

Colometry and Internal Rhyme in Vidal, *Judeu d'Elvas*.

Rip Cohen
(Johns Hopkins University)

In memoriam LSP

Abstract

This paper presents a new analysis of the complex strophic forms used by Vidal, *Judeu d'Elvas*, in his two fragmentary *cantigas d'amor*. Instead of the strophes with short verses and unique rhyme schemes seen by Stegagno Picchio (1962), this analysis detects known forms, aaaBB and aaabBB, with long verses and internal rhymes. These forms are closely akin to those of the Andalusí Arabic *zajal*, thus providing further proof of the exotic character of Vidal's poetics, already highlighted by Stegagno Picchio.

1. Internal rhyme and strophic design

Analysis of strophic design, or colometry, is of fundamental importance in the critical editing of Galician-Portuguese lyric.¹ And internal rhymes, which are related to the general question of long verses, have proved problematic for editors of the *cantigas d'amigo*, who have long argued over how to handle both the general question and specific texts.² In some cases there is help from the manuscripts (a scribe has copied one or more long verses – or tried, but failed for want of space) or from the annotations of Angelo Colocci in B (which were probably based on the exemplar and so are not merely equivalent to the opinions of any other scholar). If in many instances these aids are lacking, we are not therefore relieved of our responsibility as editors to analyze strophic design. In general, long verses could not be copied in the narrow columns that characterize our manuscripts; so even though we can be thankful for the few long verses that have been copied out as such, the absence of manuscript evidence in any given case does not tell against the possibility of long verses. Cohen (2003: 43) argues: (1) that all *cantigas d'amigo* which Nunes (1926–1928) prints as abcbDD should be analyzed as either aa**B**, with long verses throughout and internal rhyme (indicated here by **bold**) in the refrain, or as aaBB, with long verses in the distich and two short rhyming verses in the refrain; (2) that many poems which Nunes prints as ababCC in short verses should be taken as aa**B** with long verses and internal rhyme throughout, or as aaBB with long verses and internal rhymes in the body of the strophe but not in the refrain (cf. Billy, 2010).³ Here I will briefly consider some general matters, then try to show that an understanding of internal rhyme furnishes a key to the analysis of complex strophic forms in the two fragmentary *cantigas d'amor* of Vidal, *judeu d'Elvas*, a poet already edited and studied in exemplary form by Luciana Stegagno Picchio (1962).⁴

2. Inner colon and internal rhyme

¹ I mean the secular lyric; the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* cannot be considered here. Metrical scansion is provided only where deemed necessary. Familiarity with equivalences of the type 7' = 8 is assumed.

² Regular internal rhymes normally occur only in verses with a minimum of 11 and a maximum of 16' syllables. Numbering and (except where indicated) texts of the *cantigas d'amigo* are from Cohen (2003). Numerous notes there deal with specific texts where different analyses are possible. An exhaustive study of those problems requires separate treatment.

³ Cohen (2003) not infrequently chooses aaBB instead of aa**B**, and ababCC rather than aa**B**, etc. On the historical development of strophic forms in the *cantigas d'amigo*, see Cohen (2005a).

⁴ Hereinafter I cite from the last version of the edition of Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 63–90).

Except in the rarest of cases, the principles of external and internal resposion obtain in Galician Portuguese lyric: within a song, all strophes should have the same design; within a strophe, all corresponding sections – whether verses, cola or both – should have the same design.⁵ When a verse has two cola (metrical ‘limbs’), the boundary of the first may be signalled either by word-break (e.g., Vinhal 1: 6’ + 4 = 11) or by word-break and rhyme (e.g., Requeixo 2: 5’ [or 6] + 7’ [or 8] = 13’ [or 14]).⁶ Inner cola delimited by rhyme are not complete verses – any more than those marked only by word-break. In Nuno Treez 3, an inner colon boundary (in the body of the strophe) that has been signalled only by a word-break and cadence in the first four strophes is unexpectedly transformed in strophes V-VI into an inner colon boundary marked by rhyme.⁷

Non vou eu a San Clemenço | orar, e faço gran razon,
ca el non mi tolhe a coita | que trago no meu coraçom,
nen mh aduz o meu amigo, | pero lho rog’ e lho digo.

Non vou eu a San Clemenço, | nen el non se nembra de min,
nen mh aduz o meu amigo, | que sempr’ amei des que o vi, 5
nen mh aduz o <meu amigo, | pero lho rog’ e lho digo.>

Ca se el<e> m’ adussesse | o que me faz pãad’ andar,
nunca tantos estadaes arderan | ant’ o seu altar,
nen mh aduz <o> meu <amigo, | pero lho rog’ e lho digo.>

Ca se el<e> m’ adussesse | o por que eu moiro d’ amor, 10
nunca tantos estadaes arderan | ant’ o meu senhor,
nen mh aduz <o> meu <amigo, | pero lho rog’ e lho digo.>

Pois eu e<n> mha voontade | de o non veer son ben fis,
que porrei par caridade | ant’ el candeas de Paris? 15
nen mh aduz <o> meu amigo, | <pero lho rog’ e lho digo.>

En mi tolher meu amigo | filhou comigo perfia,
por end’ arderá, vos digo, | ant’ el lume de bogia,
nen mh aduz <o> meu <amigo, | pero lho rog’ e lho digo.>

[I’m not going to San Clemenço to pray, and it’s only right,
Since he doesn’t take away the yearning that I feel in my heart,
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.

I’m not going to San Clemenço, nor does he remember me,
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, whom I’ve always loved, since first sight,
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.

⁵ The terms were coined by Maas (1962: 23–24). Cohen (2010) argues that the expression *cantar igual*, found in several texts, refers to the principle of external resposion.

⁶ Normally, the cadence is the same (masculine or feminine) at an internal colon boundary (Vinhal 1), but it need not be (Requeixo 2), provided the syllable count is identical. See Cohen (2003: 44–47); Parkinson (2005: 19–23, 45–56). In Requeixo 2, vv. 5–6, there is an error in Cohen (2003: 524), since *desejei* (v. 5) does not rhyme with *deu* (v. 6) at the inner colon boundary. We should either read *desej’ eu* with the manuscripts (assuming an unusual *consecutio temporum*) or, if we feel that the sequence of tenses requires the emendation *desejei*, we must change *deu* to *dei*, the archaic third person singular perfect derived directly from Latin *dedit*. See Williams (1938: 220 [§183.3]). A scribe might have replaced the unfamiliar form with the standard one, prompting the (hypothetical) switch from an original *deseiei* to *deseieu*.

⁷ Hereinafter, a vertical bar | indicates the end of an inner colon, whether or not it is marked by rhyme. The translations are mine.

'Cause if he brought me the one who makes me go around yearning,
Never would so many candles have burned before his altar;
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.

'Cause if he brought me the one for whom I'm dying of love,
Never would so many candles have burned before my lord;
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.

Since I've decided not to go see him, and will stand firm,
Why should I put Parisian candles before him, for goodness' sake?
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.

He really defied me by taking my boyfriend away from me,
And so what will burn before him, I'll tell you, will be cheap wax,
Nor does he bring me my boyfriend, though I ask him, though I plead.]

In this text the rhyme scheme switches from **aaB** (I-IV) to **aaB** (V-VI).⁸ But we obviously do not on that basis alter our analysis of verse-design in the first four strophes, breaking the lines at the colon boundary.

Some of the more subtle uses of internal rhyme (subtle enough to have eluded most scholars) should convince sceptics that rhyme does not necessarily signify the end of a verse. Consider Bolseiro 11, where in each strophe an internal rhyme in the fourth and fifth syllables of the first verse matches the end rhyme of the fourth verse (Cohen 2003: 410, note).⁹

Ai meu **amigo**, meu, per bõa fe,
e non d' outra, per bõa fe, mais meu,
rog' eu a Deus, que mi vos oje deu,
que vos faça tan ledo seer **migo**
quan leda fui oj' eu, quando vos vi, 5
ca nunca foi tan leda pois naci.

Bon dia **vejo**, pois vos vej' aqui,
meu amigo, meu, a la fe, sen al;
faça vos Deus ledo, que pod' e val,
seer migo, meu ben e meu **desejo**, 10
quan leda <fui oj' eu, quando vos vi,
ca nunca foi tan leda pois naci.>

Meu gasal**hado**, se mi valha Deus,
e amigo meu e meu coração,
faça vos Deus en algũa sazõ 15
seer migo tan led' e tan **pagado**
quan leda fui oj' eu, <quando vos vi,
ca nunca foi tan leda pois naci.>

[Oh my friend, mine, in good faith,
And not another's, in good faith, but mine!
I pray to God, who gave you to me today,
That he make you be as happy with me
As I was happy today when I saw you
'Cause I've never been so happy since I was born.

It's a happy day for me since I see you here,

⁸ The use, in the last strophe, of an internal rhyme identical to the internal and end rhymes of the refrain must be intentional. The analysis by verses, with the internal and end rhyme of each verse grouped together, would be: ab ab aa. This may in itself be an old strophic form with internal rhyme, presumably borrowed from Andalusí Arabic (see note 27, below).

⁹ Various scholars have said the first verse of each strophe ends in a *palavra perduda*; only Lapa noticed the inner rhyme (see Cohen 2003: 410).

My friend, mine, in faith, and nobody else's;
 May God, who has the power and might, make you
 Be as happy with me, my love and my desire,
 As I was happy today when I saw you
 'Cause I've never been so happy since I was born.

My comfort, so help me God,
 And my friend and my sweetheart,
 May God some day make you
 Be as pleased and happy with me
 As I was happy today when I saw you
 'Cause I've never been so happy since I was born.]

Here we evidently do not break the first verse of each strophe at the internal rhyme (which does not even mark a regular colon-break, since there is none in this *cantiga*). These examples lend no weight to the notion that a rhyme must indicate the end of a verse.¹⁰

3. Vertical and horizontal internal rhymes

An internal rhyme, then, normally marks and delimits an inner colon, but we should distinguish two kinds of internal rhyme, which I will call *vertical* and *horizontal*. Vertical internal rhyme occurs when the internal and final rhyme sounds are the same, respectively, as corresponding rhymes in corresponding verses (e.g., abab > **aa**).¹¹ In horizontal internal rhyme, inner rhyme is identical to end rhyme in the same verse (e.g., aaaa > **aa**).

When internal rhymes occur throughout a *cantiga d'amigo* they tend to be vertical in the body of the strophe but horizontal in the refrain. The many texts which Nunes prints as ababCC but which would be better analyzed as **aaB** typify this tendency and show the mechanisms of vertical and horizontal rhyme in their simplest form. But in **aaB** there is no room for anything but a horizontal rhyme in the refrain; only in a somewhat larger form, at least as big as **aaBB**, is there enough space in the refrain for vertical rhymes to develop. Take the case of Servando 1, where Monaci (1875: 1–2) correctly saw that the refrain should consist of two long verses:¹²

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 pag**ada** | de quanto lhi falei;
 mais á m' el namor**ada** | que nunca lhi guarrei. 5

Que bõa romaria | con meu amigo fix,
 ca lhi dix', a Deus grado, | quanto lh' eu dizer quix
 e dixi lh' o gran torto | que sempre dele prix:
 muito venho pag**ada** | de quanto lhi fa<lei;
 mais á m' el namor**ada** | 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 coraçon";
 mui<to venho pag**ada** | de quanto lhi falei;
 mais á m' el namor**ada** | que nunca lhi guarrei.> 15

Nunca m' eu desta ida | acharei se non ben,

¹⁰ We find even more unusual instances of internal rhyme in Guilhade 2 and Johan Airas 26. See Cohen (2003: 131, 563–564, and notes). In both cases the pattern had gone unnoticed.

¹¹ Here and in the following discussion the sign > means “are combined to yield”; the sign < means “can be broken down into”.

¹² Cohen (2003: 369) prints the refrain in four short verses, but acknowledges that Monaci may be right.

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

[When I went to San Servando one day
On a pilgrimage, and saw my boyfriend there,
I'll tell you truthfully what I understood:
I come back very happy, for all I said to him;
And he wooed me so well that I'll never recover.

What a fine pilgrimage I went on with my boy
'Cause I told him, thank God, all I wanted to say
And I told him the great wrong he's always done to me.
I come back very happy, for all I said to him;
And he wooed me so well that I'll never recover.

When he spoke with me, he put it to me this way:
By God, what would I do to him? And I told him then:
"I'll have mercy on you with all my heart."
I come back very happy, for all I said to him;
And he wooed me so well that I'll never recover.

I'll never feel anything but joy about this trip
'Cause I told my boy the love-sorrow he makes me feel
By loving me, and I think he's happy for that.
I come back very happy, for all I said to him;
And he wooed me so well that I'll never recover.]

Here rhymes occur only in the refrain, precisely at the colon boundary defined in the body of the strophe, and they are vertical: **aaBB** < **aaBCBC** ($a^{13}a^{13}a^{13}B^{13}B^{13}$ < $a^{6+6}a^{6+6}a^{6+6}B^6C^6B^6C^6$). In Bonaval 5, another text with internal rhymes only in the refrain, the rhymes are horizontal (**aaBB** < **aaBBBB**).¹³

There also appear to be instances of internal rhyme in the body of the strophe followed by a refrain with metrically determined colon boundaries, but without rhyme. *CEM* 353 (Pero da Ponte), usually given as $a^7b^7a^7b^7a^7b^7C^{14}C^{14}$ (*Rep.* 69.1), can better be interpreted as **aaBB** (cf. Panunzio [1967] 1992: 156). And in *CEM* 351 (Pero da Ponte), where editors have seen $a^7b^7a^7b^7C^{15}C^{15}$ (*Rep.* 99.61, 78.1; Panunzio 1992: 151), an overall design $a^{15}a^{15}B^{15}B^{15}$ may be lurking.

Only vertical internal rhymes can run throughout an entire song, appearing in both the body of the strophe and the refrain (**aaBB** < **ababCDDC** [Pai Calvo 1]). The horizontal equivalent does not occur (no ***aaaaBBBB** > **aaBB**). When the direction of the internal rhyme switches within a song, it switches from vertical (body of the strophe) to horizontal (refrain), as in Vinhal 1 (**aaBB** < **ababCCCC**), not the other way round (no ***aaaaBCBC** > **aaBB**).¹⁴

To summarize, we find: 1) regular (metrically determined) cola without rhyme in the body of the strophe, then internal rhymes (horizontal or vertical) in the refrain; 2) vertical rhymes in the body of the strophe but only colon boundaries in the refrain; 3) internal rhymes throughout the strophe, either maintaining a vertical direction or switching to horizontal in the refrain (as in the paradigmatic **aaB** < **ababCC**).¹⁵

¹³ In Bonaval 5, verses reach the limit of 16 syllables. Compare Treez 1: $a^8b^8a^8b^8C^8C^8C^8C^8$ > $a^{16}a^{16}B^{16}B^{16}$ (in his other three *cantigas* Treez uses only **aaB** or **aaB** < **aaBB**).

¹⁴ Cohen (2003: 191) prints Vinhal 1 in short verses, but the strophic form is better analyzed as consisting of long verses with internal rhymes. Berdia 4, given by Cohen (2003: 352) as **ababCCC**, should probably be **aaBB**, with variation in the first colon of the refrain.

¹⁵ *CEM* 257 and 259 (Lopo Liãs), both printed as **ababCCDD** (*Rep.* 72.1), should be **aaBC**, shifting from vertical to horizontal internal rhymes. In Andalusí Arabic metrical notation, which presupposes an initial refrain (and so seems to build up from the bottom) and lists all rhymes in order, the schema for these two *cantigas* would be: **cdcd aabb**. (At *CEM* 257. 8, where Lapa has disregarded an authentic reading in the

4. The strophes of Vidal

Colometric questions of the kind discussed above come into play mainly with the *cantigas d' amigo*. In the other two main genres of the secular lyric such questions rarely arise, since there are few texts where internal rhyme is a possibility. The two fragmentary *cantigas d'amor* of Vidal are among the most outstanding unrecognized examples.

The rubric that precedes these songs has acquired a fame all its own. For instance, it is with this rubric that Oliveira (1994: 13–14) begins his book on the manuscript tradition and its relationship to the chronology, geography and social station of the poets. Michaëlis (1904: II, 252), Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 63–65) and Oliveira are all inclined to think that D. Pedro, Conde de Barcelos, was responsible for the rubric (note *mandamolo screver* [“we ordered it to be copied”]):

Estas duas cantigas fez hũu judeu d'Elvas que avia nome Vidal, por amor d'ũa judia de ssa vila que avia nome Dona. E por que é ben que o ben que home faz sse non perça, mandamolo screver; e non sabemos mais dela<s> mais de duas cobras, a primeira cobra de cada hũa.

[These two songs were made by a Jew of Elvas whose name was Vidal, for the love of a Jewess whose name was Dona. And since it is only right that the good that a man does not be lost, we have ordered them copied; and we know no more of them than two strophes, the first strophe of each one.]

Stegagno Picchio's edition, one of the first Italian monographic editions of the post-war era, established a model of critical editing and interpretation. Still, questions regarding strophic design have remained. She proposes (1982: I, 82–85), not without hesitation, strophic forms that are enormous by Galician-Portuguese standards, with ten and twelve verses, respectively, and highly complex metrical and rhyme schemes. Both *schemata* would be unique in the corpus (we should remember that *Rep.* had not yet been published):

(1) a⁶ b⁶ a⁶ b⁶ a⁶ b⁶ c⁷ C⁷ D⁷ C⁷ (Rep. 71.1)

(2) a⁸ b⁶ a⁸ b⁶ a⁸ b⁶ a⁸ c⁶ D⁸ C⁶ D⁸ C⁷ (Rep. 64.1)

This analysis has been widely accepted.¹⁶ If, however, we take the short verses to be cola of long verses with internal rhyme (lacking only in v. 5 of the first *cantiga*), we can then see the outline of familiar forms:

(1) **aaaBB** (Rep. 16)

(2) **aaabBB** (Rep. 19)

Similar forms deploy internal rhymes in two *cantigas d'escarnho* of Lopo Liãs (*CEM* 256, 257). In one of them (*CEM* 256) the poet calls his song “este son de negrada” [“this darkies' melody”], an expression that both Lapa (*CEM*, s.v. *negrada*) and Pellegrini (1969: 8–9) take to mean a southern melody (“toada mourisca” [“Moorish melody”], says Lapa; Pellegrini glosses: “in questa musica da mori” [“in this Moors' melody”]). Ferreira (2005: 93, note 34) argues on musicological grounds that this is correct, and consequently re-analyzes the strophic form as **aaaBB** (< abababCDCD), with long verses and vertical internal rhymes throughout – a schema

manuscripts, we should maintain *odedes* ‘attach’).

¹⁶ Ramos and Gonçalves (1983: 317); Alvar and Beltran (1984: 411–412); Ferreira and Pereiro (1992: 239–241). Indini (1993) does not refer to meter; Tavani (2002: 442–443) offers no new ideas.

identical to a popular form of the Andalusí Arabic *zajal* (on which, see Corriente 1997: 14–17).¹⁷

I would propose, then, the following analysis for Vidal’s songs:¹⁸

Vidal 1 (B 1605 / V 1138) a^{13'} a^{13'} a^{13'} B¹⁴ B¹⁵

Moir’, e faço **dereito**, | por ùa dona d’ **Elvas**
 que me trage **tolheito**, | com’ a quen dan as **ervas**.
 Des que lh’ eu vi o **peito** | branco, dix’ aas sas **servas**:
 “A mha coita non á **par**, | ca sei que me quer **matar**,
 e quer’ eu morrer por ela, | ca me non poss’ én **guardar**”. 5

Amor ei <...

[I’m dying – and it’s only right – for a certain Lady of Elvas
 who’s got me paralyzed, like someone who’s been fed magic herbs.
 After I saw her white breast, I said to her serving girls:
 “My yearning has no equal, ’cause I know she wants to kill me,
 and I will die for her, since I can’t prevent it”.

I’m in love...]

Vidal 2 (B 1606 / V 1139) a^{14'} a^{14'} a^{14'} b^{14'} B^{15'} B^{15'}

Faz m’ agora por si **morrer** | e tras me mui **coitado**
 mha senhor do bon **parecer** | e do cos bem **talhado**,
 a por que ei mort’ a **prender** | come cervo **lançado**,
 que se vai do mund’ a **perder** | da companha das **cervas**.
 E mal dia non ensandeci | e pasesse das **ervas** 5
 e non viss’, u primeiro **vi**, | a mui fremosinha d’ **Elvas**.

Oimais a morrer me **conven**, | ca tan **coitado sejo**
 pola mha senhor do bon **sen**, | que am’ e que **desejo**,
 e que me parece tan **ben** | cada que a eu **vejo**,
 que semelha rosa que **ven** | quando sal d’ antr’ as **relvas**. 10
 E mal dia non ensandeci | <e pasesse das **ervas**
 e non viss’, u primeiro **vi**, | a mui fremosinha d’ **Elvas**>

[She makes me die for her, and she’s got me yearning keenly –
 my Lady of Good Looks, and of the lovely figure,
 the one I have to die for, like a wounded stag
 that leaves the world to die, far from the friendship of does.
 And it’s too bad I didn’t go mad and overdose on herbs,
 so I couldn’t see her that first time – the loveliest Lady of Elvas.

So now I’ll just have to die, so great is my yearning
 for that gentle lady, whom I love and I desire,
 and who looks as good to me, every time I see her,
 as the upcoming rose, when it blossoms in the grasses.
 And it’s too bad I didn’t go mad and overdose on herbs,
 so I couldn’t see her that first time – the loveliest Lady of Elvas.]

¹⁷ The scansion would be: a⁷⁺⁶ a⁷⁺⁶ a⁷⁺⁶ B⁸⁺⁸ B⁸⁺⁸. Billy (2003: 45) sees long verses only in the body of the strophe, not in the refrain.

¹⁸ This analysis assumes that the last two verses of the first song are a refrain. Except for the colometry, I follow the text of Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 79–81), modified according to the norms in Cohen (2003: 59–63). In no. 1, v. 3, *aas* must scan as one syllable (a late pronunciation). In no. 2 the middle strophe is omitted (only an initial *Que* remains) and the extant strophes are referred to here as “first” and “second”. In no. 2, v. 9, I read *parece* with Nunes (1932: 529) instead of *pareç’ er*.

In the first *cantiga*, internal rhymes are vertical in vv. 1–3, then horizontal in v. 4, while v. 5 has no internal rhyme. In the second song, all verses display vertical internal rhymes; but there is some highly unusual technology: the internal rhyme of the fourth verse is the same as the internal rhyme of the first three verses, while its end rhyme matches that of the last two verses. Thus, v. 4 functions as a pivot, linked by rhyme to both parts of the strophe: the internal rhyme swings upwards (to the body of the strophe); the end rhyme, downwards (to the refrain). Or, seen from another angle, the prior sequence of identical internal rhymes in the body of the strophe continues into v. 4 – after which a new rhyme sound takes over in the inner cola of the refrain; while the prior sequence of identical end rhymes is dropped and a new rhyme sound introduced – which will be kept in the refrain. Although this phenomenon is unique in Galician-Portuguese lyric (and would be extraordinary even in a *zajal*), its precise function in the strophic technology appears to guarantee its authenticity and underwrite the colometry.¹⁹

This analysis also explains an apparent metrical problem in the second song. In the edition of Stegagno Picchio, vv. 9 and 21 scan one syllable too many (unless we accept the unlikely elision of a final nasal in *non ensandeci*).²⁰ If, however, we see long instead of short verses, the problem solves itself: in the fifth verse of each strophe the internal rhyme falls on the ninth syllable, while in the sixth verse it falls on the eighth syllable; but since the second colon in the latter verse scans a syllable longer, the two verses in their entirety are of equal measure: $9 + 6' = 15'$ (vv. 5, 11); $8 + 7' = 15'$ (vv. 6, 12). Internal responsion between these two verses is maintained, even though the cola, analyzed vertically, are unequal. This seems to strengthen the case for the colometry proposed here.

But how do we analyze the design of the final verse in the first song? All other verses scan 14 syllables ($13' 13' 13' 14$), but it scans 15.²¹ The apparently offending element is *ela*, at the end of the first colon in v. 5 (*e quer' eu morrer por ela*), where the structure of the strophe so far would have led the audience to anticipate an internal masculine rhyme (*ar*). Instead, the poet delivers the unrhyming *ela*.²² It may be that *ela* intentionally bridges the colon boundary and that its second syllable constitutes an upbeat to the initial accent of the second colon.²³ This presupposes an accentual pattern in the refrain (no upbeat without a beat).²⁴ Although upbeats are rare in Galician-Portuguese lyric (regular accentual patterns being rare), in the *cantigas d'amigo* there appear to be a few examples of upbeats before the beginning of a colon. In Torneol 1, a “clear case of accentual verse design” (Parkinson: 2005: 24–27), there seems to be an upbeat at the beginning of each colon in vv. 1 and 4 (Cohen 2005b), which scan *two* syllables longer than all the others (in the body of the strophe). The meter maintained throughout the rest of the poem is $7' + 4' = 12'$, as in v. 2:

totalas aves do mundo | d'amor dizian

[All the birds in the world are singing of love]

The metrical anomaly in vv. 1 and 4 can plausibly be explained by assuming an upbeat before each colon: $(1 + 7') + (1 + 4') = 14'$. Thus (upbeat underlined; accent on the beat):

¹⁹ Corriente (personal communication, 2009) calls the internal rhyme of v. 4 an “anomaly” relative to the forms of the *zajal*. The phenomenon appears to be integrated in a form meant to create expectation (based on a pattern) and then cause surprise (by changing the pattern).

²⁰ Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 84). To even the syllable counts, Nunes (1932: 528) would delete the initial *e* in our vv. 5 and 11 and *mui* in our vv. 6 and 12 (both ideas are rightly rejected by Stegagno Picchio).

²¹ We could simply accept a difference in scansion between the two verses of the refrain, but most two-verse refrains scan alike; and when they are different, the difference is usually at least two syllables.

²² Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 83) thinks *ela* may have been a *palavra perduda*.

²³ This reformulates a remark of Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 84): “son hétérométrie pourrait se justifier si on attribuait au vers entier valeur de *cauda*”.

²⁴ Cf. Stegagno Picchio (1982: I, 84): “Les vers du *refram* ont des accents internes sur la troisième et la cinquième syllables, avec un mouvement rythmico-musical plus intense.” The refrain displays a trochaic pattern throughout: *Á mha cóita nón a pár, | cá sei qué me quer' matár | é quer' éu morrer por él- | a cá me nón poss' én guardar.*

Levád', amigo, que dormides | as mánhanas frias

[Wake up, my friend, sleeping through the chilly mornings]

In v. 5 of Vidal's second song we could then read:

e quer' eu morrer por el- | a, cá me non poss' en guardar

This perspective explains an apparent metrical problem as part of a *concurrent* accentual pattern (one which operates together with metrical patterning [Parkinson 2005]); it confirms that there is internal resposion between the two verses of the refrain; and it shows that the function of the anomaly is to accent (in a musical sense) the initial syllable of the final colon of the strophe.²⁵

5. *Fiinda*

An analysis that clarifies overall strophic construction ought to be preferred to one that does not. The colometry proposed here makes sense of the overall design of the songs of Vidal, solves what had appeared to be problems, and in one case (Vidal 2, v. 5) shows that what had seemed a problem is really a pivotal feature of form. As with a figure/ground, it is as if we were *seeing* for the first time an object we have been looking at, and which has not changed. Says Wittgenstein (1980: 86): “Das Unbegreifliche ist ja doch, dass sich *nichts* geändert hat, und sich doch *Alles* geändert hat”. [“What is incomprehensible is that *nothing* has changed, and yet *everything* has changed”.] And the forms that Vidal uses are “absolutely *zajal*-like”.²⁶ This provides yet another confirmation of the exotic character of this *trobador*, who lived on a geographic and cultural frontier, far from the poets at court, and probably knew both Andalusí Arabic and Hebrew love poetry (Stegagno Picchio 1982: I, 69–79; Frateschi Vieira 2008). After all, long verses with complex patterns of internal rhyme are, in their way, as exotic in a *cantiga d'amor* as a white breast or a budding rose.²⁷

Manuscripts

B = Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon), cod. 10991.

V = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. lat. 4803.

Bibliography

²⁵ See Parkinson (2005).

²⁶ Federico Corriente (personal communication, 2009). Using standard notation for Arabic poetry, he analyzes Vidal's strophes as follows: (1) bcbebc aaa; (2) cdcdcd cababa. This takes the rhyme pattern sequentially, assuming internal rhymes (in no. 1, the ninth colon is not counted since it has no rhyme).

²⁷ In Galician-Portuguese secular lyric, Vidal's forms are closest to certain strophic forms in *Amigo* and to some used by Lopo Liãs (which probably parody *Amigo* forms). If the simpler *Amigo* strophes with internal rhyme, such as aaB, aaB, are chronologically prior to more complex forms, such as aaBB, we may ask what historical relation the former have to Andalusí Arabic poetry. The simplest strophes with internal rhymes in Galician-Portuguese are formally similar to some *kharjas*. Among the few *kharjas* composed mainly in Romance, see for example H9 (Hebrew series, no. 9) – a clear case of aa < abab, with four metrically equal cola, each consisting of eight syllables (for the text, see Corriente, forthcoming; see also, among *kharjas* partially in Romance, H1, H3, H12, H24 [with H9, a total of 5 out of 26] and, in the Arabic series, A32, A34, A36 [a total of 3 out of 43]). Corriente (forthcoming) observes that “the stanzaic form of the *muwashshah* is nothing but an evolution of the Eastern *tasmūt* (i.e., a *qasīdah* or classical poem in which single-rhymed lines have been divided into segments with independent internal rhymes of their own)” (diacritics missing).

- Alvar, Carlos, and Vicente Beltrán
1984 *Antología de la poesía gallego-portuguesa*. Madrid: Alhambra.
- Billy, Dominique
2003 L'arte delle conessioni nei *trobadores*. In Dominique Billy, Paolo Canettieri, Carlo Pulsoni e Antoni Rossell, *La lirica gallego-portoghese. Saggi di metrica e musica comparata*, 11–111. Roma: Carocci.
2010 Identification des rimes internes et disposition des textes à vers césurés. In *Estudos de edición crítica e lírica gallego-portuguesa*, Mariña Arbor Aldea and Antonio F. Guiadanes (eds.), 299–314. (*Verba*, Anexo 67) Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- CEM = Lapa 1970.
- Cohen, Rip
2003 *500 Cantigas d'Amigo*, edição crítica / critical edition. Porto: Campo das Letras.
2005a In the beginning was the strophe: origins of the *cantiga d'amigo* revealed! In *Modelo: Actas do X Colóquio da Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval*, Ana Sofia Laranjinha and José Carlos Ribeiro Miranda (eds.), 243–255. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto.
2005b Wake up, traitor, and love me again: the poetics of praxis in Torneol 1. *Revista Eletrônica de Estudos Literários*, 1.1. 2005. <http://www.prppg.ufes.br/ppgl/reel/ed01/pdf/RipCohen.pdf>
2010 *Cantar Igual*: External resposion and textual criticism in Galician-Portuguese lyric. *La Corónica* 38 (2): 5–25.
- Corriente, Federico
1997 *Poesía dialectal árabe y romance en Alandalús: cejeles y xarajāt de muwassahāt*. Madrid: Gredos.
Forthcoming The *kharjas*: an updated survey. *Romance Philology*.
- Ferreira, Manuel Pedro
2005 *Cantus Coronatus: 7 Cantigas d'El Rei Dom Dinis*. Kassel: Reichenberger.
- Ferreiro Fernández, Manuel, and Carlos Paulo Martínez Pereiro
1996 *Cantigas d'amigo*. *Antoloxía*. Vigo: Asociación Sócio-Pedagógica Galega.
- Frateschi Vieira, Yara
2008 As cantigas de amor de Vidal, judeu de Elvas. *Metodologias*. http://www.fclar.unesp.br/poslinpor/gtmedieval/publicacoes/serie01_metodologias/metodologias_yara-f-vieira.pdf
- Gonçalves, Elsa, and Maria Ana Ramos
1983 *A lírica gallego-portuguesa: textos escolhidos*. Lisboa: Comunicação.
- Indini, Maria Luísa
1993 Vidal, judeu d'Elvas. In *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani (eds.), 679–680. Lisboa: Caminho.
- Lapa, Manuel Rodrigues
1970 *Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais gallego-portugueses*, edição crítica. 2d ed. Vigo: Editorial Galáxia (1st ed. Coimbra: Editorial Galaxia, 1965) = *CEM*.
- Maas, Paul
1962 *Greek Metre*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Carolina
1904 *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*. 2 vols. Halle a.S.: Max Niemeyer (Reprint: Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional - Casa de Moeda, 1990).
- Monaci, Ernesto
1875 *Cantos de ledino tratti dal grande canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*. Halle a.S.: Tip. d'Ehrh. Karras.
- Nunes, José Joaquim
1926-1928 *Cantigas d'amigo dos trovadores gallego-portugueses*. 3 vols. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade (Reprint: Lisboa, Centro do Livro Brasileiro, 1973).
1932 *Cantigas d'amor dos trovadores gallego-portugueses*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade (Reprint: Lisboa, Centro do Livro Brasileiro, 1972).
- Oliveira, António Resende de
1994 *Depois do Espectáculo Trovadoresco, a estrutura dos cancioneiros peninsulares e as recolhas dos séculos XIII e XIV*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri.
- Panunzio, Saverio

- 1992 *Pero da Ponte. Poesias*. Vigo: Galaxia (Original edition: Bari, Adriatica Editrice, 1967).
- Parkinson, Stephen
 2006 Concurrent patterns of verse design in the Galician-Portuguese lyric. In *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Colloquium*, Jane Whetnall and Alan Deyermond (eds.), 19–38. (Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar) London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London.
- Pellegrini, Silvio
 1969 *Il canzoniere di D. Lopo Liáns*. Napoli: Pubblicazioni della Sezione Romanza dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (Testi, vol. IV = *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli - Sezione romanza XI* [1969]: 155–192).
- Rep.* = Tavani 1967.
- Stegagno Picchio, Luciana
 1962 Le poesie d'amore di Vidal, giudeo di Elvas. *Cultura Neolatina* XXII: 40–61 (= Stegagno Picchio 1979: 68–93 = Stegagno Picchio 1982: I, 63–90).
 1979 *A Lição do texto. Filologia e Literatura. I - Idade Media*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
 1982 *La Méthode philologique. Écrits sur la littérature portugaise*. 2 vols. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português.
- Tavani, Giuseppe
 1967 *Repertorio metrico della lirica galego-portoghese*. (Officina Romanica, 7) Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. = *Rep.*
 2002 *Trovadores e Jograis: introdução à poesia medieval galego-portuguesa*. Lisboa: Caminho.
- Williams, Edwin B.
 1938 *From Latin to Portuguese*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (2nd ed. 1962).
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig
 1980 *Bemerkungen über die Philosophie der Psychologie/Remarks on the Philosophy of Psychology*. Vol. 2. Georg Henrik von Wright and Heikki Nyman (eds.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.