

VISIGOTHIC SCRIPT VERSUS CAROLINE MINUSCULE:
THE COLLISION OF TWO CULTURAL WORLDS IN
TWELFTH-CENTURY GALICIA*

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IT was not until the second decade of the twelfth century that Caroline minuscule started to be used in Galicia, in the far northwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula, closing the cycle of more than 400 years of use of Visigothic script as the main writing system in Iberia. A new period of openness to European cultural currents at that time put an end to the last vestige of the graphical and liturgical particularism that characterized medieval Iberia but had begun to fade in the easternmost territories as early as the ninth century. The process of change meant a drastic transformation, which was not received with equal eagerness in all areas or by all centres. Some ecclesiastical institutions, led by ambitious bishops and abbots, saw an opportunity to grow and present themselves as the new main cultural centres of medieval Iberia, taking away the political and cultural prominence of those that had once been instrumental in the reorganization of the Christian peninsular realms after the Muslims' arrival. Others seem to have been reluctant to accept a new rite and to adopt a new script, neither of which was a national product. Caroline minuscule had not evolved gradually, like Visigothic script had, from the previous documentary and book handwriting systems used, but was imposed, like the Roman rite, mostly by political interests of kings, ecclesiastical elites, and cultural pressure. Acceptance of change would lead to a cultural unification

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with centres outside Iberia in which the glorious Visigothic past, the characteristically Iberian Visigothic script, and the Visigothic rite were no more than a memory. In analyzing the extant manuscript sources—codices and charters—that reflect this liturgical imposition and graphical acculturation, the present work examines how the process occurred and what it must have meant, politically and culturally, for major cultural northern peninsular institutions both old and new—for those closer to what was the Carolingian Empire and for those geographically distant but very much in the political and ecclesiastical centre of Christian Iberia. After a historical and graphical review of how the process of change developed in Septimania and Catalonia already in the ninth century, and in Aragon, Navarre, and the Leonese-Castilian kingdoms well into the eleventh century, attention will be given to the peculiarity of Galicia. A close look at the late eleventh- and mid-twelfth-century extant sources produced in the two main Galician dioceses, Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, and their historical contextualization, highlights the steps of graphical and cultural change and simultaneously provides valuable evidence about how the transition from the old Visigothic script system to the new European Caroline minuscule system must have been experienced by the scribes and copyists who lived through it.

CONTEXT: THE INTRODUCTION OF CAROLINE MINUSCULE AND THE ROMAN RITE
IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

The Synods of Burgos and León, in 1080 and 1090 respectively, have been seen as a turning point for the cultural evolution of the Iberian Peninsula, marking a definitive transition from early medieval Christian kingdoms firmly attached to their Visigothic past to kingdoms fully integrated within Europe. In Burgos, the liturgical unification advocated by Pope Gregory VII and aiming to replace the Hispanic rite with the Roman rite, finally took place;¹ in León, the homogenization of ecclesiastical practice went further, reaching its

¹ For the differences between the rites, see R. E. Reynolds, “The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid,” in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. B. F. Reilly (New York, 1985), 131–55, “Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain: A New Text in Visigothic Script,” *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 257–72, and “The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne,” in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt karolingischer Kultur*, ed. R. Berndt, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1997), 2:919–45. For a full comparison, see R. Walker, *Views of Transition: Liturgy and Illumination in Medieval Spain* (London and Toronto, 1998), esp. chap. 6.

graphical equivalent with the adoption of Caroline minuscule script for liturgical texts. But as normal with political identities that are not isolated from each other, the Frankish cultural influence in the Iberian peninsular territories evident in both councils can be identified long before that moment, as can the resistance to it after 1090. The final change of the liturgy and the substitution of one writing system for another took place through a slow and gradual process, reaching different stages in each of the northern Christian kingdoms as a result of the combination of religious and cultural aspects as well as specific political circumstances.

Frankish influence was perceived particularly early in Septimania, the Visigothic province in southern France, and the territories that would become the Catalan counties, in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula. There the Roman rite and Caroline minuscule were adopted first as a consequence of the close geographical and political connections with the Carolingian Empire. Carolingian rulers in the eighth century became directly involved in trying to stop the advance of the Muslims, who had brought the Visigothic kingdom to an end and reached the south of what is now France in 719, conquering Narbonne's territories and threatening the Frankish realms; after several confrontations, the Carolingians succeeded, regaining Septimania and forcing the invaders to draw back, and Charlemagne consequently established as a defensive barrier south of the Pyrenees the Frankish protectorate known as the Spanish March.² Both Septimania and this newly reorganized territory, divided into counties, were immediately thereafter under Frankish direct political, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The reclaimed territories were then ecclesiastically attached to Narbonne's metropolitan see, thus adopting in the early ninth century the Roman liturgy and new monastic and canonical rules in cathedral schools and eventually also in peripheral centres.

The fluid exchange of codices across the Pyrenees through this Carolingian area of the peninsula, which had previously ceased because of political instability, increased thereafter and can be seen, for example, in the rich library the monastery of Ripoll already had in the early tenth century, testifying to the pro-European interests of northeastern peninsular institutions.³ The dissemi-

² For a summary of the topic, see S. Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4: c.1024–c.1198, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 154–90, at 162; and R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400–1000*, 2d ed. (London, 1995).

³ See A. M. Mundó, "Importación, exportación y expoliaciones de códices en Cataluña," in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII–XIII, 16–19 septiembre 1982: Actas* (Santiago de Compostela, 1988), 87–134, at 100–103. On the authors and texts known in the Catalan counties, see *idem*,

nation of the new liturgy needed not only codices with the new rite,⁴ but also copies of St. Benedict's rule, which had replaced the traditional Visigothic monastic rules of St. Isidore and St. Fructuosus in the new annexed territories with Charlemagne's firm support.⁵ Moreover, the graphical and cultural impact of charters written in Caroline minuscule in the Frankish kingdom and arriving in the Spanish March under Frankish political control must also be considered.⁶ The direct cultural influence of Carolingian written production on what had been Visigothic soil naturally led to the gradual incorporation of graphical elements characteristic of Caroline minuscule by Visigothic-script scribes and to the progressive change of writing systems. After a quick process of graphical contamination, texts were already being written in the new script in major Septimanian and Catalan production centres in the first half of the ninth century.⁷ Even within the Spanish March, however, charters were still being written in Visigothic script in the late ninth century, albeit mostly in secondary centres isolated from the main routes of cultural

"La cultura i els llibres," in *Història de Catalunya*, vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1978), 469–73; and J. Alturo Perucho, *Història del llibre manuscrit a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2003), 80–88.

⁴ See A. M. Mundó, "Un fragment molt antic de litúrgia romana a Catalunya," in *II Congrés litúrgic de Montserrat* (Montserrat, 1966–67), 3:173–88 (Tarragona, Archivo Histórico Archidiocesano, frag. 22,1, ca. 890).

⁵ Mundó, "Importación, exportación y expoliaciones de códices en Cataluña," 103–4.

⁶ J. Alturo Perucho, "L'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'écriture en Catalogne au Moyen Age," in *Teaching Writing: Learning to Write. Proceedings of the XVIth Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, ed. P. R. Robinson (London, 2010), 193–204.

⁷ On Pyrenean/Septimanian Visigothic script, see J. Alturo Perucho, "La escritura visigótica de origen transpirenaico. Una aproximación a sus particularidades," *Hispania Sacra* 46/93 (1994): 33–64, at 56–67. See also A. M. Mundó, "El Commicus palimpsest Paris lat. 2269. Amb notes sobre litúrgia i manuscrits visigòtics a Septimània i Catalunya," in *Liturgica I. Cardinali I. A. Schuster in memoriam* (Montserrat, 1956), 151–275, at 176. On the transition from Visigothic to Caroline in Catalonia, see J. Alturo Perucho, "Escritura visigótica y escritura carolina en el contexto cultural de la Cataluña del siglo IX," *Memoria Ecclesiae* 2 (1991): 33–44, 298; A. M. Mundó and J. Alturo Perucho, "Problemàtica de les scriptures del períodes de transició i de les marginals," in *Cultura Neolatina. Rivista di filologia romanza fondata da Giulio Bertoni* 58.1/2 (1998): 121–48; idem, "La escritura de transición de la visigótica a la carolina en la Cataluña del siglo IX," in *Actas del VIII Coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina (Madrid-Toledo 1987)* (Madrid, 1990), 131–38; and J. Alturo Perucho, "Tipus d'escriptura a la Catalunya dels segles VIII–X," in *Catalunya a l'època carolíngia. Art i cultura abans del romànic (segles IX i X)* (Barcelona, 1999), 131–34, 485–87.

exchange, and liturgical books preserving the Hispanic rite were produced in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁸

In the north and northwestern Iberian Peninsula, the trans-Pyrenean influence seen in the gradual adoption of the new rite and the new supranational handwriting can similarly be observed long before the Synods of Burgos and León and the first Iberian sources written in the new script. While the circulation of codices across the Christian centres in the north and the main Mozarabic centres and from peninsular centres to Europe during the eighth and ninth centuries was mostly focused on Hispanic literary production, in the late ninth and tenth centuries the direction of cultural interaction among intellectual hubs changed. The decline of fluid communication between the Christian nuclei of the north and south of the peninsula was balanced by more frequent relations with the Frankish world.⁹ On the one hand, the religious pressure towards the Mozarabs in the south prevented the Mozarabic centres of continuing the pace of manuscript production of highly appreciated texts exported to the northern Spanish centres and to Europe and increased the migration of intellectuals to the safer areas of northwestern and northeastern Iberia.¹⁰ At the same time, the political measures of the northern kingdoms regarding the integration of these people, and the efficient administration of the recently absorbed territories, favoured the more or less quiet scene that allowed Frankish influence to grow. In the mid-ninth century, the Way of Saint James, linking all major northern cultural centres with Europe by land and sea, was already open, the routes secured by economic incentives adopted by the Leonese, Castilian, and Navarrese kings.¹¹ The Mozarabic production

⁸ M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII^e au XI^e siècle,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12 (1969): 219–41, at 240, nn. 154 and 156). For example, the Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Vic (Vic, Arxiu del capbreu MS 66) and the Pontifical of Vic (Vic, Museo episcopal, Cod. 104). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 933, copied in the diocese of Carcassonne, shows how some Old Hispanic forms were still preserved in the late eleventh/early twelfth century in southern France (*Hispania Vetus. Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th–12th Centuries)*, ed. S. Zapke [Bilbao, 2007], 334). See also Reynolds, “Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne,” for the influence of Old Hispanic forms in codices with the Roman liturgy written in the Carolingian Empire. On the codices kept in Catalan centres in the ninth century, see J. Alturo Perucho, “Les inventaires de livres en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècles,” *Scriptorium* 50 (1996): 370–79.

⁹ Díaz y Díaz, “La circulation des manuscrits,” 219–41.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 233–35.

¹¹ A. Rucquoi, “Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana,” *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* 20 (2010): 97–122, at 101–5, “*Hospites seu peregrini: Itinerarios de peregrinación en la alta Edad Media (850–*

centres were no longer a pole of attraction and the path was paved to new cultural interests, encouraged by the arrival of French scholars.¹² Already in the early tenth century, and increasingly as time progressed, references to the circulation of codices among the northern Christian nuclei not only show that traditional texts of peninsular heritage like those of Isidore, Leander, Taio, Ildefonsus, Venantius Fortunatus, and the *Vitae Patrum* were produced, but they also show that texts from outside the peninsula, like the works of Smaragdus, were thereafter copied and disseminated,¹³ rather than being read only by a few as had been the case earlier.¹⁴

The direct influence of these new texts, coming to the northern kingdoms especially from southern France but also from Catalonia, can be observed in different aspects of Astur-Leonese written sources before the change of writing system.¹⁵ Since the early tenth century, scribes copying codices or writing charters in Visigothic script began to incorporate common Caroline minuscule abbreviations into their manuscripts, like, for example, the Tironian note for *con-*, the simplified form of *episcopus* as *eps* or that of the possessives *noster/uester* with theme in *r* instead of *s*. In the same way, some codicological similarities between Castilian and French codices have been pointed out, like the pricking and ruling of the page before copying the text, and the structure of the colophons added to the first Castilian examples, com-

1150),” *Iacobus* 29–30 (2011): 15–47, and “O caminho de Santiago: a criação de um itinerário,” *Signum* 9 (2007): 95–120.

¹² J. Mattoso, “Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices na península Ibérica,” in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península* (n. 3 above), 135–55, studies the relationship between the social and economic conditions of production centres and the adoption of or openness to cultural changes in northern Iberia in the eighth to twelfth centuries. See also Barton, “Spain in the Eleventh Century,” 175–77.

¹³ For example, Córdoba, Archivo Capitular MS 1 (Smaragdus, *Liber homiliarum*, ca. 953–960, copied at the monastery of Valeránica [Burgos]). A list of extant codices copied in Visigothic script is available in A. Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999). An online summary is available in A. Castro Correa, “Visigothic Script Timeline. Online Catalog of Visigothic Script Manuscripts,” *Littera Visigothica* (2013–15), <litteravisigothica.com/visigothic-script-timeline>.

¹⁴ Mattoso, “Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices,” 143; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, “Textos altomedievales extrahispanos en la Península,” in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península* (n. 3 above), 239–65, and “La circulation des manuscrits,” 236–40.

¹⁵ M. C. del Camino Martínez, “La escritura carolina en la Península Ibérica,” in *Paleografía I: La escritura en España hasta 1250. Actas de las IV Jornadas de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas* (Burgos, 2008), 119–40 (130); A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española*, 3d ed. (Madrid, 1983), 140–43.

parable to those of French books from the Carolingian period.¹⁶ Also in some codices the change in the style of illumination and in musical notation appears to be indebted to early contacts with French, especially Aquitanian, models.¹⁷ This evident interaction in writing produced on both sides of the Pyrenees continued to grow during the first half of the eleventh century despite the political instability of the northern kingdoms.¹⁸ The wealth of new texts, particularly codices arranged according to the Roman rite, increased.¹⁹

Traditional scholarship has given the Navarrese kings a special role in welcoming the liturgical change because of their close relation with the Burgundian abbey of Cluny.²⁰ Sancho III of Navarre's interest in introducing monastic reform in his kingdom, which has been erroneously thought to have been continued by his son Fernando of Castile after his death,²¹ was a clear first pole of attraction. Around 1025, Sancho requested the help of Abbot Odilo of Cluny in introducing Benedictine reform in the monasteries of his kingdom. In order to promote the change, Sancho sent a group of monks to study at Cluny, who, on their return, joined the community at the monastery of San Juan de la Peña. Though this early Cluniac presence in northern Iberia could have influenced other Navarrese, Castilian, and Leonese centres to

¹⁶ J. Pérez de Urbel, "El Antifonario de León. El escritor y la época," *Archivos Leoneses* 8 (1954): 115–44.

¹⁷ J. Williams, *Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination* (New York, 1977), 19–20, 21–24 ("decorated initials became decidedly Carolingian in style"). See also F. Galván Freile, "El *Liber canticorum et horarum* de Sancha (B.G.U.S., Ms. 2668). Entre la tradición prerománica y la modernidad," in *Hispaniens Norden im 11. Jahrhundert: Christliche Kunst im Umbruch* (Petersberg, 2009), 248–56; S. Boynton, *Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (New York, 2011), 5; E. Klinka, "Ego misera et peccatrix . . . : El *Liber mozarabicus canticorum et horarum* (Salamanca, MS 2668)," *e-Spania* 13 (2012) <e-spania.revues.org/21044> (for a synthesis); and *Hispania Vetus* (n. 8 above), 372–73.

¹⁸ This political-administrative instability was mainly the result of confrontation between kings and nobles, difficult successions and border adjustments, and weakness against the Muslims. See Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 154–90.

¹⁹ Some extant copies of Caroline minuscule models in Visigothic script include Cambridge, University Library Add. 5905 (two fragments of a *Breviarium*; Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, n° 32); and Reading, University Library, formerly Sheffield, Ruskin museum, 7 (Paulus Diaconus, *Homiliarium*; Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, n° 273).

²⁰ C. Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 47 (1968): 31–135 and 48 (1969): 30–116.

²¹ For a reconsideration of the relationship between Fernando I, Alfonso VI, and Cluny, see L. K. Pick, "Rethinking Cluny in Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5/1 (2013): 1–17.

adopt liturgical change, it did not.²² Cluniac influence expanded slowly and with Sancho's death in 1035 the favour for Cluny seems to have declined, despite the requests made by Abbot Odilo to Sancho's heirs. When Fernando, count of Castile and soon after king of León-Castile by his marriage with Sancha, presided over the councils of Coyanza in 1055 and of Compostela in 1056, Church reform with adoption of liturgical influences from beyond the Pyrenees was encouraged but still according to a proper observance of the Old Hispanic liturgy.²³

The cultural exchange and liturgical influence, which had until then been part of the natural interaction of neighbouring kingdoms, would, in the second half of the century, no longer be incidental. The external pressure to adopt the Roman liturgy and Caroline minuscule script in the northern peninsular kingdoms was strategically politicized during the reign of Fernando and Sancha's son Alfonso VI.²⁴ King of León, Castile, and Galicia after dethroning his brothers in 1072,²⁵ Alfonso quickly realized the benefits that open borders to Europe could offer to his kingdom. His reign saw territorial expansion against both the other Christian realms and the Muslims, administrative reorganization, and social and economic growth that reflect a clear and conscious policy to make his kingdom the dominant realm in the peninsula by taking advantage of the new possibilities opened up by the changing world around him.²⁶ During his rule, the Way of Saint James was fully established as a result of increased security measures, construction of hospital facilities, accommodation

²² Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 177; Walker, *Views of Transition* (n. 1 above), 24.

²³ "The idea of abandoning the old liturgy for some alien French version unintelligibly pronounced was not likely to attract Fernando I" (R. Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* [Liverpool, 1982], 208–9). See also Klinka, "Ego misera et peccatrix," §5; and Pick, "Rethinking Cluny in Spain," 5–7, 11, which analyzes the adaptation of this external influence through the prayer books of Fernando I and Sancha, and their daughter Urraca (Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca Universitaria 609; Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria 2668; see A. Castro Correa, "Codex of the Month [VII]: Santiago, BU, ms 609," *Littera Visigothica* [April 2015], <http://litteravisigothica.com/codex-of-the-month-vii-santiago-bu-ms-609/>).

²⁴ J. P. Rubio Sadia, *Las órdenes religiosas y la introducción del Rito Romano en la Iglesia de Toledo: Una aportación desde las fuentes litúrgicas* (Toledo, 2004), 173.

²⁵ Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 167–69.

²⁶ *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Reilly (n. 1 above), ix–xi. See also B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988); and J. M^a Mínguez Fernández, *Alfonso VI: poder, expansión y reorganización interior* (Hondarribia, 2000) as general background.

for the pilgrims, churches, structural improvements, and tax exemptions.²⁷ The continuous flow of foreign visitors, churchmen, merchants, and artisans to Santiago de Compostela not only stimulated urban development along the route but also left a profound cultural imprint opening the peninsula to Europe as never before. The establishment of political alliances with geographical entities that could help Alfonso strengthen his power, not only in peninsular territory but also abroad, was a priority directly manifested in his and his daughters' marriages as well as in the resumption of warm relations between the kingdom and Cluny.

The imperial ambitions of Alfonso VI clearly confronted those of Pope Gregory VII, who, by advocating liturgical unification, sought to establish Rome's dominance over not only the Hispanic Church but also all the peninsular Christian kingdoms. The introduction of the Roman liturgy also meant the acceptance of Roman canon law, limiting the royal power perpetuated by the Visigothic tradition over ecclesiastical matters.²⁸ The first attempts at reform of a Church allegedly tainted with Priscilianism, Arianism, and Saracen heretic features had been made, without much success, by Charlemagne in the Adoptionism controversy.²⁹ Since then, the situation had changed. Alexander II, Gregory's predecessor, and his papal legate Hugh Candidus had had success in the kingdom of Aragon not long before Alfonso's rule. San Juan de la Peña adopted the Roman rite in 1071, as did the rest of Aragon in 1074. Finally, when the kingdom of Navarre was absorbed by Aragon ca. 1076, the liturgical change was adopted there too by the merging of both Churches.³⁰ Thereafter, codices with the new rite produced in French centres were directly imported into the Aragonese see,³¹ even though there would be still vestiges of the old rite (and script) as late as the late twelfth century.³²

²⁷ Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana" (n. 11 above), 104–5, "Hospites seu peregrini," 15–47, and "Santiago de Compostela y Europa; ¿intercambios? ¿Identidad?" in *Identidad europea e intercambios culturales en el Camino de Santiago (siglos XI–XV)* (Santiago, 2013), 27–49.

²⁸ See L. Vones, "The Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite in the Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula," in *Hispania Vetus* (n. 8 above), 43–60, at 49–50, 52; and Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 106, 121–22.

²⁹ See Reynolds, "Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne," 919–20; and Walker, *Views of Transition*, 25–27.

³⁰ Vones, "Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite," 46–47.

³¹ Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 1, copied in Saint-Pierre de Moissac in the second half of the eleventh century (*Hispania Vetus*, 354).

³² This is attested by the Antiphonary of Santa Cruz de la Serós (Jaca) and the Breviary of San Juan de la Peña, now in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo L.III.3 (*Hispania Vetus*, 362–65). Visigothic script prevailed, however, in Navarre until the mid-twelfth century, with the last charter written in Visigothic script dating to 1162.

In contrast with the situation in Aragon, the new liturgy had not yet been formally introduced in León-Castile by the 1070s. There has recently been discussion about how Alfonso could have benefited from the bond his sisters, particularly Urraca Fernández, and his second wife, Constance of Burgundy, had with the abbey of Cluny, using Abbot Hugh of Cluny, Constance's uncle, as an intermediary in the introduction of the reform in the northern peninsula.³³ Such an alliance would have been strategically valuable for both sides: Alfonso VI was in need of allies against Rome and the kingdom of Aragon, whereas Cluny, striving for liturgical unification albeit less aggressively than the pope, sought to expand its own influence and not Rome's over the peninsula. While Gregory's desire for reform through the adoption of the Roman rite was difficult to avoid, and Alfonso VI seems never to have been, at least openly, against the liturgical change, the self-proclaimed *imperator totius Hispaniae* did not wish to submit to the pope.³⁴ The acceptance of liturgical unification could help in placing León-Castile in the European orbit on par with the other members of Christendom as a reformed medieval kingdom,³⁵ but Alfonso seemed unwilling to relinquish power in the process. As a result, Alfonso let Cluny, far more tolerant than the pope, and not Rome, take the role of introducing the change.³⁶

See A. Ubieto Arteta, "Con qué tipo de letra se escribió en Navarra hace mil años," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 63/2 (1957): 409–22, at 422; and A. Canellas López, "Paleografía aragonesa de la Alta Edad Media anterior al año 1137," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 21 (1991): 471–92.

³³ Pick, "Rethinking Cluny in Spain," 11–13. On Cluny in Spain, see C. M. Reglero de la Fuente, *Cluny en España: los prioratos de la provincia y sus redes sociales (1073-ca.1270)* (León, 2008).

³⁴ Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI*, 103; Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 122.

³⁵ Rubio Sandía, *Las órdenes religiosas y la introducción del Rito Romano*, 50.

³⁶ Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 210, 211; Walker, *Views of Transition*, 31, 35. Pick ("Rethinking Cluny in Spain," 13–14) argues that in order to justify relations between the king of León-Castile and the abbey and give them precedence over Gregory's claims based upon Constantine's donation, Alfonso VI and Abbot Hugh of Cluny consciously rewrote the past. They assigned to Fernando I a continuous relation with Cluny after Sancho III's death, materialized in an annual donation of 1,000 gold pieces that, according to the evidence, more than likely never existed. They also seem to have agreed to the supposed intercession of Hugh in the liberation of Alfonso when his brother, Sancho II of Castile, made him prisoner in Burgos in 1072. See also Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 119; and J. Montenegro, "El cambio de rito en los reinos de León y Castilla según las crónicas: la memoria, la distorsión y el olvido," in *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. P. Martínez Sopena and A. Rodríguez (Valencia, 2011), 71–86, at 84–85.

Between 1073 and 1077, Alfonso VI transferred four monasteries of his kingdom to the Burgundian house, among them the royal abbey of Sahagún, which were thereafter centres of the dissemination of the reform program.³⁷ Gradually, the continued cultural pressure, Alfonso's clear tendency to favour the openness of the kingdom, the arrival of Cluniac monks, the pope's perseverance, and the effectiveness of his papal legates, notably Cardinal Richard of Saint-Victor de Marseille,³⁸ were to result in the acceptance of the new rite and—not long after—the new script, at least for copying liturgical texts.

In the Council of Burgos in 1080 the Hispanic liturgy was formally abandoned and the Roman rite introduced. Nevertheless the unification of the Western Church was not achieved as Gregory VII wanted. As in Septimania and Catalonia, the adoption of the new rite in Aragon, Navarre, and León-Castile could not have been effective in all urban and rural ecclesiastical institutions in the same way. It proceeded slowly and gradually, even if one considers only the need for codices with the new liturgy, leaving aside all possible reactions against the change that undoubtedly arose.³⁹ Indeed, before the Synod of 1080, the reform had detractors even in such traditional Cluniac centres as Sahagún, whose abbot appointed directly by Alfonso VI seems to have come out in support of the Hispanic liturgy.⁴⁰ Around the time of the synod, notable resistance seems to have arisen too in major monasteries such as Santo Domingo de Silos, whose attachment to the old tradition is shown by three extant manuscripts following the Roman rite albeit copied in Visigothic script and with Mozarabic neumes,⁴¹ and San Millán de la Cogolla, which produced manuscripts in defence of the Hispanic liturgy,⁴² continuing Old Hispanic forms and Visigothic script.⁴³ Even some cathedral centres were, at

³⁷ Visigothic script prevailed in Sahagún for some fifty more years despite the adoption of the new rite (see n. 126 below), which may be explained by the prominence of the scriptorium, whose scribes were reluctant to abandon the writing system they had mastered.

³⁸ See Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," on Cardinal Richard.

³⁹ Walker, *Views of Transition*, 30–34.

⁴⁰ Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 179–80; Vones, "Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite," 50–51. See also n. 37 above.

⁴¹ London, British Library Add. 30847, 30848, 30850. See A. Castro Correa, "The Scribes of the Silos' Apocalypse (London, British Library, Add. MS 11695) and the Scriptorium of Silos in the Late Eleventh Century" (under review).

⁴² El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo d.I.1, and Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 22.

⁴³ Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 52 and Aemil. 18.

least initially, against the change.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the synod of 1080 officially marks the beginning of the gradual process of adoption of new liturgical forms, for, despite opposition, changes were made that affected the celebration of the Mass and the observance of the cathedral and monastic Offices.⁴⁵

In contrast to Gregory VII's globalizing aim, the decrees agreed upon at the synod were only intended to affect the Christian kingdoms and not the territories under Muslim rule where the Mozarabic communities were numerous.⁴⁶ As Alfonso VI's effective military campaigns continued to expand León-Castile's borders, territories in which the Hispanic liturgy had been preserved were progressively recovered. Thus, although the decisions adopted at the Council of Burgos were still in force, in practice both liturgies seem to have coexisted, since enforcing a change of rites was not conducive to Alfonso's intentions as emperor, which were to assimilate the new territories and their people as quickly and efficiently as possible and with minimal confrontation.⁴⁷ Toledo, recovered in 1085, is a significant example of a city where the old rite was, and is even today, still practiced.⁴⁸

When Gregory VII died in 1085, and the aggressive ambitions of liturgical unification faded, Alfonso VI no longer saw the purpose of maintaining a close alliance with Cluny.⁴⁹ Consequently, although the Cluniac Bernard of Sédillac, former abbot of Sahagún, was elevated to archbishop of Toledo in

⁴⁴ E.g., Toledo; see Montenegro, "El cambio de rito" (n. 36 above), 79–80. See also n. 48 below.

⁴⁵ Walker, *Views of Transition*, chapters 2 and 5; Mundó, "Importación, exportación y expoliaciones" (n. 3 above), 103–4.

⁴⁶ R. González Ruiz, "The persistence of the Mozarabic Liturgy in Toledo after AD 1080," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Reilly (n. 1 above), 157–85, at 163.

⁴⁷ Vones, "Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite," 51–52. See also Reynolds, "Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne," 945.

⁴⁸ Boynton, *Silent Music* (n. 17 above), 7–14. Visigothic script had too a long life in the Mozarabic communities. On the characteristics of the Mozarabic Visigothic script and its extant manuscript sources, see E. Rodríguez Díaz, "Los manuscritos mozárabes: una encrucijada de culturas," in *Die Mozaraber: Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung* (Münster, 2011), 10–30; M. C. del Camino Martínez, "La escritura visigótica de los centros mozárabes en su período primitivo," in *La escritura visigótica en la Península Ibérica: nuevas aportaciones*, ed. J. Alturo, A. Castro, and M. Torras (Barcelona, 2012), 115–44; M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península: ensayo de distribución regional* (Seville, 1995). On the cultural context of these manuscripts, see C. Aillet, *Les mozarabes: Christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IX^e–XII^e siècle)* (Madrid, 2010), esp. 7, 136.

⁴⁹ Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 119.

1086 and primate of the whole Hispanic Church in 1088,⁵⁰ and thereafter Cluniac monks were granted episcopal and abbatial sees,⁵¹ the abbey's relations with the Leonese-Castilian kingdom were weakened, and its influence on Iberian soil diminished, or, at least, it seems had shifted to the northwestern peninsula as will be discussed.

In parallel with the introduction of the Roman rite came the gradual replacement of writing systems, from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule, favoured by the constant affluence of Caroline minuscule texts and foreign scholars, increased and consolidated by the acceptance of liturgical reform already examined. These texts, however, continued to be copied mostly in Visigothic script.⁵² Around 1090, another synod seems to have been held in León to discuss graphical unification for, at least, liturgical texts; clerics needed not only to learn the new script, alphabet, and abbreviation system, and improve their knowledge of medieval Latin, but also to master them in order to be able to read, understand, and, eventually, copy Roman texts correctly.⁵³ Although the proceedings of this new synod have not been preserved and the only extant references to their contents come from later scholars such as Lucas de Tuy, Jiménez de Rada, or Alfonso X,⁵⁴ this council

⁵⁰ Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 177–78. With Bernard of Sédirac came codices with the new rite, such as the antiphonary, now Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare 44-1 (*Hispania Vetus*, 400–401).

⁵¹ Dalmacius was made bishop of Santiago de Compostela (1094); Geraldus, former cantor of the Cathedral of Toledo, called from Moissac by Bernard, bishop of Braga (1095); Mauricio, bishop of Coimbra (ca. 1098) and future antipope Gregory VIII. See *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, xi; and R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), 37–38, 77–79.

⁵² Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 18 (*missale* with the Roman rite in Visigothic script copied in San Millán de la Cogolla in the late eleventh century). On the other hand, London, British Library Add. 30849 (*breviarium* of the Roman liturgy), was copied in Caroline minuscule around the same time, in or within the region of the Abbey of Silos (see J. Vezin, "El Códice British Library add. 30849 y la introducción de la Carolina en España," in *Silos: Un milenio. Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre la Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos*, vol. 2 [Silos, 2003], 211–22). Another example is Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vitr. 20-8 (known as "Missal of San Facundo"), copied in Sahagún also in Caroline (see Walker, *Views of Transition*, 141 [chap. 4]).

⁵³ Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 234–35. See also J. Alturo Perucho, "El conocimiento del latín en la Cataluña del siglo IX: un capítulo de su historia cultural," *Euphrosyne* 21 (1993): 301–18.

⁵⁴ Lucas de Tuy, *Chronicon Mundi* 4.70 (ed. E. Falque Rey, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* [CCCM] 74 [Turnhout, 2003], 305); *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*, 6.28 (ed. J. Fernández Valverde, CCCM 72 [Turnhout, 1987], 213–14); *Primera*

cannot be thought of as a point of no return after which manuscripts in Visigothic script were no longer copied.⁵⁵ The effect of the León synod was as relative as that of the Synod of Burgos, as is clearly indicated by the existence of codices of the Roman liturgy still copied in Visigothic script in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁶ By examining the change of writing systems through charters, a more reliable source than codices with which to ponder how the practical introduction of Caroline minuscule must have occurred since they tend to provide specific dates for each written example, it can be clearly seen how little influence the Synods directly had in everyday manuscript production. The first charters written in the foreign graphical model in northwestern Iberia are dated to the early twelfth century, between 1110 and 1120 depending on the area,⁵⁷ while the latest examples of charters written in Visigothic script date from 1166 (Asturias)⁵⁸ and 1172 (Portugal).⁵⁹

crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1955), 2:547.

⁵⁵ E. Terreros, *Paleografía Española . . .* (Madrid, 1758), 106–7. See also Camino Martínez, “La escritura carolina en la Península Ibérica” (n. 15 above), 119–40, at 126–27; Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española* (n. 15 above), 142–43, at 167; and J. A. Fernández Flórez, *La elaboración de los documentos en los reinos hispánicos occidentales (ss. VI–XIII)* (Burgos, 2002), 128.

⁵⁶ For some examples from the late eleventh century, see n. 52 above, also León, Archivo Histórico Provincial, fragm. II (*missale*, Leonese area); from the late eleventh/early twelfth century, Braga, Arquivo Distrital, Coleção Cronológica, 280,3 (*antiphonarium*, copied in Braga diocese), Coimbra, Arquivo Universitário, s/n (*missale* and *antiphonarium*, near Coimbra), Coimbra, Arquivo Universitário, IV-3ª S-Gv. 44 (*antiphonarium*, monastery of Friestas); from the early twelfth century, Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular 10.5 (*antiphonarium*, copied in or near Toledo), Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, fragm. 1 (*missale*, probably copied in Santiago de Compostela). The last codex copied in Visigothic script is a *liber mysticus*, Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 10110, from Toledo dated ca. 1300 (Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, nº 173).

⁵⁷ On the chronology of the transition from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in northwestern Iberia, see A. Castro Correa, “Visigothic Script versus Caroline Minuscule: The Collision of Two Cultural Worlds in Twelfth-Century Galicia” (LMS thesis, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), and “Leaving the Past Behind, Adapting to the Future: The Last Survivors of Visigothic Script in the Iberian Peninsula” (under elaboration).

⁵⁸ M. Calleja Puerta, “De la visigótica a la carolina en los documentos del Archivo de San Vicente de Oviedo: la escritura de *Dominicus* y *Pelagius*,” in *Paleografía I: La escritura en España hasta 1250* (n. 15 above), 189–200.

⁵⁹ M. J. Azevedo Santos, *Da visigótica à carolina. A escrita em Portugal de 882 a 1172: aspectos técnicos e culturais* (Lisbon, 1994), and “La caroline au Portugal: une écriture d’importation,” in *Régionalisme et internationalisme: problèmes de paléographie et de codicologie du Moyen Âge. Actes du XV^e Colloque du Comité Inter-*

The process of graphical change was thus rather slow, but, as shown by comparison with the data provided by the extant sources from Galicia that will be discussed, not as slow as it might have been.

In conclusion, the adoption of the new rite and script was not a direct imposition but the result of a confluence of far-reaching historical and cultural factors. It took place progressively, dependent on the specific circumstances of each geographical area, and even of each production centre, as can clearly be seen in the analysis of the script used in the royal chancellery.⁶⁰ As scribes were appointed royal notaries from different centres throughout the kingdom, some versed in Visigothic, some in Caroline minuscule, and some in a script and style influenced by both, they continued to use their own scripts in service of the monarchy,⁶¹ a situation that emphasizes the importance of the learning process and the development of schools in ecclesiastical centres,⁶² and by extension, the importance of studying the regional variants and different cultural and political contexts.

THE TRANSITION FROM VISIGOTHIC SCRIPT TO CAROLINE MINUSCULE IN GALICIA

Galicia, Alfonso VI, and the introduction of the new rite.

How did the historical context outlined in the preceding section affect the westernmost area of the Iberian Peninsula, the kingdom of Galicia? When Sancho III of Navarre, the king who had opened the path to Cluniac influence into the northern Christian realms, died in 1035, Vermudo III of León saw an opportunity to recover the territories that Sancho had left to one of his sons, Fernando, count of Castile and husband of Vermudo's sister Sancha. His am-

national de Paléographie Latine (Vienne, 13–17 septembre 2005), ed. O. Kresten and F. Lackner (Vienna, 2007), 81–86.

⁶⁰ Charters from Alfonso VI's chancellery were copied mostly in Visigothic script, those of his successor Urraca vary between both scripts (usually Visigothic for Galician charters and Caroline for Leonese-Castilian ones), and Caroline was predominant under Alfonso VII but still bearing Visigothic remnants (J. Muñoz y Rivero, *Paleografía visigoda: método teórico-práctico para aprender a leer los codices y documentos españoles de los siglos V al XII* [Madrid, 1881], 36).

⁶¹ It would be interesting to investigate whether the choice of one script or another in the royal chancellery had anything to do with the beneficiary or addressee of the document and his cultural-political affiliations or interests, as the extant textual evidence seems to suggest. See J. M. Ruiz Asencio, "Cronología de la desaparición de la escritura visigótica en los documentos de León y Castilla," in *Paleografía I: La escritura en España hasta 1250* (n. 15 above), 93–117, at 98.

⁶² This has been pointed out by Camino Martínez, "La escritura carolina en la Península Ibérica," 128.

bition, however, led him to failure, defeated and killed by Fernando, who became king of León and Castile after 1037. The new king focused his attention on consolidating his authority over his new kingdom and, from the sources preserved, it can be established that the change of dynasty, from Astur to Navarre and from Vermudo III to Fernando I, was well received by the nobility and the main ecclesiastical magnates in León.⁶³ In Galicia, on the other hand, the situation was rather different, making the assimilation of the northwest into the Leonese-Castilian kingdom challenging, to say the least. The local nobility acted openly against supporting changes forced by a centralized power that could jeopardize their control over Galicia, making it essential for the new king, as it would be for his successor, to establish secure control over the outbreaks associated with foreign supporters and to create his own new nobility.⁶⁴ It was also crucial to win allies within the Church, since controlling the main ecclesiastical *señoríos* of Galicia would provide stable nuclei of power upon which to structure the progressive territorial reorganization and assimilation of Galicia into the crown. Alfonso VI, Fernando's heir, continued the process started by his father, and even went further, seemingly taking the matter into his own hands. It has been noted that Alfonso VI rebuilt relations with Cluny in order to appease the reforming aspirations of Gregory VII. In the same way, he made use of his control over ecclesiastical affairs to elect bishops favourable to his cause to fill the Galician sees. When he needed political allies to ensure his self-proclaimed imperial power over all Spain, he knew where to find them and, if suitable supporters were not available, how to establish them.

In Lugo, around 1086, Alfonso VI needed to deal with the revolt led by Count Rodrigo Ovéquiz and his supporter Diego Peláez, the bishop of Compostela, while the see of Lugo was vacant.⁶⁵ Rodrigo was captured and

⁶³ Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 163–64; Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI*, 7–8.

⁶⁴ On the Galician nobility, the foundations of its power, and its relation with the monarchy, see M. C. Pallares Méndez and E. Portela Silva, *Galicia na época medieval* (A Coruña, 1991), 80–103. As for the political implications of the change of dynasty, see R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (New York, 1984), chap. 2.

⁶⁵ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 32; Reilly, *Kingdom of León-Castilla under Alfonso VI*, 195–97 and n. 30; M. Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo en la Edad Media," in *Historia de las diócesis españolas*, vol. 15: Iglesias de Lugo, Mondoñedo-Ferrol y Orense, ed. J. García Oro (Madrid, 2002), 31–35; and A. de Abel Vilela, *La ciudad de Lugo en los siglos XII al XV. Urbanismo y sociedad* (A Coruña, 2010), 63–64, 494–97.

sent to prison; Bishop Diego was arrested and forced to resign, accepting voluntarily exile to Aragon, where Pedro I, Alfonso's enemy, welcomed him. The clear resentment of the Galician nobility evident in Rodrigo's revolt forced Alfonso to intervene by ousting the local nobility through imposing his daughter's Urraca husband, Raymond of Burgundy, brother of Pope Callixtus II, as count of Galicia in 1087. Raymond was well received, possibly because the local nobility was no longer strong enough to fight against him, and quickly found an ally in one of the most important Galician noble houses left, the counts of Traba, who would thereafter be tutors of the Leonese-Castilian kings.⁶⁶ Once the nobility was under control, Alfonso focused his attention on establishing trustworthy allies, favourable to his political strategy, in the major Galician ecclesiastical centres.⁶⁷

In 1088, in all likelihood with Archbishop Bernard of Toledo's support, Alfonso VI promoted Bishop Amor to the see of Lugo. Nothing is known about Bishop Amor's background, although his unusual name has been thought to indicate a foreign origin.⁶⁸ The close alliance between Amor and the king allowed the see to prosper in what was one of its worst moments, for it had recently lost not only territories but also political and ecclesiastical pre-eminence with the restoration of the sees of Braga and Orense some twenty years before.⁶⁹ Already in 1088, Alfonso VI granted Bishop Amor lordship over the town, strengthening episcopal authority, protecting capitular property, and regulating markets, while Amor, in return, engineered reforms within the ecclesiastical administration of the diocese to reassert control over diocesan territories, as the king desired.⁷⁰ Bishop Amor reorganized the cathedral chapter of Lugo, located in nearby Fingoy, and he may also have been the one who introduced the new rite into the diocese, or at least welcomed manuscripts containing its liturgy, although there is no direct evidence on this

⁶⁶ J. L. López Sangil, *A nobreza altomedieval galega* (Noia, 2005); A. López Ferreiro, *Don Alfonso VII, rei de Galicia e o seu ayo o conde de Traba* (Noia, 2006); Barton, "Spain in the Eleventh Century," 180. Alfonso VI also married his other daughter, Teresa, to a foreigner, Henry of Burgundy, who was Constance's nephew and Raymond of Burgundy's cousin. He would be rewarded with the title of count of Portugal in 1095, and his and Teresa's son would be the first king of Portugal, Afonso Henriques.

⁶⁷ Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 122.

⁶⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 43–47 (episcopal appointments in Galicia made by García and Alfonso VI).

⁶⁹ A. Almeida e Cunha, *A chancelaria arquiépiscopal de Braga (1071–1244)* (Noia, 2005), 47; Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 388–89.

⁷⁰ Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 33–35.

point.⁷¹ When Amor died in 1095, the Cluniac Geraldus, former *cantor* of the Cathedral of Toledo, was appointed bishop of the recently restored metropolitan see of Braga, which must have given strength to the introduction of the new rite to all its suffragan Galician dioceses, among them Lugo.⁷²

The early twelfth century, under Alfonso VI's successor Queen Urraca, was once again a difficult period for the diocese of Lugo.⁷³ Under a weak bishop, Pedro II,⁷⁴ the see allied itself with Alfonso el Batallador in the civil war, and thus against the future King Alfonso VII and the see of Santiago de Compostela, where Bishop Diego Xelmírez, in addition to being archbishop, was named the head of the royal chancellery around 1127.⁷⁵ But despite this unfortunate period of political instability, Lugo managed to re-establish its importance as the traditional Roman and Visigothic centre it was and earn back royal favour. Changes towards liturgical and graphical unification continued with Bishop Pedro III, a former chaplain of Queen Urraca, promoted by the queen, the bishop of Santiago de Compostela, and Archbishop Bernard of Toledo.⁷⁶ Under the supervision of the see of Santiago, Pedro III introduced further improvements within the cathedral chapter by advocating the Gregorian Reform. He was also active in acquiring endowments for his see and started to build a new cathedral while maintaining close relations with the papacy.⁷⁷ In 1118, Pedro III appointed a certain Bernardo as prior of the canons, a foreigner thought to have been chosen specifically to manage the transition, and soon after, in 1122, he chose Pelayo as episcopal notary, with whom, as can be seen by the extant sources, Caroline minuscule began to be used in the see.⁷⁸ It was, however, more likely that the Reform was finally introduced

⁷¹ On the evolution of the cathedral chapter of Lugo, see Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 27–29, 43–44; Abel Vilela, *La ciudad de Lugo*, 157–63, 419 ff.; J. D'Emilio, "The Cathedral Chapter of Lugo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Reform and Retrenchment," in *Cross, Crescent, and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, ed. S. Barton and P. Linehan (Leiden, 2008), 193–226, at 198–205.

⁷² Mattoso, "Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices" (n. 12 above), 148.

⁷³ *Historia Compostelana*, ed. E. Falque Rey (Madrid, 1994), 175, 230–32.

⁷⁴ Pedro II would resign as bishop of Lugo at the Council of Palencia in 1113. See Pallares and Portela, *Galicia na época medieval*, 323–24; Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 37–40; and Abel Vilela, *La ciudad de Lugo*, 498–501.

⁷⁵ M. Lucas Álvarez, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media: Las cancellerías reales (1109–1230)*, vol. 5 (León, 1993), 332–36, 349–99.

⁷⁶ A. García Conde and A. López Valcárcel, *Episcopologio lucense* (Lugo, 1991), 166–83; Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 39–40.

⁷⁷ Fletcher, *Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 66 and n. 156.

⁷⁸ D'Emilio, "Cathedral Chapter of Lugo," 202.

with Bishop Pedro III's successor, Bishop Guido, a monk of French origin and former prior of the cathedral chapter of Lugo.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, in the other main Galician see, Santiago de Compostela, Alfonso VI strengthened relations with Diego Xelmírez, secretary and chancellor of Raymond of Burgundy and a close associate of the Traba family.⁸⁰ At that time, Xelmírez was the head of the church of Compostela in charge of administration, and not its bishop, while the see was vacant after Bishop Diego Peláez's forced exile, and remained so as a result of the succession of unsuitable replacements appointed by Alfonso VI.⁸¹ Around 1094, the Cluniac monk Dalmacius was chosen as Compostelan bishop by agreement between the king, Pope Urban II, and Abbot Hugh of Cluny. Although he occupied the position for just one year, he was not an unfit bishop; Dalmacius achieved for the diocese, recently relocated from Iria to Compostela, the privilege of exemption from the metropolitan jurisdiction of Braga, placing it directly under the authority of Rome. After Dalmacius's death, the king, the Galician count, and the Compostelan chapter looked for a successor of his quality and worthy of the see. In 1100, after years serving the cathedral, Xelmírez was finally named bishop.

Diego Xelmírez shared Alfonso VI's imperial and pro-European ambitions to make the kingdom of León-Castile the major Christian realm on the peninsula. It has been already noted that promoting the Way of Saint James and the shrine of Santiago, making of the Galician sanctuary a place of pilgrimage equal to Rome, benefited Alfonso VI's interests.⁸² But it was not only spiritual prominence that interested both the king and the bishop; trade continued to grow along the Way, ensuring a regular income to the kingdom, thus making the see of Santiago the richest and most renowned bishopric of León-Castile.⁸³

⁷⁹ García and López, *Episcopologio lucense*, 183–87; Fletcher, *Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 66 and n. 157.

⁸⁰ On Bishop/Archbishop Xelmírez, see Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, chap. 5; B. F. Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968): 467–83; and Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 42–53.

⁸¹ M. C. Díaz, "La diócesis de Iria-Compostela hasta 1100," in *Historia de las diócesis españolas*, vol. 14: Iglesias de Santiago de Compostela y Tuy-Vigo, ed. J. García Oro (Madrid, 2002), 30–32.

⁸² See also Díaz, "La diócesis de Iria-Compostela," 39–40; Pallares and Portela, *Galicia na época medieval*, 28–30; and Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, chap. 4.

⁸³ See Abel Vilela, *La ciudad de Lugo*, 64, 67, 81, 105, 371–72, 390–94, on the regulation and protection of trade (*ferias* and markets) along the Way; Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 53; and Mattoso, "Condições económicas e sociais da circulação de códices," 146.

Once appointed bishop, Xelmírez, like Alfonso VI, seems to have wisely known how to deal with the changing political and religious situation in the early years of the century, carefully managing the see's alliances between a Galician Church resilient to change and a royal house inclined towards unification.⁸⁴ His first goal was to secure the apostolic see, and for that purpose he needed to accept the new rite and introduce it into his diocese, a process that most likely had started with the Cluniac Dalmacius and to which Xelmírez seems to have been most favourably disposed.⁸⁵ Certainly, while in the other Leonese-Castilian territories the reform spread from the monasteries under Cluny, in Galicia the change seems to have arrived through the main sees and their bishops and then spread to their dependant diocesan territories.⁸⁶ In 1104 Xelmírez visited the Burgundian abbey, probably in order to learn first-hand the liturgical changes that needed to be implemented as well as to realize the closely related educational improvements that inevitably accompanied the reform.⁸⁷ On his return to Galicia a year later, he started not only to favour the incorporation of French clergy into his cathedral's chapter, which was undergoing profound reform, but also to promote changes within the capitular school, thus welcoming French standards both in liturgy and in script.⁸⁸ The *Historia Compostelana*, the only primary source about Xelmírez's stunning career, highlights the intellectual desolation of the Compostelan cathedral school before the bishop's proactive introduction of the Roman models by naming Geraldus, a native of Beauvais, *magister scholarum* in 1118.⁸⁹ It is widely recognized, however, that the cultural level of the see could not have been as mediocre as suggested, and that this source, the *Historia Compostelana*, is here referring to the canons' poor understanding of the Roman rite, including the script and the language in which it was disseminated until

⁸⁴ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 114, 163.

⁸⁵ Díaz, "La diócesis de Iria-Compostela," 49.

⁸⁶ The first Galician monastery placed under Cluny's patronage was San Salvador de Villafriío (Lugo), donated in 1075 by a noble, following the example set by the royal family, to ensure his entry to Cluny as a monk. Besides lay donations to the abbey (San Martín de Jubia, granted by the house of Traba in 1113), royal donations continued, although no longer by Alfonso VI but by Urraca (San Vicente de Pombeiro in 1109) and his brother-in-law, Henry of Burgundy, benefactor of Sahagún. See Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 49–50, 239; Rucquoi, "Cluny, el Camino francés y la reforma gregoriana," 119–20.

⁸⁷ Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 222.

⁸⁸ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 163–70 (chap. 7); Mosquera Agrelo, "La diócesis de Lugo," 42–43.

⁸⁹ *Historia Compostelana*, ed. Falque Rey, 1:16, 53–54, and 2:1, 240–41; Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 324–25.

then.⁹⁰ Xelmírez himself was taught in Santiago, and was certainly not a man of little culture.⁹¹ Moreover, at the same time as the Old Hispanic rite had long been practiced, charters were written and codices were produced (although only fragments of the latter have been preserved), attesting to a good number of skilled scribes.⁹² These scribes, although exposed to Caroline influence from the mid-eleventh century onwards and more than likely also accustomed to reading Caroline minuscule texts since the inception of Xelmírez's new educational program, would have been taught now to employ the new writing system correctly, still in combination with Visigothic in the decades to come. The see being committed to the reform, the bishop had no impediment to continue his and its promotion. While he kept a close bond with Cluny, Xelmírez did not neglect Rome, securing the title of papal legate for the northwestern Iberian Peninsula between 1120 and 1124 and, soon after, the transfer of the metropolitan dignity from the church of Mérida to his see.⁹³

This complex historical panorama observed in the late eleventh century and early twelfth century in the main Galician sees, Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, highlights the different cultural contexts of the two centres: on the one hand, there is Lugo, the traditional Galician diocese which had recently lost territory and political and cultural prominence with the restoration of the sees of Braga and Orense, where the new changes arrived slowly under Bishop Amor and, after a turbulent period of political instability, Bishop Pedro III; and on the other hand, there is Santiago, the radiant diocese established as a major point of communication with Europe, the base of the international Way of Saint James, and an ecclesiastical centre equal to Rome.

⁹⁰ Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 211.

⁹¹ Díaz, "La diócesis de Iria-Compostela," 42.

⁹² On manuscript production (*codices*) before (*Chronicon Iriense*) and under Xelmírez (Tumbo A, Historia Compostelana, *Codex Calixtinus*), see A. Rucquoi, "De grammaticorum schola: La tradición cultural compostelana en el siglo XII," in *Visitandum est... Santos y cultos en el Codex Calixtinus. Actas del VIIº Congreso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos* (Santiago, 2005), 235–54, and "Compostela, centro cultural cosmopolita en los siglos XI y XII," in *El Camino de Santiago: Historia y patrimonio* (Burgos, 2011), 39–55. Fragments of two codices copied in or near the Cathedral of Santiago in transitional Visigothic script have been preserved: Santiago, Cathedral, fragm. 3 with a Roman breviary copied in the late eleventh century (M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos de la monarquía leonesa* [León, 1983], 466, nº 201) and Santiago, Cathedral, fragm. 1 y 2 with a Roman missal copied in the early twelfth century (*ibid.*, 465–66, nº 200); and there must have been many more (see M. Lucas Álvarez, "Paleografía gallega: estado de la cuestión," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 21 [1991]: 419–70, at 429–38 and n. 29).

⁹³ Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult*, 211–12.

Caroline minuscule versus Visigothic script in Galicia.

The specific chronology briefly outlined above, for the introduction of liturgical reform in Galicia, and the cultural dissimilarity of both sees, schools, and scribes, is reflected in the graphical characteristics of the extant manuscript sources and, more particularly, in the evolution of the script itself. Previous studies focusing on the characteristics of the Visigothic script employed and developed in Galicia have stated, inaccurately as will be noted, that the introduction of Caroline minuscule was achieved more quickly there than in the rest of the Leonese-Castilian territories because of the influence of the Way of Saint James and the cultural prominence of Santiago de Compostela as a major Galician centre.⁹⁴ It has consequently been assumed that the graphical influence of foreign models was present in Visigothic script sources from the early twelfth century and that Caroline minuscule was the most common writing system used afterwards, with few examples preserved written in Visigothic script after 1150. The same studies have pointed out, in contrast, that in some rural areas far from the main production centres where the foreign cultural impact was stronger, some remnant Visigothic script examples can be found dating from as late as 1234,⁹⁵ a fact that would make Galicia, besides Toledo, one of the last strongholds of Visigothic script on the Iberian Peninsula. Notwithstanding this latter correct assertion, however, a close examination of the Galician sources in Visigothic script reveals a much more complex situation.⁹⁶

Thorough compilation and analysis of all extant charters and fragments of codices written in Visigothic script and produced in Galician *scriptoria* by

⁹⁴ Lucas Álvarez, "Paleografía gallega," 441, 445.

⁹⁵ A. Martínez Salazar, "Diplomática gallega. ¿El último representante de la escritura visigoda?" *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega* 8 (1913): 49–56 (charter written at the monastery of Almerezo in Visigothic minuscule with strong Caroline influence, now lost).

⁹⁶ A collection of edited charters written in Visigothic script in Galicia has been published in A. Castro Correa, *Colección diplomática altomedieval de Galicia I: documentación editada en escritura visigótica (662–1234)* (A Coruña, 2011). Some of the unedited charters, written or copied in the diocese of Lugo, have been studied in A. Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia. I. Diócesis lucense" (Ph.D. diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012), and will be published shortly; see also "La escritura visigótica en Galicia. Diócesis lucense y mindoniense: Cuestiones metodológicas y estado de la investigación," in *Estudiar el pasado: aspectos metodológicos de la investigación en Ciencias de la Antigüedad y de la Edad Media. Proceedings of the First Postgraduate Conference on Studies of Antiquity and Middle Ages (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 26–28th October 2010)*, ed. A. Castro Correa et al. (Oxford, 2012), 370–75.

scribes trained in Galician schools indicates that the influence of Caroline minuscule can be dated not to the early twelfth century but to the late eleventh century, as is the case for most northwestern peninsular areas (see table 1). In

Table 1
Chronology of graphical transition in northwestern Iberia
based on the extant sources⁹⁷

Area	First Caroline minuscule influence	First charter in Caroline minuscule script	Transition completed (last charter in Visigothic script)	From the first charter in Caroline minuscule to the last in Visigothic script
León-Castile	mid-eleventh century	1110s–1120s	1120s	ca. 10 years
Cantabria	late eleventh century	1120s	1136	ca. 15 years
Asturias	late eleventh century	1116	1166	ca. 50 years
Portugal	late eleventh century	1110s	1172	ca. 60 years
Galicia	late eleventh century	1110	1199 (1234)	ca. 90 years

⁹⁷ For the Leonese-Castilian area, see Ruiz Asencio, *Cronología de la desaparición*, 93–117; M. I. Ostolaza Elizondo, “La transición de la escritura visigótica a la carolina en los monasterios del reino de León,” in *Actas del VIII Coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina* (n. 7 above), 149–63; and V. García Lobo, “La escritura visigótica publicitaria,” in *Paleografía I: La escritura en España hasta 1250* (n. 15 above), 61–91. Regarding Cantabria, see R. Blasco Martínez, “Aproximación a la escritura visigótica en Cantabria. La documentación conservada en Santillana,” *Altamira. Revista del Centro de Estudios Montañeses* 47 (1988): 75–128, and “La escritura de la zona norte peninsular en los siglos XI y XII,” *Estudis Castellonencs* 6 (1994–95): 213–23. For Asturias, Calleja Puerta, *De la visigótica a la carolina en los documentos del Archivo de San Vicente de Oviedo*, 191–200. On Portuguese sources, see Azevedo Santos, *Da visigótica à carolina*, 128–41, “Os modos de escrever no século XII em Portugal. O caso do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra,” *Bibliotheca Portucalensis* II/15–16 (2000–2001): 99–111, “La caroline au Portugal: une écriture d’importation” (n. 59 above), 81–86; and J. Marques, “Caminhos da escrita no Noroeste de Portugal, na Idade Média. Alguns aspectos,” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de la Universidade do Porto* 5–6 (2006–7): 291–322.

addition, the first charters written in Caroline date from the second decade of the twelfth century, although the script would not be the main graphical model until many years later. In fact, Visigothic script would remain the main writing system in use for most of the twelfth century and for almost all Galician scribes. In comparison with other Leonese-Castilian areas, therefore, although the graphical influence can be confirmed as received in the same period, the process of transition from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule was slower in Galicia than in any other part of the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, the extant sources show that in the northwestern peninsula it took more than a hundred years for Galician men of letters to abandon the script they had been using since at least the late ninth century in favour of the new foreign one (see table 2). This peculiarity makes the corpus of Galician sources the ideal basis for studying the process of graphical transition, since both scripts, Visigothic and Caroline, were in use simultaneously and influenced each other for generations.

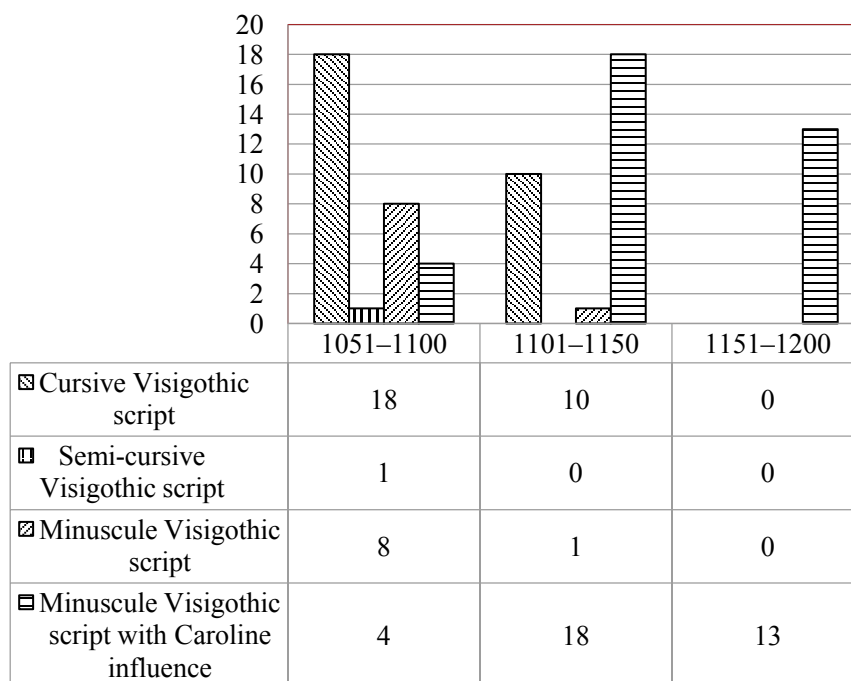
Table 2.
Chronology of graphical transition in Lugo and Santiago⁹⁸

Production centre	First charter in transitional Visigothic script	First charter in Caroline minuscule script	Last charter in transitional Visigothic script	Coexistence (years)	Total years for the change
Lugo					
diocese	1091	1113	1196	83	105
see	1091	1113	1156	43	64
Santiago					
diocese	1050	1110	1199 (1234)	89 (124)	149 (184)
see	[1050]	1110	1194	84	[144]

⁹⁸ For sources, see nn. 101 and 115 below; and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia. I. Diócesis lucense."

A closer look at the chronology and typological variant of the Galician sources in Visigothic script and their distribution according to their most likely production centres (tables 2, 3, and 4) provides yet more remarkable data. In contrast to what might be expected given the cultural importance of Santiago de Compostela and the constant flow of foreign visitors and codices it received, it was in that centre—see and diocese—that the transition from Visigothic to Caroline was slower. Moreover, it shows, as a consequence, a very peculiar graphical acculturation represented in a transitional variant mix of cursive Visigothic script and Caroline minuscule.⁹⁹ The interaction between

Table 3.
Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution
from the mid-eleventh century to 1200. Lugo diocese.

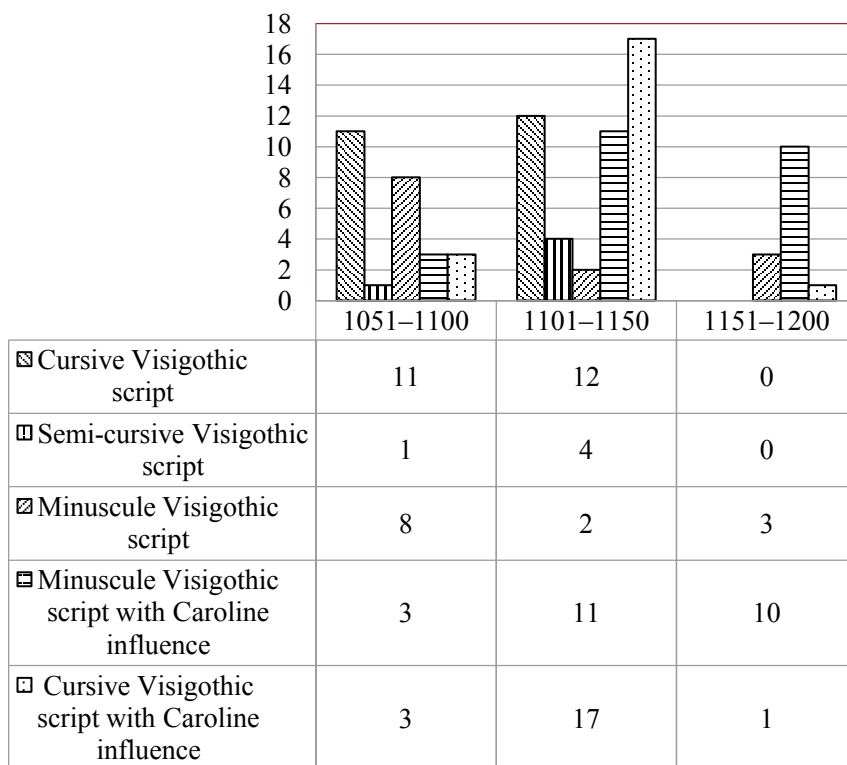


⁹⁹ On the stages of Visigothic script, see A. Castro Correa, “Looking to the Past with an Eye in the Future: Dating and Placing Visigothic Script” (forthcoming).

Visigothic script and Caroline minuscule in Galicia differed, therefore, from all the other northern realms in chronology and style. There were even differences between the main sees and their dependent territories, an observation that reflects the particular local cultural context during the eleventh and the twelfth centuries already discussed.

Although the full corpus of sources in Visigothic script from the see and the diocese of Lugo is abundant, showing the work of many accomplished scribes from whom, unfortunately, only charters have survived and no codex,¹⁰⁰ there

Table 4.
Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution
from the mid-eleventh century to 1200. Santiago de Compostela diocese.



¹⁰⁰ A full list of charters and fragments of codices is provided in Castro Correa, “La escritura visigótica en Galicia,” also with some notes about what must have been the cathedral’s library. On Galician schools and production centres, see *ibid.*, 2–45.

are ten extant original charters from which to study the graphical influence of Caroline minuscule in the see.¹⁰¹ Their chronology ranges from 1091 to 1156 with the following distribution: two charters from the late eleventh century, five from the first half of the twelfth, and three from the second half. The oldest extant charter in Caroline minuscule in the see dates from 1113.¹⁰² Thus five of those ten Visigothic script charters and their scribes are contemporary with the new script. In addition, cursive and minuscule Visigothic continued to be used in the see and in the diocese, the former typological variant until 1128 and the latter until 1107.

The ten extant sources useful for the purpose of this study, all written in the minuscule typological variant of Visigothic, record transactions to which the cathedral was the main beneficiary and can be attributed with some certainty to the work of six scribes who, judging by the codicographical and palaeographical characteristics of the charters they wrote, received specific graphical training to develop their task as scribes in the Lucense cathedral school.¹⁰³

The first charter used here to analyze the introduction of Caroline minuscule elements into the Visigothic script in Lugo's cathedral scriptorium was written in 1091 by Menendo.¹⁰⁴ Although the charter, which represents Countess Aldonza's will to the Cathedral of Lugo including a *uilla* in Chamoso, is unsigned, its highly calligraphic characteristics make it possible to identify its

¹⁰¹ See nn. 104–6 and 108–12 below and table 5. Copies like Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325A, n° 3, in transitional minuscule most likely written in Lugo's see, are not considered in this study. Also, the charter Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 7 (19 May 1119 [Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 360–64]) was written by the personal notary of the Leonese count Suario Bermúdez (M. Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII (1126–1157)* [Burgos, 2003], 74 ff.) and thus cannot be supposed an example of the script taught in Lugo's see, although it could be. There are thirty-five charters preserved for the whole diocese: Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1082, n° 16; carp. 1126, n° 4, 5, 7; carp. 1197, n° 1; carp. 1214, n° 6; carp. 1239, n° 19; carp. 1240, n° 3, 4, 6, 7, 8; carp. 1325A, n° 2, 3; carp. 1325B, n° 18, 19, 25; carp. 1325C, n° 1, 2, 9, 11, 13, 21; carp. 1325D, n° 1, 13; carp. 1325F, n° 8; carp. 1325H, n° 19; Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, perg. 1, 34, 44, 46, 47, 48, Libro X de privilegios, leg. 2, n° 2; Schøyen Collection, MSS 590/51. On their detailed graphical characteristics, see Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 814–27, 850–59.

¹⁰² Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 4.

¹⁰³ On the categorization of the training of early medieval scribes based on analysis of their script, see, among others, A. Petrucci, "Literacy and Graphic Culture of Early Medieval Scribes," in *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy. Studies in the History of Written Culture* (Yale, 1995), 77–102.

¹⁰⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325B, n° 18 (27 February 1091). See table 5 below (1325B18); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 330–37.

hand as that of Menendo. He was also the author of two other original charters, an acknowledgment by Queen Urraca of Lugo's properties in Retorta dated 1123 with a very elegant first line in Visigothic capitals (plate 1),¹⁰⁵ and a sale of a land near Lugo dated 1124,¹⁰⁶ as well as a copy of a royal diploma,¹⁰⁷ which he did sign. Menendo shows himself to be a skilled scribe with excellent graphical abilities and aesthetic sensibility who took care in the elaboration of his charters, three of which are ruled in dry point with large margins and embellished initials. In all likelihood, he also copied codices, although no examples have been preserved. Trained in minuscule Visigothic, he was not unfamiliar with cursive features (see table 5), such as the simplified form for *qui*, although they are not often seen in his hand. Already in his first manuscript, which must correspond to his early career, Menendo's script shows subtle influence from the continental abbreviation system through a moderate use of shortenings by suprascript letters for the syllables *pri* and *pro*, continental forms of the syllables *per* and *pre*—with a horizontal stroke crossing the descender of *p* in the first case and a line above *p* for the latter—and use of a sign similar to a semicircle for the ending *-us*, employed just once. In Menendo's second and third charters, the evolution of his hand is noticeable with a clear increase of Caroline minuscule influence; to the previous continental forms he added the abbreviation of the possessive *noster* with theme in *r*, suspension by a short horizontal line drawn through the ascender of the letter *b* in the personal pronouns *nobis* and *uobis*, the ending *-ur* after *t* and *-unt* after *r*, a more elaborate use of suprascript letters now also for *modo*, *uero*, and *mihi*, contraction of *quod* as *qd*, and *con-* and *est* by a short horizontal line above *c* and *e*. This foreign graphical influence is even stronger in the copy he made of the royal diploma, which features suspension for the ending *-ur* after *m* and some *notae iuris*.

Between the first and second charters written by Menendo, three other equally skilled scribes worked for the Cathedral of Lugo, the first one of them Archdeacon Juan. In 1092,¹⁰⁸ he documented the will *pro remedio animae* or-

¹⁰⁵ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 11 (8 March 1123). See table 5 (1325C11).

¹⁰⁶ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 13 (12 May 1124). See table 5 below (1325C13).

¹⁰⁷ Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, Libro X de pergamino, leg. 2, n° 2 (30 June 987): Alfonso III (866–910) confirms the limits of the *señorío* of the see as identified by previous monarchs and grants to Lugo money, a dowry, and new territories.

¹⁰⁸ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325B, n° 19 (3 March 1092). See table 5 below (1325B19); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 338–42.

Table 5. Scribes writing in minuscule Visigothic script with Caroline minuscule influence in Lugo (see).

Year	1091–1124	1092	1106	1107	1130	1152–56
Shelf-mark and scribe	1325B18 1325C11 1325C13 Menendo	1325B19 Juan <i>archid.</i>	1325C1 Vermudo	1325C2 Vimara <i>presbiter</i>	1325C21 Pedro	ACLu34 1325D13 ACLu48 Rodrigo
Uncial <i>a</i> (exp.)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
<i>t + j</i>	Y	Y	Y	N (<i>ci</i>)	Y	N (<i>ci</i>) / Y
<i>I-longa</i>	Y	Y	Y*	Y*	Y*	Y*
<i>i</i>	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
square <i>r</i> after <i>o</i>	Y*	Y	Y*	Y	Y	Y*
ʀ	<i>b, i, l, m/n, p, t</i>	<i>b, j, m/n</i>	<i>b, i, l, m, n, t</i>	<i>b, d, j, m, c</i>	<i>b, i, m, n, r, t</i>	<i>b, i, m, n</i>
ʀ'	<i>i</i>	N	<i>t</i>	N	<i>i, l, b</i>	<i>b, c, d</i>
ʀ;	N	N	N	N	N	N
ʀ	<i>r, t</i>	<i>r, n, t</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r, t</i>	<i>r</i>
ʀ	<i>b, n, t</i>	<i>b, n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b, n, t</i>	<i>b, n, t</i>	N
ʀ'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ʀ'	N	N	N	N	N	N
ʀ'	N	N	N	N	N	N
ʀ	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ʀ	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ʀ'	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y*
ā	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
ā	<i>m, t</i>	N	Y	<i>m, t</i>	<i>m, t</i>	Y
ř	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ṁ	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N

dered by Count Froilán Bermúdez of the house of Traba, to the Cathedral of St. Mary of Lugo, in which he gives one of his *uillae* near the river Chamoso. Some of Froilán's children signed the document as witnesses, among them Gonzalo, *presul* and bishop of the nearby see of Mondoñedo (1071–1112), Pedro (with autograph signature), Rodrigo, Elvira, and Munia Fróilaz. Also witnesses of the transaction were archdeacons Rodrigo and Juan (autograph sign), Bishop Amor of Lugo, and Judge Sandino Petriz (autograph sign). Juan's interpretation of the Visigothic graphical model in this charter presents an early but intense influence of the Caroline minuscule abbreviation system, attested by the continental forms of *episcopus*, *nomen*, and *quod*, use of Caroline suspension for the syllables *per* and *pre*, and *-er-* after *t*, suspension by suprascript letter for *pra/pri/pro* and use of the Tironian system for the conjunction *et* and the syllable *con* in the signature box.

Several years after Juan, in 1106, Vermudo wrote another charter, also in minuscule Visigothic with Caroline features, recording the will of Pedro García and his wife Elvira to Bishop Pedro II of Lugo.¹⁰⁹ His hand shows the same quality and similar external influence in the abbreviation system as his colleagues before.

A year later, in 1107, *presbiter* Vimara continued using the same typological variant, now showing more fluency in the incorporation of exogenous elements. He writes in a less calligraphic hand, despite the fact that the charter is recording a direct donation to the see witnessed by Bishop Pedro, Archdeacon Pelayo, and the judge Pelayo, who include their personal signatures.¹¹⁰ Vimara frequently uses suspensions by suprascript letter, not only for the syllables *pro*, *pri*, and *qui*, but also for *uero*, *hoc*, *modo*, and *tibi*, the Tironian *notae* for *con-* and *est*, and the continental forms for the contraction of the syllables *per* and *per* and for *episcopus*, *presbiter*, and *quod*, besides the suspension of *-(t)er*, *-(t, m)ur*, *-(r)unt*, and *-(m)en-*. There is still no evidence of external graphical influence in the alphabet, apart from the continuous use of uncial *a* as numeral exponent.

The next scribe, Pedro, is already contemporary with the first scribe using the new script in the see, since his charter dates to 1130.¹¹¹ As a consequence,

¹⁰⁹ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 1 (1 February 1106). See table 5 (1325C1); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 347–50.

¹¹⁰ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 2 (16 May 1107). See table 5 (1325C2); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 351–57.

¹¹¹ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325C, n° 21 (30 October 1130). See table 5 (1325C21); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 370–74.

his handwriting is a neat example of how the new writing system was becoming increasingly dominant: a Visigothic minuscule with Caroline minuscule *ductus* full of Caroline minuscule abbreviations. He wrote the will of Count Gutierre Vermúdez and Countess Toda to the Cathedral of Lugo, which includes part of the monastery of Salvador de Chamoso, very close to the see. Pedro's hand is highly calligraphic, his initials bearing careful flourishes. The disposition of the text within the parchment, ruled in dry point, is careful and elegant. He included all the Caroline minuscule contractions already mentioned, with the exception of the ending *-(r)unt*, besides adding some hitherto unseen ones in Galician Visigothic examples, such as the suprascript letter for the syllable *cri*. Also, he was the first scribe to use diacritic *i* at the end of a word and when two *i*'s came together.

The last three examples to be considered here (table 5) date to the second half of the twelfth century and belong to the same scribe, Rodrigo (plate 2).¹¹² All three record sales around Lugo of lay people whose relationship with the see is unknown and who apparently turned to the cathedral scribes to elaborate their charters. Regardless of the social status of the grantors and beneficiaries involved, Rodrigo's hand is still calligraphic and elegant, especially in his last charter, where his advanced age can also be glimpsed by the strokes of the letters. Rodrigo's hand shows Caroline minuscule *ductus*, not Caroline letters, and Caroline minuscule abbreviations as usual. His hand can easily be compared with that of Menendo as a late example of this transitional period in Lugo: the exogenous abbreviations used by Rodrigo are ending *-us* marked by a semicircle, continental *per* and *pre*, endings *-(t)er*, *-(t)ur*, *-(r)unt*, suprascript letter for *cri*, *mihi*, *modo*, *pra/pri/pro*, *qua/qui/quo*, *sanctus*, and *uero*, Caroline minuscule forms for *autem*, *nomen*, *quod*, *tempus*, *uobis*, *post*, and *notae iuris* for *est*.

After 1156 a minuscule Visigothic script with strong Caroline minuscule influence continued to be used in the diocese, though not in the see, its last example dated 1196.¹¹³

The study of how Visigothic script evolved throughout the centuries in the see and diocese of Santiago de Compostela is rendered more difficult by two considerable limitations: the quantity of the preserved sources and their state

¹¹² Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, perg. 34 (17 September [1152]); Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1325D, n° 13 (28 December 1155); Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, perg. 48 (16 April 1156). See table 5 (ACLu34, 1325D13, AClu48); and Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 379–83.

¹¹³ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero (San Vicente del Pino), carp. 1197, n° 1; see Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica en Galicia," 393–95.

of preservation. When, in 1129, the cathedral of Santiago started the cartulary project that resulted in the Tumbo A, which was intended to facilitate consultation of the vast corpus of documents the see must have possessed at that time¹¹⁴ by copying them together and in the new, more legible, script, all the Visigothic script charters that had been produced in the previous years were discarded. Some of these documents were lost forever, since only the most relevant ones, concerning property of the see, were copied. Fortunately, however, and in contrast with Lugo's context, besides the cathedral centre there were many highly relevant monastic institutions nearby, such as San Martín Pinario or San Payo de Antealtares, which did not decide to reorganize their charters into a codex in the early twelfth century, thus retaining a considerable abundant Visigothic script corpus.¹¹⁵ The state of preservation of these extant charters is, however, generally poor.¹¹⁶ Consequently, it is not possible to establish with certainty how the graphical evolution in the Compostelan see proceeded in the same detail as in Lugo, although the extant Visigothic script charters enable at least a partial approach that, though incomplete, reveals an especially rich, diverse, and distinctive graphical context in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Santiago.

The influence of the new written system is attested in the minuscule variant of Visigothic script in the diocese of Santiago from at least the 1060s, although the oldest charter that can be considered with some certainty to be the product of a scribe trained in the cathedral school dates from 1095 (see table 6).¹¹⁷ There are a few charters in minuscule Visigothic script with Caro-

¹¹⁴ López Alsina estimates that there were more than a thousand charters in total (F. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta edad media* [Santiago de Compostela, 2015], 42–43).

¹¹⁵ On the pre-1200 sources preserved for the cathedral and major monasteries of Santiago de Compostela, see López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago*, 27–31.

Charters in Visigothic in transition to Caroline minuscule written in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela: Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Diocesano (Pinario), San Martín, carp. 79, n° 11, 14, 15, 27, 28, 29, 31, carp. 80, n° 10; Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago, Moraime, n° 2, Pinario, n° 18, 30, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 53, Colección Blanco Cicerón, n° 4, 15, 137, 138, 186, 188, 198; La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, n° 2, 261, 262, 272, 282, 496, 497, 499, 1183, Colección Vaamonde Lores, carp. 5, n° 1/5; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero (San Martín Pinario), carp. 512, n° 9.

¹¹⁶ On the causes, see A. Castro Correa, "The Reconstruction of Early Medieval Spanish Manuscript Sources," *Early Medieval Europe* 22/1 (2014): 69–87.

¹¹⁷ Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago, Moraime, n° 2 (18 June 1095); ed. M. Lucas Álvarez, "El monasterio de San Julián de Moraime en Galicia (Notas documentales)," in *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carlo*, vol. 2 (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1975), 605–43, n° 2. See table 6 (AHUSMo2).

line minuscule features that record texts dated earlier, but their poor state of preservation makes it impossible to determine whether they are originals or copies and impossible to provide information about their material authors.¹¹⁸ The 1095 charter was written by the deacon Ordoño Eusebiz and records the foundation act of the monastery of San Julián de Moraima by Countess Argilo. All the eminent local ecclesiastical personalities of that time act as witnesses of this document, adding their signatures at the bottom of the parchment. They are the bishops of the sees of Santiago, Lugo, Mondoñedo, Tuy, and Orense; the abbots of the monasteries of Moraima, Antealtares, and Pinarío; and judges Pedro Danieliz, Sarracino Gundisalviz, and Pelayo Gudestéiz. Ordoño's hand is highly calligraphic, extremely elegant, and so neat that it can be assumed not only that he was trained at the cathedral school but also that he was one of its best scribes, undoubtedly used not only to write charters but to copy codices, though none are extant. As for the continental features adopted (see table 6), it is evident that Ordoño stayed loyal to the model, not using any exogenous letters and only very few abbreviations, like *per/pre*, some examples of suprascript letter for *qui*, the Tironian sign for *est*, and a few others (contraction of *propter*, *episcopus*, *quotum*, and *quod*).

A not so carefully written charter was penned by García Martinz a few years later.¹¹⁹ It presents a completely different graphical reception of Caroline minuscule traits since it frequently includes closed *a* throughout the text as well as the sign similar to a semicircle for the ending *-us*, the suspension of *-(m)en-* by a *titulus* above *m*, the Tironian sign for *et*, and the continental form of the personal pronouns *nobis/uobis*, none of which is attested earlier in the Compostelan examples.

Caroline minuscule influence continued to grow, as indicated by the next relevant charter, dated 1122.¹²⁰ Its author, Gundesindo, does not show the same graphical skills as Ordoño, the lack of horizontality in the text layout on

¹¹⁸ For example, Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Diocesano (Pinarío), San Martín, 79.14, with the sign similar to a semicircle to mark the ending *-us* and continental abbreviation *h(er)*, dated 1070.

¹¹⁹ Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago, Pinarío, nº 33 (17 February 1110); ed. M. Lucas Álvarez, *El archivo del monasterio de San Martiño de Fóra o Pinarío de Santiago de Compostela* (Sada, 1999), nº 40. See table 6 (AHUS Pin33).

¹²⁰ Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago, Blanco Cicerón, nº 188 (9 September 1122); ed. M. Lucas Álvarez, "Colligere fragmenta: documentos en escritura visigótica del Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago de Compostela," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 19 (1992): 267–76, nº 5. See table 6 (AHUS BC188).

Table 6. Scribes writing in minuscule Visigothic script with Caroline minuscule influence in Santiago (see)

Year	1095	1110	1122	1126	1135	1153	1163
Shelf-mark and scribe	AHUS Mo2 Ordoño Euseviz <i>diac.</i>	AHUS Pin33 García Martinz	AHUS BC188 Gunde-sindo	AHUS BC138	AHUS BC 137/4 Galindo	AHUS Pin49 Arias Pelagici <i>presb.</i>	ARG 499 Pedro
Uncial a (exp.)	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
t + j	Y	Y	N (<i>ci</i>)	Y	Y	Y	Y
I-longa	Y	Y*	Y	N	N	Y	Y
i	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
square r after o	Y	Y*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ʃ	<i>b, l, m/n, t</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>d, m/n</i>	<i>b</i>	N	N	<i>b, d, t</i>
ʒ	N	<i>m</i>	<i>i, t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>b, i, n, t</i>	<i>c, d, j/i, n, t</i>
b;	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
ʒ	<i>r, t</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>r, t</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>	N
ʒ	<i>b</i>	<i>b, n</i>	<i>b, m/n</i>	Y	N	N	N
ʒ'	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ʒ'	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
ʒ'	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y
ʒ'	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
ʒ'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
ʒ'	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ā	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ā	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y
ṛ	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
ṁ	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N

the parchment being especially striking. His hand is, however, calligraphic. As for new continental features, Gundesindo regularly uses a semicircle for the ending *-us*, which has been seen before though not as frequently as here, and the suspension of *-er-* and *-ur* on *t* besides many more examples of suprascript letters, for *pro/pri*, *qui*, *uero*, *tibi*, and *nihil*, Tironian *notae* for *et* and *con*, *notae iuris* for *sunt*, and other Caroline minuscule abbreviations (*hoc*, *sicut*, *quod*, *nobis*, and *nomen*).

In order to find the first charter produced in minuscule Visigothic script, not only with evidence of Caroline minuscule abbreviations (semicircle for the ending *-us*, continental *per*, suspension of *-t(er)* and *-t(ur)*, Tironian *et*, *notae iuris* for *est*, and Caroline forms of *uester*, *uobis/nobis*, *tempore*, and *episcopus*) but also *ductus*, we must wait until 1163, when the scribe Pedro recorded a sale between Vermudo Fróilaz and the church of San Jorge de Torres (plate 3).¹²¹

So far, the transitional Visigothic script developed in Santiago seems to be as expected, a minuscule Visigothic script with exogenous features. It was contemporary with cursive (until 1133), semi-cursive (1139), and minuscule (1188) Visigothic script in that diocese, and with Caroline minuscule since at least the second decade of the twelfth century (first charter preserved dating 1110).¹²² The mutual influence of the two scripts, traditional and European, appears, however, to have been far more chaotic in the Compostelan see as a result of its cultural milieu, since in the first half of the twelfth century, and therefore at the time of the first manuscripts written in Caroline, the predominant graphical variant was cursive Visigothic script, both pure and hybrid.

Among the extant sources produced in the diocese of Santiago de Compostela that allow a thorough palaeographical analysis, thus omitting those in a state of preservation so poor that it prevents a full understanding of the scribes' graphical features, there are twenty charters written by scribes most likely trained in the cathedral school which are relevant for understanding how the graphical transition developed. Their chronology ranges from 1050 to 1150 for the see and to 1167 for the diocese, and mostly concentrated in the first half of the twelfth century.

Petrus Danieliz's charter dated to 1115 is one of the first and most significant ones (see table 7) given the prominence of the witnesses who signed the

¹²¹ La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, perg. 499 (6 May 1163). See table 6 (ARG499).

¹²² Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago, Pergaminos Blanco Cicerón, núm. 11.

Table 7. Scribes writing in cursive Visigothic script with Caroline minuscule influence in Santiago (see).

Year	1115	1130	1134	1145	1150
Shelf-mark and scribe	ARG1183 Petrus Danieliz <i>clericus iudex</i>	AHUSBC 198	AHDS79.29 Pelagius <i>clericus</i>	ARGVaam5 1/5 Cresconius <i>clericus</i>	ARG497 Pelagius <i>cardinalis</i>
Uncial <i>a</i> (exp.)	N	N	N	N	N
<i>c/e</i> stroke to the left	<i>c</i>	N	N	N	N
<i>c</i> spiral	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
<i>ti/tj</i>	N (<i>ci</i>)	N (<i>ci</i>)	N (<i>ci</i>)	N (<i>ci</i>)	Y (<i>ci</i>)
<i>l</i>-longa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>i</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y
ligatures with <i>i</i>	<i>e, g, l</i>	<i>e, g, l</i>	<i>g</i>	N	<i>e, g, l</i>
<i>m</i>⁸	<i>b, d, m/n, t</i>	Y	<i>b, c, l, m/n, r</i>	<i>b, i, m, t</i>	<i>b, c, m/n, t</i>
<i>l</i>²	N	N	N	N	N
<i>l</i>²	Y	Y	N	N	Y
<i>r</i>⁸	N	Y	N	N	N
<i>r</i>⁴	<i>r</i>	N	N	N	N
<i>b</i>	N	N	N	N	N
<i>g</i>²	N	N	N	Y	N
<i>g</i>²	N	N	N	N	N
<i>f</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>f</i>	N	N	N	Y	N
<i>p</i>	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

ſ	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
ā	Y (t, b, h)	Y	N	Y(h, t)	Y(h, t)
ǣ	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ř	N	N	N	N	Y
ṁ	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

document.¹²³ The signatures of these people are not autograph, though perhaps some of the signs drawn with them are, but even so they are significant for the script in which they were written. In 1115, when the Roman rite must at least have been already introduced in Galicia, if not fully established, and Caroline minuscule was already known and practiced, not only Bishop Xelmírez but also the archbishop of Toledo and papal legate Bernard and the Cluniac bishop of Braga Mauricio, among others, did not seem to have had any objection to letting the scribe write in cursive Visigothic script, adding their signatures in cursive *elongata*. Besides these signatures and the content of the document, Danieliz's hand is also significant: *c* and *e* preserving the characteristic cursive stroke to the left side, *c* with its first stroke in a spiral, a sign similar to a G-clef for the ending *-us*, Visigothic *per* and *qui* combined with diacritic *i*, a semicircle for the ending *-us*, continental *pre*, suspension of *-(t)er-*, *-(t)ur*, and *-(m)en-*, suprascript letter for *pri*, *qua/qui/quo*, *tibi*, *modo*, and *uir*, Tironian sign for *con-*, and continental forms of the abbreviations of *tempore*, *episcopus*, *quod*, *secundus*, *uobis*, and *noster*. Danieliz thus presents a perfect cursive Visigothic script, according to the model, that nevertheless has strong Caroline minuscule influence. This graphical contamination, though already in the first examples of transitional cursive Visigothic, would continue to develop during the next decades. Thus, one of the last examples of this typological transitional variant, dated to 1150¹²⁴ and written by the cardinal Pelagius (table 7), displays a very calligraphic cursive Visigothic script, with G-clef and semicircle for *-us*, Visigothic *per* but Caroline minuscule *pre*, Visigothic *qui* and also suprascript *qui*, and Caroline minuscule forms for *-(t)er*, *-(t)ur*, *-(r)unt*, and *-(m)en-*.

¹²³ La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Vaamonde Lores, nº 1183 (15 May 1115). Bishop Xelmírez recognizes the independence of the monastery of San Martín Pinario. See table 7. Another extant charter, Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero (Pinario), carp. 512, nº 9 (dated 1122), bears Xelmírez's signature, again in cursive Visigothic script (Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance*, 235; Fletcher, *Episcopate in the Kingdom of León*, 116). As example of this transitional variant from cursive Visigothic to Caroline minuscule, see plate 4.

¹²⁴ La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, perg. 497 (7 March 1150). Sale of Nuño Peláez's *hereditates* to Countess Lupa in San Cristóbal de Dormea. See table 7.

The fact that when Caroline minuscule began to be known in the Iberian Peninsula, mostly through the abundance of trans-Pyrenean codices, its graphical characteristics started to mix with those of the minuscule type of Visigothic script, as was the case in all northern production centres, may be a natural result of the external graphical similarities of the two scripts—both minuscule. The scribes who were first exposed to Caroline minuscule in the Leonese-Castilian kingdom were those used to read and write codices in minuscule Visigothic script. It is reasonable to imagine that in time the incorporation of Caroline minuscule features within their texts must have been unavoidable. The same scribes who wrote codices were also commissioned to write charters. Therefore, those highly skilled scribes, taught to write in minuscule Visigothic, must have been responsible for the first charters in transitional minuscule Visigothic. In the see of Santiago, however, the fact that the graphical influence is seen first and most intensively in the sources preserved in cursive Visigothic script is by all accounts a remarkable development. The extant sources do not show such a cursive variant in transition to Caroline minuscule in Lugo, either in the see or in the diocese as a whole. This transitional cursive is also an extremely rare graphical acculturation in the rest of the Leonese-Castilian kingdom; there is only one charter in the Cathedral of León dating from 1118.¹²⁵ The exception to this trend is the *scriptorium* of the monastery of Sahagún.¹²⁶ Analysis of the corpus of charters in Visigothic script from Sahagún¹²⁷ reveals Caroline minuscule influence in both minuscule—the predominant typology in use until 1131—and in cursive hands—with its last example dated 1109—starting in the same decade, the 1060s. However, the typological variant that presents the strongest influence of Caroline minuscule in its alphabet and abbreviation system, with its first charter dated to 1104 at Sahagún, is the minuscule and not the cursive, thus contrasting with what can be seen in Santiago's manuscript sources.

There are two main explanations for the graphical peculiarity of the transitional Visigothic scripts in Santiago. First, common to the Compostelan see

¹²⁵ León, Archivo de la Catedral, nº 317; see Ruiz Asencio, "Cronología de la desaparición," 104, fig. 7.

¹²⁶ See M. Herrero de la Fuente, "De Cluny a Sahagún: La escritura carolina en el monasterio de Sahagún (siglos XI–XII)," in *Le statut du scripteur au Moyen Age: Actes du XII^e colloque scientifique du Comité international de paléographie latine (Cluny, 17–20 juillet 1998)*, ed. M.-C. Hubert, E. Poulle, and M. H. Smith (Paris, 2000), 29–40, at 33–35; and B. Shailor, "The Scriptorium of San Sahagún: A Period of Transition," in *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter*, ed. Reilly (n. 1 above), 41–61.

¹²⁷ M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, vol. 2 (León, 1988).

and Sahagún, is direct Cluniac influence. Second, exclusive to Galician Visigothic script, is the long life cycle of the cursive typological variant given that pure minuscule Visigothic script is rare in Galicia unlike in the other Leonese-Castilian centres.¹²⁸ The former explains the intense external graphical influence, also favoured by Santiago's status not only as the main Galician centre of culture but also as a highly significant European one. The latter explains why this influence was received also, and more intensively, in the cursive variant, since this was the predominant script when Caroline minuscule started to be used by the master scribes of the Compostelan see.

This study examines how the massive arrival of books with the new rite copied in Caroline minuscule, the cultural pressure from Europe, and the political interests of kings and ecclesiastical personalities opened the path for the replacement of the old rite with the Roman liturgy and for the change of Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule throughout the Iberian Christian kingdoms. Once the new rite was finally accepted, the affluence of Roman texts increased as did the production of codices with the Roman rite in Iberia, although in the first decades some exemplars were still copied in the traditional Visigothic script system. The chaotic graphical situation and the educational differences it highlighted—since the sources attest that clerics were not only ignorant of the new writing system but also could not read, understand, and pronounce the Latin—led to changes far beyond the liturgy, resulting in scholastic reorganization and further development of written production. Scribes needed to learn the new standard, following the requests of their patrons and superiors, and while at first graphical change was only required for liturgical texts, it soon after was applied to all written production, charters included. From the ninth century onwards in the northeast Iberian Peninsula and from the mid- to late eleventh century onwards in the Leonese-Castilian kingdom, Visigothic script scribes attested to the cultural pressure of the imported new written system by developing very distinctive transitional typological variants. Yet just as the Hispanic rite was preserved, Visigothic script continued to be used. In the production of charters it was used for some hundred

¹²⁸ This variant has been supposed to have been introduced into charters in Castile first, then in León, with the change of dynasty (Vermudo III of León to Fernando I of Navarre in 1037), since it was the main typological variant in use in Navarre. See A. Millares Carlo, *Consideraciones sobre la escritura visigótica cursiva* (León, 1973), 73; M. Herrero de la Fuente and J. A. Fernández Flórez, "Sobre la escritura visigótica en León y Castilla durante su etapa primitiva (ss. VII–X): algunas reflexiones," in *La escritura visigótica* (n. 48 above), 55–104, at 91; and A. Castro Correa, "La escritura visigótica redonda en Galicia: documentos de la Catedral de Lugo," in *ibid.*, 105–14.

years longer, especially in the main production centres that chose to do so either as a cultural statement or just for practicality. The change from Visigothic to Caroline minuscule was not an unconscious process ensued from the logical evolution that progressively transforms a script into a new distinctive one, but the result of a conscious substitution of one writing system for another that happened to be more legible and consistent with the cultural and political unification of the Iberian Peninsula and its relationship with Europe.¹²⁹ The study of how the scribes of each production centre achieved this graphical transition unveils the role that each ecclesiastical institution had as well as its political and cultural context.

At least from the 1050s onwards in Santiago's diocese and the 1090s in Lugo's, the extant sources suggest that scribes tried to adapt to the graphical change, thus developing the Visigothic transitional variants.¹³⁰ They were already leaving behind their previous generation of scribes who, because of their age, were unable to adjust. In most of the northern peninsular areas, including the Catalan northeast, it seems that it took only one generation to replace the traditional script with the new one. In Galicia, however, the process was much slower, particularly in Santiago, where, after nearly half a century of transitional Visigothic we find the first example written in Caroline. Visigothic script continued to be used for writing charters for almost a hundred years after that. The manuscript sources from Galicia suggest that while a generation of scribes began to change their script, some of their colleagues, and not only those of advanced age, continued to prefer Visigothic. This Visigothic persistence is due to the specific historical context in Galicia. Sources seem to suggest that while in Santiago scribes lived in a prominent cultural centre, capable by itself of determining the rhythm of graphical change, Lucense scribes could not help but change at the pace imposed. But independently of how we prefer to interpret how this period of graphical transition was, the fact is that it was not at all uncommon to find Visigothic script scribes in mid-twelfth century Galicia together with Caroline minuscule ones.

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¹²⁹ See Mundó and Alturo, "Problemática de les scriptures" (n. 7 above).

¹³⁰ For discussion of the extent to which the scribes were aware of the graphical differences between writing systems, polygraphism in twelfth-century Galicia, teaching practices, and the social status of Visigothic and Caroline minuscule script scribes in this context, see A. Castro Correa, "The Regional Study of Visigothic Script: Visigothic Script vs. Caroline Minuscule in Galicia," in *"Change" in Medieval and Renaissance Scripts and Manuscripts: Proceedings of the 19th Colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine* (Berlin, September 16–18, 2015) (in press).