological grounds Ferreira (2005: 93, note 34) argues correctly that the strophic form is **aaaBB** (in my notation). This schema is identical to that of a popular form of the Andalusí Arabic *zajal* (Federico Corriente, personal communication, 2009). See also Cohen (2010b, 2014a). On the five varieties of aaB forms used by Galician *jograres* (Cohen, 2013b), Corriente writes that "most of them can illustrate that evolution from distich to stanzaic structure in ways absolutely parallel for both the Andalusí and Romance cases" (personal communication, 2014).

17 Lapa (*CEM*, s.v. *negrada*) glosses *son de negrada* with "toada mourisca" and Pellegrini (1969: 8–9) renders the phrase as "in questa musica da mori".

Lopo Lias, *CEM* 256: **aaBB** (vv. 1-5 [with colometry emended]):

En este son de negra | farei un cantar 13 [7'+5]

Dũa sela canterlada | liada mui mal.

Esté a sela pagada | e direi do brial:

Todos colhon, | colhon, colhon | con aquel brial de Sevilha 16' [4+4+8']

Que aduss' o infançon | aqui, por maravilha. 13' [7+6']

The double internal rhyme in Calheiros 7 is not a problem. Rather, it is somewhat surprising that the editors failed to detect here an example of this technique. Otherwise they might have seen the right strophic form.

5. Judgement of the court

In printing a 5-verse refrain critical editors have been injudicious. As judges, they should have evaluated the full formal and rhetorical evidence more carefully. Now that we have done so, we must reverse on appeal and decide in favor of **aaBBB**.¹⁸

obiter dicta

First. Once we reanalyze all eight *cantigas d'amigo* attributed by the manuscripts to Calheiros we can see what would have been invisible to anyone following the analysis in my 2003 edition, where one finds this sequence of strophic forms:

- 1 aaBB
- 2 aaBB
- 3 aaBB
- 4 aaBB
- 5 aaBB
- 6 aaBB
- 7 aaBBBBB
- 8 aaBB

Reevaluation of the colometry of all texts which can be construed as **aaB** (or a kindred form) with internal rhyme led me to see **aaB** in Calheiros 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8. On that reading, and taking Calheiros 7 as **aaBBB**, we now find this:

¹⁸ For more information on 3-verse refrains see Cohen (2012: 10-12). There I correct the strophic form of Johan Zorro 5 to *eliminate* a 3-verse refrain created by editors, seeing instead an intercalated refrain of two verses. See also Cohen (2009).

- 1 aaBB (*cobras ternas*)
- 2 aaB
- 3 aaB
- 4 aaB
- 5 aaBB
- 6 aaB
- 7 aaBBB
- 8 aaB (*cobras alternantes*)

This evidence must be taken into account in deciding if the set shows signs of formal organization. The data on strophic design are now new data and need to be looked at anew.¹⁹

Second. Recognizing that internal rhyme is most common in the *cantigas d'amigo* in aaB and also occurs in related forms such as aaBBB and aaaBB we must at least ask if this affects the long-standing argument over the origins of rhymed strophic poetry in Andalusí Arabic and the Romance languages. Do aaB texts with internal rhyme in one or both periods reflect an old native tradition? If so, they could seem to support the thesis that rhyme originated in the Romance languages.

We don't know where Calheiros learned the technique of double internal rhyme, but Lopo Lias declares that his song is a *son de negra*.²⁰ The evidence in the *cantigas d'amigo* nevertheless supports the hypothesis that the general forms aaaBB and aaBBB belong to a local tradition of strophic design which sometimes utilized verses with two cola where the end of the first (*inner*) colon was marked by both a pause (*which requires hiatus*) and an internal rhyme.²¹ The reference to a Moor-

19 Cohen (2010c, 2014: 76-79). On this analysis, there is internal rhyme in the refrain of six texts of Calheiros. Nos. 1 and 4 (both aaBB) do not have two cola in either period. Nos. 3 and 8 use two cola in both periods.

20 On the Provençal technique of *cobras ternas* in Calheiros 1, see Cohen (2013a: 20-22).

21 The strength of the colon boundary is confirmed by the rule that hiatus is required there. This is evident from many instances of hiatus at this point which are present in the manuscripts. But it is even more neatly demonstrated by the emendations which can be confirmed by the rule. Wrongly elided vowels before or after the colon boundary should be restored *metri causa* in the following cases: **Before the colon boundary:** Nuno Fernandez Torneol 1 *do meu amor e do voss<o> | en ment'avian* III.2, V.1; *do meu amor e do voss<o> | i enmentavan* IV.2, VI.1; Nuno Fernandez Torneol 6 *Trist' anda, mha madr<e>, | o meu amigo* I.1; Martin Codax 3 *e verrá i mha madr<e> | e o meu amigo* III.2; *e verrá i mha madr<e> | e o meu amado* IV.2. **After the colon boundary:** Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 8 *Que non lh'esteveys'eu triste, | <e> cedo se tornaria* III.1; *Que non lh'esteveys'eu triste, | <e> tarda e non mi ven* IV.1; Johan Soarez Coelho 11 *Ai meu amigo, | <a>se vejades*; Johan Soarez Coelho 12 *a la fonte | <e> paguei m'eu delos* I.2; *A la fonte | <e> paguei m'eu deles* III.1. Bernal de Bonaval 7 *Rogar vos quer'eu, mha madre | <e> mha senhor* I.1.

ish form hardly elucidates the *early* history of rhymed strophic poetry in medieval Europe. How could the poet suspect that strophic composition in a “Moorish tune” might ultimately derive from archaic Romance strophic design? Yet some evidence for this thesis may be found in Galician-Portuguese aaB and kindred forms.

The form **aaB**, with two cola and internal rhymes throughout, probably expanded by adding one verse to each period: **aaB** > **aaaBB**. This is identical to a popular Arabic form of the *zajal*, which in our notation is essentially **aaabb** with *cobras singulares* (a different a-rhyme in each strophe) and verses with cola and internal rhymes throughout, with an initial **bb** preceding the song, thus: **bb aaabb**, etc.²² Yet **aaaBB** is not found in any *cantiga d’amigo*. That is striking because all five stages in the development of the prototype of the *zajal* are documented in aaB in this genre.²³ We seem to be looking back through time at the prehistory of rhymed strophic song in Europe. But how do we explain how the stem-strophe aaB and evidence for its step by step evolution happen to be found Romance in an isolated and archaic poetic tradition?

This question can only be answered by scholars expert in both Arabic and Romance and competent to evaluate the history of strophic forms, including the evidence in Galician-Portuguese. Federico Corriente notes that the history of distichs with various kinds of internal rhyme is documented in Arabic before Al-Andalus produced couplets and then complex strophic designs in *zajals* and *muwashshaat*. He thinks it unlikely that Galician-Portuguese aaB represents an independent development and believes Mozarabs could have moved north at an early period carrying with them poetry borrowed from Arabic and implanted that tradition in the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula. This is possible, even probable. But it should be stressed that Corriente also says that the varieties of aaB seen in the *cantigas d’amigo* reflect a historical development which exactly parallels the evolution in Arabic, from distich to distich with cola, then to distichs with inner rhyme, and thence to larger strophes with more verses constructed along the same lines.²⁴ Given this startling parallel

22 I depend here on Corriente (2009) (who argues that rhymed strophic poetry spreads from Arabic to Romance). In *aaaBB cantigas d’amigo* we find stages 2, 3 and 4 (as defined above) in Fernand’ Esquio 4, Pero Mafaldo 2, and Johan Servando 1 (see Appendix 4 for the texts).

23 The history of the *zajal* in Andalusí Arabic goes back to an even earlier form, the early 10th-century *proto-zajal*, aa – a distich without refrain (Corriente, 2009: 118). This phase is documented in the *cantigas d’amigo*: Pero Meogo 3, which has assonant internal rhyme in the first three strophes (Cohen, 2014b: 23-24 and 32): *Tal vai o meu amigo, | con amor que lh’eu dei, / come cervo ferido | de monteiro del rei* (vv. 1-2). Corriente thinks that “old *zajals* must have evolved from couplets (aa), to inner rhymed couplets (aabb), to more complicated structures” (personal communication, 2009; Arabic aabb would be **aa** in our notation, with vertical internal internal rhyme, just as in Meogo 3, strophes I-III).

24 Federico Corriente (to whose personal and scientific generosity I am deeply indebted), personal communications, 2001-2015. See notes 17, 23, 24, above.

development, not seen in any other Romance language, Galician-Portuguese forms would then be either the earliest and most direct heirs of rhymed strophic poetry in Arabic or else evidence for the thesis that that Andalusí Arabic poets borrowed strophic song with rhymes from Romance. No matter what the answer is, the evidence from the *cantigas d'amigo*, based on a fresh analysis of the strophic design of scores of texts, begs an explanation.

Third. The internal rhymes in the middle verse of the refrain of Calheiros 7 are not randomly placed. Each comes at the end of a cola of four syllables: *se me los ei*, | *ca mhos busquei*, | *outros me lhe dei*. It is metrical regularity (two inner cola, each of four syllables ending in the same rhyme-sound) which allows us to confirm the existence of three cola in that verse. Consider the rhyme-pattern in *kharja* H15, with inner rhyme in the first verse, at the colon boundary, but not in the second (text and translation from Corriente, 2009): *GÁR KÉ FARÉYO?/ KÓMO BIBRÉYO?// EŠT+ alḥabib, A(Š) ŠABÉR, POR ÉL MORRÉYO* [Say: what shall I do? How shall I live? I shall die for this darling, you must know this]. Compare the refrain of Johan de Cangas 2: *Pois i non ven*, | *sei ùa ren*: / *por mi se perdeu, que nunca lhi fiz ben*; and the refrain of Pai Gomez Charinho 6: *sobre mar ven* | *quen frores d'amor ten*; / *mirarei, madre, as torres de Geen*. These and other metrical and para-metrical parallels suggest a genetic relationship in formal design between *kharjas* and certain refrains in the *cantigas d'amigo*.

Appendix 1: Examples of the five main types of aaB strophes in the *cantigas d'amigo* (Cohen, 2016) followed by two additional variants relevant to the analysis.

1. *Simplex* (33 texts)

Pero Garcia Buralês 1
aaB (x4): 6' || 5

Ai madre, ben vos digo,
mentiu mh o meu amigo,
sanhuda lh' and' eu.

2. *Cola in first period, no inner rhyme* (36 texts)

Pero de Berdia 3, vv.1-3
aaB (x3): 13' [6'+6'] || 7'

Deu-lo sabe, coitada | vivo mais ca soía,
ca se foi meu amigo, | e ben vi, quando s' ia,
ca se perderia migo.

3. *Cola throughout, no inner rhyme (3 texts)*

Pero Meogo 5, vv. 7-10

aaB (x6): 11' [5'+5']

Vai lavar cabelos | na fontana fria;
 passou seu amigo, | que lhi ben quera;
leda dos amores, | dos amores leda.

4. *Cola in first period, inner rhyme in refrain (18 texts)*

Pero de Veer 5

aaB (x1): 15' [7'+7'] || 14 [7+7]

Assanhei me vos, amigo, | per bõa fe, con sandece,
 como se molher assanha | a quen lho nunca merece,
mais, se mi vos assanhei, | desassanhar mi vos ei.

5. *Cola with inner rhyme throughout (10 texts)*

Johan de Requeixo 5, vv.1-3

aaB (x3): 15' [7'+7']

Amiga, quen oje ouvesse | mandado do meu amigo
 e lhi ben dizer podesse | que vëesse falar migo
ali u sempre quera | falar mig' e non podia.

Two other variants of aaB may support our reading of the strophic design of Calheiros 7. One of these uses cola and internal rhyme only in the refrain. In the other neither period has verses made up of cola, but there is an internal rhyme placed emphatically (with enjambment) in the first two syllables.

1. *No cola in first period, but cola with internal rhyme in refrain: 1 text.*

Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 6

aaB (x3): 12 || 12 [6+6]

Estava meu amig' atenden<d>' e chegou
 mha madr' e fez m' end' ir tal que mal me pesou;
alá me tornarei | e i lo_atenderei.

2. *No cola in either period but an internal rhyme in the refrain: 3 texts (of which two are the work of Calheiros and the third is Fernan Fernandez Cogominho 2 veer, veerei i mui gran prazer):*

Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 3

aaB (x3): 9'9 || 11

Agora vëo o meu amigo
e quer se log'ir e non quer migo
estar; ave-l' ei ja sempr' a desejar.

Appendix 2: Transcription of the refrain of Calheiros 7 as presented in all three strophes by both manuscripts. (In strophes II and II the refrain is truncated, as was the usual practice in *B* and *V* for refrains of more than one verse. Angelo Colocci regularly (in *B*) marks the beginning of the refrain with a sign to the left of the first letter, but here (in the first strophe) he marks the first and fifth lines in this way. Since the fifth line appears in *B* as the first line copied at the top of the left-and column of fol. 138v, Colocci's mark there may be a reminder to himself that this verse [our v. 3] belongs to a refrain. In neither manuscript could the second verse of the refrain have been copied on a single line. But evidently the exemplar— whether the same or not— of each manuscript already presented the verse on three short lines.)

V 233 f. 33v

I

ay madre os se9 amores ey
seme los ey
camhos busq'y
out's melhe dey
ay madre se9 amor's ey

II

ay madre se9 amores ey

III

ay madre os seus amores ey

B 632 f. 138r-v

I

Ay madre os se9 amores ey
 Seme los ey
 Camhos busq'y
 Outros me lhe dey
 Ay madre se9 amores ey

II

Ay madro se9 amores ey

III

Ay madre os se9 amores ey

Appendix 3: aaBBB refrains in the *cantigas d'amigo* where the third verse repeats the first verse. (The closest parallels here to Calheiros 7 are Meogo 8, Gñizo 3 and Gñizo 6 since in those texts, in addition to the repetition of the rhyme-word, the middle verse of the refrain scans longer than the outer ones.)

Fernan Rodriguez de Calheiros 7

**ai madre, os seus amores ei;
 se me los ei, ca mhos busquei, outros me lhe dei;
 ai madre, <os> seus amores ei.**

Airas Carpancho 3

**e moiro agora, querendo lhi ben;
 non lhi falei, ca o tiv' en desden;
 moiro eu, madre, querendo lhi ben.**

Garcia Soares 1

**– Eu <mh>o fiz, madre, que lho defendi,
 se m' el non viu quando se foi daqui,
 eu mho fiz, madre, que lho defendi.**

Garcia Soarez 2

**demandar lh' ei que se veja migo;
 se vëer, madre, o meu amigo,
 demandar lh' ei que se veja migo.**

Pero Meogo 8

**poilo cervo i ven
esta fonte seguíde a ben
poilo cervo i ven.**

Martin Padrozelos 1

**pois <que> mi mentiu o que namorei,
nunca ja mais per amor creerei,
pois que mi mentiu o que namorei.**

Martin de Gũzo 3

**e louçana irei,
ca ja i est' o que namorei,
e louçana irei.**

Martin de Gũzo 5

**o meu amigo, e ten se por morto
e, se s' assanha, non faz i torto
o meu amigo, e ten se por morto.**

Martin de Gũzo 6

**na ermida do Soveral
u m' el fez muitas vezes coitada estar,
na ermida do Soveral.**

Appendix 4: aaaBB texts in the *cantigas d'amigo* (the sign | indicates the inner colon boundary).

(These are the only texts in this genre that use aaaBB and yet they document three of five hypothetical stages in the development of strophic technology seen in aaB forms [above, *ad initium*; the first stage (simplex) and the last (double rhymes throughout) are missing; see Cohen, 2014a]. The text is taken from Cohen (2003) but the colometry of Johan Servando 1 has been corrected as in Cohen, 2010b. Here I have corrected *fezia* [BV] to *fazia* in Mafaldo 2, v. 1, and reverted to *fiz* [BV] in Servando 1, v. 6.)

Stage 2 (cola in the first period only; no internal rhyme): Fernand' Esquio 4.

– Que adubastes, amigo, | alá en Lug' u andastes,
ou qual é essa fremosa | de que vós vos namorastes?
– Direi volo eu, senhora, | pois m' én tan ben preguntastes:
o amor que eu levei de Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo. 5

– Que adubastes, amigo, | u tardastes noutro dia,
ou qual é essa fremosa | que vos tan ben parecia?
– Direi volo <eu>, senhora, | pois i tomastes perfia:
o amor que eu levei <de Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo.> 10

– Que adubastes, amigo, | lá u avedes tardado,
ou qual é essa fremosa | de que sodes namorado?
– Direi volo eu, senhora, | pois me avedes preguntado:
o amor que eu levei de <Santiago a Lugo,
esse mh adux' e esse mh adugo.> 15

Stage 3 (cola in both periods; no internal rhyme): Pero Mafaldo 2.

O meu amig', amiga, | que me gran ben fazia,
fez me preit' e menage | que ante me veria
que se fosse, e vai s' ora | de carreira sa via,
e sempre mh assi mente, | non á de mi vergonha:
non me viu mais d' un dia | e vai s' a Catalonha. 5

Nunca vistes, amiga, | quen tal amigo visse,
ca me jurou que nunca | se ja de mi partisse,
e mais foron de cento | mentiras que m' el disse,
e sempre mh assi mente, | non á de mi <vergonha:
non me viu mais d' un dia | e vai s' a Catalonha.> 10

Non sabedes, amiga, | como m' ouve jurado
que nunca se partisse | de mi sen meu mandado,
e mentiu me cen veces | e mais o perjurado,
e sempre <mh assi mente, | non á de mi <vergonha:
non me viu mais d' un dia | e vai s' a Catalonha.> 15

Stage 4 (cola in both periods; internal rhyme in refrain): Johan Servando 1.

Quand' eu a San Servando | fui un dia daqui
 faze-la romaria | e meu amig' i vi,
 direi vos con verdade | quant' eu del entendi:
muito venho pagada | de quanto lhi falei;
mais á m' el namorada | que nunca lhi guarrei. 5

Que bõa romaria | con meu amigo fiz,
 ca lhi dix', a Deus grado, | quanto lh' eu dizer quix
 e dixi lh' o gran torto | que sempre dele prix:
muito venho pagada | de quanto lhi fa<lei;
mais á m' el namorada | que nunca lhi guarrei. 10

U el falou comigo, | disse m' esta razon:
 por Deus, que lhi faria? | e dixi lh' eu enton:
 "Averei de vós doo | <e>no meu coraçõn;"
mui<to venho pagada | de quanto lhi falei;
mais á m' el namorada | que nunca lhi guarrei.> 15

Nunca m' eu desta ida | acharei se non ben,
 ca dix' a meu amigo | a coita 'n que me ten
 o seu amor, e cuido | que vai ledo por en:
muito venho pagada | <de quanto lhi falei;
mais á m' el namorada | que nunca lhi guarrei.> 20

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