

PEDRO KENDÚLFIZ, NOTARY OF THE ROYAL CHANCELLERY OF LEÓN. TRAINING, CAREER AND GRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Abstract

As medievalists dealing with manuscript sources, two of the questions we try to answer most often are who were the material authors of the written testimonies we are using for our research and what was their cultural context. In order to solve these queries we tend to rely directly on each scribe’s texts to reconstruct their career and environment, but working with charters, and scribes for whom we have very few manuscript examples, the textual information that can be obtained is not always enough to go further. In those cases where we only have a name, with or without patronymic, or even when the scribe did not sign the charter, we must depend only on the analysis of his writing since, through the graphic characteristics shown by the script, it is possible to ascribe him to a specific school, and chronological and geographical context. Performing this detective approach is not easy. In this article, the methodology to be applied to unveil information about medieval scribes will be tested, reviewing the current scholarship in order to shed light on the professional career of one of the first notaries of the incipient royal chancellery of the Kingdom of Leon in the early eleventh century.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the course of my research, compiling, cataloguing, editing and analysing the preserved manuscript sources written in Visigothic script for the north-western Iberian Peninsula, I have the privilege of working directly with original sources but also of having a large enough – and mostly unedited – corpus to evaluate the graphic and textual information the sources provide as a whole. My work does not only entail sharing the still unstudied testimonies, both charters and codices, preparing palaeographic, diplomatic or critical editions that could be of help to other medievalists conducting research based on early medieval peninsular written sources. It also involves applying the knowledge palaeographers have in studying writing systems, leaving aside the texts themselves, to provide information with which to reconstruct the cultural context of those sources with the final aim of identifying scribes, the schools in which they would have learnt to write, the development of their professional careers and, in short, the environment in which each scribe lived. The information provided by the script alone can sometimes even be of exceptional use in analysing political changes in the first and central centuries of the Middle Ages in such a complex panorama as that of the Iberian Peninsula, since, for example, the process of change from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule can illuminate the political interests of each production centre and the routes of cultural exchange that were created and exploited for much more than the exchange of books.

In trying to individualise amanuenses there are two considerable problems however. First, scribes usually stated no more than their name to sign the charters they were commissioned to write, and one is fortunate when they did since there are many anonymous scribes, making it difficult to ascribe manuscript testimonies to one hand or another. The use of a patronymic to facilitate the differentiation of two people with the same name, especially with very popular names, did not start to become common until the second half of the tenth century.¹ It is, however, possible to determine the social status of the scribes even if this was not made explicit in the documents, for until the early thirteenth century, with the first attempts at regularisation of the notarial profession and the subsequent secularisation of scribal jobs, writing was almost entirely limited to clerics.² The second impediment we need to deal with in identifying hands is that scribes tended to adapt their script not only to the specific charter they were writing – royal, ecclesiastical or private – that is to the grantor, but also to the beneficiary of the document, as I have explained elsewhere.³ Therefore, when palaeographers do not have the name of the scribe or a name with which we can work, meaning something more than a generic *Petrus* or *Iohannes*, to conduct textual prosopographic research,⁴ our work must rely solely on the script, carefully considering grantors and beneficiaries, to identify hands. The graphic analysis of the internal and external characteristics of the charters in our corpus enables the identification of the scribes responsible for their production, and is also valuable for the chronological contextualisation of those documents preserved only through copies. Following the identification of a single hand in several documents, it is possible to recognise the same material

¹ For example, within the textual corpus of the diocese of Lugo, the first scribe who states his *nomen patrum* in his signature is Vermudo Sunilanez (Samos monastery, in 995). The first example for the Cathedral of Lugo corresponds to Suario Sandiniz (year 1034). It must also be noted that the use of a patronymic would be unnecessary for especially well-known individuals, and that the combination Christian name + *nomen patrum* must only be used as a research lead with extreme caution because of the possible repetition of this combination every two generations – at least until the fossilisation of the patronymic into a family name (mid-late thirteenth century). See: A. I. Boullón Agrelo, *Antroponímia medieval gallega. Siglos VIII-XII* (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 23-24; M^a Simón Parra, “El nombre de persona en la documentación castellana medieval”, Ph.D. Diss. [published online] (Alcalá de Henares, 2009); I. Calderón Medina, “La antroponímia de la nobleza leonesa plenomedieval. Un elemento de construcción de identidad y memoria nobiliaria”, *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* XXXV (2011), pp. 67-88.

² By the beginning of the thirteenth century a difference between professional *scriptor* (churchmen or laymen) and council scribes (laymen) started to be made; by the middle of the century, the public notary by royal appointment (another layman) was also a well-defined figure. Cf. J. Bono Huerta, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, vol. I (Madrid, 1979), pp. 110-114; M. Lucas Álvarez, “El notariado en Galicia hasta el año 1300 (una aproximación)”, in *Notariado público y documento privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV: Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática*, vol. I (Valencia, 1986), pp. 331-480. Within the corpus of almost 300 charters from the diocese of Lugo with which I work, 60% of the scribes made their ecclesiastical status explicit. This should not lead us to assume that scribes who did not make such a declaration were necessarily laymen. Cf. J. Alturo Perucho, “Le statut du scribeur en Catalogne (XIIe-XIII siècles)”, in *Le statut du scribeur au Moyen Âge. Actes du XII^e Colloque du Comité International de Paléographie Latine* (Paris, 2000), pp. 41-55; Idem, *El llibre manuscrit a Catalunya. Orígens i esplendor* (Barcelona, 2001), pp. 64, 118-126.

³ A. Castro Correa, “Palaeography, computer-aided palaeography and digital palaeography: digital tools applied to the study of Visigothic script”, in *Analysis of Ancient and Medieval Texts and Manuscripts: Digital Approaches*, edited by T. Andrews and C. Macé. *Lectio: Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas*, volume 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, 245-271 (Fig. 6).

⁴ Looking for possible mentions reviewing sources concerning the ancient kingdom of Galicia, there is a free access online database (*Corpus Documentale Latinum Gallaeciae*; <http://corpus.cirp.es/codolga/>) which, even if it does not yet include all the medieval documents preserved, greatly facilitates the search for specific names. For the remaining territories within the Leonese kingdom there are a considerable number of reference works available where the documentary corpus is grouped in relation to the main institutions of the kingdom and to its monarchs. Since scribes in the Middle Ages also tended to be rather mobile, simultaneous work with these diplomatic collections is essential.

author in other manuscript sources even if no name is mentioned. Conversely, if several documents record the name of a single scribe, it is likely to be possible to distinguish the variety of his writing styles too and to study why his script was altered. In a further step, analysis of the content of the document and of the scribe's linguistic style may be useful, the results of this approach being indicative of the geographical area in which the scribe operated and of his cultural level, which could also point towards a specific school or, possibly, to some kind of socio-political relationship with whatever aristocratic or upper-class family or monastery that employed him. As can be seen, it is obviously easier to carry out palaeographical research with a charter in which the scribe signed with his name, adding a patronymic or even a distinct signature. Such testimonies are exceptional, as it is the case study of this article.

II. CASE STUDY: PEDRO KENDÚLFIZ AND HIS CHARTER FOR THE CATHEDRAL OF LUGO

Among the corpus of manuscript sources written in Visigothic script and kept at the Cathedral of Lugo, in north-western Spain, there is a splendid charter dated 1027 (Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, libro X de pergaminos, legajo 2, nº 7), which provides all the basic information we need to go further in studying its scribe and context. The charter records a confirmation made by King Alfonso V (999-1028) to the Bishop Pedro I of Lugo (1022-1058) of everything his ancestors had granted the see in addition to restricting the activities of royal officials on its property. It is thus an important document for the cathedral. Moreover since, as the text informs us, it had recently lost most of its valuable documents as a result of a fire and the subsequent disruption to which it led, and the cathedral needed written guarantee of its privileges.⁵ The charter was written by the deacon Pedro Kendúlfiz, who signed it also with his monogrammatic signature. Pedro shows himself not only to be a respectable scribe who deserved the early royal and episcopal chancelleries' trust to overcome such a delicate moment, but a well-trained one too, since he wrote the document using the most calligraphic and elegant Visigothic script possible at that time: *elongata*.⁶ There are two main typological variants of Visigothic script, cursive and minuscule, each one with its own genetic origin and evolution. But besides these main variants others were also used, such as the form called semi-cursive, mixing elements from cursive and minuscule, and the transitional variants, blending Visigothic and Caroline minuscule. Another distinctive variant was the *elongate*, a graphic typology derived from the cursive writing used in the Roman provincial chancelleries that continued to be used by early medieval scribes working for the incipient medieval royal chancelleries, more prominently by Merovingian, Visigoths and Visigothic script scribes, and which essentially resembles a slim, tall cursive Visigothic script.⁷ This type of script, which was used to increase notoriety and bring attention towards the text,

⁵ The Cathedral did not lose all the charters that had been issued in its favour by the previous kings – the royal charter by Bermudo II dated 991 is still kept in its archive (Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, libro X de pergaminos, legajo 2, nº 5) – nor other documents concerning private owners or small monasteries under its jurisdiction. It seems, however, that the see lost several others, or rather this was what it wanted to make others believe, since in the late eleventh century various documents considered forgeries were made justifying alleged lost royal donations – for example, the grant by Alfonso III to the Cathedral in 871 (Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral, libro X de pergaminos, legajo 2, nº 1). In the early eleventh century Lugo was still the main see of Galicia, keeping the metropolitan dignity, whilst the late eleventh century was a difficult time for Lugo because of the restoration of the sees of Braga and Orense and the subsequent loss of privileges. It was thus at this point that the see most needed its forgeries. Cf. M. Mosquera Agrelo, “La diócesis de Lugo en la Edad Media”, in *Historia de las diócesis españolas. 15. Iglesias de Lugo, Mondoñedo-Ferrol y Orense*, coord. by J. García Oro (Madrid, 2002), pp. 21-94 (21-36).

⁶ This variant was first recognised and described by J. Muñoz y Rivero (*Paleografía visigoda. Método teórico-práctico para aprender a leer los códices y documentos españoles de los siglos V al XII*. Madrid 1881, p. 33).

⁷ On Visigothic script see J. Alturo Perucho, “Visigothic Script”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. by F. Coulson and R. Babcock. Oxford, 2014 (forthcoming); A. Castro Correa, “What is Visigothic script?”,

is rarely found applied to the whole document in manuscript testimonies of the old Astur-Leonese kingdom, as is the case here, rather than being confined to the first line of the document or the royal signature.⁸ Looking at the document, it is clear that Pedro Kendúlfiz was trained in an important cultural centre; that he had a good reputation among peers since he was commissioned to write an extremely important document for its beneficiary, the Cathedral of Lugo; but also that he most likely had some sort of relationship with the royal chancellery. Who was this scribe? Where was he from? Can we know anything about his family background? Where was he trained? How did his professional career develop?

Charters connected with the monarchy have traditionally been more studied than regular charters involving private people⁹ given the valuable information they can provide not only about political interests of the central government and relationships established to consolidate or defend its power, but also about the reconstruction of the first years of its organization, including the development of medieval chancelleries. The connection made through the charter between Pedro Kendúlfiz and the Leonese royal chancellery has attracted the attention of scholars before, making both the document and the scribe well known in Spanish scholarship. Lucas Alvarez's remarkable study of the Leonese monarchy lists the documents that have traditionally been attributed to Kendúlfiz.¹⁰ Through studying these charters and other texts, and based on Lucas's extensive knowledge of the monarchy, he also went further, concluding that Pedro Kendúlfiz worked for the royal chancellery between 1015 and 1037, during the reigns of Alfonso V (999-1028) and Bermudo III (1028-1037). As for additional information about his training and career, Lucas relied on another recognised specialist in the history of the Church, Quintana Prieto, who included in his study about the bishopric of Astorga a short biography about our scribe, who will later become Bishop of Astorga, focused on his diocesan tasks.¹¹ According to Quintana, Kendúlfiz was Galician-born, more precisely from the region of El Bierzo – now part of Leon but back then within Galicia¹² – and was probably related to the royal notary Sampiro,¹³ whose help Quintana and Lucas thought may have been instrumental in his appointment to the chancellery and whom he eventually replaced as bishop in 1041 before dying in 1051. Such a wealth of information is truly exceptional for an early medieval scribe, even if he did give a patronymic and was employed by the royal chancellery. However, is there any truth in these claims? Are all these biographical facts supported by evidence?

<<http://litteravisigothica.wordpress.com/2013/11/04/what-is-visigothic-script>>, "Types of Visigothic script (I): the speed of strokes", <<http://litteravisigothica.wordpress.com/2014/09/27/types-speed>>, "Types of Visigothic script (II): perfection, evolution and canon", <<http://litteravisigothica.wordpress.com/2014/10/03/types-perfection-evolution-canon>>, *Littera Visigothica*.

⁸ Cf. J. M^a Fernández Catón; M. C. Díaz y Díaz; J. M. Ruíz Asencio *et alii*, *Documentos de la Monarquía Leonesa. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VI. Estudio y edición* (León, 2006), pp. 123-124; J. M. Ruíz Asencio, "Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios en la documentación real astur-leonesa", in *Monarquía y sociedad en el Reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII. Tomo I* (León, 2007), pp. 265-312 (274-279).

⁹ That does not mean there are no exceptional works studying regular charters, such as W. Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth Century Christian Spain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

¹⁰ M. Lucas Álvarez, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media. Tomo VIII. Cancillerías reales astur-leonesas (718-1072)* (León, 1995), p. 229.

¹¹ A. Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga en el siglo XI* (Astorga, 1977), pp. 173-211.

¹² Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 170-172.

¹³ Sampiro was royal notary between 991 and 1023, coinciding with the reigns of Bermudo II (985-999) and Alfonso V (999-1028). See Lucas, *El Reino de León*, 226-228, 664. He was Bishop of Astorga between 1034 and 1041. See Quintana, *El obispado de Astorga*, 59-162. For more on Sampiro see J. Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid, 1952).

III. CHARTERS ATTRIBUTED TO PEDRO KENDÚLFIZ

Since several documents have been attributed to him, the analysis of Pedro Kendúlfiz's writing could provide useful information with which to consider the reliability of what has been said about his life and career. The works on which the present paper are based attribute the following charters to Kendúlfiz:

- DOC. 1¹⁴
1015, 11 April. *Alfonso V, to reward his faithful Pedro Álvarez and his wife Eilo, who left Castile and Count Sancho, grants them with several houses and other goods in the Leonese villa of Abllazeite, so they can live there.*
Notum die quod erit III idus aprilis, sub era quinquies dena et III^a super millesima / Petro exaraut [signum].
León, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, Fondo de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas, nº 68. Cursive Visigothic script.
- DOC. 2¹⁵
1016, 16 June. *Alfonso V, to reward his faithful Pedro Fernández gives him the village of Fresno de la Vega, confiscated to Fromárigo Sendíniz.*
Notum die quod erit XVI^o kalendas iulias era quinquies dena et IIII^a super millesima / Petro exarabit [signum].
León, Archivo de la Catedral de León, nº 4.183. Cursive Visigothic script.
- DOC. 3¹⁶
1019, 8 May. *Alfonso V and Queen Elvira, on one side, and Munio Muñiz on the other, exchange the village known as Penela, between the rivers Esla and Cea, for another in Asturias known as Aquaria.*
Facta scriptura conmutationis VIII idus magii era LVII super millesima / Petro exaraut [signum].
León, Archivo de la Catedral de León, nº 10, with two copies of the same document. Cursive Visigothic script. Copy from the eleventh century.
- DOC. 4¹⁷
1027, 3 January. *Alfonso V confirms, on Bishop Pedro's request, the properties ceded by his ancestors in favour of the Church of Lugo, including three fourth parts of the county of Mera, ceded by Bermudo II.*
Facta scribtura testamenti uel confirmationis sub die quod est III^o nonas ianuarii, era millesima LX^a V^a / Petro Kendulfiz, diaconus, notuit [signum].
Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, est. 21, leg. 2, nº 7. Cursive Visigothic script (*elongata*).

¹⁴ Lucas, *El Reino de León*, 229, 355 (R1-325). Charter edited in J. A. Fernández Flórez; M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas. Tomo I (854-1108)* (León, 1999), pp. 169-171.

¹⁵ Lucas, *id.*, 229, 355 (R1-326). Charter edited in J. M. Ruíz Asencio. *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230). III (986-1031)* (León, 1987), pp. 309-311.

¹⁶ Lucas, *id.*, 229, 357 (R1-334). Charter edited in Ruíz, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León*, 341-342.

¹⁷ Lucas, *id.*, 229, 358 (R1-343). Charter edited in J. M^a Fernández Catón, M. C. Díaz y Díaz, J. M^a Ruíz Asencio *et alii*. *Documentos de la Monarquía leonesa. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VI. Estudio y edición*. León, 2006, nº 14.

- DOC. 5¹⁸
1031, 6 August. *Bermudo III gives Count Froila Muñoz and his wife Gontrodo, the village of Villaviciosa de la Ribera, in León, as a reward for services rendered.*
Notum die quod erit VIII^o idus augustas, era I^a LXVIII^a / Petro Gendulfiz, diaconus, notuit [signum].¹⁹
León, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, Fondo de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas, n^o 134. Cursive Visigothic script.
- DOC. 6²⁰
1038, 14 January. *The nun Sancha, Paterno Velázquez's widow, cedes the village of Galleguillos, on the River Cea, to the monastery of Sahagún.*
Facta scriptura testamenti XVIII^o kalendas februarii, era septies dena super decies centena discurrente VI^a / Petrus, diaconus, notuit et cf. [signum].
B?. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Sahagún, carp. 879, n^o 7. Cursive Visigothic script. Copy made in the last third of the eleventh century.
- DOC. 7²¹
1042, 6 March. *Charter confirming the down payment made by the noble Munio Alfonso to his wife Mumadomna, with the monastery in Sahagún as beneficiary.*
Facta kartula donationis uel concessionis II nonas martii, era LXXX post milesima / Petrus, diaconus, notuit et cf. [signum].
B?. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Sahagún, carp. 879, n^o 17. Cursive Visigothic script. Copy from the last third of the eleventh century.

Documents 1 to 4 correspond to Alfonso V's chancellery, the fifth to that of Bermudo III, while the last two are private documents. All these charters have been attributed to Pedro Kendúlfiz, even if the signature of the scribe varies among them from *Petro exaraut* to *Petro Kendulfiz diaconus notuit* and *Petrus diaconus notuit*.

After close examination of the external features and the graphic characteristics of the script used in these seven documents it can be concluded with some certainty that this disparity in the signatory formula is not due to the passing of time and the logical evolution of the scribe's professional career. We are dealing with two different scribes called Pedro. Indeed, documents 1, 2 and 3 – assuming the original was preserved – are the work of a scribe called Pedro, while documents 4 and 5 are indeed those of Pedro Kendúlfiz, as are documents 6 and 7 which, despite their description as copies, seem in fact to be originals, or so all the evidence suggests, as we shall see.²² Therefore, to date, not seven

¹⁸ Lucas, *id.*, 229, 360 (R1-352). Charter edited in Fernández and Herrero, *Colección documental de Otero de las Dueñas*, 286-288; L. Núñez Contreras, *Colección diplomática de Vermudo III, rey de León* (Sevilla, 1977), doc. 7, includes reproduction (Doc. 2).

¹⁹ This charter was confirmed, as is stated at the bottom of the text, by Alfonso VI, and ratified by his notary Iohannes (*Adefonsus rex, prolis Fredinandi principis, conf. Iohannes, suo notario, qui ibidem scripsit et conf.*). Cf. Fernández and Herrero, *Colección documental de Otero de las Dueñas*, 288.

²⁰ Documents 6 and 7 were correctly attributed to Kendúlfiz by Ruiz, *Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios*, 301 Charter edited in M. Herrero de la Fuente, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1230). Tomo II (1000-1073)* (León, 1988), pp. 109-111.

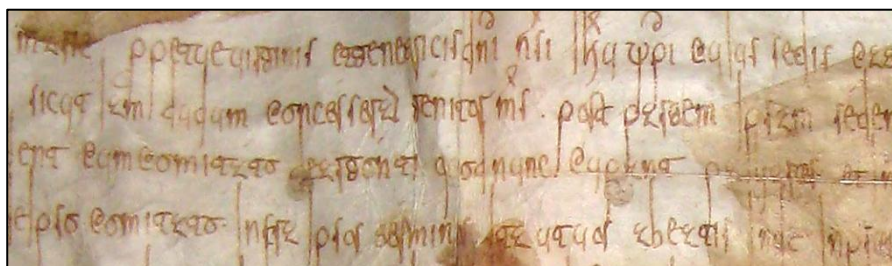
²¹ Charter edited in Herrero, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, 128-129.

²² Another private document, found while browsing the documents preserved by the monastery of Sahagún and dating to between 1027 and 1042, is also very likely to be his, but it has only been preserved through a copy. (Becerro Gótico de Sahagún, f. 133 r-v, escr. XLVIII. 2 March, 1042: The priest Froilán gives to the monastery of Sahagún the monastery of San Vicente and other goods. *Notum die quod erit sexto nonas marcii*,

but only four original documents (numbers 4 to 7) by Pedro Kendúlfiz's hand have been identified. During the time it can be determined he worked as a scribe based on this evidence, from 1027 to 1042, he also appeared as a witness on five other charters dated, more or less, in the same period (1030, 1034, 1035 and 1037), and in which he stated his name with the same patronymic as that he was using as scribe: *Petrus Kundulfiz diaconus*, *Petrus Kendulfizi diaconus*, *Petrus Kendulfiz diaconus*, *Petrus Gundulfiz diaconus* and *Petrus Quendulfiz diaconus* respectively.²³ The reason why he left out his patronymic in the last two charters, documents 6 and 7, is clear if one considers the seven documents together. Documents 1, 2 and 3 were written by one scribe called Pedro, working as a royal notary for Alfonso V from at least 1015 to 1019. Around 1027, Pedro was no longer working for the royal chancellery, or so it seems since the king commissioned the charter of 3 January to another scribe, also called Pedro, who, to distinguish himself from his predecessor, included in his signature his family name, Kendúlfiz. Our scribe worked for Alfonso V and Bermudo III, from 1027 to 1038, and it can be proposed that he worked for the monarchy for a short period only since the evidence suggests he changed paths between 1038 and 1042. In the last two charters above, documents 6 and 7, he did not include his full name. He did not need to since he was no longer working as scribe for the king, but rather, it seems, for the monastery of Sahagún, the beneficiary of both documents.

IV. GRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF PEDRO AND PEDRO KENDÚLFIZ

Before going back to Pedro Kendúlfiz's biography and reviewing what has been said about his birthplace and the first stages of his professional career, it is worth reviewing what the graphic characteristics of his script can tell us. In the following pages is included a summarised analysis of both the charters attributed to Pedro and those attributed to Pedro Kendúlfiz, emphasizing those features that may be used to place the latter in his chronological, geographical and cultural context.



era millesima LXXX^a. *Petrus diaconus notuit et cf.*). See Herrero, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, 126-127.

²³ These five documents are: (i) one mentioned by Quintana (*Obispado de Astorga*, 167), without reference to its archival signature, dated 1030, in which Pedro Kendúlfiz witnesses the grant from the priest Juan to the monastery of Ardón; (ii) León, Archivo de la Catedral, nº 921 (dated 1030), which records a donation to the monastery of San Juan Bautista de León (cf. Ruíz Asencio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León*, 475); (iii) León, Archivo de la Catedral, nº 207 (dated 1034), in which Kendúlfiz appears in a donation from Sampiro to his faithful Brandila and Suntrildi (cf. Ruiz, *Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios*, 300); (iv) Palencia, Archivo de la Catedral, arm. 3, leg. 1, nº 1 (dated 1035), recording the restoration of the see of Palencia (cf. Lucas, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, R1-364); and (v) Becerro Gótico de Sahagún, ff. 123v-124r, escr. I (dated 1037), a donation to the monastery of Sahagún (cf. Herrero, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, 107). I do not dismiss the fact that there may be more documentation written by his hand or in which he acted as a witness.

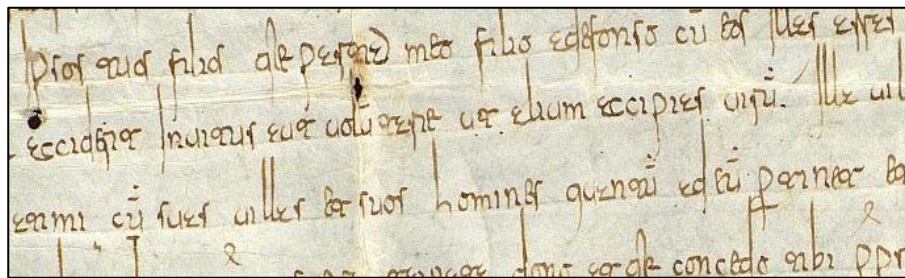
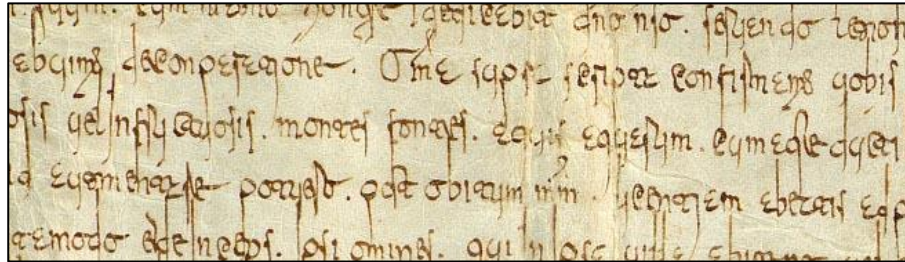
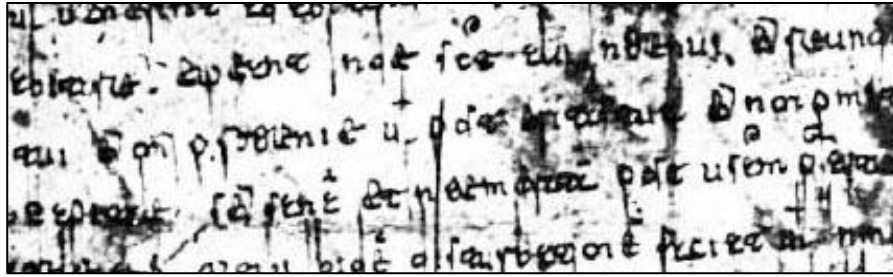


FIG. 1. Graphical examples of Kendúlfiz's charters (from top to bottom):

DOC. 4 (1027), © Lugo, Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, est. 21, leg. 2, nº 7 and A. Castro Correa;

DOC. 5 (1031), © León, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, Fondo de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas, nº 134;

DOC. 6 (1038), © Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Sahagún, carp. 879, nº 7;

DOC. 7 (1042), © Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Sahagún, carp. 879, nº 17.

IV. 1. Charters written by Pedro Kendúlfiz

a) First approach to the text: A detailed analysis of the diplomatic structure of each of these documents is beyond the scope of this paper. A brief outline would be as follows:

Doc. numbe r	<i>Diplomatic formula</i> ²⁴											
	<i>Inv.</i>	<i>Int.</i>	<i>Dir.</i>	<i>Sal.</i>	<i>Pre.</i>	<i>Not.</i>	<i>Exp.</i>	<i>Dis.</i>	<i>San.</i>	<i>Corr</i> <i>.</i>	<i>Dat</i> <i>a</i>	<i>Val.</i>
4	X _{1,5}	X ₆	X ₈	X ₇	X ₃	X ₂	X ₄	X ₉	X ₁₀	X ₁₁	X ₁₂	X ₁₃
5	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄			X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	X ₈	X ₉	X ₁₀
6	X ₁	X ₂	X ₃				X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	X ₈	X ₉
7	X ₁	X ₃	X ₄	X _{2, 5}			X _{(6), 8}	X ₇	X ₉	X ₁₀	X ₁₁	X ₁₂

TABLE 1. Diplomatic structure of Kendúlfiz's charters.

In any case, the structure seems to be of little consequence to the identification of a scribe, since royal documents — and also private documents, by way of imitation — were highly formulaic. The progressive decrease in the number of notaries working for the royal chancellery and the subsequent regularisation of the diplomatic structure of this type of charter did not become visible until the reign of Alfonso VII, explaining the mixed nature in script, *formulae*, and structure of earlier royal documents. The private tendency to imitate royal documents in the Middle Ages was aimed at loading these same documents with extra authority, also reflecting the fact that both kinds of documents were very often prepared by the same scribes, as this case shows.²⁵

It must be highlighted that the distribution of the text on the parchment is remarkably regular in Kendúlfiz's examples: the upper part contains the initial protocol, the main body of text and the date, and the lower part, separated by a wide space, the signatures arranged in columns. The horizontality of the writing line, always kept, is also noteworthy. Even the last document was ruled with a dry point, corroborating the scribe's solid graphic skills. It seems likely that he knew of this parchment preparation technique following possible work copying codices, although there is no evidence to support that he ever did so, or at least none has not yet been found.

b) Chrismon, signature and validation signs: The first element that draws attention in Kendúlfiz's charters is the symbolic invocation included in the upper left-hand corner of the parchment, at the beginning of the text. In the four preserved examples, his cursive Chi-Rho follows an almost identical design [FIG. 2]. The initial stroke begins in a slant to the right and continues vertically through several lines of text fashioning a cursive degeneration of the Constantinian Chrismon ρ. The second stroke, evolved from the ς, starts from the former, ascending for about one-third of its length before returning to the right, invading the field occupied by the text. In the middle, the cursive evolved form of the traditional χ. Documents 4 and 6 show this most clearly, also indicating that the Chrismon was drawn before the text was written. The Chi-Rho "in column" used to supplement the signature of witnesses, follows the same design as above for its initial stroke, and is also embellished with a small circle.²⁶

²⁴ *Inuocatio, intitulatio, directio, salutatio / preambulum, notificatio, expositio, dispositio, sanctio, corroboratio / data, ualidatio*. The subscripted number indicates the order of the different *formulae* in each document.

²⁵ See Fernández Catón *et alii*, *Documentos de la Monarquía leonesa*, 119, 128-130, 130-137.

²⁶ The design of the symbol in the signatures, however, is not consistent. In DOC. 4 it is drawn in the four witnesses' columns, but it does not appear in the columns corresponding to those who confirm the charter. Its design is similar to that of the opening Chrismon, with the exception of the second stroke forming an angle to the right, which is eliminated. DOC. 5 lacks this Chrismon. DOC. 6 only has it in one of the columns and the design is slightly different, the second stroke replaced by a projection of the first, which draws an arch to the right. In DOC. 7 it is used in the three witness columns. While the design followed in the initial Chrismon may

As for Pedro's style in crafting the signature with which he ultimately validated his charters, there are few variations among documents [FIG. 3]. With the exception of the second document, the signature is drawn vertically in the right margin of the parchment, from the bottom up. The first two cases include the name "Pedro"; "Petrus" being the chosen form for the third and fourth documents. The patronymic is only used in the first two, "Kendulfiz" and "Gendulfiz" respectively, as explained above. All the documents allude to his position as *diaconus*. The design of his monogrammatic sign, together with the word "Petrus" in cryptographic script — a sign of high cultural level — is almost identical in all cases.²⁷

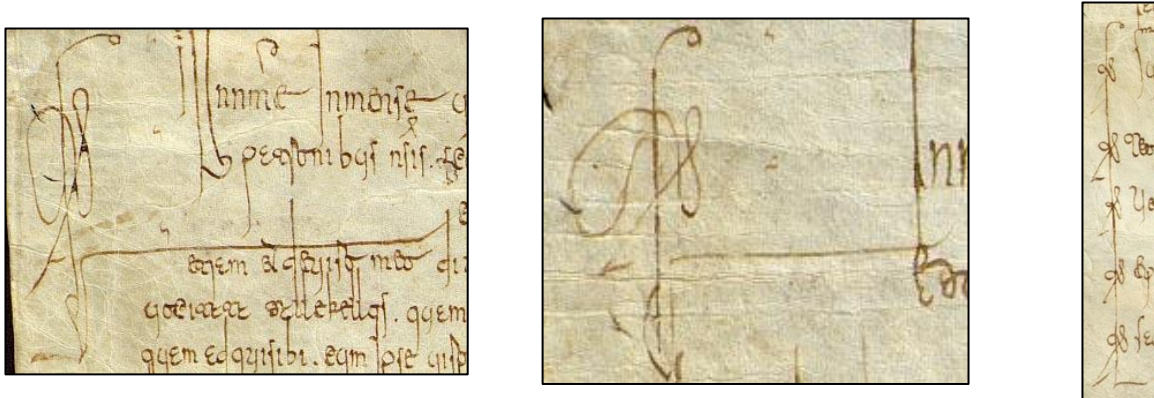


FIG. 2. Examples of the initial (left DOC. 6, right DOC. 7) — and the Chi-Rho "in column" (DOC. 6).

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c) Graphic features. Alphabet, ligatures and connections: In line with the documentary practice of the royal chancellery during this period,²⁹ Kendulfiz used cursive Visigothic script.³⁰ The quality and care taken in its execution indicate the good calligraphic skills and training of the scribe. The body of the letters, which are very straight, is slender, taller than it is wider. The strokes tend to be thin, and there is no marked contrast between thin and broad strokes. As is characteristic of this kind of script, the development of vertical ascenders and descenders is remarkable, sometimes trebling the height of the body of the letters, which thus interfere with one another in the space between lines and invade the lines above and below.

be considered a distinctive feature of a scribe's personal style, the Chrismon "in column" cannot. For further bibliographic references and a full analysis of the uses, designs and evolution of the Chrismon in north-western Iberian Peninsula see A. Castro Correa. "Observations on the Chrismon symbol in Visigothic script charters of Lugo diocese (917-1196)". *Scriptorium* 68/2 (2014).

²⁷ For further bibliographical references and information about the uses and designs of these signs see A. Castro Correa, "Personal symbols as representations of social status in early medieval charters" (forthcoming 2015).

²⁸ The state of preservation of DOC. 4 (damaged by lactic acid) and the quality of the reproduction of DOC. 5 make it impossible to illustrate them here.

²⁹ A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de Paleografía Española* (Madrid, 1983 [1932]), p. 161.

³⁰ Millares, *Tratado*, 83-98. As already mentioned, the first document falls within the *elongata* variety. The fourth document also shows *elongata* in its first line.

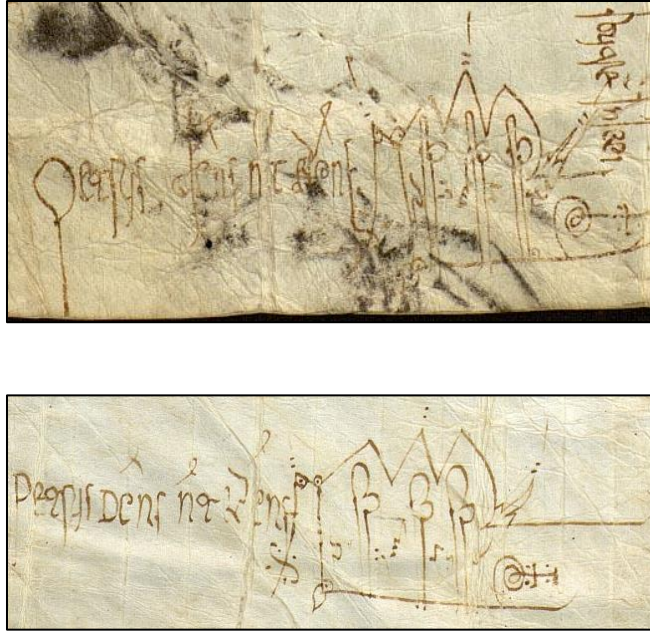


FIG. 3. Pedro Kendúlfiz's subscription (from top to bottom DOCS. 4, 6, 7).

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Regarding the morphology of the alphabet used,³¹ there are slight variations between the four charters [FIG. 4]. Concerning the lower case: (i) the shape of the *c* varies: in Docs. 4 and 6 the stroke is begun with a spiral, whereas in Docs. 5 and 7 the shape is similar to the current form. In Docs. 5 and 6 this letter shows a profile towards the left, a remnant of the cursive originating in the previous letter with which it joined, and preserved when written in isolation; (ii) an *f* similar to an *e* from which the descendant stroke hangs is only used in Docs. 4 and 6; (iii) an *h* with an angled second stroke is used exclusively in Doc. 4 and in combination with the traditional form in Doc. 6 (it is absent from the remaining two); (iv) additionally, in Doc. 7 the *i-longa*, used to distinguish the sibilant sound in *t+i/t+j*, is lost, as is also the case after *r* and *l* in the remaining documents. A certain trend towards the loss of the profiled *c* and of the *e*-like *f* may be thus inferred. With regard to the upper case, the shapes vary little, but their use does. They are used more frequently in the last document, and capital forms are used (*A, G*) rather than mere enlargements of the lower case letters.

The use of ligatures and connections (also called bitings) between letters [FIGS. 5, 6; FIG. 1], which decreases over time, is the standard for this script (ligatures for *a, c, e, f, g, o, r, s, t*; connections for *o, t*), including the typically Leonese Visigothic ligature between tall-*u+e*, used in all documents but the first.

³¹ Typical forms in this type of script, including the use of the three allographs of *i* (*I* used to open a word, whether followed by a tall letter or not, and in a mid-word position with a semi-vocal value; DOCS. 4, 5 and 6) and of the cursive *t* closing a word after *-a, -n* (DOC. 4, Fig. 1, l. 2 *concesserat*; DOC. 7). In no case is *e* caudata used; the diphthong *ae* is maintained. Millares, *Tratado*, 161: royal chancery script in its second stage (eleventh century), with *t* almost seated on the line and the abbreviation *us* marked with a superscript sign similar to *s* (DOC. 7).

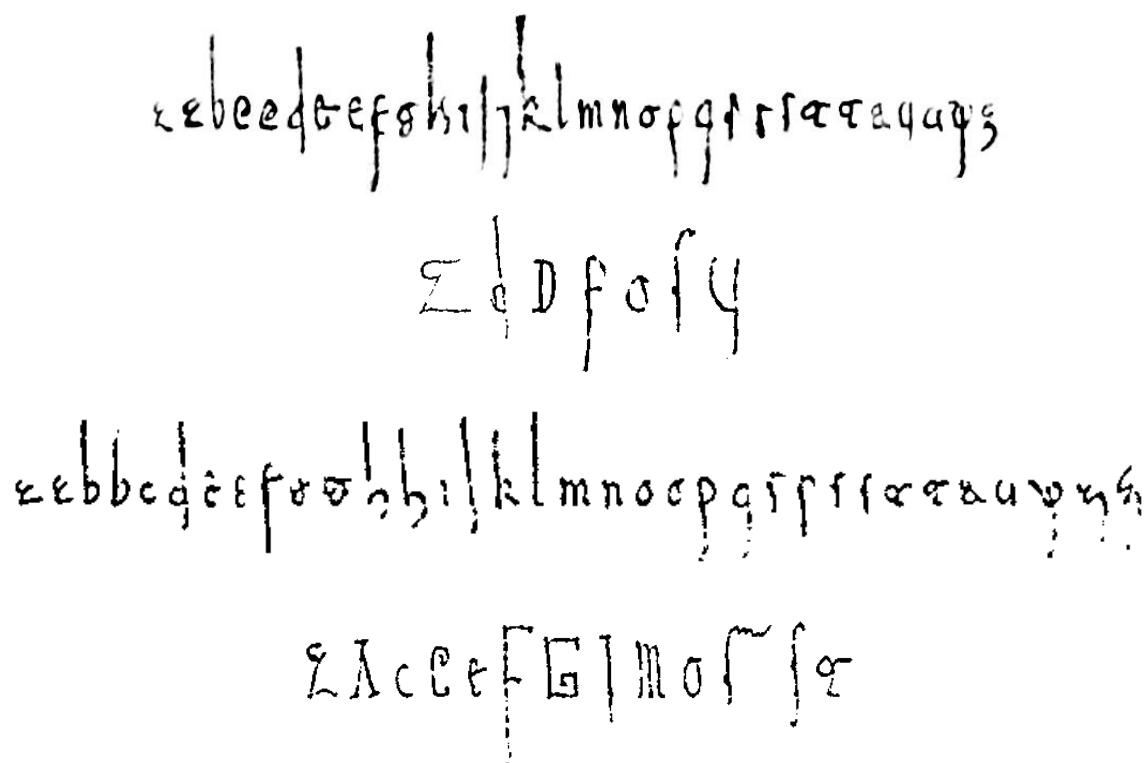


FIG. 4. Kendúlfiz's alphabet (DOC. 4 above, DOC. 7 below).



FIG. 5. Examples of ligatures: (top row, left to right) *a+c* in *facio* (DOC. 7); *c+t+j* in *sanctja* (DOC. 6); *t+e+r+n* in *eternam* (DOC. 1); *f+i*, *r+m*, *t+j*, *o+n* in *confirmationis* (DOC. 4); (bottom row) *t+e*, *o+r*, *r+i* in *temporibus* (DOC. 4); *s+t+a* in *Ista* (DOC. 6); *u+e* in *que* (DOC. 6, 7).



FIG. 6. Examples of connections: *t+q* in *atque* (DOC. 4); *t+r* in *tres* (DOC. 4); *o+r* in *meorum* (DOC. 6); *o+s* in *meos* (DOC. 6).

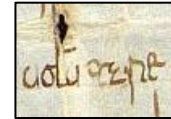
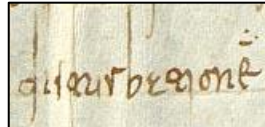
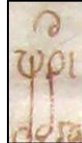


FIG. 7. General sign for abbreviation.

FIG. 8. Sign for nasals and abbreviation.

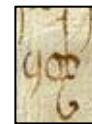
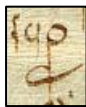
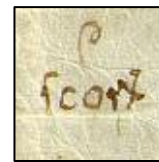
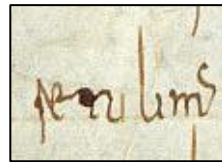
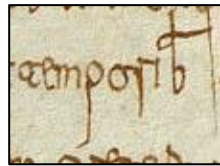
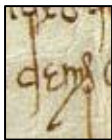


FIG. 9. Abbreviation system: *-us, -um, per, qui, -is*.

d) Abbreviations: The general sign indicating abbreviation is a spiral or, more often, a ribbon-shaped stroke [FIG. 7]. Regarding the indication of nasal *m/n*, for the second and last documents Kendúlfiz used a line with superposed dot, influenced by the minuscule Visigothic script. In some isolated cases this sign is also used to indicate an abbreviation. In contrast with the characteristics of the alphabet, a clear evolution can be detected in the remaining abbreviation signs. The sign that resembles a G-cleft is used after *m* and *n* to indicate the ending *-us* in all documents. Additionally, in Docs. 5 and 6 a wavy stroke cutting across the ascender in *b* and *d* is used to the same effect. Equally significant is the similar use of a stroke resembling an upper case *s* – more common in the minuscule variant of the script – in Doc. 7. Also in this document he used a vertical stroke cutting across the ending of *r* to indicate the ending *-um*, also characteristic of the minuscule variant. In an isolated case found in the third document, a wavy stroke is used below *b* to indicate the ending *-is*, while the use of the cursive forms of *per* and *qui* is constant.

e) Punctuation system: The punctuation system used in all documents is fairly homogenous. Short pauses are indicated by *subdistinctio* and long pauses with two dots and a superposed angled stroke, followed by a letter in the upper case.

IV. 2. Pedro Kendúlfiz vs. Pedro

The highly calligraphic script used by Pedro Kendúlfiz contrasts with the semi-calligraphic one used by Pedro. As mentioned, the first three charters that were supposedly written by Kendúlfiz were actually written by another scribe called Pedro [FIG. 10]. The third document has been preserved through a copy, so it therefore corresponds to another unidentified amanuensis. Comparing both scribes, the graphic differences are clear.

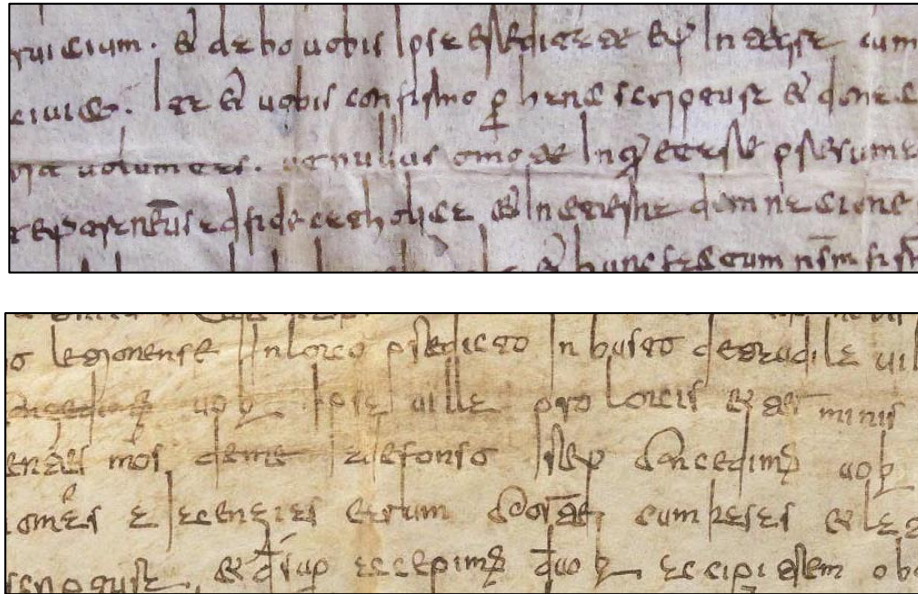


FIG. 10. Charters by Pedro, above (DOC. 1), and by an unknown scribe, below (DOC. 3).

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Pedro is less tidy in his distribution of the text on the parchment, as shown, for example, by the uneven spacing, indicative of a poorer training than that received by Kendúlfiz. The signature and the design of the symbolic invocation also differ [FIG. 11]. Regarding the graphic characteristics, the typology of the scripts is also different. Pedro uses a less calligraphic cursive Visigothic script showing influence of the minuscule variant, as shown by the use of the uncial *g* [FIG. 12]. Another significant factor is the variety of allographs used to represent the same letter (for example, *e*), which stands in sharp contrast with the regularity shown by Kendúlfiz. As for ligatures and connections, and regardless of the fact that both scribes used Visigothic script, the ligatures between the given letter combinations (for example, *e*, *r*, *s*, *t*) are executed differently, especially the high links of *r*, which in the work of Pedro are very developed [FIG. 13]. Similarly, this scribe also used two ligatures that are absent from Pedro Kendúlfiz's work: *l+i* and *c+o* [FIG. 14]. Concerning the abbreviation system, the general sign chosen by Pedro is a superposed horizontal line or, in some isolated cases, a ribbon. Nasals are not abbreviated, and the abbreviation that resembles a G-cleft, which Pedro Kendúlfiz used to abbreviate the ending *-us*, is equally absent; a wavy stroke cutting across *d*'s ascender is chosen instead. The punctuation system is also different, and less regular. For example, a long pause is indicated through a colon, a colon and a superposed angled stroke, or a colon and a comma in triangular arrangement. Similarly, these signs are not always followed by a capital letter.

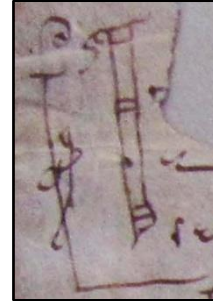
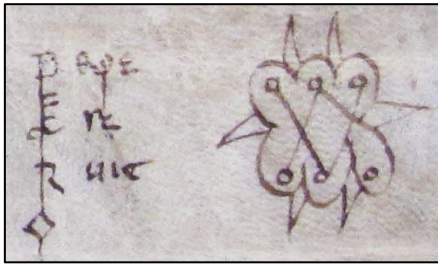


FIG. 11. Signature and initial Chrismon designs: above DOC. 1 (1015), below DOC. 3 (copy).

a b b b c c d d e e e f f g h h i j k l
 m n o o p p q r r s s t t u u u v v w
 D & H h H

FIG. 12. Pedro's alphabet.



FIG. 13. Examples of ligatures in DOC. 1: (left to right) *c+o+n* in *concedo*; *l+i* in *tali*; *r+e+s* in *regressum*; *u+e* in *usque*.

If we analyse DOC. 3 — preserved though a copy and written in a semi-calligraphic cursive Visigothic script — we can appreciate that it corresponds neither to Kendúlfiz nor Pedro, though it is roughly contemporary with their work. The signature and the sign used in the validation, for instance, show clear differences [FIG. 11] as does the alphabet's morphology [FIG. 14, 15]: this copyist's connection *t+q* is very different from that of Kendúlfiz, and his ligatures *a+r+j*, *a+s*, *c+o*, *l+e*, *n+c* and *o+c* are unique to him. There is also the peculiarity that *r*, which in Visigothic script always joins the following letter, does not do so in this case when followed by a consonant (*m*, *t*), which can indicate a less skilled scribe. Regarding abbreviations, the use of a raised form of the G-cleft to represent the ending *-um* must also be highlighted. The same sign is used to indicate *-us*, along with wavy strokes below *b* to indicate *-is*, and cursive *per* and *qui*. The general sign to indicate abbreviations is a ribbon, and nasals are not abbreviated. Concerning punctuation, this anonymous scribe barely indicates long pauses, with a colon and a wavy stroke followed by a capital letter. In general, this copyist's graphic features show poorer training than that received by both Kendúlfiz and Pedro, probably indicating a copy carried out by a local scribe and likely commissioned by the document's beneficiary (Munio Muñiz).

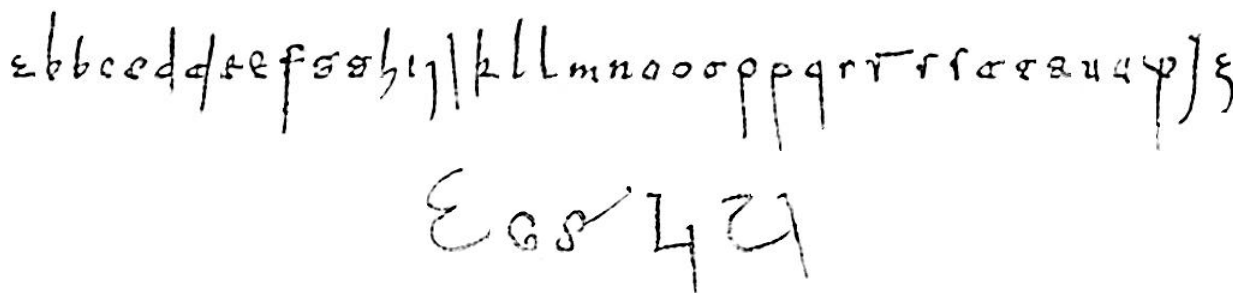


FIG. 15. Alphabet in DOC. 3.

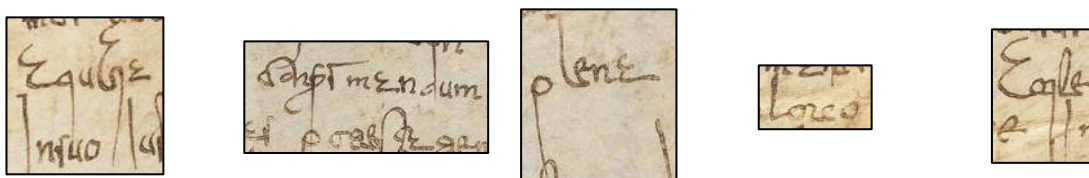


FIG. 16. Examples of ligatures and connections in DOC. 3: (left to right) *a+r+j* in *aquarja*; *c+o* and *f+i* in *confir_mandum*; *l+e+n* in *plena*; *o+c* in *loco*; *t+q*, *u+e* in *atque*.

V. WHO WAS PEDRO KENDÚLFIZ?

Considering that not all the charters that have traditionally been attributed to Pedro Kendúlfiz were in fact written by him, the biographical information we have about the scribe needs to be revised. Knowing with certainty which charters were written by Pedro Kendúlfiz changes not only the period in which he was supposedly working for the royal chancellery and then left before becoming Bishop of Astorga, but also weakens the personal and professional link between Kendúlfiz and the scribe and bishop Sampiro that has been used to deduct his birthplace and recreate his professional career. In the same way, the information provided by the graphic analysis of his charters, as well as the fact that he adapted his name depending on whether he was working for kings or for the monastery of Sahagún, enables us to theorise about the school where he was trained, as well as about how his career developed and his chronological and geographical framework.

V. 1. Birthplace

As has been mentioned, Quintana Prieto attributed to Pedro Kendúlfiz a Galician place of birth. More precisely, he stated that he was, most likely, from El Bierzo. The only reliable piece of evidence about Pedro Kendúlfiz's Galician origins is contained in a charter, preserved through copy, dated 26 November 1058 and confirmed by Fernando I (1037-1065), on the usurpations committed against the church of Astorga and the general disorganisation that devastated the diocese at that time. That charter, written when Kendúlfiz was already dead (he died in 1051), reads *Tunc remansit hanc sedem (Astorga) desertam et desolatam, sine scripturis usque diem quo aduenit Petrus Gundulfiz episcopus in hoc loco iam dicto qui et ipse ex terra Galleciae fuit*.³² There is no more information in any of Kendúlfiz's written charters or in any other source about where he came from. The family relation that Quintana Prieto saw between Kendúlfiz and the royal notary, chronicler and Bishop of Astorga, Sampiro, which will be discussed further in the next section, made him conclude that he was born in El Bierzo, as he thought Sampiro was, but the born place of the latter has been already discredited by Carriedo Tejedo.³³

At this moment, it cannot be known with certainty where Pedro Kendúlfiz was born. It can be interpreted that he "came from Galicia", meaning that he was a native of some place within the medieval borders of the ancient north-western peninsular kingdom, although it can also be suggested that he only spent some time somewhere there, enough to develop a personal link that made the scribe of the 1058 charter say he was from there. If we want to make him Galician, the only evidence that can be used to support such a statement is that the earliest surviving charter written by Pedro Kendúlfiz is the one kept at the Cathedral archive of Lugo. Although it is a royal charter, the royal chancellery was not yet organised at that time. When kings wanted or needed to write a charter they could turn to one of the scribes they already knew, who usually travelled with the court, but they also tended to commission a scribe from the beneficiary's contact list. On the other hand, Pedro could have been working for the royal chancellery already in 1027, although no testimony of this has been preserved, and thus could have arrived at Lugo as part of the court's entourage. Thus, there is as much evidence to suggest that Kendúlfiz was from Lugo as there is to claim that he was not.

³² Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 170, 211 from E. Flórez, *España Sagrada. XVI. De la iglesia de Astorga en su estado antiguo y presente* (Madrid, 1762), pp. 451-454. Text from G. Caverio Domínguez; E. Martín López, *Colección documental de la Catedral de Astorga. Tomo I (646-1126)* (León, 1999), pp. 296-299 (297) [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códices, 1195B, f. 11].

³³ M. Carriedo Tejedo, "¿Sampiro Toresano?", *Revista Folklore* 29/338 (2009): 39-45.

In addition, concerning when he was born, Quintana Prieto estimated that by the time he was appointed Bishop of Astorga around 1040, Pedro Kendúlfiz must have been around 55 years old, which places his birth date around 985.³⁴

V. 2. Family relationship

Quintana Prieto also suggested that Pedro Kendúlfiz and Sampiro were family. Moreover, both he and Lucas Álvarez thought that Sampiro's help would have been crucial to gaining the trust of the monarchy. However, there is no direct reference concerning the family ties of Pedro Kendúlfiz.

Quintana's theory came from analysing Pedro's patronymic. In both the charters he wrote and in those in which he was alluded to as a witness, it was common for Pedro to include his patronymic with the formula *Kendulfiz / Quendulfiz / Kendulfici / Gendulfiz*. In a charter issued in 1044 he is alluded to as *Petrus Gundisalui*, relegating *Gundulfi* as an alias, but this is an exception.³⁵ So, *Petrus* refers to himself as son of one *Kendulfo / Quendulfo / Gendulfo* or maybe even *Gundisaluo*. For Quintana, this name was not a common early medieval Astur-Leonese anthroponym. Although he had neither the wealth of reference materials nor the digital tools we have now to carry out prosopographical research, he undertook the task of searching for "Kendulfos" looking for Pedro Kendúlfiz's father. He found connections in three charters:

- The first dates to 999 and records a verdict given by Bermudo II.³⁶ As witnesses, this document records the king, the notary Sampiro and, next to him, another person referred to as *frater Quendulfus*.
- The second charter dates to 1034 and records the sale of a piece of real estate by the abbess of the monastery of San Miguel de León to the, by then, Bishop Sampiro.³⁷ The *directio* in the diploma specifies "... *faceremus uobis iam nominatis Sampirus aepiscopus et Gondulfus presbiter* ...".
- Quintana found another reference to this *Quendulfo / Gondulfo* in a donation given by Sampiro to Brandilano in 1042,³⁸ confirmed by an Abbot *Godelfus*.

The fact that the first of these charters refers to Quendulfo as *frater* after Sampiro's confirmation, that the latter appears as buyer alongside the, by then, Bishop of Astorga in the second document, and that he appears again – assuming that he is the same person – in the third and last document, prompted Quintana to infer that they had a fraternal relationship. If Quendulfo was the father of the scribe Kendúlfiz, as suggested by the coincidence in the combination anthroponym-patronymic, Sampiro would be thus his uncle.³⁹

The anthroponym *Quendulfo / Gondulfo* is indeed infrequent in early medieval Leonese records, but it is far from unheard of.⁴⁰ This is also the case for the patronymic Kendúlfiz,⁴¹ so one cannot presume that this individual Quintana made Pedro's father was in fact his father. Equally, the use of the word "*frater*" in association with Quendulfo is far more likely to be a reference to his religious status rather

³⁴ Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 171.

³⁵ *Petrus Gundisalui, alias Gundulfi, Astoricensi sedis*. Caverio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de Astorga*, nº 298, 250 [Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, mss. 1.197b, ff. 387r-288].

³⁶ J. Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 439, 447-448 [Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, mss. 18.387, ff. 272v-273r].

³⁷ Pérez, *Sampiro*, 474-475 [León, Archivo de la Catedral, perg. 862].

³⁸ Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 171-172 and note 19; Pérez, *Sampiro*, 476-478 [León, Archivo de la Catedral, perg. 1351].

³⁹ Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 170-172 (especially note 20), 176. See also note 1 in this article.

⁴⁰ The aforementioned database, CODOLGA, includes abundant references to this name for the same period: *Gundulfus* (years 982, 989, 993, 1000...).

⁴¹ Froila Kendúlfiz (year 1000), Elcino Kendúlfiz (c. 1027), Sendamiro Kendúlfiz (year 1029), Egica Gundúlfiz (year 1039).

than an indication of his fraternal ties with Sampiro. It also seems plausible that the “Quendulfos” mentioned in these three documents were in fact different people, as seems to be suggested by the different geographical locations alluded to. Thus, we cannot ascertain that Kendúlfiz was son of that Quendulfo or that a family relationship existed with the notary and bishop Sampiro.

V. 3. Graphic training

Even without knowing where Pedro Kendúlfiz was from or who his father was, we can deduce the characteristics of the production or cultural centre where he received his scribal training.

As has been explained, his cultural level and graphic quality point towards an important learning centre and, at any rate, not towards a rural/parish school. He not only wrote in a calligraphic cursive Visigothic script but in *elongate*. He was careful not only in writing but in presenting each part of the text in an organised and meticulous way. He designed himself a distinctive signature following the models that, at the time, belonged to the highest social classes. And it is very likely that he even ruled what is his last written document here analysed as if the parchment was being prepared for writing a codex.

Considering the textual information provided by his charters, two centres that could have given him the necessary training can be suggested: the Cathedral of Lugo and the monastery of Sahagún. The first because the first charter was written there and the charter dated 1058 says he “*ex terra Galleciae fuit*”; the second because he worked as a scribe for Sahagún after leaving the royal chancellery and it may be that he was going back home before becoming Bishop of Astorga. The Cathedral of Lugo already had well-trained scribes around the 1000, whilst Sahagún was a preeminent cultural centre of the kingdom. Both places are as likely, more or less, as any other major centre in north-western Spain at the time. The search could be refined by comparing Pedro’s graphic characteristics with those of the scribes trained or working in each centre. I have made comparisons with contemporary scribes trained at the Lucense schools, unsuccessfully, but have not been able to compare his script with those of other scribes/areas.⁴²

Since Kendúlfiz was a scribe with the royal chancellery it can be presumed that he followed the court in its travels, so that any geographical references made in the documents crafted by his hand or in which he appears as a witness are of little value to us.

As a further note, in a recent study published elsewhere I showed that the design Pedro Kendúlfiz used for the initial Chi-Rho following the cursive form tends to correspond with charters written by scribes trained in cathedral schools, whilst scribes trained in monastic schools seem to prefer the more traditional Constantinian design of the monogrammatic sign, at least in Galicia. That would point towards a cathedral school, but since there is no similar study for the Chi-Rho used in or nearby Sahagún it is not known if this tendency can also be seen there or in any other areas of the Leonese kingdom.

V. 4. Professional career as scribe

So far, we have a scribe about whose birth and training we cannot be sure, and with no accurate identification of family ties. It is difficult to solve any of these questions without more direct references. However, what is known after the graphic analysis carried out for this article, is that he was a skilled scribe and so considered by his contemporaries. Whether we think Pedro Kendúlfiz was

⁴² Although he was merely speculating, I also followed Quintana’s argument examining the internal and external characteristics of the charters written by Sampiro (Lucas, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, 661-666) in comparison with those of Pedro Kendúlfiz searching for possible indications that they received training in the same school or even that they had a direct master/apprentice relationship. No such indications have been found; no common feature exists other than the fact that both use Visigothic script, minuscule variant by Sampiro and cursive variant by Kendúlfiz.

Galician and trained in Lugo, or Leonese and trained in Sahagún, it is clear he reached a high status as scribe and that he was required by laymen and ecclesiastics alike to write charters. While we have no charter written by him before the one dated 1027, with which this study started, given his expertise he must have worked as a scribe long before that date. It is very likely he had been commissioned to produce charters by the institution in which he lived as a deacon, its smallest dependant bodies, and the nearby upper classes, as other coeval amanuenses were, or even that he had participated in the elaboration of codices with other fellow scribes. Indubitably, when the monarchy approached him, he already had a certain status and was recognised.

Pedro Kendúlfiz must have been around his forties (birth date around 985) when he wrote the charter for Alfonso V (999-1028) and Bishop Pedro of Lugo, his first known direct interaction with the royal chancellery. As I have said, notaries acting on the king's behalf could be clerics in the service of the monarch, or ecclesiastical scribes assigned by the specific institutions benefiting from a given charter. In this case, Pedro may already have been working for Alfonso, had come with him to Lugo to write the charter; he could equally have been at Lugo Cathedral already, maybe working with the bishop, and selected for the occasion. If the latter is the case, the king must have been so impressed by his work that he decided to enrol him at the royal chancellery, since Kendúlfiz wrote another charter for Alfonso's successor Bermudo III and acted as a witness in some others. Both options are credible bearing in mind that the assumption that Sampiro sponsored Kendúlfiz's progression, introducing him to the court, where he became fully integrated, was based on their speculative family relation. The two men worked for the royal chancellery, and shared a connection with the see of Astorga, so, considering the additional evidence offered by some documents in which both are alluded to together,⁴³ it logically follows that they knew each other. It is possible to think that they may have maintained a cordial relationship but assuming a further link, however, is risky to say the least.

It has not been determined what exactly Pedro did working for the royal chancellery. Although by that time this institution was not yet fully formalised, and it was not until the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-1157) with the arrival of Hugo and Giraldo into the king's service in 1135,⁴⁴ Sampiro inaugurated a trend towards the formalisation of the hierarchy within the chancellery. Thus, while he was working for Bermudo II (985-999) as royal notary, Sampiro began to clarify a distinction between notaries/*dictatores*, responsible for the documents' contents, and scribes/*exaratores*, who physically crafted them.⁴⁵ It can be speculated whether Kendúlfiz had the skills and influence in the monarchy to be notary, scribe or both. On safer ground, it can be stated without doubt that Kendúlfiz worked for the court as scribe, not between 1015 and 1037 as has been suggested, but between 1027 and 1031, as one of several royal notaries including Vive, Fulgentius, Fernando Nuniz, Martinus or Ansur.⁴⁶ Before him, another scribe called Pedro worked for Alfonso V at least between 1015 and 1019 and, thus, at the same time as Sampiro (991-1019).

After the summer of 1031, the date of his second royal charter for Bermudo III – or, more likely, after 17 February 1035, when he acted as a witness to the charter issued by Bermudo III to the see of

⁴³ León, Archivo de la Catedral, nº 921 (Tumbo, ff. 370v-371r). Year 1030. Cf. J. M. Ruíz Asencio, *Colección documental de la Catedral de León (715-1230). Tomo III (986-1031)* (León, 1987), p. 475.

⁴⁴ For the evolution of the royal chancellery see Lucas, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, especially pp. 219-222.

⁴⁵ For more about how charters were made and written see J. A. Fernández Flórez, *La elaboración de los documentos en los reinos hispánicos occidentales (ss. VI-XIII)* (Burgos, 2012) and J. M. Ruíz 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. Tomo I* (León, 2004), pp. 87-118.

⁴⁶ Lucas, *El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media*, 222-233 (229-230).

Palencia,⁴⁷ still using his patronymic – Pedro Kendúlfiz left the court. He retired to the monastery of Sahagún, where he may have been born and trained, and continued there his professional career as scribe. It cannot be known why he decided to change direction. The first charter of those preserved, which tells us that he was already at Sahagún, is a grant to the monastery dated 31 March 1037. He signed as a witness.⁴⁸ Bermudo III was still king of León at the time, and would be until September 1037, when he was defeated by his brother-in-law, Fernando, Count of Castile, who became Fernando I. Therefore, Kendúlfiz's departure from the royal chancellery seems to be unrelated to the change of king and dynasty (from Leonese to Navarrese). For Sahagún, Pedro Kendúlfiz wrote two charters dated 1038 and 1042.⁴⁹

In 1041 Sampiro retired, leaving the see of Astorga vacant. After March 1042, not in 1041 as Quintana says⁵⁰ since the last known charter he wrote is dated 1042, Pedro Kendúlfiz left his retirement, to be appointed Bishop of Astorga,⁵¹ whence he strived to reorganise the diocese and to recuperate the properties lost by the see during the reign of Bermudo III in its confrontation with Sancho of Navarre. Pedro Kendúlfiz died in 1051.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Although there is not much that can be unveiled about Pedro Kendúlfiz, after the thorough examination of the charters attributed to him and verifying the textual and graphic information the manuscript sources provide against the biographical information published about his life and career, some conclusions can be drawn:

- Kendúlfiz was not employed as a scribe in the royal chancellery between 1015 and 1037, as suggested by the previous biography. His direct court-related work is limited to two documents, dating to 1027 (confirmation by Alfonso V) and 1031 (donation by Bermudo III). He also appeared as a witness in one royal diploma dated 1035.
- Another scribe called Pedro seems to have worked for the court before Kendúlfiz – between 1015 and 1019. This amanuensis, who has not to date been identified, was the material author of three diplomas for Alfonso V, one of them preserved through a copy.
- The evidence seems to support that Kendúlfiz left the royal chancellery around the summer of 1035 the latest. He retired to the monastery of Sahagún, where he continued his career as a scribe.
- While Kendúlfiz worked for the royal chancellery, as a scribe or appearing as a witness, he signed as Pedro Kendúlfiz. In contrast, when he worked for the monastery of Sahagún he signed as Pedro

⁴⁷ See note 22, doc. iv.

⁴⁸ It must be noted that he also signed with his full name, *Petrus Quendulfiz diaconus*, as a witness to a charter preserved through a copy dated March 31 1037 (see note 22, doc. v). This charter records a grant to the monastery of Sahagún. Therefore, either he was still under the *patrocinium* of the king and, thus, continued using his characteristic patronymic, or he was still considering his next professional step, deciding whether to use “Kendúlfiz” or not.

⁴⁹ DOCS. 6 and 7 mentioned in section III. Pedro Kendúlfiz very likely wrote another charter, preserved now through copy (Becerro Gótico de Sahagún, f. 133 r-v, escr. XLVIII), which records a donation made by the priest Froilán to the monastery of Sahagún (cf. Herrero, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún*, 126-127). He signed this charter as *Petrus diaconus*.

⁵⁰ Quintana, *Obispado de Astorga*, 173, Quintana's judgement is based on two diplomas preserved by copy.

⁵¹ All the evidence refers to Pedro Kendúlfiz as deacon. Ruiz, *Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios*, 299, suggests that Pedro's promotion to the bishopric from this position shows similarity to French customs, “donde a veces miembros laicos de la cancillería real eran elevados a abades u obispos tras recibir las órdenes sagradas”. During his time as Bishop of Astorga, Pedro did not sign as a witness with his patronymic but added *Petrus astoricense sedis* cf. (See for example Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Clero, Sahagún, carp. 880, nos. 8, 10, 11, dated in 1048; cf. Ruiz, *Notas sobre la escritura y monogramas regios*, 301-302).

the deacon. Once he was promoted to bishop, he signed, again, without patronymic (*Petrus astoricense sedis cf.*). Thus, he adapted his signature to the type of charter he was writing or witnessing.

- It seems doubtful that Kendúlfiz was a nephew of the royal notary Sampiro, and even more so that he was helped by him to attain a better professional standing. The irregular *modus operandi* of the chancellery during this period would make such support unnecessary; monarchs appointed scribes from the clerics in their immediate environment merely on the basis of their graphic qualities. Also, by the time Pedro wrote his first diploma for the king in 1027, Sampiro was no longer a royal notary.
- Regarding his place of birth, although the evidence contained in Fernando I's confirmation seems solid, we cannot go further in confirming his Galician origins. Nor can we be certain about the centre in which he received his training, although his exceptional graphic qualities point towards a major one, either in Galicia or in León, and there is evidence enough of his link with the monastery of Sahagún.
- Finally, Kendúlfiz was appointed Bishop of Astorga after March 1042, the date of his last known document, and not at the end of 1041 as Quintana stated.

It is possible that as new sources are studied and edited, new documents written by Kendúlfiz's hand or references that can help to reconstruct his life and career may come to light. The details of the graphic characteristics of Kendúlfiz's script and his diplomatic habits may be of help in identifying him in other sources and even, eventually, in ascribing him to a specific training centre, once the characteristics of the Visigothic script of each area are better known. The study of the charter in *elongate* kept in the Lugo Cathedral archive leaves many questions unanswered but is, nevertheless, rich in information about the cultural context in which scribes such as Pedro Kendúlfiz worked and how they developed their careers.