LA COLLABORATION
DANS LA PRODUCTION
DE L’ÉCRIT MÉDIÉVAL

Actes du XIIIᵉ colloque
du
Comité international de paléographie latine
(Weingarten, 22-25 septembre 2000)

réunis par
HERRAD SPILLING

PARIS
ÉCOLE DES CHARTES
2003
WRITING IS THE PRECIOUS TREASURY OF MEMORY: SCRIBES AND NOTARIES IN LUGO (1150-1240)

JAMES D’EMILIO

Lugo was a Roman town and an ancient bishopric in Galicia, the north-west region of the Iberian peninsula. Lists of books in endowments and the florid clauses of charters certainly attest to a venerable tradition of writing in early medieval Galicia. In the eleventh century, however, political upheavals disrupted ecclesiastical life. From the end of the century, the reorganization of the Iberian church, the imposition of the Roman liturgy, the gradual abandonment of the Visigothic script, and the accompanying reform of the writing and pronunciation of Latin had far-reaching consequences for the teaching and practice of writing throughout León and Castile. At the same time, burgeoning new towns and the developing apparatus of royal government expanded and diversified opportunities for scribes. In Galicia, the spectacular growth of the pilgrimage to Compostela opened the region to a wider European culture, while the separation of the kingdoms of León and Castile in 1157 restored its privileged place in the Leonese realm.

For two generations, a remarkable string of charters by the town notaries of Lugo, their scribes, the episcopal notaries, and other canons bear witness to a passing moment when writing and its display earned ecclesiastical preferment and civic status. The reform of the cathedral chapter in 1173, the appointment of a town notary in 1177, and the prominence of episcopal notaries from the 1190s through the 1220s marked key stages in this flowering of the scribe’s art. By the mid-thirteenth century, the sheer volume of writing had standardized charters and stripped them of frills. The reunification of León and Castile in 1230 began to marginalize Galicia, and a chapter drawn increasingly from a social elite was soon closed to scribes who had to settle for subordinate places as portionaries or in the writing offices of the dignitaries.

* I am grateful for the facilities provided by the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, and for the kind support of the archivist of Lugo cathedral, D. Amador López Valcárcel. The Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies offered me an opportunity to present an earlier version of this paper. A National Endowment for the Humanities seminar at the Newberry Library, expertly led by Diana E. Greenway and Jane Sayers, helped me initiate this project, and my archival research has been generously funded by the Howard Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Research Council of the University of South Florida, and the College of Arts and Sciences.

In quotations, I have used italicized letters in footnotes and underlined letters in the text to indicate abbreviated letters, as appropriate. I have normally given the date of a document only in its first or most important citation.

For the period from 1150 to 1240, nearly 500 charters remain from the archive of Lugo cathedral, and other archives guard originals by some of the same scribes. For a few scribes, long series of signed and dated documents map out the development of their handwriting over decades, and the texts reveal the circumstances in which they varied their script. These charters make it possible to reconstruct their authors’ careers, relate them to one another, and follow the changing fortunes of their profession.

In the third quarter of the twelfth century, no formal office of notary is mentioned in Lugo. Seventy documents of this period are attributable to as many as twenty scribes, and they vary considerably in their layout, embellishment, script, orthography, and language. To some extent, this diversity reflects the heterogeneity of an archive that preserved instruments produced throughout the diocese for occasions that demanded different degrees of formality from scribes of widely different backgrounds. Thus, a charter of 1171 records the transfer of sizeable properties in a nearby village parish from a nobleman to his daughter and son-in-law. The prominent signatories suggest that the document was prepared at the royal court, and the scribe, William of Coria, traced skeletal outlines for enlarged letters and revelled in the long, curving and looping ascenders, descenders, tail-strokes and suspension marks of a chancery script. By contrast, a charter written a few months later presents a clear and compact hand with thick penstrokes and the older letter forms, ligatures and abbreviation marks of the Visigothic script. This sale of a rural estate near Lugo was written up by a priest, probably of the parish where the properties lay. If the script seems archaic in 1172, that is just a salutary reminder that patterns of survival have not been kind to private documents from rural parishes.

It is more remarkable to find such diversity among the thirty-five deeds issued at this time for urban properties in Lugo itself. Although many of them concern the same houses and some of the same protagonists, they can be assigned to ten scribes. Their


2. Careful scrutiny of these charters shows that the verb « notare » normally identified their material author. If a notary delegated the task of writing to another scribe, this scribe's role was specified by the verb « scribere ».

3. The following originals are dated between 1151 and 1175: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, nos. 8-25, 8bis; 1325E, nos. 1-25, 12bis, 18bis, 19bis; 1325F, nos. 1-8, 10-19, 15bis, 16bis, 25; Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, pergaminos sueltos, no. 48.

4. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 4 (20.10.1171).

5. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 8 (30.6.1172).

6. This document likely entered the archive only because of the systematic acquisition of properties in Sta. Marta (Fixós) in the mid-thirteenth century: AHN, Clero, carp. 1329D, no. 23 (11.4.1259). A later example of the survival of Visigothic forms is seen in a deed from the nearby parish of Sta. María de Ferro: 1325H, no 19 (1191).

7. Between 1152 and 1175, the following scribes wrote deeds for townhouses: Fernandus Lombardus (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 8bis); Rudericus (1325D, no. 13; Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, pergaminos sueltos, no. 48); Petrus (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, nos. 12, 22, 23, 24, 25; 1325E, nos. 4, 5, 6, 12; 1126, no. 19); Tomás Petrides (1325D, nos. 17, 18; 1325E, no. 2); Romanus (1325E, nos. 7, 18bis, 19bis, 20, 21; 1325F, nos. 2, 15, 18); Johannes (1325E, no. 15; 1325F, nos. 6, 12); Johannes
diversity speaks of a singular moment in the history of the city and the history of writing in Galicia. Like other towns in northern Iberia, Lugo had received an influx of foreigners in the first half of the twelfth century, and the names of some scribes, like Fernandus Lombardus and Iohannes Rollandus, imply their foreign origins. Foreign scribes and a new generation of native clerics hastened the demise of the Visigothic script, and its lingering legacy was increasingly a mark of generational differences or marginalization from centers of education and ecclesiastical culture. With the growing demand for written records, scribes practiced in the art of the book turned to writing charters. At the same time, clerics moved between Galician sees and the Leonese royal chancery, and the chancery came to set a standard for the writing and embellishment of charters.

Together, these circumstances help explain the variety of these charters. Two are signed by Rudericus, whose old-fashioned script preserved Visigothic forms: the open a and g, high-shouldered r, t with a left bow, ligatures with the tall e, and such suspension marks as the dotted bar and superscript s. Other scribes displayed singular features too. Fernandus Lombardus regularly used the e caudata, the stylized et ligature, and large superscript vowels — including u — in abbreviations. One Petrus authored a large charter for the sale of urban property for the considerable sum of 520 Angevin solidi. He tended to separate his letters clearly, leaving ample spaces between the shafts of individual letters. Despite the importance of the transaction, his large, upright and open hand seems unpracticed, an impression confirmed by corrections in the text and odd features of its phrasing and orthography.

By contrast, another Petrus executed ten of the deeds for townhouses, including nine of the nineteen dated between 1152 and 1165. Six of these record acquisitions by the

Rollandus (1325F, nos. 11, 13, 14, 15bis). Three others named Petrus were responsible for 1325D, no. 16; 1325E, nos. 8, 11. One damaged charter bears no scribe's name; 1325D, no. 20.


9. In 1158, Ferdinand II confirmed the concession of the royal chancery to the archbishop of Compostela by his father, Alfonso VII. In the unified kingdom of León-Castile, Compostela had competed with Toledo, and there had been more sees for the placement of royal clerks: Bernard Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157, Philadelphia, 1998, pp. 147-148. For the chancery of Ferdinand II: Agustín Millares Carlo, « La cancillería real en León y Castilla hasta fines del reinado de Fernando III », in Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español, vol. 3 (1926), pp. 161-217, 219-237; Manuel Lucas Alvarez, Las cancillerías reales (1109-1230) (El Reino de León en la Alta Edad Media, 5), León, 1993 (Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 52), pp. 332-336, 349-399.

10. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 13 (28.12.1155); Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, pergaminos sueltos, no. 48 (16.4.1156).

11. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 8bis (18.8.1152). He used the et ligature for final syllables of words and, almost always, for the conjunction. The superscript u (« ueq », « communi », « ueremudi ») is virtually unique among these documents. In this transaction, three Melgorens solidi were earmarked « pro roboratone ».

12. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 11 (15.5.1165).

13. Lapses or errors in orthography include: « uxorori » for « uxorri », « uendioecnris » for « uendicio-nis ». He corrected « indebete » by writing I over e, and he transformed « uendo » to « uendimus ». Unusually, he specified the currency in a phrase separate from the price, « et ipsi supradicti quingenti et uiginti solidi fuerunt andigauensium ». 


episcopal chaplain, Fernandus Veremudi; two were for another priest and canon, Johannes Martini. Some of these deeds concern only modest portions purchased for a pittance, but their destination assured them a place in the archive. They should not, however, obscure the importance of the growing number of scribes whom lay townspeople and canons asked to write charters, even if fewer of these private documents found their way into the cathedral archive.

In fact, Petrus’ work for the episcopal chaplain was linked with his services to Bishop Johannes and other notables. Although he never bore the title of episcopal notary in an extant charter, he wrote three charters for the bishop between 1155 and 1171, and an agreement between the bishops of Oviedo and Lugo in 1154 listed « Petrus cancellarius episcopi » among the dignitaries of Lugo. In his most splendid charter, the bishop received a church from Count Rodericus Alvari of Sarria to compensate for his destruction of another. Eight days later, Petrus wrote a chirograph, witnessed by the cathedral dignitaries, canons and the burgheers of Lugo, for a related settlement between the count’s brother, Veremodus Alvari, and their mother, Countess Sancia. Petrus served dignitaries of the chapter as well. He signed one deed, « Petrus notuit, auctore Didaco primicerio », indicating that he wrote by license of the primicerius.

His earliest known document was written in 1148 for Judge Pelagius to record his purchase of a costly estate just outside the town. The judge evidently participated in drafting a text which, unusually, cites the Visigothic law code in its sanction. In fact, three autograph charters of the judge survive, and they display the tall, spidery Visigothic script of a magistrare who came to rely upon a young scribe trained in the new Caroline hand. In this early charter, Petrus exhibits features that would characterize his

14. Episcopal charters of Petrus: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 11 (2.6.1155); 1325E, nos. 18 (17.7.1168), 25 (27.3.1171). The title, « notarius episcopi », had been used once by the scribe Pelagius on a charter recording a donation to the see: 1325C, no. 10 (10.4.1122). His Caroline hand—one of the earliest in Lugo—and distinctive monogram are identifiable on other donation charters: 1325C, no. 4 (30.10.1113); he rose to be archdeacon and continued to write charters and sign them with his monogram: 1325C, no. 15 (12.6.1128). The agreement of 1154: Coleccion de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo, ed. by Santos Garcia Larraguet, Oviedo, 1962, doc. 163, pp. 411-414. Richard Fletcher tentatively linked it with the episcopal charters of Petrus: The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon in the Twelfth Century, Oxford, 1978, p. 98.


16. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 19 (4.3.1160). It records the private sale of an estate in a nearby parish. Although he uses « auctore », not « auctoritate », the phrase is like one of Tomas Petrides, cf. n. 26. He likely wrote an unsigned and undated inventory of properties lost to the chapter « per rapinam et sacrilegium »: 1326C, no. 3.

17. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 5 (17.5.1148). The price was 250 Melgorens solidi.


19. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325C, no. 6 (10.4.1118). He subscribed the witness list of another charter with his characteristic monogram, 1325C, no. 2 (16.5.1107), and he likely wrote two others which he signed with his monogram but without the title of judge: Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, libro 10, no. 6 (18.5.1112); AHN, Clero, carp. 1325C, no. 16 (15.7.1128). The former is a diploma of Queen Urraca:
hand throughout his career: small, unobtrusive abbreviation bars; compact lettering emphasizing regular base- and head-lines with serfs, head-strokes and uniform minims set closely together; and selective use of distinctive forms or embellishments like forked ascenders, the \textit{e caudata}, the S-like abbreviation of \textit{-orum}, and the \textit{et} ligature.

The surviving charters of Petrus span twenty-three years and range from sales of property for the trifling sum of nine \textit{denarii} to episcopal acts and agreements with leading notables\textsuperscript{20}. The smallest deeds fill irregular scraps of parchment, approximately 200 × 70-mm., and bear short lists of six witnesses; the largest private documents and most magnificent episcopal charters are more than 500 × 300 mm., with as many as twenty witnesses and ample space to spare. Not surprisingly, two different registers are distinguishable in these charters. In the more modest examples, short, thickened ascenders and broad, empty spaces between the lines of text accent the tight, uniform bands of lettering. In the most elaborate ones, enlarged letters and tall, slender ascenders span the spaces between the lines, and fine, calligraphic tail-strokes trail below the baseline\textsuperscript{21}. Even in these charters, the straight thrust of the ascenders, the truncated descendens of \textit{p} and \textit{q}, the long horizontal tail-stroke of the \textit{g}, and the careful restraint of the delicate curve of the tail-stroke of the \textit{s} underscore the compact rows of minims and bows that join together to highlight the base- and head-lines of his text. At the same time, elements of the more calligraphic style upgraded the opening lines, calendar clauses or witness lists of charters written in the more restrained manner\textsuperscript{22}.

More revealing are the variant forms which Petrus freely combined in individual charters, or used separately in different ones. Some choices illustrate his consciousness of appropriate repertoires for different degrees of formality, but other free variants, like the alternate forms of the \textit{g}, \textit{E}, \textit{N}, \textit{U}, \textit{Q}, double-curve \textit{s} and abbreviation for \textit{con-}, are not easily correlated with the formality of the script or its changes over his career. Instead, they reflect the complex circumstances in which the caroline script took hold in mid-twelfth-century Lugo as scribes of diverse backgrounds brought varied repertories and styles to their task, and no individuals or institutions dominated the education of these clerics or production of charters. Moreover, the growing importance of written deeds encouraged a search for a suitable style and a self-conscious experimentation with varied letter forms and flourishes in a craft not yet reduced to routine.

The career of Petrus shows the office of episcopal notary taking shape, even if the title is absent from his surviving documents. In December 1177, a scribe signed a charter as «\textit{Tomas presbyter et notarius tocius civitatis}», marking the first appearance of a town notary\textsuperscript{23}. This sale of rural estates for just four Angevin \textit{solidi} is a precious bit of evidence, for King Ferdinand II granted the inhabitants of Lugo a charter and

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{20} The charters signed by Petrus and attributable to this one scribe are: \textit{AHN}, Clero, carp. 1325D, nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25; 1325E, nos. 4, 5, 12, 18, 23, 24, 25; 1325F, no. 3; 1126, no. 19. In addition, an unsigned chirograph and an inventory are attributable to him: 1325E, no. 6; 1326C, no. 3.

\textsuperscript{21} The finest is the settlement between the bishop and Count Rodericus Aluari, cited above, n. 15.

\textsuperscript{22} The best example of this hybrid style is an episcopal charter rewarding a carpenter for his work on the bishop’s palace by granting him a nearby property for a token rent. \textit{AHN}, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 25 (27.3.1171).

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{AHN}, Clero, carp. 1334, no. 5 (17.12.1177).
confirmed the privileges of his predecessors that very month\textsuperscript{24}. That must have led to the creation of the notary’s office, and, perhaps, motivated the writing of a charter for even this modest transaction\textsuperscript{25}.

Tomas Petrides had worked as a scribe in Lugo since at least 1158. Five more charters of his reveal a scribe whose indifferent training is only thinly disguised by a penchant for extravagant decoration\textsuperscript{26}. His work is often marred by an irregular spacing and alignment of letters, words and lines. Most of his charters display visible corrections: overwritten and altered letters, interlinear additions, washed or struck-out words, and expunction by dots placed below and above the line\textsuperscript{27}. Unusual spellings appear in his first charter, and his orthography changed with time\textsuperscript{28}.

One of Tomas’ earliest charters hints at a connection with the court that helps explain his style\textsuperscript{29}. Its calendar clause refers to the recent death of Alfonso VII, mentions Ferdinand II, and names seven local officials. At this date, long calendar clauses listing officials were unusual in Lugo, and it was rare to cite the king at all\textsuperscript{30}. Tomas went further by alluding to the king’s aspirations to an imperial title, « Regnante Frederando (sic) regne nondum imperator ». It was a timely comment. The king’s elder brother, King Sancho III of Castile, had died on August 31, leaving his realm to his infant son, Alfonso VIII, and arousing Ferdinand’s ambition to reunite his father’s domains and assume his imperial title\textsuperscript{31}. The news found Ferdinand in the Asturias, and, in September, he travelled to Compostela, undoubtedly passing through Lugo. That month, the scribe’s allusion to the imperial title surely echoed the earliest responses of the king and court to the new political landscape.

Tomas had pretensions of his own. With calligraphic flourishes, he emulated Leonese

\begin{enumerate}
\item[25.] The brief appearance of « alcaldes » in subsequent documents also suggests that the royal \textit{fuen} led to the creation or reorganization of municipal offices : AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, nos. 1 (24.6.1179), 16 (9.3.1183).
\item[26.] AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, nos. 17 (13.7.1158, « Tomas »), 18 (26.9.1158, « Tomas ... ex auctoritate primiclerus ») ; 1325E, nos. 2 (19.6.1163, « Tomas presbyter »), 17 (9.4.1168, « Tomas Petrides ») ; 1325F, no. 7 (25.6.1172, « Tomas presbyter »). 
\item[27.] E.g., « fillas » was overwritten as « fillas » (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 17). He altered letters to change « ... do uobis eam integram et concedo. Accipio ... » to « damus uobis eam integram et concedimus. Accipimus ... », and, presumably while writing, he eliminated « meis » by expunction and followed it with « nostris » (1325E, no. 2). He added « Que vadit » between lines to replace « qua itur » in the text, and he crossed out two other words (1325E, no. 17). In another case, he began the confirmation on the same line as the calendar clause, abandoned the effort after the initial \textit{E}, and dedicated a fresh line below to the entire clause (1325F, no. 7).
\item[28.] He wrote « robaratur » for « roboratur », « purgo nouo » for « burgo novo », and abbreviated « presbyter » as « pbrt » (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 17). In his charters of 1158, he regularly used an \textit{i} with a short descender for the assimilated \textit{ti} but, afterwards, \textit{ci} or \textit{z} replaced such syllables. His handling of patronyms varied as well. 
\item[29.] AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 18.
\item[30.] Tomas’ contemporary, Petrus, for example, sometimes cited the bishop and/or his \textit{maiorinus}, but he separated such clauses (« Facta est tempore ... », « existente maiorino ... ») from the date, by placing them within the witness list. He only included the king in the cited agreement between the bishop and count Rodericus, n. 15.
\item[31.] J. González, \textit{Regesta ...}, pp. 35-37.
\end{enumerate}
royal charters and the papal privileges which bishops of Lugo had solicited assiduously\textsuperscript{32}. His earliest charters of 1158 introduce decorative mannerisms that would recur throughout his work: the fractured bows on the enlarged q and O, the extended ascenders of the opening line, and the stretching of the double-curve s placed on its back. His fanciest extant charter records a sale by a canon, his sister and her husband in 1168\textsuperscript{33}. The short preamble is Tomas’ most elaborate\textsuperscript{34}. It calls attention to the display of the page, and the opening line is smartly decorated with papal knots, looped ascenders and a crisscrossing st ligature. Elsewhere in the charter, the rippled st and ct ligatures, the elaborate L-shaped head-stroke of the E, and the exaggerated flattening of the s all show the scribe dressing up this document with forms from the papal and royal chanceries\textsuperscript{35}. The ct ligature is particularly revealing of how such special efforts affected the scribe’s ordinary work. Tomas had ignored the widely-used ligature in his earlier documents, but, once tried, his distinctive rendering of it as a rippled abbreviation mark recurred in both his later charters.

Most striking are the ways Tomas embellished the confirmation, his signature and the episcopal signum. He normally completed the confirmation by sketching one or more hands\textsuperscript{36}. In his first two charters, Tomas signed his own name with tall, slender capitals whose feathery ascenders were pressed closely together, enclosing smaller letters\textsuperscript{37}.

---


\textsuperscript{33} AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 17.

\textsuperscript{34} « Licet inter uendentes et ementes sola ueritas sufficiat, tamen pro longo tempore cursu litterarum pagina est adhibenda ». It is closely based on one used earlier by Fernandus Lombardus.

\textsuperscript{35} The papal knot appears often in charters of Ferdinand II, and, at this time, it was particularly favored by the notary, Pelagius Gutierrez (1168-72) : J. González, Regesta ..., pp. 169-170, 196-198, pls. II, IV, VII. In a royal diploma granted to Lugo cathedral in the presence of the papal legate, he chose the papal knot throughout and embellished the witness list with the stretched and flattened s : Archivo de la Catedral de Lugo, libro 10, no. 12 (1.5.1172). Many of these forms would have been prominent in a privilege issued by pope Alexander III to Bishop Iohannes (28.1.1161), if we may judge from the contemporary one granted to the Cistercian abbey of Meira in the diocese of Lugo : AHN, Clero, carp. 1126, no. 10 (10.2.1161).

\textsuperscript{36} Tomas once followed the hand with a simple cross, and in two of the more decorated charters, he added a long bar with cross-strokes and other adornments. For such representations of hands : Rogelio Pacheco Sampedro, « El ‘signum manuum’ en el cartulario del monasterio de San Juan de Caaveiro (s. IX-XIII) », in Signo. Revista de historia de la cultura escrita, vol. 4 (1997), pp. 27-37. María Isabel Ostoalza, « La validación en los documentos del occidente hispánico (s. X-XII). Del signum crucis al signum manus », in Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden : Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik, ed. by Peter Rück, Sigmaringen, 1996, pp. 453-462. Four of the five twelfth-century examples she illustrates (figs. 40-43) are by Tomas.

\textsuperscript{37} Similar versions of litterae elongatae commonly highlighted names, key words and the opening lines in papal documents and contemporary royal charters from Portugal and León, and scribes used them for signatures there as well, e.g., a document of 1102 from Sahagún, Agustín Millares Carlo, Tratado de paleografía española, Madrid, 1983, vol. 2, pl. 143, and a royal charter of Afonso Henriques of Portugal (7.7.1140), Isaías da Rosa Pereira, « Symboles graphiques dans les chartes médiévales portugaises », in Graphische Symbole ..., ed. by P. Rück, pp. 491-502, on p. 499.
Later, he framed his signature, and, in his most elaborate charter, he pinned the letters of his name to the points of a star and completed the word, *notuit*, within it. Tomas, however, reserved some of the most prominent decoration for the bishop's *signum*. In the charters of 1158, he set the bishop's name within a large quatrefoil, and, once, he used the tall, compressed lettering with which he accented his own signature. As a design which complemented the cross, the quatrefoil was common in confirmation clauses. Scribes fashioned elegant versions for the nobility, and it would enjoy a long life as the matrix for innumerable notarial marks. Tomas varied it four times for the episcopal *signum*, but, twice, he adopted the *rota* instead.

In his classic study of the *signo rodado* in the royal chanceries of León and Castile, Eitel traced its origins to the appropriation of the papal *rota* by the Compostelan prelates who sought to stress their ties with Rome and the apostolicity of their own see, and he explained the examples of the episcopal *rota* in the neighboring dioceses of Lugo and Mondoñedo as a consequence of Compostelan practice. In Lugo, it first appeared under Bishop Guido, as a simplification of the *rota* of Diego Gelmírez of Compostela. Eitel, however, conceded that scribes exercised considerable license in rendering the *rota* of Bishop Iohannes. One must go further: for this prelate, using the *rota* was the scribes' choice, not the bishop's. Petrus, who served the bishop, ignored it. He included an episcopal *signum* in two episcopal acts: one was a carefully drawn hand holding a crosier, the other a modestly decorated cross. Earlier, the scribe, Gutterrius, traced an irregularly lobed circle, inscribed it with the bishop's name, and added a crudely sketched hand and crosier for the bishop's confirmation of an agreement with a townsman.

Tomas used the *rota* as an episcopal *signum* in private charters of 1168 and 1177.

---

38. There are local twelfth-century examples of the letters of a scribe's name arranged on the corners of a geometric figure or within the petals of a lobed design, e.g., AHN, Clero, carp. 1595, no. 14 (Oviedo cathedral, 19.3.1197) or the notarial mark of Martinus in the privileg of queen Urraca written by judge Pelagius, cf. n. 19. Thirteenth-century Galician notaries adopted similar patterns, and their popularity in Compostela suggests a tradition there: Manuel Lucas Alvarez, «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, Valencia 1986, Valencia, 1989, vol. 1, pp. 331-480, illustrated on pp. 382, 392, 440-446.

39. Bishop Pelagius of Tui used a cross-in-quatrefoil as his *signum* on an episcopal act, Archivo de la Catedral de Tui, carp. 14, no. 10 (28.2.1138), and the diocese of León offers contemporary examples with the bishop's name inside: R. Fletcher, *The Episcopate* ..., p. 110. In Lugo, Petrus drew particularly fine ones for Count Rodericus Alvari and his brother Veremudus Alvari: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 23, 24.


41. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325C, no. 22bis (23.8.1137); 1325D, no. 2 (15.3.1147). Though separated by ten years and executed by two different scribes, the two are quite similar: a cross divides the circle into four quadrants, and the bishop's name is written in each cross-arm, beginning from a G placed at its center.


43. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 18 (17.7.1168), 25 (27.3.1171).

44. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325D, no. 9 (31.1.1155). The hand with a cross or crosier appears as an episcopal *signum* in the neighboring dioceses of Oviedo and León: R. Fletcher, *The Episcopate* ..., p. 110. Those from Oviedo represent the bishop's confirmation with a more carefully drawn hand holding a cross: AHN, Clero, carp. 1595, nos. 5 (1.6.1128), 6 (8.1133).
and these are indebted to the royal *signum* introduced in the chancery of Ferdinand II from the beginning of his reign\(^45\). Specifically, Tomas broke the outer band of the circle with four evenly spaced bars, each framed by a pair of thin lines. These bars separate the words, « *Signum Iohannis Lucensis episcopi* », just as similar bars separated the words of the legend on the royal *signum*. Inside the unbroken circular field, he replaced the royal lion with a cross.

Two contemporaries followed Tomas in choosing the *rota* as an episcopal *signum*. Their work confirms the initiative of the scribe in designing the *signum* to enhance the aspect of private charters. Johannes wrote seven surviving private charters between 1167 and 1179, and the *rota* appears on the last four (*pl. 85*)\(^46\). Unlike those of Tomas, all are based on the Compostelan design that had inspired the simple *rota* of Bishop Guido: a cross divides the circle into four quadrants, the bishop’s name is in each cross-arm, but there is no legend or title\(^47\). In three cases, the cross of the *rota* is superimposed upon three concentric squares whose corners are pulled outwards\(^48\). Johannes made this pattern the backdrop for his own cross-in-quatrefoil sign in the first of these charters\(^49\). The affinities between his own marks and the *rota* go beyond these graphic details. In each of his four different marks, Johannes simulated wheeling motion by superimposing forms on different axes and trailing long streamers from the corners of geometric figures.

For Johannes, adding the *rota* was—but one more step in the elaboration of his work. In his second surviving charter, he included the bishop and his officers in the calendar clause, added a royal fine to the sanction, and isolated his enlarged sign between the columns of witnesses\(^50\). In the third, he expanded the preamble\(^51\). To some extent, these changes kept pace with increasingly expensive transactions recorded on progressively

---

45. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 17 ; 1334, no. 5 ; on the Leonese royal *signum*, see, most recently, José Antonio Martín Fuertes, « El signum regis en el Reino de León (1157-1230). Notas sobre su simbolismo », in *Graphische Symbole...*, ed. by P. Rück, pp. 463-478.

46. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 15 (19.10.1167) ; 1325F, nos. 6 (25.4.1172), 12 (20.1.1174), 16 (14.10.1174), 25 (31.3.1175), 16bis (5.1175) ; 1325G, no. 2 (25.6.1179). He uses a small, neat book script in closely spaced lines, with a marked contrast between the short, thick strokes of letters and abbreviation marks, and long, hairline serifs, like that of the cross-stroke of the final *e*. The ascenders are short and elegantly finned, while *r* and *s* dip slightly below the line. Distinctive features include the dotted abbreviation bar in his subscription and the witness lists, the 2 and figure-eight abbreviation marks for *ur*, the *e cauda*, the closed lower bow of *g*, a relatively frequent use of the uncial *d* with a very short ascender, and an avoidance of the *or* ligature.

47. Twice (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 25, 16bis), Johannes did add bars in the outer border.

48. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 16, 25, 16bis.

49. Two local scribes adapted this design for their own marks and borrowed other features from Johannes (*pl. 85*). Nuno, AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 7 (29.1.1181) ; and another Johannes, 1325G, no. 5 (4.4.1180).

50. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 6.

51. He began his first with « In dei nomine », and his second with the stock phrase, « Rectum scribi quod non opponeat obliuisci. Sub Christi nomine... ». For the third (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 12), he adopted a preamble used by Fernandus Lombardus and Tomas (n. 34), and he began his last four charters, « Sapientis hominis est ut illa hereditas que iusto pretio emitur litteris memoretur, ne in futuro tempore obliuioni tradatur ». 
larger parchments. Like Tomas, however, Iohannes enriched his ordinary repertory with elements from charters of special importance. Once introduced, the changes in the preamble, sanction and calendar clause were never abandoned, even when later charters recorded minor transactions. That provides the context for understanding his conspicuous display of the episcopal rota and the interplay between its design and his own mark. The highlighting of the name Iohannes with no accompanying title blurred the distinction between the two marks, and this ambiguity triumphed in two of his last charters where the rota appeared alone and, in effect, doubled as the scribe’s own mark.

The most complex examples of the rota of Bishop Iohannes are in the charters of Iohannes Rollandus (pls. 86, 88). This priest was first cited in Lugo in 1174, but his hand appears from 1171 on charters signed simply « Iohannes ». By 1183, he was a canon, and he remained one for more than forty years. During that time, he received a bequest from a woman who called him her teacher, and the street where he lived bore his name. Early in his career, he was a scribe of some repute whose services were sought for more expensive transactions before the new notary of the town monopolized their issuance.

In 1177, he wrote his most important surviving charter for Dean Rudericus Menendi, whose endowment helped inaugurate the new book of anniversaries (pl. 87). Its large size, its embellishment with small capitals, the full titles of the dignitaries, the use of the year of the Incarnation instead of the Spanish era, and, most notably, a sixty-word preamble with ample periods exhorting clerics to give to their churches, all distinguish

52. The first was for 10 denarii and a « medalium » (191 x 99 mm); the second for 15 Anglevin solidi (314 x 143 mm); the third for 50 Anglevin solidi (329 x 176 mm). The others ranged from 7½ to 68½ Anglevin solidi.

53. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 16bis (14 Anglevin solidi); 1325G, no. 2 (7½ Anglevin solidi).


55. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 17 (16.4.1183); he is last titled as canon in: 1327B, no. 20 (24.11.1224). He is listed among other canons but without any title in: 1327B, no. 25 (31.8.1225).


57. AHN, Clero, carp. 1334, no. 4 (12.10.1177). The existing Book of Anniversaries (AHN, Códices, 1040B, 1041B, 1042B, published in S. Jiménez Gómez, « O ‘Memorial de Aniversarios’ ... ») was compiled in the late 1220s, but its earliest dated entry is from 1176, three years after the reform of the chapter. It replaced an earlier book of which only one leaf with seven entries covering a three-week period remains (AHN, Códices, 1042B, fol. 24-v). The earliest of these is from 1196, consistent with the inauguration of the anniversaries after the capitular reforms.
this document. The importance of the patron and the occasion certainly warranted this treatment. Rudericus had been a clerk of King Ferdinand II. Archdeacon of Lugo by 1165, he rose to dean in 1167, served as royal chancellor in 1170 and, in 1181, became bishop, though his episcopate was cut short by his death the next year.

But the scribe's contribution cannot be ignored. Several features with which he adorned this charter had occasionally surfaced in his earlier work: the A with no crossbar; the flattened s, like that in his chrismon; the s-like abbreviation of -orum; the R in sacred names and places of emphasis; and the frequent use of m with a closed bow to end words. Johannes Rollandus named the dean in his calendar clauses from December 1173 until his elevation to the episcopacy, and he wrote up the will of Archdeacon Suarius in 1183 before the prelate left for Rome. The surname, Rollandus, and his long absences from Lugo suggest that he was a foreigner, and it is tempting to see the showy charter of 1177 as a display piece by a young cleric whose road to preferment would be cut off by the untimely death of his patron.

This scribe's association with the chapter in the years of the capitol reform helps explain why he included features of the papal rota in his version of the episcopal rota (pls. 86, 88). In the earliest ones to bear the bishop's name, he added abbreviations for the title, « episcopus lucensis », in the upper quadrants of a circle quartered by a cross inscribed with the bishop's name on each cross-arm. In 1173, he replaced the plain outline with two concentric circular borders, each broken by four thick bars, like the royal signum. The outer border bore the phrase, « signum Iohannis lucensis episcopi ».

58. The preamble reads, « Qui de facultatibus sustentantur ecclesie nesses est ut de rebus propriis, si quas habere noscuntur, utilitatis ecclesie obsequium impendere studeant, et res suas, quas uel parentibus non reliquerunt uel pauperibus non distribuerunt, ecclesie rebus adiungere, ne, si ecclesiam de sui grauauerint expensis et unde pauperes uicturi erant expenderi, de patrimonio pauperum Christi sint redditiuri rationem et graue incurrunt periculum, manducantes et bibentes sibi iuditium ».

59. In 1155, the future king, Ferdinand II, confirmed his inheritance of the monastery of San Lorenzo de Caldelas which Alfonso VII had granted to his father, Menendes Menendi. He referred to him as « Roderico Menendi clerico meo »: AHN, Codices, 1043B (Tumbo Viejo de Lugo), doc. 30, fol. 18-v.

60. He must be distinguished from another Archdeacon Rudericus, documented from 1154 to 1176, who served as « prior in canonic » between 1155 and 1166, and had his own anniversary established in 1176. Both witnessed an episcopal lease of 8.11.1175: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 19 (pl. 89). Rudericus Menendi first appears as archdeacon as the last of the dignitaries in the witness list of a charter of 27.9.1165: 1325E, no. 12. He was the first to hold the new title of « decanus » at Lugo, a sign of his association with the capitol reforms: El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII-XII), ed. by Manuel Lucas Alvarez, Santiago de Compostela, 1986, doc. 51 (4.5.1167), pp. 149-52. He is mentioned once as royal chancellor in a charter of Ferdinand II issued in Lugo in May, 1170, « decano domno Rudericio cancellario », J. González, Regesta ..., p. 415; Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes, ed. by Pilar Loscertales de G. de Valdeavellano, Madrid, 1976, vol. 2, doc. 26, pp. 49-50. On his tenure as bishop: Richard Fletcher, « Obispos olvidados del siglo XII de las diocesis de Mondoñedo y Lugo », in Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos, vol. 28 (1973), pp. 318-325, on pp. 322-323.

61. In 1172 he mentioned Dean Rudericus Didaz, but this unique reference is likely an error of the young scribe: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 5 (pl. 86); the will of archdeacon Suarius: 1325G, no. 18.

62. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 5, 11. In his first charter, he drew a cross in a circle with no lettering, and set it within a rugged border as if it were patched to the parchment (pl. 88). He often framed his chrismon similarly.

63. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 10, 13, 14, 15bis. In the first of these, the scribe wrote « sigillum » in place of « signum », and the rota is smaller than the later ones. Other features – the unframed chrismon, the long descender and head-stroke of the g, the placement and phrasing of the
while the inner one exhibited the liturgical refrain, « Christus uincit, regnat et imperat ». Inside, Iohannes drew a cross like those Tomas had placed in the rota (pl. 88). By 1175, Iohannes combined his two earlier designs in a simpler hybrid: a cross divided the circle into four quadrants, and the name, Iohannes, appeared on each cross-bar, emanating from the I at the center; the legend, « Christus uincit ... », was deployed in the outer border with each word isolated by a triple bar aligned with the end of a cross-arm. After the death of Bishop Iohannes in 1181, Iohannes Rollandus dispensed with the rota, and displayed a more conventional scribe’s mark: a cross within a quatrefoil highlighted by streamers extending from its angles.

Iohannes Rollandus’ easy substitution of his own mark for the rota is less surprising when one observes how his changes in the rota had gone hand-in-hand with changes in his subscription. In three of his earliest charters, he signed, « Iohannes notuit », in letters like those throughout the witness list, but he placed his signature at right angles to the text, a practice with a prestigious pedigree in Lugo itself (pl. 86). Once he elaborated the rota, he signed next to it and extended the ascenders to equal the diameter of the rota (pl. 88). He adhered to this style of subscription for the rest of his career. After eliminating the rota, he, at first, enhanced his own signature with the papal knot. Even if Iohannes Rollandus acknowledged the papal origins of the rota with his rendering of it, its prominence evidently owed much to his own taste for display, manifested as well in the large, framed chrismon, the flourishes ending the corroboration, and the sketching of hands for the confirmation, as in the charters of Tomas (pl. 86).

In the work of Tomas, Iohannes and Iohannes Rollandus, the scribe’s initiative largely determined the character of the episcopal signum in private charters where it contributed as much to their appearance as to their validation. The disappearance of the rota after the death of Bishop Iohannes signalled more than a change in the leadership of the see. In the second half of the twelfth century, the sealing of documents gradually eclipsed the drawn signum as a means of episcopal validation, and the new method hardly left the authors of private charters the same scope for imitation. At the same time, the growing importance of written instruments, the consequent rise in the status of scribes, and the competition among them encouraged decoration and made the scribe’s own mark more crucial to the apparatus of validation. The establishment of the office of town notary in 1177 was a turning point in these developments. It is no accident that Iohannes wrote his last surviving charter in 1179, and that Iohannes Rollandus, though documented in Lugo until 1224, wrote only two surviving charters — both relatively modest ones, after 1183. During the long tenure of Romanus, the second notary of the

calendar clause, and the closing of the c by joining it to the following letter — set this less careful piece apart without warranting attribution to another scribe.

64. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 17.
65. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 1, 5, 11. Petrus signed this way in four surviving charters, three of them from 1171: 1325D, no. 24; 1325E, nos. 23, 25; 1126, no. 19. For earlier examples in Lugo, including some in the Visigothic script: 1325C, nos. 6 (10.4.1118, « Pelagius iudex »), 8 (16.1.1119, « Martinus tesaurarius »), 22bis (23.8.1137, « Didacus »).
66. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, nos. 14, 19. He had used the papal knot in his subscription to the dean’s charter of 1177.
67. He often closed the corroboration clause by ending « robur » with V and R and linking a series of crosses within a multilobed design. He sketched hands in all of his private charters through 1183.
town, his office would gradually monopolize the production of private charters of any importance.

The first notary, Tomas, did not hold office for very long. By March 1178, three months after Tomas' sole appearance as notary, Romanus Veremudius assumed the title. Romanus had written twelve extant charters between 1164 and 1177. By 1175, he was ordained a priest, and, in June 1179, he was titled as canon. Romanus was notary for forty-six years, and wrote over 120 surviving charters, including several for the bishop, chapter, dignitaries and canons. In addition, he employed at least seven scribes who signed an additional twenty-four charters, mostly in the last decade of his life when old age obviously hindered his writing.

His early work neatly documents his appropriation of the episcopal signum. At first, Romanus ended the confirmation clause with various forms of the cross-in-quatrefoil, but, by 1171, he substituted the stylized trefoil (pl. 90) he would place there for the rest of his career. Shortly before, he had shifted the cross-in-quatrefoil to the space between the clause and his own subscription, a prelude to adopting it as his own mark. In 1175, he prepared a charter for the bishop and replaced his own mark with an episcopal signum: a cross within a lozenge whose outer border was inscribed, « Signum domini Iohannis lucensis episcopi » (pl. 89). He reproduced a similar signum in a private charter of 1177, the year before he became notary. In March 1180, as notary, he omitted the legend, and, in May 1181, he added a new one, « Signum domini Ihesu Christi », which he retained for nearly a year. Meanwhile, Bishop Iohannes had died and, after the brief tenure of the former dean, Rudericus Menendi, the see passed to Rudericus Fernandi. In 1183, Romanus dropped the legend altogether, and the design that he had devised for the episcopal signum was soon fixed as the notarial mark that would identify him throughout his long career (pl. 90).

69. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 26 (31.3.1178) : « Romanus lucensis notarius notuit ».
70. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 7 (18.11.1164, 4½ Leonese solidi), 13 (20.9.1166, 13 Angevin solidi), 18bis (29.8.1168, 10 Angevin solidi), 19bis (5.1.1170, 50 Angevin solidi), 20 (22.2.1170, 21 Angevin denarii), 21 (15.1.1170, 20 Angevin denarii) ; 1325F, nos. 2 (1.5.1171, 11 denarii), 15 (8.10.1174, 3 Angevin solidi), 18 (29.8.1175, 5 Angevin solidi), 19 (8.11.1175), 19bis (9.6.1176), 23 (30.4.1177, 25 Angevin solidi). He may also have written an unsigned chirograph for the bishop ; 1325F, no. 24 (1175).
71. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 18 : « Romanus presbyter notuit » ; 1325G, no. 1 (24.6.1179) « Romanus presbyter canonicus et notarius lucensis notuit ». The latter is a later copy, but Romanus signed an original charter of 18.3.1180 the same way : 1325G, no. 4.
72. R. Fletcher called attention to the large number of his charters : The Episcopate ..., pp. 104-105. Besides those from the archive of Lugo cathedral (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F-H, 1326A-H, 1327A-B), others by Romanus include : 1129, no. 8 (26.4.1199) ; 1082, no. 19 (25.VI.1202) ; 498, nos. 11, 12 (4.9.1209).
73. This design, resembling a fleur de lis or unfolding bud placed on its side, makes its debut in AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 2. It was regularly used after 1180. He had once drawn a hand : 1325E, no. 18bis.
74. He shifted the cross-in-quatrefoil in 1170 (AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 21) and used it as his own mark from 1171 to 1175 (1325F, nos. 2, 15, 18).
75. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 19.
76. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 23. Henceforth, he confined the cross to the inner lozenge.
77. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, nos. 4 (18.3.1180), 9 (18.5.1181). The legend was used with minor variants, e.g. « signum domini nostri ihesu christi », in 1325G, nos. 10 (29.5.1181), 12 (21.1.1182).
79. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 15 (13.2.1183).
The evolution of the form and function of such signs was but one episode in the young scribe’s search for a style. Most of his early charters recorded minor sales, and this suggests that he was overshadowed by more talented scribes like Johannes Rollandus, or more experienced ones like Petrus. In fact, he wrote four modest deeds for the one-time episcopal chaplain, Fernandus Veremundus. Petrus had prepared six similar charters for him between 1162 and 1164, and he likely delegated this task to the young scribe whose work bore his imprint. In three of these charters and one written for another canon, Romanus paraphrased the ending of a sanction favored by Petrus, but the phrases vanished from his repertory when Petrus ceased to be active in Lugo. For more expensive transactions, Romanus sometimes expanded the dating formula with the names of the bishop and his officials, but, like Petrus, he separated this clause from the date itself. In 1175, however, he adopted the style of Tomas and added one continuous clause, « Facta/Factum est era ... tempore regis ... », to the body of the text. Once he succeeded Tomas as notary, he made that his standard practice and passed it on to his successors.

Pinpointing sources for the script of Romanus is harder, for he experimented with an eclectic variety of letter forms and flourishes in his earliest charters. Some were quickly forgotten, like the reversed c abbreviation for con-, the stretched and flattened s that Johannes Rollandus, Tomas and others called upon for decoration, or the enlarged q of « qui presentes fuerant » which he replaced with a capital Q. Other early features would endure as trade marks of his work: the a with a flat head-stroke; the long cross-stroke of the e; the limp, drooping curves of the ct ligature and hook-like tongues of the E and F; and the places where enlarged letters opened key clauses. At the same time, he shunned other forms and embellishments popular with his contemporaries. He virtually never used the uncial d with a short ascender, and he tried the S-like abbreviation for -orum only in an episcopal document of 1177 and a modest deed done early the following year.

This singular recurrence of a distinctive abbreviation in two successive documents illustrates one way Romanus’ script developed. Important assignments led him to try new forms or revive older ones, and these unusually splendid charters had an impact on his later work. In 1181, barely three years after becoming notary, Romanus wrote a huge charter for a nobleman’s sale of a large rural estate for 100 maravedis. Only seven

80. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 7, 20, 21 ; 1325F, no. 2.
81. With slight variations, the phrase is, « ... hoc factum nullomodo irruempere queat, sed firmum et stabile in perpetuum habeatur ». Romanus used it in AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 7, 19bis, 20 and 21.
82. He placed the officeholders between the columns of the witness list on AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, no. 18bis and 1325F, no. 15. Petrus used similar arrangements: carp. 1325D, no. 12 ; 1325E, nos. 18, 23.
83. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 18. Tomas had used this style consistently from 1163 onwards, and, in fact, he headed the witness list in the charter in which Romanus definitively adopted his dating formula.
84. The reversed c, sometimes used by Petrus, was replaced by the more widespread comma-like sign after Romanus’ second extant charter of 1166. The flattened s began the sanction in his earliest charter, and closed the abbreviations of « testis » in the witness list of his third surviving charter: AHN, Clero, carp. 1325E, nos. 7, 18bis. The enlarged q appears in six of his first nine extant charters, but never after 1175. It was sometimes used by Petrus and Iohannes, and regularly by Tomas with a fractured bow.
85. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, nos. 24, 26.
86. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 10 (483 × 286 mm.). Documents from Lugo of 1179 and 1177 assign the maravedi a value of six (1325G, no. 1) or six and a half (1325F, no. 23) Angevin solidi. The
extant charters from the notary’s whole career involved comparable sums, and the commission gave him a chance to demonstrate the stature of his new office. He left larger spaces between the fine, regular lines of text, lengthened the ascenders, looped those of s and f, and, at the ends of words, bent back the ascender of the tall s to form a hooked horizontal bar. The piece lacks the variety of flourishes that marks Iohannes Rollandus’ charter for the dean or the most extravagant displays by Tomas, but the subtle play of ascenders, loops and tail-strokes discloses a calligraphic sensibility that Romanus would summon for such occasions throughout his career. Romanus’ next surviving charter was written eight months later for a less expensive sale of suburban property, but it preserves the spirit of that extraordinary effort in its regular use of an entwined st ligature and looped ascenders for s and f.

In other ways, the charter of 1181 underlined a turning point in Romanus’ career that coincided with the end of the episcopate of Iohannes, the scribe’s establishment of his own notarial mark, and his embrace of the new status conferred by his office. Romanus wrote this piece with a very finely cut pen, and, to accent the delicacy of the trailing tail-strokes and attenuated ascenders, he left aside the fins with which, in the fashion of his contemporaries, he had customarily thickened the ascenders of b, d, h and l (pl. 89). This accelerated a process already underway, and, after 1183, such fins virtually disappeared from his writing. The self-conscious decoration of the tall s at the ends of words arrested another development by temporarily reversing his adoption of the double-curve s. Until he became notary, Romanus had limited the double-curve s to a few abbreviated words in set clauses: « testis », « solidos » and « kalendae ». From 1178 to 1181, he ended more and more words with it, but, after the charter of 1181, he went back to his earlier practice of reserving the double-curve s for a handful of abbreviations. In 1189, just as abruptly, he abandoned the tall s at the ends of words, and never returned to it.

Such instances suggest that extant charters constitute a fuller record of Romanus’ achievements than might be imagined, and that costly commissions were memorable enough to direct the subsequent course of his writing. What’s more, they show certain longlasting changes in his script taking place deliberately over short periods of months or years. One of his most distinctive letters, the F with a drooping tongue, began nearly all of his calendar clauses (« Factum est ... ») from his first charter until 1196 when he substituted a straight cross-stroke whose length might vary for emphasis (pls. 89, 90). The next year, the change was complete, but the earlier F retained a place of honor among the dividing capitals of chirographs and occasionally reappeared in calendar

solidus would depreciate to seven (1326C, no. 26, 12.5.1202) and eight to the maravedi (1326E, no. 3, 18.4.1205 ; 1083, no. 16, 10.3.1224) over Romanus’ career.

87. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 12 (l05 Anjevin solidi).

88. The last charter of his with any significant use of them is : AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 15 (13.2.1183).

89. The last charter in which he regularly ended words with the tall s recorded a sale of a share of a townhouse to a canon : AHN, Clero, carp. 1325H, no. 9 (16.2.1189). Soon after, he exclusively used the double-curve s to end words in a otherwise similar charter : 1325H, no. 10 (25.3.1189).

90. Before 1196, the F with a horizontal cross-stroke began the calendar clause of only three charters for private sales of rural estates, two of them for very low prices : AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, nos. 9 (18.5.1181, 75 Anjevin solidi), 15 (13.2.1183, 20 Anjevin solidi) ; 1326A, no. 7 (24.4.1194, 12 Anjevin solidi).
clauses, usually for charters of importance\(^9\). The tongued E (pl. 89) met a similar fate. It had typically occurred several times in a charter, so its replacement by the enlarged e with a thin, rising cross-stroke was a slower and more irregular process. Nonetheless, after 1197, it, too, was reserved almost entirely for the capitals of chirographs and the texts of episcopal charters\(^2\).

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Romanus had established his script and standardized the clauses of his charters, but these special uses of the E and F are reminders that the formality of his script, the spaciousness and regularity of the layout, the extent of a charter’s embellishment, and the choice of letter forms and phrases might still vary with the nature of a transaction and its protagonists. What’s more, Romanus’ sixty-year career ensured that there would be marked differences between the experimentation of his earliest charters, the sure hand of his mature work, and the shaky, irregular script of his old age and infirmity.

Less certain is the nature of his relationship with the scribes who wrote charters for him, or the reason for the delegation of the earlier ones by a notary who wrote his own charters for large and small transactions. The earliest surviving examples were written by the subdeacon Petrus for private sales of townhouses in 1195 and 1196\(^3\). His script so closely resembles that of Romanus, that he was likely educated and trained by the notary. In fact, Petrus reproduced the notary’s clauses, imitated his trefoil flourish at the end of the confirmation clause, and, in the second charter, copied Romanus’ notarial mark as well\(^4\). For more than twenty-five years, Petrus wrote modest charters on his own for transfers of rural properties in parishes near Lugo\(^5\). In these, he followed the blueprint of the charters of Romanus, but he developed his own mark, a cross-in-quatrefoil with corner streamers. By contrast, the lone charter written for Romanus by Pelagius differs from the notary’s script and style of redaction\(^6\). He drew skeletal letters in the calendar clause and witness list, filled in the broad outlines of his chrismon and cross-in-quatrefoil mark, and retained several features already left behind by Romanus:

\(^9\) After 1197, the earlier form of F began the calendar clause of the following charters: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326B, no. 15 (5.12.1199, 800 Angevin solidi) ; 1326C, nos. 15 (11.1.1202, 51 Turonian solidi), 20 (9.4.1202, 280 Turonian solidi) ; 1326D, nos. 17 (18.8.1203, an episcopal agreement), 19bis (27.3.1204, 80 Leonese solidi and a property), 21 (11.4.1204, 557 Leonese solidi) ; 1326E, nos. 6 (22.4.1206, 204 Leonese solidi), 7bis (30.4.1207, 35 solidi), 9 (31.8.1207, 1100 Leonese solidi).

\(^2\) E.g., the chirographs for episcopal agreements with the monasteries of Ferreira de Pallares and Monfero : AHN, Clero, carp. 1326C, no. 28 and 1082, no. 19 ; 498, nos. 11 and 12. The preamble also distinguishes the latter : « Preciosus memorie thesaurus est scriptura quae rerum scribem incomunabilis (sic) loquitur ueritate et obstaculum opponit emergentibus in culpamniis inconcursum ... », Romanus had used it, in full or in part, in an episcopal lease (1325F, no. 19), a sale to the bishop (1325G, no. 22), and the large charter of 1181.

\(^3\) AHN, Clero, carp. 1326A, nos. 16 (17.10.1195, « Petrus subdiaconus scripsit, notante Romano Veremundi presbytero lucensi notario »), 19 (18.3.1196, « Petrus scribisset, notante romano lucensi notario »).

\(^4\) In his first charter, Petrus used a mark of his own : a simple cross set with an eight-petalled design.

\(^5\) Petrus signed : AHN, Clero, carp. 1326D, no. 10 (4.2.1203) ; 1326E, no. 15 (1.6.1208) ; 1326G, no. 6 (8.7.1213) ; 1130, no. 5 (6.1.1215) ; 1327B, nos. 13bis (27.6.1222) and 13ter (11.2.1223).

\(^6\) AHN, Clero, carp. 1326C, no. 8 (11.5.1201, « Pelagius notuit de mandato Romani lucensis notarii »). Unusually, it does not describe the location of the houses, presumably in Lugo, whose sale it records. Another charter signed only by a « Pelagius » may reasonably be attributed to him : 1326E, no. 3 (18.4.1205).
finned or forked ascenders in the calendar clause, earlier forms of the \( E \) and \( F \), and the tall \( s \) at the ends of words.

Of all of the scribes of Romanus, Pelagius Sobrinus would boast the most illustrious career. A canon for forty years, he served successively as episcopal notary and cathedral treasurer.\(^{97}\) As a young deacon, he wrote one surviving charter for Romanus, and prepared others in his own right.\(^{98}\) He based his own lozenge-shaped mark on that of the notary (\( pls. \) 88, 90), but, from the beginning, the thin, curling tail-strokes of numerous letters gave his script (\( pl. \) 91) a characteristic aspect that distanced it from that of Romanus.\(^{99}\) In fact, it resembled the contemporary script of the Leonese royal chancery, and the chancery inspired his chrismon as well.\(^{100}\) Later, Pelagius Sobrinus would write up a royal privilege for the cathedral of Lugo and arbitrate disputes between local religious establishments.\(^{101}\) His absence for the five years before his attainment of a canonry could be a sign of royal or diplomatic service rewarded with the new office.\(^{102}\) Once he returned to Lugo in 1210, he added bars to the outer frame of his mark, like those around the royal signum (\( pl. \) 88).

In the charter he wrote for Romanus in 1202, he already exhibited his own talents with an expanded version of a preamble circulated earlier in Lugo, but unknown in the surviving work of the notary.\(^{103}\) At the same time, he frequently capped the \( a \) with a flat

---


98. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326D, no. 2 (2.8.1202, «Pelagius Sobrinus diaconus notuit, mandato et autoritate Romani lucensis notarii»). His own early charters as deacon include a private sale and an episcopal exchange: 1326B, no. 13bis (13.6.1199); 1326D, no. 24 (3.12.1204). As canon, he wrote: 1326E, no. 24 (18.8.1210); 1326F, nos. 18 (2.6.1212), 19 (23.7.1212), 25 (15.2.1213); 1512, no. 16 (29.10.1213), the last published in Colección diplomática do mosteiro cisterciense de Santa Maria de Oseira (Ourense) 1025-1310, ed. by Miguel Romani Martínez, Santiago de Compostela, 1989, vol. 1, doc. 152, pp. 156-158.

99. The earliest mark of Pelagius Sobrinus was the most ornate, but, basically, he enlarged the inner lozenge at the expense of the border, and simply outlined the cross within it, in place of the thick strokes or infill that Romanus used.

100. His finest chrismon is framed, infilled and embellished with floral decoration, in a charter adorned with papal knots, rippled ligatures and loops. It records a sale to the bishop: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326F, no. 25.

101. The royal privilege is known from the mid-thirteenth-century cartulary copy, «Pelagius Sobrinus canonicus lucensis notuit», AHN, Códices, 1043B (Tumbo Viejo de Lugo), doc. 66, fol. 33-v (24.4.1216), published in Julio González, Alfonso IX, Madrid, 1944, vol. 2, doc. 332, pp. 436-438. He was one of three clerics named by the bishop of Tui to arbitrate a dispute over tithes between the Cistercians of Oseira and the Hospitalers in 1213 (AHN, Clero, carp. 1512, no. 16, see n. 98), and, from 1227 and 1229, he joined the bishop of Lugo and another canon to negotiate a settlement between the monastery of Ferreira de Pallares and the Templars: 1083, no. 19 (6.4.1227); 1084, no. 3 (15.1.1229).

102. He disappears from local documents from 30.4.1205 (AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, no. 3bis) to 20.4.1210, his first appearance as a canon.

103. «Licit inter undentates et ementes undidito solo honorum hominum testimonio confirmata satis sufficiat ad cautele tamen maioris cuidenciam scripture seriem dignum duximus adhibere», see n. 34, 51.
head-stroke in the style of Romanus, although this was not common in his own work. Similarly, he adhered closely to the sanction and other formulas concerning the transfer of property which were made standard by Romanus. Actually, his care to reproduce these clauses word for word also shows his skill, for it contrasts with the less precise paraphrasing in the charters of other scribes serving the notary.

Pelagius Sobrinus served Romanus personally as well. He recorded his purchase of a small plot of land in 1212, and, in 1216, he wrote the aging notary’s first will (pl. 91)\(^{104}\). In the face of death, the man who for forty years had made the office of notary was titled only « presbyter lucensis canonicus ». Although Romanus recovered, age and ill health evidently forced him to rely upon scribes for all but one of seventeen surviving charters from his last eight years as notary\(^{105}\). The survival of these documents confirms that Romanus had normally written his own charters, and that, despite losses, the extant record provides a remarkably accurate guide to his career.

In the two years after the will, three scribes wrote charters for Romanus\(^{106}\). One of them, Petrus Sobrinus, was the brother of Pelagius Sobrinus, who was well-positioned to advance the younger cleric’s career\(^{107}\). Though only an acolyte, he was named among more eminent witnesses of a charter written by his brother in 1212\(^{108}\). Five years later, when the novice prepared a charter for Romanus, he titled the notary don, as a token of respect. In 1227, still an acolyte, he wrote up the agreement his brother helped to mediate between the Templars and the monks of Pallares\(^{109}\). On the king’s visit to Galicia earlier that year, he wrote a set of four royal charters confirming earlier privileges to the Cistercians of Meira\(^{110}\). It is tempting to suppose that Pelagius Sobrinus

---

104. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326F, no. 19; 1326H, no. 6 (29.11.1216).
105. After the will, the only surviving charter written by Romanus was a sale of a house in Lugo to the bishop for 2800 solidi; by far the largest sum in any extant charter by the notary. The value of the transaction evidently guaranteed his personal independence: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326H, no. 24 (21.8.1217).
108. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326F, no. 18. The chirograph records a grant to the chapter for the establishment of an anniversary, and the other witnesses are three dignitaries, four canons, two priests, two subdeacons and, after Petrus Sobrinus, a layman. It is his only documented appearance before he wrote the charter for Romanus.
109. « Petrus Sobrinus acolitus ad acta conscribenda iuratus notuit »: AHN, Clero, carp. 1083, no. 19.
110. He titled himself « scriptor lucensis »: AHN, Clero, carp. 1131, nos. 2-5 (10-12.3.1227); Luis Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales de la Edad Media referentes a Galicia. Catálogo de los conservados en la Sección de Clero del Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, 1953, docs. 566-569, pp. 252-254; three are published in J. González, Alfonso IX, vol. 2, docs. 501-503, pp. 602-605, but no. 3 is omitted. These were among many confirmations issued near the end of the reign of Alfonso IX, and frequently written by scribes outside the chancery: M. Lucas Alvarez, Las cancillerías reales ..., pp. 495-497, 524-525.
availed himself of his ties with the court to win his brother a modest place there, before
death prematurely ended the young scribe’s career.\footnote{111}

For his part, Fernandus Martini first appeared as author of a deed for a small sale in
1213\footnote{112}. The two charters he did for Romanus also involved paltry sums, but, unlike
the earlier deed, these conform to the notary’s standard language for the sanction and
transfer of property. He added a cross-in-quatrefoil mark and drew a long flourish after
the confirmation clause, characteristic features of the charters of Romanus which he
dispensed with in his own charters\footnote{113}. His most noteworthy document, however, was the
last testament of Romanus in 1223\footnote{114}. Though long-lived, the notary was not alone of
his generation, for Iohannes Rollandus led the witnesses.

In both wills, Romanus generously provided for Pelagius Veremudi, a relative who
had written for him since at least 1208\footnote{115}. Pelagius Veremudi wrote his last thirteen
charters, and succeeded him as notary in 1224\footnote{116}. Not surprisingly, these charters closely
resemble the notary’s own in script, language and layout (pl. 90). He was likely trained
by him from an early age. In the first charter attributable to him, the young scribe does
not mention Romanus, but he already followed the notary’s practices in virtually all
respects: the design of the chrismon; the phrasing of the transfer of property, sanction
and calendar clause; the places where enlarged letters opened clauses; the long flourish
after the confirmation clause; and the layout of the witness lists\footnote{117}. As notary, he would
acknowledge his debt to his predecessor in matters great and small, from his repertory of
preambles to the unusual consistency of his flourish after the confirmation clause and
his preference for the enlarged Et ligature to introduce the price of the transaction, « Et
accipio a ... ».

Pelagius Veremudi did write important charters for others, including one for Pelagius
Sobrinus and, after becoming notary of Lugo, one for King Alfonso IX, but these had

\footnote{111. His last known charter was written in Lugo, « Facta est ... apud Lucum per manum Petri Sobrini
acoliti », for a knight’s mortgage of properties to Meira : AHN, Clero, carp. 1131, no. 11 (16.5.1228),
published in Ermelindo Portela Silva, La colonización cisterciense en Galicia (1142-1250), Santiago de
Compostela, 1981, p. 175. He had written a lease for the monastery, perhaps in Lugo, for the signatories
were added in another hand : 1131, no. 1 (17.4.1225).

112. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326F, no. 24 (27.1.1213, 10 Leonese solidi).

113. Charters of Fernandus Martini : AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, no. 4 (25.5.1218, episcopal
document) : 1083, no. 15 (7.1.1225) ; 1130, no. 18 (3.11.1224). He was documented as a deacon by 1219
(1327A, no. 9), and a priest from 1229-1230 (1327D, nos. 7, 24).

114. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327B, no. 15 (27.12.1223).

115. Romanus refers to Pelagius Veremudi and Petrus Adefonsi as « nepotes » in his second will. The
two were first cousins, « primi consanguinei », (AHN, Clero, carp. 1327C, no. 23, 7.3.1229), and either
maternal nephews or great-nephews of the notary.

116. The surviving charters written for Romanus by Pelagius Veremudi and normally signed,
« Romanus lucensis notarius notuit, scribente Pelagio Veremudi », are : AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, no. 14
(25.5.1208) ; 1326G, nos. 3 (13.6.1213), 16 (18.1.1215) ; 1327A, nos. 9 (8.1.1219), 18 (16.4.1220), 19
(26.4.1220), 20 (27.5.1220), 22 (24.11.1220), 24 (25.1.1221), 25 (11.8.1221), 6 (23.1.1222),
5 (10.5.1222) ; 1083, no. 16 (10.3.1224) ; 1327B, nos. 16 (1.4.1224), 17 (4.5.1224), 17bis (8.7.1224). His
first known charter as notary is : 1327B, no. 18 (3.10.1224).

117. It registers the sale of a small share of an estate for ten solidi and « unam pellem cordariam » :
AHN, Clero, carp. 1326C, no. 16 (13.2.1202, « Pelagius scripsit »). He wrote two other surviving charters
on his own : 1326G, no. 5 (5.7.1213, « Pelagius Veremudi subdiaconus scripsit ») ; 1327B, no. 12
(20.5.1222, « Pelagius Veremudi diaconus scripsit »).}
little effect on his style. Only his use of skeletal letters reveals an openness to newer currents that Romanus largely eschewed. Otherwise, his long apprenticeship with one master meant that neither his earliest efforts nor his independent work as notary exhibited the variability and experimentation that had distinguished the early writing of Romanus himself. Over a long career, Romanus had established standard forms for common charters, and the increasing volume of business in the notary’s office recommended sticking strictly to this routine.

Romanus and other scribes prepared documents for the bishop, but, beginning in the 1190s, a series of scribes identified themselves as episcopal notaries. The declining output of Romanus in his old age enhanced the importance of that office, and Bishops Rudericus Fernandi (1182-1218) and Ordonius (1218-1225) were able to recruit — and promote — talented scribes in the ranks of the cathedral chapter. That institution had been reformed with the intervention of the papal legate in 1173; the number of canons with the title of «magister» slowly grew; and the signatures of the dignitaries preserved on a document of 1194 offer a tantalizing glimpse of the differences in age and training among members of the chapter at this moment of change. Each of the episcopal notaries put his own stamp on his work, and the succession of five notaries in one generation prevented the standardization of practice that Romanus had made the hallmark of the town notary.

Pelagius Sebastiani was the first to use the title of episcopal notary in the late twelfth century. It only appears on his most important surviving charter, a far-ranging agreement with the monastery of Samos in 1195, but he likely held the office for several years. Between 1191 and 1196, he signed one will and six documents involving the bishop. The earliest of these recorded a gift of shares in the nearby church of Santiago de Ferro in 1191 (pl. 92). The fifty-word preamble on almsgiving and the rare expression of the spiritual motives of the donors hint at the ambitions of a young cleric embarking on an ecclesiastical career in a town where the new office of notary was but one sign of the prestige attached to writing. Within four months, Pelagius Sebastiani had

118. AHN, Clero, carp. 1215, no. 5 (23.3.1220, « Pelagius Veremudi scripsit de mandato predicti Pelagii Sobrini canonici »; J. González, Alfonso IX, doc. 500, p. 601 (10.2.1227).
119 AHN, Clero, carp. 1326A, no. 9bis (6.8.1194).
120. « Pelagius Sebastiani canonicus et domni episcopi notarius notuit », AHN, Clero, carp. 1241, no. 4 and 1326A, no. 14 (28.1.1195, both halves of the chirograph), noted by R. Fletcher, The Episcopate, p. 101.
122. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325H, no. 16.
123. « ... divino inuitante eloquio, date et dabitur, expedite fideliibus erga domum domini devotam gerere voluntatem; sed quam, non nisi per orationem, per bona opera, per purum conscientiam, et maxime per elemosinam, precedente contritione, voluntas hominis fit devota? Necesarium comprobatur unde spiritualia accipientur, terrena administrantur ut, sic pro celestibus commutando terrena, ad celestia perveniri mereatur ... »; « ... in celesti regno uiuere cupientes et utia perfrui eterna desiderantes ... ».
become a canon, and he was to serve as archdeacon from 1215 until his death in 1237\(^{124}\).

Curiously, Pelagius Sebastiani subscribed documents with two different marks: a *fleur de lis* and a cross-in-quatrefoil with decorated lobes (*pls. 92, 93*). These marks confirm his authorship of two earlier documents, signed only « Pelagius ». The first is an episcopal lease of a church, while the second is a private sale of a share in a mill for 70 solidi\(^{125}\). The episcopal document displays a neat book script and the scribe used the *fleur de lis*; the deed is in a charter hand and the scribe drew an elaborate cross-in-quatrefoil framed by two concentric circular borders, each broken into four segments by thick pairs of bars. Clearly, he was inspired by the forms of the *rota* that scribes had applied to private charters under Bishop Iohannes in the 1170s, and his version, in 1183, was the last vestige of that mark in Lugo (*pl. 88*). Like Romanus, he developed his own mark from what had served as an episcopal *signum*, and he repeated this cross-in-quatrefoil – without the encircling frames – on his two charters recording sales. At the same time, he reserved his *fleur de lis* for his most solemn episcopal documents: the florid gift of the church at Ferroi and the agreement with Samos\(^{126}\). For its part, that unusual mark was likely derived from the stylized trefoil with which Romanus ended the confirmation clauses of his charters\(^{127}\).

Pelagius Sebastiani drew distinctions among types of documents with his script as well. He wrote up the grant of the church at Ferroi and the agreement with Samos in his most formal book hand. It is distinguished, for example, by the sharp contrast between the thick penstrokes of letters and the hairline tail-strokes and serifs, the restrained ascenders and descenders in some lines, and a preference for a double-curve *s* confined between the base- and head-lines. His other documents reveal an accomplished chancery hand, comparable to that of Pelagius Sobrinus. Throughout his work, his writing is characterized by the use of looped, forked or finned ascenders for embellishment; the skeletal outlining of large letters; the head-stroke closing the superscript *a* in abbreviations; the dropped *i* in the assimilated *ii*; and the tail-strokes trailing leftwards at sharp angles to their letters (*pl. 93*)\(^{128}\). Like Petrus, the earlier episcopal scribe, Pelagius Sebastiani shifted easily between different registers, and this produced a considerable instability of letter forms even within individual documents. The large charters recording sales to the bishop, for example, offer a bewildering number of variations of

\(^{124}\) AHN, Clero, carp. 1325H, no. 16bis (1.8.1191) ; 1326G, no. 17 (5.2.1215). He is last named as « archidiacono Pelagio » in : 1215, no. 21 (3.1237) ; 1216, no. 1 (6.1237). An earlier document in this series confirms the identification : 1215, no. 19 (19.5.1235), « archidiaconi domini Pelagii Sebastiani ». As archdeacon, he wrote up the will of a knight setting out to battle the Saracens, 1327B, no. 11 (18.5.1222), and sealed another will, 1327B, no. 23 (13.5.1225), later transcribed by the notary of Lugo, Fernandus Pelagi.

\(^{125}\) AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, nos. 13 (30.9.1182) and 16 (9.3.1183).

\(^{126}\) Contemporary scribes rarely added marks to chirographs, and four by Pelagius Sebastiani bear none.

\(^{127}\) Pelagius Sebastiani traced a more elaborate trefoil at the end of the corroboration clause of one of his earliest documents : AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 16 ; another canon and scribe, Johannes Ruderici, used the abstract flourish of Romanus as the outline for the bird with which he ended his confirmation clauses (*pl. 88*) : 1326B, no. 22bis (17.12.1200) ; 1326C, no. 26 (12.5.1202).

\(^{128}\) The head-stroke over the superscript *a* appears consistently in the seven documents done between 1192 and 1196, but in none of the earlier ones.
the s (pl. 93)²⁹. To a degree, such variability simply reflects the idiosyncrasies of this scribe’s taste and training, but it also stems from his mastery of different repertories and styles and his efforts to distinguish classes of documents by script and ornament.

After Pelagius Sebastiani, an episcopal notary is not named again until Ordonius Michaelis used the title in 1204.²³⁰ His consistent use of it over the next decade attests to the growing importance of the office, but the cleric had exercised his role before taking the title.²³¹ Between 1200 and 1203, he signed seven charters as canon, and each involved the bishop.²³² Although there are hints of some association with his predecessor, his hand differs sharply from that of Pelagius Sebastiani and is far less varied.²³³ The ascenders of his tiny script are proportionally shorter, and the slanting heads and feet of minims and adjacent letters are closely linked, creating compact sequences of enclosed and bitten bows.²³⁴

Ordonius Michaelis last appeared in the witness lists of two documents written in June 1215 by Petrus Iohannis, the canon who, apparently, succeeded him as episcopal notary.²³⁵ Although he never called himself an episcopal notary, all seventeen extant charters that he signed between 1215 and 1218 involve the bishop.²³⁶ He had been a canon since at least 1207, and his will suggests that he studied in Palencia with the

129. AHN, Clero, carp. 1325H, no. 22; 1326A, no. 2: He embellished the tall s with a looped ascender, a sharply angled tail-stroke or a small fin, in different combinations. Stylized or skeletal forms of the double-curve s appear in the opening line, calendar clause, confirmation clause and witness list; at the opening of the sanction; and at the end of a line. Elsewhere, the angle, length and thickness of its strokes varied to create different forms.

130. R. Fletcher, The Episcopate ..., p. 101. « Ordonius Michaelis canonicus et domni lucevis episcopi notarius notuit, » AHN, Clero, carp. 1326D, no. 22 (3.6.1204). The unknown author of a chirograph with neatly written, florid clauses recording the cession of churches to the bishop may have briefly followed Pelagius as episcopal notary: 1326B, no. 3 (13.6.1197).

131. He signed these charters with the title: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, nos. 4 (27.7.1205), 13 (18.10.1207), 16 (7.3.1209); 1326F, nos. 3 (26.1.1211), 12 (22.2.1212); 1326G, no. 10 (1.2.1214), and an original bound into a book of privileges, AHN, Códices, 417B, fol. 80 (18.6.1212). In two copies or drafts of one charter, a minor episcopal lease and the gift of a house in Villafranca to the bishop, he signed only as canon: 1326F, nos. 2 and 4 (26.1.1211), no. 16 (25.6.1212); 1326G, no. 1 (23.3.1213).

132. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326B, no. 19 (16.6.1200); 1326C, nos. 10 (28.5.1201), 27 (8.6.1202); 1326D, nos. 5 (17.11.1202), 12 (4.6.1203), 13 (26.6.1203), 15 and 16 (1.8.1203). The first three were signed « Ordonius », rather than « Ordonius Michaelis », but there can be no doubt about their authorship.

133. He first appeared as subdeacon in the witness list of a document written by Pelagius Sebastiani in 1193, AHN, Clero, carp. 1326A, no. 1, and, as canon, his name followed that of Pelagius Sebastiani in the witness list of a sale and gift to the bishop, written by Romanus, 1326C, no. 20 (9.4.1202).

134. Most of his surviving documents are chirographs, and only one sale to the bishop is written parallel to the long side of the parchment, like the sales written by Pelagius Sebastiani or the standard charters of Romanus: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, no. 13. He conformed to the basic layout and language of such charters, but his handwriting hardly varied from that in the more compact chirographs.

135. AHN, Clero, carp. 1326G, nos. 18 and 19.

136. He signed the following charters: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326G, nos. 18 (25.6.1215), 19 (26.6.1215), 24 (29.7.1.1216); 1326H, nos. 3 (17.8.1216), 5 (25.11.1216), 9 and 10 (5.2.1217, both parts of a chirograph), 12 (20.2.1217), 13 (21.2.1217), 14 (21.2.1217), 15 and 16 (17.3.1217, both parts of a chirograph), 17 (17.4.1217), 18 (1.5.1217), 19 (4.5.1217), 21 (17.6.1217), 22 and 23 (26.6.1217, both parts of a chirograph), 26 (25.2.1218); 1327A, no. 1bis (1.4.1218), the last was published in M. Risco, España Sagrada, vol. 41, ap. 28, pp. 355-357. He likely wrote the unsigned will of a priest, 1326G, no. 21 (22.9.1215).
future Bishop Michael. His small, clear script shares features with the less expert hand of an earlier magister in the chapter, and his charters reveal the idiosyncrasies of a bookish cleric. Like Ordonius Michaelis, he used several different short preambles, while his curious dotted crosses and finely decorated chrismon hint at a taste for the arts of the book and the sanctuary. In one small show of erudition, he embellished the spiritual sanction in his fanciest charter – a gift by the bishop to the canons – by damning the transgressors to the classical Tartarus. Not surprisingly, his will of 1242 – written in his own hand – begins with his books and, in fact, is one of the few surviving wills of this period from Lugo to include books at all. Then titled magister, he left the bishop an herbal and his choice of his books of theology. He forgave him a loan for which he held a book as security. He left his books of natural science, <i>libros fisicales</i>, to poor students, and financed the beginning of a silver altarpiece, <i>inicum tabule argentea altaris beate marie</i>, for the cathedral.

While Petrus Iohannis did not title himself episcopal notary, his considerable work for the bishop was probably related to the slowing of the activity of Romanus, the aging town notary, after his will of 1216. In fact, from 1219 through 1239, the title of episcopal notary appears more regularly. Pelagius Sobrinus used the title on five documents he wrote for Bishop Ordonius in 1219 and 1220. He was succeeded in 1221 by Johannes Nuniz who had the longest and most visible tenure in the office of episcopal notary. He served two bishops and signed nineteen surviving documents between 1221 and 1239 as episcopal notary. He used the title regularly, and, once, in 1230, he was titled «cancellarius domni episcopi», hinting at the growing importance of the office. At a time when the town notary, Romanus, had to rely upon scribes to write up his charters, it

137. He witnessed a charter as «subdiaconus canonicius»: AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, no. 9 (8.1.1207); «In primis mando domno episco. C. solidos, quos acomodaui ei Palencia, pro quibus habeo in pignore librum quem dedit ei camerlengus ...», 1325B, no. 5 (8.5.1242).


139. E.g., «Laedi solent cum tempore que geruntur ab homine, nisi uoce testium uel scripture testimonio roboorent», AHN, Clero, carp. 1326H, no. 5; «Suboriri solet calumpnia de gestis hominum, nisi robur accipient a uoce testium uel a testimonio litterarum», 1326H, no. 12; «Thesaurus nobilis esse scriptura dinoiscit que preteritorum noticiam mittit ad posteros et honorum operum deperire memoriam non permitt», 1326H, no. 19.

140. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, no. 1bis.

141. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, nos. 10 (8.1.1219), 12 (8.3.1219), 14 (23.10.1219), 15/16/17 (13.4.1220), 21 (11.8.1220). Titled only as canon, he wrote the last surviving document of Bishop Rudericus Fernandi and two for Bishop Ordonius: 1327A, nos. 6 (4.6.1218), 11 (10.2.1219), 27 (23.3.1221).

142. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, no. 23 (5.1.1221); 1083, no. 10 (5.3.1221); 1327B, nos. 2 (28.9.1221), 3 (1.12.1221), 10 (15.5.1222), 14 (20.11.1223); 1327C, no. 5 (30.6.1226); 1327D, nos. 12/13 (8.1.1230), 14 (22.1.1230); 1327E, no. 10 (5.2.1231); 1084, no. 8 (12.10.1231); 1327E, nos. 22 (15.3.1232), 23 (22.3.1232); 1327F, no. 2 (3.6.1232); 1327G, nos. 15 (18.1.1235), 16 (21.3.1235); 1327H, nos. 7 (28.2.1237), 28 (3.12.1239). He also wrote the agreement (13.4.1228) mediated by Bishop Michael over the distribution of revenues between the abbot and monks of Samos, M. Risco, <i>Espera Sagrada</i>, vol. 41, app. 31, pp. 359-361, and he wrote a privilege issued to Lugo cathedral by King Alfonso IX, J. González, <i>Alfonso IX</i>, doc. 417, pp. 532-533 (16.2.1222). He wrote other charters for the bishop without his title: 1327D, nos. 19 (24.2.1230), 20 (28.2.1230), 21 (28.2.1230).

143. He appears with this title in the witness list of a document by Pelagius Veremudi: AHN, Clero, carp. 1327E, no. 5 (8.7.1230).
seems a pointed reminder of the importance of writing itself that Iohannes Nuniz signed his first charter as « episcopi notarius scrip tor »\(^{144}\).

For Iohannes Nuniz, the death of Romanus and the accession of a young cleric, Michael Petri, to the episcopal seat temporarily enhanced his office. Michael, a member of a wealthy landed family, first appears as choirmaster in 1219; seven years later, he was bishop, a position he was to hold for forty-five years.\(^{145}\) Not until the 1240s did the new bishop make his mark. Then, the cathedral chapter was reorganized, most of its important offices changed hands, and the town notary, Fernandus Pelagii, took over much of the work of the episcopal notaries who, for the rest of Michael’s episcopate, would largely confine themselves to writing modest leases.

The decline of the episcopal notary was linked with the quickening activity of the town notary. Romanus’ scribe, Pelagius Veremudi, had succeeded him in 1225, but, in the summer of 1235, he left for Jerusalem, and, in October, Fernandus Pelagii prepared a document and titled himself « vicenotarius », a title he used for three years.\(^{146}\) By January 1239, he had taken the title of notary.\(^{147}\) He joined the chapter in 1250, served the bishop in various capacities, and continued to prepare documents until his death in 1272. At least four hundred and twenty documents remain from his thirty-seven year career. His earliest charters show him searching for a personal style as he made the office his own. He refined the chrismon, experimented with his notarial sign, and displayed his talents with flourishes, bows, ligatures, small capitals and decorated letters, probably inspired by some of the earlier charters he saw – and, sometimes, transcribed – in Lugo. Once established as notary, his writing quickly settled into more routine habits, as the volume of business increased dramatically in the mid-thirteenth century, and it is hard to determine the extent to which he relied on scribes for these small charters written in a rapid, cursive hand. Throughout his career, however, he returned to this repertory of decoration for charters of particular importance.

These flourishes, though, were but a fading memory of an earlier generation in which such displays earned young scribes places in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the writing of charters had become routine, and the composition of the chapter was changing. A select group of canons, from important landed families of the diocese, shared the capitular dignities with powerful clerics of other dioceses who accumulated benefices. Meanwhile, the number of portionaries and clerks of the choir grew. Such clerics had slim hopes of gaining a canonry; some staffed the households, chapels and writing offices of the bishop or dignitaries, and they found themselves engaged in the often anonymous, collaborative efforts to compile a cartulary, produce a new book of anniversaries, and register the documents of the notary’s office. New statutes in the 1240s and in 1290 formally sanctioned the new configuration by reducing the number of canons. If, in the middle of the thirteenth century, there was a

---

144. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, no. 23 (5.1.1221). In several charters, he specifies his role as material author, e.g., 1327F, no. 2 (3.6.1232), « Iohannes Nuniz domini Michaelis Lucensis episcopi notarius notuit et propria manu conscriptis ».

145. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327A, no. 10 (30.1.1219); 1327C, no. 2 (8.2.1226).


147. AHN, Clero, carp. 1327H, no. 20 (4.1.1239).
setting in which the writing of charters offered scribes an opportunity to display their talents and assert the status of their craft, it might be in the offices of the rural notaries, newly established by the laws of Alfonso X and producing charters in both Latin and Romance, but that would be another story.

JAMES D’EMILIO,

University of South Florida (Tampa).
85. – Notarial marks and the episcopal *rota* : Johannes and other scribes, 1174-1181.
Johannes Rollandus, 1171
AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 1

Johannes Rollandus, 1174
AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 14

Johannes Rollandus, 1175
AHN, Clero, carp. 1325F, no. 17

Pelagius Sebastiani, 1183
AHN, Clero, carp. 1325G, no. 16

Johannes Ruderici, 1200
AHN, Clero, carp. 1326B, no. 22bis

Pelagius Sobrinus, 1210
AHN, Clero, carp. 1326E, no. 24

88. – Notarial marks and the episcopal rota: Johannes Rollandus and other scribes, 1171-1210.