

Types of Notaries and Graphic Specialization in 15th-century Santiago de Compostela

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Resumen

El objetivo de esta investigación es analizar la relación entre los diferentes tipos de notarios de Santiago de Compostela en el siglo XV y sus modelos gráficos y si existió una especialización gráfica dentro de este grupo profesional en función de su tipo de nombramiento. Asimismo, ya que en la elección de un modelo gráfico u otro influyeron otros factores, se presta atención a la institución donde ejercieron esos notarios, la tipología documental expedida, la lengua empleada en la redacción o la formación gráfica del individuo. En este sentido, será especialmente relevante la comparación entre el mundo urbano y el rural.

Palabras clave: Paleografía, modelos gráficos, notarios públicos, *multigrafismo*, Santiago de Compostela

Abstract

The aim of this research is to analyse the connection between the different types of notaries of Santiago de Compostela in the 15th century and the scripts they used. We shall verify whether a graphic specialisation within this professional group existed according to the authority they were appointed by. Moreover, as other factors influenced the decision of using one handwriting typology, we shall examine the institutions where the notaries worked, the type of documents they produced, the language of the text, or their writing training. We consider that a comparison between the urban world and the rural areas will be very useful for this goal.

Key Words: Palaeography, scripts, public notaries, multigraphism, Santiago de Compostela

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Since its invention, writing has become one of the most genuine manifestations of human beings. It's been with them throughout their evolution, adapting and reflecting the transformations undergone by the group of individuals that put it to use. Due to this social character, the writing activity is inevitably linked to a specific group of people, i.e. to a "comunità scrittoria" that knows at least one variety of writing, even if it is only a passive knowledge (CARDONA 1978: 68).² The introduction of these concepts has allowed palaeographers to link certain graphic models with a specific human group. One of the most paradigmatic cases within the Western context is that of the "mercantesca", a script related, as its name suggests, to the sector of merchants, traders and financiers in 14thcentury Italy and the following centuries (Petrucci 1978: 163-207, Petrucci 1989: 157-164, Miglio 1994: 143-157, Cherubini 1997-1998: 333-387, Ceccherini 2008: 123-137).

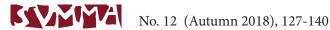
In the context of the Crown of Castile, we do not have a similar case, i.e. a script used specifically by a particular social group other than professional writers. However, the circumstances vary among the latter, since, as we approach the Modern Era and the levels of literacy increase, some authors point out that scripts such as the procesal script were intended –though not exclusively– for notaries and notaries public (Herrero Jiménez 2011: 21). This and other cursive gothic scripts were very present in the documents and books of the notaries of the 15th and 16th centuries (Camino Martínez 2011: 211), as well as in other institutions in which these figures were involved, in one way or another, in the production of their written documents, such as in councils (Camino Martínez 2004: 97-112) or cathedrals (Camino Martínez 2000: 175-192). This connection between writing and its use was frequent in the 15th and 16th centuries, going beyond the strictly professional barrier to establish a clear link between the notary and the graphic model. Contemporaries were aware of this relationship, as it was commonplace that in lawsuits or other business involving the work of the city's notaries, testimony was taken from various individuals who claimed to have seen certain documents issued by the notary and who recognised the notary's handwriting in them.

The aim of this study is not, therefore, to analyse the notaries' handwriting as a distinct group from the rest of the community,3 but to examine whether there was a specialisation within the notarial profession depending on of the appointing authority. In other words, we will try to analyse which were the most recurrent graphic models among the different types of notaries in Santiago de Compostela in the 15th century (based on the tripartition: episcopal/royal/apostolic notaries), and whether the use of a specific script had any relation with the fact of falling into one of these

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² Cardona defines the passive knowledge of a variety of writing as the ability of the members of a community to identify the writing, even though they are not able to replicate it (CARDONA 1978: 68).

³ On the nature of writing as an "external form of differentiation" of the notaries see Camino Martínez 2011.



categories (or even several of them at the same time).⁴

EPISCOPAL NOTARIES

The archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, as feudal lord, had the right to appoint a whole series of officials, including notaries. In the same way that notaries were "the scriptural support of the royal power" (PARDO RODRÍGUEZ 1992: 244) in the territories under the jurisdiction of the monarch – and that is why the different kings in Castile were careful to ensure their appointments– the prelates from Compostela tried to preserve this prerogative inherent in the "mero e mixto imperio" (Pardo Rodríguez 1994-1995: 1015) that they enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages and that was recognised by the Crown. (Bouza Álvarez 1960: 237-252, López Ferreiro 1975: 249).

The activity of these "notarios auctoritate episcopi" (Bono Huerta 1982: 155) or "notarii episcopi" appointed by the Church (Lucas Álvarez 1989: 343) extended throughout the archbishopric of Santiago as they served in multiple types of offices, both in the rural and urban world: in the episcopal manorial villages (Vázquez Bertomeu 2001: 17), in the archpriestships (Vázquez Bertomeu 2001: 20), in the prelatic see (VÁZQUEZ BERTOMEU 2001: 18)⁵ or in the whole archiepiscopal territory without them being affiliated to a specific institution (Vázquez Bertomeu 2001: 22-23).

This extensive presence of episcopal notaries meant, therefore, that these professionals had to be familiar with a very heterogeneous typology of documents, deal with an ever-increasing volume of work and, manage a varied range of graphic models, if not in terms of their morphology, at any rate in terms of the specific circumstances required for each document: addressee, physical support, typology, time available for its production, etc. Thus, the difference between the scripts of the notaries in charge of each office -or if the document was not written by themselves, that of the amanuenses in charge of its material drafting- resided mainly in their degree of cursiveness and not so much in their external appearance.

The Gothic system was used almost exclusively by the episcopal notaries and their amanuenses in the towns and archpriestships of the archbishopric of Compostela. The most widely used

⁴ The main purpose of establishing a classification such as this is to create a framework that enables the study of the history of writing in Santiago de Compostela. When it comes to notary offices, 15th-century Compostela is not a compartmentalized reality where there is a clear-cut distinction between them. The situation was so complex that it was not at all unusual to find notaries with up to three different appointments, working in unrelated institutions and fields. ⁵ We will not discuss the different institutions in which the episcopal notaries worked in the city of Santiago. As is to be expected, the number of documentary issuing bodies, as well as the complexity that characterised their operation, is greater in Santiago than in smaller cities in rural and/or coastal environments. The case of the archiepiscopal audience, for example, is noteworthy because of the importance of the type of documents produced there (VÁZQUEZ Bertomeu 1998), but also because of the different types of notaries that served there. According to Bono Huerta (Bono Huerta 1982: 155), the notarii episcopi must be distinguished from the auctoritate episcopi notaries "due to their tasks", i.e. because they were involved in "the activities of the episcopal chancellery and curia".



versions of the documentary Gothic were the hybridised and cursive variants, due to the type of diplomatic documents produced in these offices. Throughout the 15th century, the script in the documents issued in the urban centres and rural areas of the archbishopric seems to oscillate between the hybrid Gothic type H and the italic type C proposed by Gumbert (GUMBERT 1976: 47). The fondness for the type H,6 with characteristics similar in certain cases to the Gothic known as pre-courtesan (Camino Martínez 2006: 34), is noticeable in these areas during the first half of the 15th century: the triangular a being favoured over the uncial one, the suppression of the loops in the ascenders or the prolongation of the descenders. In addition to these features, we also find the prevalence of a high contrast between strokes, the shape of the letter z as a number 5, or the predominance of nexuses over ligatures. (Camino Martínez 2006: 39-40).

As for the Courtesan (MILLARES CARLO 1983: 224-225), or rounded cursive Gothic script (SANZ Fuentes 2010: 126), although Lucas Alvarez (Lucas Álvarez 1991: 459) argues that after the fourth decade of the 14th century notaries start to favour this script, it seems that the process of typification in rural areas was slower and later. Episcopal notaries also used it in documentation issued to individuals and institutions and, as we approach the Modern Era and the quantity and variety of extant written sources increases, in administrative books and notarial protocols. A clear example of this is the book of notes of a notary from Rianxo, and also the protocols from Pontevedra⁸ and Noia, where the documents in extenso were collected. It is also in some of these books (for instance in the book of Rianxo) where we can observe the use of the procesal or cursive Gothic script (SANZ FUENTES 2010: 126).

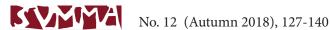
In accordance with this graphic overview of documents and books produced in the offices of episcopal notaries, we find that whenever the text was not written by the notary himself, he made use of a similar scriptural model during the process of validation. In other words –and leaving aside the offices at Santiago, where the situation of "organised relative multigraphism" (Petrucci 2005)¹⁰ characteristic of the 15th century leads to the presence of several graphic typologies in the same document—in smaller offices, the script of the amanuensis is often very similar to that of

⁶ Beyond the urban limits of Santiago de Compostela, the use of the hybrid H is also evident in cartularies such as the Tumbo de Iria, a book written in the second half of the 15th century by Jácome Rodríguez, canon of the church of Santa María de Iria and sworn notary public of the chapter of that church and of the town of Padrón and its jurisdiction by the archbishop of Santiago. Archive of the Cathedral of Santiago (ACS hereinafter), Tumbo de Iria, CF 23.

⁷ University Historical Archive of Santiago (AHUS hereinafter), Protocol of Rianxo. This is a book of notes from 1457, so, as customary in this type of record prior to the royal pragmatica of 1503, the book lacks -among other elements—the signature of the signatories of the document. For more information on this source see Tato Plaza 1999. 8 AHUS, Protocol of Pontevedra. In this case, the documents preserved –from the last decades of the 15th century– are recorded in extenso, but there are no signatures by the grantors, so in no case can we consider it a protocol as we understand it after the royal pragmatica of 1503.

⁹ AHUS, Protocol of Noia. It starts in 1440, and it is similar to the previous case in Pontevedra.

¹⁰ Petrucci defines this reality as "la contrapposizione fra due (o anche più) tipologie grafiche diverse per forme e ambito di uso, fra loro indipendenti" that takes place within a society that uses just one alphabetic system, in this case the latin system (Petrucci 2005).



the *completio* of the notary, particularly in terms of morphology. It is common to find a hesitant notary's signature, with a certain deformation of the letters or a greater thickness of the strokes, in documents issued in the notary offices of Padrón or Muros.

However, regardless of the skills of each notary, the practice of embellishing the *completio* of the document by means of very specific mechanisms –which are also present in other territories of the Crown of Castile- can be found throughout all the offices (Camino Martínez 1994: 500). Notaries tended to extend the descenders of letters such as h, p, y, or long-s in their signatures. Letters such as b, d or l had ascenders with prominent loops, which could sometimes be triangular, reminiscent of French Bastarda.¹¹ Letters could also be written separately, without any ligature between them, although we still find a rapid ductus and a carefully formed cursive gothic.

In larger cities, mainly in Santiago de Compostela, the deeds of the episcopal notaries have very similar features to those analysed so far. However, due to the complexity of the offices, the greater variety of institutions and, consequently, of documentary typologies, the graphic reality is also richer. The episcopal notaries worked in different document issuing bodies: in the cathedral (VÁZQUEZ BERTOMEU 1997), in offices of the Chancellery and Archiepiscopal Audience (VÁZQUEZ Bertomeu 1998), in the Council¹² and, in their capacity of notaries public of the city, at the service of other institutions within the city limits, such as the monastery of San Martín Pinario, the confraternity of the Concepcion or in the chapel of San Juan Apostol (Seijas Montero 2014).

This diversity of writing spaces and functions was associated, in turn, with a plurality of appointments of scribes, which in some occasions fell to the same person. In this regard, as in other Castilian territories (Camino Martínez 2000: 192), we find examples such as Rui de Pereira, "scribe and notary public appointed by the Apostolical, Royal and Archiepiscopal authorities, and coadjutor of Lopo Gómez de Marçoa, notary public of the city of Santiago", 13 Alfonso de Fariña, apostolic and royal notary that served at the Archiepiscopal Audience of Alonso de Fonseca II,14 or those of the notaries with multiple appointments that worked at the offices of rural areas but were at the same time coadjutors of other notaries of the city of Santiago. 15 In the later cases, we must understand the appointment as a tool that made possible for the notary to perform

¹¹ Cursive gothic that has its origin in the French Royal Chancellery –late 13th and 14th centuries – (SMITH 2008) and, in the case of the Crown of Castile, closely linked to the Cathedral milieu and the apostolic notaries (SANZ FUENTES 2010: 123).

¹² As a city under the jurisdiction of a bishop, the archbishop was responsible for appointing the two notaries in charge of the council's deeds. (López Ferreiro 1975). In Santiago de Compostela, in addition to these two notaries who worked for the council, there were two others who worked for the cathedral chapter and were also appointed by the archbishop. (VÁZQUEZ BERTOMEU 2001: 18).

¹³ ACS, Cofradía de la Concepción, Libro 2º de Hacienda, f. 92r.

¹⁴ AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergamino 312.

¹⁵ For example, Jácome Yáñez was "a sworn notary public by the apostolic and royal authorities, and notary of the territory of Ribadulla and Cornado by the Holy Church of Santiago, and coadjutor of Áluaro de Casteenda, notary public of the city of Santiago". Cofradía de la Concepción, Libro 2º de Hacienda, f. 94v.



his activity in different domains such as the curial offices, audiences and vicariates (JIMÉNEZ LÓPEZ DE EGUILETA 2015: 60)¹⁶ or, as in the case of the apostolic notaries who were granted royal *auctoritas*, a tool that made possible "avoiding the prohibition originated in the Cortes of Castile in 1371 [...] and being recognized as a notary throughout the whole Kingdom" (BONO HUERTA 1982: 297).

As for the script used by the episcopal notaries of the city of Santiago, the graphic practices and trends were very similar to those of other areas of the archbishopric during the 15th century, but with certain very different and important nuances. On the one hand, episcopal notaries are generally more skilled in the drafting of documents or in the final *completio* of documents. On the other hand, there is also a mastery of more diverse graphic models, especially international ones –French Bastarda script or Humanistic script, depending on the period– which is not seen in the rural world. However, since most of the notaries who used these scripts, even if they were episcopal notaries, were also appointed apostolic notaries, we will analyse these scripts as distinctive traits of some of the notaries of Santiago when referring to them.

ROYAL NOTARIES

According to some of the researchers who have studied the notary's office in the archbishopric of Santiago (Bono Huerta 1982: 118, Lucas Álvarez 1989: 345, Vázquez Bertomeu 2001: 23), the number of royal notaries was lower than that of other types such as episcopal notaries, undoubtedly due to the jurisdiction the archbishop of Santiago had over a large part of the diocesan territory (González Vázquez 1996).

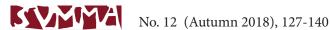
The royal notaries carried out their duties as notaries public, or as coadjutors of the holders of the notary's office, in the territories that were under the jurisdiction of the monarch, such as the cities of Pontevedra or Coruña, or in rural areas of the archbishopric (VAZQUEZ BERTOMEU 2001: 17),¹⁹

¹⁶ This was a frequent practice in different territories of the Crown of Castile. Along with the case of Xerez (JIMÉNEZ LÓPEZ DE EGUILETA 2015), we can also mention the case of Seville (CAMINO MARTÍNEZ 2000: 192) and Asturias (ANTUÑA CASTRO 2014: 101).

¹⁷ There are some extant documents from notaries' offices in rural areas in which the Bastarda script was employed by episcopal notaries, and this does not mean they were also apostolic notaries. This is the case of the title of the benefice of Vicente de Curtis, granted in 1470 by the rector of the parish church of Santa Vaya de Curtis, Marcos Gómez, who was also the vicar general of the archdeaconry of Cornado (Justo Martín, Lucas Álvarez 1991: 450-452). This type of document had to be written in Latin and with material and validation elements similar to those used in the episcopal notaries' offices of Santiago, which, in turn, imitated those of the papal offices. This is why, when the document was written in Latin, the amanuensis used a French Bastarda script. However, the episcopal notary who wrote the title "Gregorius Fernandi, presbiter compostellani", tried to maintain this graphic model but he used more rounded letters, even deforming some of them, and also used a separation between words that was not always correct. AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergamino 307.

¹⁸ This is because their previous training and work experience may have taken place abroad, which would explain the mastery of international scripts.

¹⁹ AHUS, Clero regular, San Xiao de Moraime, Pergaminos 26 and 34.



but also in other towns of which the archbishop was lord, such as Muros, Noia or Santiago. In the latter territories, in many cases they were appointed both as royal and episcopal notaries, and they could also operate in the curial offices of the prelate. Such were the cases of Iacobus Iohannis of Figueira 20 or García Lourenço Porra. 21

As for the graphic models used by these notaries, there are no systematic differences with respect to the practices followed by the episcopal notaries, as long as they had not also been appointed apostolic notaries. The Gothic script, particularly in its different cursive varieties, was the most frequent script in the documents issued by these professionals throughout the 15th century, with notaries from areas with smaller population centres showing lower skills.

APOSTOLIC NOTARIES

Apostolic notaries are the third group of professionals in this study. The importance of their activity is, in our opinion, due to two fundamental aspects: their dissemination throughout the territory, which is inevitably related to their increasing numbers during the 15th century (VÁZQUEZ Bertomeu 2001: 21) and their use of foreign graphic models.

Regarding the first aspect, the apostolic notaries validated the documents of a wide range of institutions of the archbishopric of Compostela distributed throughout its geography, each with their own particular characteristics and needs. Thus, the apostolic notaries carried out their work mainly for ecclesiastical offices, both in large cities and towns and in rural areas (VÁZQUEZ Bertomeu 2001: 22); but they also acted as coadjutors for the holders of rural notaries.²² Some of the bodies that benefited the most from this "notarial network" over the territory were the monasteries, which did not have the power to appoint their own notaries. Since the apostolic notaries were public notaries (Bono Huerta 1982: 203), they could validate the documents written in any of the territories of the monasteries. This was the case of the books of notes and apeos of the monastery San Martín Pinario, where we find the signatures of many different apostolic notaries. Other interesting examples are the diplomatic codices of the monasteries of San Pedro de Soandres²³ and San Xoán da Coba.²⁴ Finally, it was also common for apostolic notaries to work under the orders of apostolic judges commissioned by the pope or one of his delegates (usually abbots and priors of a monastery of the archbishopric).

As for the second aspect, the graphic culture, the apostolic notaries stood out for their mastery of international scripts, mainly the Bastarda and the Humanistic scripts. ²⁵ The use of one or the other

²⁰ AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergamino 313.

²¹ AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergamino 320.

²² AHUS, Universidad, Bienes, pergamino 344.

²³ Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN hereinafter), Clero regular, Carpeta 525, nº 21.

²⁴ AHDS, Fondo San Martín, Priorato de Sar, Carperta 46, doumento 11.

²⁵ This was not a particular characteristic of the archbishopric of Compostela, but can be found in other territories of the Kingdom of Castile (Sanz Fuentes 2010: 121, Camino Martínez 2008).



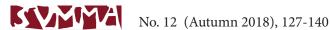
will vary over different periods of the century in which the document is produced: the Bastarda script was used throughout the 15th century, while the Humanistic script was introduced in the city of Santiago de Compostela at the end of the same century. However, it is not possible to speak of a consolidation of this script until the 16th century, and even less so in rural areas, where graphic innovations tend to be slower.

Regardless of the international script of preference, they have something common: both were used to draft documents in Latin. These instances of multigraphism and bilingualism were a constant throughout the 15th century, although the Bastarda script could have been previously used in the Crown of Castile (Camino Martínez 2008: 319, Sanz Fuentes 2010: 121). The participation of apostolic notaries in the process of drafting and validation of deeds was not, therefore, fortuitous, but motivated by their training. It was necessary to have a writing professional who knew the Latin language well enough not only to put it in writing but also to understand the content and form of the document and to be able to validate it. Thus, apostolic notaries were perfectly suited to the needs of the post, since, as Camino Martínez points out (Camino Martínez 2008: 322-323; 2011: 221), many of them had received their higher education in Italy, where they could also have worked for different bureaucratic entities, including those associated with the papacy.

In contrast to the international character of the training of the apostolic notaries, it is presumable that that of the episcopal notaries –and perhaps that of the royal criados (stewards) in Galicia as well- took place in the notary's offices of the territories where they ended up practising. In other words, episcopal notaries learned their trade in the offices of other notaries –in the same way guilds operated—which had a direct consequence to the profession: the survival of the graphic "conservatism" that characterised writing in Galicia during the Middle Ages. (Lucas ÁLVAREZ 1991: 446). A situation that is more evident in the offices of the rural context where the Gothic script survived for a longer time. At the same time, the role played by the language of the documents must be taken into account. Considering the types of extant documents, Galician was the main language in many of the 15th-century offices managed by episcopal notaries (towns, councils, archpriestships...). Hence, if Latin was a minority language in this written context, so was the practice of apostolic notaries and, therefore, the use of international graphic models.²⁶

Besides the graphic training, it is also relevant to consider the clerical status of the notaries (Bono Huerta 1982: 199). The fact that these notaries were members of the ecclesiastical order increases the likelihood that they travelled to Rome and came into contact with international graphic trends, especially the Humanistic scripts. This was a well-established phenomenon among the canons of Santiago de Compostela (Pérez Rodríguez 1997: 339-340) and among various archbishops since the government of Diego Gelmírez (González Vázquez 1997: 349).

²⁶ The use of the Romance language in documents normally entailed the use of Gothic scripts characteristic of the Crown of Castile. (Alonso Pequeno, Vázquez Bertomeu 2001: 126).



Therefore, it is not surprising to find among the diocesan curia that accompanied these prelates (REY CASTELAO 2003: 362), certain figures in charge of writing tasks. The most obvious example of this may be the archbishop's secretaries who, as we can see in the case of Compostela at the end of the Middle Ages, could have been apostolic notaries who were fluent in both Latin and Romance, using the Humanistic script for the first, and the cursive Gothic script of the Castilian tradition for the latter.²⁷

Bearing in mind these conditioning factors that revolved around the practice of apostolic notaries, it is logical that their presence was very relevant in offices such as the archiepiscopal chancellery, the audience of the Provisor, or those related to the gracious jurisdiction of the archbishop, i.e. those offices likely to issue documentation in Latin (Vázquez Bertomeu 1998: 23).²⁸ However, not all the apostolic notaries were skilled in the use of Latin and foreign scripts. (Camino Martínez 2008: 324-325). Some of the apostolic notaries who worked in rural areas writing documentation in Romance languages have left no written testimony either in Latin or in the Bastarda and Humanistic scripts. Although we cannot rule out the possibility of recovering documents of this type, it is difficult to think that they used other scripts, since they show poor writing skills,²⁹ which could be the result of a deficient graphic training compared to that of their counterparts in the curial offices of the prelate or of other apostolic notaries who served in monasteries located in rural areas.30

Our initial goal was to examine whether the notaries who exercised their profession in Santiago de Compostela throughout the 15th century had used different graphic models depending on the authority from which they had received their appointment. On the basis of the tripartition into episcopal, royal, and apostolic notaries, we cannot find a correlation between appointment and graphic model. The script used by the episcopal and royal notaries shows the typical characteristics and evolution of the Gothic script in the Crown of Castile. Due to the daily work carried out in the offices of these professionals, the most common scripts used by episcopal and royal notaries to produce their deeds were the cursive gothic script, and hybridised scripts similar to the book-scripts.

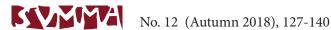
²⁷ See the case of Fernando de la Torre, apostolic notary and secretary to Archbishop Alonso de Fonseca II. AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergaminos 332 and 333.

²⁸ One of the aspects that characterised these documents, both in Santiago and in other Castilian and international episcopal sees, was their similarity to those produced in the papal offices (GUYOTJEANNIN 1999: 364, MARSILLA DE PASCUAL 1995-1996: 157, PUEYO COLOMINA 2014: 149, VÁZQUEZ BERTOMÉU 2011: 161).

²⁹ For multiple examples of this particular see ACS, Foros de los monasterios de San Martín y San Paio, IG 425; ACS, Documentos sueltos, Carpeta 1, documento 30; AHUS, Fondo Universitario, Bienes, pergamino 344.

³⁰ AHN, Clero regular, Carpeta 525, n° 21. We find some apostolic notaries involved in the validation of documents of institutions located in rural areas who were proficient in Latin and international scripts, which may be due to the fact that they also practised in urban areas. These were the cases of Loppo Martínez de Riotorto, Afonso Yáñez de Calo and Iohán Blanco. See AHDS, Fondo San Martín, Priorato de Sar, Carperta 46, doumento 11, ff. 10r, 11v and 38v, respectively.

The situation is different for the apostolic notaries. Those working in the rural world, far from the centres of urban production, also mastered the Gothic script (considering the sources available to us). However, if we consider the apostolic notaries who operated in the city of Compostela, and in particular those working for ecclesiastical offices (the archiepiscopal curia, the chapter house, some monasteries...), we do find a graphic specialisation. In these cases, the use of Latin was linked to the use of international graphic models: the French Bastarda script and Italian Humanistic script. The high level of graphic training of the apostolic notaries, and their experience and relations with other international scriptural institutions would account for their mastery of graphic models. All of this contributed to defining a reality of "organised relative multigraphism" that made the city of Santiago de Compostela in the 15th century a very rich and complex environment from the point of view of the history of writing.



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