

“Deus, Deus! non me maravillo”. Internal transmission and textual criticism in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria**

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1. Introduction

The four manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are a rare case of a manuscript tradition made up of independent compilations of poems drawn from a central archive¹. This means that the focus of textual criticism has to be the individual poem rather than the manuscript. Previous studies have found evidence of revision (Bertolucci 2000), recomposition (Parkinson 2007), parallel composition (Parkinson 1998, 2014), and merging of separate compositions (Parkinson 2012), all of which point to the complexity of the gestation of the poetic texts. Less attention has been given to the textual variation resulting from the preparation of texts for compilation. In this article we study three poems —*cantigas* 335, 204 and 124— in which the differences between the two extant versions (in MS E and in MS T or MS F) cannot be explained as divergent copyings of a common model, but require the reconstruction of a sequence of intermediate copies, which we term *internal transmission*.

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1 The four manuscripts are: E = Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. b-I-2 (*códice de los músicos*); T = Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms. T-I-1 (*códice rico*); F = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Banco Rari, 20; To = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/10069.

2. *Cantiga* 335

In the standard edition of *cantiga* 335 the first line of the first strophe contains a surprising outburst: “En amar os que ben fazen, | Deus, Deus! non me maravillo” (Mettmann 1986-1989, III: 175). While the punctuation is editorial (Mettmann follows Lapa 1933), the text faithfully reflects MS E. The alternative reading from MS F is hypometric and difficult to interpret: “En amar os que ben fazen | Deus non me maravillo”.

While the narrative of *cantiga* 335 has been studied for its sources², this strange piece of text has attracted no comment. In the *CSM* the only other case of *Deus* being used as an exclamation is the refrain to *cantiga* 182, “Deus que mui ben barata...” (182:R.1). More common are *par Deus* (2, 5, 75, 8, 103, 233, 258), *por Deus* (65, 119, 124, 128, 235, 239, 263, 266) and *ai Deus* (5, 12 repeated for effect and rhyme, 25, 84, 115). Emphatic duplication is also rare: all the other examples are in rhyming position with the duplication serving to complete the line³:

mais los angeos chegaron dizendo: “Estad’, estade!”	45:8.4
e poi-los ouv’ acalçados disse lles: “Estad’, estade!”	175:5.4
que contar non saberia. E diss’ ela: “Estad’, estade”	365:6.4
E a voz, come chorando, dizia: “Ai Deus, ai Deus”	12:3.1
e travou log’ en sa madre dizendo: “Ai eu, ai eu!”	53:6.2

There is good reason to believe the E reading to be corrupt. The curious sequence “Deus Deus” is spread over two pages, the first word being the last form on f. 299v col b (image 1a), and the second being the first on f. 300r col a (image 1b). Having ended the folio with the first word of the second hemistich of 1.1, the copyist then copied the whole of the text line onto the first text line of f. 300r, with the resulting duplication of the word *Deus*. On f. 299v the word is abbreviated *de9*, to avoid the text running beyond the right hand ruling, while on f. 300r, with no such constraints, it is written in full.

In evaluating this part of the text it is important to remember that the copying of the text beneath the staves (underlaid text) was a different operation from the copying of the plain text (running text). The underlaid text was executed before the music was inserted, and possibly from an exemplar which consisted entirely of text (Parkinson 2014). The copyist has inserted a *punctus* before *deus* in the final line of f. 299v: this could be either a metrical point

² Mettmann (1988), Montoya (1999: 220-221).

³ In the first three cases the *-ade* rhyme is the extended rhyme of the refrain and vuelta.

indicating metrical line divisions which do not correspond with the division into staves⁴, or a syntactic point indicating syntactic breaks which do not coincide with the line breaks, which suggests that in the exemplar, or its antecedent, the opening strophe was laid out in short lines (hemistichs). On f. 300r there are seven short text lines inserted under seven staves, suggesting that the organiser expected f. 300r to begin with line 1.1b.

It should also be noted that the two folios concerned, f. 299 and f. 300, are part of two separate bifolia, nos 4 and 3 of quire 39 (figure 1):

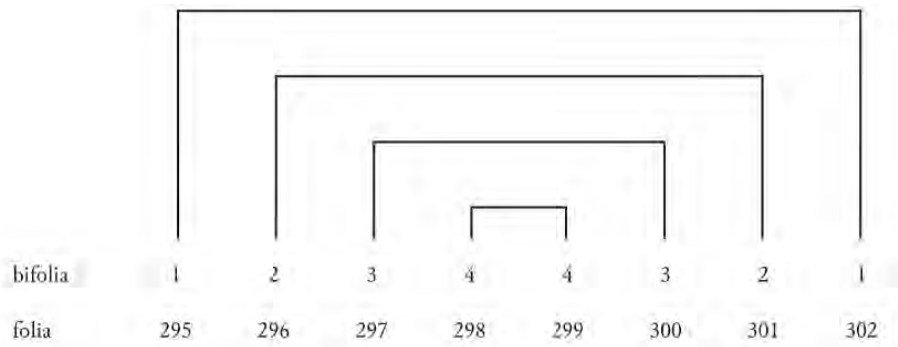


Figure 1. Quire 39

If the text was executed separately on each bifolium (rather than the copyist handling the entire quire as a unit) the copyist would have to remove bifolium 4 before continuing copying on bifolium 3⁵.

Our reconstructed master copy for E, with a single occurrence of *deus*, is textually identical to the copy in F. In F (f. 127v, image 2), the poem has a different page layout, with a single column of staves above three columns of text. As several long text lines appear on each stave, the metrical point is used only to mark the end of the long lines. The text under discussion *En amar os que ben fazen Deus non me maravillo* appears in the centre of the third stave, which confirms the hypothesis that the duplication in E is caused by the interruption of the copying.

⁴ As is the point separating *bondade* and *cõ* on stave 2 of f. 300r. See Montoya (2000) for the uses of the *punctus* in the CSM.

⁵ Avenoza (2016) suggests that MS E was copied as uncut quaternions.



Image 1. MS E *cantiga* 335, underlaid text, Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms b-I-2, ff. 299v/300r. <<https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/11338>>

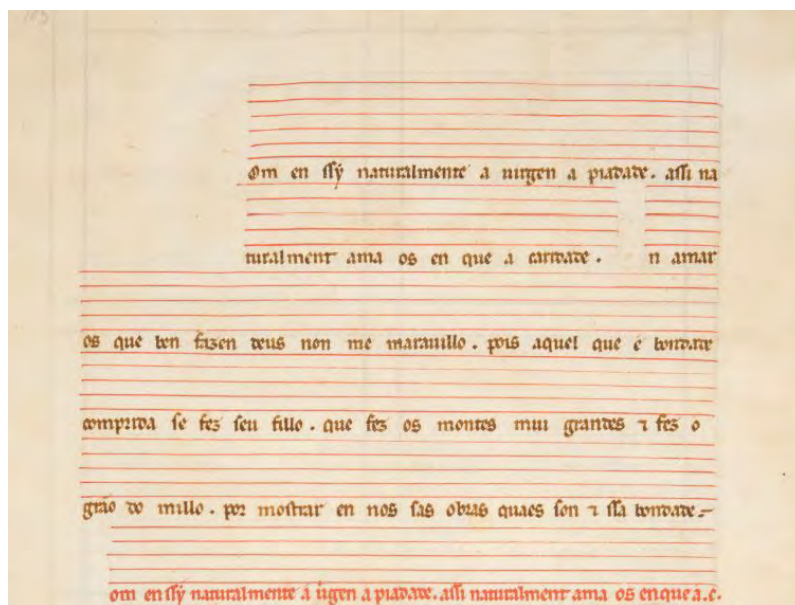


Image 2. MSF *cantiga* 335, underlaid text, f. 127v. <<https://archive.org/details/b.-r.-20/>>

F also avoids a second error in the E copy. The initial letter of the opening strophe is always assigned a decorated coloured capital occupying the whole height of the stave, to separate it from the preceding refrain. In the incomplete page of F, where none of the decorated initials have been inserted, the letter *n* has been written after a space on the text line, and the stave scribe has interrupted the stave ruling to create the requisite space for an initial *E*. In E the opening word appears as an undecorated majuscule *N*. The text scribe left sufficient space for the capital *E* but neither the scribe responsible for ruling the staves nor the scribe responsible for executing the initials noticed this cue, so no visible space was left for an initial, and the transition from refrain to opening strophe lacks its normal marking. (This confirms the supposition that the two folios were not visible to the scribes at the same time, as a piece with no decorated capital on the staves after the illuminated initial would stand out as incomplete.) It is not clear whether the majuscule *N* was part of the original copy, reflecting the occasional practice of scribes to use a majuscule in the letter following a decorated initial (evident in the copy of the refrain in F where the *o* of *Com'* is treated in this way) or whether an original minuscule *n* was amended in E.

The comparison of E and F leads us to the conclusion that there was no textual difference between the exemplars used by the two MSS. If so, the copyists' exemplar was defective, as the version of line 1.1 it contained is hypometric. There is no lack of cases where the text copied into the manuscripts, and especially the text inserted beneath the staves, is metrically deficient (Parkinson 2014). In most cases, however, the deficiency is laid bare by the process of insertion of the music, which leads the music scribe to adjust the music or emend the text, in some cases generating new textual problems. Here, by a combination of accidents, the problem is not detected. In E the accidental duplication of *Deus* has the consequence of rectifying the hypometric line, and the music scribe has no difficulty in aligning the music with the text. In F, where the music was never inserted, no issue arises.

To explain the origins of the error we need to look in more detail at the syntax of the refrain and opening strophe.

Com' en si naturalmente | a Virgen á piadade
assi naturalment' ama | os en que á caridade

En amar os que ben fazen | Deus [Deus] non me maravillo
pois aquel que é bondade | comprida se fez seu fillo (335.R and 1.1-2)

The refrain's assertion that the Virgin loves the charitable —*ama os en que á caridade*— is echoed by the opening of the strophe *En amar os que ben fazen*, which has *A Virgen* as its implied subject. This is a normal device in this type of opening strophe, a *glossing strophe* or *estrofe expansiva*, which develops and recapitulates the devotional content of the refrain, before

the narrative proper is introduced⁶. This linkage removes any possibility that *Deus* could be the grammatical subject of *amar*, and indeed no editor has entertained the suggestion, all treating the material between *fazen* and *non* as an interjection.

Linguistically, nevertheless, the phrase is anomalous, because it does not conform to the syntax of the verb *maravillar-se*. This verb normally requires the preposition *de*, or a contracted form such as *dele*, *desto*, *daquesto*, to introduce a complement⁷:

mais de que a non achavan mēos se maravillava	55:6.2
e pois que llos ouv' oídos, muito se maravillou // de tanto mal que fezera,	272:5.2-3
Desto foron maravillados // todos	38:1.5-6
e desto maravillados // foron end' os outros oito	277:8.2-3
Ca se ela quer que seja o seu nom' e de seu fillo nomeado pelo mundo, desto non me maravillo,	328:1.1-2
Daquesto foron mui maravillados // quantos das terras i foron juntados	39:6.1-2
a que logo todos foron juntados // e deste miragre maravillados,	54:15.1-2
maravillavan se dele; mais quise Deus que sabudo	333:8.2

The complement phrase is often pronominalised in *ende* or *en*:

Os romeus, quand' esto viron, foron en maravillados	175:6.1
Maravillou s' ende muito e ficou tan espantado	196:7.1
muito s' en maravillaron; des i treguas se pediron	344:7.3

Cantiga 328 in particular provides a model, as it incorporates the construction in its own glossing strophe:

*Sabor á Santa María, | de que Deus por nos foi nado,
que seu nome pelas terras | seja sempre nomeado.*

⁶ The terminology comes from Parkinson (2021), where it is argued that some glossing strophes, particularly in the later part of the collection, were added during the compilation phase to bulk out shorter poems. The original version of 335 might thus have begun with the opening of the narrative, in what is now strophe 3.

⁷ The verb also occurs without complements *maravillou se muito* (187:11.1, 253:11.1) or with the conjunction *como* introducing a phrasal complement (38, 277).

Ca se ela quer que seja | o seu nom’ e de seu fillo
nomeado pelo mundo, | desto non me maravillo. (328:R, 1.1-2)

If we restore the syntax of *maravillar-se* on the model of 328:1.2 we arrive at a reading which is both metrically and syntactically well-formed: *En amar os que ben fazen | desto non me maravillo*. The miscopying of *desto* as *deus* is graphically unsurprising (particularly if the forms confused were *desto* and *de9*). The awkward combination of *En* and *desto* might itself be an attempt to emend a repetitive but consistent version *De amar os que ben fazen | desto non me maravillo*, in a copy preceding the copy in which *desto* was miscopied. This example is similar to the multiple wrong attempts to copy the first line of the refrain of *cantiga 267*, *Na que Deus pres carne | e foi dela nado* (Parkinson 2001). Alternatively *En* may be a miscopying of the conjunction *E* in an earlier exemplar.

We can now suggest a sequence of copyings and miscopyings in the exemplars of *cantiga 335*:

Archive copies	I	De amar os que ben fazen desto non me maravillo
	II	En amar os que ben fazen desto non me maravillo
Working copy		En amar os que ben fazen deus non me maravillo
E	N	amar os que ben fazen de9 deus non me marauillo
	F	[]n amar os que ben fazen deus non me maravillo

The materiality of the *CSM*, and the scriptorial processes underlying that materiality, are key to the correction of this passage. We have to assume at least two intermediate copies between the separate copies of each poem and a reconstructed antecedent, creating a transmission sequence which is completely internal to the Alfonsine scriptorium.

2. Composition and recomposition: the expansion of *cantiga 204*

Cantiga 204 appears in two strikingly different versions in MSS E and F. The two versions are given in parallel text below. The edited poem would normally be laid out in long lines with caesura, but is here presented in short lines to facilitate comparison.

While a number of differences result from copying error or divergent scribal preferences, the larger textual divergences show that the poem was revised or recomposed during its passage through the archive⁸. The two versions differ in length, with F32 having nine strophes against the eight in E204. The two versions deploy different rhyme words and organise the narrative in different ways. The editor must go beyond the simple process of collating and as-

⁸ The E version has the forms *entendeo* (1.3), *ongir/ongido* (5.4, 9.1), uncommon in the *CSM*. Their status in the stratigraphy of the *CSM* requires further work.

sessing variants, and reconstruct the processes by which the two versions emerged, before deciding which one is to be preferred and whether the unfavoured version should be represented in the final edition.

This is not an unusual situation in the *CSM*. Several poems from the original collection in *To* were amended in the process of inclusion in the later collections, in a way which clearly implies conscious improvement (Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2000). This was usually in the direction of eliminating repetitions of rhyme-words which run counter to the evolving metrical precepts of the *CSM* (Parkinson 1999). The *To* versions were subsequently annotated with these later corrections. These metrical improvements came, nevertheless, with costs in terms of textual cohesion and fluency, which warrants the preservation of the original text as more than a casual variant. This is not limited to poems from the first phase of compilation: *cantiga* 113 is a prime case of recomposition yielding variants in *T* and *E* (Parkinson 2007).

The textual evidence for *cantiga* 204 points clearly to F32 being an expanded and improved version of E204.

Two versions of *cantiga* 204

	F 32	E204
R.1	<i>Aquel que a virgen Santa</i>	<i>Aquel que a virgen Santa</i>
	<i>Maria quiser servir</i>	<i>Maria quiser servir</i>
R.2	<i>quand' ouver coita de morte</i>	<i>quand' ouver coita de morte</i>
	<i>ben o pod' ela guarir</i>	<i>ben o pod' ela guarir</i>
1.1	Daquesto a San Domingo	Daquesto a San Domingo
	un miragre conteceu.	un miragre conteceu.
1.2	El un bon arcediago	El un bon arcediago
	en sa orden recebeu	en sa orden recebeu
1.3	que era mui leterado	que era mui leterado
	e por aquest' entendeu	e por aquest' entendeo
1.4	que podia en começo	que podia en começo
	per ele mui mais comprir	per ele mui mais comprir
	R	
2.1	El daquel arcediago	El daquel arcediago
	avia mui gran sabor	avia mui gran sabor
2.2	e con ele preegava	ca con ele preegava
	o ben de Nostro Sennor	o ben de Nostro Sennor
2.3	e andando preegando	e andando preegando
	vêo lle mui gran door	vêo lle mui gran door
2.4	de guisa que non podia	e San Domingo coitado
	per ren folgar nen dormir	foi de ll' aquel mal viir
	R	

3.1	e era tan mui coitado que non avia en si	Ca el era tan coitado que non avia en si
3.2	nen sol un sinal de vida e os fisicos d' ali	nen sol un sinal de vida e os fisicos d' ali
3.3	dizian que poderia daquela guarir assi	dizian que poderia daquela guarir assi
3.4	como poderia morto de so terra resorgir. R	como poderia morto de so terra resorgir. R
4.1	El jazend' assi por morto Santo Domingo rogou	E jazend' assi por morto Santo Domingo rogou
4.2	a virgen Santa Maria que se logo demostrou	a virgen Santa Maria que lle valess' e entrou
4.3	ao enferm' u jazia e mui ben o confortou	ela u ele jazia e mui ben o confortou
4.4	e o doente mercee começou lle de pedir R	e o doente mercee começou lle de pedir R
5.1	Pos ela virgêes muitas entraron, e a dizer	Pos ela virgêes muitas entraron, e a dizer
5.2	se fillaron orações e per seus livros leer	fillaron sas orações e per seus livros leer
5.3	e des i ar começaron elas de mui gran lezer	e des i ar começaron elas de mui gran lezer
5.4	a cabeça e o corpo e os pees a ungir. R	a cabeça e o corpo e os pees a ungir. R
6.1	A cabeça log' ungiron por lle Deus i siso dar	A cabeça log' ungiron por lle Deus i siso dar
6.2	e o corpo por ja sempre de forniço se quitar	e o corpo por ja sempre de forniço se quitar
6.3	e os pees por con eles ir no mundo preegar	e os pees por con eles ir no mundo preegar
6.4	e que fizesse as gentes que erravan repentir R	e que fizesse as gentes que erravan repentir R
7.1	San Doming' en outra casa jazia log ⁹ e viu mui ben	San Doming' en outra casa jazia long' e viu ben
7.2	com' entrou Santa Maria e muito lle per prougu' en	com' entrou Santa Maria e muito lle per prougu' en
7.3	e viu o enferm' ungido e deu lle graças por en	e viu com' era ongido e deu lle graças por en

9 E logué.

7.4	e disso “Ai Groriosa quen te podera gracir R	e disso “Tan piadosa sennor dev’ om’ a servir”
8.1	tantos bēes que tu fazes	
8.2	aos que o mester an	
8.3	e ar quan ben tu oes	
8.4	aos que te rogar van	
8.1	e de como ced’ acorres	
8.2	os que en coita estan	
8.3	e de mais nas tas mercees	
8.4	nunca pod’ ome falir.” R	
9.1	Pois que foi mui ben unguido	Pois que foi mui ben onguido
9.2	Santa Maria saiu	Santa Maria saiu
9.3	se dali con sas virgēes	se dali con sas virgēes
9.4	e ao ceo sobiu	e ao ceo sobiu
9.1	e log’ o arcediago	e log’ o arcediago
9.2	a essa ora guaruiu.	a essa ora guaruiu.
9.3	Por esto de seu serviço	Por esto de seu serviço
9.4	non se dev’ om’ a partir. R	non se dev’ om’ a partir.

The narrative of *cantiga* 204 is of how the Blessed Virgin Mary hears the prayers of St Dominic and heals an archdeacon who worked alongside him¹⁰. In strophe 4, St Dominic beseeches the Virgin to cure the archdeacon who is lying gravely ill in another room. In the E version there are multiple potential ambiguities of 3rd person reference, exacerbated by the miscopying of *El* as *E*:

E jazend’ assi por morto	Santo Domingo rogou
a virgen Santa Maria	que lle valess’ e entrou (E204:4.1-2)

Out of context these lines could be read as suggesting that Dominic was lying sick and asking for help, with the subject of *entrou* remaining unclear. The continuation of the strophe, with the enjambed subject *ela* specifying the subject of *entrou*, and a belated reference to the archdeacon as *o doente*, resolves the problem, but at the cost of stylistic awkwardness.

¹⁰ Disalvo (2013: 47) notes that this is the only miracle directly involving Dominicans. Lappin (2002: 131-136) shows it to be a diluted version of the tale of Magister Reginaldus, a French cleric, who was cured of his libidinous urges by a vision of the Virgin, and groups it with other miracles inspired by Dominican ideas on the remedy for lust. The only remnant of the original motif is the anointing of his body by the virgins who accompany Holy Mary “por ja sempre | de forniço se quitar”, which Lappin describes as “menos el sacramento de la extrema unción que un masaje erótico” (136). Interestingly, the *CSM* version prefers French and Italian versions of the life of St Dominic over a Galician version in which the Virgin herself performs a five-fold anointing of the friar. Corti 2001 analyses the miniatures.

E jazend’ assi por morto | Santo Domingo rogou
a virgen Santa Maria | que lle valess’ e entrou
ela u ele jazia | e mui ben o confortou
e o doente mercee | começou lle de pedir (E204:4:1-4)

The version in F avoids these pitfalls, at the cost of an artificial alternation of *enfermo* and *doente* as references to the archdeacon:

El jazend’ assi por morto | Santo Domingo rogou
a virgen Santa Maria | que se logo demostrou
ao enferm’ u jazia | e mui ben o confortou
e o doente mercee | começou lle de pedir (F32:4.1-4)

The same process is at work in 7.3a, where the bare 3rd person reference in E *E viu com’ era ongido* is tied down in F *E viu o enferm’ ungado*.

Strophe 2 and the transition to strophe 3 are also complicated by ambiguous 3rd person references resulting from the mention of Dominic and the archdeacon in the same phrase.

El daquel arcediago | avia mui gran sabor
e con ele preegava | o ben de Nostro Sennor (F32:2.1-2)

The F reading *e con ele preegava* suggests St Dominic preaching with the archdeacon, only for the following line to associate the act of preaching with the archdeacon

e andando preegando | vëo lle mui gran door.

Here the E version, using the conjunction *ca*, facilitates the change of subject,

El daquel arcediago | avia mui gran sabor
ca con ele preegava | o ben de Nostro Sennor
e andando preegando | vëo lle mui gran door. (E204:2.1-3)

but continues with an awkward repetition of *coitado* (referring successively to the two protagonists) in the unrhymed half-lines:

e San Domingo coitado foi de ll’ aquel mal vïir
R
ca el era tan coitado (E 204:2.4-3.1)

This is rectified by F where the entire passage refers to the archdeacon:

de guisa que non podia per ren folgar nen dormir
R
e era tan mui coitado (F32:2.4-3.1)

Both E and F have miscopyings of their divergent antecedents: F has the conjunction *e* as the opening word of 2.2 and 3.1, creating ambiguous reference, while E has *ca* in both cases, creating confusing causal links¹¹. It seems clear that the desired reading should be *ca* in 2.2 and *e* in 3.1.

The final major emendation concerns the addition of a strophe in F between strophes 7 and 8, and the associated change in the final line of 7 from the E version to the enjambed F version:

e disso “Tan piadosa | sennor dev’ om’ a servir” (E 204:7.4)

e disso “Ai Groriosa | quen te podera gracir
R
tantos bẽes que tu fazes (F32:7.4-8.1)

From the formal metrical point of view the E version is imperfect, as the verb *servir* which fulfils the pervasive rhyme in *-ir* has already been used in the refrain. The verb *gracir* which substitutes it in F triggers the interstrophic enjambment, as a direct object clause is needed to satisfy its complementation structures. The added text is effective in that it replaces a brief phrase of thanks to the Blessed Virgin Mary with an expansive direct address of gratitude. This expansiveness is mirrored in the layout of the poem in F, where this relatively short poem is laid out on two pages in a format which is only deployed for poems of nine strophes and more, in the early quires of the codex. It is impossible to tell whether the compilers of F requested an expansion of the poem, or whether the expansion arose naturally from the textual improvements and gave the compilers more latitude in their layout choices. The alternative possibility, that the nine-strophe version in F was shortened for inclusion in E, seems very unlikely.

We can thus identify two distinct archive versions of the poem, one with 8 strophes which was used to compile E, and a subsequent improved version used to compile F.

In strophe 8, unique to F, we find an additional textual complication.

e disso “Ai Groriosa | quen te podera gracir
R
tantos bẽes que tu fazes | aos que o mester an
e ar quan ben tu oes | aos que te rogar van
e de como ced’ acorres | os que en coita estan
e de mais nas tas mercees | nunca pod’ ome falir.” (F32:7.4-8.4)

¹¹ There is a further miscopying in F, of *ne* for *nen*.

Line 2 is hypometric, as the first hemistich is a hexasyllable 6' instead of the required heptasyllable 7'. The strophe also has the grammatical oddity of the verb *oir*, which usually takes a direct object, used with an indirect object, followed immediately by *acorrer*, which usually takes an indirect object, apparently used with a direct object. There has clearly been an exchange of text, either of half lines or of verbs, in the F version. Closer investigation indicates that the latter hypothesis provides the best explanation.

The inversion of half lines in F implies that the antecedent had one of two possible readings: one where the second hemistichs of 8.1-2 are in a different order from F

e ar quan ben tu oes | os que en coita estan
e de como ced' acorres | aos que te rogar van (8.1-2, hypothesis 1a)

and another where it is the order of the first hemistichs that is different

e de como ced' acorres | aos que te rogar van
e ar quan ben tu oes | os que en coita estan (8.1-2, hypothesis 1b)

Neither of these hypothetical antecedents explains the hypometry of 8.1-2. The inversion of the verbs *acorres* and *oes*, with their different syllable counts, provides a much better explanation, implying an antecedent in which *acorres* occurs in 8.1, and *oes* in 8.2, each with their correct argument structure.

e ar quan ben tu acorres | aos que te rogar van
e de como cedo oes | os que en coita estan (8.1-2 hypothesis 2)

Line 8.1 is now not hypometric, and the restoration of the unelided form *cedo* avoids hypometry in line 2. (The elision of *ced'* in the MS F version is itself a metrical adjustment to avoid hypometry in the miscopied line.)

In both manuscripts the copyists have introduced additional errors and textual variation. Line 7.1 in F has two independent mistakes, *long'* (=longe) miscopied as *log'* (=logo) and subsequently rendered *logu* to preserve the hard *g*, and an intrusive hypermetric *mui*

E San Doming' en outra casa | jazia long' e viu ben

F San Doming' en outra casa | jazia logu' e viu mui ben

Line 5.2 in E is grammatically anomalous, using the construction *fillar a* in place of the expected *fillar-se a* which is found in the F reading:

E Pos ela virgêes muitas | entraron, e a dizer // fillaron sas orações

F Pos ela virgêes muitas | entraron, e a dizer // se fillaron orações

The probable common source of these two readings is *a dizer // fillaron se orações*. The E version wrongly amends *se* to *sas*, while the F improvement inverts *fillaron se* to avoid the necessary hiatus in *se orações*.

The pattern of errors and emendations strongly suggests that there were at least four versions of the poem, preceding the two manuscript versions. Figures 2a and 2b represent this progression, 2a presenting a table of variants, and 2b a *stemma rotulorum*:

<p>A Original (8 strophes)</p> <p>C E model based on A</p> <p><i>ca</i> for <i>e</i> fillaron sas</p> <p>E E copy (E 204)</p> <p>ongir, entendeo</p>	<p>B Improved version (9 strophes)</p> <p>expansion to 9 strophes with correction of repeated rhyme word <i>fillaron se</i> amended to <i>se fillaron</i></p> <p>D F model based on B</p> <p><i>e</i> for <i>ca</i> log' for long' exchange of oes/acorres</p> <p>F F copy (F 32)</p> <p>elision of <i>ced'</i>; <i>logu'</i></p>
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Figure 2a: Internal transmission of *cantiga* 204

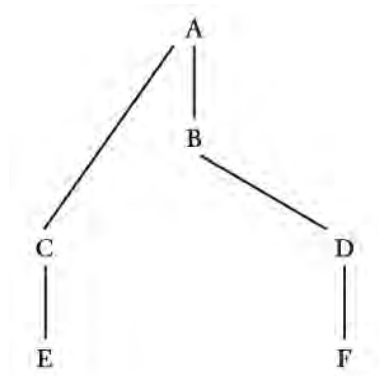


Figure 2b: Stemma rotulorum of *cantiga* 204

4. The refrains of *cantiga* 124

Cantiga 124, notable for its pervasive interstrophic enjambment, has significant variation in its refrain, which points to a separation of strophes and refrain in the copying and compilation process¹².

There are two separate *loci critici* in the edited refrain:

O que pola Virgen leixa | o de que gran sabor á
sempre aqui lle demostra | o ben que pois lle fará.

Both lines are hypometric in at least one witness. In the second line of the initial refrain both MSS have an initial reading *sempr aqui lle demostra*, corrected in two different ways. In E a superscript *e* inserted by a later hand restores the full form *sempre* (image 3a). The T reading *sempr' el' aqui lle demostra*, in which *el'* is an elided form of *ela*, has the *el* written in the space between *sempr* and *aqui* (image 3b); the regularity of the spacing of the remainder of the underlaid text and the alignment of musical figures with text shows that this is an addition made at the time of the insertion of the music. Similarly to the case of *cantiga* 204, the emendation attempts to clarify an ambiguous 3rd person reference, to specify *ela* (= *Santa Maria*) as subject of the verb *demostra*. The correction is unnecessary, as this construction, by which the beneficiary of the miracle is indicated by a topicalized noun phrase which becomes the object of the main clause, is found in other refrains, such as *cantiga* 222, *Quen ouver na Groriosa fiança con fe complida // non lle nozirá poçoia...*



Image 3a. Cantiga 124, MS E, Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms b-I-2, f. 127v. <<https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/11338>>

¹² There is a curious mismatch between the refrain and the text. The text narrates how a man was saved from death by stoning until he could receive absolution, while the refrain refers to the rewards of self-denial. Parkinson (2021) has compared the refrain of 124 with the equally mismatched refrain of 88, proposing that they were selected from a common store for their metrical match with the strophes, rather than for their effectiveness as an expression of the *razon* of the *cantiga*. This implies a degree of separation between the composition of strophes and refrain.

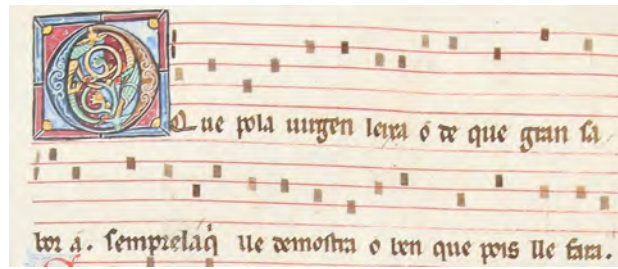


Image 3b. Cantiga 124, refrain MS T, Patrimonio Nacional. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Ms T-I-1, f. 174v. <<https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/rbme/item/11337>>

In the first line of the repeated refrain, in T, we find a defective copy — *O que gran sabor a*— following strophes 2, 4, 5, 7, and 9, with two of them (2R, 7R) corrected by the insertion of the abbreviated form *q̃* above the line.

These two cases need to be approached in the light of our understanding of the location and copying of refrains in the *CSM*. There are four separate ways in which refrains appear in the manuscript record. The only consistent location of a complete refrain is as the opening underlaid text of the poem. The refrains following each strophe, written in red ink, are typically truncated according to the space available for them, either beneath the staves (particularly in MSS T and F where more than one strophe is underlaid, and the refrain may be reduced to a single word) or between the strophes, where they are typically reduced to one or two text lines corresponding to complete lines or half-lines of verse¹³. Finally, a version of the refrain is incorporated into the Table of Contents of the complete manuscripts (To T E), often complete but once again affected by constraints of space. These different locations typically involve distinct patterns of variation.

In the body of the manuscript, the opening refrain, which was executed separately in black ink by the copyist responsible for the main text, frequently diverges from the repeated refrains and the Table of Contents refrain. In a significant number of cases the opening refrain contains errors which may or may not be rectified by the scribe who subsequently inserts the musical notation (Parkinson 2014). By contrast, the repetition of the refrain after each strophe was executed in red ink by the scribe who also completed the rubrics. These repetitions were conditioned by the space left for them by the black-ink scribe: where the refrain repeat was included in the section ruled with staves for musical notation (the underlaid text) it had to fit into whatever portion of the staves remained after the text had been inserted; where the repeat was in the middle of the un-notated text laid out in verse lines, it was assigned one or more complete lines (and was omitted where no space was allocated).

¹³ Parkinson (2000) provides the relevant calculations.

These decisions were themselves conditioned by the global layout strategy of the individual manuscripts and the dimensions of the poem (Parkinson 2000). In the *códices historiados* T and F each poem is laid out on a number of complete pages, with the available space divided between underlaid text and running text to make the best use of space: it is not uncommon for more than one strophe to be underlaid, and for refrains to be omitted at the end of columns. In E and To, by contrast, it is very rare for more than one strophe to be underlaid, and the refrain for the opening strophe is frequently part of the running text. Additionally, in the completed manuscripts (To T and E), the refrain is incorporated in the Table of Contents, for which each entry is made up of a rubric and an incipit, the refrain being by definition the incipit for any poem of zajal structure (all the *miragres* and many of the *loores*).

In the case of *cantiga* 124, MS T copies the refrain in full following every strophe in running text; only the refrain following strophe 1, underlaid, is truncated, to *O que pola virgen*, thus omitting all the *loci critici*. The Table of Contents of T is incomplete, beginning at *cantiga* 141, so there is no extant entry for this poem. Ms E truncates all repeated refrains to *O que pola virgen leixa*, so that the full refrain is only found at the beginning of the poem. Its Table of Contents does however have a version of the full refrain.

O que pola uirgen leixa o de que gran
sabor a sempr aqui lle demonstra o
ben que pois lle fara. MS E f. 17r

The issues with the first line of the refrain are not relevant to the establishment of a critical text, as both MSS represent the underlaid text as *O que pola Virgen leixa | o de que gran sabor á*¹⁴.

The variation in the second line of the refrain is of a different order. Here it seems clear that the starting point for both witnesses is a defective (hypometric) text *Sempr aqui lle demonstra | o ben que pois lle fara* which the music scribes of the two witnesses have emended in different ways in the underlaid text, to achieve a proper alignment of music and text. In E the emending scribe has changed *sempr* to *sempre* by the addition of a superscript *e*, implying that the copy or the model had made a false elision. In T the scribe has accepted the elision and has resolved the hypometry by adding an additional word which is itself subject to elision, *el[a]*. The refrain repeats in T and the Table of Contents of E, based on the original without sight of the music, preserve the hypometric variant without any attempt at emendation.

This implies that the archive version of *cantiga* 124, which we must presume to have been metrically correct, was copied into a compilation model with a metrical error. The refrain was further copied, still with the error, into a red-ink model used by the scribes inserting refrain repeats and by the compilers of the Table of Contents in E, originally a separate codico-

¹⁴ This error may be revealing for the study of the copying process, which is the subject of future publications.

logical unit. The error was corrected separately by the music scribes, but the red-ink model and the copies made from it remained uncorrected. Figures 3a and 3b represent this pattern of transmission.

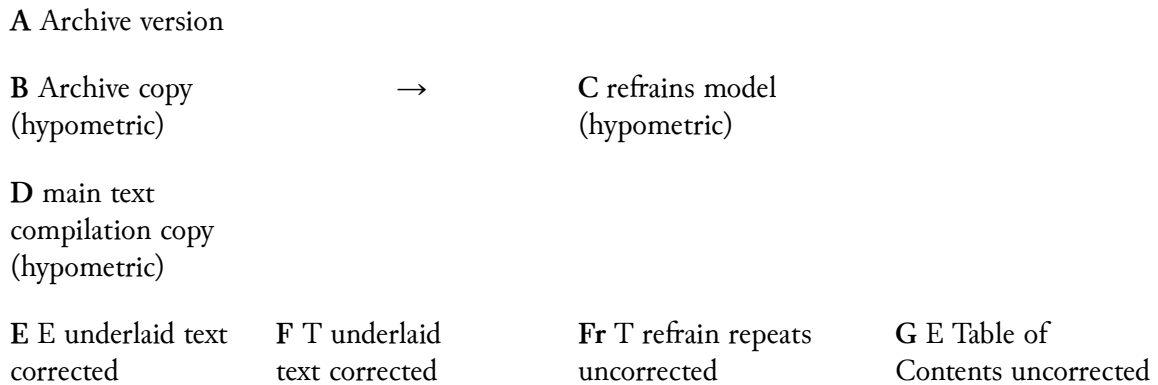


Figure 3a. Internal transmission of *cantiga* 124

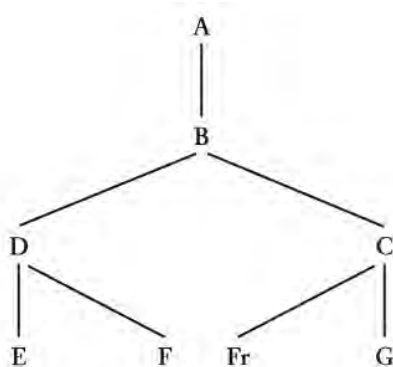


Figure 3b. Stemma of components of *cantiga* 124

6. Conclusions

It has long been known that the four manuscripts of the *CSM* are not linked by direct transmission, as none is a copy of any other. Instead, we have an organised *scriptorium* in which copies of individual poems are archived and distributed to copyists for incorporation in the order determined by the compilers of the manuscripts.

The examples we have studied show that the process of copying in compilation was the last stage in a complex sequence of versions. The archive could contain two versions of the same poem, resulting from systematic revision and improvement of original texts. These versions were not used directly by the copyists of the manuscripts, but were presumably copied again before being sent for compilation and insertion in the manuscripts. At each stage vari-

ants and errors can be inserted, often in response to the variants inserted at an earlier stage. At some point in the compilation process a separate compilation was made of the refrains, which was used by the scribes inserting refrains after the main text copying was complete. These multiple layers of copying will have produced complex stratigraphic effects.

These insights are important for linguistic study and editing. The assessment of internal linguistic variation in the *CSM* must consider not only the different linguistic preferences of the ultimate copyists of the individual manuscripts (Parkinson / Barnett 2013) but the possible influence of intermediate copyists in generating inconsistent patterns of variation. The comparison of textual variation in the *CSM* manuscripts with the manuscript tradition of the secular lyric, in particular the suggestion that the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* and the Vindel fragment are closer to the *CSM* manuscripts than to the archetype of MSS B and V (Brea 2020, Monteagudo 2019: 309-13), will need to take this additional complexity into account¹⁵.

The editing of refrains needs to follow different principles from the editing of strophes, with the Table of Contents relevant as an additional witness.

In these ways the materiality of the *CSM* manuscripts reveals a complex textual tradition beneath the artistic elegance of the combination of text, music and image.

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¹⁵ Brea 2020: 58 refers to “un modelo lingüístico homoxéneo para a fixación do texto das *Cantigas de Santa Maria*”.

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