

THE REGIONAL STUDY OF VISIGOTHIC SCRIPT: VISIGOTHIC SCRIPT VS. CAROLINE MINUSCULE IN GALICIA*

Abstract

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 north-western Iberian Peninsula, a crucial period of cultural and political change. The effective political incorporation of the territory as a county of the Kingdom of Leon-Castile resulted in the replacement of the traditional local nobility for new aristocrats more consistent with the European preferences and imperialist aims of the monarchy. At the same time, the new centralized management promoted open paths for the massive arrival of European culture, leading, together with the adoption of the Roman rite, 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 spread into general use throughout Europe.¹

The strategic and cultural implications that the acceptance of liturgical Reform, finally achieved in northern and western Iberian Peninsula in the Council of Burgos in 1080, had for the Christian realms of the Iberian Peninsula is a well-known, an extensively published about, topic. Just considering the graphic change for ecclesiastical texts adopted soon after, and its parallel for juridical ones, that followed the practice of the Roman rite in northern Iberia, we could discuss to what extent each cultural centre reveals itself as resilient or not to be subdued to Rome. How to copy codices with the new liturgy but yet in Visigothic script – or to continue using this writing system for common legal practices – could appeal to institutions that wanted to preserve their

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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 A. Castro Correa, « Visigothic Script versus Caroline Minuscule: The Collision of Two Cultural Worlds in Twelfth-Century Galicia », LMS dissertation, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies - University of Toronto, 2015 (a condensed version of this work is expected to be published soon).

Visigothic tradition and prior cultural pre-eminence without being dissociated from the new Hispanic Church and the European Leonese-Castilian kingdom, or if the practice just answered to pragmatic needs – to keep using Visigothic script in order to make the new texts look familiar or just to produce them much easier and quicker. As my contribution to the debate raised by the 19th Colloquium of the Comité international de Paléographie Latine focused on ‘Change’, I do not aim to revise these mostly historical and political questions. Neither would I discuss how the main Galician ecclesiastical centres, Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, and their bishops, reacted to the change – or at least not directly. Rather, my intention with this paper is to foment discussion by focusing in more detail on an approach to the late eleventh century liturgical Reform that has not yet been fully covered or, better, fully understood; the change of written systems, from Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule. My aim is to go further in understanding not how the Church but rather the scribes it trained must have perceived the graphic change. How they assimilated it in developing their professional careers, the social component veiled in using one script or another, and how their written testimonies speak of two very different cultural contexts.

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

The extant manuscript evidence from late eleventh and early twelfth-century Galician scriptoria, the chronology and characteristics of these written testimonies, attest of an increasing graphic acculturation. From the thorough analysis of these sources, written in transitional Visigothic scripts and in Caroline minuscule, it is possible to get a glimpse about the polygraphism lived in that area of the northern Iberian Peninsula in that period exploring how the Galician scribes faced the graphic reform.

As a case study, to focus our attention in the Galician Visigothic script extant manuscript sources to study how the process of graphic change from Visigothic to Caroline minuscule was, results particularly relevant due to three main reasons:

First, in comparison with all the remaining peninsular areas where the substitution of one written system for another was significantly quick, result of a generational change of amanuenses, Visigothic script prevailed in Galicia as main graphic system for long [TABLE 1]. The graphic influence of Carolingian examples can be confirmed as received more or less in the same period in all Leonese-Castilian territories, 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, the transitional period increases, showing that in Galician centres it took more than a hundred years to abandon the script that it had been being used since at least the late ninth century in favour of the new foreign one. Visigothic and Caroline, were, thus, in use in Galicia simultaneously influencing each other for generations.

Second, an even closer look to the chronology of the Visigothic script Galician sources considering their distribution by production centre, 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 written system to another was slower [TABLE 2]. In contrast, thus, with other geographical entities where the graphic evolution was fairly consistent, the status of Santiago de Compostela made the process of change in Galicia particularly dissimilar.

And third, as a mirror of this different chronologic evolution and cultural environment, the transition from Visigothic to Caroline was neither the same graphically speaking in both centres. While the sources preserved for Lugo attest a transitional Visigothic script, thus a minuscule Visigothic script with some Carolingian influence particularly relevant in the abbreviation system – which is common to all Leonese-Castilian written production – [FIG. 1], in Santiago two different transitional periods developed. The Compostelan scribes not only show exogenous influence when writing in Visigothic minuscule, but also when using Visigothic cursive [FIG. 2], something

that results by all accounts remarkable and an extremely rare graphic acculturation since it was practised only by the scribes trained in another institution, the monastery of Sahagún, although not with the same intensity.² Analysis of the corpus of charters in Visigothic script from Sahagún reveals Carolingian influence in both minuscule – the predominant typology in use until 1131 – and in cursive hands – with its last example dated 1109 – starting in the same decade, 1060s. However, the typological variant that presents the strongest influence of Caroline minuscule in its alphabet and abbreviation system, with its first charter dated 1104 at Sahagún, is the minuscule and not the cursive, thus contrasting with what can be seen in Santiago's manuscript sources. There are two main explanations for the graphic peculiarity of the transitional Visigothic scripts in Santiago. First, common to the Compostelan see and Sahagún, is the direct Cluniac influence. Second, exclusive to Galician Visigothic script, is the long life cycle of the cursive typological variant given that pure minuscule Visigothic script is rare in Galicia unlike in the other Leonese-Castilian centres.³ The former explains the intense external graphic influence, also favoured by Santiago's status not only as the main Galician centre of culture but also as a highly significant European one. The latter explains why this influence was received also, and more intensively, in the cursive variant, since this was the predominant script when Caroline minuscule started to be used by the master scribes of the Compostelan see.

Analysing the manuscript evidence, the emergence and predominance of the cursive Visigothic script and cursive Visigothic script in transition to Caroline minuscule in Santiago is evident [TABLE 3], particularly in comparison with Lugo's sources [TABLE 4]. Among the extant sources produced in Santiago de Compostela that allow a thorough palaeographic analysis, thus omitting those in a state of preservation so poor that it prevents 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 to 1167 for the diocese, and mostly concentrated in the first half of the twelfth century. Petrus Danieliz's charter dated to 1115⁴ is one of the first and most significant ones given the prominence of the witnesses who signed the document. The signatures of these people are not autograph, though perhaps some of the signs drawn with them are, but even so they are significant for the script in which they were written. In 1115, when the Roman rite must have been at least already 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 and papal legate Bernard and the Cluniac Bishop of Braga Mauricio among others, did not seem to have had any problem in letting the scribe write in cursive Visigothic, adding their signatures in *elongata* cursive. Besides these signatures and the content of the document, Danieliz's hand is also significant: *c* and *e* preserving 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*,

² See M. Herrero de la Fuente, « De Cluny a Sahagún: La escritura carolina en el monasterio de Sahagún (siglos XI-XII) », in *Actes du XIIe colloque scientifique du Comité international de Paléographie Latine*, Paris, 2000, p. 29-40 (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 A. 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 (91); A. 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.

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.

episcopus, quod, secundus, uobis, and noster. Danieliz thus presents a perfect cursive Visigothic script, according to the model, that nevertheless has strong Carolingian influence. This graphical contamination, though already solid in the first examples of transitional cursive Visigothic, would 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 Visigothic script scribes as Petrus Danieliz were aware of using Caroline minuscule abbreviations into their texts, at least in the first years of the graphical change when even the Roman rite and the Carolingian written system had not yet been imposed – what would have happened more likely with bishop Amor (1088-1095) in the see of Lugo and under Bishop Dalmacius (1094-1095) in that of Santiago. However, there are few but highly significant examples that allow us to glimpse some moments of conscious uncertainty about which system certain abbreviations belonged to. For example, when in 1122 (Santiago de Compostela, Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago de Compostela, Colección Blanco Cicerón, nº 188) Gundesindo, using a transitional Visigothic minuscule, wrote the personal pronoun *nobis*, he mixed the Carolingian abbreviation of the form, *n+b* with a short horizontal line drawn through the ascender of the letter *b*, with the traditional Visigothic one, which is represented by a cursive sign under the bow of *b*; this duplication is clearly unnecessary. It is reasonable to think that he, like his contemporary scribes, recognised, differentiated, and consciously integrated within their texts features of a graphic system that was gradually gaining popularity, even when they had not (yet) mastered it.

As a consequence of the long coexistence of both writing systems in Galicia, the graphic influence was mutual. Analysis of the extant Carolingian script charters produced throughout the twelfth century, which were thus coeval to others drawn in Visigothic script, shows the incorporation of elements from the latter by local Caroline minuscule scribes.⁵ In fact, around 35% of the extant Caroline minuscule charters show graphic influence from the Visigothic script system, highlighting the use of one Visigothic feature that almost all Galician Caroline hands seem to have adopted: the characteristically Visigothic *t* as a reversed beta that was used especially for the abbreviation of *testes* in the signature box. This allograph is still seen in late medieval manuscripts and even in eighteenth-century copies as the example shown in La Coruña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Colección Vaamonde Lores, carp. 5(3)1, tapa – copied in 1744. 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.⁶ In the latter modern examples, however, it most likely had lost its meaning.⁷

Were early twelfth-century Galician scribes polygraphic amanuenses?

The coexistence of both writing systems, Visigothic and Carolingian, 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

⁵ A. Castro Correa, « La escritura visigótica en Galicia. I. Diócesis lucense », PhD dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2012, p. 698-703.

⁶ J. Alturo 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 (198).

⁷ M^a J. 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.

were taught in Visigothic and then learnt also Caroline, have been found and studied,⁸ and although no example of such polygraphism has been preserved for Galician scribes, there is no reason to think that they did not exist.

Although few, we know about Galician polygraphic scribes who wrote in minuscule and in cursive Visigothic script. Examples of charters in both scripts from the same hand have been preserved,⁹ as well as charters written by amanuenses in which the main text was in a specific typological variant while the scribe's signature was drawn in another, revealing which was his fundamental script and which the model he was first trained in.¹⁰ Their level of proficiency mastering both scripts was such that they did not show influence from one system into another until they decided to mix both in different sections of their texts. It is, therefore, a reasonable assumption that those more skilled scribes could have learnt to write in Caroline, 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 thought that masters from outside the Peninsula, or maybe even from the Catalan counties, where the Carolingian written system as well as the Roman rite had been adopted first,¹¹ came to the main northern centres to teach the new script. Thus, the first charters and codices written in Caroline minuscule from Galician centres must have been produced by their hand, and after some years of training, by that of their first pupils (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 1325C, n^o 4, dated 1113; first charter written in Caroline minuscule in Lugo). Also,

⁸ See J. Alturo Perucho, « La catedral, ente creador, productor y difusor de cultura », in *La catedral: símbolo del renacer de Europa*, Cuenca, 2010, p. 11-33 (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 but to which he, more likely unconsciously, added four verses in Visigothic script, the writing system in which he was trained (on this, see A. M. Mundó and J. Alturo 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 (131); Alturo, *L'enseignement et l'apprentissage*, p. 195 (note 6)). Also, a scribe working in the scriptorium of Sahagún, Martín, who wrote charters in minuscule Visigothic and in Caroline minuscule, all dating from 1100 to 1116 (on this, see See J. 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 (106)). Finally, in Asturias, the scribe Pelayo, who copied the *Liber Testamentorum* in cursive *elongata* Visigothic script and also wrote charters in Caroline (see M^a J. Sanz Fuentes, *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*, Barcelona, 1995, p. 108 et seqq.).

⁹ For example, the scribe Petrus wrote a charter in cursive Visigothic in 1061 for the monastery of Samos (Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Clero, carp. 1239, n^o 13) and another in minuscule Visigothic in 1071 for the cathedral of Tuy (Tuy, Archivo de la Catedral, 1/2). See A. Castro Correa, « Writing in cursive and minuscule Visigothic script: polygraphism in medieval Galicia », *Littera Visigothica* (March 2015) <<http://litteravisigothica.com/writing-in-cursive-and-minuscule-visigothic-script-polygraphism-in-medieval-galicia>>.

¹⁰ As for the definition of fundamental or basic script in opposition to usual script see, among others, F. Gasparri, « L'écriture usuelle, reflet d'un enseignement et signification historique », *Médiévales* 6/13 (1987), p. 143-165.

¹¹ On the transition from Visigothic to Caroline in Catalonia, see J. Alturo Perucho, « Escritura visigótica y escritura carolina en el contexto cultural de la Cataluña del siglo IX », *Memoria Ecclesiae* 2 (1991), p. 33-44, 298; Mundó and Alturo, *Problemàtica de les escriptures dels períodes de transició* (note 8); 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; J. Alturo Perucho, « Tipus d'escriptura a la Catalunya dels segles VIII-X », in *Catalunya a l'època carolíngia. Art i cultura abans del romànic (segles IX i X)*, Barcelona, 1999, p. 131-134, 485-487.

bearing in mind the fact that not all centres could have had a new master, the scribes who were interested could have also learnt by themselves by imitating models they must certainly have had in their centre's archive,¹² those being either imported codices in Caroline with the new rite or even early copies of it made in other peninsular scriptoria that must have been kept together with the old Visigothic codices. The presence of a foreign master in each institution, marked, however, the process of practical introduction of the new script as has been discussed. It can be supposed that the main production centres, such as the sees of Lugo and Santiago de Compostela, had scribes and cathedrals in charge of providing books with the new liturgy to their dependant monastic and parochial centres. Thus, they would have been the first ones to attract Carolingian amanuenses, as is indeed attested by the first 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 practising the new script soon after.

Notwithstanding this, very little is known about the men who might have been brought 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 it can be suggested that the process must have been similar to that of learning any script. Therefore, Visigothic script scribes must have learnt first the new alphabet, then its few ligatures and connections, and finally 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, since they already knew the basics of written production.¹³

Was the social status of Visigothic and Carolingian script scribes the same?

The acceptance of a new supranational writing system that comes to substitute a traditional one has been suggested to be an acknowledgment of the cultural pre-eminence of one culture over another.¹⁴ The scribes who accepted the change and began to write in the new script proposed to be, consequently, trying to elevate their social status by placing themselves on the same level of 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 master Visigothic script either did not recognize such graphic and cultural superiority, or rather there was none to admit. After all, Santiago de Compostela was a metropolitan see and, during the Middle Ages, a shrine equal to Rome, and to adapt Caroline minuscule was a suggestion (Synod of León, 1090) focused on the production of liturgical codices, not charters. Santiago's cathedral, Bishop Xelmírez (1100-1140), agreed to adopt Caroline to write books, and not only ecclesiastical ones, as is exemplified by the Tumbo A in the second decade of the twelfth century. However, the see seems to have been much more lax in regard to the script used in the charters that were to be written in its diocese as shown by diplomas like Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 512, nº 9, dated 1122, in which the signature of Xelmírez, bishop of Compostela, is included in cursive *elongata* Visigothic script displaying, thus, the prevalence of Visigothic script even for the ecclesiastical elite. In contrast, in Lugo's cathedral, under Pedro III (1113-1133), the change was much quicker.

The fact that some centres preferred to continue teaching their scribes to write in Visigothic, if not in both scripts, can be thus considered as a conscious intention to preserve the Visigothic

¹² About self-teaching see A. Petrucci, « Literacy and graphic culture of early medieval scribes », in *Writers and Reader in Medieval Italy*, Yale, 1995, p. 77-102.

¹³ About the process of teaching and learning to write in the early Middle Ages, see A. B. Sánchez Prieto, « Aprender a leer y escribir antes del año mil », *Estudios Sobre Educación* 18 (2010), p. 59-81; J. Alturo Perucho, « El sistema educativo en la Cataluña altomedieval », *Memoria Ecclesiae* 12 (1998), p. 31-61 and Alturo, *L'enseignement et l'apprentissage* (note 6).

¹⁴ Alturo, *L'enseignement et l'apprentissage*, 204 (note 6).

tradition or at least an example of a somewhat slow process of graphic acculturation where older masters would have continued their style.¹⁵

Some final notes

As professors Mundó and Alturo have already highlighted,¹⁶ the change from Visigothic to Caroline minuscule was not an unconscious process ensued from the logical graphic evolution that progressively transforms a script into a new distinctive one, but the result of a conscious substitution of one graphic system for another that happened to be more legible and consistent with the cultural and political unification of the Iberian Peninsula and its relationship with Europe. 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.

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

¹⁵ Examining the same graphic situation in the monastery of St. Cruz de Coimbra, M^a J. 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 (108).

¹⁶ See Mundó and Alturo, *Problemàtica de les scriptures del períodes de transició* (note 8).

<i>area</i>	<i>first Carolingian influence</i>	<i>first charter in Carolingian script</i>	<i>transition completed (last charter in Visigothic script)</i>	<i>from the first charter in Caroline to the last in Visigothic</i>
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 1. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule. Leonese-Castilian areas.

		<i>first charter in transitional Visigothic script</i>	<i>first charter in Carolingian script</i>	<i>last charter in transitional Visigothic script</i>	<i>coexistence (years)</i>	<i>total years for the change</i>
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 2. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Chronology.

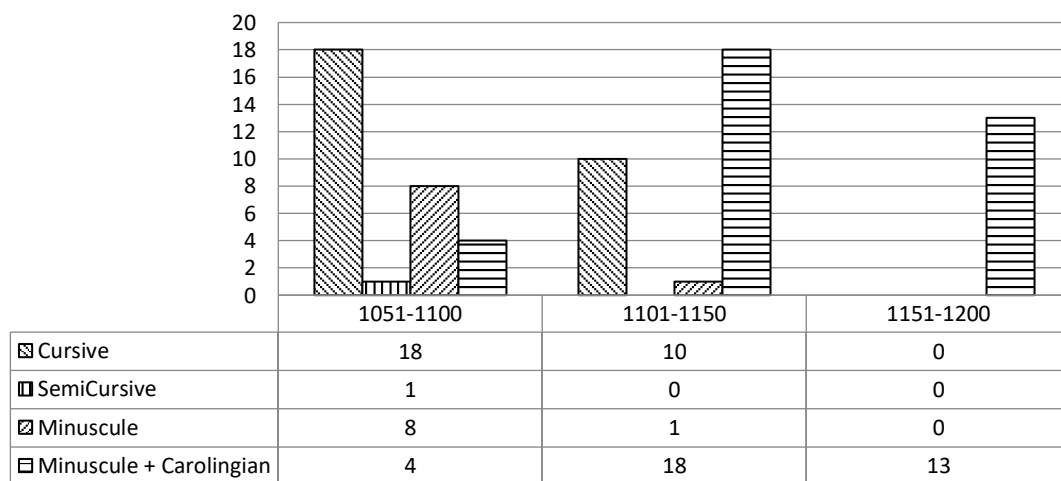


TABLE 3. Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution. Lugo diocese.

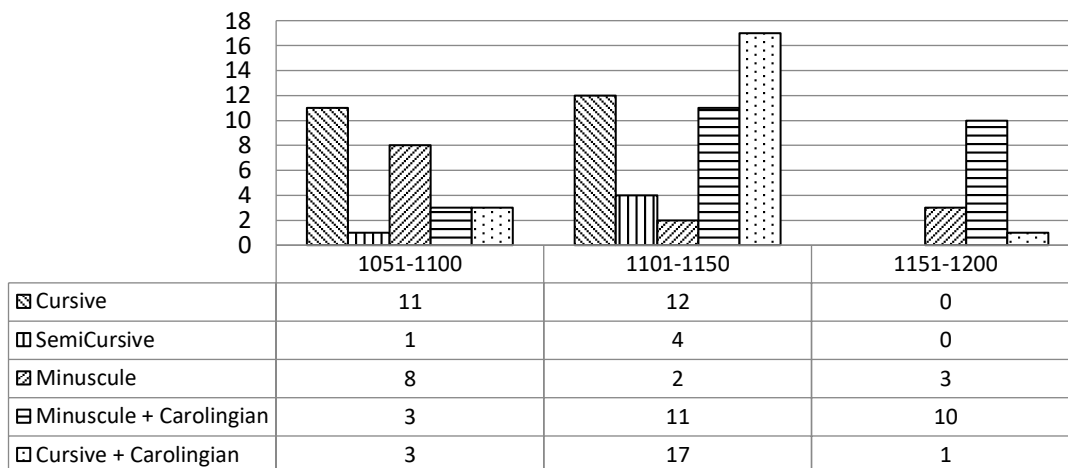


TABLE 4. Types of Visigothic script and their chronological distribution. Santiago de Compostela diocese.

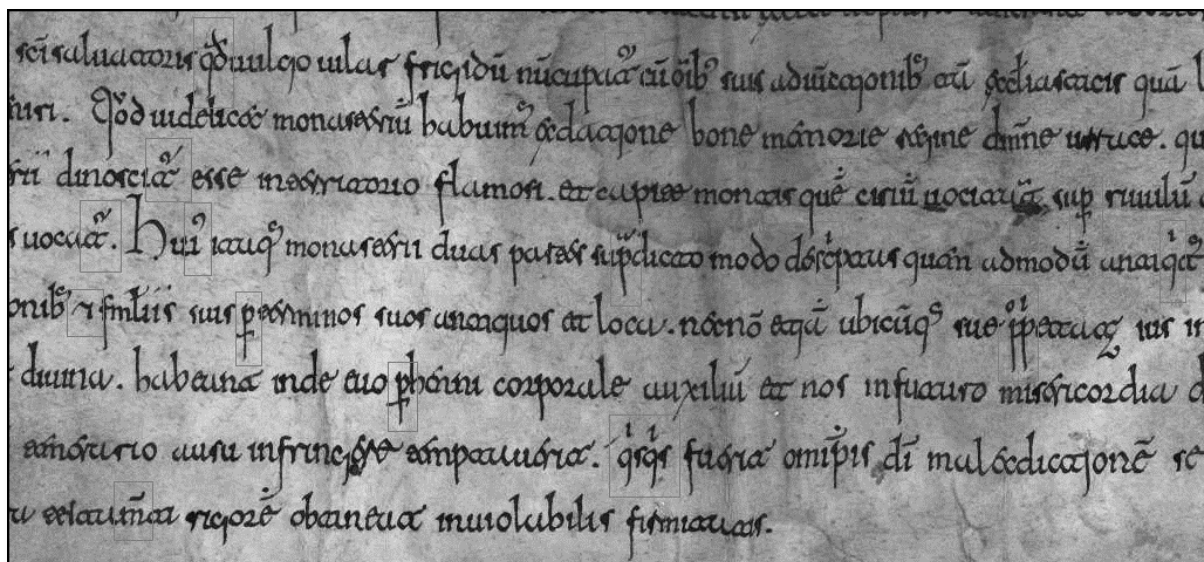


FIG. 1. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Typologies: Lugo. Visigothic minuscule merged with Caroline minuscule (from 1096 to 1196). Example from Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, carp. 1325C, nº 21. Transitional Visigothic minuscule dated 1130.

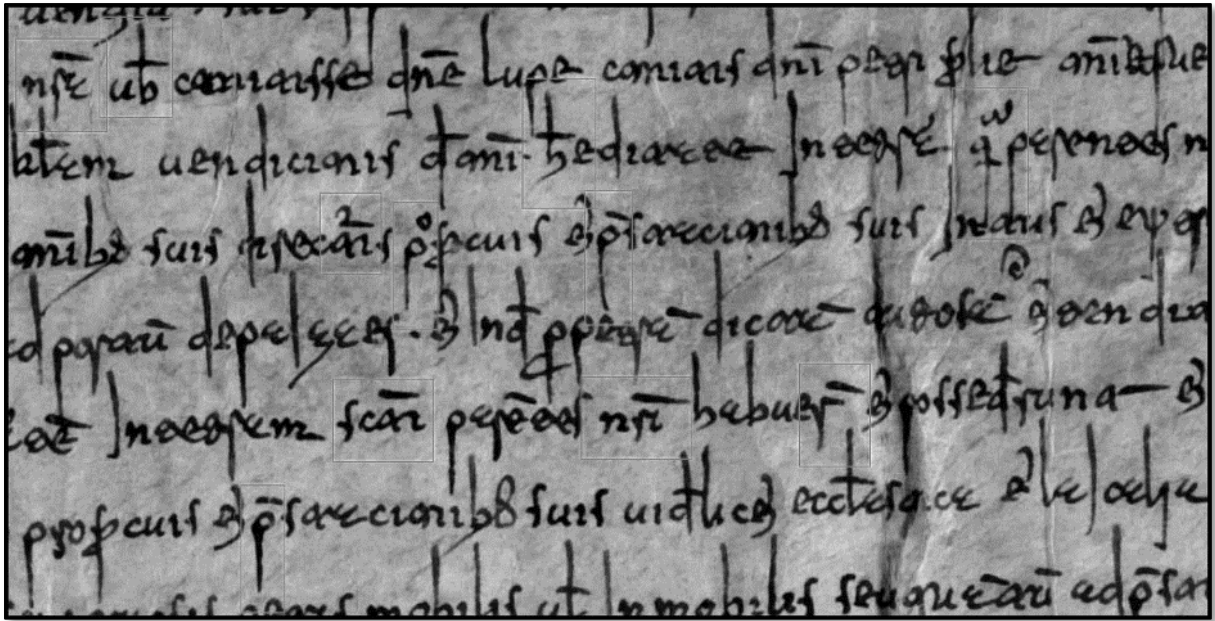


FIG. 2. From Visigothic script to Caroline minuscule in Galicia. Typologies: Santiago de Compostela. Visigothic minuscule merged with Caroline minuscule (from 1070 to 1194) and Visigothic cursive with Caroline minuscule abbreviation system (from 1050 to 1167) - image above. Example from La Coruña, Archivo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

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