

Layout of the Page and the Identification of Scribes in Papal Privileges (after 1088)

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Researchers have always considered the general arrangement of a charter as fundamental, even without employing the term layout in German. Regarding papal documents and their external features it was mostly one scholar, Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, writing in the late 19th century, who developed a system to describe every single component¹. For several reasons, his approach was either ignored or harshly criticized in his time. Furthermore Pflugk-Harttung looked at the details rather than at the general picture. He tried to identify the scribes, but he gave just a few cryptic hints connecting a specific layout to them. Later researchers either focused their attention on palaeography and scribes or on some elements of the layout.² However, in this paper I will try to show that the identification of the scribes and the analysis of the layout are connected so closely that only a combined view will lead to more reliable research methods and results.

In the middle ages there were distinct classes of papal charters with differing external features. Most lavish in design were the solemn privileges (also: Great bulls), which up to the middle of the 12th century outnumbered any other type of document issued by the popes. Moreover, there was a lower category called papal or apostolic letters. They became increasingly important until they nearly replaced the privileges around the year 1200. In the letters there were only a few conspicuous outward features which were adapted from the privileges as their prototype. The persistent design of the high-medieval papal privileges was created by pope Leo IX, who introduced or invented most of their unique features in mid-April 1049³. It took some decades for the whole arrangement to become more stable, especially under Urban II (1088-1099). Therefore in this paper I will focus on solemn privileges from his time until around the year 1250.

In the first place it seems necessary to give an overview over the single components, which can be seen in all papal privileges. In solemn privileges there are at least 11 important elements forming the layout. <Fig. 2> They all are parts of a general design, which also has to be consistent. I will make my following remarks on these elements going on from the top to the bottom of the privileges.

¹ VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, Julius: Die Bullen der Päpste bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts. Gotha 1901; IDEM: Technische Ausdrücke für das Urkundenwesen der Päpste, in: Archivalische Zeitschrift 7 (1882), pp. 239–266. For his critics see KRAFFT, Otfried: Bene Valete. Entwicklung und Typologie des Monogramms in Urkunden der Päpste und anderer Aussteller seit 1049. Leipzig 2010 (a great part of the monograms collected in the book is also given on <http://www.hgw-online.net/krafft/>) pp. 210-212, and e. g. POOLE, Reginald L.: Lectures on the history of the papal chancery down to the times of Innocent III. Cambridge 1915, p. 99 note 1.

² Around 1990 the term ‘layout’ for charters was introduced into German usage by RÜCK, Peter: Urkunden als Plakate des Mittelalters. Medien der Herrschaftsrepräsentation, in: forschung. Mitteilungen der DFG 4/1990, pp. 26–27; IDEM: Die Urkunde als Kunstwerk, in: Anton von EUW / Peter SCHREINER (eds.): Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Cologne 1991, pp. 311–333, see also BISCHOFF, Frank M.: Urkundenformate im Mittelalter. Größe, Form und Proportionen von Papsturkunden in Zeiten expandierender Schriftlichkeit (Elementa Diplomatica 5). Marburg 1996, pp. 6-12.

³ DAHLHAUS, Joachim: Aufkommen und Bedeutung der Rota in Urkunden des Papstes Leo IX., in: Archivum Historiae Pontificiae 27 (1989), pp. 7–84; DAHLHAUS, Joachim: Aufkommen und Bedeutung der Rota in der Papsturkunde, in: Peter RÜCK (ed.): Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden (Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3). Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 407–424; FRENZ, Thomas: Graphische Symbole in päpstlichen Urkunden (mit Ausnahme der Rota), in: Peter RÜCK (ed.): Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden (Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3). Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 399–405; see also KRAFFT: Bene Valete (above, note 2), pp. 17-21.

Soon after Leo IX all known papal documents were written on parchment. Any single piece was cut according to some idea of proportion. Normally a rectangular shape was preferred. However, I would not see the parchment or the flap at the bottom as part of the layout: They rather seem to be a matrix for the arrangement of the written or drawn parts of the page, beginning with the decision between a broad and an upright format. In the 11th and 12th century the latter was clearly preferred.

In papal privileges the text was arranged in regular horizontal lines, which were prepared beforehand. Obviously, this was done with a ruler, and the lining was not drawn with ink, but incisions into the parchment were made with a pointed tool like a knife or a sharpened stylus. The distance between the lines is very regular, and this exactitude hints to the use of a pair of dividers or drafting compasses. <Fig. 3> This measuring tool very often left little punctures in vertical rows at the outer edges of the parchment. Often vertical lines were added to mark both margins on the left-hand and on the right-hand side. Since 1088 this was normally done accurately and the blank spaces on both sides were almost equally sized⁴. Whenever one of the vertical lines was missing, it had a visible effect on the edges of the text, which then became frayed. In principle the idea was to create a symmetric rectangular text, not only by using the lining but also with some other elements suitable as a kind of buffers to adjust the length of the lines.

Lining the parchment required a good practical knowledge of geometry. When the lines were perfect they formed a kind of rectangular grid, a feature that normally can be seen much better in the originals than in photos. The distance in height between two lines was very constant within one privilege. As a basic unit it was often crucial for the whole layout. It provided the limits for the maximum size of an ordinary character or its ascenders, and this can be said as well for all written elements or graphic signs of a bigger size. Frequently their height was an exact multiple of the unit given by two lines. This was also valid in those cases when different persons were involved in the making of a privilege, one to make the lines, another to write the text, and sometimes a third to draw the bigger graphic elements.

In most privileges some lines were left blank at the top and at the bottom, thus forming margins of varying measures. It was probably left to the scribe where to start the text, a decision that depended on his experience, as it was necessary to estimate the length of the text before it was written. There certainly was a general dilemma between two proposals: Leaving blank spaces was meant to demonstrate generosity, still it had to be done without wasting a precious piece of parchment. The person folding the flap before the leaden seal (bulla) was attached also had an influence on the layout, at least for the bottom margin. This was probably done after the text was completed.

Since 1088 in most papal privileges a very regular distribution between text and margins can be perceived, especially where the papal notary Lanfranc⁵ was at work. <Fig. 4> In his

⁴ For a first insight into the details see KRUSKA, Beate: Zeilen, Ränder und Initiale. Zur Normierung des Layouts hochmittelalterlicher Papsturkunden, in: Peter RÜCK (ed.): *Mabillons Spur. Zweiundzwanzig Miszellen aus dem Fachgebiet für Historische Hilfswissenschaften der Philipps-Universität Marburg.* Festschrift Walter Heinemeyer zum 80. Geburtstag. Marburg 1992, pp. 231–245, here p. 236-237.

⁵ For him see MÉNAGER, Léon-Robert: Lanfranco notaio pontificio (1091–1093), la diplomatica ducale italo-normanna e la certosa di S. Stefano del Bosco, in: *Studi Storici Meridionali* 2 (1983), pp. 3–37; KEHR, Paul: *Scrinium und Palatium. Zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Kanzleiwesens im XI. Jahrhundert*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichte*, supplement. vol. 6 (1901), pp. 70–112 (repr. in *IDEM: Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. by Rudolf HIESTAND, vol. 1 (Abhandlungen der Akademie Göttingen 3. Folge, 250). Göttingen 2005, pp. 130–172), p. 104, RABIKASKAS, Paul: *Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei*

privileges we can see very geometric picture, which was increasingly refined while Lanfranc was gathering more experience. Many of his colleagues obviously imitated this design as a whole or in some details. For this reason Lanfranc had a very strong influence on the writing and on the layout of the privileges of his time and the years to come.

Normally the first line of papal privileges was entirely written in elongated letters or, as Reginald Poole wrote, in laterally compressed minuscules⁶. Also modified capitals were used. This stretched decorative script was meant to distinguish certain formulas at the start, especially the pope's name and titles, followed by the address, and closed by the words *In perpetuum* (i. e. *for ever*). <Fig. 5> In the ideal case all of this had to be placed into the first line. In many cases however these formulas were too long for just one line, and the remaining words were continued into the second line, sometimes even into the third, but then they were not written in the same script as the top line. Still this surplus part had to be distinguished from the rest of the text, so very often capitals (a *capitalis rustica*) or smaller elongated letters were used for it. In many privileges the first lines give a good impression of the hierarchy of script being used by one (or sometimes more than one) scribe. The extraordinary characters in the first line strongly resembled the design of imperial diplomas, and probably for this reason they were retained in papal privileges. Many recipients though had problems to read this part of the text and therefore added a transcription. <Fig. 6>

There were some notable differences in the layout of these elongated letters. Normally they were measured according to the distance given by two horizontal lines. <Fig. 7> As soon as the ascenders of the first line became more elaborated their height grew. This was done in some proportion to the size of the upper margin. The details seem to have been a decision of each scribe, and they did not always hold on to the same principle. However, most of them adjusted the size of these characters to the lining on the parchment.

Another feature became more and more important. The pope's name stood at the beginning of all papal documents of these times. <Fig. 8> Many scribes started to stress the name, in the beginning rather by using capital characters for the first letter or even for the entire name.⁷ Normally only the initials were emphasized. Here decorations became frequent after around 1140, perhaps due to the influence of monastic book ornamentation⁸. Soon the initial letters also became bigger and their size was frequently determined by the lines again. Since the middle of the 12th century many initials were twice as high as the elongated characters of the first line, and afterwards they increasingly gained height, especially in the 13th century⁹. <Fig. 9> Again in many cases the grid of lines functioned as a measuring scale for the initials, and when a scribe had found out an ideal size and design he normally used to keep them over the years. We can perceive this especially between 1153 and 1181, when there were three succeeding popes with an A as initial¹⁰. The graphic development of the initials was very

(Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 20). Rome 1958, p. 128, also DAHLHAUS, Joachim: Rota oder Unterschrift. Zur Unterfertigung päpstlicher Urkunden durch Aussteller in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts, in: Irmgard FEES / Andreas HEDWIG / Francesco ROBERG (eds.): Papsturkunden des frühen und hohen Mittelalters. Äußere Merkmale – Konservierung – Restaurierung. Leipzig 2011, pp. 249–303, here p. 281.

⁶ POOLE: Lectures (above, note 2), p. 109. For the origins of these letters see BROMM, Gudrun: Die Entwicklung der Elongata in den älteren Papsturkunden (9.–11. Jahrhundert), in: Erika EISENLOHR / Peter WORM (eds.): Arbeiten aus dem Marburger hilfswissenschaftlichen Institut (Elementa Diplomatica 8). Marburg 2000, pp. 31–62.

⁷ For the first stages of this development see also KRUSKA: Zeilen (above, note 4), p. 242.

⁸ This was suggested by KORDES, Matthias: Der Einfluß der Buchseite auf die Gestaltung der hochmittelalterlichen Papsturkunde. Studien zur graphischen Konzeption hoheitlicher Schrifträger im Mittelalter. Hamburg 1993, pp. 99–102.

⁹ KRUSKA: Zeilen (above, note 4), p. 245.

¹⁰ As Anastasius, Adrianus, Alexander, see KRAFFT: Bene Valet (above, note 2), p. 179 with pp. 310–11.

influential because they were also introduced in the papal letters both in a decorated and a simple form.

Another typical feature of the opening protocol was the design of the words *In perpetuum*. <Fig. 10> Before 1100 scribes like the notorious Lanfranc started to write the first syllables as a kind of ligature. Some of his privileges also prove that there was a need for some buffer to adjust the length of the first line. Since 1118, the words *In perpetuum* had always been written as an abbreviation, and since 1130 the typical form of *INPPM* was used exclusively, starting with pope Innocent II. It was merely by coincidence that these letters resembled the pope's name and title¹¹. <Fig. 11> In the following decades this abbreviation was almost on the verge of becoming a monogram, therefore even the letters were sometimes exchanged without any shift of meaning. The details of this development remain to be described sufficiently, and the same can be said for the initials. Both were closely related, but as the initials grew in height, the characters of *In perpetuum* gained in length along the line¹². <Fig. 12> Their style and decoration also show a lot of similarities to the monogram at the bottom of the privileges, at least in case they were drawn by the same person.

The main text, which made up the greatest part of the privilege, was written in ordinary letters, mostly in so-called diplomatic minuscules that had become dominant since 1049. However up to the year 1123, some Roman notaries working for the pope used a more traditional type of cursive script, the so-called later curialis. <Fig. 13> It was usual in Rome then but it was read only with difficulty in the greater part of Europe. For many decades two very distinct systems of script were used simultaneously by two groups of papal scribes, obviously without heeding any possible confusion on the side of the recipients. However, the layout of these privileges was almost similar.

In the main text during the 1130s some ligatures started to be stretched much longer than before. <Fig. 14> This was part of the layout as well, as the scribe could use these ligatures to create a more regular edge at the end of the lines, sometimes resulting in equal margins on both sides. Thus the ligatures had a function similar to that of the *In perpetuum*. Also, in the main part of the text the beginnings of some more important sentences were marked with emphasized letters, sometimes even to be elaborated as a kind of smaller initials¹³ resembling the bigger one at the beginning of the privilege.

The main text in a papal privilege normally finished with the word *Amen*. It was occasionally repeated once, as *Amen Amen*, but the most common form was the triple *Amen*. <Fig. 15> Before 1100 the scribes started to emphasize this formula. This was closely connected to the layout of the privileges. The triple *Amen* was increasingly used to fill the space remaining in the last line of the text. This was not only meant to prevent fraudulent additions, but probably to give the main text a more regular shape, since it could be arranged in a perfect rectangle.

¹¹ It was merely by coincidence that these letters resembled the pope's name and title: This observation must be stressed in spite of the persistent attempts to read some standardized parts in the privileges as acronyms; especially by RÜCK, Peter: Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik, in: IDEM (ed.): Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden (Historische Hilfswissenschaften 3). Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 13–46, p. 44; or also: FRECH, Karl Augustin: Die Gestaltung des Papstnamens in der Intitulation der Urkunden Leos IX, in: FEES / HEDWIG / ROBERG, Papsturkunden (above, note 5), pp. 175–208, here p. 206–207; for a critical view see KRAFFT, Otfried: Der monogramatische Schlußgruß (Bene Valete). Über methodische Probleme, historisch-diplomatische Erkenntnis zu gewinnen, in: FEES / HEDWIG / ROBERG, Papsturkunden (above, note 5), pp. 209–247, here p. 239.

¹² KRAFFT : Bene Valet (above, note 2), p. 159.

¹³ For those see BROMM, Gudrun: Die Entwicklung der Großbuchstaben im Kontext hochmittelalterlicher Papsturkunden (Elementa Diplomatica 3). Marburg 1995.

Parts of the Amen could be stretched, and some letters had an extraordinary form, especially in the middle Amen. <[Fig. 16](#)> Some details of its design seem to be connected with certain scribes, who sometimes doubled single letters or even used Greek characters (*AMHN*). This part of the privileges was highly standardized and for this reason it seems to be very promising for any attempt of comparison. However, we cannot be too sure, that the scribe of the main text always added all the Amens as they are missing in some privileges.

Beneath the main text in all solemn privileges issued since 1088 a pair of two large graphic signs followed. On the left-hand side was the rota being constructed out of two circles around a cross, on the right-hand side there was a monogram containing the final greeting *Bene valete*. Since 1050 the monogram and the outlines of the rota were always drawn by chancery personnel¹⁴. Till around 1100 this was rather done by higher-ranking officials, afterwards almost always by the very scribe who wrote the main text. In some periods the design of these monograms was clearly connected with certain individuals. Seemingly they also drew the rotae and wrote a part of the few words inside. A comparison of this sparse lettering might be interesting to gain insights regarding the stages of confirmation in the chancery. <[Fig. 17](#)>

As until 1100 the scribe of the main text did not always draw the graphic signs in some privileges, the layout of the whole page was influenced by two different persons. This becomes obvious, when a well-known monogram appears under the handwriting of someone else. The above-mentioned Lanfranc used a very typical monogram, but it sometimes appeared underneath the text of other scribes, among them one named Peter. When this Peter started to draw his own monograms he adapted a form, which was derived from Lanfranc's model¹⁵. So both acted as a team until Peter started to work alone, meanwhile imitating the monogram of his colleague but not his style of writing.

Lanfranc was so influential in his design and writing that both were sometimes imitated by others who worked for the pope¹⁶. <[Fig. 18](#)> A closer look can reveal the differences: One of the imitating scribes used little vertical lines in order to draw the monogram. Such lines never occurred when Lanfranc himself was at work. So there were a number of genuine privileges written for the papal chancery that are technically imitations. Maybe this was done by occasional scribes or apprentices. <[Fig. 19](#)> However, in papal privileges issued since 1088 groups of similar monograms give the easiest access to make a first assortment of writing hands and to estimate the number of the scribes working for the pope¹⁷.

Apart from the ordinary scribes who wrote most of the text there were at least two other persons leaving their traces at the bottom part of the privileges¹⁸. The dating formula in the last line was written by a superior or his deputy, who was only sometimes the same scribe who had written the greater part of the privilege. The pope himself entered his device into the outer ring of the rota. He continued to do this even when in March 1100 another papal subscription appeared between rota and monogram. <[Fig. 20](#)> This double confirmation was not maintained for long as an ever-increasing part of it was written by a normal scribe, and the same can be said for the dating clause. However, scribes normally finished their work after drawing rota and monogram as some unfinished privileges from the 1180s prove¹⁹. The rest remained to be added during the internal procedure of confirmation. Therefore some parts of

¹⁴ DAHLHAUS: *Aufkommen* (above, note 3), p. 73.

¹⁵ KRAFFT: *Schlußgruß* (above, note 11), p. 242-243; IDEM: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 45-46.

¹⁶ KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 41.

¹⁷ For my attempt see KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2).

¹⁸ KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 151.

¹⁹ KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 182.

the closing protocol were entered by the very scribe who had written the main text, but as this would not necessarily take place at the same time, he still could use different ink or another quill, which possibly had some effects on his writing.

Soon after 1100 rota and monogram seemed to move upwards on the page whenever subscriptions of cardinals and other clerics followed. Their arrangement in columns surely was part of the layout, too, but these subscriptions are not to be treated here²⁰. In this zone of the privileges the development of new features never came to an end. All papal subscriptions ended with a double S for *subscripsi*. <Fig. 21> In privileges from the 13th century these characters were transformed into a kind of decorated monogram at the left side of the *Bene Valete*²¹. Soon their size became adjusted and they started to form a pair that was kept through the times while the number of privileges slackened down to nothing after 1286. This is but one example to show that the design of the papal privileges always continued to be developed further.

The layout of the whole zone around rota and monogram is especially interesting. It was here, where scribes tried to implement their own ideas of proportion. In some periods they enjoyed a remarkable freedom to do so, which led to a surprising variety of individual designs. This can also be seen in the layout, which was consistent only in some points. Obviously rota and monogram had to be placed on the same level, and very often they were of equal size. I already mentioned the use of a pair of dividers or compasses for constructing the rota. Especially in some privileges of Victor IV (1159-1164) we can see that the first draft of the rotae was not used to draw the final version. <Fig. 22> Obviously this was due to the lack of experience among the scribes of this so-called antipope, as we do not have many similar examples from other pontiffs.

When a papal subscription was introduced in the year 1100, it was placed between monogram and rota. This clearly had an effect on the positioning of both symbols, as from now on there always had to be a wider space between them. In some cases their distance was measured exactly with the help of the dividers. <Fig. 23> One example comes from the scribe Grisogonus who was active since 1110 and later became chancellor. Many of his monograms had an almost ideal proportion of 1 to 2, and the distance between rota and monogram was constructed neatly as it equals the triple diameter of the rota²². In other examples their distance was exactly the quadruple diameter. Grisogonus however did not always hold on to that principle. There are many similar cases. In one example from 1195 the distance between the left edge and the rota was measured exactly. <Fig. 24> Also the stretched letter M of the middle Amen had the same length, and this was certainly not by chance. Still it remains unknown if this was a rule for that scribe. So we do have some cases, where the layout of the page could possibly be described in a rather simple geometric equation. But we do not know yet if it is possible to formulate more generalized rules, even for shorter periods or some individuals.

Measuring the privileges today is also complicated because of the properties of parchment, which frequently seems to give a distorted picture as the lines are no longer parallels. For this reason today many rotae are not perfect circles but rather ellipsoids. What in the beginning was a flat piece of parchment now often appears to be crushed. Sometimes we can rather see than measure the proportions on which the layout of a privilege was based.

Conclusion

²⁰ This does not seem necessary here, as Werner MALECZEK treats them in his paper given at this symposium.

²¹ KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 152 with figures on pp. 306-08.

²² KRAFFT: *Bene Valete* (above, note 2), p. 61.

Persons like the notary Lanfranc clearly had the intention to use their best geometric skills to create a refined script and to make the whole layout more perfect: Practical geometry was not only an applied science from mediaeval schools but also a noble task as it resembled God's own work²³. The outward perfection of his privileges could be seen as mirror of the heavenly order. Under Lanfranc's influence the privileges gained a degree of consistency which only few other issuers could produce, namely the Roman emperors. So it was not by chance that this development took place when his employer, pope Urban II, with his call for a crusade in 1095 became something like the head of Christian Europe, too.

However, changes in the outward form of the privileges were frequent until Innocent II became pope in 1130 and succeeded to be accepted as the true pontiff some years after. With him radical changes in the outward features became rather seldom, but in the decades to follow the design of the privileges never became as schematic as it once was assumed by Pflugk-Harttung. There always were significant differences between the documents issued in the name of one pope due to the influence of certain scribes. Often there was a kind of individual design which was prominently expressed in the initial letters and in the monograms.

But even the parts contributed by these individuals were likely to change during their careers. Their share sometimes moved from the main text to shorter, yet more important parts of the privileges. One example is John of Gaeta, who wrote a number of privileges around the year 1090 and who in some cases just added the monograms and rotae. A while after he only contributed the dating clause as a chancellor, but he did this in almost all of the privileges of these days. John continued to do so for more than two decades but stopped this when he became pope in early 1118 (as Gelasius II, 1118-1119). During his short pontificate he introduced a modified papal subscription, which was written by him. And there were some other cases of successful scribes who had impressing careers as well. However, there was no rule in this, as some other papal scribes always remained in a humble position.

In some periods the scribes enjoyed more freedom to emphasize their individual features, especially from 1088 till 1118, also in the decade since 1130 and later after 1159 with Alexander III (1159-1181)²⁴. Historians of the papacy should notice that some of these periods coincided with the times when there was more than one pope. These scisms seemingly encouraged individualism among papal scribes. Probably there was a connection with the recruitment of new personnel, especially when one of the pretenders was forced to leave Rome or Italy in order to seek refuge in other countries. This observation leads to a last postulate: Any attempt to analyse the development of such documents should not be done regardless of the changes on the political field.

We still do not know enough about the scribes of the papal chancery in the 12th century. Their names are mostly unknown and their number can only be roughly estimated. Moreover papal documents were frequently forged so we must always consider the question whether a charter was genuine, a fake or something in between (e. g. by interpolation of words or whole sentences), and scribe identification is central for that. Also, the number of privileges issued by popes reached its high tide in the years since 1139. Not only their quantity, but also their wide dispersion in archives all over Europe is a great obstacle to evaluate them completely.

²³ FREEDMAN, John B.: The Architect's compass in creation miniatures in the Later Middle Ages, in: *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 419–429; OHLY, Friedrich: *Deus Geometra. Skizzen zur Geschichte einer Vorstellung von Gott*, in: Norbert KAMP / Joachim WOLLASCH (eds.): *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des frühen Mittelalters. Festschrift Karl Hauck*, Berlin / New York 1982, pp. 1–42.

²⁴ KRAFFT: *Bene Valet* (above, note 2), pp. 178-79.

The external appearance of any papal privilege depended on a number of sometimes contradicting influences. There are not enough reliable studies to grasp all steps of their development. We can, however, draw conclusions by comparison. Still any approach to do so, whether in the traditional way or by computers, must carefully consider what sample of pieces can be compared at all. In some cases only a very limited quantity of documents seems to be suitable, and we always have to assume that certain parts of the privileges were produced by different persons.

The general development of the privileges was partly going on in a slow and evolutionary mode, but sometimes their form was changing rapidly due to internal reforms and to external factors. For this reason the appearance of any papal privilege only gives a kind of freeze-frame of a certain stage. To me it sometimes seems very difficult to determine what an ideal privilege like those in the manuals really was. When we look more closely at the basic elements the frequency of changes is rather puzzling. Nevertheless all scribes working for the pope followed some given frame or agreement, which was overseen by experienced staff. It was a kind of living knowledge as we do not have any written instructions for the making of a papal charter from those times. Therefore our knowledge is mainly based on observations made in the remaining originals. It is essential to understand that arranging, writing and drawing a papal privilege was done by the same individuals, sometimes working alone, sometimes in a team. Layout analysis combined with the identification of the scribes seems to be the ideal way to get the overall picture.

Zusammenfassung:

Seitenlayout und Schreiberidentifikation in päpstlichen Privilegien (seit 1088)
von Otfried Krafft

Der Beitrag behandelt den Zusammenhang zwischen Layoutanalyse und Schreiberidentifikation anhand der feierlichen Privilegien beginnend mit Papst Urban II. Unter ihm verfestigten sich die 1049 von Leo IX. eingeführten äußeren Merkmale dieser maßgeblichen und einflußreichen Urkundenart, darunter auch das Layout. Dessen einzelne Komponenten werden hier betrachtet, wobei sich die regelmäßig gezogenen Blindlinien als Grundeinheit für die Größe vieler anderer Bestandteile (Elongata, Initiale, Oberlängen, Rota, Monogramm) erweisen. Während ein Teil des Layouts der Privilegien innerhalb eines kanzeleotypischen Rahmens blieb, gehörten die Einzelheiten zum Gestaltungsspielraum der Schreiber, etwa die Initiale, diverse Auszeichnungsschriften und die graphischen Zeichen Rota und Monogramm (*Bene Valet*). Bestimmte Schreiber hielten sich durchgehend an individuelle Prinzipien der Konstruktion, wie Positionen, Proportionen oder relative Maße. Grundsätzlich problematisch für die Schreiberidentifikation ist allerdings, daß an Privilegien mehrere Personen arbeiteten und bestimmte Elemente nicht immer vom Kontextschreiber stammen mußten. Hinzu kamen externe Faktoren, insbesondere die damals häufigen Wechsel von Standort und Personal, denen das Aussehen der Urkunden unterworfen war. Diese Einflüsse waren sehr eng mit dem politischen Wechselspiel der Papstgeschichte verbunden. Insgesamt scheint der Schluß zwingend, daß eine separierte Analyse von Layout und Schreiberhänden kein vollständiges Bild ergeben kann. Beides gehört zusammen, schon weil die Schreiber, sei es allein oder in Gruppenarbeit, auch das Layout verantworteten. Schließlich ergibt sich der äußere Eindruck aus der Schrift, den graphischen Zeichen und eben auch nicht zuletzt aus ihrer Anordnung. Um Breschen in die schiere Masse der einschlägigen Überlieferung zu schlagen, sind Unterteilungen anzustreben, die über Klassifikationen des Layouts, der Schreiberhände oder der graphischen Gestaltung von Einzelteilen (insbesondere

der Initialen oder – wie schon versucht – der Benevaleté-Monogramme) zu erlangen sind. Wenn unsere Erkenntnis über den relativ gut bekannten Gestaltungsrahmen der Kanzlei hinauskommen soll, insbesondere um synchrone Differenzierungen zu erhalten, scheint es dringend notwendig, über Layoutanalyse und Schriftbestimmung den Konnex mit den schreibenden Individuen herzustellen.

Fig. 2:

The layout of (solemn) papal privileges

- 1. Lines and margins
- 2. Initial of the pope
- 3. Elongated lettering
- 4. 'In perpetuum'
- 5. Main text
- 6. 'Amen' as final word(s)
- 7. Rota
- 8. Papal subscription
- 9. Monogram 'Bene valet'
- 10. Subscriptions (mostly)
- of cardinals, in columns
- 11. Dating formula
- (12. Fold)

Alexander III, 1179, JL 13349

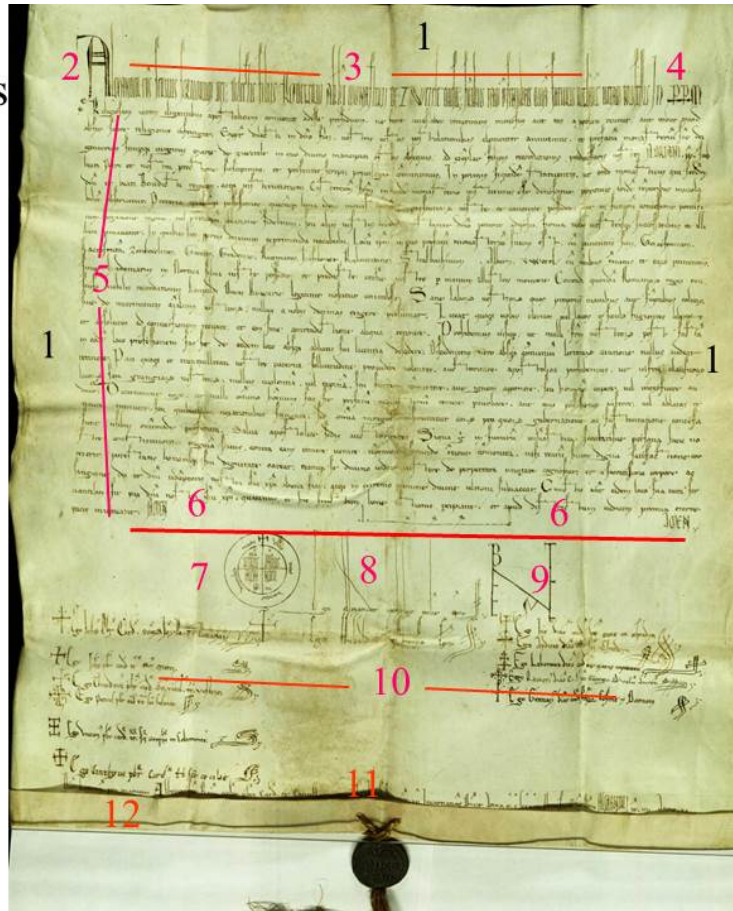


Fig. 3:

The use of tools to make the lines



Figure using of a pair of dividers and a ruler
Isidor, Etymologiae
Stuttgart, Cod. Poet. fol. 33

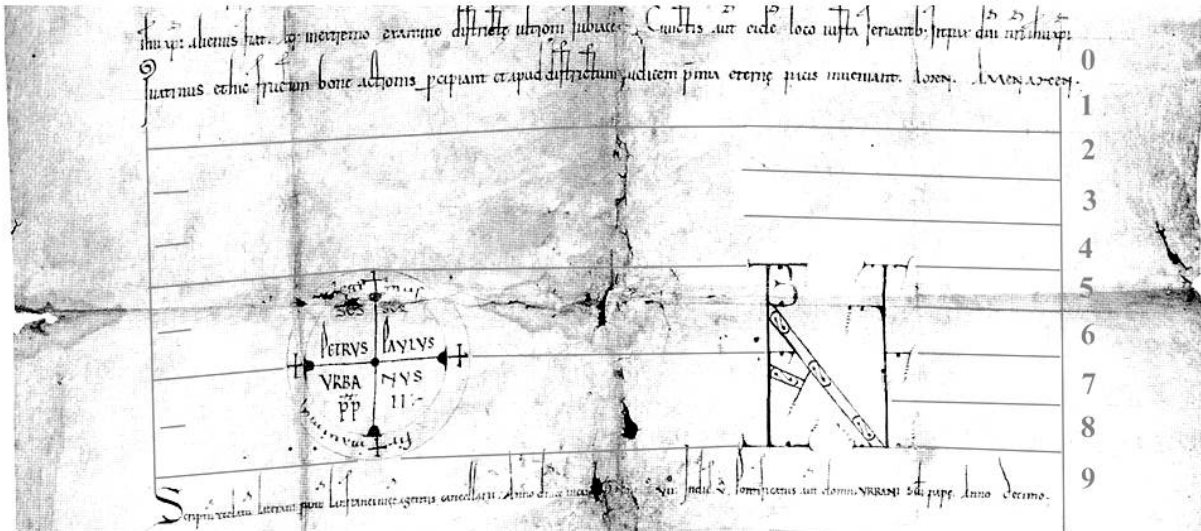
Punctures left
by dividers



JL 6291

Fig. 4:

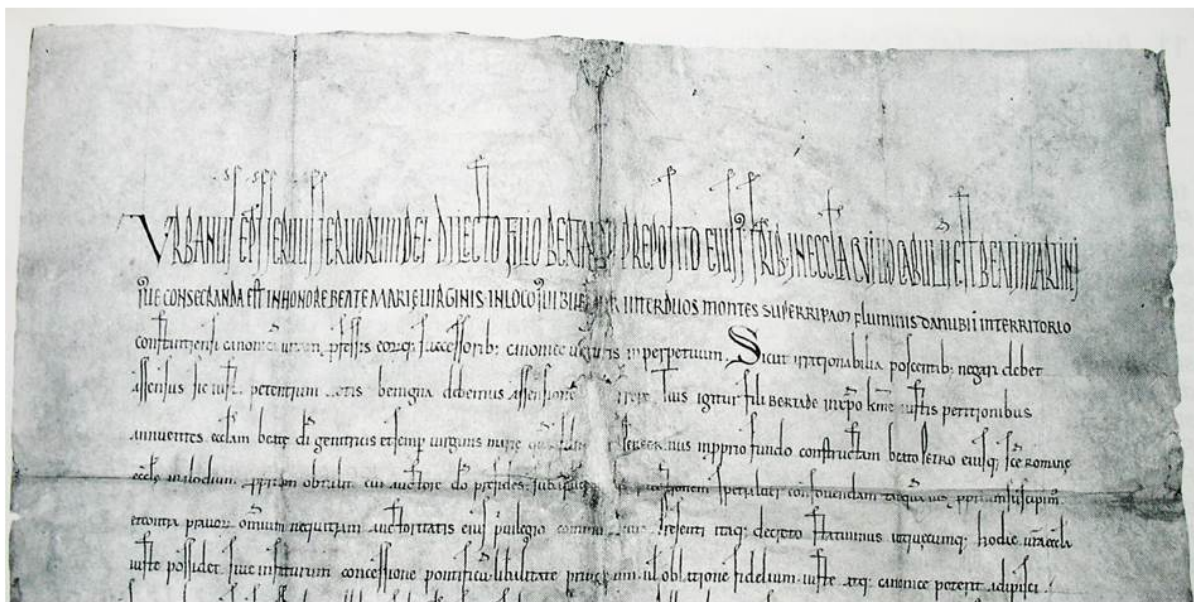
Lanfranc's ideal layout for the closing protocol in solemn privileges



Lanfranc as a scribe for Urban II, 1097, JL 5692

Fig. 5:

Lanfranc's ideal layout for the upper half of solemn privileges



Lanfranc as a scribe for Urban II., 1097, JL 5692

Fig. 6:

Elongated letters and their medieval transcriptions



JL 6017

JL 15707

Fig. 7:

Variations of the upper margin in privileges written by Lanfranc



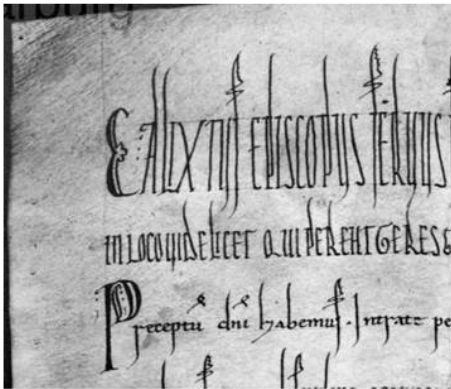
JL 5542 (1095)

JL 5504 (1095)

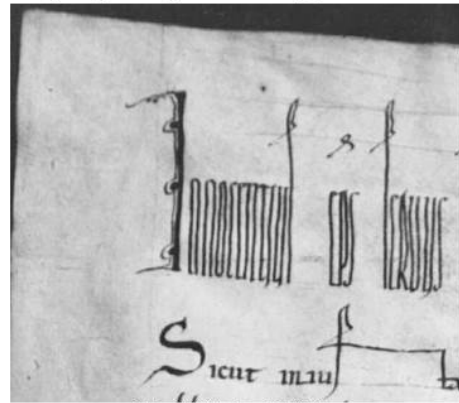
JL 5692 (1097)

Fig. 8:

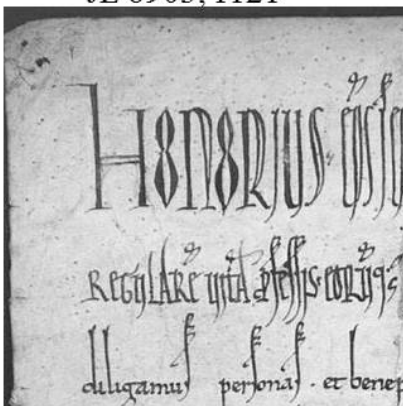
Early decorated initials in papal privileges



JL 6903, 1121



JL 8046, 1139



JL 9113, 1147

JL 7246, 1126

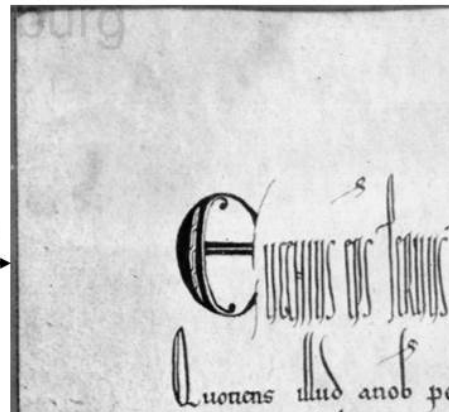


Fig. 9:

Growing initials in papal privileges after 1150



Alexander III
JL 13013 (1178)



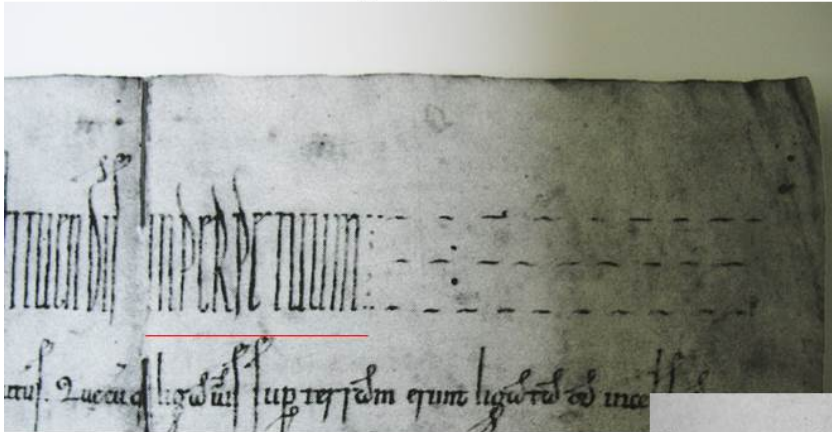
Innocent III
P 4277 (1211)



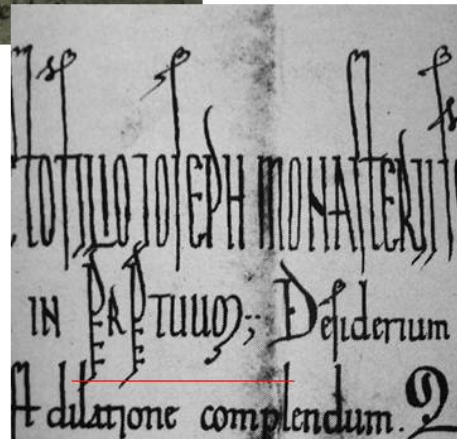
Innocent IV
P 11182 (1245)

Fig. 10:

In perpetuum, earlier forms



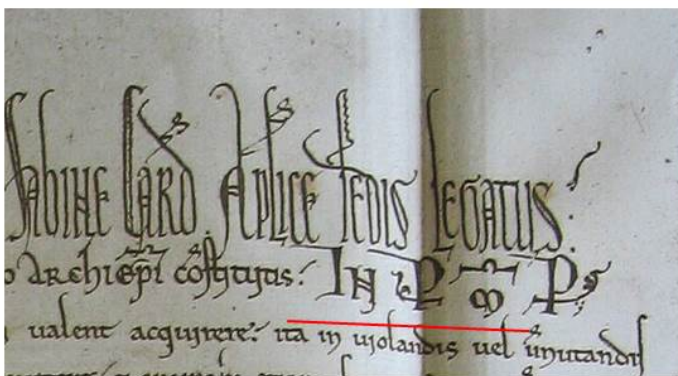
Lanfranc, JL 5459, 1092



Idem, JL 5504, 1095

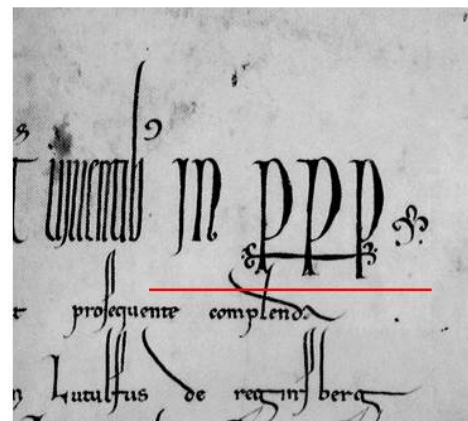
Fig. 11:

In perpetuum
as abbreviation, examples for aberrations



IN P. M. P.

Legate William of S. Sabina, 1182
Musée des archives, t. XXVII no. 49



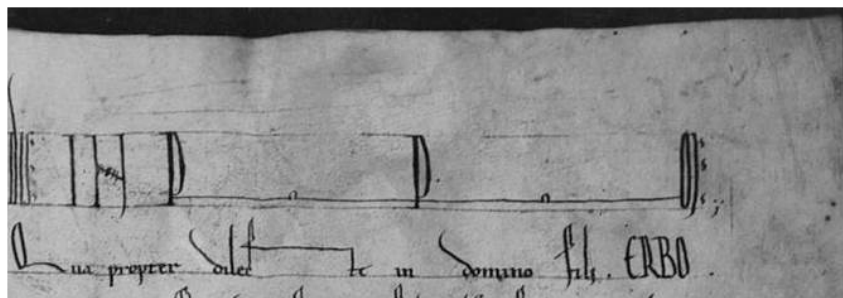
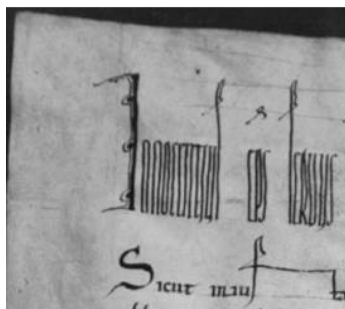
IN PPP

Pope Victor IV, 1161,
JL 14446

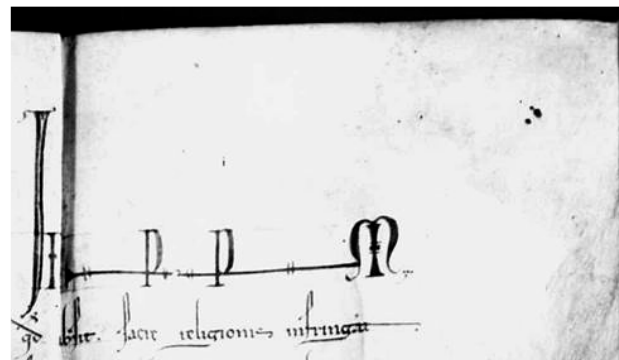
Fig. 12:

Initials

and stretched INPPM



JL 8046, 1139



JL 13473, 1179

Fig. 13:

Curialis in a papal privilege,
interlinear miniscule added by the recipients,
JL 4666,

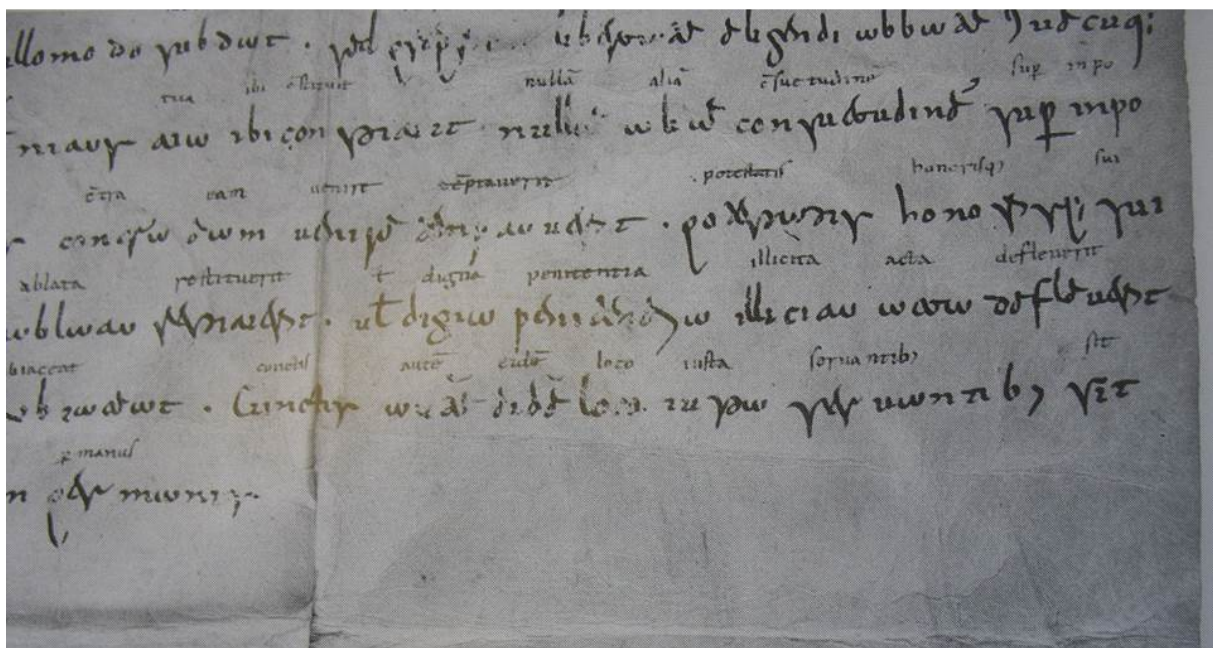


Fig. 14:

Longer and shorter ligatures (ct/st) as a means to adjust the length of the lines

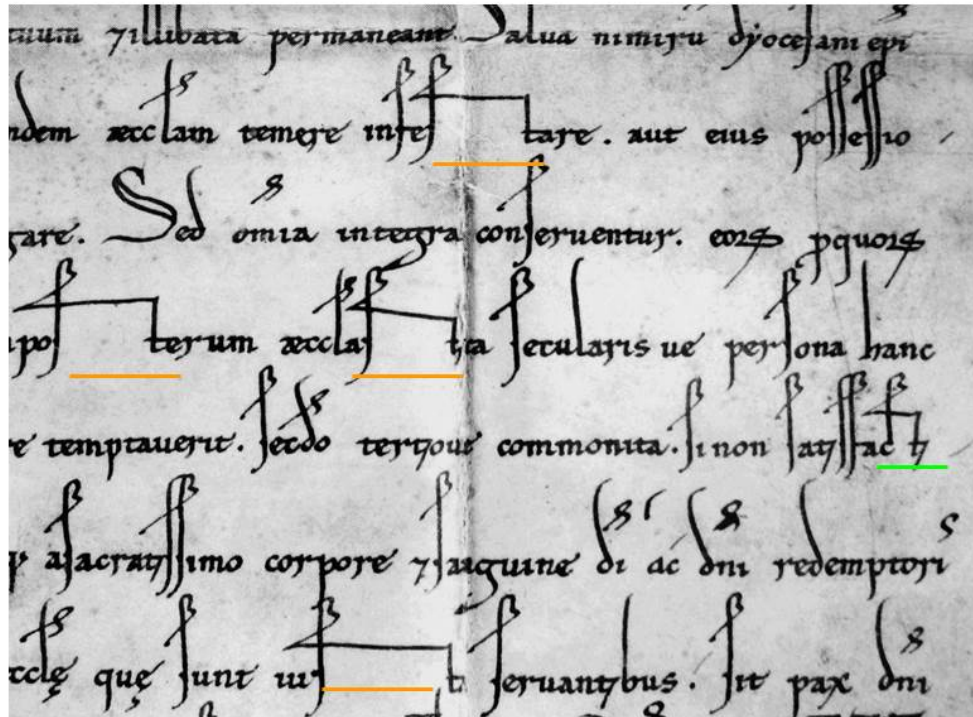
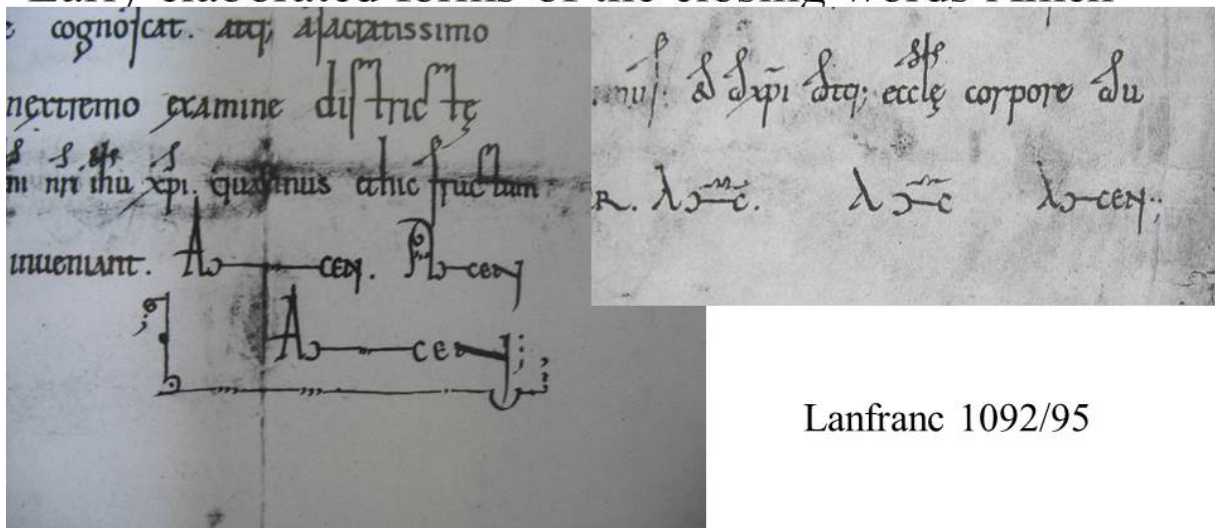


Fig. 15:

Early elaborated forms of the closing words Amen



Lanfranc 1092/95

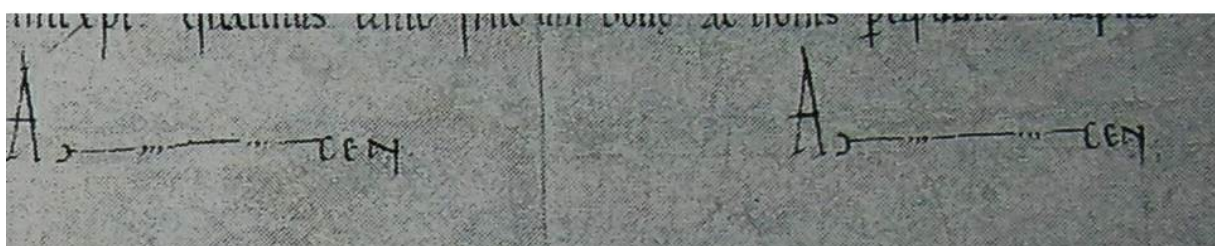
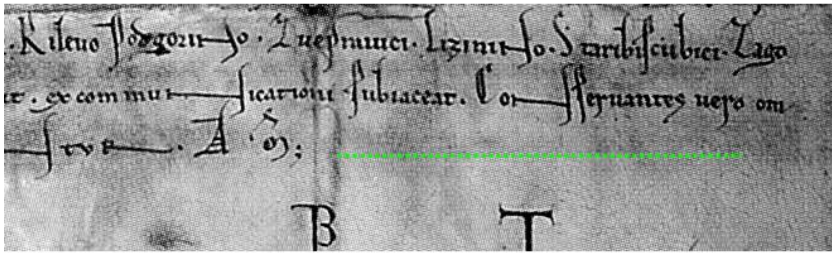


Fig. 16:

Amen or Amen Amen Amen

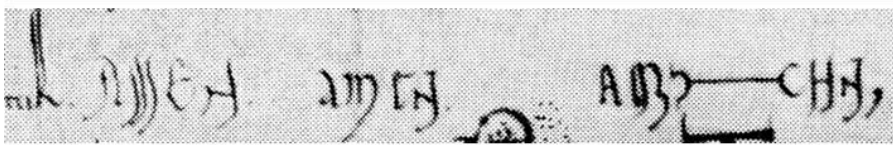


Two missing *Amens*?

Innocent II, 1136. JL-



Triple *Amen* filling a whole line, Eugenius III, 1147, JL-

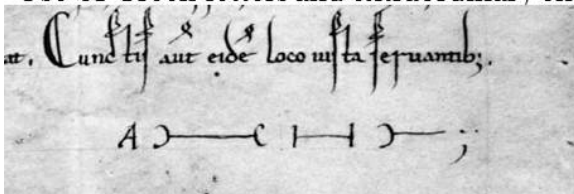


A □ ○ ○ H N

Anacletus II, 1133,

It. Pont. 8, 174 n. 230

Use of Greek letters and extraordinary characters:

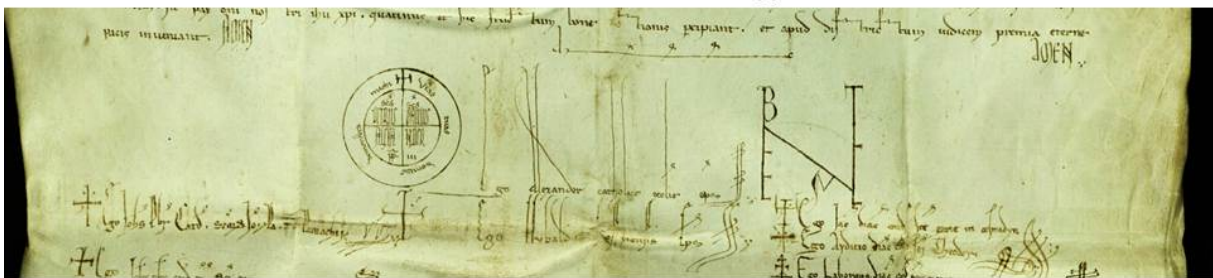


Calixtus II, 1121, JL 6903

Fig. 17:

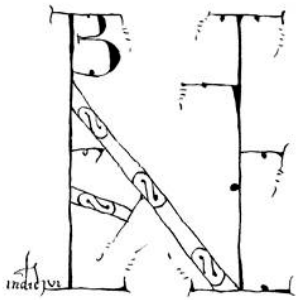
Rota

Monogram „Bene valet“

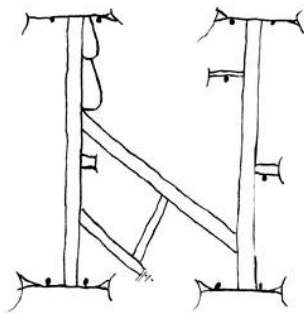


Alexander III, 1179, JL 13349

Fig. 18:

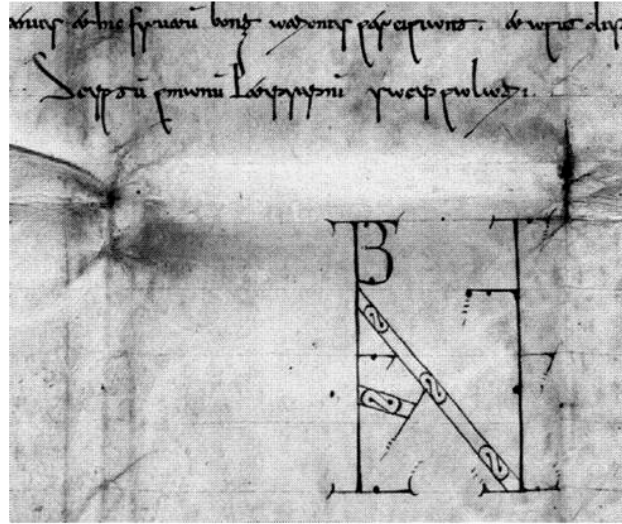


Lanfranc's monogram, 1097, JL 5691



Peter's monogram, 1097, JL 5686

Monograms and scribes



Lanfranc's monogram under a text written by Peter for Urban II, 1098, JL 5697

Fig. 19:

Lanfranc imitated by a colleague 1093, JL 5508

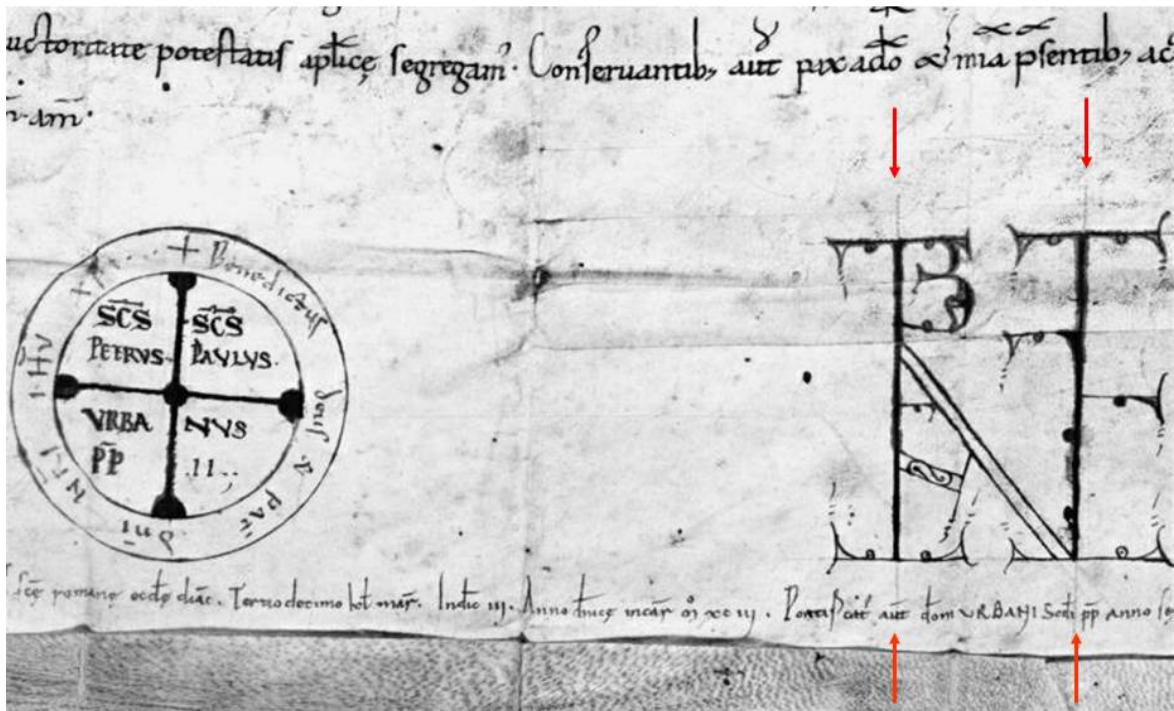


Fig. 20:

The papal subscription between rota and monogram (introduced in 1100)

JL 6048

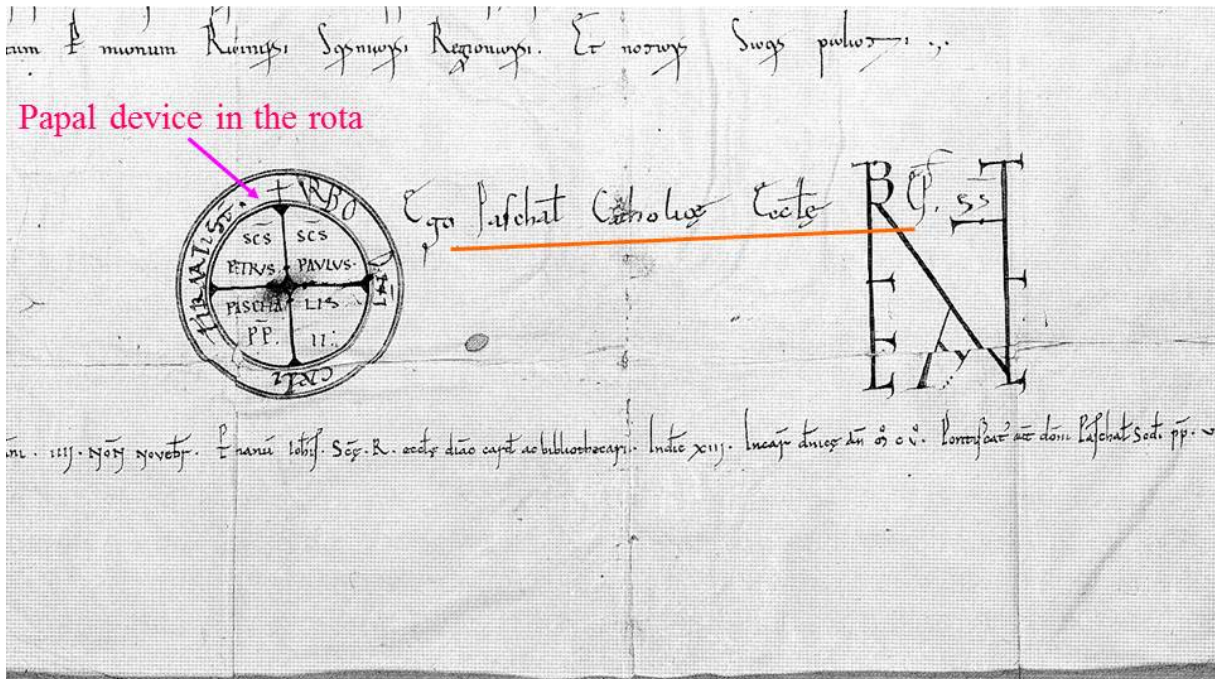
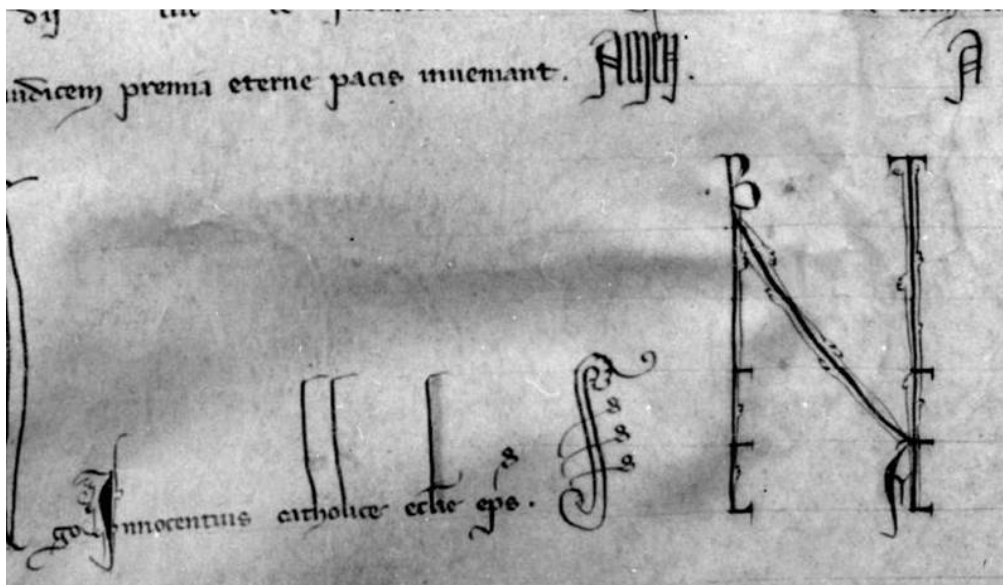


Fig. 21:

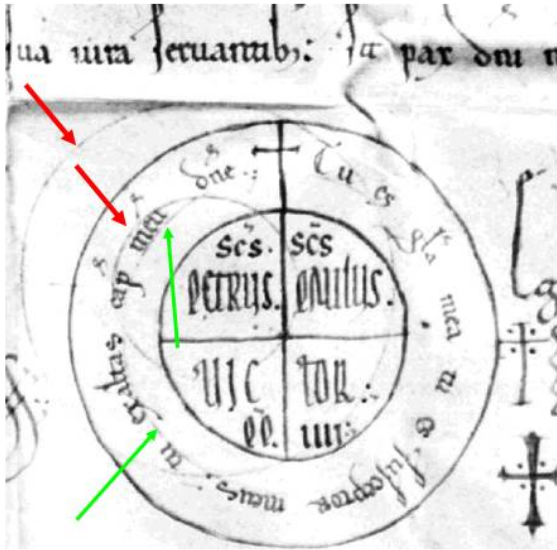
Subscripti as a monogram



Innocent IV, P. 11182, 1245

Fig. 22:

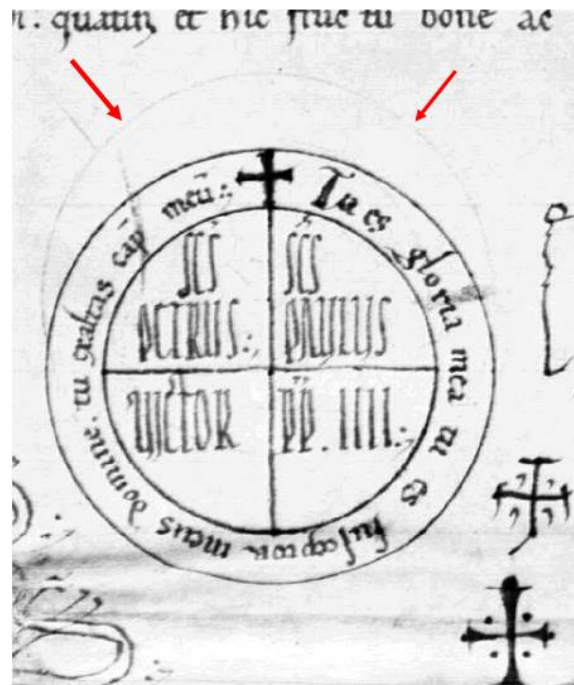
Deleted circles replaced with another rota in privileges of Victor IV



JL 14438, 1160

Red arrows, original rotae

Green arrows, helping circle for the device



JL 14427, 1159

Fig. 23:

Exactly measured distance between rota & monogram Grisogonus working for Paschal II, 1117, JL 6550

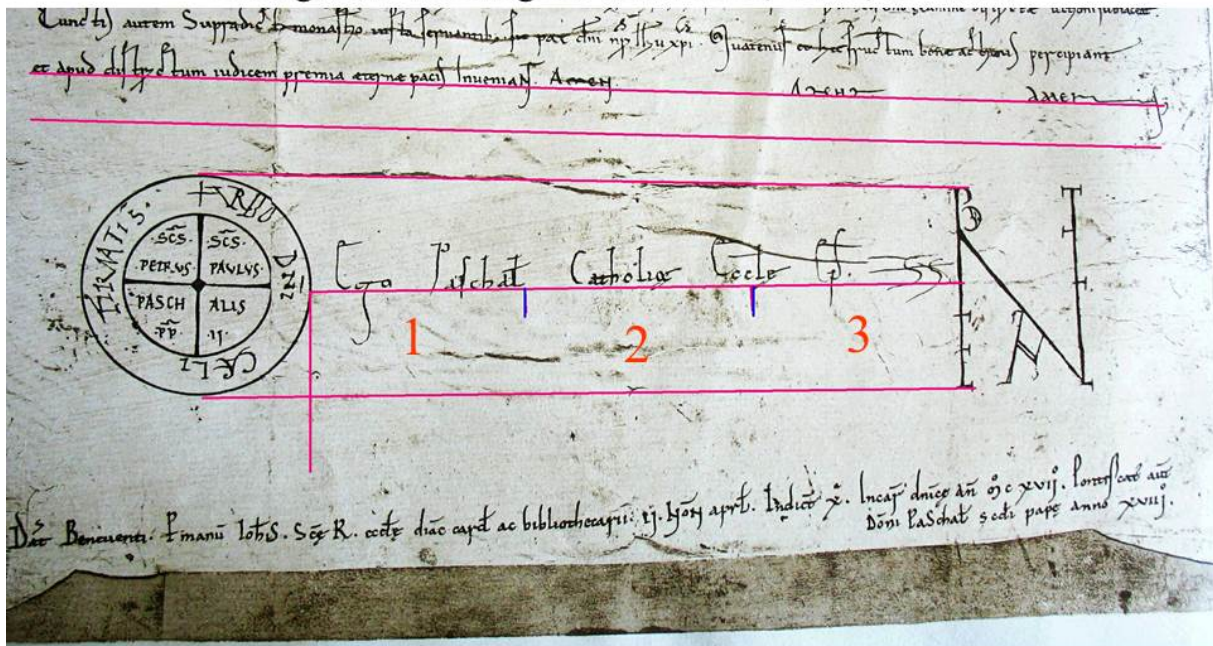
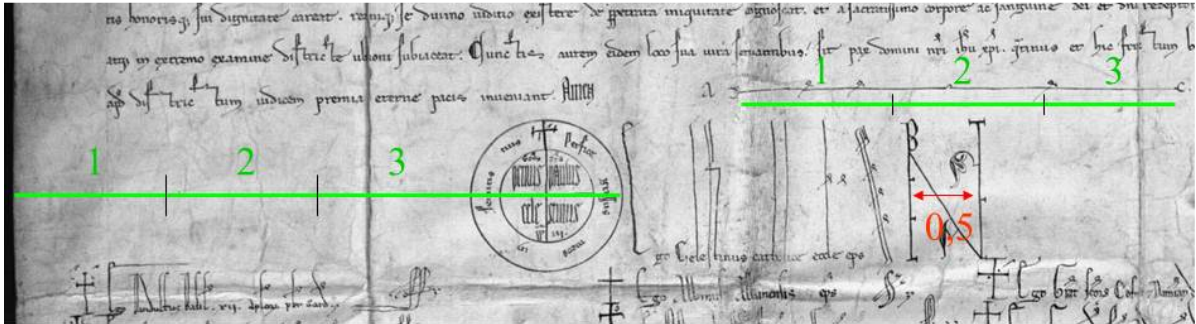


Fig. 24:

Exact values for the position of the rota,
the length of M (in Amen) and the monogram
Celestine III, 1195, JL 17230



The numbers indicate distances in relation to the diameter of the rota.