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Change in Medieval and Renaissance Scripts and Manuscripts

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The Regional Study of Visigothic Script: Visigothic Script vs. Caroline Minuscule in Galicia*

▼ RESUMEN

De mediados del s. XI a mediados del s. XII tuvo lugar en la Península Ibérica una etapa de cambio sin precedentes que configuró los reinos pleno-medievales peninsulares, organizados e integrados en la órbita europea. Este cambio se articuló a raíz de dos eventos fundamentales para la historia de la Iglesia y para la historia de la cultura y de la escritura, los sínodos de Burgos (1080) y León (1090), en los que se advocó unificación litúrgica, sustituyendo el rito mozárabe por el romano, y gráfica, imponiendo la escritura carolina en lugar de la visigótica. En esta comunicación el foco de atención se centra en el segundo aspecto, el cambio gráfico, debatiéndose a través de preguntas clave cómo debió ser experimentado por los escribas.

The last three decades of the eleventh century were for Galicia, in the north-western Iberian Peninsula, a crucial period of cultural and political change. As an effect of political incorporation of the territory into the kingdom of Leon-Castile, the traditional local nobility was substituted by a new aristocracy who shared the wider European preferences and imperialistic aims of the monarchy. At the same time, the new centralised administration enforced the influence of European culture on a massive scale. Combined with the adoption of the Roman rite, this led to the progressive change from Visigothic script, the common writing system used in the Iberian Peninsula and Septimania from at least the early decades of the eighth century, to Caroline minuscule,

the supra-national handwriting that had spread into general use throughout Europe.¹

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¹ For a full historical contextualization of the topics alluded to in this paper, including lists of manuscript sources and detailed bibliographic references, see Ainoa Castro Correa, *Visigothic Script versus Caroline Minuscule: The Collision of Two Cultural Worlds in Twelfth-Century*

The strategic and cultural implications of the acceptance of the liturgical reform, finally achieved in the northern and western Iberian Peninsula by the Council of Burgos in 1080, for the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula are a well known topic that has prompted a great many publications. The graphic change alone, first in liturgical and eventually in legal texts, that followed the adoption of the Roman rite in northern Iberia, can be used as evidence for the extent to which each cultural centre reveals itself as resistant or not to submission to the practice of Rome. We could consider whether the copying of codices with the new liturgy but still in Visigothic script might have been a decision that appealed to institutions that wanted to preserve their Visigothic tradition and prior cultural pre-eminence without becoming dissociated from the new Hispanic Church and the European Leonese-Castilian kingdom. Or might such a decision have simply been a response to more practical needs, bearing in mind that ecclesiastical centres might have kept using Visigothic script to make the new texts look familiar or just to produce them more easily and quickly? However, in my contribution to the debate raised by the 19th Colloquium of the Comité international de Paléographie Latine on the theme of 'Change', I will not try to revise these mostly historical and political questions. Nor will I discuss how the main Galician ecclesiastical centres, Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, and their bishops, reacted to liturgical change, or at least I shall not address this directly. Rather, my intention with this paper is to stimulate discussion by focusing in more detail on an approach to the late eleventh-century

liturgical Reform that has not yet been fully understood: the change from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule. My aim is to further the understanding of the following questions: How did the scribes – rather than the church that trained them – perceive the graphic change? How did they use the assimilation of elements of a new script in developing their professional careers? What social component might have played a role in a scribe's use of one script or another? Which different cultural contexts do the written testimonies represent?

Case study: late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Galician scribes

The chronology and characteristics of the extant manuscript evidence from late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Galician scriptoria attest to an increasing European graphic acculturation common to all northern Iberia by that time. However, a thorough analysis of these sources reveals the exceptional nature of the Galician corpus since it allows us to investigate how scribes faced the graphic reform almost step by step, something that is not easy to achieve through the surviving corpora from other areas. Galician Visigothic script serves, therefore, as an ideal case study for several reasons.

First, while in the northern Iberian Peninsula the substitution of one written system for another was significantly rapid, the result of a generational change of amanuenses, in Galicia Visigothic script was maintained as the main graphic system in use for a much longer time (Table 1). The graphic influence of Caroline minuscule examples can be confirmed as having been experienced in all Leonese-Castilian territories during more or less the same period, the 1110s-1120s, with the first examples written in Caroline minuscule in northern Iberian centres dating from the second decade of the twelfth century. As we go further west, we find

Galicia, LMS dissertation, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies – University of Toronto, 2015 (an abridged version of this work is available in "Visigothic script vs. Caroline minuscule: the collision of two cultural worlds in twelfth-century Galicia", *Mediaeval Studies* 78 (2016): 203-242).

a longer transitional period, demonstrating that in Galician centres it took more than a hundred years to abandon the script that had been used at least since the late ninth century in favour of the new foreign one. Visigothic script and Caroline minuscule were, thus, in use in Galicia simultaneously, influencing each other for generations.

Second, an even closer examination of the chronology of the Visigothic script in Galician sources, charting their distribution by production centre and analysing those written in the main two sees of Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, provides yet more remarkable data. In contrast with what might be expected given the cultural prominence of Santiago de Compostela and the constant flow of foreign visitors and codices it received through the Way of Saint James, it was in that centre, see and diocese that the transition from one graphic system to another was slower (Table 2). In contrast, thus, with other geographical regions in which the graphic evolution was fairly consistent, the status of Santiago de Compostela altered the process of change in Galicia in a particular way.

Third, as a mirror of this different chronological evolution and cultural environment, the transition from Visigothic to Caroline was, graphically speaking, not the same in both centres. The sources preserved for Lugo attest to a transitional Visigothic script – that is, a Visigothic minuscule script with some *Caroline minuscule* influence particularly in the abbreviation system (Fig. 1). In Santiago, however, scribes developed two different transitional periods. There their hands not only show exogenous influence when writing in Visigothic minuscule, but also when using Visigothic cursive (Fig. 2), something that remains by all accounts remarkable as an extremely rare graphic acculturation, since it was practised only by the scribes trained in one other Iberian institution, the monastery of Sahagún, albeit not

with the same intensity.² Analysis of the corpus of charters in Visigothic script from Sahagún reveals the influence of Caroline minuscule in both minuscule – the predominant type of script in use until 1131 – and cursive hands (the last dated example being from 1109), and starting in the same decade, the 1060s. However, the typological variant that displays the strongest influence of Caroline minuscule in its alphabet and abbreviation system, with the first such example being a charter dated 1104 at Sahagún, is the minuscule and not the cursive, by contrast with what can be seen in Santiago's manuscript sources.

There are two main explanations for the graphic peculiarity of the transitional Visigothic scripts in Santiago de Compostela. First, common to both the Compostelan see and Sahagún, is the direct Cluniac influence. Second, and exclusive to the Galician Visigothic script, is the long life cycle of the cursive typological variant, given that a pure Visigothic minuscule script is rare in Galicia by contrast with the other Leonese-Castilian centres.³

2. See Marta Herrero de la Fuente, 'De Cluny a Sahagún: La escritura carolina en el monasterio de Sahagún (siglos XI-XII)', in *Actes du XI^e colloque scientifique du Comité international de Paléographie Latine*, Paris, 2000, p. 29-40, here p. 33-35. The persistence of Visigothic script may be explained by the prominence of the scriptorium, whose scribes were reluctant to abandon the graphic system they had mastered.

3. This variant has been supposed to have been introduced into charters in Castile first, then in Leon, with the change of dynasty (Vermudo III of Leon to Fernando I of Navarre in 1037), since it was the main typological variant in use in Navarre. See Agustín Millares Carlo, *Consideraciones sobre la escritura visigótica cursiva*, León, 1973, p. 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 en la Península Ibérica: nuevas aportaciones*, Barcelona, 2012, p. 55-104, here p. 91; Ainoa Castro Correa, 'La escritura visigótica redonda en Galicia: documentos de la Catedral de Lugo', in *La escritura visigótica en la Península Ibérica: nuevas aportaciones*, Barcelona, 2012, p. 105-114.

The former explains the intense external graphic influence, also furthered 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 had an impact upon, and had more of an effect in the cursive variant, since this was the predominant script at the time when Caroline minuscule started to be used by the master scribes of the Compostelan see.

The analysis of the manuscript evidence makes evident the emergence and predominance of the Visigothic cursive script and of Visigothic cursive script in transition to Caroline minuscule in Santiago (Table 3), particularly in comparison with the manuscript evidence from Lugo (Table 4). Among the extant sources produced in Santiago de Compostela that allow a thorough palaeographic analysis (omitting those in a state of preservation so poor as to prevent a full understanding of the scribes' graphic features) there are twenty-one charters written by amanuenses most likely trained in the cathedral school which are relevant for understanding how the graphic transition developed. Their chronology ranges from 1050 to 1150 for the see, and extends to 1167 for the diocese as a whole, but they are mostly concentrated in the first half of the twelfth century. Petrus Danieliz's charter dated 1115⁴ is one of the first and most significant ones, given the prominence of the witnesses who attested the document. The attestations of these people are not autograph, although 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 have already been introduced in Galicia, if not fully established, and Caroline minuscule was already known and practised, not only Bishop Xelmírez but also the Archbishop of Toledo, the

papal legate Bernard and the Cluniac Bishop of Braga Mauricio among others do not seem to have had any problem in letting the scribe write in Visigothic cursive script, and to supply their signatures in cursive *elongata*. In addition to the significance of these signatures and the content of the document, Danieliz's hand is also of interest: *c* and *e* preserve the characteristic Visigothic 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 Visigothic cursive script hand, according to the model, that nevertheless shows a strong Caroline minuscule influence. This graphic contamination, though already distinct in the first examples of transitional Visigothic cursive script, was to continue to develop during the next decades.

To what extent were the scribes aware of the graphic differences between writing systems?

It is difficult to assess the extent to which late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Galician scribes whose script was Visigothic, such as Petrus Danieliz, were aware of using Caroline minuscule abbreviations in their texts. These were the first years of the graphic and liturgical change. The Roman rite and the Caroline minuscule graphic system had not yet been imposed, although it is possible that both had been introduced (but not to the exclusion of the pre-existing traditions) during the episcopates of Bishop Amor (1088-1095) in the see of Lugo and Bishop Dalmacius (1094-1095) in that of Santiago. Nevertheless, there are a few highly significant examples in

4 La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Colección Vaamonde Lores, nº 1183. May 15, 1115. Bishop Xelmírez recognises the independence of the Monastery of San Martín Pinario.

the scribes' hands that allow us to glimpse some moments of conscious uncertainty about to which system some abbreviations belonged. For example, when in 1122 Gundesindo, using a transitional Visigothic minuscule script, wrote the personal pronoun *nobis*, he combined the Caroline minuscule abbreviation of the form (*n+b* with a short horizontal line drawn through the ascender of the letter *b*) with the traditional Visigothic one (represented by a cursive sign under the bow of *b*); this duplication is clearly unnecessary.⁵ It is reasonable to think that he, like his contemporary scribes, recognised, differentiated, and consciously integrated within their texts features of a writing system that was gradually gaining popularity, even before they had completely mastered it.

As a consequence of the long coexistence of both writing systems in Galicia, the graphic influence was mutual. An analysis of the extant charters written in Caroline minuscule produced throughout the twelfth century, which were thus coeval to others written in Visigothic script, shows the incorporation of elements from the latter by local Caroline minuscule scribes.⁶ In fact, about 35% of the extant Caroline minuscule charters show graphic influence from the Visigothic script system, in particular the use of one Visigothic script feature that almost all Galician Caroline minuscule hands seem to have adopted: the characteristically Visigothic *t* as a reversed beta that was used especially for the abbreviation of *testes* in the witness clause. This allograph can still be found in late medieval manuscripts and even in eighteenth-century copies.⁷ The pre-1200

scribes who used it might have preserved it as a sign of distinction to add to their texts, as did other transitional Visigothic script scribes from Catalonia.⁸ In the latter modern examples, however, it most likely had lost its meaning.⁹

Were early twelfth-century Galician scribes polygraphic amanuenses?

The coexistence of both writing systems, Visigothic and Caroline minuscule, in Galicia in the twelfth century and their mutual graphic influence, be it through transitional hands or through the incorporation of some specific elements from one script into another, speaks of a rich polygraphic context in which the Lucense and, especially, the Compostelan scribes developed their professional careers. Cases of scribes who wrote in both the old and the new script, who were taught in Visigothic and then learnt also Caroline, have been described before.¹⁰ Although no example

⁵ Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago de Compostela, Colección Blanco Cicerón, n° 188.

⁶ Ainoa Castro Correa, *La escritura visigótica en Galicia. I. Diócesis lucense*, PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012, p. 698-703.

⁷ La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Colección Vaamonde Lores, carp. 5(3)1, tapa – copied in 1744.

⁸ Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 'L'enseignement et l'apprentissage de l'écriture en Catalogne au Moyen Age', in *Proceedings of the XVIth colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine*, London, 2010, p. 193-204, here p. 198.

⁹ Maria José Azevedo Santos, 'O "Beta invertido" em cartas de escrita francesa', in *Actas del VIII Coloquio del Comité Internacional de Paleografía Latina (Madrid-Toledo 1987)*, Madrid, 1990, p. 13-15.

¹⁰ See Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 'La catedral, ente creador, productor y difusor de cultura', in *La catedral: símbolo del renacer de Europa*, Cuenca, 2010, p. 11-33, here p. 15-16 about Adanagildo, Canon of Vic. Another significant example is a twelfth-century codex of probable Aragonese origin (Roma, Bibliotheca Vaticana, pal. 869), copied by an anonymous scribe in Caroline minuscule to which he, as if unconsciously, added four verses in Visigothic script, the writing system in which he was trained (on this, see Anscario M. Mundó and Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 'Problemàtica de les escriptures dels períodes de transició', in *Cultura Neolatina. Rivista di Filologia Romanza fondata da Giulio Bertoni*, LVIII 1/2 (1998), p. 121-148, here p. 131; Alturo, 'L'enseignement et l'apprentissage' (note 8), p. 195). Also, a scribe working in the scriptorium of Sahagún, Martín, who wrote

of such polygraphism has been preserved for Galician scribes, there is no reason to think that they did not exist.

Although surviving examples are few, there are known Galician polygraphic scribes who wrote in Visigothic minuscule and cursive scripts. Examples of charters in both scripts from the same hand have been preserved.¹¹ Charters in which the main text was in a specific typological variant while the scribe's signature was drawn in another also survive. This switching between scripts potentially reveals which was the scribe's fundamental script and which was the model he was first trained in.¹² Scribes were so proficient in mastering both scripts that single sections of their texts show no influence by the other system; only the combination of sections in

different script shows their ability to switch. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that those more skilled scribes could have learned to write in Caroline minuscule if they had chosen to do so. But, how did they learn?

How were scribes trained in the new script? Who taught them?

It has been argued that masters from outside the Peninsula, or maybe even from the Catalan counties where both Caroline minuscule and the Roman rite were adopted first,¹³ came to the main northern centres to teach the new script. This particular line of thinking postulates that these foreign masters must have produced the first charters and codices from Galician centres that are written in Caroline minuscule. After some years of training, their first pupils started producing texts in Caroline.¹⁴ Also, bearing in mind the fact that not all centres could have had a new master, those scribes who were interested could have taught themselves by imitating models they certainly must have had in their centre's archive.¹⁵ The models available could have either been

charters in Visigothic minuscule script and in Caroline minuscule, all dating from 1100 to 1116 (on this, see José M. Ruiz Asencio, 'Notas sobre el trabajo de los notarios leoneses en los siglos X-XII', in *Orígenes de las lenguas romances en el reino de León: siglos IX-XII*, vol. 1, León, 2004, p. 87-118; Id., 'Cronología de la desaparición de la escritura visigótica en los documentos de León y Castilla', in *Actas de las IV Jornadas de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas*, Burgos, 2008, p. 93-117, here p. 106). Finally, in Asturias, the scribe Pelayo, who copied the *Liber Testamentorum* in Visigothic cursive *elongata* script and also wrote charters in Caroline minuscule (see María Josefa Sanz Fuentes, *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*, Barcelona, 1995, p. 108 et seqq.).

11 For example, the scribe Petrus wrote a charter in Visigothic cursive script in 1061 for the monastery of Samos (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1239, n° 13) and another, a royal diploma, in Visigothic minuscule script in 1071 for the cathedral of Tuy (Tuy, Archivo de la Catedral, 1/2). See Ainoa Castro Correa, 'Writing in cursive and minuscule Visigothic script: polygraphism in medieval Galicia', *Littera Visigothica* (March 2015) <<http://www.litteravisigothica.com/articulo/writing-in-cursive-and-minuscule-script-polygraphism-in-medieval-galicia>>.

12 As for the definition of fundamental or basic script in opposition to usual script see, among others, Françoise Gasparri, 'L'écriture usuelle, reflet d'un enseignement et signification historique', *Médiévales* 6/13 (1987), p. 143-165.

13 On the transition from Visigothic to Caroline in Catalonia, see Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 'Escritura visigótica y escritura carolina en el contexto cultural de la Cataluña del siglo IX', *Memoria Ecclesiae* 2 (1991), p. 33-44, 298; Mundó and Alturo, 'Problemàtica de les escriptures del períodes de transició' (note 10); Id., '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, p. 131-138; Jesús Alturo i 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, p. 131-134, 485-487.

14 Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 1325C, n° 4, dated 1113; first charter written in Caroline minuscule in Lugo.

15 About self-teaching see Armando Petrucci, 'Literacy and graphic culture of early medieval scribes', in *Writers and Reader in Medieval Italy*, Yale, 1995, p. 77-102.

imported codices copied in Caroline minuscule containing liturgical texts from the new rite or even early copies of such texts made in other peninsular scriptoria, and which would have been kept alongside the old Visigothic script codices. The presence of a foreign master in an institution would have stimulated, nonetheless, the process of practical introduction of the new script as has been discussed. It can be assumed that the main Galician production centres, such as the sees of Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, had scribes and cathedral scriptoria who were responsible for providing books with the new liturgy to their dependant monastic and parochial centres. Thus, they would have been the first ones to attract Caroline minuscule amanuenses, as is indeed attested by the earliest hands in transitional Visigothic scripts. In the same way, major monastic foundations, with a renowned manuscript tradition, must have been a significant pole of attraction for foreign calligraphers, and thus had started using the new script soon after. Nevertheless, very little is known about the men who might have been called in to facilitate the graphic change and about how they implemented it. There is no direct evidence to explain how scribes who already knew one graphic system were taught the new one, although one might suggest that the process must have been similar to that of learning any script. Therefore, Visigothic script scribes must have learned to use the new alphabet first, then its few ligatures, and then to trace words and abbreviations, making their first attempts in wax tablets or leftover pieces of parchment. Logically, their process of learning must have been quicker than it was when learning Visigothic script, since they already knew the basics of written production.¹⁶

Was the social status of Visigothic script and Caroline minuscule script scribes the same?

The acceptance of a new supranational writing system that came to substitute the traditional one has been suggested to be an acknowledgment of the cultural pre-eminence of one culture over another.¹⁷ The scribes who accepted the change and began to write in the new script have consequently been argued to have been trying to elevate their social status by placing themselves on the same level with those who employed the graphic model that was to be imitated. According to the same argument, those scribes who did not change and continued to use Visigothic script either did not recognise such graphic and cultural superiority, or there was none to be admitted. Santiago de Compostela was a metropolitan see and, during the Middle Ages, a shrine equal to Rome. The recommendation of the adoption of Caroline minuscule made at the Synod of León, 1090, focused on the production of liturgical codices, not charters. Santiago's cathedral, during the episcopate of Bishop Xelmírez (1100-1140), agreed to adopt Caroline minuscule for the writing of books, and not only ecclesiastical ones, as is exemplified by the cartulary known as *Tumbo A*, copied in the second decade of the twelfth century. However, the see seems to have been much more relaxed with regards to the script used in the charters that were to be written in its diocese. For instance, a Compostelan diploma dated 1122¹⁸ bears the signature of Xelmírez, bishop of Compostela, which is written in Visigothic cursive *elongata* script. This perhaps suggests the prevalence of Visigothic script even for the ecclesiastical elite.

¹⁶ About the process of teaching and learning to write in the early Middle Ages, see Ana B. Sánchez Prieto, 'Aprender a leer y escribir antes del año mil', *Estudios Sobre Educación* 18 (2010), p. 59-81; Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 'El

sistema educativo en la Cataluña altomedieval', *Memoria Ecclesiae* 12 (1998), p. 31-61 and Alturo, 'L'enseignement et l'apprentissage' (note 8).

¹⁷ Alturo, 'L'enseignement et l'apprentissage' (note 8), p. 204.

¹⁸ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 512, n^o 9.

In contrast, in Lugo's cathedral, under Pedro III (1113-1133), the change to Caroline minuscule for charters in addition to books, was made much sooner.

The fact that some centres preferred to continue teaching their scribes to write in Visigothic script, if not in both scripts, may testify to a conscious intention to preserve the Visigothic tradition or at least for a somewhat slow process of graphic acculturation whereby older masters preferred to continue writing in the tradition in which they had been trained.¹⁹

Some final notes

As Professors Mundó and Alturo have already emphasised,²⁰ the change from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule was not an unconscious process that ensued from a logical graphic evolution that progressively transforms a script into a new distinctive one. Rather, it was the result of a conscious substitution of one graphic system by another that happened to be more legible and consistent with the cultural and political unification of the Iberian Peninsula and its relationship with Europe. The study of how the scribes of each production centre achieved this graphic transition unveils the role that each ecclesiastical institution had as well as their political and cultural context.

The extant sources suggest that since at least the 1050s in Santiago's diocese and the 1090s in Lugo's, amanuenses had tried to adapt to the graphic change, thus developing the Visigothic script transitional variants. They were already leaving behind the 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 actually substitute the traditional script by the new one. In Galicia, however, the process was much slower, particularly in Santiago, where, after nearly half a century of transitional Visigothic script, we find the first example written in Caroline minuscule. Visigothic script continued to be used for writing charters for almost another 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 – not only those of advanced age – continued to prefer Visigothic script. This persistence of Visigothic was due to the specific historical context in Galicia. Sources seem to suggest that while scribes in Santiago lived in a prominent cultural centre, capable by itself of determining the rhythm of graphic change, Lucense scribes could not help but change at the pace imposed. But independently of how we interpret this period of graphic transition, the fact is that it was not at all uncommon in mid-twelfth century Galicia to find scribes writing Visigothic script together with those writing Caroline minuscule.

19 Examining the same graphic situation in the monastery of St. Cruz de Coimbra, Maria José Azevedo Santos, '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), p. 99-111, here p. 108.

20 See Mundó and Alturo, 'Problemàtica de les escriptures del períodes de transició' (note 10).

Table 1. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule. Leonese-Castilian areas.

area	first Caroline minuscule influence	first charter in Caroline minuscule	transition completed (last charter in Visigothic script)	from the first charter in Caroline to the last in Visigothic
Leon-Castile	mid-11 th c.	1110S-1120S	1120S	c. 10 years
Cantabria	late-11 th c.	1120S	1136	c. 15 years
Asturias	late-11 th c.	1116	1166	c. 50 years
Portugal	mid-11 th c.	1110S	1172	c. 60 years
Galicia	late 11 th c.	1110	1199 (1234)	c. 90 years

Table 2. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Chronology.

		first charter in transitional Visigothic script	first charter in Caroline minuscule	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]

Table 3. Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution. Lugo diocese.

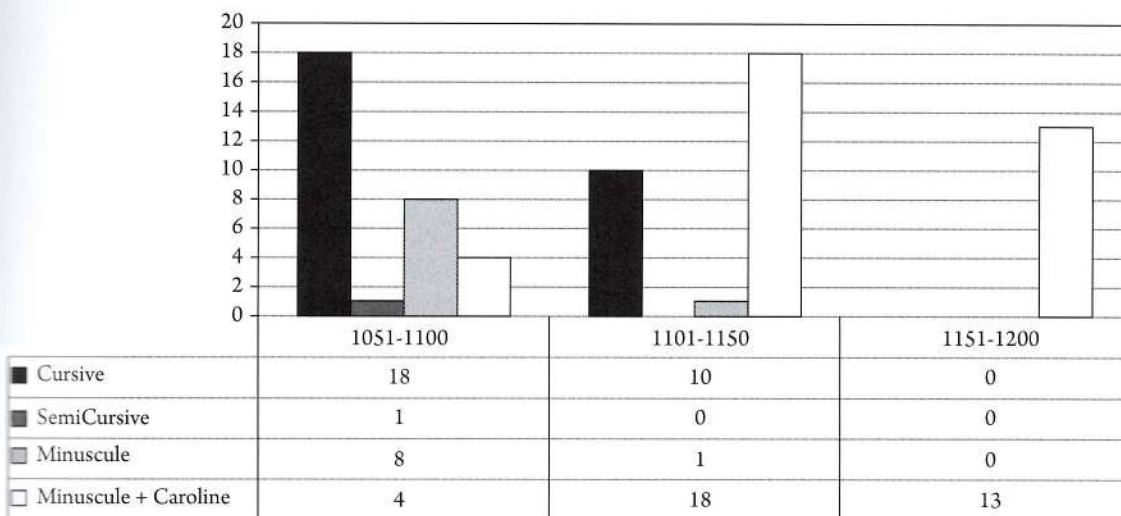


Table 4. Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution. Santiago de Compostela diocese.

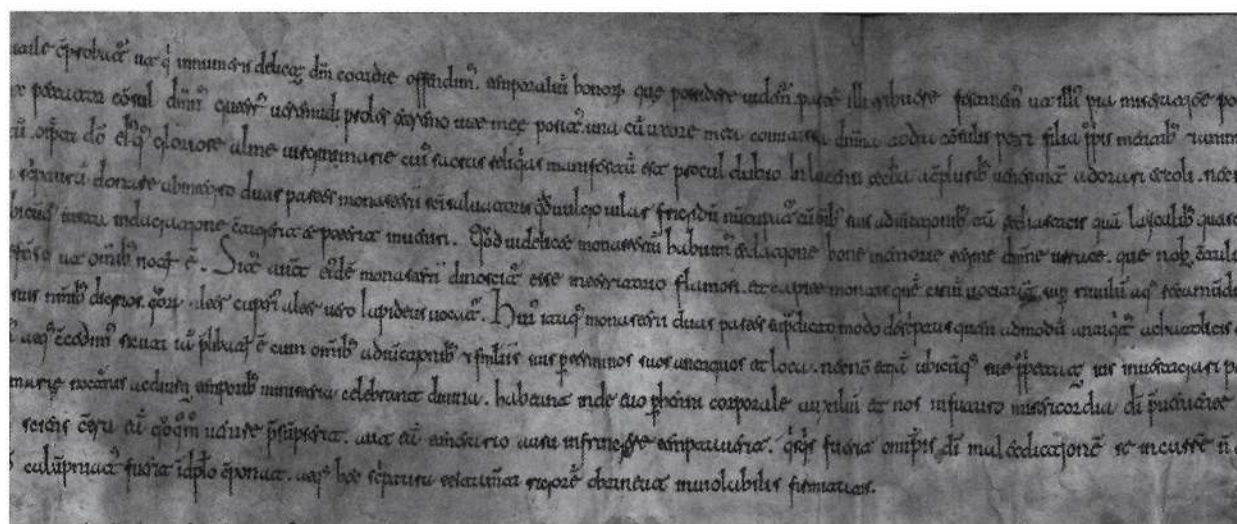
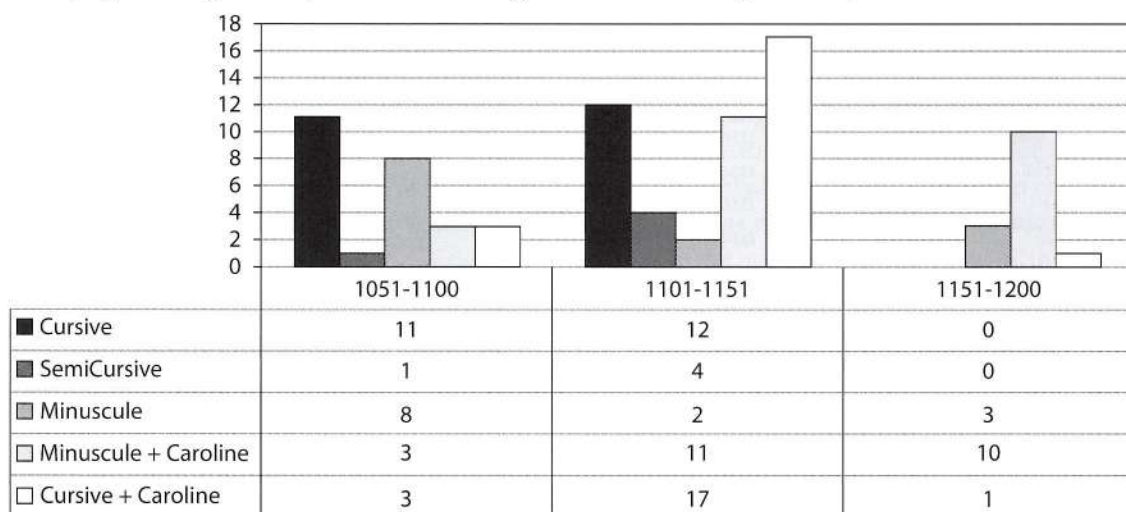


Fig. 1. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Typologies: Lugo. Visigothic minuscule merged with Caroline minuscule (from 1096 to 1196). Example from © Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 1325C, nº 21. Transitional Visigothic minuscule dated 1130.

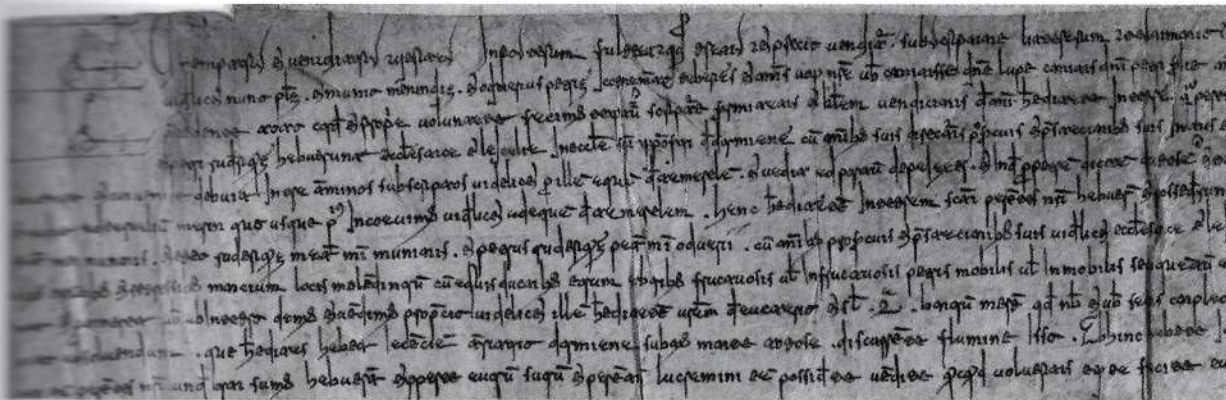


Fig. 2. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Typologies: Santiago de Compostela. Visigothic minuscule merged with Caroline minuscule (from 1070 to 1194) and Visigothic cursive with Caroline minuscule abbreviation system (from 1050 to 1167) – image above. Example from © La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, nº 497. Transitional Visigothic cursive dated 1150.