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## Three Early Galician-Portuguese Poets: Airas Moniz d' Asme, Diego Moniz, Osoir' Anes. A Critical Edition

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### Abstract:

This paper presents a critical edition of Airas Moniz d' Asme, Diego Moniz, and Osoir' Anes, the first three named poets in the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (Colocci-Brancuti) whose poems have survived. Many of these *cantigas* have proved quite difficult for textual critics and interpreters. This edition attempts to provide a needed step forward: a fresh reading with critical apparatus, notes, metrical analysis, and English translations.

### Key words:

Galician-Portuguese philology and poetics, *cantigas d'amor*, textual criticism, metrics, historical grammar.

### Resumo:

*Este trabalho apresenta uma edição crítica de Airas Moniz d'Asme, Diego Moniz e Osoir' Anes, os primeiros poetas cujos poemas sobreviveram no Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional (Colocci-Brancuti). Muitas destas cantigas têm-se mostrado extremamente difíceis para a crítica textual e para a interpretação literária. Esta edição pretende ultrapassar algumas das dificuldades encontradas, oferecendo uma nova leitura destas cantigas, com aparato crítico, notas, análises métricas e traduções para o inglês.*

### Palavras-chave:

*Filologia e poética galego-portuguesa, cantigas d'amor, crítica textual, métrica, gramática histórica.*

In the *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional* (siglum *B*), alias *Colocci-Brancuti*, the first three named poets (following the *lais*), and among the earliest, are Airas Moniz d' Asme, Diego Moniz, and Osoir' Anes, although this was not the original order and some texts were lost<sup>1</sup>. We might learn something about the development of

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1 On the poets, see Monteagudo 2008 (315-416); Oliveira (1994: 316-317, 326-327, 398-399); Gonçalves (1976: 55) on the situation in the *Tavola Colocciana*; Ferrari (1979: 94-95) on codicological matters; Ferrari (1993) on the manuscript in general; ruminations in Miranda (2004: 49-52).

Galician-Portuguese lyric by studying their work –mainly *cantigas d'amor*, although two feature a woman's voice. But many textual and interpretative problems in these poems have remained unsolved.

These *cantigas* –nine and three fragments– were first transcribed by E. Molteni (1880). Using that transcription, C. Michaëlis edited them in her *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (1904: I, 637-657)<sup>2</sup>. This edition was reviewed by O. Nobiling (1907: 371-372; 1909: 202-203) and H. R. Lang (1908: 306-308), both of whom made several important corrections and observations. That was a golden age. Next, A. Cotarelo y Valledor (1933: 17-25) tried his shaky hand at Osoir' Anes. J. P. Machado and E. P. Machado (1949-1964: I, 43-58; hereinafter “Machado”) printed these poems in what is neither a transcription nor a critical edition, with errors too numerous to count. Recently, G. Videira Lopes (2002: 22-23) assayed a song of Airas Moniz d'Asme to no avail, and J. C. Ribeiro Miranda (2004: 139-164) emitted an edition of the three poets that reverses nearly every advance made a hundred years ago. Since these are early thirteenth century *cantigas* copied 300 years later in Rome in a manuscript separated from the original sources by intermediate copies, it is not surprising that there are problems or that interpreters find themselves perplexed<sup>3</sup>. After all, we only have this one late source for some difficult poems. But no help can come from the stubborn defense of corrupt readings, the effacement of sound ones, or conjectures launched from a void.

This is a fresh critical edition with metrical analysis and notes. The apparatus is as concise as possible. The notes explain editorial decisions and attempt to clarify problematic words and passages. An English translation is appended. The editorial conventions followed are mainly those set out before (Cohen 2003: 37-43)<sup>4</sup>. But here I mark with an underline those places where word-final and word-initial vowels collide and meter allows only one syllable (*pudi\_aver, ela\_estar*). On finding this

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- 2 Pellegrini (1928) took on Osoir' Anes 1. Rey Somoza (1998) has edited Diego Moniz (*sed non vidi*).
  - 3 See Michaëlis (1904: II, 525); Gonçalves (1993), Indini (1993); Lopes (2002: 22-23); Miranda (2004: 85-87) for expressions of perplexity. A recent interpretation of Osoir' Anes in Muniz (2002).
  - 4 Some things to note relative to the norms proposed in Ferreiro, M. / Martínez Pereiro, C. P. / Tato Fontañá, L. (2007): < > for additions; *mha* (helpful for scanning) not *mia*; *tēer* not *teer* (in *A* and *To* tils are rarely lacking); *onrrar*, *salrrá* (normal spellings) not *onrar*, *salrá*; *fez mi* not *fez-mi*; *volo* not *vo-lo*; but *pois la* not *poisla*; *poren* not *por en* (*poren* and *én* can rhyme in the same strophe, and do not form a *dobre*); *perder vos ei* not *perder-vos-ei*; but *achá-la an*, *devede-lo* (where verb and pronoun are fused). I have regularized the use of the *cedilha* without noting the manuscript readings. A few tonic object pronouns are accented: *mí* (Osoir' Anes 1, vv. 4, 6) and *vós* (Osoir' Anes 8, v. 8); but not following a preposition. Latin is used in the critical apparatus: *corr.* = *correx* corrected; *delevit* deleted; *def.* = *defendit* defended; *hic locavit* placed here; *distinxi* I divided (punctuated/accented); *supplevi* I supplied; *delevi* I deleted; *scripsi* I wrote; *fort.* = *fortasse* maybe; *fort. x scribendum* maybe *x* should be read; *om.* = *omittit* (B) omits; *cf.* = *confer* compare.

sign, the reader can implement the *conflation* (Parkinson 2006) in various ways (though *not* by hiatus): elision of the final vowel of the first word; diphthongization by means of a semivowel; fusion of two identical vowels; and absorption of the initial vowel of the second word (aphaeresis)<sup>5</sup>. All confrontations between word-final and word-initial vowels which are *not* so marked can be assumed to be instances of hiatus.

I hope this edition will help stimulate study of the questions these *cantigas* pose. The notes are philological, not literary commentary, although sometimes they deal with interpretation. But any critical edition presupposes –and depends on– an overall interpretation. As L. Stegagno Picchio (1982: II, 318) writes, “Il est bien impossible de reconstituer un texte, d’y apporter des corrections, sans l’ avoir parfaitement compris, sans l’ avoir interprété, dans le sens le plus vaste et le plus précis du terme.” Madvig could not have put it better<sup>6</sup>. Not all of poetics is textual criticism. But textual criticism is all poetics.

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5 For the terminology see Parkinson: “The metrical terms under discussion [*scil.* elision, synaloepha, diphthongization, absorption] are better seen as a single metrical process by which two or more syllables function metrically as a single syllable, a process I will label *conflation*” (Parkinson 2006: 116).

6 “Itaque omnia, quae in bono enarratore, eadem in critico esse debent” (a textual critic must have all the same abilities as a good interpreter; Madvig 1871: I, 95-96).

## 1. Airas Moniz d' Asme

1 = B 6 (f. 11r)

Pois mi non val d' eu muit' amar  
 a mha senhor, nen a servir,  
 nen quan apost' eu sei negar  
 amor que lh' ei <e m'> encobrir  
 dela, que me fáz <sen> perder, 5  
 ca mho non pode<n> entender,  
 ja eu chus non a negarei;  
 vel saberán de quen tort' ei:

Da que á melhor semelhar  
 de quantas no mund' ome vir, 10  
 e mais < . . . . falar>  
 das que ome falar oír;  
 non vola ei chus a dizer,  
 <ca> quen quer x' a pode entender;  
 ja chus seu nome non direi, 15  
 ca afeito mh a nomeei.

E quen ben quiser trastornar  
 per todo o mund', e ferir,  
 mui festinho xi\_a pod' achar;  
 ca, por vos ome non mentir, 20  
 non á ela tal parecer  
 con que s' assi possa asconder;  
 per como a eu dessinei,  
 achá-la an, cousa que sei.

Os que me soían coitar 25  
 foi lhes mha senhor descubrir;  
 ja mh ora leixarán folgar,  
 ca lhis non podia guarir,  
 ca ben lhela fiz conhocer,  
 por que me non quis ben fazer; 30  
 e tenho que ben me vinguei,  
 pois la\_en concelho avergonhei.

4 O amor *B* : O *delevi* <e> *Michaëlis* <m'> *supplevi* encobrir *scripsi* : ancobrir *B* : <e> a 'ncobrir *Michaëlis* 5 dela *scripsi* : Eela *B* : a ela *Michaëlis* <sen> *supplevi* 6 ca *scripsi* : Que *B*. pode<n> entender *Michaëlis* : pode entender *B* 10 quanta<s> no *Michaëlis* : quanta e no *B* 11 <mansa sabe falar> *Michaëlis* (manso *Nobiling*) 14 <ca> *supplevi* pode entender *B*, *Michaëlis* 16 afeyto *B* : a feito *Michaëlis* 18 todo o mund' e *Monteagudo* : tedeo munde *B* : tod' o mund<o>, e *Michaëlis* 19 xi-a *Michaëlis* : xha *B* 25 os] or *B* : corr. *Michaëlis* 26 foi] fai *B* : corr. *Michaëlis* 27 lhela *B* : lhe'-la *Michaëlis* : lh' ela *Machado* 32 poyslla en *B* avergonhei *scripsi* : auey guey *B*

2 = B 7 (f. 11r-v)

“Mha senhor, vin vos rogar,  
por Deus, que ar pensedes  
de mi, que en gran vagar  
trouxestes e tragedes;  
e cuido m' avergonhar;  
se vos prouguer, devedes  
oj' a mha barva a onrrar,  
que sempr' onrrada sol andar;  
e vós non mh a viltedes.”

5

“Cavaleiro, aviltar-  
<la> nunca m' oíredes,  
mais leixemos ela\_estar  
. . . . . -edes  
. . . . . -ar  
e desso que dizedes—  
sol non penso de vos amar,  
nen pensarei, a meu cuidar,  
mais desto que veedes.”

10

15

“Mha senhor, eu vos direi  
de mi como façades:  
o por que vos sempr' amei,  
per ren non mho tenhades,  
e sempre vos servirei;  
se m' oj' avergonhades,  
fazedo como sabor ei,  
e dade m' al i, e ir m' ei,  
e non me detenhades.”

20

25

“Cavaleiro, non darei;  
pero, se vos queixades,  
mui ben vos aconselharei: 30  
ide vos, que tardades;  
ca, por que vos deterrei  
u ren non adubades?  
pero desexos averei  
de vós, e endurear mhos ei 35  
atá quando\_ar venhades.”

“Mha senhor, a meu saber,  
mais aposto seria  
quererdes por min fazer  
como\_eu por vós faria; 40  
ca eu por tanto d’ aver  
nunca vos deterria;  
mais non poss’ eu dona veer  
que assi and’ a meu prazer  
como lh’ eu andaria.” 45

3 en tam gram B : tam *delevi* 5 m’] meu B : eu *delevi* 7 oj’ a *Michaëlis* : Oio B : oje *Miranda* a onrar *Michaëlis* : e ouirar B 8 ouirada B : corr. *Michaëlis* 9 mi-a viltedes *Michaëlis* : mha uiltedes B : mh aviltedes *Machado* 10 aviltar *Lang* : ia uiltar B : ja aviltar *Michaëlis* 11 <la> *supplevi* nunca <ja> *Miranda* moyredes B : m’ <a> oïredes *Michaëlis* 12 ia ela estar B : ia *delevit Lang* (ela ‘star vel ela\_estar) 13-14 om. B 15 *hic locavi* 17 meu] men B 22 ren] pem B 23 sempu9 B 24 oj’] oy B 26 dade m’ al i *distinxi* : da de mali B : dade mal *Michaëlis* : dade mal i *Miranda* 28 non <o> *Michaëlis* 32 ca *Michaëlis* : Que B 35 endureay B 37 meu] men B 38 seeria B 44 prazer *Michaëlis* : plazer B 45 comolh’u ?B

## 2. Diego Moniz

1 = B 8 (f. 11v)

Deus, que pouco que sabia  
eu, en qual viço vivia,  
quand’ era <c>on mha senhor,  
e que muito me queixava  
dela (por que non pensava 5

de min), e non gradecia  
a Deus qual ben mi fazia  
en sol me leixar veer  
o seu mui bon parecer.

Mais en gran sandez andava 10  
eu, quando me non pagava  
de con tal senhor viver,  
e que melhor ben quera;  
e m' end' ora pagaria;  
mais esto\_a min, quen mho dava?– 15  
este ben, que non m' entrava:  
non ouuess' oj' eu melhor,  
e vivess' a tal sabor!

Mais logo m' ar mataria 20  
un cor que ei de folia  
mui comprid<o> e d' amor,  
que per poucas m' ar matava;  
quand' eu mha senhor catava,  
en tal coita me metia  
que consello non sabia 25  
eu de min, como fazer  
por dela mais ben aver.

Mais, se eu nunca cobrava  
o viç' en que ant' estava,  
saber lh' ia ben sofrer 30  
seu amor, e nembrar m' ia  
que <sen> ela non podia  
viver, quand' alhur morava,  
tan muito a desejava,  
mais eu con este pavor 35  
seria bon sofredor.

2 en] eu B 3 <c>on] on B : corr. *Michaëlis* 7 ben mi] beumi B : ben me *Michaëlis* 10 fort. sandeç; sed cf. *CSM* 94.55 13 quera *scripsi* : q' rriã B : querra 14 e] A B : corr. *Michaëlis* 15 a min *Michaëlis* : añ B 16 que non m' entrava *Michaëlis* : queno nõ entrava B 17 non] Nono B : corr. *Michaëlis* 18 e vivess' a *scripsi* : Eu messen B : e ouuess' eu *Michaëlis* 21 comprid<o> e *Michaëlis* : conpride B 32 q' ela nõ podia uiuer B <sen> *Nobiling* 33 viver *hic locavit Nobiling*

2 = B [8 bis] (f. 11v)

Se soubess' a mha senhor como\_a mi prazeria  
 d' eu morrer, pois la non ei, log' eu non morreria;  
 ca, pero me ben non quer, amor me mostraria,  
 por me fazer a meu pesar viver,  
 quand' eu sabor ouvesse de morrer. 5

E se lhi fossen dizer com' eu esto dizia,  
 logo sei que mha senhor por min demandaria

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

1 como a mi *scripsi* : comomami B prazeria *Michaëlis* : plazeria B 2 logueu B moreria B 3  
 monstraria B : *corr. Michaëlis* 4 por] Lor B : *corr. Michaëlis* meu] men B

### 3. Osoir' Anes

1 = B 37 (f. 14r)

Min pres forçadament' Amor  
 e fez mi\_amar que<n> nunc' amou,  
 e fez mi tort' e desamor  
 que mí a tal senhor tornou,  
 e vejo que mal baratei 5  
 que mí a tal senhor tornei,  
 que non sabe que é amar  
 e sabe\_a omen penas dar.

Que forçad' oje\_e sen sabor  
 en no mundo vivendo vou, 10  
 ca nunca pudi\_aver sabor  
 de min nen d' al, des que foi sou,  
 se non dela, e que farei?



por que pregunto? ca eu sei:  
viver ei, se de min pensar, 15  
ou morrer, se min non amar.

Quen quer x' esto pode veer,  
e mais quen mego vid' over,  
que non ei ja sen nen poder  
de m' emparar dña molher, 20  
a mais mansa que nunca vi,  
nen mais sen sanha, pois naci;  
ve<e>d' ora se estou mal,  
que m' emparar non sei de tal,

Ca sño tan en seu poder 25  
que s<e> end' al fazer quiser  
non o poderei eu fazer  
se me Deus én poder non der  
contra ela, que eu servi,  
qual dou a ela sobre min, 30  
que nunca eu soub' amar al  
erg' ela que mi faz <gran> mal.

2 que<n> *Michaëlis* : que *B* 4 que *scripsi* : quen *B* mí a tal *distinxi* : mhatal *B* : mi-a tal *Michaëlis* : miña tal *Cotarelo y Valledor* 6 mí a tal *distinxi* : mha tal *B* : mi-a tal *Michaëlis* : miña tal *Cotarelo y Valledor* 10 en nō *B* : eno *Michaëlis* 15 viver ei *Michaëlis* : Viueray *B* 18 uidouer *B* : vid' ou<v>er *Michaëlis* 20 dña] dña *B* : corr. *Michaëlis* 23 ve<e>d' *Michaëlis* : ued *B* 25 sño *Michaëlis* : son *B* 26 s<e> end' *Michaëlis* : ssend *B* 28 me Deus én *distinxi* : mend's en *B* : m' ende Deus *Michaëlis* 30 mī *B* : mi *Michaëlis* 32 erguela *B* : ergo ela *Michaëlis* <gran> *supplevi*

2 = B 38 (f. 14r)

Sazon é ja de me partir  
de mha senhor, ca ja temp' ei  
que a servi, ca perdud' ei  
o seu amor, e quero m' ir;  
mais pero direi lh' ant' assi: 5  
“Senhor, e que vos mereci?  
ca non foi eu de pois peor  
des quando guaanhei voss' amor?”

- E <a>veredes a sentir  
camanha mingua vos farei, 10  
e ve<e>redes, eu o sei,  
como poss' eu sen vós guarir,  
e diredes depois por min:  
'Mesela, por que o perdi?  
e que farei quando s' el for 15  
alhur servir outra senhor?
- Estranha mengua mi fará  
tal que per ren non poss' osmar  
como sen el possa estar;  
de mín ra<n>curado salrrá 20  
e terrán mho por pouco sen  
que a tal omen non fiz ben;  
a dona que mho receber  
cõmigo se pode perder.
- Cada que me lh' eu assanhar, 25  
a meu osm', e lhi mal disser,  
se mho logo\_a tolher oer  
mha vezĩa\_e mho sussacar,  
maa vezĩa per será;  
mais non xí vol' a sentir á, 30  
ca non quer' eu filhar o seu  
nen lh' ar querrei leixar o meu.'''

6 mereci *Michaëlis* : merea B 9 <a>veredes *Michaëlis* : ueredes B 11 ve<e>redes *Michaëlis* :  
ueredes B 13 mī B : mī *Michaëlis* 19 fort. el<e> possa\_estar 20 racurado B : corr. *Michaëlis*  
salrrá *Michaëlis* : solhira B : sol irá *Miranda* 23 mi-o *Michaëlis* : m eu B : meu *Miranda* 26 osm' e  
*Michaëlis* : osmo B 27 mi-o *Michaëlis* : mha B a tolher *distinxi* : atolh B : acolher *Michaëlis* 28  
e *scripsi* : o B : ou *Michaëlis* mi-o sussacar *Michaëlis* : mha suffacar B 29 maa vezĩa *scripsi* : maõ  
vezĩa B 30 vol' a sentir á *distinxi* : uola sentira B : vo-lo sentirá *Michaëlis*

3 = B 39 (f. 14v)

Eu, que nova senhor filhei,  
mal me soube d' afan guardar,

pois ela nunca soub' amar,  
 atal senhor que vos direi;  
 mais pero direi lh' ùa vez  
 que faça o que nunca fez. 5

Quen omen sabe ben querer  
 ja mais <mal> servid' én será,  
 ca bõa dona vi eu ja  
 por amar mil tanto valer; 10  
 poren lhi direi ùa vez  
 que faça o que nunca fez.

8 ja *Michaëlis* : ca B <mal> *supplevi*

4 = B 40 (f. 14v)

Cuidei eu de meu coraçon  
 que me non podesse forçar,  
 pois me sacara de prison,  
 ed ir começo i tornar,  
 e forçou m' ora nov' amor 5  
 e forçou me nova senhor,  
 e cuido ca me quer matar.

E pois me\_assi desemparrar  
 ùa senhor foi, des enton  
 e<u> cuidei ben per ren que non 10  
 podesse mais outra cobrar;  
 mais forçaron mh os olhos meus  
 e o bon parecer dos seus,  
 e o seu preç' e un cantar

que lh' oí u a vi estar 15  
 en cabelos, dizend' un son;  
 mal dia non morri enton  
 ante que tal coita levar  
 qual levo, que non vi maior  
 nunca, ond' estou a pavor 20  
 de mort<e>, ou de lho mostrar.

4 ed ir *distinx. Monteagudo* : edit B : de ir *Michaëlis* 10 e <u> cuidei *Michaëlis* : e cuideu B : e *def. Lang* 16 son] soy B : *corr. Michaëlis* 19 non *Michaëlis* : nũca B 20 nunca *Michaëlis* : q'1 leuo B 21 mort<e> ou *Michaëlis* : morton B

5 = B 40 (fols. 14v-15r)

E por que me desamades,  
a melhor das que eu sei?  
cuid' eu ren i non gãades  
eno mal que por vós ei;  
pola ira\_en que mh andades 5  
tan graves días levei;  
dereit' ei,  
que da ren que mais amei,  
daquela me segurades:

de vós; e certas, sabhades, 10  
muit' amor non desejei,  
e se vós end' al cuidades  
ben leu tort' én prenderei;  
e, por Deus, nõ-no façades,  
ca por vós me perderei; 15  
conort' ei  
en que pouco durarei  
se mais de min non pensades.

De muitos son preguntado  
de que ei este pesar, 20  
e a min pesa\_aficado  
de quen me vai demandar;  
ei log' a buscar, sen grado,  
razon por me lhe salvar,  
e guardar 25  
m' ei deles, e ra<n>curar  
e andar i come nembrado.

Ali me ven gran cuidado  
depois que me vou deitar,  
pero sãõ mais folgado, 30

que lhi non ei de falar;  
 jasco deles alongado  
 que me non ouçan queixar;  
 tal amar  
 podedes mui ben jurar 35  
 que nunca foi d' omen nado.

Ûa ren vos juraria,  
 e devede-lo creer,  
 que ja mais non amaria,  
 se desta posso viver; 40  
 quando vós, que ben quera,  
 tan sen razon fui perder;  
 que prazer  
 avedes de me tolher  
 meu corpo, que vos servia? 45

Ca me non receberia  
 aquel que me fez nacer,  
 nen eu non vos poderia  
 atal coita padecer,  
 ca per ren non poderia; 50  
 pois me deit' a dormecer,  
 entender  
 no vosso bon parecer  
 a valer me deveria.

2 a mlhor *B* : ai! melhor *Michaëlis* 3 gaades *B* 8 que *B* : *fort. ca scribendum* 9 segurades *Michaëlis*  
 : segudides *B* 11 muit' *scripsi* : Ouir *B* : que *Nobiling, Lang* 20 pesar *Cotarelo y Valledor* : penssar  
*B* : pensar *Michaëlis*. 25 e a guardar *B* : a *delevi* 26 e] *illeg.* racurar *B* 30 sdo *Michaëlis* :  
 scôm *B* : soon *Miranda* 49 atal *distinxi* : a tal *B, Michaëlis* 50 poderia] *fort. viveria; cf. v. 48* 52  
 e entender *B* : e *delevi* 54 deveria *Michaëlis* : diuiria *B*

6 = B 41 (f. 15r)

Vós, mha senhor, que non avedes cura  
 de m' ascoitar nen de me ben fazer,  
 ca non quis Deus nen vós nen mha ventura,  
 a que m' eu nunca pudí defender,  
 quero vos eu de mha coita dizer: 5

mal ei por vós, mui maior ca morrer,  
se me non val Deu ou vossa medida  
perder m' ei eu, e vós en me perder,

perder vos ei, que vos tan muito dura  
de mal com' eu por vós ei a sofrer, 10  
e que non sei de vós aver rancura,  
pero m' en coita fazedes viver,  
e que vos ei por amor a tēer  
quanto de mal me fazedes sofrer;  
tod' est' eu faço\_e non faço cordura 15  
pois me vós non queredes agradecer.

9 perder *Michaëlis* : perda *B* 11 aver senõ rãcura *B* : senõ *delevit Michaëlis* 13 teer *B* 14 sofrer  
*B* : prender *Nobiling* ( *cf.* v. 10 ) : *fort.* aver

7 = B43 (f. 15r)

Ei eu tan gran medo de mha senhor  
que nunca lh' ousou nulha ren dizer,  
e veed' ora de qual ei pavor,  
de quen non sabe matar nen prender,  
nen dēostar, nen bravo responder, 5  
nen catar . . . . .

5 de ostar *B* : *corr.* *Michaëlis*

8 = B 42 (f. 15r)

Par Deus, fremosa mha senhor,  
macar me fazedes pesar,  
ei vos ja sempr' a desejar  
enos dias que vivo for;  
ca m' ar poderedes fazer, 5  
quando ar quiserdes, pr<azer>

4 enos *B* : nos *Michaëlis* dias en que *B* : en *delevi* 6 p<razer> *Michaëlis* : pr ?*B*

Notes<sup>7</sup>

## Airas Moniz d' Asme 1

a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> (x 4) ar ir er ei

*Unissonans. Rep.* 107:3. See Canettieri and Pulsoni 2003: 139-140.

**1-7:** a complex period, built on syntactic suspense. A tripartite causal clause (vv. 1-5) –whose third element is subdivided (3-4) and then followed by a relative clause (v. 5) and an explanatory clause (v. 6)– leads up to the first independent verb (v. 7): *pois mi non val d'... amar /... nen ...servir / nen quan apost' eu sei negar / ... e m' encobrir / dela (que...), (ca...),/... non ...negarei.*

**4 amor que lh' ei <e m'> encobrir:** B's reading, *O amor quelhey ancobrir*, does not make sense here. Instead of *ancobrir* Michaëlis wants *e\_a\_encobrir*, with conjunction and preposition. But phonology and metrics then become impossible (Nobiling): three vowels cannot occupy one syllable. The article is not required with *amor* (Lang 1894: 115-116), even when modified by a relative clause: *juram que morren con amor que an* (Johan Baveca; Zilli 1977: 77); Meogo 3, v. 1 *con amor que lh' eu dei*; Dinis 53, v. 5 *con amor que a forçava*. With the deletion of *o*, the syntax has one more syllable to develop, allowing for both the *e* Michaëlis wants and the reflexive pronoun *me* –needed for the construction *encobrirse de* (see next note): “... how deftly I can cover up (from others) / my love of her, and hide my feelings (*e m' encobrir*) / from her” (vv. 3-5).

**5 dela:** Michaëlis corrected *Eela* (B) to *a ela*, which is fine by itself (see Stegagno Picchio 1968: 129: *non dev'omen seu cor encobrir / a quen...*), but the verse is still deficient in sense. *m' encobrir / dela* (compare *Qvando o seruo que é fugido for a casa dalguu por se encobrir de seu dono*; Ferreira 1987: I, 290) frees up a needed syllable (see next note). We find *dela* in identical position (verse-initial, with enjambment, in the fifth verse of the first strophe) in Diego Moniz 2, v. 5.

**<sen>:** the correction *dela* shows a syllable is lacking, focusing attention on *que me faz perder*, which is incomplete as it stands. The formula *perder sen* does not need an article: *ja por ela lum' e sen perdi* (CA 232.11); Osoir' Anes 3, v. 19 *que non ei ja sen nen poder*. On *sen* (from Germanic *sinn*) see García-Sabell Tormo (1991: 308-312).

<sup>7</sup> References to texts in CA, CEM, and CSM normally refer to poem number and verse(s), e.g. CA 317.1. The *cantigas d'amigo* are cited according to Cohen (2003), for example: Bonaval 1, v. 6.

**6 ca:** *B* has *Que*, but the conjunction is causal here (see note on Asme 2, v. 32).

**pode<n> entender:** both this verse and v. 14 end with *entender*. This repetition may be intentional, but there might be an error here. If we accept Michaëlis' emendation, he is referring back to his skill at hiding his love (vv. 3-5) so well that "they" cannot discover it. Still, is it possible that another expression has been displaced (see notes on Diego Moniz 1, v. 25, Osoir' Anes 4, v. 9, Osoir' Anes 5, v. 50 and Osoir' Anes 6, v. 14).

**7 chus:** this old form also appear in vv. 13 and 15. See Monteagudo (2008: 386).

**14 <ca>:** the verse lacks a syllable, and the clause needs an introductory conjunction to connect it with what goes before. Lang proposes an initial <e>. (Michaëlis prints *pode entender*, supposing an unlikely hiatus).

**16 afeito** should be a single word. Though Michaëlis does not print it as such (or put it in the glossary), it is registered four times in *CSM*, once in *CEM*, and occurs once in the *cantigas d'amigo* (Meogo 2, v. 10).

**17 trastornar:** Michaëlis (*CA* s.v.) hazards "vaguear; vagabundear," citing only this passage. The verb occurs three times in *CEM* and Lapa glosses "revolver, atirar de baixo para cima." Compare *CSM* 255.57-60 *E tant' andando / foi trastornando / e preguntando / que achou a via*.

**17-18** The sense is: "Whoever wants to trek across the world and turn it upside down (in search of the most beautiful woman) will easily find out that it is mine."

**18 todo o mund', e:** H. Monteagudo's adjustment of Michaëlis' correction of *B*'s reading *tedeo munde* (personal communication, 2009). Compare *CSM* 55.78 *cujos feitos todo o mund' apregoa*, with hiatus: *todo | o*. (Miranda's *todo<l>o* is impossible; it is only in the plural that we find *todolos < todoslos*).

**ferir:** Michaëlis (*CA* s.v. *ferir*) is at a loss. (Nunes 1921 s.v. says "andar a bater às portas"). The meaning we need is "stomp (the earth), travel," a sense which does not occur elsewhere in the lyric, but does in prose: *assy como se departe pelo foro da Cela e vay ferir ao rio do Mino* (*DVPM* s.v. 3), where it means "go all the way to." Latin *ferire* could refer to beating the earth with the feet (*OLD* s.v. *ferio* 1a cites Tibullus 2.5.85: *feriet pede rusticus uvas* "the rustic will stomp the grapes with his foot"). If that is the right track, the evolution would be: "stomp the earth" → "walk" → "travel."



**19 festinho:** the word, from Latin *festinus* (“quick, swift, fast, rapid” *OLD* s.v. 1), is rare and appears to be confined to verse. We find it in Pero da Ponte *esto seja mui festinho* (Panunzio 1992: 163). See also *CSM* s.v. *festinno*.

**29 lhela** (B) combines a plural indirect object (see v. 26 *lhes*; v. 28 *lhis*) and a feminine singular direct object. A tonic object pronoun *ela* is possible (see, for example, *CA* 102.28 *se non vir ela*; *Elvas* 4, v. 5 *se el perder*), but more likely is *lhela* < *lhesla* (*TMILG* registers *llelo* eleven times and *llela* seven).

**32 en concelho** means “in public,” as in *CEM* 373.8 (Pero d’Armea): *Vós andades dizend’ en concelho / que sobre todas parescedes ben* (see also *CEM* s.v. *concelho*). *CSM* (s.v. *sair*) glosses *sair a concello* as “tornar público,” citing *CSM* 215.46: *porque aquesto feito | non sais <s’> a concello*.

**avergonhei:** paleographically, metrically and semantically this makes sense out of *B*’s reading *auey guey*. We find *y* for *r* in Moniz 2, v. 35 *enduray*, and *u* for *n* is one of the most common errors in *B*. The reading could have been **auergñey**. Though rare in the lyric (it is not in the glossaries of *CEM* or *CSM*), *avergonhar* is used by this poet twice in the next *cantiga* (vv. 5 and 24), once reflexively, once transitively (it is employed reflexively in *CA* 59.30 *quando vos non quiser avergonhar*). By “identifying” his lady as the most beautiful woman in the world (vv. 9-12, 17-24) and thereby, according to his logic, naming her (v. 16), the speaker has taken revenge (v. 31) by publicly *shaming* her. (Michaëlis reads *averigui*; Miranda, *avogui*; but neither word fits and neither occurs in Galician-Portuguese lyric; Machado’s *avergũey* is close: see VIII, 170 s.v. *averiguar*).

## Airas Moniz d’Asme 2

a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>6</sup> a<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>6</sup> (x 5)      ar edes / ei ades / er ia

*Doblas* (third pair incomplete). *Rep.* 62:1 *unicum*. See Correia (1995: 77-78). Meter and rhyme scheme are interwoven, with verses of a<sup>7</sup> and b<sup>6</sup> alternating through six verses, then a final section of a<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>6</sup>. This pattern evidently threw off a scribe higher up the stemma, who began to regularize the a<sup>7</sup> verses, got through the first strophe (stretching to 8 syllables the third and fifth verses –he apparently took *mha* in v. 1 as bisyllabic) and the beginning of the second (vv. 10, 12), then gave up, leaving the pattern intact for the rest of the poem. Michaëlis saw the irregularity and left it. Tavani reports the scheme correctly. Metrical flaws would be especially damaging to a *cantiga* that uses subtle distinctions in verse length as an essential feature of strophic design.

**3 en gran:** *B* offers *De mi que en tam gram vagar* in what should be a 7-syllable verse, but that will not scan since the conflation *que\_en* is against phonology and metrics, especially in the early period (Nobiling 1907: 346-349; Cunha 1982: 129-161, 167). There is no need for *tam* and cutting it yields a metrical verse (see headnote).

**5** The manuscript reads *E cuidomeu auergonhar* –a syllable long. *eu* is superfluous (see headnote).

**7 oj' a:** the manuscript's *Oio* can easily be corrected to *oje* (Miranda), since the article is not grammatically necessary. But *a mha barva* would correspond to *la mi barba* in Hispanic epic (see below), so Michaëlis' emendation is preferable.

**barva:** the beard, symbolic of honor, abounds in the *Cid*. See especially *i bençio esta batalla por o ondro su barba* (v. 1011) and *Que avedes vos, conde, por retraer la mi barba?* (v. 3283; see note on v. 274; Smith 1986: 172, 253, 278).

**10** *B* reads *Caualeyroia ultar*. Lang would delete *i*, leaving *aviltar*. The verb does not appear elsewhere in the lyric; but forms (especially the participle) occur a dozen times in the *Crónica Troiana*, according to *TMILG*. One could divide the letters to read *cavaleir'*, *oj' aviltar*, picking up *oje* in v. 7, but see headnote. (Machado and Miranda print *i aviltar*, but *i* cannot begin a clause –and the verse would not scan).

**11 viltar- / <la>:** meter and syntax are wanting in the transmitted text. Michaëlis supplied <*a*> because a direct object referring to the *barva* (vv. 7, 9, 12) is needed, and Miranda's *nunca* <*ja*> fails to supply one. The technique of splitting words or inseparably linked syntax (here, an infinitive and its direct object) across a verse-break was a mark of skill—found from time to time in *CSM*. See, for example, *CSM* 7.44-46 *Santa Maria tirar- / lle fez o fill' e criar- / lo mandou*.

**12** The manuscript has *ia ela estar*, producing a hypermetric verse (see headnote). Lang sees that *ia* should be cut.

**16** There is no break in the manuscript nor has Colocci left one of his *crucés* to indicate that something is missing (see on Osóir' Anes 7, v. 6). So this verse might belong here or might be v. 13 (as editors have assumed), since meter and rhyme are the same in both locations. But *e desso que dizedes* fits well as a transition to the rejection in v. 17. Compare Guilhade 5, v. 10 *mais desso que mi dizedes*, where an almost identical expression precedes a similar rebuff.

**26 e dade m' al i** tries to make sense of *B*'s *Eda de mali*, which Michaëlis reads as *e dade mal*, where *dar* has no indirect object and the meaning is unclear. Lopes (2002: 23) proposes *E dade m' al ou*, an inspired stab in the dark followed by a blunder: the sense is illogical (he means "Give me something and I'll go," not "Give me something *or* I'll go) and the verse as she prints it is hypometric. By *al* the speaker means an alternative to whatever he asked for. It might be inferred from vv. 41-42 (*ca eu por tanto d'aver / nunca vos deterria*) that he asked for a material gift, such as a *cinta*. If so, *al* could mean another gift, of lesser import but still symbolic. On the other hand, if he asked at first for sexual relations he is now ready to settle for a pointedly unspecified "something else," symbolic or otherwise. For uses of *al* in similar (erotic) contexts, compare *fez mi tirar a corda da camisa / e dei lh'eu dela ben quanta m'el disse, / mais el demanda mh al* (Guilhade 6, vv. 8-19); and *O meu seria perdido con migo / por sempre, amigas, se mi pediss' al* (Guilhade 17. 8-9; see Cohen, forthcoming, Chapter 5). In that case the adverb *i* might function here as it does in some *cantigas d'escarnho e maldizer*: a deictic gesturing towards female sexuality. For an obvious example, see *CEM* 250.26 *ca ja en min meteu do seu i ben* (a woman is speaking).

**32 ca**: Michaëlis' correction of *que* (see, for example, *B* 96 / *A* 9, v. 13: *ca A : q' B*).

**33 u ren non adubades**: "Where (*or* since) you won't get anything." The verb *adubar* (see García-Sabell Tormo 1991: 21-23) can be explicitly sexual, as in *CEM* 245.3 and *CSM* 105.57-58 *que nunca el pode ren adubar / con a donzela*. Compare the girl's rebuke in Esquio 4, v. 1 *Que adubastes, amigo, alá en Lug'u andastes*—near the lower limit of the register in the *cantigas d'amigo*. The nature of the man's requests is reflected in the woman's refusal.

**36 ar uenhades** is the reading of *B* (Miranda prints *ar i venhades* without any basis).

**ar**: this adverb (or particle) so far has no convincing etymology (Nunes 1989: 350-351 takes *re-* from Cornu; Michaëlis *CA* s.v. *ar* derives it from *ad re-*). But it may plausibly be traced to Latin *ad* (as a verbal prefix), which could become *ar* in front of labials, a sound change for which there is evidence in archaic inscriptions (Weiss 2009: 475-476): *ARVERSVS* (*OLD* s.v. *aduersus*<sup>4</sup>); *ARFVISE* (= *adfuisse*, *OLD* s.v. *adsum*); *APVR FINEM* (*OLD* s.v. *apud*). Thus, *aduenit* (for example) would have become *\*aruenit* and this would be the immediate source of *ar ven*. Once *ar* had been reanalyzed as an adverb, its use would have spread to other verbs and then to other constructions. But its origin as a prefix explains why it nearly always precedes a verb (sometimes an implied verb, or an adverb or adverbs just before a verb; it is

rarely found in any other construction). In these twelve texts *ar* occurs seven times, always before a verb: Asme 2, vv. 2 (*ar pensedes*) and 36 (*ar venhades*); Diego Moniz 1, vv. 19 (*ar mataria*) and 22 (*ar matava*); Osoir' Anes 2, v. 32 (*ar querrei*), 8, vv. 5 (*ar poderedes*) and 6 (*ar quiserdes*). The oldest meaning of Latin *aduenire* is “to arrive” (*OLD* s.v. *aduenio* 1) and by extension “to come back,” exactly what *ar viir* usually means and what it means here.

**44 prazer** is Michaëlis' correction of *plazer*, a form which occurs in the sixteenth century Italian apographs, *B* and *V*, but not in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (siglum *A*) or in the Toledano manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (siglum *To*), both thirteenth century codices (see *CA* s.v. *plazer*). From this we can infer that it is a late form which has displaced an original *prazer*. We also find *plazeria* in Osoir' Anes 2, v. 1.

**45** Probably not the end of the poem. Both the scheme of *cobras doblas* and the dialog pattern suggest that one strophe is missing. (An accident of transmission, or silencing woman's voice?).

### Diego Moniz 1

a<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> x<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> d<sup>7</sup> d<sup>7</sup> (x 4)      ia or ava er / ava er ia or

*A palabra perdida* (x) alternates in rhyme from *or* to *er*, the other member of the pair appearing as the d-rhyme. The a-rhyme and b-rhyme alternate: I > III, II > IV. *Rep.* 51:1 *unicum*. See Gonçalves (1993); Billy (2003: 56-57).

**6-9** Presumably, the subject of *fazia* (v. 7) is the lady, since *seu* (v. 9) should refer to the subject of the clause: “And I didn't thank God for the favor *she* did me just by letting me see her beauty.” Alternatively (with theological, but no grammatical compunctions), *Deus* may be the subject of *fazia*: “the favor He did me.”

**10 sandez**: at *CSM* 94. 55 this form is found in rhyme. The normal form is *sandeçe*, *sandeç'* before a vowel.

**13 que** stands in for *quando* (v. 11) the second time round. Compare Queimado 3 (vv. 4-5): *quand' aqui chegar / e que lh' eu falar non quiser* (see Nunes 1926-1928: I, 396; Huber 1986: 301; par. 482, note).

**queria**: my correction of *q' rriã* (B), which previous editors have printed as *querria*. But here the verb must refer to the past –which the conditional cannot do (in the

next verse the viewpoint has shifted, and the conditional *pagaria* has the present as point of reference). Confusion between *queria* and *querria* is common in *B*. See, for example, *A* 200 / *B* 351, v. 4 *queria A* : *queiria B* (= *querria*). (See Cohen 2003: 615, note 1.)

**15 *dava***: the imperfect *dava* may be modal here, equivalent to a conditional: “Who could give me this (now)?” Compare the modal force of *cobrava* in v. 28 (see note). But *entrava* in v. 16 refers to the past.

**16 *que non m’ entrava***: *queno nõ entraua*, the reading of *B*, neither makes sense nor scans. Michaëlis’ emends to *que non m’ entrava*, without translation or gloss. The change is simple paleographically, but the sense needs clarification. Only one of the various meanings of the verb appears to be relevant: “to take possession of,” in a legal sense: *o Maestre e a Ordin d’avis.per ssa outoridade possam entrar.e filhar.e possoyr.e auer pera todo sempre.os sobredictos herdamentos* (DVPM: 178, s.v. 3; see Ferreira 1987: II, 122-123, where the phrase is *entrar en*). The sense would be: “...this *ben*, that didn’t take possession of me,” or “didn’t grip me.” The impersonal use of *entrar*, meaning “penetrate (the heart, the will),” as in CSM 234.20 and 312.45) probably cannot be invoked here.

**18 *E vivess’ a tal sabor***: *Eu messental sabor*, *B*’s reading, offers an easy correction at the beginning of the verse: *m* is often found for *iu* (or *ui*), so by combining the *u* of *Eu* with *iu* (for *m*) we get *uiuessen*: *vivess’ en*. Michaëlis, however, prints *E ouvess’ eu tal sabor*, probably because *sabor* is usually found with *aver* (a few times with *prender*, *dar*, *tomar*, *perder*), while *viver en sabor* seems not to be documented (*viver sen sabor* is common; see Osoir’ Anes 1, vv. 9-10). But we find *a sabor*, for example, in Cangas 2 (vv. 7-9 *e non vi / meu amigo con que quisera falar / a mui gran sabor nas ribeiras do mar*) and the expression *estar a sabor* appears in Lourenço 3 (v. 20 *a que gran sabor estava*), so the construction here would be *viver a sabor*.

**17-18 *non ouvess’... /... vivess’***: although both verbs are independent optatives, *non ouvess’* is here equivalent to a protasis, while *vivess’* functions as an apodosis: “Let me have no better! And let me be that happy!” is tantamount to “If I had no better, I would be so happy!”

**20-21 *um cor que ei de folia / mui combrid<o>, e d’ amor***: “My heart full of folly and of love.” *folia* (see García-Sabell Tormo 1991: 147-148) can refer to sexual desire (as here) or activities. See CSM 115. 62 (where there can be no doubt) and Guilhade 6, v. 15 *mais el demanda mi | outra folia* (where we can only guess).

**22 per poucas**, meaning “almost, nearly,” is found only here in the secular lyric, but six times in *CSM* (according to *TMLG*).

**25 sabia** has already been used in rhyme in v. 1 (see notes on *Asme* 1, v. 6, *Osoir’ Anes* 5, v. 50 and *Osoir’ Anes* 6, v. 14).

**27 por dela mais ben aver**: see, for example, *Johan Airas* 7, vv. 1-2 *O meu amigo non pod’ aver ben / de mi* (vv. 1-2), where coyness makes clear that *aver ben de* can mean “to receive sexual favors from (a woman).” Compare *Baveca* 13, *Johan Airas* 7 and 27, *Servando* 12 (see Cohen, forthcoming, Chapter 2).

**28 se eu ... cobrava**: “If I could get back...” The imperfect indicative must be modal here, corresponding to an imperfect subjunctive in a contrary-to-fact condition, as if we had *se eu cobrasse*. This is shown by the conditional in the apodosis: *saber lh’ ia* (v. 30). In this context *nunca* means “ever.” *Michaëlis* translates vv. 28-29: “Gewönne ich je die Lust zurück, in der ich früher lebte...” (“If I could ever win back the happiness in which I lived before...”). *Huber* (1986: 311, par. 495) gives one example of such a usage, within a past narrative –not a close parallel. See v. 15. (Rhyme-driven syntax?)

**32-33** An elegant –and certain– emendation. *B* reads: *Q’ ela ñ podia uiuer / Quãdalthur moraua*. The supplement <sen> *ela* moves *podia* to rhyme-position at the end of v. 32, so that v. 33 begins with *viver*. At one stroke *Nobiling* fixes the meter, rhyme, syntax and sense of two verses. (*Ferreiro Fernández / Martínez Pereiro* 1996: 36 print *que <eu> viver non podia / quando ela alhur morava*.)

**alhur morava**: this expression can mean simply “to live somewhere else,” but it can also mean “to love another” or “to have another lover” (*Indini* 1979: 110; compare *Osoir Anes* 2, vv. 15-16 *quando s’ elfor / alhur servir outra senhor*). If that is the sense here, it would thicken the plot. On *alhur*, see *García-Sabell Tormo* (1991: 38-40).

## Diego Moniz 2

a<sup>13</sup> a<sup>13</sup> a<sup>13</sup> a<sup>13</sup> b<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> (x 1.4)      ia er / ia ...

*Unissonans. Rep.* 16:18. Maybe aaaBB. The strophic form was analyzed by *Michaëlis*, duly registered by *Tavani* (*Rep.* 16: 8), and repeated by *Gonçalves* (1993), but ignored by *Miranda*. In *B* our vv. 1, 2 and 7 are copied as whole verses, but the scribe had no room for this procedure (the last three letters of v. 1 had to be written above the first part of the word).

**1 como a mi:** *comomami*, the reading of *B*, is given by Michaëlis as *como m'a mi* but this produces a hypermetric verse and the correction is simple.

**prazeria:** see note on Asme 2, v. 44.

7 This verse ends the folio and following it there are two blank folios, nos. 12 and 13 (blank except for Colocci's invaluable calculations on 13v; see Ferrari 1979: 41-54).

### Osoir' Anes 1

a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> (x 4)      or ou ei ar / er er i al

*Doblas. Rep.* 107:4. See Canettieri and Pulsoni (2003: 139-142). The *dobre* in vv. 1 and 3 of strophes I-II (*amor* v. 1, *desamor* v. 3; *sabor* vv. 9 and 11) is thereafter dropped, though *poder* in vv. 19 and 25 seems an echo of the *dobre*, occurring in each of the two positions in the strophe which are occupied by the *dobre* in I-II. In addition, *amar* and *mal* both recur in rhyme in what seems like a deliberate pattern (*amar* I.7 > II.8; *mal* III.7 > IV.8).

**1-6** Being unable to leave the beloved, going back after leaving, being forced back—all are found in other *cantigas d'amor*, for example (nearby in *B*): CA 338.19 *nen ei poder de vos fogir*: 342.5-6 *E faz mi-a mercee vïir / d'Amor; com'ome preso ven*; 352.14 *Non lhi posso fugir*; 355 (a request to be taken back); 357.31-32 *Ca non ei eu a vos fugir / nen outra senhor filharei*. Returning against one's will to a lover is a topos of ancient Greek and Roman poetry. See Tibullus (2.6.13-14): *Iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam! / Cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipsa redit* ("How many times I swore I'd never go back to her door! But after I'd sworn up and down, my feet went back by themselves").

**2 quen<n>:** Michaëlis' correction is necessary. There is a syntactic rule that requires *quen* (for human beings and their like) whenever the antecedent is absorbed by the relative pronoun, which thus functions in two clauses. Here *quen* is the direct object of *amar* and the subject of *amou*: "And [Love] made me love *someone who* never loved." (Miranda, who prints *que*, does not print *quen* even when it is required by grammar and present in the manuscript; see note on Osoir' Anes 5, v. 22.)

**4 que:** here *B* has *quen* but what is needed is *que* functioning either as a causal conjunction or as a causal relative: "since he sent me back to such a lady."

**4, 6** The construction with *tornar* is causative in v. 4, meaning “to make (somebody, something) go back to/from (somewhere, something, somebody)” and apparently reflexive in v. 6. For the causative, see CA 231.19-21 *se me Deus ajudar / e me cedo quiser tornar / u eu ben vi, ben veerei*; Johan Airas 27, v. 13 *ren de morte non o tornará*. (Lorenzo 1977: II, 1263 s.v. *tornar* glosses this use as “llevar al lugar donde se estuvo”). For the reflexive: CEM 135.18 *quando m’ a ela tornei*; CA 64. 1-2 *Quiseram-ir; tal conselho preñdi; / e fui, coitad’, e tornei-me por én!* Hence, Love made the speaker go back (v. 4); he went back (v. 6). Although causative force is inherent in the reflexive use (the difference being that between “I made myself go back” and “I went back”), reflexive pronouns are not normally tonic (Nobiling 1907: 343-345); but in v. 6 meter shows the object pronoun *mi* has syllabic integrity (stands unelided), and its tonicity is emphatic. So the construction is parallel, if not identical, to that of v. 4.

**4, 6 mi**: for metrical and grammatical reasons (see previous note), *mi* is not elided in vv. 4 and 6 and must be a tonic object pronoun, like *min* in vv. 1 and 16. (Ferreiro Fernández / Martínez Pereiro 1996: 156 print *mi a tal* in both places, but this is equivalent to *mh a tal*. To mark the form as tonic they would print *mi*.)

**12 sou** < sũũM (= *seu*) is an archaic form (Nunes 1989: 243-244; Williams 1938: 39; par. 38.10). Compare CEM 314.6, 410.10; CSM 23.6, 406.4, and see Monteagudo (2008: 384-385).

**15 viver ei** (not *viverei*) is needed on strictly syntactic grounds, so that *ei* can also govern *morrer* in the next verse.

**18 mego**: an archaic form, cited only here by *TMILG*. Its reconstructed brethren *comego* and *cõmeago* occur in three compositions, including Osoir’ Anes 4 (v. 4). See Monteagudo (2008: 384-387).

**vid’ over**: Michaëlis prints *ou<v>er*, but *ouer* is the regular form in the *Foro de Castelo Rodrigo* (Cintra 1984: 167, 467). On this and related forms, see Monteagudo (2008: 186-201, 370-377). If correct (I find no parallel), the expression *quen mego vid’ over* would mean something like “whoever has spent time with me.”

**28** Miranda prints *se m’ en Deus i poder non der*, producing yet another *i* not present in the manuscript (see note on Asme 2, v. 36).

**30 dou** (Williams 1938: 230; Nunes 1989: 322) is a variant form of the third person singular perfect indicative of *dar* formed by analogy with regular first conjugation



perfects as if from \*DAVIT. It occurs in rhyme at *CEM*. 472.18. (Michaëlis mistakenly translates it as first person present, then corrects herself in the glossary, *CA* s.v. *dar*). See Monteagudo (2008: 385-386).

**32 erg'**: see Monteagudo (2008: 381-384).

<**gran**> supplies a syllable and some point, both of which are lacking in the transmitted text. Compare, in Dinis: *Senhor, creede / que a vossa fermosura / mi faz gram mal sem mesura, / poreu de mi vos doede* (Lang 1894: 99; analyzed as a paradigm of the male wooing discourse by Cohen 1987: 1-3).

## Osoir Anes 2

a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> d<sup>8</sup> (x 4)      I-II: ir ei i or    III: á ar en er    IV: ar er á eu

Rhyme sounds interweave in III-IV, instead of *doblas*: b-rhyme of III becomes a-rhyme of IV, a-rhyme becomes c-rhyme. *Rep.* 168: 6. See Billy (2003: 43); Canettieri and Pulsoni (2003: 139-146).

The man speaks vv. 1-13. First (vv. 1-5) he summarizes the situation; then (vv. 6-13) he imagines what he will say to his lady before he leaves. The rest of the poem (vv. 14-32), in female voice, represents what (in the scene he is imagining) he will tell the woman that she will say after he is gone. The woman's speech thus occupies the center of this unusually complicated dramatic and narrative structure. Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1993: 113-114) discusses the "other woman." The *other*, male or female, is hardly a medieval invention. In ancient Roman poetry, looking for, finding, or threatening to find another beloved is often (but not always) a *topos* of the *renuntiatio amoris*, and is used to escape from the beloved or to make her (or him) jealous<sup>8</sup>. (On *outra* and *outro* in the *cantigas d'amigo*, see Cohen, forthcoming, Chapter 6.).

8 See, for example, Plautus, *Epidicus* 135 *illam amabam olim: nunciam alia cura impendet pectori*; Lucretius 4.1173 *nempe aliae quoque sunt; nempe hac sine viximus ante*; Virgil, *Eclogues* 2.73 *invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin*; Horace, *Epodes* 15.23-24 *heu heu translato alio maerebis amores: / ast ego vicissim risero*; Tibullus 1.5.39ff *saepe aliam tenui...*; Tibullus 1.9.79-80 *tum flebis, cum me vinctum puer alter habebit / et geret in regno regna superba tuo*; Propertius 2.5.5-8 *inveniam tamen e multis fallacibus unam / quae fieri nostro carmine nota velit, / nec mihi tam duris insultet moribus, et te / vellicet: heu sero flebis amata diu*; Propertius 2.22.37-40 *altera me cupidis teneat foveatque lacertis, / altera si quando non sinit esse locum; / aut si forte irata meo sit facta ministro, / ut sciat esse aliam, quae velit esse mea*; Propertius 4.8.27ff; Ovid, *Amores* 2.4, 2.10; Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 441-445, 450-451, 461-462. Many female rivals inhabit Ovid's *Heroides*.

**2 temp'ei:** the normal expression would be *temp'á*, and Michaëlis is understandably puzzled by this unparalleled variation (*CA* s.v. *tempo*), guaranteed by the rhyme.

**8 guaanhei:** bisyllabic.

**19 mingua:** compare **mengua** in v. 17; see Monteagudo (2008: 379-381).

**20 rancurado:** Michaëlis translates “zornig” (“angry”) and glosses “ressentido” (*CA* s.v. *rancurado*). The word is cited only here by *TMILG*. See the notes on *Osoir' Anes* 5, v. 26 and 6, v. 11.

**salrrá:** *solhira* (B) looks like *salira*, the normal spelling of *salrrá* in B, so Michaëlis' *salrá* has paleography and grammar in its favor. The only parallel I find for *sair de alguen* comes in a *cantiga d'escarnho* of Pero d' Ambroa: *de sair dela sol non é pensado*, where *dela* refers to a woman, metaphorically an *ermida velha* (Alvar 1986: 80-81). In *Froiaz* 4, vv. 13-14 we find the same form in rhyme: <E> *ja meu amigo nunca salrrá / de meu mandado nen de meu poder*; but the construction is different. (Miranda prints *sol irá*, which does not scan and makes dubious sense.)

**23 mho:** B has *m eu*. Cotarelo y Valledor's *me o* is what the reading probably had been further up the stemma. See *A* 16 / *B* 109, v. 20: *mio A : meu B* (the correct reading is *mi-o*); and compare the apparatus to *Berdia* 4, v. 8: *mi-o Nunes : me o B : me V*, where the reading is confirmed by the identical phrase in v. 6 (both B and V have *mho*). Earlier in the transmission readings like *me o* and *mi o* were converted to *mho*, and some cases escaped the conversion. (Miranda prints *meu*, which he wants to mean “what's mine,” but the article would be required for such a construction.)

**receber:** the first and third person singular of the future subjunctive of weak verbs ends in close *er* and so can rhyme (unlike the corresponding strong forms, which end in open *er*; see note on v. 27) with present infinitives in *er*. This is the only place in these twelve texts where such a rhyme is used. These rhymes are not uncommon in *CEM* and the *cantigas d'amor*, but are rare in the *cantigas d'amigo*, where there are only three examples: Galisteu Fernandiz 3, v. 5 *viver*; Folhente 1, v. 13 *viver*; and Elvas 4, v. 5 *perder* (Cohen 2003: 492, 270, 348; in the first two cases the *crucés* and the notes “explaining” them should be deleted; in *Pardal* 4, v. 13 the *crucés* should remain, but in note 1 the first of the two grounds given is wrong and should be struck).

**24 cômigo se pode perder:** *perderse con alguen*, meaning “to be all washed up with (someone)” or “no longer to be a friend/lover of (someone),” is commonly

used in the *cantigas d'amigo* to refer to the end of a relationship between girl and boy (Cohen 1996: 42, note 25). In a *cantiga d'escarnho* where this expression is parodied, Pero d'Ambroa drives home its potential reciprocity (Alvar 1986: 84-86): *que se non perdess'el poren comigo / nen eu con el* (3-4); *que me non aja con el de perder / e el comigo* (6-7); *e perdeu s'el comigo / e eu com el* (10-11); *e per aquesto perder-s'á comigo / e eu com el* (17-18). Here it refers to a relationship between *vezias* (from the same town) who may “fall out” with each other over the man (the speaker in vv. 1-13).

**25 e:** *B* has *osmo*, Michaëlis prints *osm'e*. This is preferable to *o<u>* since the verbs which are being coordinated, *assanhar* and *maldisser*, represent sequential actions.

**assanhar:** compare Talaveira 8, v. 6 *se m'assanhar*; Servando 2, v. 4 *se me lh'eu ant' assanhar*, v. 16 *mais, se m'eu for assanhando*. The woman's use of this verb is striking because (in the lyric) finite forms of *assanharse* are found almost exclusively in the *cantigas d'amigo*, where they play an important role (Cohen 1996: 5-27, 48-50).

**27 a tolher:** the manuscript has *atolh* (= *atolher*; compare the abbreviated form *toll'* in the “Toledano” (*To*), for example, Afonso X, o Sabio 2003: folio 20v, col. b, line 15). But this was misread by Molteni and printed by Michaëlis as *acolher* (“receive, take in”). Here *tolher* means “to steal (someone's beloved),” as in Sevilha 8 (vv. 25-26 *outras donas an / falad' en como volo tolherán*) and Bolseiro 7 (v. 17 *pois que mho vós tolhestes*) and is roughly parallel in meaning to *sussacar* (v. 28), though a sequence of actions seems to be intended: “If my neighbor steals him from me (*se mho... a tolher oer*) and seduces him (*e mho sussacar*)...” (Miranda wants *acolher* at the end of the verse, but the future subjunctive *acolher*, from a weak verb, ends in close *er*, while *disser*, from a strong verb, ends in open *er*. The poets never rhyme these two classes. See Huber 1986: 242, par. 400; Ferreiro 1999: I, 312-314).

**28 e:** Michaëlis prints *ou* for *B*'s *o*; but *e*, an even easier correction, co-ordinates *tolher* and *sussacar* (see note on v. 27).

**sussacar:** this verb, meaning “entice, seduce,” appears as a legal term in the *Foro de Castelo Rodrigo* (*Tod omne ou moller que sosacar filla allena pora outro*; Cintra 1984: 50) and the *Foro Real* (Jews must not entice Christians away from their faith; Ferreira 1987: I, 263; II, 281 s.v. *susacar*). See also *CSM* s.v. *sossacar* (the devil entices).

**28-29 vezia:** only here in Galician-Portuguese love lyric (but see *CEM* s.v. *vezinho* and *CSM* s.v. *vezinna*, *vezinno*). *maõ vezio* (B) in v. 29 cannot stand (unless grammatically

indifferent as to gender), since it must refer to the *vezia* of v. 28: “If a *vezia* . . . , she will be a *maa vezia*.” (*mao vezio* cannot refer to the man: he does not imagine the woman calling him names; he imagines two women fighting over him.)

**30 vol’ a sentir á:** Michaëlis takes *B*’s *uola* to be an error for *voló* (*la* would have no antecedent; compare *mha* in *B* in vv. 29, 28) and prints *vo-lo sentirá*, the sense being: “But, you know (*vo-*), she won’t have to feel it (*-lo* = my anger).” We get the same or better sense (without changing a letter of the manuscript) by construing *aver a sentir* (compare v. 7 <*a*>*veredes a sentir*). Either way, the other woman (it is hoped) will be neighborly and not try to steal the man. This presupposes a female solidarity rule, to which the woman claims that she adheres (v. 31).

**31-32** These verses are much like the *fiinda* of Johan Airas 1 (vv. 19-20): *Cofonda Deus a que filhar o meu / amig’, e min, se eu filhar o seu*. Here, *o seu* presumably refers to the same man, once he has become the the other woman’s boyfriend. See Johan Airas 43, especially vv. 19-20 (*fiinda*), where the girl imagines she has won back her lost boyfriend from another girl: <*E*> *enton veredes molher andar / pos min chorand’, e non lho querrei eu dar*. (On both texts see Cohen, forthcoming, Chapter 6).

### Osoir’ Anes 3

a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> C<sup>8</sup> C<sup>8</sup> (x 2)      ei ar ez / er á ez

Variation in first verse of refrain. *Rep.* 160: 367. (On the new lady, see Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1993: 112-113).

**2 afan:** see García-Sabell Tormo (1991: 24-29).

**8 <mal> servid’:** a syllable is missing, and the context requires that the first two verses mean: “Any lady who loves well will never be *badly* served thereby (*én*).” The reading of *B* says the opposite. An example of such a woman –who benefited from being well served– is provided in vv. 9-10. (For a woman’s take on service, see Guilhade 17.).

### Osoir’ Anes 4

I      a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup>      I: on ar or

II-III      a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup>      II: ar on eus III: ar on or

The a-rhyme and b-rhyme switch places from I to II. *Rep.* 101:55, 161.266. See Billy (2003: 38). The rhyme scheme in the first strophe *abab* might seem off (the other two strophes begin *abba*), but any temptation to transpose vv. 3 and 4 runs into problems, since it is difficult to see how the adverb *i* in v. 3 could precede its referent (*prison* v. 4). Once again, see Bertolucci Pizzorusso (1993: 112-113) on the change in appetite.

**4 ed ir:** Michaëlis' version of v. 4 scans a syllable short (*de | ir* supposes an impossible hiatus) and the construction *que me non podesse forçar /.../ d' ir começo* is confusing, since the speaker cannot be forced to go *with himself*. However, *ir* is a sensible reading of the last two letters of *B's edit*. The subject of *podesse... ir* would have to be *meu coração* (v. 1), but for there to be a syntactic parallelism with *podesse forçar* (v. 2) we need a coordinating conjunction, and that is precisely where *B* gives us *ed*, an archaic form of Lat. *et* with the voicing of intervocalic *-t-*. See Monteagudo (2008: 386-387). The speaker had not thought his heart (1) could force him, and (2) go back there with him: *cuidei ... que me non podesse forçar... ed ir começo....* On *ed*, compare Solaz 2, v. 4 *ed oi* (Cohen 2003: 287-288; see Cohen & Corriente 2002: 26-27).

**5 nov' amor:** the idea and the expression occur in Latin, for example in Cicero (*Tusculanae Disputationes*, 4.75): *etiam novo quidam amore veterem amorem tamquam clavo clavum eiciendum putant* ("Some even think that an old love must be driven out by a new love just as a nail is driven out by a nail"); and Ovid (*Remedia Amoris*, 462): *successore novo vincitur omnis amor* ("Every love is conquered by a new love that succeeds it"). These and other passages of Roman literature may be the ultimate source of the topos found in Occitan poetry.

**9 enton** is used again in rhyme in v. 17 (hence, II.2 > III.3). See note on See Diego Moniz 1, v. 25.

**10 cuidei:** Michaëlis' correction is required by the sequence of tenses: *cuidei...que non / podesse*, which exactly parallels the construction in the first strophe (see note on v. 4).

**11 cobrar:** compare *CSM Prologue B*, vv. 24-26: *querrei-me leixar de trobar des i / por outra dona, e cuid' a cobrar / per esta quant'enas outras perdi*.

**16 cabelos:** the only occurrence of the word in the *cantigas d'amor*. But *cabelos* appear in the *cantigas d'amigo* in Soarez Coelho 1, Porto Carreiro 1, Zorro 5, Meogo 5 and Meogo 6, always with erotic connotations.

## Osoir' Anes 5

a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> b<sup>3</sup> b<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> (x 6) I-II: ades ei III-IV ado ar V-VI ia er

*Doblas. Rep. 67:1 unicum.* The last two verses of each strophe stand on one line in *B*.

**3 gāades:** Michaëlis adds a til here and in Osoir' Anes 6, v. 12 *têer* and Osoir' Anes 7, v. 5 *dēostar*. Wherever we can compare *B* with *A* the til is regularly present in *A* where it is lacking in *B*. See, for example, the text and apparatus of *CA* 20.4 *tēen A* : tem *B*; 26.24 *mēor A* : meor *B*; 46.15 *tēedes A* : teedes *B*. Missing tils in *B* and *V* should not be considered evidence of denasalization in the thirteenth century.

**7-8 dereit' ei:** literally, “I am in the right,” Michaëlis translates: “Recht wäre es” (“It would be right”), but that rendering stems from her construal of the next clause, and *dereit' ei* can hardly govern the indicative *segurades* (cf. Huber 1986: 294, par. 471; Lorenzo 1977: II, 1178 cites this passage with *seguredes*). He is right to suffer, because...

**8 que:** we could print *ca* (see Asme 1, v. 32). The clause provides a reason for the preceding statement (see note on v. 7).

**segurades:** Michaëlis emends *B*'s *segudides* to *segurades* and translates “schützt gegen” “protect from” (see *CA* s.v. *segurar*). The construction with *de* (*da ren* v. 8; *daquela* v. 9; *de vós* v. 10) supports the emendation, but not the sense she gives the word. The only other time *segurar* occurs in the lyric it is construed differently (*CSM* 28.135), but in prose it can mean what Michaëlis wants, and in the same construction (see *DVPM*: 355 and Lorenzo 1977: II, 1178). Still, “It's right that you protect me from you” makes no sense here. However, *segurar* can also mean “keep something away from someone” (Ferreira 1987: II, 269, s.v. *segurar*). “Because you keep me away from you” is what the context calls for. She fends him off.

**segudides B:** it should at least be noted that *B*'s reading looks like *segudades*, from *segudar* (< \*SĒCŪTĀRE ← SĒCŪTU-; *REW* 7778), meaning “to pursue” an enemy (*Todos los parentes que inimigo segudaren, seguden parentes d'ambas partes*; Cintra 1984: 60). But it is hard to see how *segudades* would fit the passage.

**10 certas,** found only here in Galician-Portuguese lyric, means “certainly, of course.” See García-Sabell Tormo (1991: 94).

**11 muit'**: my emendation of *Ouir*, the unintelligible reading of *B*. Both Nobiling and Lang think that syntax requires *que*: “And, surely, you should know that (*sabhades que*) I didn’t desire a favor (= *amor*).” But the sense is contradicted by the context: that *is* what he wanted. Further, the conjunction is not obligatory in the construction they assume (see, for example, Fernan Velho 1, vv. 7-8 *Oí dizer por me fazer pesar / amades vós outra*). And *sabhades* may be parenthetical here (“Certainly, you know...”), requiring no conjunction, since then *desejei* stands in an independent clause. In either case, the only solution I see is that *Ouir* is a corruption of *muit* (*r* and *t* are quite similar in thirteenth century gothic miniscule; see, for example, *To*, f. 71r, col. b *Muit*; the reverse in *edit* for *edir* in *Osoir’ Anes* 4. v. 4). If this is correct, *muit’ amor non desejei* would mean: “I wasn’t asking for a *big* (erotic) favor.” The magnitude of the favor does seem to be at issue: he says in vv. 12-13 that if she thinks *that* is what he desired, she is *certainly* (*ben leu*) doing him an injustice –implying that to ask so big a favor would be unbecoming. For the expression *desejar amor*, see *CA.374.10 porque desejo voss’ amor*; *CA 388.25 en deseja-lo voss’ amor*; and for the thought, albeit inverted (the speaker admits he is guilty of having desired *muito ben* from his lady): *CA 17.1-3 Non me poss’ eu, senhor, salvar / que muito ben non desejei / aver de vos. muit’ amor* is not found elsewhere in the lyric, but according to *TMILG* it appears (with various spellings) roughly ten times, beginning in 1283.

**13 ben leu**: here, “certainly.” This Provençal expression is found in Galician-Portuguese only in verse (see García-Sabell Tormo 1991: 203-205; Monteagudo, 2008: 377-378).

**20 pesar**: *pensar* is the reading of *B* and most editors have been content to print *pensar*, but I find no parallel either for *este pensar* or for *aver pensar*. Cotarelo Valledor alone prints *pesar* (this is his one contribution to the text). *aver pesar* (*CEM 12.1 muit’ ouve gran pesar*) and *este pesar* are well documented (the latter cited six times from the *lirica profana* in *TMILG*). In addition, *este pesar* fits into the wordplay with *pesa* in the next verse. For the insertion of an etymological *n* where it does not belong, compare Diego Moniz 2, v. 3 *monstraria*.

**22 quen**: an absorbed relative. See note on *Osoir’ Anes* 1, v. 2 (Miranda fails to recognize a common manuscript abbreviation and prints *que*).

**24 lhe**: plural, referring to “them” (vv. 19, 22, 26; see v. 31). Similarly *lhi*, v. 31.

**26 rancurar** seems to be cited only here by *TMILG*, but see Corominas (IV, 767 s.v. *rancio*). In Medieval Latin *rancorare* can mean “to institute [legal] proceedings”

(Niermeyer). Michaëlis translates “schmollen” “sulk” (“ter ressentimento” in her glossary, *CA* s.v. *rancurar*). Is he grumbling to himself about his lady or complaining about his companions (whose intrusive questions are the subject of vv. 19-24)?

**27** Michaëlis translates vv. 25-27: “Und muss mich vor ihnen hüten, und schmollen, und so thun, als schenkte ich ihnen Aufmerksamkeit” (“I must be on my guard against them, and sulk, and act as though I were paying attention to them”). Lang (1908: 308), saying the translation of v. 27 suits neither the words nor the context, renders instead: “Und (muss) gleichsam immer bedacht (behutsam) sein” – “And (I must) constantly be careful (cautious).”

**40 desta** means *desta vez* (see *CEM* 46.8 *Mais desta seerei eu escarmentado* and the note on *aquela* in Vallín 1995: 232).

**se desta posso viver:** Michaëlis (1904: I, 653) translates “Wenn ich dieses Mal davonkomme” (“If I survived this time”).

**49 atal** cannot be separated here, as in Michaëlis (there is no preposition here).

**50 poderia:** the repetition of this form, used in rhyme two verses above, may indicate a corruption (it would be a flaw in a song whose strophic form is meant to impress). Perhaps *guariria* or *viveria* would suit the sense of the passage (vv. 46-50), which seems to be: “God would not take me (if I died—since I have sinned), and (if I didn’t die) I would not survive” —a logic not without its humor. See *Asme* I, vv. 6 and 14, *Diego Moniz* 1, vv. 1 and 25, *Osoir’ Anes* 4, vv. 9 and 17, and *Osoir’ Anes* 6. vv. 10 and 14 for other words repeated in rhyme (considered a grave fault in Provençal poetics, except where symmetrical and regular).

**51-54** When he has gone to bed his visions of the beloved ought to be sufficient. This need not be courtly or neo-platonic.

**52 entender:** the reading of *B*, *e entender*, could be forced to scan with aphaeresis (absorption): *e ’ntender*. But if we take v. 51 as a subordinate clause, *e* would be odd here at the beginning of the main clause. Without the conjunction we could render: “Once I lie down to sleep, thinking about her beauty should be enough.” But although *entender* has many meanings (think, perceive, see, feel, judge), *entender en* specifically means “to be a lover of” (for example, *Pereiro* 1992: 72 *sa coirmãa, en que entendia*).



**Osoir' Anes 6**

a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> (x 2)          ura er

*Unissonans* (so far). *Rep.* 87:1 *unicum*.

**8 vós:** the tonic object pronoun is proleptic, anticipating *vos* in *perder vos ei* in v. 9.

**9-10** I take *que* as causal (= *ca*) and construe *tan muito .../ de mal*. This sense is: “because so great a pain as I must suffer at your hands endures.” The speaker will lose the lady because the lasting rancor will oblige him to renounce her. This serves as foil for the next verse: the bitterness will last, but he will not leave her in anger.

**11 aver rancura:** *B* reads *aver senō rācura* but *senō* has no place here: it overextends the meter by two syllables and reverses the sense, which is: “I can’t get angry at you.”

**rancura:** Michaëlis (*CA* s.v.), citing only this passage, offers the glosses “ira, raiva, aversão.” Mettmann, based on the examples in *CSM*, says “pena, tristeza, queixume.” The word (with a variant *rencura*) is common in medieval Iberian Latin and Romance with the meaning “complaint, legal action” (see Niermeyer s.v. *rancor* 4, and Corominas, cited in the note on Osoir’ Anes 5, v. 26, above). The expression *aver rancura* was widely employed, in both an everyday sense (*CSM* 303.26 *ouve dela gran rancura*; 315.31 *ouv’ én tan gran rancura*) and a technical one (often in the *Foro do Castelo Rodrigo* in formulas: *Qvi ra<n>cura ouere de outro*; Cintra 1984: 33). Both uses occur in the *Cid*, where the technical sense appears at key moments: *dar le <e>des derecho | ca rencura ha de vos* (v. 2992; Smith 1986: 243). But the legal use comes from the quotidian, and Michaëlis is right: he cannot get angry at her, that is, he cannot renounce her and so “lose her” (vv. 8-10).

**14 sofrer:** the same word appears in rhyme in v. 10 (see note on Osoir’ Anes 5, v. 50), motivating Nobiling’s suggestion *prender* (which Machado thinks overly fine). *aver* is also possible (for instance, Airas Nunes 4, v. 16 “*d’ amores ei mal*.”).

**Osoir’ Anes 7**

a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> a<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> b<sup>10</sup> a<sup>10</sup>...          or ar

one (incomplete) strophe

**4-5** The speaker's fear of a woman who "neither kills nor captures, neither insults nor responds roughly..." may have been foil for an upcoming paradox.

**6** Angelo Colocci placed a cross in the right hand margin next to this verse, indicating that something was missing.

### Osoir' Anes 8

a<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> b<sup>8</sup> a<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup> c<sup>8</sup>      or ar er

**2 macar:** see Mongeagudo (2008: 378-379).

**4** The verse transmitted by *B* scans a syllable long. Similar formulas are found without *en* (*CA* 5.19, 334.3; *CEM* 360.8 etc.), while *enos* can hardly be a late scribal correction.

**5 ar:** stresses the opposition between *me fazedes pesar* (v. 2) and *poderedes fazer [...]* *prazer* (see next note).

**6 p<razer>:** Michaëlis' supplement can be counted as certain, given the common antithesis *pesar* / *prazer* and the rhetoric here, all of it building towards this word.

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*A* = “Cancioneiro da Ajuda,” Palácio Real da Ajuda (Lisboa).

*B* = Biblioteca Nacional (Lisboa), cod. 10991.

*To* = Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), ms. 10.069 (“El Toledano”).

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

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## Appendix: An English Translation

### Airas Moniz d' Asme 1

Since it does me no good to love my lady  
So much, or to serve her,  
Or to know how to neatly hide  
The love I feel, and keep it secret  
From her, who makes me lose my mind—  
Since they haven't caught on yet,  
I won't keep her hidden anymore:  
At least they'll know who's wronging me:

The one who has the greatest beauty  
Of all the women to be seen in the world  
And a much more <pleasing voice>  
Than all the ladies you hear speaking.  
I needn't proclaim her anymore,  
Since anyone can understand;  
I will not say her name again,  
Since I've named her already.

And whoever wants to trek around  
The world and turn it upside down  
Can find her very quickly,  
Because, to tell you the whole truth,  
She hardly has the kind of beauty  
That could be concealed like that.  
Just from the way I've sketched her out  
They will find her, that's for sure.

Those that used to bother me—  
To them I have revealed my lady;  
Now they should let me rest  
(Since I couldn't put up with them)  
Because I told them who she is,  
Since she would not please me,  
And I think I've taken fine revenge  
By shaming her openly.



## **Airas Moniz d' Asme 2**

“My lady, I’ve come to ask,  
By God, that you think  
Of me, whom you have been  
And still are leading on.  
And I think I’m being shamed.  
If you please, you ought  
To respect my beard,  
Which is used to being respected,  
And not do it offense.”

“Sir, you will never hear me  
Do it any offense,  
But let’s leave that alone

...

...

And as to what you say—  
I’m not even thinking of loving you  
Nor will I think it, in my view,  
Any more than what you see.”

“My lady, I will tell you  
What you should do about me:  
What I always loved you for—  
Consider it as nothing,  
And still I’ll always serve you.  
Since you’ve shamed me now,  
Please do what I would like:  
Give me something else, and I’ll go  
And don’t keep me lingering.”

“Sir, I’ll give you no such thing,  
But if you complain,  
I will give you good advice:  
Go, since you’re tarrying,  
For why should I make you linger  
Where you won’t get anything?  
Still, I will be yearning  
For you, and I’ll have to endure it  
Until you come back again.”

“My lady, as I see it,  
It would be more fitting  
For you to want to do for me  
What I would do for you.  
For I’d never, for such a trifle,  
Keep you waiting for my sake,  
But I cannot find a lady  
Who does as much what I would like  
As I would do what she likes.”

### **Diego Moniz 1**

God! how little I knew  
What happiness I was living in  
When I was with my lady,  
And how much I complained  
Of her (for she didn’t think  
Of me) and wasn’t thankful  
To God for the favor she did me  
Just by letting me see  
Her amazing beauty.

How completely crazed I was  
When I was not fully pleased  
Just to live around such a lady,  
And always wanted more bliss;  
And now it would please me enough,  
But who would give me this?—  
This bliss, that didn’t grip me:  
I wish now that I had no better,  
And could live with such pleasure!

But then again my heart  
Would kill me, a heart very  
Full of folly and of love,  
That nearly killed me before;  
When I gazed at my lady  
It would make me suffer so  
That I didn’t have a clue

About myself, or what to do  
To get more bliss from her.

But if I could ever recover  
The happiness that I was in,  
I would know how to put up with  
Her love, and I'd remember  
That I couldn't live without her  
When I went elsewhere to live,  
I desired her so much;  
But now, what with this terror,  
I'd put up with it very well.

### Diego Moniz 2

If my lady knew how much I would like  
To die since I don't have her, then I wouldn't die,  
For, though she doesn't love me, she would show me love  
To make me live, despite myself  
When what I really wanted was death.

And if they went and told her that I'm saying this,  
I know that my lady would come and seek me out  
...

### Osoir' Anes 1

Love took me by force  
And made me love someone who's never loved;  
And he did me wrong, like an enemy,  
When he sent me back to such a lady;  
And I see that I played it wrong  
By going back to a lady like that—  
Who doesn't know what loving is,  
But knows how to make a man feel pain.

Now I'm forced to go on living  
Without pleasure in this world,

For I could never feel pleasure  
From me or anything, since I was hers,  
But only from her. And what will I do?  
Why do I ask? Since I know:  
I will live, if she's kind to me,  
Or die if she doesn't love me.

Anyone at all can see this,  
Especially if they know my life:  
That I don't have the mind or strength  
To shield myself from a lady,  
The tamest one I've ever seen  
Since I was born, and the most mild.  
Tell me if I'm not bad off,  
Since I can't defend myself!

Because I'm so much in her sway  
That if I want to act another way  
I will not be able to,  
Unless God gives me the power  
Over her, whom I have served,  
That He gave her over me,  
Who could never love anyone else  
But her, though she brings me pain.

## **Osoir' Anes 2**

It's time for me to go away  
From my lady, for it's been a while  
That I've served her, and I've lost  
Her love, and so I will go.  
But first I'll say this to her:  
'Lady, did I deserve this?  
For wasn't I even worse off  
*After* I won your love?

And you'll be forced to feel  
How much you will miss me,  
And you will see, I know,  
That I can live without you.

And you will say of me:  
“Poor girl! Why did I lose him?  
And what will I do when he goes  
Elsewhere to serve another lady?

I will miss him like crazy—  
I can’t imagine how much,  
Or how I can live without him.  
He’ll go away from me in a huff  
And they’ll think I was a fool  
For not being kind to such a man.  
Any lady who takes him in  
Might end up falling out with me.

Every time I get angry at her  
(So I think) and curse her out—  
If my neighbor takes him away  
From me, and seduces him—  
A bad neighbor is what she’ll be.  
But she won’t have to feel my wrath,  
'Cause I don’t want to take her boy,  
But I will never let mine go.

### **Osoir’ Anes 3**

I, who found a new lady,  
Couldn’t keep myself from pain,  
Since she’s never known how to love—  
The lady I will tell you about,  
But still I’ll tell her this one time  
To do what she has never done.

A lady that knows how to love a man  
Will never be badly served by that,  
For I’ve seen a fine lady become  
A thousand times better because of love,  
And so I will tell her this one time  
To do what she has never done.

### **Osoir' Anes 4**

I thought that my heart  
Could never force me,  
(Since it had let me out of jail)  
And go back there with me,  
And yet a new love has forced me,  
I am forced by a new lady  
And I think she's going to kill me.

And since a lady let me go  
Just like that, ever since then  
I really thought I never could  
Find another one,  
But my eyes have forced me  
And the beauty of hers  
And her grace, and a song

That I heard when I saw her,  
Her long hair down, singing a tune—  
I should have died there and then,  
Rather than suffer the kind of pain  
That I suffer, for I've never seen  
Anything worse, and so I'm afraid  
To die, or to show her my love.

### **Osoir' Anes 5**

And why do you hate me,  
O best of all women I've ever seen?  
I think that you gain nothing  
From the pain I feel because of you;  
Because of your anger towards me  
I've suffered such hard days;  
It's only right,  
Since you keep me from the thing  
That I have loved most,

And that is you. And surely you know  
I wasn't asking for *that* much love,

And if you think otherwise  
You're really wronging me,  
And please do not do that,  
For thanks to you I'll be destroyed.  
I have this comfort,  
That I won't last long  
If you're not kind to me.

Lots of people ask me  
Why I feel such pain  
And I really get annoyed  
At whoever seeks me out.  
Then, against my will, I must  
Find a way to defend myself  
And be  
On guard against them, and grumble,  
And go around there warily.

Then, when I lie down,  
Keen yearning comes over me,  
But at least I'm relieved  
That I don't have to talk to them.  
I lie far away from them, alone,  
So they cannot hear me groan.  
Such love  
You can truly swear  
No man who ever lived has borne.

One thing I will swear to you  
And you ought to believe it:  
That I would never love again  
If I survive this time;  
Since you, whom I loved,  
Have destroyed me for no reason.  
What pleasure  
Do you feel in taking from me  
My life, that was to serve you.

For He that created me  
Would not take me now,

And, alive, I couldn't take  
So much suffering,  
For I would not survive.  
Once I lie down,  
Loving  
Your beauty  
Ought to be enough for me.

### **Osair' Anes 6**

You, my lady, who do not care  
To listen to me or do me a favor  
Since God didn't want it, or my fortune  
Against which I never could defend myself—  
I want to tell you of my yearning:  
Because of you I'm in pain worse than death;  
If God doesn't save me, or my common sense,  
I will be lost, and in losing myself *you*

Will be lost to me, since so much pain  
As I suffer because of you endures.  
And yet I cannot be angry at you,  
Although you make me live in longing  
And I must take as a favor  
All the pain you make me feel.  
All this I do, and I don't do what's wise,  
Since you won't show me any gratitude.

### **Osair' Anes 7**

I am so afraid of my lady  
That I never dare to tell her anything  
And look what it is that causes my fear:  
Someone who won't either kill or capture  
Or hurl insults, or answer angrily,  
Or gaze...



### **Osoir' Anes 8**

By God, my lovely lady,  
Although you cause me pain  
I must always long for you  
All the days of my life,  
For you can still make me feel  
<Pleasure> when you please.