THE BIRTH OF THE ARCHIVE

A History of Knowledge

Markus Friedrich

Translated by John Noël Dillon

The Birth of the Archive

Cultures of Knowledge in the Early Modern World
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Contents

Abbreviations

AA	Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Akademie Ausgabe), Darmstadt, Leipzig, and Berlin since 1923, 52 volumes to date
AD	Archives departementales
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AM	Archives municipales
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
ASR	Archivio di stato di Roma
ASV	Archivio segreto vaticano
BAB	Bundesarchiv Berlin
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Cod. Guelf.	Handschriften der HABWolfenbüttel
FB	Forschungsbibliothek Gotha
GLA	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
HesHStA	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden
LA	Landesarchiv
LHA	Landeshauptarchiv
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NLB	Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek
NsHStA	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover
StA	Staatsarchiv
StaBi	Staatsbibliothek
StadtA	Stadtarchiv
ThHStA	Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar
UB	Universitätsbibliothe

1 ✦ Stories and Histories of Archives
An Introduction

A scandalous crime was uncovered in Paris on May 25, 1682: a break-in in one of the archives of the Chambre des Comptes. That summer morning, two employees of this eminent court of the king of France had needed some documents. When they entered the archive in the attic of the court, chaos reigned. The signs of a forced break-in were unmistakable. Parchment and pieces of books were scattered on the floor; dirt was everywhere. The intruders had even left their tools behind; they apparently intended to return. The Chambre des Comptes immediately launched an investigation. From the evidence of destruction, a carpenter reconstructed the path the thieves must have taken. All indications suggested that they had come in from outside, from the neighboring building, entering the attic through the roof with a saw and crowbar.[1]

The evidence pointing to the neighboring building put the investigators hot on the thieves' trail. The following weeks would lead to interrogations, cross-examinations, and the taking of further evidence. As soon as May 29, just four days after the crime was discovered, a young man named Pierre Marconnes was questioned. It quickly became clear that he was the perpetrator. Twelve days later he confessed his guilt on record. An accomplice had assisted him, a young man about fifteen years old, Antoine Manoux, who had mainly helped him transport the heavy parchment volumes. By their own admission, the two had removed about fifty to sixty bulky codices in several trips. The Chambre des Comptes put the loss at exactly sixty-eight volumes.

Marconnes and Manoux had committed the crime, but the authorities

soon identified another inhabitant of Paris as the real culprit: Adrien Alexandre was about forty years old, originally from Sainte-Marguerite-sur-Fauville in Normandy, and normally earned a living in the capital as a drink-maker and barkeeper (*limonadier*). Some time before, Marconnes had patronized the *limonadier*'s bar. On that occasion, Marconnes had learned that Alexandre ran an extensive side-business as a dealer in used parchment. When Marconnes brought him a few leaves soon afterward, Alexander actually bought them. Whenever Marconnes subsequently visited the bar, the *limonadier* repeatedly assured him that he would also purchase future deliveries. No questions were asked. Marconnes was probably right to understand this as an unspoken request for more used parchment. The archive of the Chambre des Comptes was a rich source of it.

Parchment was an expensive raw material in the premodern world. Made from animal skins, it was a valuable and costly resource that was not wasted. Previously written material was reprocessed, the ink removed, and reused. Hence the used-parchment trade was a lucrative business.[2] It was well organized in Paris. The hearings brought to light an extensive network of fences, clandestine shippers, and respectable purchasers with whom Alexandre had long collaborated. After the *limonadier* received the stolen goods, he sold them to interested buyers through female acquaintances by the name of Sesteau, Brasseur, Lagamet, and Martine Boucher. His customers were established book-dealers and printers, such as Denis Thierry and Giles Roland, the agent of the Flemish publishers in Paris.

Once in the hands of such book-dealers, the stolen goods from the archive of the Chambre des Comptes emerged from the demimonde. And here was a risk that Alexandre had underestimated. Roland and Thierry were people with excellent social connections. Denis Thierry regularly socialized with the supreme guardian of law in the capital, the famous *lieutenant général de police* Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie, who told Thierry about the break-in in the archive of the Chambre des Comptes. Thierry promptly informed de la Reynie of the sale of large amounts of parchment by Alexandre. This information enabled the police quickly to prevent the sale of the stolen parchment and to confiscate the rest. The Chambre des Comptes recovered a large number of its documents, albeit in mutilated form. In September 1682, the guilty parties were punished. Manoux and several of the women received only fines; Marconnes was banished from the city for five years. Alexandre suffered the same punishment, but additionally had to submit to a beating. All parties moreover had to pay for the restoration of the damaged codices.

The break-in took place on the Ile de la Cité, right in the heart of Paris.

Since the Middle Ages, this island in the Seine had been a very special place for the French monarchy. The Palais de Justice, originally a royal palace, stood on its western tip. In the seventeenth century, although no longer the home of the rulers of France, the Palais housed many important institutions of the French monarchy.[3] Besides the Sainte-Chapelle, the Parlement of Paris and the burglarized Chambre des Comptes were located there. The archive Marconnes had broken into lay at the heart of the French monarchy, at the center of the commonwealth and its identity. Not even here were archives safe and protected.

Yet the vulnerability of the archive of the Chambre is hardly surprising. Although the Palais de Justice possessed immense symbolic and administrative significance for the kingdom, it was also one of the liveliest places in the capital. The many courts and arcades of the centuries-old complex had traditionally served as one of the economic centers of Paris. "There are stands and businesses and banks in the Palais de Justice of Paris [. . .]. These are operated by grocers and other merchants, [. . .] those by notaries and lawyers," wrote the famous jurist Charles Loyseau in 1640.[4] Crowds from all social backgrounds with the most diverse needs met daily in the Palais. Luxury goods were sold there alongside objects for everyday use.[5] Adrien Alexandre was one of many barkeepers and traders in the Palais. His shop stood in the Cour Neuf, only a few meters removed from the archive that was broken into on his behalf (fig. 1). Marconnes and his accomplice Manoux also spent most of their time in the Palais and indeed were even closer to the scene of the crime. Both of them earned a living as pages and servants in the household of the president of Parlement. His official residence stood wall to wall next to the Chambre des Comptes, and Marconnes and Manoux will have frequently been there, if they did not in fact live there. The thieves thus knew the premises extremely well, and so it was no coincidence that they were able to scout out a path inside through the roof.

The violated archive and the perpetrators thus occupied one and the same place. Even the most venerable archives of the most powerful authorities in the kingdom were at best only thinly separated from the pulsing social life of their immediate surroundings. Simply boring through a few walls created a direct spatial connection between the archive in the attic of the Chambre and the hub for used parchment at Alexandre's bar. The interrogation records paint a very vivid picture of the series of halls and arcades through which Manoux hauled the volumes more or less unseen and as secretly as possible to Alexandre. The topography of this crime thus reveals that archives in the Early Modern Period were connected to the society and

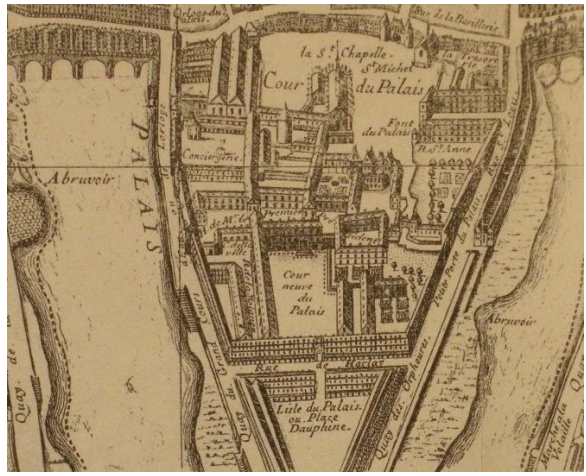

Fig. 1. The Palais de Justice, ca. 1710

culture that surrounded them; they stood in close proximity to the great diversity of everyday life; they were embedded in the social world that surrounded them. What happened to archives was therefore determined to a considerable degree by their environment.

The history of early modern archives as told in this book draws an important conclusion from the social and geographic topography of the archive burglary of 1682: the archives of Germany and France between ca. 1500 and 1790 emerge in the following chapters as socially embedded phenomena, that is, phenomena that are affected by all parts of society and that affect society in turn. This book attempts to reconstruct how archives in the premodern era became an integral part of the social, political, and intellectual life of Europe. This attempt is guided by the insight that archives by no means obeyed a logic that categorically shut them off from the outside world. On the contrary, we must presume the "permeability of the archive."[6] Archives influenced people, and people influenced archives, and in a variety of ways. Alexandre's case shows that archives were established elements of complex sociocultural contexts. Archives were not limited to predetermined functions, tasks, and duties, and scholars today accordingly should not hastily impose such limitations on them. Archives were, on the contrary, subject to different, contradictory interests; they were objects of social debate and arenas for rival attempts to define their functions. They were multivalent elements of a multifaceted culture and society.

ARCHIVES AS PLACES OF KNOWLEDGE

Archives are generally taken for granted as places of knowledge, that is, institutions that help to preserve, make available, and create knowledge. According to conventional usage, archives are "repositories" or "storerooms," and thus are often reduced to their function of providing the prerequisites or structuring principles of knowledge. But we should not declare archives places of knowledge generically without further ado. The path from archives to knowledge was and remains neither necessary and inevitable nor simple and self-evident. *On the one hand*, as we saw in the case of Alexandre, there were many archival practices that had little or nothing to do with the content of archived documents, but rather responded to other qualities and potentialities. A history of archives must recognize that archives were important to people not only because of the knowledge they contained. Accordingly, it will be a particular goal of this book to flesh out alternative approaches to archives.

On the other hand, and this is the second theme of the following pages, using an archive as a place of knowledge—when that occurred—was anything but trivial: again and again, in certain circumstances of everyday political, scholarly, and legal life, knowledge was successfully obtained from archives. The success of this utilization, however, is less a self-evident fact than an accomplishment that calls for explanation. The function of archives as reservoirs of knowledge thus will *not* serve as the precondition or starting point of this history of archives, but rather as a product of specific archival practices that calls for analysis.

An intellectual history of archives, therefore, should also not be limited to an investigation of catalogues and record-keeping practices. Inventories may tell us what things and documents a person or institution possessed.[7] But what people actually did with that property, how they interacted with it in practice, and how it was handled and utilized, is another question. Inventories give us no information about the actual significance of property and archival material. They tell us nothing about the specific role played by things and documents in everyday life. A history of archived knowledge thus must go beyond investigating inventories and orders of knowledge and address the question of whether and, if so, how that collected knowledge could be and was utilized in everyday life.

First and foremost, we must emphasize the physicality of archives.[8] The fact that archives contained unwieldy and fragile objects—leaves, roles,

codices—profoundly affected the way that they became places of knowledge. By explicitly acknowledging this fact, the history of archives would satisfy recent intellectual historians' demands that we conceive of knowledge as something physical and fluid.[9] The physical state of archives, their "dust," had a profound influence on whether, when, and how archives became places of knowledge, as Carolyn Steedman has emphasized.[10] If we take the physicality of archival knowledge seriously, we may profitably meet another demand of contemporary intellectual historians: studies of the rise of scientific discoveries now routinely stress that knowledge is the result of laborious processes. Knowledge is always *in the making*, even and especially when it comes from an archive. When I describe archives below as "places of knowledge," this expression acknowledges the methodological imperative of connecting the creation of knowledge to specific, more or less individual circumstances and contexts. We must highlight the physicality and materiality of these activities. The functioning of archives as repositories and sources of knowledge is by no means a straightforward and self-evident aspect of their existence. A modern intellectual history of the Early Modern Period accordingly must pay close attention to archives; however, it also must recognize that archives were always situated locally and, as elements of the infrastructure of knowledge, were (and are) heavily dependent on their context. That is what is meant by the term "place of knowledge" in this book.

Stories and Histories of Archives: In Praise of Praxis

In light of the reflections outlined above, this book is intended both to problematize the conception of archives as places of knowledge and to present the actual everyday use of archives in order to assess their importance to people. The goal is to establish the place of archives in people's lives. In order to reach this goal, the following chapters are dedicated to investigating the specific ways in which archives were used.[11] A history of the *use* of archives reinvigorates the quest for the historical functions of repositories of written texts. What archives can and cannot do depends on how they are used. Archives are not storage facilities or receptacles that simply accumulate documents; they are the sum of activities and actions. Nothing about an archive is passive or automatic, no matter what the clichéd expression about the "organic growth" of archival holdings may suggest.[12] The idea that archives are characterized by "passive receptivity," even in part, is misleading.[13] The

view of archives as a reified institution must not obscure the fact that archives are constituted by countless activities and actions. In this context, we are interested less in "the archive" as an institution than in "archiving" and "archival work."

Accordingly, we will explore both how new social practices related to archives developed and how archives were integrated into preexisting social practices. The predominant sense of the concept of "social practices" in contemporary theory derives from the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. According to an interpretation applicable to historical studies, social practices are defined as "routinized forms of action that legitimate a subjectively perceived behavioral normality."[14] The term "social practice" indicates preexisting behavioral patterns that people internalize, perform, come to recognize as reasonable, and demonstrate to others. Such practices are not always conscious; rather, they precede the various situations in which an individual must make decisions. People who act in a certain situation normally do not have to think about how they should or will behave. There are accepted behavioral patterns that one can and will follow in recurring situations—also with respect to archives and archival material. In this book, these patterns will be called "archival practices."

This term indicates sets of behavioral patterns that people can (or must) follow if they have (or want) to engage with archives. It thus indicates behavioral patterns related to archives that seem subjectively plausible and satisfy the social expectations of at least certain groups. The dramatic example of Adrien Alexandre's archive robbery in 1682 vividly illustrates the diverse and competing conceptions of how one could interact with archives in early modern European society. Besides such criminal practices, we can differentiate scholarly and political archival practices, each of them with different, often contradictory characteristics. Insofar as archives constantly entered new geographic, social, and functional contexts, the practices with which people reacted to these institutions also multiplied.

Archives thus do not simply have a predetermined function, but rather are "activated" anew by each individual user.[15] That explicitly includes familiar forms of use and traditional users (ministers, archivists, and historians), but it also goes beyond these groups and their objectives: criminals like Adrien Alexandre also used archives. All actors who acted in, with, and by means of archives pursued their own particular goals. The history of archives is therefore always also a reconstruction of conflicts over the meaning (and importance) of archives. Hence it is extremely important to examine the various hopes that were projected onto archives. In doing so,

we can learn about the variety of meanings that were attached to archives. And precisely the fact that there were (and are) so many and, moreover, so many competing conceptions of archives—from ministers to archivists to thieves—reveals how profoundly the practice of archiving became entrenched in European culture.

RESEARCH TRADITIONS

We may agree with Philippe Artières's conclusion that archives have hitherto been neglected as objects of scholarly research.[16] Archives seem to have enjoyed such massive success that they are taken for granted and all but forgotten. Scholars' silence on the subject of archives is all the more striking if we cast a glance at the rapid proliferation of scholarly work on the two other major early modern institutions for collecting and preserving: libraries and museums, which in some sense are the fathers and brothers of archives, have long been the objects of intense and methodologically sophisticated research. Libraries have received considerable attention not least in the context of social-historical work on book ownership, literacy, and the social dissemination of knowledge.[17] Research on early modern museums and art and natural history collections is no less wide-ranging.[18] Laboratories and other scientific institutions, such as observatories, have also attracted considerable attention in the history of science, which, drawing inspiration from cultural studies, has modernized its methodology.[19] That is not true, however, of archives. Cornelia Vismann's groundbreaking study *Files: Law and Media Technology* remains an exception and addressed everyday life in archives only in passing. Michael Clanchy's famous study of written records in high medieval England resonated strongly with scholars, but archives were not the focus there either.[20] In light of this gap, another purpose of the present book is to reveal archives as central places of a European intellectual history and place them alongside these other institutions.

That is not to say that there is a basic lack of scholarly work on the history of archives. On the contrary, almost every archive that exists today has been written about. A positivistic approach, however, generally dominates. Institutional evolution, important personages, and the growth of holdings are the preferred topics.[21] Much of this literature was composed for festschrifts or archive newsletters. Some archives have even received extensive monographic treatments in this positivistic spirit.[22] Modern reference guides in many institutions include summaries explaining when the archive was

founded and by whom, and what documents were acquired from whom and how they came to the archive and may be consulted today.[23] The history of archives, understood as the history of the transmission of documents, is thus a cornerstone of all (historiographical) use of archives.[24]

The history of archives has not yet moved past this case-oriented approach. Even if we dismiss shrill claims that reject the idea of a history of archives altogether,[25] we can only agree with Wilfried Reininghaus that the history of archives is an "underground subdiscipline" ("untergründige Subdisciplin")—provided one is willing to confer on the efforts made up to the present the status of a "discipline" at all.[26] It is still primarily archivists who work on the history and development of their institutions. Besides the exceptions that I will mention below, such studies frequently approach the history of archives with the understanding of archives that was developed by scholars of the nineteenth century, which continues to influence textbooks today.

This traditional approach to the history of archives, which is marked by systematizing, positivistic methodology, has had profound consequences on ongoing research in the field. Not only was a normative conception of archives all too casually projected onto earlier phases of archival activity, which then necessarily appeared merely as inchoate "precursors" of later developments. On account of these scholars' understandable but narrow fixation on holdings, personalities, and institutions, they often fail to address the question of the place of archives in culture and society adequately. When attempts have been made to contextualize the history of archives, the study of the organized preservation of written records usually remains beholden to historical administrative perspectives. In this regard, the groundbreaking studies by Peter Rück, Axel Behne, and José Luis Rodríguez de Diego remain influential. These authors connected the rationale behind the development of archives in Savoy, Mantua, and Spain to the dynamic history of the emergence of the state and officialdom, plausibly historicizing the individual steps and stages of the history of archives.[27] Studies of the medieval archives of the Catholic orders have also recently appeared, connecting the rise of monastic archives around the year 1200 to the spread of new institutions and the new conceptions of sovereign authority.[28] All these works attest to the abiding legacy of sociologist Max Weber, who in the early twentieth century first highlighted the connection between written records, bureaucracy, and the formation of institutions. According to this influential view, archives continue to be conceived today almost exclusively in connection to organized state institutions. Archives are interpreted as indicators and motors of

social rationalization and greater administrative efficiency. But the question of how archives came to people's attention cannot be answered exclusively in terms of abstract processes like state formation and bureaucratization.[29] Adrien Alexandre and his accomplices' genuine and highly calculating interest in archives remains inaccessible to such an approach. The place of archives in the history of bureaucracy and state formation was more complicated than is often assumed, and the history of archives is not exhausted by this approach. Accordingly, this book takes the established administrative and governmental interpretation of archives seriously, but integrates this familiar narrative into a broader cultural-historical approach. Only in this way can the history of archives emerge from isolation and be connected to more general lines of contemporary historiographical inquiry.

THE "ARCHIVAL TURN" IN CULTURAL STUDIES

This overall reserved and even skeptical assessment of contemporary scholarship may seem paradoxical in light of the recent "archival turn" that cultural studies supposedly has undergone in the past few years.[30] Indeed, it is undeniable that archives have recently attracted new interest. The function, structure, and achievement of archives as "places of memory" are now being vigorously discussed.[31] In two oft-cited books, Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge stressed almost simultaneously in 1987 and 1989 that historians are mistaken to regard their archives all too naively as simple storehouses of objective facts about the past.[32] On the contrary, archives are considered today to be a creative cultural technology that shapes memory, making it possible to write history while simultaneously shaping it. Archives, it is said, create documents and the past. They exercise a profound influence not only on their contents, but also on the form and function of the relationship between Europe and its past. Wolfgang Ernst summarizes this in the formula that "history is not simply given, but rather is first produced through the medium of the archive."[33] In response to this view, scholars frequently inquire about the social consequences of this archival culture, which is constructive but also inevitably one-sided. Archives are now frequently exposed as important props for hegemonic historical images. They often emerge in recent research as discursive power structures or even instruments of oppression. The critical study of archives as memory-creating institutions has thus played an important part in determining how historians might give suppressed people of the past a voice—this applies, for instance, both to the

European colonial past and to the process of coming to terms with South African Apartheid.[34]

Many of these studies utilize the word "archive" in an extended metaphorical sense. The "archive qua concept" of the philosophers takes its place alongside the "archive qua institution" of historians and archivists.[35] Leading the way is Michel Foucault, whose innovative use of "archive" in 1969 was seminal. Foucault described archives as the "law of what can be said; the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events." Foucault thus made the "archive" into the "past model of reality."[36] Stimulated by the transformation of the archive into a fundamental concept of cultural theory, the term has taken on a highly metaphorical significance.[37] Jacques Derrida's 1995 essay "Archive Fever" promoted this broad understanding of archives significantly.[38] Derrida combines reflections on archives as repositories of texts with thoughts on the principles of psychoanalysis and the "unconscious archive" on which it is based.[39] Under the rubric "archive," he discusses the dialectic of memory and suppression and the fear of (cultural) loss as fundamental questions of Freudian theory. Today, the theory of archives in cultural studies highlights the close connection between archives and innovation, between the conservation of the past and the shaping of the future.[40] Archives similarly seem to provide crucial background for Maurizio Ferraris's most recent reflections on the "documentality" of human society. Under this heading, Ferraris develops a philosophy of the document and bureaucracy, which for him function as foundations of society: "we cannot live without bureaucracy." Documents—especially administrative and legal documents—objectivize social relations and thereby create the "social objects" of our everyday world (marriage, debts, associations). Ferraris considers the permanence created by written records to be decisive—but even the fundamental contribution of archives to the permanence of writing is mentioned in passing at best and is not discussed further. The archive as an institution for preserving, making available, and thus perpetuating documents and social objects is a central premise of Ferraris's work, but it is obscured in the analysis and by no means addressed as a historical topic.[41]

Actual archives generally play no part in these reflections. That is perhaps why these impulses for a new science of archives based on cultural theory ("archivology") have thus far not translated into a new history of archives.[42] Only sporadic attempts have been made to connect these ideas to an empirically based treatment of actual archives in their historical context. The increasing attention paid to "archives" revolves, instead, in one way or another around their meaning for the present. The interest of cultural studies

in archives ultimately serves to reflect critically on the state of contemporary culture and its media, psychological, hegemonic, and historical structures. Actual archives scarcely enter the picture as historical objects.

WHY THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD? EPOCHS OF ARCHIVAL HISTORY

One could argue with good reason that the history of archives actually has no beginning, because every culture shows at least some interest in preserving written documents. Indeed, even the earliest cultures from which we possess written documents already had archives. Accounts from ancient literature and modern archeological finds, for example, inform us that well-organized depots were already a fixture of the cultures of Asia Minor and also played an important part in the Greek and Roman states of the Mediterranean.[43]

After Antiquity, scholars divide the history of European archives into several periods. Eminent archivists of the twentieth century, such as Eugenio Casanova, Adolf Brennecke, Leopoldo Sandri, Elio Lodolini, and Robert-Henri Bautier, developed models for the history of European archives.[44] Italian authors in particular favor a periodization that posits a fundamental change in the latter half of the Early Modern Period. Prior to that point, there had been continuity from Antiquity insofar as archives were almost always conceived exclusively for administrative and legal purposes. The period afterward, especially since the nineteenth century, was in contrast marked by scholarly interest in archives.[45] For Sandri and Lodolini, phases of the history of archives may be differentiated according to which of these two forms of use predominated.[46] José Luis Rodríguez de Diego essentially refined this perspective, merely subdividing the nonhistorical use of archives more precisely into a "power-related" and an "administrative" aspect.[47] Bautier, in contrast, attempted to subdivide the history of archives by distinguishing between types of archives in different periods. He identifies "palace archives," "document depots," "state archives," and "historical archives," which he assigns respectively to Antiquity, the Mediterranean world until the sixteenth century, the Age of Absolutism, and the present.[48]

None of these periodizations of the history of archives is completely satisfactory. The notion that a clear functional distinction can be drawn between political, administrative, and legal archive use and historiographical use and then serve as the basis of a historical periodization will frequently appear questionable over the course of this book. Bautier's characterization

of the Early Modern Period with reference to the creation of central state archives (Simancas, the Vatican Archives) is equally unconvincing. For example, he completely ignores the question of how we should interpret and assess increased private efforts and the continuation of ecclesiastical efforts to keep records.

In contrast, another argument that a new phase in the history of European archives begins in the late sixteenth century is far more convincing: the publication, for the first time, of (printed) systematic treatises on archives, their challenges, prerequisites, and chances of success marks a new era. The history of archival science, that is, the study of the historical rise of explicit reflections on archives and their function, can identify a significant change relatively precisely with the appearance of numerous Latin, Italian, French, and German treatises after 1571. Although administrators and users of archives had begun to reflect on increasingly conventional practices long before the first printed treatises appeared, to the best of our knowledge there are no sophisticated, independent treatments of archives prior to the printed works of the Early Modern Period. Since then, however, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, archives figured prominently both as objects of archival theory and in the context of other scholarly fields. The need to think and write about archives and archival practices systematically seems to be a new feature of the Early Modern Period.

The interest in intensified and increasingly explicit self-reflection may be related not least to the fact that archives first became widespread in the Early Modern Period. The fact alone that archives became ubiquitous accounts for the significance of the period since the sixteenth century for archival history. Archives and files became an indispensable part of the daily lives of many people. European archival culture emerged from courts, monasteries, and municipal administration and soon penetrated to the remotest corners of life and all social backgrounds. Even domestic servants like Marconnes and Manoux, who were not members of the educated or wealthy social groups, knew about archives. Archives became an inescapable, everyday reality. They thrust themselves into people's lives and social practices to an unprecedented extent—spatially, mentally, socially, institutionally. This quantitative pervasiveness of archives inevitably had qualitative consequences. The idea that written documents could and should be protected became a generally shared element of western culture. In many social circles of early modern Europe, the custom of "preserving the original records intact" and producing them for inspection became a kind of passion, an unquestioned practice, as Ann Blair most recently has emphasized—the development of archives has also left its mark on the

history of European mentalities.[49] Knowledge that large parts of the past could be and indeed were stored increasingly seeped into everyday relations between even ordinary people. The realization that the survival of written documents depended on unpredictable "accidents of transmission" and that specific archival strategies could improve the "chance of transmission" of a given document became entrenched virtually across early modern Europe.[50] Not until archives spread spatially and socially across Europe after the Middle Ages did European culture become a thoroughly archival culture.

ABOUT THIS BOOK

The following chapters attempt to realize the potential of a praxis-oriented history of archives. This book seeks to illustrate the growing, always diverse, and sometimes even ambivalent and contradictory significance of archives for European culture in the Early Modern Period. That is not to say that archives were something exclusively European: on the contrary, Asian states such as China or Korea developed equally sophisticated practices for preserving documents contemporaneously or even prior to the proliferation of archives in Europe.[51] A comparative study of the European development with the history of such archives in Asia and elsewhere is absolutely a desiderandum, but can hardly be carried out at the moment.

This book is premised on the conviction that European archival culture transcended national and regional differences. This will not, however, be demonstrated in the form of an encyclopedic survey. The goal is rather to exemplify structural aspects of European archival culture, with an emphasis on France and Germany. Famous, major archives will be covered, but the narrative will also deliberately take into account small and midsized archives. The presentation and analysis of individual episodes will take up considerable space, reflecting the conviction explained above that a history of archives must pay heed particularly to the way in which individual archives were adapted to specific tasks and contexts. The history of archives will thus be told especially through the unique stories of individual archives and their particular fates.

Chapter 2 opens with a brief prologue intended as a historical introduction. In broad strokes, it depicts the growth of pragmatic literacy in Europe since the High Middle Ages, since archives would never have obtained their new significance without a marked increase in the production of documents. The chapter "Founding" sketches the proliferation and institutionalization

of archives since the Middle Ages, giving an account of important proponents and developments of European archives. This is followed by the chapter "Projections," which seeks to explain how people thought about archives in conceptual, intellectual, and metaphorical terms. The next chapter, "People," presents the inhabitants of archives. Although talking about "archives" or "the archive" suggests an impersonal, reified institution, archives were social areas to the highest degree. People made archives what they were; but the reverse is also true: archives shaped the people who came into contact with them. Next the "Places" of the archive are discussed, since archives ultimately are buildings, rooms, and furniture, and files are frequently quite unwieldy and fragile objects. The material and physical dimensions of the history of archives generally play a major part in this book, since, from a praxeological perspective, social significance is constituted precisely by means of physical and spatial interaction.

The following two chapters cover the particularly important, classical areas of the use of archives in a new way. Chapter 7 is dedicated to the "Power(lessness)" of archives as mainstays and resources of government and politics. Chapter 8 covers the historiographical use of archives and the transformation of archival material into historical and genealogical "Sources," activities that enjoyed newfound popularity with the rise of archives in the sixteenth century. These two chapters not only illustrate the achievements of archives as political and historical places of knowledge, but also focus on the difficulties, imperfections, and limitations of this use of archives. Obtaining knowledge from archives was a complicated, challenging task. This book may therefore be read as an effort to integrate the limitations and dysfunctionalities of archives much more explicitly into the history of archives. An "Epilogue" sketches how the premodern archive continues to shape the intellectual culture of Europe even after the dawn of the modern age in 1800.

In sum, the intention behind this study is to show the variety and contradictoriness of the functions and meanings that archives held for people in the Early Modern Period. In terms of their functions and consequences, archives were highly ambivalent institutions, and their achievements and weaknesses always depended on specific situational contexts and usages. Archives were open institutions that one could approach with a variety of goals; their existence had many unintended, collateral consequences. The history of European archives presented here will thus also be a history of messy details, disappointed hopes, and repurposing, of alternative methods of use and obstacles. The fascination of this element of cultural infrastructure derives precisely from its irrepressible ambivalence.

2 ✦ Documents

Filling Archives—A Prologue

Without written documents, without written texts, there is nothing to archive. Archives, at least in premodern Europe, are virtually exclusively and quite naturally connected to acts of writing. The role and significance of archives, therefore, cannot be understood without a glance at the history of written documents in Europe. However—and this must be stated right away to prevent an all too hasty supposition—committing something to writing and archiving are not the same thing. There has always been a complex and ambiguous relationship between both actions. Although the blossoming of archives presumes a turn toward written texts, the relationship does not possess the same causal inevitability in reverse. Since the Late Middle Ages, European attitudes toward writing also meant that one deliberately did not archive documents in several areas. Europe devised many forms of documents that were explicitly considered unfit to be archived, but without which many aspects of western culture would be unintelligible: scrap paper, shopping lists, drafts, memos. Bernhard Siegert has even argued that a situational and ephemeral, "bureaulogical" use of writing and paper has characterized Europe since the Early Modern Period, after the invention of the clerical office (*bureau*).[1] We must always bear this in mind: European archival culture was based on selectivity from the very start.[2] Yet alongside these disposable written products, increasingly vast amounts of documents were produced in Europe that it was considered necessary to preserve. These landed in archives.

THE ORIGINS OF A PRAGMATIC LITERACY

After the turn of the first millennium, we can observe a rapid increase in the use and production of written texts everywhere in Europe. Europe witnessed a quantitative and qualitative, geographic, and functional expansion of written culture on a vast scale. This trend also affected areas that are not directly part of the history of archival culture, for instance, the growing production of liturgical manuscripts and encyclopedic literature, of Bible concordances, poetry, philosophy, and university literature. Yet alongside these developments, the rise of "pragmatic literacy," that is, the proliferation of non-literary and non-religious forms of written texts for conducting business, was of paramount importance.[3]

There had been several phases of intensified written culture in the past; for instance, during the Carolingian Age.[4] The legacy of Antiquity had managed to survive the so-called "Dark Ages" of the barbarian migrations, leaving behind isolated traces of written culture and the care of documents that later generations emphatically and productively revived. Historians today, however, have definitively identified the transition from the High to the Late Middle Ages (ca. 1200) as the period that witnessed a relatively abrupt quantitative leap in the production and, at least as importantly, the introduction of many new forms of pragmatic written texts.

Whether one looks at the papacy and its parchments, the kings of France and England, the dukes of Barcelona—everywhere the growth of scribal activities picks up speed.[5] Charters—that is, texts that documented legally defined social relations—were produced in unprecedented numbers from the twelfth century on. While normally only isolated examples survive from the period prior to the proliferation of written texts sketched here, the mass of papal documents in the Late Middle Ages, for example, is impossible to take in at a glance. While Innocent III (reg. 1198–1215) issued on average 303 documents annually, under Boniface VIII (reg. 1294–1303) the number leapt to an average of 50,000 documents per year.[6] Thomas Frenz calculates that approximately 1.5 million documents were issued in the period from 1471 to 1521.[7] For England, Michael Clanchy estimates approximately 8 million charters on the village level alone as early as the thirteenth century.[8] On top of these there were hundreds of thousands of documents from bishops, nobles, and kings. A permanent record of legal acts, scribes declared ever more frequently in texts from the latter half of the twelfth century, was possible only in writing. The memory of law in Europe began to conceive of itself as written: "Everything that is decided will scarcely or not at all be preserved

in memory if it is not written down," as an Aragonese document succinctly expressed contemporary consensus already in 1198.[9]

This explosion of written texts was neither an inevitable nor obvious historical development. It was based on specific, highly complex material and socio-historical preconditions. The "paper revolution," Europe's newfound knowledge of the production of paper, played an important part, because from now on a writing material was available that was cheaper than parchment.[10] Beginning in the twelfth century, universities trained individuals who were versed in the techniques of writing and writing-based argumentation. Yet these material and socio-historical changes were not only preconditions, but also consequences of the proliferation of written texts. The adoption of paper and the founding of universities made the use of writing more plausible and self-evident just as much as they presupposed it. They responded to a need that had cultural roots.

Important structural changes to European culture affected the legal system. Particularly in northern Italy, changing political and economic realities went hand in hand with a search for new legal forms. In particular, jurists from the eleventh century on increasingly revived the law of the ancient Roman Empire. This process is often labeled (for Continental Europe) "the Reception of Roman Law."[11] The late antique *Codex Justinianus* in particular served as a helpful guide to establishing a legal structure for the changed social, political, and economic conditions first of Italy and then of Latin Europe. Written culture became ever more important under the influence of this highly formalized law, particularly with respect to trial procedure. The influence of the Church in these developments was key. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council, the jurist-pope Innocent III ordered that trial proceedings be documented in writing to guarantee their legality—a measure that soon became standard across Europe.[12] Most steps of a trial, such as the questioning of witnesses, had to be prepared in writing and their results integrated into trial procedure in written form.[13] In the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, this became standard practice in consequence to article 5 of the 1495 ordinance of the Reichskammergericht (the newly established supreme "Imperial Chamber Court"), which drew on earlier models.[14]

An important part of this legal change and the proliferation of texts was the rise of notaries in Europe.[15] The contribution of notaries to the production and transmission of legal documents was decisive. Beginning in twelfth-century Italy, starting in Genoa, they produced vast series of notarial documents that public institutions and private persons used to regulate their legal affairs.[16] Notaries not only multiplied the number of legal documents, but

also decisively shaped legal written culture. Two key changes are connected to them: first, they (and no longer exclusively witnesses under oath) also now certified legal acts; second, it became ever more uncommon to prepare complex documents to record legal transactions. Instead, notaries frequently recorded contracts and wills "merely" in open registers that they kept in their possession, which for that reason soon became the object of complex security considerations.[17] This new technique considerably accelerated the documentation of legal transactions and moreover made them less expensive. That made it cost-effective to conclude legal contracts in new areas of life. Economic activities in particular were affected. Credit transactions were an important area that now, with a quicker and cheaper form of record-keeping, acquired a feasible means of documentation.[18] In Aix-en-Provence, for example, two-thirds of all documents certified by notaries in 1532 consisted of certificates of debt, receipts, and sales.[19] It is precisely these "banal" everyday transactions that testify so eloquently to the massive influence of pragmatic literacy on European society.[20]

The fact that credit transactions became "banal," and the use of written texts thereby an everyday practice, points especially to urban milieus. The rapid growth of European cities since the High Middle Ages created an economic and social dynamic behind the adoption of written culture in many places, especially in Italy. A group of "writing merchants" arose in the Late Middle Ages who combined groundbreaking advances in book-keeping and auditing with a new culture of private documentation and the rapidly spreading practice of written correspondence.[21] The approximately 150,000 letters that the merchant Francesco di Marco Datini of Prato wrote in the fourteenth century to manage his European trading house are a famous and impressive example, but they are by no means unique. Merchants like Datini wanted or had to stay in regular contact with many people both near and far, and as early as the fourteenth century they habitually made use of a writing-based medium, the letter, to an unprecedented degree.

Correspondence also increased on the political level from the fifteenth century on. Most of this new political correspondence consisted of diplomatic letters.[22] The birth of diplomacy as a political practice with its own rules can be dated relatively precisely to sometime shortly after 1450 in Italy. Sovereigns suddenly found themselves confronted with the need to remain in constant contact with their ambassadors to foreign courts. It was moreover necessary to maintain communications with these foreign courts and power centers themselves. Diplomatic correspondence, which had to be maintained even over quite short geographic distances, was intended to

satisfy this need. It constitutes an essential form of written documentation that would figure prominently in future archives, yet had previously been largely unknown.[23]

This correspondence points to another aspect of the new European written culture: written texts also became ever more popular because they became a crucial technology for acquiring information. Information about oneself and others became a virtual obsession on every level of society. Using probably the most famous medieval inventarization of feudal rights and duties, the Anglo-Norman *Domesday Book* from 1086, Michael Clanchy has shown what an extensive stream of preparatory documents must have accompanied such undertakings.[24] Accounts and inventories of one's own resources became an important epiphenomenon of seigneurial rule and increasingly relied on writing. Inventories and reports helped rulers both supervise their servants and gain a better knowledge of the means available to them. The kings of Europe relied on written sources of information especially in the economic sphere. Recent scholars have declared the written accounting practices of merchants the key to European bureaucratic and information history.[25] At any rate, accounting motives were key in changing the ruling techniques of the Middle Ages. At the royal court of England, the Exchequer was established as a supervisory body that, beginning in 1130, kept its own records of the income of royal estates (Pipe Rolls). Other Norman rulers, such as the Counts of Flanders, did likewise. Under Philip Augustus, an equivalent institution was established in France in 1190, (later called) the Chambre des Comptes.[26] The papacy soon followed suit. Under the reign of Urban IV, special series of letters regarding financial matters begin to appear, but not until the first third of the fourteenth century, under Boniface VIII and John XXII, does papal book-keeping really begin.[27] Generally speaking, we may say that the need for economic and military inventories increased and that this manifests itself in a growing number of surveys documented in writing. Philip Augustus adopted the Anglo-Norman rulers' practice of compiling actual inventories of their vassals and their obligations. His grandson, Saint Louis, continued this tradition with a large-scale survey in 1247.[28] A direct path leads from here to the early modern practice of undertaking ever more comprehensive writing-based projects to obtain information.

Rulers collected information not merely as an end in itself but also as a means of controlling their subjects. That is another reason why it became customary to document social and political affairs and events in writing as completely as possible. Soon, not only the outcome, but also the preparatory

and intermediate steps of political, legal, and other decisions were recorded. Now, not only moments of particular legal or sacred significance, but also the everyday course of business itself should or had to be taken down in writing. For example, in 1320, the king of France ordered the Chambre des Comptes to keep a *journal* for every session. The king decreed, "We desire that all matters shall be entered [in this book] daily, so that one may know about everything that is done there of which one should have a record."[29] In the legal sphere, not only was the final verdict now written down but also the individual procedural steps of a trial. This path "from sentence to file" contributed significantly to the rapid increase in the production of written texts.[30] The documentation of preparatory steps became part of the administration of justice. Notaries were also obliged to document their work in several stages. In the political sphere, alongside written royal decrees, preparatory and documentary texts that were not legally binding documents soon became common. In terms of idealized types, the legal document, which exclusively contained the final legal act, was supplemented by the file, which recorded the preliminary and intermediate steps toward the document.[31]

Closely connected to the need for complete procedural documentation was a new understanding of what actually constituted law and social life. The turn toward written texts reflected above all a changed conception of government. If we follow the impressive reconstruction of Thomas N. Bisson, pragmatic literacy accompanied and reinforced a paradigm shift in social thought and political praxis from "power" to "government," whereby the primary characteristic of the latter was its effort toward achieving "accountability."[32] The growing need of royal courts for fiscal oversight and the resulting emergence of appropriate documentation were only the most obvious signs of a much more profound change.

Observations on the early use of documents in Northern Italy complement these findings. In many of the burgeoning cities there, "statutes"—rules of cohabitation set in writing and endowed with legal force—were issued in a process that was both conducted and documented in writing. These texts present idealized social orders. On the one hand, these ideals must be seen as attempts by the civic community to control and limit the exercise of power by the authorities. On the other, however, scholars today also consider these statutes to be methods of social control. Government action could be legitimated in a new way with the claim that it served to enforce the statutes recognized by the community. Independent of the question of whether they were instruments of control or rule, we may conclude that the act of writing such civic statutes, and the compilation of existing norms

that it entailed, must be viewed as a crucial stage in the spread of pragmatic written culture.[33]

From here, a direct path leads to attempts to explain Europe's turn toward writing as a means of expanding sovereign power. In Italy, for example, the growing attractiveness of exercising authority through writing has been connected to the creation of greater territories ruled by (Northern) Italian cities. As cities attempted to bring surrounding regions under their control, not only did they have to address new legal questions, but situations also arose in which the center (a city) sought to control what was sometimes an extensive periphery (the surrounding countryside). Both promoted the use of writing for legal purposes and communicative integration.[34] The attractiveness of written documents in Catalonia and Aragon has been explained in very similar terms.[35] The local dukes and kings no longer understood their power as the sum of countless individual rights that each had to be enforced over and over again, but rather much more abstractly as a territorially defined principle. In order to express this claim, they had a monumental cartulary compiled at the end of the twelfth century, the *Liber feudorum maior*.[36]

The Catholic Church also exploited the unforeseen mass of documents to implement its claim to rule over all western Christendom with new emphasis. Monastic orders such as the Cluniacs and especially the Cistercians likewise found written documents an attractive means of organizing their innovative forms of society and rule. For the first time in the history of Christianity, these religious orders conceived of pan-European, centrally coordinated and controlled institutions.[37] When fierce conflicts broke out between the new orders, all parties involved turned to the pope—in writing—to resolve them. The pope in turn responded to this internal ecclesiastical dissension with bulls and other letters. The use of written documents took on a lively dynamic of its own: one document elicited another, new document in response.

The use of written documents across Europe had a series of very specific consequences on the organization of society and the resolution of conflicts. Written documents are an extremely adaptable and flexible technology both in social and functional terms, but in many respects they also set in motion a series of significant functional consequences that are impossible to ignore. We can identify three aspects. *First*, new professional groups were needed to perform the desired work of writing. In order to produce written documents, a growing number of trained specialists were required—a major development from the perspective of social history. Scribes, secretaries, and copyists filled writing tables and scriptoria. Courts soon had to employ their

own specialized personnel in order to meet demand. In York, a "writing house" was established. In Reims, the registrar responsible for coordinating the preparation of written documents soon came to be known as the "court's donkey" on account of his extensive duties.[38] Scribes earned wages working for people whose inability to read and write prevented them from participating in this new written culture directly.[39] In such mediated forms, broad social circles were affected by the phenomena described above. In the fourteenth century, the Humanist movement lent this this new, text-oriented professional elite even more rhetorical polish.

Second, new work routines were necessary to structure the production of outgoing and the processing of incoming documents. The frontispiece of the *Liber feudorum maior* (fig. 2) impressively documents this already in the late twelfth century. The miniature depicts the chaos of a mountain of documents, from which an expert (literate) associate of the ruler retrieves a relevant parchment and presents it to the king; it is then registered by a scribe seated on the right-hand edge of the picture in a new text, possibly the *Liber feudorum maior* itself, in order to keep track of everything. The circulation of documents here is easy to recognize.[40]

Written documents were also produced and managed elsewhere in forms that may be viewed as prototypes of the bureaucratic coordination of work. Increasing bureaucratization encouraged the inter-institutional use of written documents, and this in turn made it necessary to constantly devise new coordinating measures. The way that the dukes of Milan, for example, devised the different committees to help them rule in the fifteenth century was partly determined by the need to optimize the processing of administrative correspondence.[41] Court chancelleries and other institutions soon grew to considerable size. In consequence, it became difficult for chancelleries to travel with the king cross-country, as noted in 1511 for example by Konrad Peutinger, humanist and town clerk of Augsburg in the retinue of Emperor Maximilian I: on account of constant "travel back and forth [it] is verily quite difficult to prepare briefs."[42] French and German experts in lettered governance soon came to regard itinerancy and the "inconstancy of the princely court" as an impediment to the orderly conduct of government business.[43] In Hesse in 1597, not even the plague could force the small chancellery of the landgrave to retreat from the threatened capital, Marburg. The "inconvenience" of moving for the councilors themselves and for established administrative processes took precedence over the threat to their lives.[44] The practices of written culture demanded and promoted the sedentariness of its users.

Fig. 2. The ruler, his associates, and the circulation of papers, ca. 1192

During this process, *third*, new ways were devised to preserve and organize the written material created: European archival culture was elevated to a new level. Whoever lacked written documents was shut off from certain courses of action. When James I, King of Aragon in the thirteenth century, could not produce certain documents, he had to abandon territorial claims.[45] This is the subject of the following chapters.

PRESERVING DOCUMENTS WITH CARTULARIES AND REGISTERS

But before we turn to archives in the actual sense of the word, we need to discuss two new products of European written culture: cartularies and registers. They mark an important step in the revival of efforts to preserve documents in the High and Late Middle Ages. Both were ongoing compilations of copies that were initially often kept in rolls, but quickly came to be collected

exclusively in book-like manuscripts. The history of their use in the West goes back to the upheaval of the decades after the turn of the millennium, although at least registers had already been known in Antiquity. Cartularies were books in which the most important documents of a monastery, ruler, or noble house were copied, often arranged by topic. The *Liber feudorum maior* from Aragon may be cited again as an example of a secular cartulary. In the ecclesiastical sphere beginning in the twelfth century, French monasteries, for instance, produced a large number of such collections, some of them quite substantial.[46] The great cartulary of Saint-Denis, which contained over 2,500 documents reflecting the archive on which it was based, may be cited as an outstanding example.[47] Determining the precise function of such collections, however, is not entirely straightforward. For example, it is easy to show that they were extremely selective and by no means included all the documents that were available. They also changed the orthography and wording of the copies they contained, although probably less often their content. Cartularies thus may be regarded neither as the exact reflections of existing archives nor as proto-inventories or holdings catalogues.[48] Their function may rather have been to bring together frequently needed documents and thus keep them easily accessible. Regardless, cartularies represent an important step in the history of systematic, deliberate efforts to preserve, organize, and make documents accessible.

Keeping registers must be distinguished from compiling cartularies. The term "register" derives from the Latin verb *regerere*, which normally means "to carry back" or "to throw back." In this case, however, it is used in the sense "to enter (a record)" or "to copy."[49] That already explains their purpose: the systematic copying of specific documents into designated rolls or books, "registers," which graphic elements potentially distinguished from one another (lines, blank spaces, etc.). This innovative technology, which came into widespread use in the twelfth century, crucially allowed one to keep duplicates of original documents that one had produced but not kept. This applied above all to letters, but also extended to judicial rulings and legal documents. The papacy is generally regarded as the pioneer of the practice of maintaining ongoing registers. Although the papacy probably began to keep registers in the eleventh century, the earliest parchment registers to survive regularly date from the reign of Innocent III (reg. 1198–1215).[50] Stephen of Tournai, a knowledgeable contemporary observer, describes this practice in the late twelfth century: "In Rome, when a letter is sent about something important, the custom is to keep a copy of it. All these copies are written into a book that is called a 'register.'"[51]

Stephen's remark shows that the papacy did not initially attempt to compile exhaustive copies of all the documents that it produced. Indeed, there are many gaps in the early papal registers that indicate the deliberate selection of documents. Innocent III, for example, had perhaps only a fifth of all documents issued during his reign registered. His registers are fragmentary and "rather unbureaucratic" and so do not yet represent a "resource for daily administrative work."[52] Only much later, with the transition to the Early Modern Age, did the largely complete recording of outgoing documents become established practice. Entry in the papal registers actually became part of the issuing process for many official documents.[53] In tandem with the trend toward exhaustive entry-making, we also can observe a growing tendency to establish distinct series of registers for specific types of business. The popes introduced individual series in the mid-thirteenth century, beginning with the famous "special register" under Innocent III for the controversy over the succession to Emperor Henry IV. Only eighty years later, Benedict XII had no fewer than twenty-one different series of registers.[54] The complex history of the papal registers, the details of which need not concern us here, makes it clear how tentatively and experimentally the search for optimal practices of preparing lasting documentation had to proceed. Methods were tested, changed, and adapted according to trial and error. The papal curia's creative but, in hindsight, confusing and "unclear" search for appropriate procedures shows both the major challenges the curia faced and the considerable innovations it made to cope with the newfound abundance of material.[55]

Other European rulers soon turned to similar techniques. Influences might spread in all conceivable directions. The kings of Aragon again stood at the forefront of change, followed by England and France, where extensive series of registers began to be kept around the year 1200.[56] Not only royal chancelleries, however, but soon the legal system also took advantage of this new form. The registers of the supreme court of France, the Parlement of Paris, likewise date back to this period. While sentences in the twelfth century were initially written on rolls, the Parlement soon opted for—again, initially selective—entry into book-like registers.[57] Notaries across Europe also made exhaustive use of registers to retain copies of the legal documents they had prepared one after another. In this way they hoped to be able to replace lost contracts and to check the authenticity of documents submitted to them. The ability to consult these registers at any time was intended to create greater legal certainty. Registering legal documents became an established part of European private law practice, not just in connection with Southern and Central European notaries.[58]

The question of whether or how well registers actually functioned is not the most interesting one raised by their appearance—and this question has already been answered very critically. Rather, registers are significant because they demonstrate that the creators of documents wanted to keep their products in their own possession. This is a crucial supplement to the previously known, albeit sporadic and fragmentary, practice of archiving of documents that one had received from someone somewhere else. The preservation of documents was inextricably linked to self-documentation; it had a profoundly self-referential impulse. With registers, one could guarantee the continuity and coherence of one's own actions by being able to look for precedents. With registers, one could engage intensively with the past and compare one's own decisions in the past. A new comparative, self-reflexive view of one's own history became possible.[59] Complementing cartularies, which preserved copies of incoming documents, registers and their record of outgoing documents exemplify this self-referential focus.

The details of producing these codices often remained highly confusing, and consulting them was by no means always guaranteed to succeed. The increasingly widespread use of bound "books,"[60] nevertheless, was a groundbreaking innovation with long-lasting consequences that increasingly also extended beyond correspondence and contracts. Beginning in the Late Middle Ages, most chancelleries maintained a variety of different series of bound books in which particular types of information were entered on an ongoing basis. Special series of books for official business, interest, accounts, rents, loans, and many other items were distinguished from one another and carefully kept.[61] Producing such registers and books was regarded as the primary purpose of archives until well into the Early Modern Period. Charles de Wignacourt, who gave an account of the courts of Arras in a famous treatise in 1608, advocated keeping such series of registers in typical fashion, because the "minutes and the files in which they are put could be lost and removed."[62]

Despite such warnings, collecting loose papers, initially individual charters and then to an increasing degree pieces of internal administrative correspondence, long remained of the utmost importance; it frequently was even identical to archiving. The systematic entry of one's documentary production in registers always comprised only a fraction of the total number of written texts created. It was not least for practical reasons that the laborious process of copying documents in cartularies was appreciably abandoned in preference to (again) retaining only the originals.[63] Soon the systematic preservation of drafts and rough copies of outgoing letters, frequently col-

lected in thematic files, became an alternative to registers.[64] *Filzae*, as groups of loose documents were called in post-classical Latin, continued to be an important part of European archives.[65]

FRANZ PEHEM IN ALTENBURG, OR: PRAGMATIC LITERACY AT THE DAWN OF THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

By the end of the Middle Ages, pragmatic uses of written documents had become entrenched in broad areas of the public and private, political and economic, legal and administrative, organizational and communicative life of Europe. The following centuries built upon this foundation. Countless social roles and specialized elites emerged whose relationship with written and archival culture was varied, but strong overall; first and foremost are secretaries. Infrastructural conditions, such as a denser postal network, likewise helped shape the writing culture. Writing and text, ink and paper, leaves and codices permeated ever more areas of life. Again and again, the personal records of early modern people show how profoundly the presence of written documents with all their demands impacted everyday life.

We may take Franz Pehem (1498–1558) from Altenburg in the Duchy of Saxony as an example. Since 1528, at the latest, he was active as a clerk in this ducal town, and from 1535 as official town clerk. His duties ranged from taking the minutes at meetings of the town council to maintaining correspondence, acquiring necessary raw materials such as paper and ink, and cataloguing available files and documents. Pehem surely also exerted some influence on individual decisions taken by his superior, the powerful *Amtmann* of the Electorate. In general, however, he served primarily as the creator and administrator of a broad range of official documents. His daily work was accordingly marked in countless different ways by contact with the most diverse kinds of documents. His thoughts regularly revolved around texts and codices that he either had to produce, was waiting for, or (frequently) could not find.[66] The availability of files determined both his own ability to act and that of the council.[67] Time and again Pehem was engaged in accounting and book-keeping questions.[68] He was constantly occupied with organizing letter correspondence, whether on private or official business.[69] His social contacts reflected his professional life to a considerable extent. Numerous town clerks and members of the chancellery ranked among his close friends. The leading role of written culture in Pehem's life ultimately gave ink and paper the upper hand over other parts of his life. Visits to sick friends or even his own wife had to be put off on account

of the constant stream of writing work. As his excuse, he claims that he could not come "home the entire day until evening" because he was overloaded with "business occurring daily."[70] What is at least as remarkable in these remarks as the sheer mass of writing work that could keep a diligent man busy day in, day out is the fact that Pehem considered his clerical responsibilities an acceptable excuse for neglecting even the most basic interpersonal relationships. Written culture no longer merely influenced actual social relations; it now also shaped individuals' mentalities. Even at the hour of his death, he identified himself as a man of pragmatic written culture: Pehem had a long poem inscribed on his tombstone that presents him as *Saxoniae hac* [. . .] *notarius urbe* ("notary of this city in Saxony"), a "diligent" man "who endured the tiresome labor of writing as scribe since he was a boy" and "took down (in writing) various business day and night with a swift hand for the prefects."[71]

The demands of pragmatic literacy may already have driven Pehem and his contemporaries to "dismay" (*vordrießung*),[72] but conditions in the German countryside in the 1540s clearly show that all this was improvised and still operated rather clumsily. In some ways, the citizens of Altenburg nonetheless managed to stay abreast of contemporary developments. For example, they notably began using standard printed receipts ("*gedruckte quitantzcen*") at an early date.[73] At the same time, however, Pehem and the administration of Altenburg often lacked their most basic resource, since paper was regularly in short supply. Pehem thus constantly had to inquire about potential paper deliveries.[74] His total dependence on this basic writing material is as unmistakable as the difficulties he faced in obtaining a steady supply of it.

The example of Franz Pehem warns us not to overestimate the achievement and efficiency of pragmatic written culture in Early Modern Europe. Much was spontaneous, individual, personalized, and improvised. Pehem's individual achievements and weaknesses are thus less striking than his determination to carry out the tasks with which he had been entrusted. It was this attitude that had caused the mass of written paper to grow incessantly since the Late Middle Ages. Pehem moreover shows that writing-based techniques of social control and organization did not permeate to the middle and lower levels of the government apparatus until the sixteenth century. Many of the changes in Europe described earlier took place in monarchic, religious, or urban centers. What was conventional among princes, popes, and merchants in thirteenth-century Paris, Rome, or Barcelona had just been introduced to civic officials in sixteenth-century Saxony. In geographic, social, and functional terms, pragmatic literacy did not become universal until the Early Modern Period.

3 ✦ Founding

Archives Become Institutions and Spread

In 1194, the armies of French king Philip II and English ruler Richard Lionheart faced each other at Fréteval, approximately fifty kilometers west of Orleans. This battle not only led to English advances in northwestern France, but also is often cited as a key event in European archival history. Philip lost far more than the battle: Lionheart attacked the French king's baggage train and captured the entire document collection that Philip regularly kept with him. "Vast treasure of the king of France was also taken, with the furniture of the king's chapel, and the papers of all the subjects of the king of England who had deserted him," as Roger of Hoveden reports.[1] This loss had serious, very specific consequences. The seized documents alerted Richard to the fact that his brother John (Lackland) had betrayed him and conspired with France. Even though substantial portions of this parchment plunder were restored to Philip several years later, the temporary loss of his documents had dramatic consequences for him.

The king attempted to repair the damage by entrusting his close confidant Gautier with the task of reconstructing the lost documents to the best of his ability and creating a replacement archive. Fréteval moreover presumably taught Philip the much more important lesson not to carry his documents with him in the future. Instead, royal documents were now safely stored, in all probability in Paris from the start. Archivalistic efforts at the royal court intensified after 1194.[2] The royal archive of the king of France now had a fixed abode.

These changes in the late twelfth century, however, by no means sounded the death knell for itinerant record-keeping. James I of Aragon, who is cited so often for his groundbreaking innovations in documentary culture and archival practices, continued to carry many documents with him on his travels in the thirteenth century.[3] On special occasions or in emergencies, such as the threat of plague, even the great judicial institutions of the French monarchy might move operations in the Early Modern Period.[4] As late as the sixteenth century, the kings of France still occasionally traveled cross-country with a portion of their chancellery records, for which a separate "car" was brought.[5] In his funeral oration for Emperor Maximilian I, delivered in 1519, Johannes Faber reports that, in his last years, the emperor always kept a coffin with him in which he supposedly kept his most important papers concerning Turkish affairs.[6] Even in the sixteenth century, it was by no means unusual to assume that a ruler could and should always carry his most important documents with him in a box. Roughly 350 years after the Battle of Fréteval, Charles V would make the same mistake as Philip II: setting out on his ill-fated military expedition against the North African pirate states in 1541, he brought many "writings of the imperial chancellery" along with him, but subsequently "many were lost at Algiers" in the chaos of defeat.[7]

Although Fréteval is thus not the watershed in French—let alone European—archival culture that it is sometimes made out to be,[8] the date 1194 still marks a key experience in western archival culture: if one wished to improve the "chance of transmission" of the growing mass of documents one accumulated, constantly keeping them at hand—although it had perhaps worked well in the past and still seemed practical for various reasons—had proven to be dangerous. That is what Fréteval represents. The very physicality of writing, the fact that it consisted of a rapidly swelling number of extremely fragile objects, made the quest for alternatives indispensable. It was necessary to break with old ways to take advantage of these documents. Europe ultimately chose geographically fixed institutions to preserve its written documents. These institutions seemed to be the best means of ensuring the survival and permanent availability of documents.

EARLY PRINCELY ARCHIVES IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

For the vast majority of early archives, it makes little sense to ask when exactly they were founded. In the case of France, not even the year 1194 marks such a date, since Philip's dismay over his lost documents presupposes that

he both highly prized these parchments and had a basic interest in their permanent availability.[9] The transition to fixed archival institutions is thus better understood as another step in the search for the optimal means of preserving documents rather than as a completely new beginning. Viewed in this light, the act of archiving often anticipated actual archives. Archives frequently appear in the sources as clearly identifiable places or institutions only after archival practices had already been in use. The earliest commonly cited dates in European archival history are thus usually no more than moments when, for a wide variety of reasons, existing archival practices first became the object of governmental measures preserved in writing. In this way, we can conclude that, around the date of Fréteval, not only were ever more documents being preserved, but contemporaries were also perceiving this development ever more clearly. The preservation of documents moved beyond being merely an unremarkable routine. The gradual entrance of documents into the collective consciousness was an important step in the archival history of Europe. Explicit, critical reflection on the growing holdings of documents significantly increased their chances of survival.

Let us cast a glance at France, for example. In 1307, Philip the Fair ordered Pierre d'Estampes "to oversee, examine, organize, and arrange [documents] in cabinets [. . .] so that their usefulness should be guaranteed and facilitated to the greatest possible extent."[10] Today, this date is regarded as the beginning of the documented history of the Trésor des Chartes, but this important royal archive must have existed at least by the year 1194.[11] It was a typical product of the early spread of pragmatic literacy in that it was part of the royal treasure, was kept in a church (the sacristy of the Sainte-Chapelle), and had not yet been placed under the exclusive control of a single document-producer.[12] Initially, documents from several royal institutions found their way into the Trésor, but already by the fifteenth century this central, "interministerial" institution began to decline in importance and change.[13] An inventory taken by Gérard de Montaigu in the late fourteenth century essentially closed the Trésor. Further additions were limited in scale. The Trésor, however, remained an independent repository of predominantly late medieval materials and as such enjoyed the attention of French scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But it quickly became obsolete as a regular archive for current documents.[14]

Other archives took over this function. In the century after 1250, the French court began to differentiate into more or less specialized areas of competence. Whenever new royal officials were created in Paris, they began collecting documents and sooner or later established archives of their own in

which to store them. The various archives that emerged in tandem with the ever more refined specialization of the royal administration soon constituted a complex web of depots and bodies of transmitted material.[15] In keeping with the new intensifying documentary culture, these new institutions collected the documents they produced instead of sending them to the Trésor (as occasionally it was still customary to do). While the border between these document collections was initially fluid, clear distinctions soon emerged after a repeated "back-and-forth" of materials.

The two most important archive-creating institutions were the Parlement of Paris and the Parisian Chambre des Comptes. The archive of the Parlement became one of the key places of memory both for the French monarchy and later for the French state. Systematic records of its rulings were kept from the thirteenth century on, but the archive itself is not mentioned until later. The history of the Parlement archive is notoriously difficult to trace: almost all early notices refer only to keeping registers, not to their preservation in a designated archive.[16] Even early modern observers, however, recognized that the establishment of the Parlement in a fixed location in 1304 marked, if not the beginning, at least a breakthrough in the preservation of registers.[17] Roughly contemporaneously, as mentioned above, the archive of the king's Chambre des Comptes and regular register-keeping there were also established in Paris.[18] Initial inventories—rather humble affairs compared to d'Estampes's and Montaigu's work on the Trésor—were taken around 1320 and in 1388. Similar developments occurred elsewhere, for example, in Dijon in Burgundy and Lille in French Flanders.[19] Eventually, in the eyes of early modern contemporaries, such provincial archives surpassed even the royal collections themselves, since, for example, there were "more documents [in Lille] than in the Trésor des Chartes and the Chambre des Comptes of Paris combined."[20]

After the medieval phase of organizational expansion, the late sixteenth century and the long seventeenth century were particularly dynamic periods of archival history. The sixteenth century in France witnessed the creation of secretaries of state, the precursors of ministers, who quickly established holdings of their own. A glance at the secretary for foreign affairs, for example, beautifully illustrates how the consolidation of the archives of particular officials was a gradual and often protracted process. Papers relevant to foreign affairs were not systematically collected by a central institution created specifically for that purpose until 1671.[21] Cardinal Richelieu issued an edict in 1628 that should have transformed the old Trésor des Chartes into a repository of diplomatic records, but it was never implemented. Naturally, private

and even semi-official collections of relevant papers were also produced in various places. Contemporaries were well aware of their existence, and over the course of the seventeenth century we can observe increasingly strenuous efforts on the part of French politicians to acquire such collections. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who worked tirelessly to bring together older, specialized collections in his own library, is one such man worth mentioning.[22] The systematic collection of documents may have commenced in 1660, and royal expenses for the actual establishment and maintenance of an archive are attested at the latest in 1688.[23] Even after this consolidation, though, records from earlier times still (belatedly) found their way into the collection. In 1699, the French crown established an archive for the ministry that oversaw its overseas possessions.[24] Once again, older documents in the hands of former state officials—the authorities were apparently very well informed about their existence—were acquired so that the newly founded archive ultimately integrated a variety of existing collections.[25] These examples, which concern only a section of the archives of the royal government, show us two things: first, that the act of founding and consolidating archival institutions was an important step, but it by no means marked the moment when documents first began to be preserved. Expert ministers often knew of relevant collections beforehand and did their utmost to acquire them. It is also clear, however, that until the king took over such collections, the material accessible to policy-makers was at best fragmentary. Second, we may conclude with respect to chronology that, while building on the foundations laid in the Middle Ages, the Early Modern Period was a highly dynamic phase of archival history. Governments enacted measures to preserve a greater variety of documents on an ever greater scale.

If we cast a glance at the Holy Roman Empire, the situation is vastly more complicated. Most territories experienced unique developments of their own. In general, archival culture blossomed here somewhat later than in France. In Bohemia, for example, one of the most important early steps toward what we can identify as a royal archive is transmitted in the form of a royal decree to appoint a registrar from around the year 1350.[26] The Habsburg archives are attested in Wiener Neustadt and Graz as early as 1412.[27] Archival boxes and a "vault" (*Gewölbe*) are mentioned in Cologne as early as 1322, while similar indications in Frankfurt appear around 1350–1375 and in Rothenburg ob der Tauber in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.[28] In the prince-bishopric of Wurzburg, change seems to have come about two generations later: there, a "vault" specifically for documents was first established in 1447.[29] In Saxony and many other territorial states, prag-

matic literacy and archival practices begin to intensify in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century.[30] In Stuttgart, the "actual establishment of archives" did not begin until 1504.[31] Around 1500, Emperor Maximilian I is generally regarded as a champion of intensified archival care—in spite of the coffin of documents he kept with him. He had hoped to establish a central archive for the Austrian Habsburgs in Innsbruck, but despite some effort on his part the plan came to nothing.[32] Then, as emperor, Maximilian had ambitious plans for an imperial archive, even though they likewise could hardly be carried out.[33] In many places in the Empire, however, we can also see that archival developments were neither uniform nor universal. In Lüneburg, for example, the city archive lacked any sort of workable organization until the seventeenth century, and a designated archivist was not appointed until 1735.[34]

Our survey of all these developments has revealed that the earliest attested acts to organize archives usually do not represent the point at which the archiving of documents commenced, but rather should be interpreted as moments when existing practices were reinforced and institutionalized. Archival institutions, we may pointedly conclude, are just one specific form, a special stage in a broad range of conservational practices. People collected and saved documents long before the rise of archival institutions that possessed their own personnel, funds, and facilities.

Archives Everywhere: Quantitative and Geographic Expansion

Archives existed in the plural from the start. But the Early Modern Period, as the decisive takeoff phase of European archival history, is marked by the massive numerical, geographic, and social expansion of archives. No fewer than 400 archives are estimated for Paris alone in 1770, and approximately 5,700 for all of France.[35] There were 400 to 500 notarial archives in the Papal States alone at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[36] Royal and princely archives also generally constituted a complex, contradictory, organic network of different depots. The Spanish monarchy formulated policy with the help of several councils, and these usually had their own archives.[37] The Holy See also possessed a variety of distinct, frequently competing archives in Rome. Not only were the immediate papers of the pope divided between the Vatican Secret Archives and Castel Sant'Angelo, but all fifteen congregations of the Roman Curia created in 1588 had their own archives. Some of them,

such as the archives of the Sanctum Officium and the Propaganda Fide, soon attained a high level of organization. Other congregations did not decide to keep records more effectively until the eighteenth century.[38]

A series of spectacular projects to centralize the storage of state and administrative records were undertaken. Scholars of archival history have repeatedly cited these projects as major steps in European archival history. The establishment of a central Spanish royal archive in the fortress of Simancas in 1540–1561, the gradual extrication of the new Vatican Secret Archives from the Vatican Library and the consolidation of holdings dispersed across Rome in 1612, and the founding of the archive of the Habsburg monarchy after the War of the Austrian Succession in 1749 are usually mentioned in this context.[39] In addition to the founding of central archival institutions, we can also point to impressive projects of "virtual archival centralization" from at least the seventeenth century, the most impressive example of which is perhaps the Depôt general des Chartes in France, which commenced operations in the 1760s.[40] The Depôt was a ministerial commission in Paris that aspired to create a systematic inventory of important French historical documents from a royal perspective, namely by including all ecclesiastical, public, and private archives. The project thus amounted to a centrally directed and coordinated attempt to catalogue the entire French archival landscape. Primarily learned clergymen and regional academies were tapped to carry out the work, but the royal bureaucracy also provided support in a variety of ways that was probably more important than is generally assumed. The *intendants*—senior regional administrators—had relevant archives systematically surveyed with the help of pre-prepared forms that their subordinates filled out in detail, even adding helpful logistical information for planning visits to the archives. In this way, not only would a central collection point for copies of relevant documents be created in the offices of the Depôt des Chartes in Paris at the Place Vendôme, but also a kind of central inventory of all French archives that ideally would pave the way for and facilitate the crown's access to their holdings.[41]

All in all, however, as the various examples from Rome and Paris discussed above have shown, we should not overestimate this trend toward centralized collections of administrative records, let alone treat it as typical of the Early Modern Period as an epoch of archival history. On the contrary, we should highlight the enormous proliferation of local and regional archives. Archives could now be found in the most remote corners of Europe. European powers soon projected their archival practices and concepts beyond the borders of their own domains into foreign territories. Diplomatic

archives, for example, began to appear in the sixteenth century at embassies and nunciatures.[42] European colonists also naturally exported their archival culture overseas. Not long after 1492, Spanish pragmatic literacy and archival culture took root in the Caribbean and Central America.[43] Colonization and archive building also went hand in hand in North America. Shortly after seizing the colony of New York from the Dutch, the new English masters devised a storage system for laws in 1674.[44] And the supreme authority of the Dutch Church in Ceylon, the Consistorium in Colombo, regularly wrestled with questions related to the organization and conservation of its records.[45] There even were archives in the still largely unexplored reaches of Siberia in the eighteenth century, albeit in deplorable condition. The centers of government and administration in Tobolsk, Cerdyn, and Ilimsk kept extensive materials. Their holdings were systematically used by Gerhard Friedrich Müller during the Great Northern Expedition (1733–1743). It was not least due to these experiences that in 1766 Müller began to reorganize the state archive founded in Moscow by Peter the Great in 1720–1724.[46] No part of the globe under European influence escaped the reach of the habitualized archival practices of Europe during the Early Modern Period.

ARCHIVES FOR EVERYONE: CORPORATIONS, CHURCHES, NOBLEMEN

Besides the quantitative multiplication and geographic expansion of archives, we must also observe that ever wider social circles were caught up in the spread of archival culture. During the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, ever more social actors discovered that they wanted or had to keep records and maintain archives. It is important to note that this was only partly inspired by the archival policy of authorities. These processes often followed a local logic of their own that then had to be harmonized with rulers' intentions and demands. As we shall see, rulers and locals might entertain conflicting ideas about archives.

Undoubtedly, a generally observable trend toward greater institutionalization contributed significantly to the growing need for archives and their integration into everyday life. With increasing frequency, specific tasks were performed by semi-bureaucratic groups of people, whose inner workings were profoundly marked by the use of pragmatic literacy. We can observe this particularly well in the case of incorporated professional organizations, such as the livery companies of London, of which there were approximately

a hundred in the Early Modern Period. As soon as they became legal persons, they began to produce and often also keep written documents. In the case of goldsmiths, this began as early as 1334.[47] Immediately after the "Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers," responsible for paper products, was founded in 1557, it initiated complex and wide-ranging record-keeping.[48] The professional archives of early modern France may have had a bad reputation, but even here contemporaries noted significant change around the year 1500.[49] If we turn from crafts to commerce, we may point to the chambers of commerce (*chambres du commerce*) at the intersection of government and corporate action; a series of such chambers were founded on private initiative but under royal supervision around 1700. The Chambre de Guyenne, established in Bordeaux in 1705, immediately began, as had become customary everywhere, to systematically document its activities and to keep all the papers it produced. Not only did formal "uniformity" (*uniformité du stile*) become a motto of bureaucratic self-administration.[50] The Chambre also immediately conceived of an archive that—presumably for monitoring purposes—would be inventoried annually when a new director took office.[51]

As in the economic sphere, mid- and low-level ecclesiastical archives also were products of a long medieval tradition that went in a new direction in the Early Modern Period. Many different church institutions had been hoards and centers of European literary culture during the Middle Ages.[52] The organizational growth of religious orders in the High and Late Middle Ages, which first produced the Cluniacs and Cistercians and later the various mendicant orders and an almost overwhelming series of Benedictine congregations, was also accompanied by a rapid expansion of pragmatic literacy and occasionally by the construction of impressive archival systems.[53] Yet by no means did all medieval orders and monasteries undertake such pioneering work. In the words of Helga Penz, the foremost expert on monastic archives, even as late as the sixteenth century we "should not expect" many monastic foundations to have "an archive of their own."[54] With respect to pragmatic literary documents other than collections of valuable charters, she frequently describes their condition as one of relative chaos. While monasteries may have been at the vanguard of archival culture around the year 1100, by the Late Middle Ages this had largely ceased to be true, even allowing for the reinvigorated, modernized archival praxis that characterized many monasteries in the eighteenth century. The oft-admired archive system of the Jesuit Order, founded in 1540, was a remarkable initiative, but its organizational complexity was only imperfectly imitated at best.[55]

The Reformation marked an important caesura for the archives of many

Central European monasteries. The Premonstratensian cloister of Niederilbenstadt in Hesse, for example, which *de facto* ceased to exist between 1566 and 1665 on account of religious controversy, lost its archive to the Archbishop of Mainz. When the house was reconstituted, its original documents remained in Mainz, while only an inventory and some copies were available on site. When the nuns needed to consult documents from their former holdings, they had to address submissive pleas for them to the archbishop in Mainz—which frequently caused them considerable difficulty.[56] The dissolution of monasteries in general often entailed a break in archival continuity. Their new authorities, the territorial rulers, seized many documents and archival records for themselves, storing them in their own depots, although they did not proceed in particularly systematic fashion. "Disinterest" frequently predominated among secular rulers. In many places, such as the church institutions of Franconian Ansbach in 1563, or the Austrian monasteries secularized in the eighteenth century under Joseph II, this led to the dispersal of old archival holdings.[57]

Besides religious orders and monasteries, there also were episcopal and parochial archives. Both had a similarly long history. As early as the ninth century, Charles the Bald had commanded bishops to keep careful records of royal and papal privileges.[58] Also in this case, the decisive upheaval took place during the transition from the High to the Late Middle Ages. Only in the thirteenth century were documents produced in quantities sufficient to fill the repositories.[59] In the well-researched archdiocese of Canterbury, for example, registrars and scribes are attested by name after 1306, but they had probably existed already for a generation.[60] In most dioceses, more complex practices of document use can be identified from this period on. In the bishopric of Konstanz, more consistent evidence of record-keeping does not clearly emerge until well after the turn of the millennium. The first attempts at organization in Strasburg and Konstanz occur in the fourteenth century, and in Wurzburg after 1400.[61]

The Early Modern Period was an era of intensification for ecclesiastical archives. The bishops of Strasburg regulated their archive for the first time in 1541, but so-called *archivarii* do not appear there until around 1650. In 1598, the relevant congregation of cardinals in Rome issued a decree that "all papers, records, and proceedings of the archiepiscopal curia" should be stored in "designated rooms provided specifically for that purpose." While registrars were appointed in the episcopal chancellery of Fulda shortly before 1600, it would not be until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the archive as such received a relatively thoroughgoing organization that

would encompass *all* records of the episcopal administration in addition to material from the chancellery. We find a similar situation in the bishopric of Osnabruck.[62]

Several early modern bishops took their documents and archives extremely seriously. Johann Count of Manderscheid, Bishop of Strasburg from 1659 to 1592, belonged to this group. Daniel Specklin, a contemporary, noted that the bishop

> personally sifted through all letters and read them, spending several years on them. That is what he did; he had no interest in hunting or anything else; he moreover was hostile to all feasting and drinking [. . .] otherwise he pored over letters; he found many old things therein that he wanted back from the city, but the city had other letters to the contrary; that caused much conflict.[63]

Here, we encounter a new type of clergyman. Scorning secular, carnal pleasures, the bishop of Strasburg has transformed into a dedicated reader of records. Archive-related behavioral patterns have begun to influence him and his everyday administration. He thereby followed the spirit—and indeed also the normative letter—of the Roman Catholic Counterreformation, which also brought about important changes in the area of administration. The Council of Trent (1542–1563), the Catholic Church's response to the challenges of the Reformation, indeed mentioned archives and called for greater attention to record-keeping. In 1571, in the bull *Muneris nostri*, Pope Pius V again ordered bishops to increase their commitment to archives.[64] In 1579 and 1581, the French clergy issued the first commands to improve record-keeping.[65] Many of these measures may have been known to Johann Manderscheid. He also may have had in mind a widely admired, exemplary pioneer of the new, post-Tridentine archival culture of the Catholic Church: Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. Prior to taking office in Lombardy, Borromeo had gained extensive experience with the papal archives while working as secretary of state in Rome. On the basis of his impressions there, and in carrying out the conciliar and papal measures noted above, he developed a vigorous archival policy. He issued detailed regulations for the archives of the archdiocese of Milan and repeatedly monitored their practical implementation, even on site.[66] Bishops elsewhere, inspired not least by the precedent set by Borromeo, who was canonized in 1610, slowly but ever more consistently turned their attention to archives. Official regulations were issued for the archives of Benevento and Rome in 1693, 1698,

and 1725, making reference to the aforementioned documents. In 1725, the archdiocese of Avignon even issued rules concerning the "restoration and conservation of archives and legal rights of the Church" and used the Sunday sermon to implement them.[67] Two years later, in 1727, Benedict XIII, the "archivist pope," issued further extensive, groundbreaking instructions for church archives.[68]

These steps toward an archive policy on the highest and middle levels of the Church hierarchy were intended to spread the new archival culture to the farthest corners of the (Catholic) world. With respect to rural and urban parishes, the Early Modern Period represents an important phase of the consolidation of pragmatic literacy and archival praxis.[69] During its third series of sessions (1561–1563), the Council of Trent reiterated the need to keep marriage and baptismal registers, which in itself was an old practice with roots in Late Antiquity.[70] Even if not all bishops and priests shared their ecclesiastical superiors' high regard for keeping orderly registers and records, over time these items were increasingly considered criteria of good administration. Registers and archives accordingly received greater attention during inspections by the bishop. During his episcopal visitation in Ruffieu in 1605, Francis de Sales, for instance, advised the priest that he had to establish registers for baptisms, communion, marriages, and deaths, which had previously gone unrecorded.[71] During visitations in the diocese of Lyon in 1654, Camille de Neuville likewise repeatedly checked this item, even though he was by no means consistently or especially interested in registers.[72] In contrast, the concern for archives shown by the archbishop of Benevento, Pietro Francesco Orsini, in 1700 was much more pronounced. Again and again, he impressed the necessity of keeping precise archives on the priests in his diocese when he met them on his tours. He improved and meticulously monitored the state of their archives. In 1704, in the tiny town of Ginestra, some 150 kilometers east of Naples, he ordered that the cabinets of the archive be cleaned, that for the first time more complete records be kept, and in 1708 that various codices be rebound. In 1716, the *visitator* observed with satisfaction that the "loose, individual leaves" had at last been bound in a "book."[73] No detail of local record-keeping and archival praxis was too trivial to excite Orsini's interest. When he was elected pope as Benedict XIII in 1724, his enthusiasm for ecclesiastical archives could play out on a global stage.

The new Protestant churches were not far behind their Catholic rivals. John Calvin's drastic use of bureaucratic and text-based methods of social control in Geneva is well known—it rivaled the targeted use of written documents to fight heresy in the Late Middle Ages.[74] Yet archives were by no

means universally taken into consideration in the church constitutions and orders that began to be devised in the Holy Roman Empire in the latter half of the sixteenth century. As late as 1638, a newly appointed superintendent in Hesse first had to fight a protracted battle simply to establish authority over his own official archive.[75] Other individual examples, however, such as the church orders of Pomerania (1535), Palatinate-Neuburg (1576), and Regensburg (1588), attest to the increased attention that church records received at this date.[76]

The case of the superintendent of Eschwege in Hesse, Johannes Hütterodt, vividly illustrates this. Archives played a major part in his day-to-day work.[77] As he conducted official business, Hütterodt had to deal with the most diverse "registers" and archival materials practically every day. On June 28, 1638, for example, he negotiated with the government over the "correction of registers for poor boxes and hospitals"; on July 15 of the same year, with a pastor concerning his registers. In January 1640, he corrected the account books of Pastor Schwinger; and he was occupied with similar tasks almost every day of his subsequent twenty-two years of service.[78] The *Reposituren* were searched again and again, often fruitlessly. Inventories were checked, requested, or made.[79] Such behavior was not only typical of church authorities—Hütterodt's subordinates, local pastors, repeatedly "lament" their problems with archive-keeping, which is evidence not only of deficient praxis, but also of the greater demands made on archives.[80] Everywhere in the Hessian countryside, people governed with, fought over, and conducted local politics with archival materials.[81] Thus it is no surprise that when the churchman wanted to find a metaphor for a severe reprimand, he naturally chose an archive-related figure of speech: he was attacked "as if he had burned registers."[82] Care for archives and registers had become second nature to so great an extent that the act of destroying them could be used figuratively to describe harmful behavior.

In the long run, all social classes were affected by this rapid spread of archives to ever more areas of life, but with very different consequences. The way in which the European nobility interacted with archives gives us good insight into the ambivalence and difficulties that the new archival culture entailed for certain social groups. In the Holy Roman Empire in the sixteenth century, many noblemen were put on the defensive by exponents of the new documentary culture and the modified governing practices closely associated with it. The old debate over whether the pen or the sword constituted true nobility seemed to have been decided to the disadvantage of the traditional ruling class. Even though the concept of a "crisis of the nobility"

in the sixteenth century is discredited today, the nobility nonetheless had to make considerable adjustments in order to maintain its traditional pretensions to power.[83]

Matthias Vieregge, who descended from an old and distinguished noble family from Mecklenburg, aptly illustrates the ambivalence of the situation. In a letter from February 27, 1592, he asks the council of the Hanseatic city of Rostock to keep various documents for him "that are of distinct importance to my children." He can think of "no better place" than the town hall of Rostock.[84] Vieregge knew how valuable his documents were and clearly took measures to ensure their safekeeping; yet, in his own estimation, this noble owner of numerous properties and estates apparently lacked the appropriate infrastructure for what remained an unusual task for him. The will to archive and the uncertainty involved in actually executing such plans in this episode are equally striking.

And yet this nobleman from Mecklenburg had at least recognized the value of such papers, as Caspar IV Lerch von Dirmstein, an Imperial Knight from southwestern Germany and a younger contemporary of Vieregge's, would probably have said.[85] In Caspar, we find, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a nobleman who attempted to adapt to the new times far more aggressively than Vieregge. Caspar had studied law in France. Writing and the care for written documents seem to have become second nature to him. He almost obsessively labored over the history and documentary transmission of his family. To that end, he composed extensive *Annals* (*Annalen*, still unprinted) of his family, which are littered with remarks about documents and other papers. Caspar knew, however, that he was rather exceptional among his peers. Dirmstein soberly diagnosed the absence of a noble archival culture. Insufficient care for old documents had put the nobility in dire straits, he emphasized. By disregarding archives, Dirmstein's fellow noblemen had thrown away their most important weapons in the fight for their privileges: documents and texts. "One might well wish that briefs and documents had been preserved better many years ago," he dryly stated. For Lerch, the social practice of archiving was necessary for political independence—only by carefully preserving old documents could one take firm legal action against the growing pretensions of the great territorial rulers, such as the Electoral Palatinate of the Rhine. But since noble families, including his own, had not personally seen to the safekeeping of their papers, and instead had relied on external custodians—namely, monasteries—they now were in a bind: since "the Electoral Palatinate had destroyed the monasteries and seized for its own advantage Frankenthal together with the parsonage of

Dirmstein and all the surrounding ecclesiastical houses and estates along with old letters and documents," the nobility—all too naive with respect to archival culture—had lost its documents.[86] Caspar decried his fellow noblemen's archival failure in particular. His sober, almost sarcastic analysis reveals that large sections of the nobility in 1600 still struggled to adapt to the new documentary and archival culture. Other members of the nobility had similar experiences decades later. Until well into the seventeenth century, the everyday use of pragmatic literacy and its preservation were by no means taken for granted in noble households.[87] For example, approximately 20 percent of all documents in the archive of the de la Baume family, the counts of Montreval, were lost during the fifty-three years between 1568 and 1621.[88] In 1660, the Bodeck family of Frankfurt similarly could "not locate in our register a charter of enfeoffment issued in 1625."[89] In light of such lapses, the nobility's traditional conceptions of self and power were dangerously outmoded by the new mechanisms of the increasingly written exercise of power.

Long-term changes, however, can be identified. All across Europe, we can observe that the nobility came to embrace pragmatic written culture.[90] When the manor house of the Prussian burgrave Christoph von Dohna burned down in 1694, he explicitly stated how "lucky" he was that God had left his archive unscathed.[91] In the middle of the eighteenth century, even minor noble estate-owners possessed archives as a matter of course. There they could find charters of enfeoffment and other documents as needed, not least to prove their legal positions vis-à-vis the central authorities. In 1735, it was perfectly natural that the Lord of Breidbach could retrieve a document over two hundred years old from his archive.[92] Twenty years later, Carl Frantz Loener von und zu Laurenburg in Usingen sold his feudal estates together with a respectable amount of documents associated with those holdings.[93]

The reception of pragmatic literacy in noble economic life represents yet another area besides the preservation of documents relevant to feudal law. The exemplarily progressive estate of Gundaker of Lichtenstein in Bohemia and Moravia may serve as an illustration. Gundaker, a nobleman with pretentions as an innovator, meticulously supervised the management of his estates and constantly resorted to written methods of control.[94] Every week, the appropriate supervisors were to inform "accounting" of any advances and income. Minutely detailed catalogues were compiled, to penalize not only mismanagement, but also sloppy administrative work. Whoever forgot to obtain a receipt for something was fined one *Kreuzer*; whoever used an "incorrect rubric" in his reports—that is, whoever failed to observe standard terminology—had to pay the same amount. In this way, enormous masses

of papers began to accumulate. These papers were apparently so dear to Gundaker's heart that in June 1636 he personally composed an "Instruction as to how the registry should be kept [. . .] in the princely Lichtenstein court chancery" (*Instruction, wie in der füerstlich Liechtensteinischen hofcantzley* [. . .] *die registratur gehalten werden solle*). In 1641, he revised this code, again by hand. Gundaker's archival rules show that he was at the forefront of contemporary developments. Incoming and outgoing documents were to be archived and monitored by means of "protocol books," and drafts of outgoing letters were also to be neatly kept. He gave additional detailed instructions as to conservation and storage, inventorization, and individual document types. The revised version of the code from 1641 in particular makes it clear that this complex pragmatic literary apparatus was tailored precisely to facilitate the noble landlord's exercise of power: Gundaker personally decided many everyday matters, for which his chancellery and archive specifically had to provide support.

Such behavior became the ideal for the exercise of noble power. When, at the end of the century, the Jesuit Christoph Fischer composed a manual on managing a large estate, he included a detailed chapter on the necessary "house-chancellery" (*Hauß-Cantzley*). He understood this to consist of an "archive," a "house-registry" (*Hauß-Registratur*), or "document box" (*Schrift-Kasten*), in which the good householder had to keep a large amount of papers relevant to the administration and legal business of the estate. Fischer gave detailed instructions as to how the landlord could employ documentary and archival practices to manage his estate effectively.[95] Eventually, noble estate life itself seemed inconceivable without archives.

This adoption of pragmatic literacy by the established landed elite contributed significantly to the geographic and social diffusion of archival culture. In France, for example, we can clearly observe this in the seigneurial judicial system. Under the Ancien Régime, the administration of justice was frequently part and parcel of landownership. Seigneurial or "feudal" jurisdiction had been typical of Europe since the Middle Ages and frequently lay in the hands of the nobility. What is particularly interesting is the fact that this jurisdiction also experienced an intensification of documentary and archival culture in the Early Modern Period. In Murol, about forty kilometers southwest of Clermont-Ferrand, a fixed location for the "office of the court clerk" was first established in 1587. At approximately the same time, judicial records of proceedings there were distinguished into separate specialized series.[96] Accordingly, these courts at the lowest level of the judiciary produced a rising number of judicial records—and growing interest

was taken in storing them, especially from the latter half of the seventeenth century. A legislative initiative under Louis XIV that culminated in two fundamental laws from 1667 and 1670 paid particular attention to the *archives publiques* of the local courts.[97] As early as 1662, the Parlement of Paris resolved that every court should have a designated office in which records could be kept—although numerous similar decrees would follow, so that we should not overestimate the success of such measures.[98] Regardless, an abundance of examples clearly shows that local judicial institutions carried out these instructions, or at least attempted to do so, more and more frequently. Since at least 1695 in Dombes, we find numerous transfers of court records from the possession of individual officeholders to seigneurial depots, and during the administrative reform of 1773 the (newly appointed) royal procurator issued further instructions to that effect.[99] In 1725, the local Palais de Justice of Trevoux, the administrative center of Dombes, was extensively rebuilt so that it could better accommodate archival materials from the various judicial districts.[100]

Elsewhere in France we find a similar picture: although there were no designated archive rooms for court records in the *seigneurie* of Château-la-Vallière near Tours until 1784, there had been an archive for the documents of the nobility since at least 1725. The court clerks in charge almost tenderly cared for the mass of files that accumulated there and in 1705 risked their lives to save the papers from fire. The seigneurial authority, vice versa, took energetic action in 1743 to ensure that the many dozens of registers remained at the court.[101] That was in keeping with the contemporary trend toward institutionalized legal record-keeping, since it was required ever more frequently anyway to deposit court documents "in the archives of the court clerks."[102] Whereas in Saint-Lager in the province of Beaujolais a departing notary was ordered to deliver any court records in his possession to his successor in 1698, a generation later, in 1729, in Irigny in the province of Lyonnais, it was proposed that they should be deposited in the local château, not least to protect them more effectively from mismanagement by local officials.[103] In 1734 in Montreuil-Bellay in Anjou, the clerk for a noble judicial district was likewise ordered to "give all documents in good order to the archive" upon leaving office.[104] When the court archive of La Marche in the province of Mâconnais was inventoried—by order of the king—in the middle of the eighteenth century, almost sixty distinct units of archival material were found, ranging from individual papers to series of court registers, to records of criminal proceedings.[105] In exercising their feudal judicial rights, while working in conjunction with royal officials and following speci-

fications issued in Paris, the landlords had institutionalized an increasingly efficient archival system for the local judiciary.

It is difficult to say how deeply, or when, this trend toward the systematic, explicit, and separate storage of one's own papers penetrated into everyday life and into the homes of individuals. Although numerous estate inventories, which were often prepared when a death occurred, either mention no documents at all or make it perfectly clear that the few papers the decedent had were kept somewhere in his home together with other objects,[106] small collections of documents had long ago ceased to be unusual even for people living in humble circumstances in the countryside. That applied primarily to papers of legal and commercial significance, such as marriage contracts and other contracts or receipts for the payment of debts. Sometimes, dozens of such papers were found in the possession of the deceased.[107] Some inventories attest to relatively refined methods of storing private papers. Bennoit Calloujard, for example, who died in Saint-Lager in 1704, kept a considerable amount of documents in a small cabinet that he had installed in a wall.[108] Pierre Audibert and Jeanne Faure, who died shortly after one another in Irigny in 1737, had a designated drawer in their clothes cabinets for their (very small) collections, while Leonard Deschamps kept his papers in a box.[109] In Germany, by the eighteenth century at the latest, it was considered indispensable to include a separate thematic heading for correspondence in inventories of decedents' estates.[110] The fact that these persons locked away their personal papers and stored them separately prior to death, and they afterward first were sealed and then inventoried in detail by notaries as a distinct form of property, indicates that all parties involved viewed such papers as an independent portion of the estate.

The overall picture that emerges from the evidence shows that even humble people in rural settings were confronted with archives at the latest by the eighteenth century. Contemporaries, however, occasionally drew a deliberate (polemical) distinction between "archival center" and "archival periphery."[111] This distinction was sometimes even tied to the overt, hegemonic cultural-political fantasies of a capital city. In 1740, for instance, Dom Antoine Lancelot (1675–1740) justified transporting files from Nancy to Paris by arguing that "all these items [are] extremely useful for the history of these remote times [. . .] and therefore should be stored in a public depot in Paris, where they can be carefully preserved, rather than their present city, where the taste for this kind of research has not yet fully developed."[112] Notwithstanding such dismissive projections by metropolitan agents, we may conclude the following: archives as institutions and the diverse archival practices

associated with them became a permanent part of the everyday experiences of an ever-larger segment of the population, even in remote areas. People and institutions in many places began to archive and establish archives. Archives appeared in late medieval and early modern Europe on multiple social and political levels; that was precisely why they could become so pervasive. The expansion of archival culture in Europe was, all in all, largely an uncoordinated process that—even though large princely institutions served as models—was not directed centrally, but rather had a variety of local and regional causes and manifestations.

TERRITORIAL ARCHIVAL POLICY BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERY

This archival variety increasingly attracted government interest in the Early Modern Period. The archival history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is defined by the escalating confrontation between the multilayered European archival landscape and government efforts to standardize and control it. More and more, nascent states made it a priority to monitor, instrumentalize, and coordinate local depots, and, if necessary, expand them. To that end, leading officials drafted administrative visions of how specific sections of the archival culture in their territories should look. Archival policies not only addressed questions of pragmatic utility, but also always served as symbolic manifestations of the central government's power over cities, communes, corporations, and other local authorities. It is generally very difficult to separate these two aspects. It was only because archives had been credited with self-evident, pragmatic usefulness since the Late Middle Ages that they could become the object of manifestations of government power.

Normally, princely governments were not interested in supplanting local or regional archives. Only comparably seldom did rulers' archival policies entail the creation of new central archives. In most cases, existing archives were to be reorganized and placed more directly under government control. The process of archiving would continue on a decentralized basis, but different related archives would be integrated into centrally monitored networks. Various official attempts to keep notarial records more effectively offer a particularly good example of how European archival policy fluctuated between centralization and decentralization. At one end of the spectrum is the famous example of Florence, where in 1569 the grand dukes established a central archive for notarial documents.[113] At the other are the Papal States

and France. In 1588, Pope Sixtus V ordered that notarial documents must be archived in the Papal States on a decentralized basis and established a complex bureaucracy to monitor this initiative.[114] Around the same time, beginning in 1581, the first steps were taken in France to increase the legal certainty of notarial records by means of intensified, yet decentralized inventorization and archiving practices. Although initial attempts under Henry III and Henry IV did not result in resounding success, a decree of Louis XIV in March 1693 successfully launched a serious initiative to ensure that at least notarial records were centrally monitored.[115] A designated bureaucratic corps was created with the telling title *Contrôle des Actes*, and their numerous *bureaux* dotted wide expanses of the countryside.[116] Now, in addition to the copies of contracts kept in the registers of the notaries involved, it was indispensable to make a brief entry in another list kept by royal officials. These royal lists were meta-registers in a certain sense: they did not contain actual contracts, but rather only notices to the effect that a contract had been concluded between two people, and when and where. Even today, these lists are still used as a kind of index to the unwieldy notarial registers themselves. Given their need to take standardized records, officials quickly adopted advanced media technologies; for example, they began using mass-produced, preprinted forms.[117] In the case of France, this particular royal archival policy under Louis XIV ultimately stemmed from financial interests—legal parties paid for the mandatory entry of contracts into the registers of the Contrôle; the official posts necessary to run the Contrôle could therefore be leased out to the benefit of the royal budget. The fees were in fact so high that some people abandoned the legal transactions they had planned.[118] But despite these sometimes counterproductive financial goals, there can be no doubt that the creation of the Contrôle was also an expression of the ruler's absolutist intentions, as he exploited archival policy in the name of the "public interest" to infiltrate citizens' private business.[119]

Further local archival practices gradually became subject to royal control. Beginning in 1667, Louis XIV repeatedly interfered with the way registers of births, deaths, and marriages were compiled and kept. First, in order to preserve this important information, he instructed the priests responsible for registers to prepare them in duplicate, delivering one copy to local royal officials to keep. In 1691, this cumbersome procedure was replaced; instead, the priests' lists were inspected by newly appointed royal officials. For decades uncertainty prevailed over the specifics of the process—duplicates delivered to the officials, or on-site inspection? In some places, such as Lyon, the first solution was preferred; but otherwise the sporadic inspection of church ar-

chives generally sufficed.[120] A royal law from 1736 again made the duplicate procedure mandatory for birth, death, and marriage registers.[121] The central bureaucracy in Paris attempted to enforce these measures to ensure documentation despite considerable resistance on the part of regional officials—but often made only sluggish progress.[122]

As early as 1645, an order was issued for a systematic inventory of the archival holdings of every district of the new Duchy of Saxe-Gotha, founded in 1640.[123] Then, in 1668, a detailed "ordinance to all officials concerning the submission of official registries" (*Verordnung an alle Beambte die einrichtung der Ambts-Reposituren betreffend*) was issued for the purpose of standardizing archives in the entire territory.[124] The government took active measures, if necessary, to enforce these instructions. In 1671, the young Tobias Pfanner was entrusted with enforcing this ordinance in the recalcitrant district of Eisfeld. German princes elsewhere also regularly influenced the way local records were kept. In a harsh letter to his privy counselor Franz Ludwig Knebel zu Catzenellenbogen, dated January 27, 1746, the elector of Mainz bitterly complained about the deplorable condition of local archives in the prince-bishopric and called for reform. A survey of conditions on the ground, however, was launched only after considerable delay, on November 29, 1785. A decree issued by the elector in 1786 on the basis of the findings of this survey subsequently reshaped the archival landscape of the state.[125]

Such archival policy initiatives by the authorities met with mixed reactions. They often were incompatible with long-standing local traditions and moreover offended local pride. Notaries throughout Europe, for example, could observe quite correctly that they had established archives long before government authorities had, albeit with widely varying success. With such a proud justification, the notaries of Toulouse, for instance, could consider the introduction of centralizing archival practices in 1756 as superfluous and detrimental.[126] Local officials had also long taken exemplary care of their papers while the central administration had shown not the slightest interest in them. Government archival policy moreover sometimes ignored the needs of local documentary praxis. It was claimed again and again that centralized archival norms could not adequately accommodate local record-keeping peculiarities. In the case of Gotha, shortly after the aforementioned ordinance of 1668 was issued, Heinrich von Millitz, the *Amtmann* of Salzungen, noted several peculiarities in his official district that he decided had to be taken into account in the interest of rational archival praxis.[127] In such cases, centralized standards and local conventions seemed at odds with one another. This led often enough to conflict, as for instance in Alsatian Anweiler in

1740.[128] For years, the town counselors had fought with a high government official, the *Landschreiber* Klick, over particularities of the town's archival praxis. Local dignitaries stubbornly defended their traditional procedure and even appealed to the landgravine. It seems, however, that the central administration ultimately prevailed. In 1741, a commission appeared in the city for the purpose of "putting its confused registry in order." Resistance to central archival policies was fierce, but the authorities were growing less willing to tolerate the remnants of local praxis.

AFTER FOUNDING

Founding an archive was one thing. Ensuring that it continued to function and remain useful over the long term was another, as one contemporary in 1777 knew full well: "It is utterly impossible to bring ever-lasting order to a repository of documents unless someone continually cares for it."[129] The simple act of founding an archive is therefore, at most, of limited value with respect to the historical significance of an archive. Without constant attention, without continual care, archives rapidly became (and become) ineffective.[130] Scholars accordingly should instead ask whether, how, and why (or why not) individual institutions were maintained for long periods of time. It was certainly expensive to do so. Archives do not constitute resources as much as they consume them. For many archive-founders of the Early Modern Period, it proved difficult to support their repositories on a regular, permanent basis, particularly since investments in personnel, inventorization, and equipment create immediate expense yet normally take effect in the future. In late medieval and early modern Europe, short-term political planning was the norm, not least because of a comparatively irregular and unpredictable supply of financial resources.

Against this background, we can understand why the history of many premodern archives resembles a constant off-and-on. The illustrious archive of Barcelona, for example, which pointed the way forward for Europe in the thirteenth century, later apparently fell into a deplorable state. Pere Bene, who was entrusted with maintaining the archive in 1598, reports disastrous conditions. Pests and dust were ubiquitous; the "profoundest chaos" reigned. The situation was "unworthy" of the archive and its holdings.[131] The same experiences recurred elsewhere: the diocesan archive of Milan founded by Carlo Borromeo was thrown into utter disarray by his nephew and successor Federico Borromeo in 1609, who cleared space so that he could host guests

in its rooms.[132] The archive of the Chambre du Commerce of Bordeaux, the founding of which I have recounted above, was supposed to be systematized as early as 1709—but it seems that it was neglected for decades. In 1730, it was determined that the holdings still "had never been put in order." The chamber had "never had any archive."[133] Even the famous archive of the Parlement of Paris was in practically unusable condition in 1727.[134] We moreover know about the state of things in the seigneurial courts in France, because the authorities constantly had to intervene on account of neglected archival rules. Things were no better in Saxony. The joint archive of the Ernestine Duchies in Weimar was in "remarkable *defecto*" and "disorganized condition" in 1690.[135] According to the newly appointed archivist, Pfanner, it lacked personnel, material, and space. A decade later, countless "*defecta*" were identified in the archive of the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha in Friedenstein Castle. Extensive lists of missing documents were prepared, giving eloquent testimony to the weaknesses of this archival institution.[136] Between 1716 and 1719, Johann Christoph Kunkel, then chief archivist in Gotha, repeatedly pleaded with the duke for a "revision *a capite ad calcem*" so that he could get an overview of the apparently high number of "*lacunae*" in the archive.[137] The next archivist, Friedrich Paul Wachler, also constantly complained about the archive's "*defecta*."[138] Now, archivists carefully crafted complaints about their institutions as a strategy of legitimating their profession, as we shall see in greater detail at a later point. There can be no doubt, however, that archival knowledge was under considerable threat—that it was "precarious knowledge."[139]

The off-and-on nature of the history of most archives is key to countering the impression that the transition from customarily collecting documents to institutionalized archiving automatically entailed a long-term guarantee of rationality or efficiency. Order and usability are by no means the natural modes of existence for archives. On the contrary, it is long-term order and usability that demand an explanation. Other priorities frequently competed with the maintenance of archival institutions in the Early Modern Period. When France was at war in 1741, no further support was forthcoming for the archival measures that Parlement had approved in peacetime fifteen years earlier.[140] When archives were founded, or rather—in most cases—when existing realities were confirmed and set on a new track by clearly identifiable institutionalization measures, it was by no means the beginning of a story of inexorable progress. Unusability in one form or another due to inadequate maintenance stemming from a variety of reasons was not simply a symptom of decline, but rather an inherent trajectory of the development of archives.

When authorities decided to take energetic action on behalf of their archives, it could take on astonishingly vast dimensions. This resulted in a frequently fruitful exchange between theorists and practitioners, to which we will return on multiple occasions later. A transregional exchange of ideas and models that interested archive-founders drew upon when seeking to optimize their own archives is also characteristic of European archival culture. When the Spanish royal archive, located in Simancas since 1540, was reorganized, Philip II unambiguously followed the Portuguese precedent set in Lisbon.[141] In Gotha roughly a century later, those in charge likewise turned to the advanced institutions of the day when they moved to reorganize their archive. In 1670, a letter was sent to the Reichskammergericht ("Imperial Chamber Court") in Speyer requesting detailed information about its local archival practices.[142] Reciprocal inspiration was sought out, and model institutions were admired for their efficiency. The archival culture of Europe consisted not only of the sum of individual initiatives, but also of a network of interrelated practices.

INSTITUTIONALIZED UNUSABILITY: JOLY DE FLEURY AND LE NAIN IN THE ARCHIVE OF THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS

The decision to institutionalize one's archives and the ensuing transformation of practices into standardized processes were intended not only to protect the material stored in archives, but also to ensure its usability in specific situations. Yet, by their very nature as institutions, archives *always* fail to a certain extent, because each archive itself determines how and for what reasons files may be used—or not. The institutionalized form of an archive goes a long way toward defining its social relevance as a place of knowledge. An archive, as Foucault argued, is the law of what can be said. Certain forms of order, procedures, and customs are established and authorized by norms; intentionally or unintentionally, other orders of knowledge and archival practices are thereby disadvantaged and even ruled out. Normative frameworks permit archives to exist, but limit the possible ways in which archives may be used (or at least how one might attempt to use them). Every institutionalized archive, no matter how well it is maintained, is therefore unusable in some way. This emerges nowhere so clearly as at the key point around which the institutionalization of archives revolved: the creation of a reliable order of knowledge.

The royal procurator Guillaume-François Joly de Fleury clearly perceived

this fact in 1725 in the case of the archive of the Parlement of Paris. It was he who inaugurated a new era in the aforementioned archival chaos of the Parlement by instituting several practical improvements. Yet he also concluded that the usability of the Parlement archive was also fundamentally limited. The Parlement's order of knowledge and the order of its archive, and thus the very rationale of its bureaucratic operations, were potentially counterproductive. The documents of the Parlement were managed according to what amounted to a very simple and strict structure: documents were entered into different register series in strict chronological order. This order of knowledge was appealingly clear, but it failed, according to Joly de Fleury, when a user could not or would not use chronological search criteria:

> Often, one knows that a ruling was made; one knows the name of the party involved, but not the date; when one knows the year, what use is it to a citizen to leaf through forty registers [produced each year on average], each of which has perhaps 1,000 pages, and what help can one hope to have when one is at a loss for the date over several years? In 1724, the procurator general of the king was engaged in a trial on the king's behalf concerning a question that he knew had been decided in the king's favor twelve or fifteen years before. A year passed without finding [the ruling]. Felicitously, a procurator, who had given all the documents to his party, found, in the dust of his office, a scrap on which the date of the ruling had been written. The king's procurator retrieved it, [and] the matter was successfully resolved, but it would have ended in failure.[143]

Very often, Joly de Fleury explained, searches therefore either ended in failure on account of the mass of material or had to rely on purely accidental discoveries. In January 1728, he had to confess to Minister Maurepas that the strictly chronological order used by the Parlement made it inherently hard to find documents, and this time he was referring to royal documents of the utmost importance—several marriage contracts and peace treaties from the reigns of Henry III and Henry IV.[144]

The inherent limitations on the usability of the Parlement archive that Joly de Fleury described were significantly enhanced by the chaotic, constrained space of its storerooms, which he also criticized, but these limitations were primarily the result of systemic conditions. There were many advantages to the institutionalized chronological order of knowledge observed by the archive, but it also imposed clear boundaries on use of the

archive. Even today, it takes considerable effort to carry out a topical query in the Parlement archive that departs from its strictly chronological internal logic—just as Joly de Fleury had observed. The institutionalization of specific archival practices, as we can see, created blind spots. Founding an archive in a specific form always entails excluding certain ways of using it, unless the institutional rationale of the archive is penetrated by an alternative approach.

In the case of the archive of the Parlement of Paris, we have a spectacular example of this from approximately two generations prior to Joly de Fleury's complaint. In an initiative probably undertaken for private reasons, the president of Parlement at the time, Jean Le Nain (1613–1698), created a thematic index of select parliamentary registers that followed a completely different, content-oriented rationale.[145] First Le Nain went through the original Parlement registers and marked the passages relevant to him, which were then copied. He eventually assembled well over two hundred volumes of copied passages.[146] Then, Le Nain compiled a *thematic* register to index the contents of these copies, which remained in chronological order. The finished index ultimately comprised eighty-three folio volumes.[147] To create this index, Le Nain apparently noted brief descriptions of the contents of the copied passages on spare leaves. He then cut up these pages of notes with scissors or a knife, creating small paper snippets with content descriptions and references to the relevant volume of copies. Le Nain used pins to arrange the snippets by subject in folios of their own (fig. 3).[148]

Lastly, he transformed these folios of pinned snippets into the eighty-three volumes of the index: from a chronological order, a thematic order had emerged.[149] With this index, he then used the same procedure to prepare a fifteen-volume meta-index, in which the user first had to see which index volume covered his subject. From there, he could follow Le Nain's informative references to find resolutions of Parlement that had been copied into Le Nain's copy books. Indication of the date and the number of the original registers made it possible, if necessary, to access the actual records of Parlement.

The eighty-three volumes of pinned snippets—one for each index volume—are not only an impressive monument to Le Nain's work ethic; they moreover give striking testimony of what enormous physical and material efforts were required to penetrate the archive's institutionalized order of knowledge. Drastic measures were necessary to overcome the inherent systemic limitations on using the Parlement archive that Joly de Fleury so precisely diagnosed. It is striking that Le Nain, while certainly not working

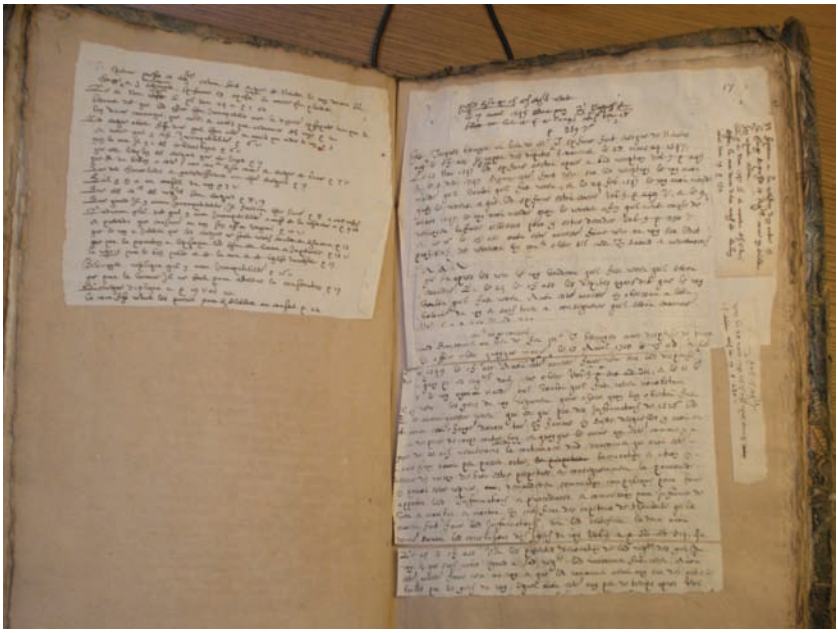

Fig. 3. Jean Le Nain's working notebook, which he used to create a thematic archival order

against the wishes of Parlement, had not been commissioned by the institution but rather created his index presumably for private reasons. That may indicate that the archive itself generally did not regard such alternative approaches as necessary; instead, they were applied to it from outside.

The procedure followed by Le Nain—creating little paper snippets that one could arrange and rearrange *ad libitum*—was not unusual for his time. Recently, Ann Blair has convincingly shown how working with and arranging such snippets had become a standard scholarly procedure for managing knowledge since the sixteenth century.[150] Le Nain's project departed from this praxis merely insofar as he used pins instead of glue to fix his excerpts in place. His method also shows how, in the seventeenth century, the procedure could be transferred effortlessly from the realm of scholarly book production to that of archival work. No clear boundary separated the knowledge practices of scholarly authors from those of officials interested in archives. Other examples also document this transfer. A one-volume subject index for the archive of Gotha from the seventeenth century is also composed of glued snippets that have been arranged in alphabetical order (fig. 4). Far more

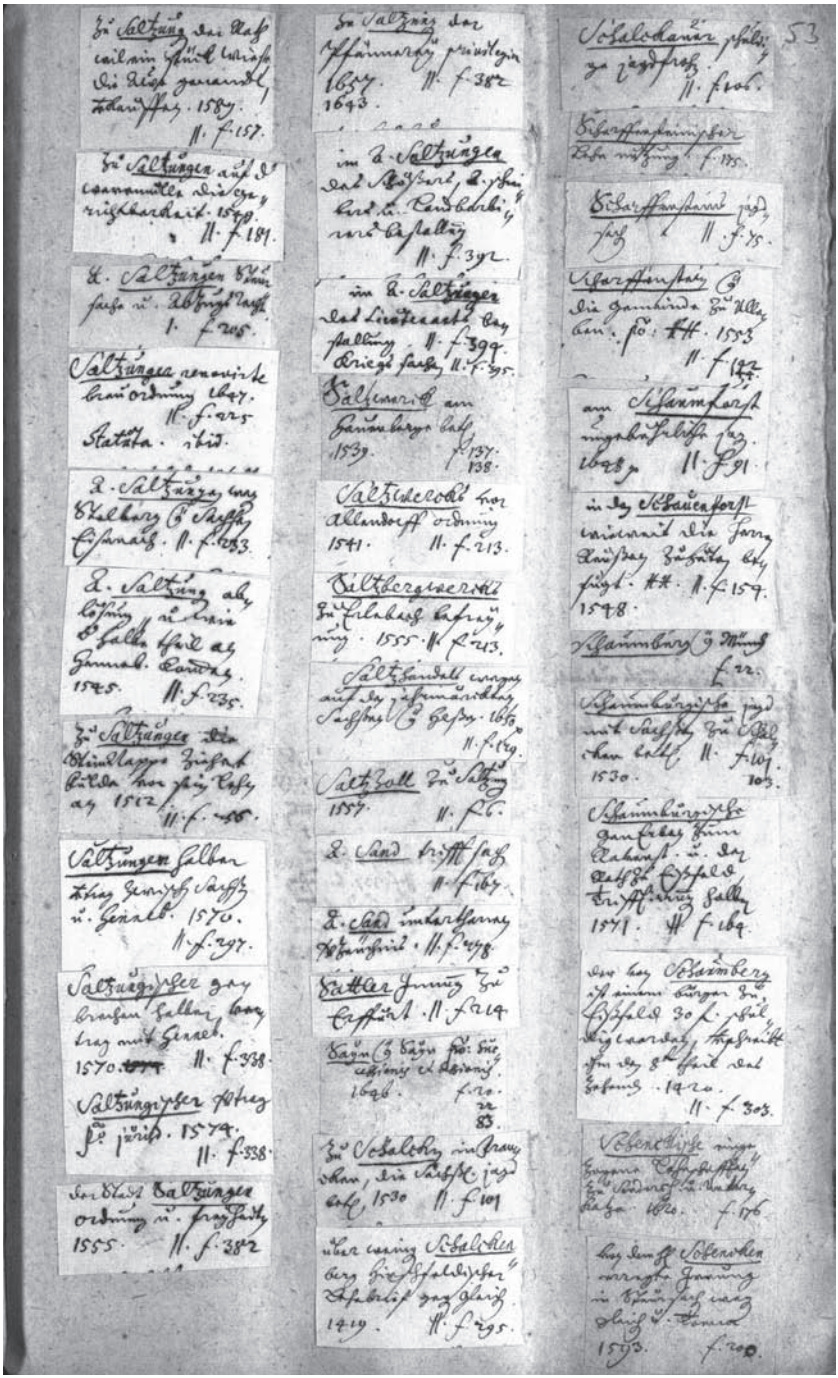

Fig. 4. Glued "snippets" used to inventory an archive in Gotha, seventeenth century

famous is the greatest project of the Early Modern Period that used snippets to give users access to the contents of a major archive: in the eighteenth century, the archivist of the Vatican Secret Archives, Giuseppe Garampi, created a comprehensive subject index of papal holdings in the form of the *schedario Garampi*, which is still used today. It consists of over 800,000 snippets arranged roughly by subject and glued into 125 thick folio volumes, divided into several series, around the year 1890.[151]

Guillaume-François Joly de Fleury and Jean Le Nain and their projects to increase the practical and conceptual efficiency of the archive of the Parlement of Paris are outstanding examples of the effort needed to guarantee the usability of European archives on a permanent basis. The transition from the act of archiving to archival institutions was an important stage in the history of European archives, but the examples cited above clearly show that the success of archives was and remained precarious. Strenuous effort was constantly needed to tap the potential of archives for specific purposes. This permanent need for active maintenance must be emphasized. Archives often consumed more resources than they provided. They function not as passive receptacles, but rather are functional only through constant action. Nothing about archives is or ever was automatic or self-evident, "natural" or "organic."[152] We therefore may conclude that the dysfunctionality of archives shaped their history as profoundly as their positive achievements did. The history of archives accordingly must also be a history of their unusability. Archives should occupy a prominent place not only in accounts of European rationalization, but also in analyses of entropy and inefficiency. Archives were not "intrinsically" factors of order, safekeeping, and preservation. They served equally well as catalysts of the opposite. Both confidence in the potential of archives and fear of the opposite characterized contemporary perceptions of archives, as the following chapter will show.

4 ✦ Projections

Archives in Early Modern Thought

A publishing initiative was launched in Heidelberg in 1571 that changed archives across Europe. Three treatises on archives and archiving appeared in print that year. All three were composed by Jakob von Ramingen, an experienced archival practitioner who had worked in various archives in southern and southwestern German principalities. *Von der Renovatur*, *Von Registratur*, and his *Summarischer Bericht*, the initial publication, are regarded as the beginning of archival theory in Europe.[1] Of course, archivists of earlier times had reflected on their craft and the institutions they managed. Yet the first independent treatises on archives were not produced until the Early Modern Period. Ramingen's texts had no equal in the Middle Ages. His works were followed by further publications that both were written with praxis in mind and elevated the discourse of archives to a higher, more sophisticated level.

Scholars have repeatedly written about the texts and books dedicated exclusively or at least explicitly to archives since Jakob von Ramingen. There exists a series of overviews of such works.[2] Yet scholarly treatments up to the present are inadequate. First of all, the corpus of relevant texts they cover is nowhere near exhaustive. Many remain unknown or lost—such as a very early treatise on archives announced by Gerhardus Vossius in 1631.[3] Second, most scholarly treatments have been dedicated to the (pre)history of modern archival science. This chapter goes beyond this narrow perspective. Instead, I consider the growing discussion about archives in the Early Modern Period

to be indicative of their rising social and cultural importance. As archiving as a praxis and archives as institutions became ubiquitous elements of European culture and society, they also became subjects of debate and interpretive theories. As more was constantly being said and written about archives, they came to occupy an ever more permanent place in contemporary thought. The growing literature on archives gave them cultural significance. Hence, archives were integrated, for instance, into historical narratives, political theories, and public law. Occasionally, archives and files even became the subject of amorous fantasies.[4] By talking about archives, contemporaries recognized their importance and simultaneously legitimated their existence. They inscribed archives onto European culture.

TALKING ABOUT ARCHIVES: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

Jakob von Ramingen's praxis-oriented guidebooks were the product of two generations of experience in the archives of several western German sovereigns. The author's father had worked for the Habsburgs, and Jakob himself had served the counts palatinate of the Rhine. There he had seen the value of organized document management for enforcing sovereign rights.[5] He confidently claimed, in the style of an advertising brochure, that the subject of his treatises—record-keeping as a key to expanding sovereign power—was the way of the future. Moreover, "this art [. . .] would be highly sought after [. . .] among emperors and kings."[6]

Ramingen, admittedly, was somewhat ahead of his time. The next publications explicitly dedicated to archives appeared two generations later in Italy, where three mutually acquainted churchmen expressed their views in short succession. In 1632, Baldassare Bonifacio published his *De archivis liber singularis* in Venice.[7] The character of this short treatise differed completely from Ramingen's praxis-oriented guidebook. Bonifacio was less interested in specific instructions than he was in the historical-systematic categorization and legitimation of archives. He wrote about the names, history, and usefulness of depots of documents from a broad chronological and geographic perspective. His text gave the reader a brief cultural and historical orientation in European archives. In 1630, Albertino Barisoni composed a *Commentarius de archivis antiquorum*, which likewise offered primarily a historical-cultural orientation in the burgeoning phenomenon. This text long remained in manuscript form and was not published until 1737.[8] A Venetian text on

organizing documents in an archive composed by Fortunato Olmo in 1647 remains unpublished today.[9]

Until the age of the Thirty Years' War, the market for stand-alone publications on archives thus remained quite small, especially north of the Alps. The latter half of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth century would prove to be an important phase of consolidation for European archival culture. Ramingen's treatises had combined an eloquent legitimation of archives with a variety of individual, albeit unsystematically presented, practical proposals and advice for future registrars. These texts now found successors. Presumably, the earliest publication on archives in French was equally praxis-oriented. In 1660, a brief *Instruction pour etablir des Archives* ("Instruction for establishing archives") penned by an anonymous Jesuit appeared, but it only circulated within the Society of Jesus and did not leave the order.[10] In contrast, Georg Aebbtlin's *Anführung zu der Registratur-Kunst* ("Guide to the art of registry"), published in 1669 and drawing on Ramingen's works, became a widely known standard text.[11] The *Methodus archivorum seu modus eadem texendi ac disponendi* ("Method of archives, or: the manner of constructing and arranging them") by the Italian Nicolò Giussani, published in 1684, likewise had a decidedly pragmatic outlook.[12] These authors attempted to cover as many aspects of archives as possible and provide a wide range of information relevant to everyday use. They frequently addressed not only the person of the registrar, but also facilities, furnishings, indexing techniques, and organizational plans.

Jurisprudence constituted a second field of thought about archives. Archives had long featured in juristic treatises. In 1610, for instance, the Frenchman Charles Loyseau included an oft-cited passage on notarial archives in his *Traité des ordres et simples dignités*.[13] In 1617, in his standard work on the *parlements*, Bernard de La Roche-Flavin also discussed their files and archives.[14] In the Holy Roman Empire, the entries on archives in Johann Jakob Speidel's legal-political lexicon of 1657 became general knowledge.[15] Ahasverus Fritsch, the chancellor of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, encapsulated his legal reflections on archives in the groundbreaking work *De jure archivi* in 1660. Imperial public law at German universities subsequently took up the topic. Franz Michael Neveu von Windschläg gave a *Dissertatio de archivis* in 1668, Johann Christoph Wagenseil discussed the imperial archives and the Golden Bull in 1675, Friedrich Rudloff wrote about the various public archives in the Empire in 1676, and a decade later, in 1686, Christoph Lyncker again wrote on the subject of the imperial archives.[16] This

imperial-legal tradition continued in the eighteenth century. Many earlier texts were reprinted, such as those by Lyncker and Rudloff, which reappeared in new editions in 1730 and 1747. These works covered the various archival institutions of the emperor, the imperial estates, and the chancellor in extensive detail. All kinds of specific questions concerning supervision, responsibility, maintenance, and legal authority over the records of the Empire were discussed from a historical and systematic legal perspective. Friedrich Franz Schal brought this strain of literature to its apex in 1784, shortly before the end of the Holy Roman Empire, with the appearance of his primarily historically oriented *Zuverlässige Nachrichten von dem zu Mainz aufbewahrten Reichs-Archiv* ("Reliable information on the imperial archive kept in Mainz"), which remains a valuable source of information today.[17] In all of these works, analysis of the archival landscape of Germany was treated as an aspect of imperial law and served imperial legal scholars' effort to give a systematic historical account of the Holy Roman Empire.

There was yet another legal dimension to the scholarly discourse of archives: the problem of the evidentiary value of archival documents in court. Fritsch in his *De jure archivi* and many authors after him, such as Rudolf Wedekind in 1756 and Philipp Behlen in 1760, had debated the subject.[18] In brief, the discussion revolved around the widespread conviction that the nature and status of the archive from which a document derived determined its credibility in court. It was thought that, as public institutions, archives should contain documents that had been prepared by people—such as notaries—authorized to certify legal transactions. To support this view, early modern jurists adapted an ancient Roman definition of archives as "a place where legal documents are publicly deposited" (*Dig.* 48.19.9.6). The opposite implication was also true to some extent in the Early Modern Period: "official archives" founded by the appropriate authorities could guarantee the legal validity of the documents they contained. Of course, contemporaries did not view all repositories of texts as "official archives." On the contrary, many private document collections that lacked proper public authority were explicitly denied the status of "archives" in this strict legal sense, as Johann Jakob Speidel, among many other authors, insisted.[19] In the practical administration of justice, the origin of documents presented by the parties was always meticulously scrutinized.[20] In 1768, for example, the power of the archive of the University of Helmstedt to authenticate documents was disputed, so that documents retrieved from it now suddenly threatened to lose their credibility.[21] Even the most powerful men of the day had to submit to this rationale. In 1654, Cardinal Mazarin, Louis XIV's Italian-born minister,

had set his sights on an old document in the archive of the small northern Italian city of Montaldeo near Genoa; he needed it to compose his family history. He noted, "I had thought of simply having the document removed from the archive there, since it is of no use to anyone besides myself. But then I changed my mind and thought that this document would be much more trustworthy if it were located in a public archive (*archivio publico*) rather than in my own hands."[22] The place where a document was stored influenced its credibility.

With increasing urgency, authors of the seventeenth century had to address the question of who could actually provide archives with this power to confer legal certainty. What was the authority that created "genuine," "official" archives? The relatively vague medieval notion that founding an archive was the exclusive privilege of either the pope or the emperor no longer sufficed in the age of nascent territorial states.[23] The right to found or possess a publicly recognized archive (*ius archivi*) ceased to be a purely legal question and became the subject of political wrangling.[24] Beginning in the seventeenth century, the power to found an archive with public legal authority was considered a sovereign right. This norm spurred debate especially in the Holy Roman Empire, where the legal status of many imperial estates was fiercely disputed. Archives accordingly appeared in the many handbooks on imperial public law as one of many indicators of unfettered state sovereignty.[25] In specialized treatments of the topic, this association sometimes led to highly complicated consideration of the question of what type of imperial estates really had the sovereign right to found proper archives. The *ius archivi* thus became a further bone of contention in the broad debate over the sovereignty of imperial estates.[26] This controversy contributed to the legal and political stratification of Germany, since the rank of Hanseatic cities and imperial counts, for instance, in the hierarchy of imperial estates decided whether they possessed *ius archivi*, which in turn was regarded as a token of their sovereignty. In the context of this German debate, attempts to classify and describe the Holy Roman Empire exercised a decisive influence on the cultural and social status of archives.[27] Anton Friedrich Wilhelm Layritz of Altdorf was still disputing these questions as late as 1796.[28]

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, the literature on archives had significantly grown, yet it still consisted for the most part of relatively short and often obscure texts. Some of them, such as Aebbtlin's groundbreaking text, were reprinted in significantly expanded revised versions.[29] In 1715, Johann Jakob Wencker collected the most important texts into a single, thick book.[30] Demand for archival literature had obviously grown, and thus it is

no surprise that the subject was taken up in numerous subsequent publications. Jakob Friedrich Ludovici's popular *Einleitung zum Civil-Prozeß* ("Introduction to civil procedure"), which was printed over a dozen times in the eighteenth century, for example, contained an appendix on the "way to prepare files" ("Art, die Acten zu verfertigen") and practical instructions on acquiring, binding, and managing legal documents.[31] Johann Stephan Pütter's no less successful "Guide to legal praxis" (*Anleitung zur juristischen Praxi*), first published in 1758–1759, contained detailed instructions on setting up and organizing archives.[32] Then, in 1765, Philipp Wilhelm Ludwig Fladt's "Guide to the science of registries" (*Anleitung zur Registratur-Wissenschaft*) was the first stand-alone work on the practical management of archives to appear in a long while; it was followed shortly thereafter in 1767 by a brief work that has hitherto received little attention, the anonymous "Reflections on setting up archives and registries" (*Bedencken von Einrichtung der Archiven und Registraturen*).[33] Although not very ambitious conceptually, this work could definitely serve as a basic guide to the everyday business of archives. Both Fladt and the author of *Bedencken* took great care to observe a terminological distinction between "archives," where one's most important and essential legal documents were stored, and "registries," which contained all other documentation. While the author of *Bedencken* primarily considered "archives" in this sense, Fladt was exclusively concerned with "registries," for which he provided detailed, specific information on organization, storage, and cataloguing. Other authors, such as Augustin Balthasar or Theodor Reinkingk, published practical guides for archivists on the ideal way to organize municipal and princely archives.[34]

As alluring as such abstract plans for the rational organization of archives may have been, they usually fell foul of the reality of existing records. Even authors like Fladt, who believed in the viability of prescriptive archival systems, left some room for contextual, inductive organization.[35] A full decade after Fladt's book, in 1777, Philipp Ernst Spieß published a practical treatise "On archives" (*Von Archiven*), advocating precisely such an empirical, inductive archival system. The organic organization of holdings should be left intact, even if it failed to satisfy the rational criteria of outside observers.[36] Yet, despite the fact that Spieß's text enjoyed broad popularity, his ideas on how best to systematize archives were initially rejected. Attempts to formulate abstract organizational principles, despite and in opposition to Spieß, remained attractive until the nineteenth century. It was thought that holdings should be filed according to a system built around subjects or "pertinences" (*Pertinenzen*). Although Spieß is regarded today as the originator

of the "principle of provenance" on account of his criticism of the thematic organization of archival holdings, this view would not prevail until the nineteenth century, when the influence of early modern theoretical literature on archives had waned.[37]

In addition to the praxis-oriented and imperial-legal strands of discussion, we also can identify a third group of treatises on archives. The fledgling ancillary disciplines of historiography, above all diplomatics—the methodological study of documents—shaped the conversation about archives among European scholars, beginning with the publication of Jean Mabillon's fundamental work *De re diplomatica* in 1681. The goal of the discipline of diplomatics was to understand the evolution of documents and records. To do so, it utilized the distinction, still observed today, between "external" (paper, ink, hand) and "internal" (language) characteristics of documents.[38] Both types were historicized: the material, formal, technical, and linguistic qualities of documents were all investigated as products of their time.

Diplomatics was not in fact intended primarily for archivists. Mabillon's interest in the historical study of documents stemmed from a different concern.[39] Since René Descartes and Baruch de Spinoza, early Enlightenment philosophers had criticized historiography because its concept of reality failed to satisfy the new philosophical standards of methodological rationalism. Confidence in many saints' legends and miracle stories in particular was shaken by this criticism. Mabillon responded by developing a rigorous method to determine the authenticity of old documents. Diplomatics thus primarily served to distinguish between authentic documents and forgeries—a skill that was also useful and increasingly in demand in the courtroom. In a famous case from 1671, for instance, the historian Hermann Conring at the University of Helmstedt prepared a detailed assessment of a document of Emperor Louis the German.[40]

Diplomatics thus was not synonymous with archival literature, and some authors were skeptical of what use the scientific study of documents might be to archivists.[41] Yet there can be no doubt that diplomatics exercised a major influence on archives for the simple reason that it analyzed the principal object of archival work—charters and records—far more carefully than ever before. The connection between diplomatics and archives was often explicitly stressed, for instance, by Oliver Legipont in 1746.[42] Charles Toustain and René Prosper Tassin's *Nouveaux Traité de Diplomatique* ("New treatise on diplomatics"), first published in 1750 and translated into German in 1759, was also extremely important for archivists.[43] Contemporaries subsequently took the connection between the study of diplomatics and archival literature

for granted, as shown by the title of a book published by Pierre Camille Le Moine in 1765 and translated into German in 1775: "Practical diplomatics; or: a treatise on organizing archives" (*Diplomatique-pratique, ou traité de l'arrangement des archives*). Le Moine drew on the "all too scholarly" handbooks by Mabillon and Toustain and Tassin, but trimmed them down in length and detail for the practical work of an archivist.[44]

Le Moine in turn would serve as the starting point for subsequent French authors. Between 1770 and 1779, guides that focused on everyday needs were composed by Jean Guillaume de Chevrières, Joseph Batteney, Antoine D'Estienne, and M. Mariée in conversation with Le Moine's *Practical Diplomatics*.[45] All these authors had extensive archival experience and passed this knowledge on in their publications. Their works even occasionally featured a stylized personal perspective from the authors' own experience. The dominant theme of these works was the practical organization of archives. All these authors offered specific plans consisting of numerous individual steps whereby an archivist could bring order to his archive.

These works all derived from the same milieu and, despite differences in content, closely resemble one another.[46] Practical diplomatics in the tradition of Le Moine was concerned primarily with the feudal archives of small to middling French seigneurial lords (*seigneurs*). In the opinion of these authors, such feudal archives were particularly unorganized, and their owners lacked an understanding of their documents. Practical diplomatics thus was intended to make the content of documents concerning feudal rights both better known and more easily accessible. The goal of these archival efforts was to provide landlords with the means to exercise their seigneurial rights. For that reason, the authors also drew upon yet another tradition in their work. Ever since the publication of Edme de La Poix de Fréminville's treatise *La pratique universelle pour la renovation des terriers et des droits seigneuriaux* ("Universal practice for the restoration of seigneurial *terriers* and rights") in 1746, a body of literature on feudal law had emerged that Le Moine and the other authors could utilize as a solid reference point. Although Fréminville only mentioned archives in passing, any reader could see that the condition of seigneurial archives was crucial for the effective exercise of feudal rights. Nobles attempted to act accordingly long before Le Moine. The count of Orleans, for example, issued a directive concerning archives for his estates in 1751.[47] Le Moine and the other authors responded to this need and made detailed suggestions for organizing archives. The blossoming—or, as the authors themselves thought, the beginning[48]—of French archival literature

between 1760 and 1780 was thus a product of the efforts of noble landlords to reassert their authority and property rights in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

PURPOSES OF ARCHIVES: REMEMBRANCE AND STABILIZATION ACROSS SOCIAL ORDERS

To early modern authorities on archives, it was self-evident that archives owed their existence above all to the need "to preserve the memory of past things in a generally credible way." In this way, so the reasoning went, archives reinforced the social, legal, and political order of their respective societies. Where archives were lacking, chaos and unrest (*perturbatio*) reigned.[49] That was true foremost with respect to the law, since archives were "sources of original legal documents."[50] The law could not be upheld unless it was known. Mismanaged archives could lead to oppression, because law and justice might be forgotten and disregarded.[51] Pope Sixtus V accordingly represented his wide-ranging plans for archival reform in the Papal States between 1585 and 1590 as an important part of his ambitious agenda to guarantee the rule of law.[52] Functional archives in France were also regarded as an effective safeguard against "the passage of time," which might lead to the abuse of privileges.[53] Well-organized document repositories reinforced and preserved the social and legal order. Without archives, kingdoms and republics would lack "form," as Albertino Barisoni stressed—this Aristotelian declaration going so far as to make the structure of the state itself dependent on archives.[54] Archives and states, in Barisoni's view, emerged at virtually the same time, and the latter could not last long without the former.[55] He and others were confident that the "welfare of the subjects, nay, of the entire country, depends on a well-organized registry."[56] Authors such as Georg Engelbrecht thus regarded archives as places in which the "mystery of the state and the sacred vessels of the commonwealth" were stored.[57]

This complete confidence in archives led some to credit archives with amazing powers. There was no legal dispute that could not be resolved by a simple trip to the archives, some authors suggested—protracted trials were unnecessary according to these optimistic projections. Johann Jacob Moser, one of the most influential German jurists and experts in imperial law, conveys this conviction in a brief, somewhat narcissistic anecdote. Looking back in his autobiography in 1783, he remarks, dramatically simplifying the facts:

> For years, a certain case was litigated between Württemberg and another imperial estate, and neither party could adduce such reasons as might convince the other who was right or wrong. At last, in my private collection of material, I hit upon a clue to the effect that there was a single word in an old bill of sale from the fourteenth century that would settle the entire dispute. Having received permission, I looked for the original of this bill of sale in the ducal archives; the matter was as I predicted, and the dispute thus came to an end. How little are the archives of the great lords, such a precious treasure, used as they should be![58]

This narrative is based on a widespread idealization of archives in the Early Modern Period. Moser suggests not only that his research in the archives quickly led to success without any further ado (a highly dubious claim, as we shall see). He also credits the document he found with the power of deciding between the binary options of right and wrong with absolute certainty. As a repository of such documents, the archive is thus stylized as an effortlessly usable guarantor of unquestionable juristic truth that requires no interpretation. Such idealizations, which departed so radically from the everyday experience of archivists and archive-users, were regularly projected onto archives.

Some authors attributed a second function to archives in addition to this legal dimension. They hailed archives as the guarantors of political and administrative continuity. Without knowledge of old records, every new minister, counselor, and other official would have to gain political experience from scratch and "first learn to walk again," as the papal nuncio in Cologne noted.[59] The councilmen of Zweibrücken in 1567 saw matters similarly. In their view, archives ensured permanence and consistency in political decision-making.[60] Leibniz shared this conviction in 1680.[61] The power of archives to preserve the memory of things was very important from this perspective, because it guaranteed the persistence and consistency of political and administrative action despite personnel and institutional caesurae. Accordingly, archives were necessary and beneficial because they made transgenerational institutionalization possible. Georg Aebbtlin described this as early in 1669 in astonishingly explicit terms. He began by arguing that, as a product of social order, power could not be exercised exclusively by princes. The collaboration of officials and "clerks" on multiple hierarchical levels was indispensable. That led to the consolidation of individual government bodies, especially the fiscus (*Rent-Kammer*) and the chancellery. These in

turn could not function without a registry. The *Kammer*, chancellery, and archive, in Aebbtlin's view, existed in a close symbiosis at the heart of the administration, since a "Cancellariat," "Fiscus," and "Registratura" "[can-] not fare well without one another."[62] Aebbtlin therefore approvingly cited the old view of Ramingen, who had described archives as the "heart" of every government. At least rudimentarily, government was understood as the cybernetic circulation of information centered around archives. What is more, decision-making bodies and archives would "share one another's nature." In this vein, one could write a century later that archives were the "actual depot" of records, whereas council chambers were the "laboratory" in which records were put to active use.[63] Political praxis and archival praxis were two sides of the same coin.

In 1680, in the work *Von nützlicher Einrichtung eines Archivi* ("On the useful institution of an archive"), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz discussed the function of archives as administrative places of knowledge—to which Aebbtlin had merely alluded metaphorically—in much greater detail.[64] In order to govern a country, an effective ruler needs not only general, non-contextual knowledge (*wissenschaft*), but also specific, contextual information (*besondere Nachrichtungen*). A prince must possess not only general knowledge of law and politics, but also specific knowledge about the political institutions and legal traditions of his homeland. He can obtain this detailed knowledge from just two sources: either from his own observations (*Augenschein*) or from the written tradition (*schriften*). The latter could be consulted in an archive, and for that reason the maintenance of archives was of fundamental importance. This fusion of politics and knowledge, this convergence of decision-making and information procurement, influenced both the theory and practice of politics in the Early Modern Period to an ever greater extent. Leibniz went on to discuss the subject several more times. In a famous project undertaken roughly at the same time as his reflections on archives, he advocated combining geographic information into "state tables" (*Staatstafeln*).[65] A few years later, as privy counselor of Hanover in a private audience with Emperor Leopold I, he proposed utilizing archival research and firsthand observation to create a comprehensive pool of knowledge that Leopold could make the basis of his regime.[66] Only after Leibniz had devised this theory of knowledge-based political action did he cite the most traditional argument in favor of the utility of archives: their legal relevance. An archive, Leibniz concluded, "accordingly serves to provide both information outside of court and proof in court."[67] Leibniz legitimated archives primarily by means of a typology of knowledge. Archives harbored a specific form of

knowledge (information, *Nachrichten*) that played an ever more significant part in government.

This widespread insistence on the political-administrative utility of archives led others to treat them as key elements of an orderly state in general discussions of political theory: Johannes Althusius in the early seventeenth century, for example, mentioned archives in various contexts in his *Politica methodice digesta*. He regarded archives as an example of how a commonwealth requires communal institutions and property. He furthermore considered archives an instrument of government.[68] Theodor Reinkingk, mentioned above, also gave archives prominent status in his very popular *Biblische Policey*, first published in 1653. Over more than five pages, he cited numerous biblical examples to prove the following "axiom": "a well-organized archive, logbook, and historical records are a highly necessary and useful work for all governments, chancelleries, and courts."[69] As if putting this maxim into practice, a brief systematic treatise—*Politisches Bedencken*—was published posthumously under Reinkingk's name in 1687, probably intended to serve as an example for the duchies of Mecklenburg and Holstein.[70] Like Reinkingk's *Biblische Policey*, Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff's *Vom Teutschen Fürstenstaat* ("On the German principality"), published in 1656, was not actually about archives, but rather considered the question of what government bodies a ruler needed in order to govern and how they should be instituted. Archives nonetheless frequently appear in the *Fürstenstaat*. In his discussion of various government institutions, Seckendorff explicitly refers to the necessity of keeping archives and registries, without which everyday administration could not function at all.[71] Although Seckendorff was not writing strictly about archives, he nonetheless included archives as a self-evident element of princely government. Christoph Fischer, whose treatise on estate management was cited in the previous chapter, likewise integrated archives into private administration in 1696.[72] Soon, no one doubted that archives were indispensable for administrative work. Early modern social, economic, and government theory took it for granted that archives were more or less a necessary element of bureaucratic government.

Some authors extended this political-administrative approach to archives even more dramatically. In his treatise of 1632, Baldassare Bonifacio integrated archives in a comprehensive program of princely education (*eruditio*) that distinguished good rulers from tyrants.[73] Archives were a necessary precondition for knowledge in "all disciplines," a source of information in every area. Bonifacio accordingly ranked effective archives even higher than armies and navies, since reason would always triumph over violence, and

right over wrong. Bonifacio's brief remarks were not very specific and also betray a certain enthusiasm for his subject. Yet it is impossible to ignore the fact that he integrated the systematic preservation of the written tradition into an ambitious program of cultural education that was supposedly the mark of good governance. Exactly one hundred years later, Ernst Salomon Cyprian from Gotha followed in his footsteps. According to Cyprian, archives are indispensable for learning "political history," which in turn is the foremost teacher of political skill and shrewdness; archives therefore are essential infrastructure for the education of every prince.[74] The knowledge of the past that archives made accessible transmitted erudition, moral qualities, and government experience; this knowledge not only guaranteed positive law, not only enabled the effective and just exercise of power, but also laid a broad basis for good government, which Cyprian still understood in humanist terms.

USELESS AND DISORIENTING, SURPRISING AND UNMANAGEABLE ARCHIVES

All the functions attributed to archives were based on an emphatic belief in the power of archives to produce precise (legal) knowledge. This optimistic assumption lay at the heart of the early modern discourse of archives, but it did not completely dominate it. There were other, more nuanced, less straightforward assessments. Archives were, even for those who knew them best, places of discomfort, uncertainty, ambivalence, danger, and unpredictability. A glance at the metaphors used to describe archives clearly shows that they were perceived as double-edged institutions. The depot for local account books in Perugia, for example, was nicknamed "Hell."[75] Other metaphors turned the relationship between archive and user on its head and suggested that it was the archive that dominated and controlled the user rather than the reverse. Francisco Fabro Bremundans described archives as "spider webs" in 1680, capturing the danger of becoming entangled and caught in them with this felicitous zoological analogy.[76] The popular comparison of archives to the sea also plausibly expressed the ambivalence of these institutions.[77]

The fact that early modern archives resembled the disorienting expanses of the ocean far more often than clearly drawn sea charts was frequently related to the fact that archivists and archive-founders had no explicit interest in ensuring that all of their holdings were accessible. In the Early Modern Period, the label "useless" was applied to documents very liberally. Papers

designated "useless" were noted at best in highly summary fashion in many inventories. Archives thus typically contained "sundry copies and papers considered unnecessary to read through."[78] This group of files considered "useless" was ubiquitous in the Early Modern Period. When the bishop of Belley died in 1745 and his papers were examined, the notaries entrusted with that task spent several hours separating the "useful" from the "useless" ones.[79] Elsewhere, too, "old books, bills, and documents" were regularly designated "useless papers."[80] Such expressions appear everywhere in France and Germany, and the idea that one could and should distinguish between useful and useless papers may be regarded as a firm conviction of European archival culture. The fact that early modern archives contained large quantities of "useless" records and consequently declined to make them usable has led Cornelia Vismann to remark that early modern archives ultimately were not institutions for the active management of information, but rather simply "storage facilities" (*Verwahranstalten*).[81] One might say that archives were, to a considerable extent, places of deliberate forgetting.

This practice had serious consequences. If necessary, "useless" files were the first to be discarded and destroyed.[82] The existence of extensive holdings with unknown contents also significantly influenced how archives were perceived. The realization that no one really knew what was in one's own archives often necessitated defensive restrictions on their use. Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, a professor at Jena, experienced what that meant when he asked the duke of Saxe-Gotha for permission to consult his archives. Struve's request was viewed with considerable mistrust by the prince's administrators, because

> we find it particularly questionable to publish the *arcana* of [Your Grace's] archives without a tangible interest; hence, we are particularly skeptical with respect to nos. II. III 6.7.8.9. III. XXIII. 2 and the copybook, *since its contents are unknown*, and recommend restraint with at least these items, should Your Grace deem the rest to be communicable.[83]

Struve was not just anybody; he was a professor in Jena, a princely counselor, and a Saxon historian—in short, a prominent native of Saxony with a legitimate interest in the duke's archive. What worked against him here was thus probably less the counselors' distrust of his person than distrust of their own archive. Archives with unknown contents made officials very uneasy. The lack of complete knowledge of their holdings raised the likelihood of un-

pleasant discoveries. Early modern archives accordingly were also a constant source of practical and moral concern. What should one do, for instance, if the archive produced disadvantageous documents and thus turned on its owner? Should one, as the Saxon counselors thought in 1407, recognize the existence of such documents in the name of moral rectitude, even if doing so went against one's own interest?[84] Confronted with such delicate questions, it seemed better to the administration of Gotha in 1717 to dismiss Struve's request outright and in this way to check the archive's potential for unwelcome surprises altogether.

Elsewhere, the power of archives to surprise was viewed in a more positive light. Early modern archive-users were frequently happy to report the unexpected discovery of extensive records and important documents. In 1730, for example, Jean Pierre Ruffier and his wife Caterine Amiel in Lyon "felicitously found," quite by chance, or at any rate without actively looking for them, some 840 documents belonging to the city, some of which were very old.[85] In 1746, the town archivist of Speyer, Baur, discovered various historically significant documents in unmarked bundles of papers in the attic of the town hall. Baur was thrilled and criticized the label "unusable" that had been applied to these papers.[86] Rummaging through "useless" records could generate new knowledge, just as the counselors in Gotha had feared when petitioned by Struve in 1717.

The fact that Baur had discovered *historically* significant papers is important, because this circumstance shaped his assessment of the episode. Whereas politicians, like the counselors in Gotha in 1717, felt at least ambivalent, historians generally regarded the potential of archival research for surprises as something positive. François Baudouin expressed this sentiment in 1561, when he wrote, "I hope that someday more [on early medieval history] may be extracted from the archives of that most noble kingdom [i.e., France]."[87] Historians viewed surprises from the archives as a way to realize their ambition of bringing to light noteworthy, previously unknown information about the past. The production of unforeseeable revelations by systematic archival research became a central scholarly practice. By laying the basis for the continual generation of new knowledge, archives constituted historians' self-perception. Even today, historians generally invoke this image in positive terms.

It is important to emphasize that, while incomplete indexing may have dramatically enhanced the open and unpredictable character of the archive of Speyer, it did not actually create it. The usefulness, importance, and practical relevance of even well-catalogued archives were subject to change

and ambiguity. It gradually dawned on people in the Early Modern Period that the supposedly helpful categories of "useless" and "useful" were fluid. That is also why they consistently preserved so much material that they did not immediately need. As early as the first half of the seventeenth century, Richelieu had noted that the criteria of usefulness might change over time.[88] Claude Bernard, a member of the regional administration of Mâconnais, north of Lyon, describes this very vividly. A near contemporary with Baur, the town archivist of Speyer, Bernard was also very familiar with archives, having organized the archive of his hometown Mâcon, on which he had also composed a history.[89] In 1744, he compiled an inventory of the archive of the Estates General of Mâconnais in a large folio volume. In the preface, he first explains that his inventory was extremely useful, because it made the archive into a usable resource for the daily needs of the assembly of Estates. The key passage then follows:

> So that no part of the archive would remain unknown, everything was inventoried. Not a single piece was declared trash (*rebut*), although there was a large number of documents that concerned things that are superfluous (*inutile*) today and which one might have removed (*retrancher*). That is true of the trials against the *fermiers des anciens et nouveaux droits d'aides*, whose office was abolished in 1689. But who knows what ideas God in his wrath will put in a minister's head for our wantonness (*luxe*)? Perhaps this tax might be reinstated. In that case, these documents might serve as a guide and help our struggle against this taxation [. . .]. The same is true of various other things that also could conceivably be reactivated. For what is certain in this world, and who can say that a practice is truly ended?[90]

Bernard's archive accordingly was an institution with latent potential. His statement attests to both a profound belief in the pragmatic utility of archives for political and administrative purposes and to a pronounced appreciation of the unpredictability of their specific relevance. The functions attributed to archives, such as those implied in the distinction between useful and useless records, were at best temporary and suggested a degree of stability that was not actually present. The categories of "utility" and "uselessness," as Pierre Camille Le Moine also noted in 1765, were not given *a priori*.[91] The value of what once was considered unusable might change over the course of time: the rejection of purely legal and the rise of historiographical archival research

had changed standards entirely.[92] The value of individual files, and thus ultimately the value of an archive as a whole, depended on its context and use. Archives did not perform any predictable function, because the place of archives in society and the scholarly world was variable. And worse still: one only knew about the particular weakness of one's own archive in hindsight, after discovering that it was impossible or perilous to use it.[93]

The installation and maintenance of archives were therefore ultimately investments in an unknown future, as the legal scholar Johann Stephan Pütter pronounced in 1759: "The purpose of all archives is their future use, which is indefinite and unlimited insofar as one cannot know in advance whether one might need something or what, and in how short or in how long a time that might occur."[94] It was impossible to control whether the investment would prove worth it, and for whom. It could never be predetermined exactly to what extent an archive would be "useful." The capacity of an archive to surprise its users and owners may have depended considerably on the quality of its inventories, but the ambivalence of European archival culture went much deeper—as Bernard and Pütter recognized—since the possibilities of archives could never completely be anticipated. Archives "reacted" to the circumstances of research. Therefore, for contemporaries of the Early Modern Period, archives were never straightforward institutions for the generation of knowledge. The knowledge in archives and the needs of users never completely coincided; an incalculable gap, a potential to surprise, remained that might unpredictably either appall or captivate one. One might react to this fact in a variety of ways—with resignation, redoubled cataloguing efforts, or hope—but the problem persisted: the function of archives was and remained indeterminate; their future role was open and unpredictable. As institutions, they were often counterintuitive and unfathomable, promising and perilous, bringers of greater stability and greater dynamism. Contemporaries clearly recognized this.

EARLY MODERN SKETCHES OF EUROPEAN ARCHIVAL HISTORY

The discussion among early modern scholars about archives went beyond technical details and did not stop at merely formulating and criticizing specific objectives. Authors also described archives as cultural phenomena. In the Early Modern Period, Europe began to tell its own archival history. Ar-

chives came to occupy a fixed place not only in social practice, but also in accounts of European history. Several authors followed the custom of the times and tried to situate the origins of European archives in a mythical prehistory.[95] Doing so conferred special prestige and legitimacy on archives. The older the object, the closer it was to the divine origins of culture and history. Small wonder, then, that some texts searched for the first traces of archives in the Bible itself. Bonifacio, for example, believed that the sons of Seth had built archives, indeed for the explicit purpose of surviving the divinely ordained devastation of the world by fire and water.[96] For Tobias Eckhard in 1717, there could be little doubt that the Ark of the Covenant was the "oldest archive."[97] And Friedrich Rudloff even argued that none other than God himself had inspired the creation of repositories for written texts: in his view, archival history commenced with the Tables of the Law given to Moses.[98]

Other authors dispensed with such speculation on biblical or mythical prehistory and instead concentrated on producing well-documented analyses of the history of archives. They exhibited a marked awareness of the historical evolution of European archival culture.[99] This insight into the dependence of archives on their historical context led early modern exponents of *historia litteraria* to recognize archives themselves as subjects of research. Especially ancient and early Christian developments first piqued the interest of archival historians in the eighteenth century. Tobias Eckhard, Johann Carl Beheim, and Johann Gottfried Richter studied the archives of the Jews, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, Romans, and early Christians.[100] The ensuing "Dark Ages" between late antique Rome and the founding of the Kingdom of the Franks, in contrast, was disappointing from an archivological perspective—authors generally regarded the Early Middle Ages as an era bereft of writing and archives.[101] The history of European archives thus began in earnest in the High Middle Ages. In the opinion of many authors, the founding of the Carolingian Empire inaugurated a new phase. A general cultural revival both promoted the production of written documents and bolstered efforts to archive them.[102] References to Italian urbanization since the High Middle Ages rounded out this positive assessment of the Middle Ages in early modern accounts of the history of archives.[103]

German, especially Protestant, authors then emphasized an upturn in the development of archives at the end of the Middle Ages, following in the wake of a general cultural blossoming. The imperial reform of 1495 and the reign of Emperor Maximilian I were cited as positive turning points in the history of Central European archival culture.[104] Authors emphasized the re-

ciprocal influence of administrative reform, institutionalization, pragmatic literacy, and archiving. The imperial reform of 1495, according to Wencker, created an "inexorable need to re-establish registries, to reopen archives, and to put them in better order."[105] In this way, contemporaries associated the development of European archival culture with state-formation, the intensification of government, bureaucratization, and juridification. Thus, like Seckendorff, they projected the rationale of contemporary political theories onto the past. The Early Modern Period also seemed to mark a decisive break for historians focused on aspects of the history of ideas. Many authors considered the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century to be the beginning of archive-based scholarship and historiography. In 1759, for example, in an effusive account of the life of the great scholar Lucas Holstenius, Marian Brockie of Regensburg criticized the first generation of humanists for "not inspecting the cabinets of libraries and archives."[106] Instead, they cared only about ancient literary texts. Not until 1600 did archival research become the methodological basis of historiography. Naturally, Holstenius was identified as the incarnation of this new form of erudition—but setting aside the particular emphases of Brockie's account of his life, it is clear that he presented the history of archives as a narrative of cultural progress, for which the decisive turning point came in the sixteenth century.

In some cases, this relatively homogeneous historical picture took on more clearly defined contours. An unimposing text from Rothenburg ob der Tauber serves as a good example. There, in 1702, the town archivist Johann Adam Ehrhardt wrote a brief *Historia Archivi* on local developments.[107] Ehrhardt likewise had occasion to mention the turning point under Maximilian I circa 1500. However, he remarkably supplemented his brief assessment of the emperor with a religious polemic that was rather unusual in archival affairs: he claimed that the popes had "deliberately suppressed literature." Cultural progress with respect to archives had been made possible above all by the "dear man of God Martin Luther"—a trend that had been reinforced by Maximilian's imperial reform. Yet, even for Lutherans, it was unusual to blame the papacy for neglecting the culture of writing. On the contrary, most Protestant authors openly acknowledged the archival achievements of the Catholic clergy in the Middle Ages.[108] Ehrhardt's disdain for medieval monasteries and churches as crucial bearers of tradition was untenable in light of archival history. The history of archives normally was unsuited for religious polemics, but the creative hand of the town archivist of Rothenburg managed to press it into pious service.

ORAL AND WRITTEN ARCHIVES IN EUROPE AND ABROAD

Given the undeniable ubiquity of archives in their own time and culture, early modern authors openly wondered whether there might be civilizations without writing and archives and, if so, how one should judge them. The question pertained first of all to Europe itself—as many scholars stressed, there were phases of European history in which people made do without writing and archives. François Baudouin believed that, in archaic Rome, important information was transmitted orally and by song.[109] In 1661, Johann Heinrich Ursinus of Regensburg illustrated how the purely oral transmission of knowledge across several generations was possible.[110] Shortly thereafter, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the great French author and bishop, likewise considered it "certain" that the earliest people had transmitted knowledge within families through song and oral communication.[111] In 1765, for Pierre Camille Le Moine, the largely archiveless and illiterate culture of the Middle Ages was even an enviable state. He looked back rather nostalgically at a time of "admirable laconism," which he imaged to be largely free of legal formalities and tedious litigation—and which therefore had no need of archives, since legal disputes always involved writing.[112]

In the Early Modern Period, such reflections about alternative archival practices that did not rely on writing were especially important, because they established where Europe stood vis-à-vis other recently discovered cultures elsewhere in the world. With respect to these cultures, authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries showed a certain tolerance for non-literate methods of preserving knowledge that did not rely on archives.[113] Baudouin, for instance, knew of the exclusively oral transmission of knowledge practiced in the Caribbean.[114] In 1689, William Temple wrote that "in Mexico and Peru, before the least use or mention of Letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had passed in those mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages."[115] In 1648, the Spanish Jesuit Alsonso de Ovalle published an account of his travels that was even more specific. He initially criticizes the fact that "the people there cannot write and therefore cannot maintain archives (*archivios*), as all other peoples do."[116] Elsewhere, however, he expresses his admiration and astonishment at an exclusively oral "archive" (*archivio*) in Peru: every holiday, upon a signal given by a drum, an Indian who serves as the "archive" and "archivist" of his village would recite from memory every event from the beginning of the world down to his own day.[117]

European authors on such topics also regularly note that archives based

on writing could be found in "barbarian" societies.[118] Pope Sixtus V placed this cross-cultural comparison prominently at the beginning of his legislation on archive reform, inferring from it the universal, virtually natural necessity of archives.[119] Baldassare Bonifacio devoted a separate section of his relatively short treatise to "the archives of barbarians" and expressed his particular admiration for the quipus of the Incas in Peru and the documentary and archival culture of the Chinese.[120] He had acquired his information about the peoples of the Americas at third hand, citing a summary of the travel account of Fernández de Oviedo y Valdez by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, a well-known Italian collector and editor of such travelogues. On the basis of Oviedo's account, Ramusio described how the knotted threads of the Incas were stored in special repositories and maintained by specialists. They had "public houses (*case publice*) there" where one could consult these threads to learn about the past—"just as we do with our texts."[121] In his retelling of Ramusio and Oviedo's report, Bonifacio naturally used the term "archive." Archives were taken for granted as cultural phenomena to such an extent that Europeans like Bonifacio could even posit them where they potentially did not exist. Thus it is hardly surprising that Bonifacio also claimed that archives had long existed in China. He believed that this was substantiated by Juan González de Mendoza's account of his travels, but here too some creative textual interpretation was necessary. While González de Mendoza includes some passages on Chinese calligraphy and provides a long list of Chinese emperors, he makes no mention of "archives" whatsoever.[122] Bonifacio nonetheless naturally supposed that China also possessed a non-European archival culture. From neither a historiographical nor an ethnographical perspective could Europeans see any way around archives. On the one hand, they emphasized and praised the cultural diversity of the archival practices they observed, yet, on the other, they unreflectingly presumed the absolute necessity of some form of archives.

SEMANTICS AND METAPHORS: FROM ARCHIVE TO "ARCHIVE"

The proliferation of archives also led to terminological distinctions and metaphorical usages—long before Foucault or Derrida. The Latin word *archivum* first began to be used more frequently sometime after the turn of the millennium.[123] For a long time, alternative terms such as *scrinium* or *tabularium* were used. Regarding the origin of the word *archiv(i)um*, contempo-

raries in the Early Modern Period saw that it must be a Latinized version of the Greek word *archeion*. It thus must have signified both a place and the documents themselves.[124] In contrast, the earlier medieval derivation from the Latin word *arca* (box), which connected it etymologically to *arcanum* (secret), was often regarded with suspicion, although no one doubted the factual association of archives and secrecy.[125]

Soon numerous Latin and vernacular terms were derived from "archive" as the designation of a repository of texts. Over the long term, "archivist" is undoubtedly the most important of these words, although it occasionally competed with the Hellenizing term *archiota*. We also can identify other early attempts to devise terms for archival activities. In Italy, for example, the term *archivatione* was frequently used to designate the technical procedure of depositing legal documents in notarial archives.[126] As reflections on archives grew more sophisticated, the technical terminology of archives also underwent a process of differentiation. Georg Aebbtlin, for example, wanted to draw a neat terminological distinction between three types of repositories: *archivum*, *chartophylacium*, and *tabularium*.[127] Evidently, a single term was no longer enough for the men of the seventeenth century. The semantic distinction between an archive (of documents) and a registry (of records), widely discussed in the eighteenth century, ultimately won over a larger number of supporters.[128] These terms also became standard in nineteenth-century archival scholarship, although their meaning changed yet again: now "registry" indicated the ongoing collection of records by authorities, which after a certain amount of time were then transferred to the "archive" as a storage facility.

In light of the growing semantic and theoretical attention they received, it is no surprise that archives became a popular metaphor in Germany for explaining other things. The metaphorical use of "archive" as a book title for extensive editions is relatively self-explanatory. In this case, the term was used in a sense close to its origins, since a book—just like an archive—could collect various documents for use. This metaphorical application of "archive" to books peaked in the eighteenth century. As early as 1691–1694, four volumes of *Das Durchlauchtige Archiv* appeared, a compilation of speeches, letters, treaties, and other political documents. Far more famous were Johann Christian Lünig's *Das Teutsche Reichs-Archiv* ("The German imperial archive") in fourteen volumes (1710–1722), Burkhard Gotthelf Struve's *Neueröffnetes historisch- und politisches Archiv* ("Newly opened historical and political archive") in five parts (1719–1728), Ernst Salomon Cyprian's *Tabularium ecclesiae Romanae* ("Tabularium of the Roman Church," 1743), Jo-

hann Jacob Moser's *Teusches Staats-Archiv* ("German state archive") in twelve volumes (1755), Johann Heinrich Harpprecht's *Staats-Archiv des Keyserlichen und Reichs Cammer-Gerichts* ("State archive of the imperial chamber court") in four volumes (1757–1768), and *Des Teutschen Reichs Münz-Archiv* ("Coin archive of the German Empire," 1756–1768), a collection of coinage legislation edited by Johann Christian Hirsch.

We can observe a looser metaphorical use of the word "archive" in cases in which the term still indicates a collection, but one of persons, events, or general information rather than of documents. One such example is the famous polemic *Der Unierten Protestierenden Archif* ("Archive of united Protestants") published by the Jesuit Jakob Keller in 1628 during the Thirty Years' War. This text presented primarily the actions of the Protestants, not documents. In 1697 in Leipzig, a *Genealogisches und Historisches Staats-Archiv* ("Genealogical and historical state archive") appeared, consisting essentially of a chronological enumeration of all Saxon princes. "Archive" in this case was used without any reference to documents. A similarly vague connection between a book title and actual document repositories emerges from the 1687 pamphlet *Zweyfaches Staats-Archivum* ("Twofold state archive"), which attacked the policies of Louis XIV and the Ottoman sultan during the Great Turkish War. What made the metaphorical archive so attractive for these titles was presumably its connotation of well-founded, comprehensive information. The archive was also interesting as a metaphor because it epitomized the power to get to the bottom of things. An "archive" suggested information and revelation.

While the subjects of all these publications stayed close to politics and diplomacy, history and genealogy, we sporadically find, at least in the German-speaking world, metaphorical uses of "archive" in completely different areas.[129] Thus, in 1720, it was possible to speak of an *Artzney-Archiv* ("Medicinal archive").[130] In 1770, Christoph Martin Wieland searched for the "secret history of human reason and passion" in *In den Archiven der Natur* ("In the archives of nature").[131] Authors of religious texts also attempted to capitalize on the catchword "archive." Biblical books could be called "archives" from which one might retrieve important information on how to live at important points in one's life.[132] To exponents of a baroque strain of piety, even the court of God's Judgement seemed to have its own archive: on account of the vast distance between Heaven and men on earth, a *Perspectiv*—that is, a telescope—was needed to see it.[133]

Heaven and earth, Europe and abroad, past and present, law and politics, history and religion—there was no area that could not, at least meta-

phorically, become part of early modern archival culture. "Archives" were everywhere, they informed most areas of life, and they were shaped by the most diverse influences. The archival literature that commenced in 1571 with Ramingen's publications and became widespread from roughly 1650 on attested to, described, and reflected on this fact. On the one hand, these debates and disputes changed archival culture, insofar as they systematized and attempted to improve archival praxis. On the other, the mere existence of this theoretical, instructional, and metaphorical literature is the best proof of the pervasiveness of archives: the phenomenon called for interpretation and explanation, and accordingly the archives that early modern Europeans encountered everywhere became subjects of (scholarly) discussion. The conversation about archives situated them in people's worldviews and placed them permanently on the mental horizon of users, whether their interest lay in politics, law, or history. The texts and theories discussed above served to make archiving culturally plausible and to constitute archives conceptually. The following chapter will show how people reacted to the newfound significance of archives.

5 ✦ People

Archives and Those Who Used Them

People are what makes archives what they are. An archive without users may seem impressive or imposing as a symbol, but as a place of knowledge it is as good as nonexistent. Without archivists, archival research would be impossible or at best extremely difficult. To a considerable extent, archives are arenas and showplaces of social interaction. That is the subject of this chapter: the people who shape archives and are shaped by them. In the first place, archivists will command our attention: the men who worked on the owners' behalf—but usually with significant personal dedication—to ensure that the contents of an archive were usable. Without their efforts, princes, ministers, and scholars would hardly have been able to find their way amid the papers and parchments kept on site. Contemporaries in the Early Modern Period already viewed archivists as the most important members of the tribe of archive people. Jacob von Ramingen noted in 1571 that an archive can

> neither stir nor move for itself, let alone say anything. [In order to function, it therefore requires an] animal that can stir and move, hear and speak; and hence such a person as can answer what one asks of him and give good advice and information, as well as direct and moderate the contents of the registry.[1]

An archive was nothing without an archivist, and vice versa. A symbiotic relationship prevailed between them. One hundred fifty years later, a poem

by a Saxon councilman in praise of the archivist Johann Sebastian Müller of Weimar expressed this in wooden, but vivid, verse:

> At Weimar lately between Chamber and Chancellery
> As well as Cabinet, there was a fierce dispute:
> Who had the best right to old Müller?
> Each side produced many a stack of files
> And summoned them as witnesses,
> But all had to hold their peace,
> When the archive itself came in their midst
> And made the following statement:
> You quarrel in vain;
> I will keep my old [Müller]
> For eternity before any of you.
> For just look here,
> Read this book,
> Study him and me:
> He is and remains *my true alter ego*.[2]

The archivist as alter ego of the personified archive—this conceit perfectly conveys the idea that an archive ultimately is but the sum of human actions. The fact that the poem places the archivist Müller exclusively under the authority of the archive and firmly rejects his appropriation by council, chancellery, and cabinet, bears witness to the considerable self-assurance of archivists around 1700.

Yet the symbiotic dependence of institution on personnel, of archive on archivist, also applied in reverse. Archives not only were shaped by people, but also shaped people in turn. Contemporaries of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries creatively incorporated the existence of archives in their lives. Archives presented economic and social resources; they offered new possibilities and opportunities. Accordingly, the people of the Early Modern Period eagerly and aggressively integrated archives into their lives—although they sometimes did so in highly unusual ways that by no means always corresponded to the plans of archive-founders. On the contrary, there often were bitter disputes over how one should or should not use archives. The views of archivists and their employers were challenged by alternative ideas. The subject of this chapter is the inherent diversity of the relationships between people and archives.

ARCHIVISTS

The questions of who Europe's first archivist was and where the office was invented are misleading. Insofar as princes, monasteries, and noblemen preserved individual documents, there always were people who managed, arranged, or catalogued them. We must note, however, that it is in the fourteenth century that we first can identify the names and biographies of specialists whose primary responsibility lay in supervising individual archives. In Aragon, we can cite Ramon de Caldes and Pere de Passeya; in France, Gérard de Montaigu and Pierre d'Estamps; in Burgundy, Thierry Gherbode.[3] Many early archivists performed these tasks while serving in other positions in incipient public administrations.[4] The rise of these first great archivists, who often received explicit appointments and fixed salaries, may nonetheless be viewed as a new stage in the long process of institutionalization that had marked European archival culture since the Middle Ages. It came to be widely recognized that institutions for the preservation of documents required their own personnel. In 1567, Johann Stieber, councilman of Zweibrücken, did not mince words:

> There must be someone [*sc*. an archivist], besides clerks and copyists, who directs the whole business according to the prescribed norms and puts everything in the same order, and who also has a good knowledge of the country and trade affairs, and is not used for any other work for several years.[5]

Georg Aebbtlin also emphasized the need for specialized archivists in 1669. Only by the energetic efforts of their employees can archives "not only be maintained in their essence, but also continued and improved."[6] In Aebbtlin's view, an archive existed and was usable as a space, institution, and document collection only through the dynamics of personal action. In light of such demands, archivists were often hired for lengthy appointments, sometimes even "for life."[7] In many places, we can clearly observe the long-term continuity of archival personnel. In Speyer, for example, we know of numerous appointments from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The documents for these give the impression that the archive was staffed fairly continuously with new personnel decade after decade, almost as a matter of course.[8] Further employees, clerks, and other assistants were hired in addition to the chief archivist. In the eighteenth century, we often find up to half a dozen people employed even in the archives of midsized territories.[9]

Other early modern sources, however, give the opposite impression. We know of many archives that show few traces of personnel continuity.[10] Personnel decisions—such as the appointment of a new archivist—often seem to have merely responded to current crises and changes. The appointment of archive employees thus frequently appears to have been primarily project-related. The willingness to pay for specialized personnel to organize and maintain archives was often the result of specific crises. Archivists, the sources reveal again and again, were initially crisis managers. Many early representatives of the profession are known by name above all because they are associated with spectacular, and often the earliest known, initiatives to bring order and organization to the archives they served. Interest in archive personnel and appointments was often tied to hopes for dramatic changes. In Lyon in 1730, for example, Jean Benoit was called upon to serve the city on favorable terms because of the "chaos" that reigned in the town archive, which it would be his task to banish.[11] Especially in smaller archives, we encounter the phenomenon of what might be termed, with some exaggeration, "itinerant archivists": not a few specialists seem to have moved from one organizational task to the next over the course of their careers. Between 1658 and 1668, Pierre Louvet inventoried the municipal archives of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Villefranche-sur-Saône.[12] In the first half of the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Larcher was active in Vic, Pau, and Bigorre.[13] In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Joseph Batteney organized and inventoried numerous archives for communes, churches, and cities in Auvergne and in the vicinity of Lyon.[14] He apparently held both a series of fixed occupations—such as archivist in the city hall of Paris from 1764 and genealogist of the Order of Malta—and numerous one-off, short-term jobs. In 1778, D'Estienne estimated that about twenty days normally sufficed to put such small archives in order.[15] Not only are Louvet's, Larcher's, and Batteney's careers remarkable for their mobility in the service of archival order. We also must note that the owners of these various archives considered it quite normal and sufficient to hire a specialist on a temporary basis for a specific project.

Those who worked in the great princely archives experienced very different conditions. They were already integrated in the administrative apparatus of their respective state governments. Accordingly, the instructions issued in 1720 for Avemann, the new archivist of Hachenburg in the Westerwald, explicitly ordered him to collaborate collegially with chancellery personnel.[16] Thus, in order to assess the role of the archivists in Hesse, in addition to the detailed archive ordinance of 1584, we also must examine the chancellery

ordinance issued by landgrave Wilhelm IV in 1581, since it was the responsibility of the princely chancellery to supervise the archives.[17] High officials indeed often inspected archives in the Early Modern Period. In Frankfurt, annual inspections by the council had been mandatory since 1549, and in eighteenth-century Gotha a commission of princely counselors was obligated to monitor the archivist's management on a monthly basis.[18] In light of the demands, rights, and duties that came with their office, it is clear that archivists and registrars were considered part of the wider bureaucratic apparatus. Here we find no trace of the mobility and independence of Louvet or Batteney. Departures from active service were strictly regulated.[19]

It is no simple task to specify the jobs that archivists had to perform in such broad institutional structures. In some cases, the desired activities and duties are described in very vague terms—for instance, broad instructions that the archivist should take care of documents and keep them in good order. Yet, with increasing frequency, archivists began to receive fairly detailed instructions. The most famous example is the instructions issued by Philip II of Spain in 1588 for his new archive in Simancas; almost simultaneously, albeit less prominently, highly detailed instructions were also issued in Hesse.[20] Soon such ordinances and instructions were everyday affairs.[21] A series of duties are regularly mentioned. Archivists in the Early Modern Period were foremost the upholders of physical orderliness in their archives. They ensured that new records were filed correctly, that the rooms were clean, and that the holdings were properly bound and accessible. They likewise ensured that the content of archives remained usable; it was their responsibility to facilitate use with their unstinting organizational efforts. Above all, that meant ongoing cataloguing projects. Since archives and registries were not always clearly distinguished from one another in the Early Modern Period, the process might entail both inventorying old material that had not been catalogued and continuously updating existing finding aids by entering new documents. Lastly, we must recognize that the authorities viewed archivists appointed to long-term positions not only as guarantors of the usability of the archive but, to a varying extent, also as experts on its contents. Archivists should, it was often said, generally provide the prince with "useful" support. It was the archivist's job to search for and make available the requested documents. Archivists obtained information for their superiors. We will discuss below how that worked from day to day.

Candidates had to meet certain requirements in order to carry out these tasks. It was taken for granted in the Early Modern Period that archival work was a "male function." On the rare occasions when we find women

in charge of an archive, this was immediately criticized. "It would not be customary to entrust women with *acta*," a critic remarked in Altenkirchen in 1731 when it was discovered that the wife of a senior official kept the keys to the archive.[22] Gender roles in the archives were clearly demarcated. Moral and social suitability, and also often religious orthodoxy, were required of the men. They were expected in particular to be loyal, which normally meant that archivists were supposed to maintain confidentiality.[23] But sometimes it proved impossible to meet these high standards. Examples can be found among notaries, and thus also in notarial archives, where former criminals were entrusted with the task of copying and keeping legal documents.[24] In practice, the social boundaries surrounding archives and professional archivists were often relatively open and flexible.

If we attempt to identify specialized knowledge in our sources that aspiring archivists were ideally supposed to possess, the search often ends only in disappointment. Only gradually were archivists' skills canonized.[25] By the eighteenth century, at the latest, many people working in archives had academic training, usually in law. Government authorities also explicitly set such standards.[26] Until around 1700, many—but by no means all—archivists came directly from the administration.[27] That is perhaps why practical experience with writing, paper, and documents generally was tacitly presumed, even if, as we shall see, such versatility could scarcely be taken for granted. The Hessian archive ordinance of 1584, cited above, said nothing at all about these points. Elsewhere, requirements and criteria were formulated in similarly vague terms during negotiations. Jean Benoit, who was appointed in Lyon in 1730, was broadly deemed "suitable," but nowhere is it mentioned what special skills he possessed.[28] The authorities in Rostock in 1674 were only marginally more precise in seeking a "*capable subjectum*" who was capable of retrieving "good information" (*gute nachricht*) from files.[29] Thus, it was research skills that were considered worth mentioning.

The lack of a specific skill set for archivists was matched by the lack of standardized educational programs that might have imparted such skills.[30] Some archivists came from completely different professions. Johann Moninger, who did groundbreaking work at Plassenburg Castle, had previously been a doctor. Many archivists will have acquired their expertise with documents gradually from daily exposure. Candidates' origins often determined whether they received the opportunity to gain such experience. Families and family networks were crucial. "Instruction" (*Anweisung*) by one's father was considered a genuine method of educating future archivists. It was there-

fore customary in many places to "attach" (*adjungirung*) interested sons to their fathers while the latter served as archivists.[31] In Marburg in the mid-eighteenth century, for example, several members of the Henckell family were active in the archives and passed on their knowledge within the family. When Anton Melchior also sought an appointment in 1752, he explicitly cited this tradition. He proposed that after being hired he could "successively be instructed" on the relevant subjects by his older brother.[32] The government recognized this training practice and encouraged the appointment of sons, so that they "might gain practical experience in our administration so as to make themselves all the more qualified to serve us."[33]

All over Europe, dynasties of archivists and bureaucrats rose in this way, as the next generation became used to working with paper and parchment from an early age. In 1519, Hélie du Tillet, for example, who had long served the king of France, used his connections to confidants of the king to secure his eldest son Séraphim the key office of clerk-archivist (*greffier civil*) of the Parlement of Paris. Séraphim simultaneously married his predecessor's daughter and thus obtained access to an influential family network among the members of Parlement.[34] Shortly thereafter, in 1521, financial straits forced Séraphim to pass the office down to his brother Jean, who is regarded today as one of the most important French archivists and authors of the Early Modern Period.

In this way, the Tillet family perfectly illustrates how clerical offices and archives might factor into determining one's social standing. But this case also shows how enormous social and even interfamilial rivalries and conflicts might arise over the distribution of these new social resources. A legal battle played out for ten years after Séraphim left office to make way for his brother in 1521. Jean and his father Hélie had in fact attempted to drive Séraphim out of office (the same one he had vacated), in part by dubious means. Séraphim defended himself, not least by getting his wife's influential family involved. The situation remained unresolved for years and sometimes caused considerable difficulties in Parlement. Jean du Tillet did not officially become *greffier* until 1530. Similar conflicts are known from German archives; in the 1730s in Marburg, for example, a dispute over precedence and salary arose between the incumbent archivist Christ and the newly appointed registrar Meyer.[35] In Weimar in 1699, Tobias Pfanner threatened to step down from his office, because other officials at the local court had contested his ceremonial status.[36] Once archives had been established and the practice of employing more or less well-salaried personnel became the norm, archives became are-

nas for social competition, in which "ignoble passion[s]," that is, careerism and status questions, salary increases, and patron-client relations, played a part alongside strictly archival matters.[37]

Lastly, the case of Séraphim du Tillet introduces yet another element that distinguishes France from the Holy Roman Empire: the practice of purchasing offices. In France, whoever was interested in holding an office had to pay a specific price; in return, he received all the rights and duties, as well as all the income, associated with holding that office. In essence, the practice amounted to the hypothecation of state income; it helped the French king finance his expenses to a considerable extent throughout the Early Modern Period. Like most offices in the royal administrative hierarchy, many archivists' positions were also for sale. Séraphim's financial woes, which forced him to give up the office of *greffier*, were the result of debts that he incurred in order to buy the office. In contrast to his famous and highly influential brother Jean, Séraphim does not appear to have been a particularly diligent *greffier*.[38] But under the practice of purchasing office, no attention was normally paid to such professional considerations.

Financial aspects soon took precedence over the organizational rationale for offices. If the king needed new sources of income, new offices were simply created and put up for sale. During the crisis at the end of the reign of Louis XIV, for example, when the disastrous War of the Spanish Succession forced the king to tap every last resource, offices in the Contrôle des Actes were repeatedly sold, the sales then rescinded, and individual buyers thus cheated of their investment.[39] In order to increase royal income in 1709, several positions were simply split in half, so that there were now two for sale. The two officeholders took turns drawing up and storing documents each year.[40] Later, some of these archival offices were held by three people, which in Lyon, for example, led to conflict between the various occupants.[41] The archival chaos of the Parlement of Paris in 1720 and the growing disinterest of officials in energetically performing their duties can also be traced to the bewildering conglomeration of unscrupulously multiplied offices.[42]

As counterproductive as the practice of purchasing offices may seem in the case of archivists, it nonetheless strikingly illustrates the central point of this section: in a variety of ways, archives were arenas for social aspirations and ambitions and held a distinct place in the early modern economy of prestige, status, and income. Archives increasingly offered interested parties with the requisite skills opportunities for social advancement. Talented and thus highly sought-after archivists could dictate very specific, rigid "terms" to their princely employers before accepting a position.[43] Accordingly, ar-

chivists took great care to ensure that their growing importance was duly reflected in the ceremonial hierarchy of the early modern society of estates.[44] Skill in dealing with documents and records became social capital. Hence ever more people made such activities part of their life plans.

THE ILLEGIBLE ARCHIVE: PRACTICAL CHALLENGES

It seemed perhaps so obvious that an archivist must be able to read and write that archival ordinances and appointment certificates often make no explicit mention of it. That was a mistake: archivists faced massive difficulties in these areas. In the case of archivists, there was an additional, far more complicated dimension to reading: in the context of archival work, reading mostly meant deciphering old scripts. And contemporaries had massive difficulty reading and understanding old documents. Even in the High Middle Ages, the reception of early medieval documents was anything but straightforward.[45] Likewise in the Early Modern Period, archivists across Europe struggled with the "ancienneté de l'escripture."[46] There was no end to complaints about the inability to read documents and the demand for qualified employees.[47] Vice versa, the ability to read and decipher such texts improved one's chances of obtaining an appointment. Knowledge of old scripts featured prominently in applications. In 1752, the mother of Melchior Anton Henckell supported his application for a position as assistant to the scribe of the court archivist in Marburg by declaring that her son had "already laid a considerable foundation in the decipherment of old scripts."[48] The general problems of medieval manuscripts were exacerbated still more so in the specific yet common case of Latin manuscripts, since these had two further specific problems. First, the historical changes that the Latin language had undergone caused considerable difficulties. For example, the Latin terminology of the Middle Ages, particularly the language of jurisprudence, was largely inaccessible to French officials of the eighteenth century. One such official openly admitted in 1748 that "understanding the Latin of these old laws in many places poses an almost insurmountable obstacle [for us]."[49] German archive-users faced similar challenges. Debates over the meaning of medieval legal terms were common.[50] Hence it is not surprising that it was more expensive to deal with Latin than with vernacular texts, and that a solid Latin education was still required for archivists.[51] Understanding Latin—and this is the second obstacle—was rendered even more difficult by the fact that medieval scribes used both unfamiliar scripts and numer-

ous abbreviations. Early modern readers repeatedly complained about these aspects, as well. Petrus Friderici from Erfurt noted in despair in 1712, "On account of the antiquity of the letters and the high number of abbreviations, I cannot read the older manuscripts, of which we have many here, and at the moment no one can be found who could tackle this task."[52] Early modern copies and transcriptions were correspondingly defective, since all too often these challenges proved insurmountable.[53] Subsequent generations of historians often had their hands full correcting their predecessors' errors. One exemplar of Caspar Sagittarius' *Historia Gothana plenior*, for example, printed posthumously in 1700, contains innumerable corrections of errors of transcription, which a diligent reader entered in the book by hand, probably by comparing it directly with the original manuscripts.[54] The historical character of the script and the languages imposed narrow practical limitations even on the archival work of specialists.

To overcome such limitations, it was possible to draw on a growing body of ancillary literature, mentioned in the preceding chapter. With respect to linguistic difficulties, the *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, published in three volumes in 1678, was of immense importance. This work by the scholar and jurist Charles du Fresne, sieur du Cange, made groundbreaking advances in understanding medieval Latin, especially legal Latin.[55] In the eyes of contemporaries, it was a "Latinobarbarian lexicon," since it gave intelligible Latin definitions of "semi-barbarous" medieval Latin terms.[56] Du Cange's work, like all the ancillary scholarly literature of the late seventeenth century, stood on the shoulders of a two-hundred-year-long tradition.[57] But it was Du Cange's lexicon that became the standard reference work for interpreting late antique and medieval Latin terminology. Scholars and archivists, officials and administrators eagerly reached for Du Cange's *Glossarium* and corrected it in turn over several editions: "[T]he associates of the Chambre des Comptes have Du Cange's lexicon constantly on their desks so they can use it whenever their work with old documents presents difficulties," one contemporary in the eighteenth century reported.[58]

Other findings of the great ancillary standard works were trimmed down in practical publications for the everyday work of archivists. An example of this is the brief treatise *L'Archivist français* composed in 1775 by Joseph Batteney, which contained a practical guide to reading manuscripts.[59] This little booklet first provided the reader with general observations on the transformation of orthography and then a brief lexicon of "Gothic" words. Its primary value, however, lay in its numerous, well-illustrated tables, which depicted individual letters in dozens of writing styles and the most com-

monly used abbreviations. Mabillon and Toustain and Tassin had also integrated such tables in their works, but Batteney reduced his treatise almost exclusively to these illustrations. If one came across an unfamiliar grapheme while reading old documents, it was possible (after leafing through quite a few pages) to find the letter in Batteney's extensive examples of scripts and to identify it.

While such publications considerably facilitated everyday work and improved access to old manuscripts, they did not entirely alleviate the problem. Not for nothing did observers note that fluency in reading and understanding medieval texts and scripts had to be gained primarily from practical experience.[60] Veteran manuscript-users knew that, despite their growing familiarity, some uncertainty and room for individual interpretation would frequently remain. Different readings were often possible. Restraint was necessary when old documents were difficult to understand, especially in court. A true archivist, as Mariée noted in 1779, "first had to suspend judgment" when confronted with difficult readings, since deciding for or against a reading is "a particularly delicate task that affected the welfare of mankind (*humanité*)." Special care and scrupulousness in reading and interpreting old manuscripts were generally required, but especially necessary in court, as others also stipulated elsewhere.[61]

ARE ARCHIVISTS SCHOLARS?

In light of the growing scholarly interest in archival material, archivists in turn began to explore their own place vis-à-vis historiography and diplomatics. Archivists wrestled ever more with the increasingly urgent question of how they intended to respond to the scholarly world and the self-conscious methodological rigor of the disciplines of diplomatics and historiography. How should archivists define their place between the princely court and the scholarly community? How should they position themselves vis-à-vis officials and historians? Many archive workers pleaded more or less explicitly for rapprochement with the scholarly world. In praxis and theory, it was frequently believed that archivists' mere care for records and order had to be supplemented by research-oriented engagement with the content of the documents that they handled daily. The image of the "archivist-scholar," who both fulfilled all his archival activities narrowly defined and was equally integrated in the scholarly community, had many adherents. Jakob Wencker and Philipp Ernst Spieß still made comparatively moderate demands to that

effect. Wencker, from Strasbourg, stipulated that an archivist should proactively engage with archival documents even before specific requests were made by princes or ministers. His ideal archivist did far more than merely find documents on request and use sources creatively to provide additional material for the authorities.[62] For Spieß, the key qualitative distinction between professional archivists was that "true" archivists, from the beginning of their professional life, would make systematic notes about the contents of the archival material they managed, "which might be of service for explaining laws, mores and customs, history, genealogy, diplomatics, numismatics, geography, and so on."[63] The archivist thus should actively adopt the early modern scholarly practice of constantly excerpting and collecting. Le Moine, the French author, wrote an extensive guide on how to prepare such notebooks along with extensive example excerpts.[64]

Preparing such *collectanea*, which in Spieß's case amounted to over a hundred volumes at the end of his life, often skirted the border between practical work aids and scholarly ambition. Spieß himself drew on his vast archival knowledge to publish numerous studies of regional history and individual documents.[65] Other experts went much further in exploiting their everyday work in the archives for scholarly ends. It seemed reasonable to many contemporaries to combine the two professions of archivist and historian openly and enthusiastically. For example, in Hanover in 1748, Christian Ludwig Scheidt argued at length that librarians neither could nor should also be historians, whereas an archivist's position could be seamlessly combined with that of a historian.[66] In contrast to a librarian, who had to deal with all sciences and subjects, an archivist merely required knowledge of history and law, which Scheidt believed an archivist could realistically acquire and cultivate while performing his regular administrative duties.

Many archivists would have agreed with Scheidt. Some of them had long felt drawn to historical studies. Tobias Pfanner of Weimar should also be numbered among this group of self-conscious archivist-scholars. His personal ambitions and efforts went far beyond merely researching items on request and keeping holdings organized. For him, it would "amount to a disadvantage and degradation [. . .], if I did not seize the opportunity to serve the world of scholars with my work, to the extent that it may do so." He wanted to create scholarly learning from his expertise in the historical tradition.[67]

Many people who today are known almost exclusively as historians were in fact archivist-scholars. The Bavarian archivist, jurist, secretary, and author Augustin Kölner, for example, produced numerous historical works based on archival material before his death in 1548. Even though these works pur-

sued clear political goals, their rigorous scholarship still impressed Chilian Schrader 150 years later.[68] In the seventeenth century, we may cite Christoph Lehmann in Speyer, Friedrich Hortleder in Weimar, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in Hanover. In France, we might point to Jean du Tillet in Paris or to different members of the Godefroy family in Paris, Lille, and Nancy. They similarly combined the practical work of keeping order in the archives with archive-based historical-legal research in the service of the scholarly community and the state. In the eighteenth century, Christoph Schmincke in Hesse and Jacob-Nicolas Moreau in Paris carried on this tradition.

These archivists' scholarly ambitions were more than mere personal preferences. The guild was caught up in a debate about its professional image. For authors like Wencker or Spieß, research-oriented archivists were the only true, recognized proponents of the field. They rejected other views of the profession that focused more narrowly on purely archival work. Such colleagues could only be described as "mere manual laborers" or "archival rabble," not as true archivists.[69] In France, Le Moine likewise sought to distinguish the learned archivist from the "obscure class of simple decipherers."[70] Wencker, Spieß, and Le Moine thus explicitly distanced "true" archivists with marked interest in the contents of archives from an alternative view of the profession that highlighted internal archival tasks and the archivist's service to other users.

With their pointed statements and calls for a comprehensive conception of the profession, Wencker and Spieß may have sensitively registered public opinion.[71] At the latest by the eighteenth century, archivists had indeed acquired a reputation for a lifestyle bordering on pedantry, far removed from any kind of joie de vivre. Archive practitioners of the "manual laborer" variety, at any rate, repeatedly lamented the lack of appreciation for their work. Justin Vierschrodt, for example, carried out groundbreaking organizational and cataloguing work in Gotha, but he makes mention of virtually no scholarly projects.[72] It appears that Vierschrodt held a reduced, narrowly focused conception of an archivist's range of duties. He explained that his daily work did not, at first glance, "particularly catch the eye," because it took place entirely within the archive. "No one on the outside [i.e., outside the archive] easily realizes" the efforts of an archivist of his kind. Naturally, these remarks brought him criticism and scorn, as Vierschodt eloquently complained. The public would caricature archivists like him as mere "paper wardens" (*Papierhuther*)—a pejorative term that recalled the remarks of Wencker and Spieß and had made Vierschrodt furious. Anyone who "leaped only into the pure duties of an archivist," that is, someone who became completely

absorbed in actual archival work, "is always in [. . .] unfavorable circumstances." In the eyes of the public, such an archivist was almost a ridiculous figure, "who neither knows nor does anything beyond occasionally producing a packet of files and then putting it back where it belongs." In lamenting the public contempt for his work, Vierschrodt thus clearly identified with the image of an archival worker who labored in isolation solely for the good of archival order. Vierschrodt was nonetheless convinced of the value of this form of archival work: an archivist should "not lose heart [. . .], at least to please posterity [and] to persevere undaunted in the laboriousness of his lonely and inconspicuous occupation, where he is never sure whether it will be respected or valued." It thus appears that Vierschrodt had adopted the image of the profession criticized by Wencker and Spieß as his own. In his complaint, he not only implicitly distances himself from the more ambitious ideal of the archivist-scholar, but also defends his conception of the profession against ridicule. It thus emerges that the professional identity of early modern archivists was contradictory and ambivalent.

"Keep Calm!" Everyday Life in the Archives and the Archivists' Persona

Everyday life and archivists' range of experiences undoubtedly varied greatly according to the nature of the institution where they worked. Service in great princely repositories meant something completely different from setting up relatively modest noble or municipal archives in rural areas. A royal registrar doubtless had a different perspective on his profession than an "itinerant archivist" did. The latter constantly faced the challenge of reacting to new archives. In 1779, Mariée worked his professional experiences up into a guide for younger colleagues. Despite its literary stylization, his treatise vividly illustrates the everyday circumstances of work in smaller noble archives. Every time they were appointed, these archivists had to negotiate their working conditions, salary, and schedule. Before agreeing to a contract, Mariée advised, an archivist should personally inspect the archive in question in exacting detail. He should take up to eight days to carry out this preliminary inspection. For concluding a contract, Mariée and other authors even provided model contracts as examples to follow.[73] Mariée repeatedly urged new archivists not to be discouraged by the chaos and difficulty of their job. Archivists should not let themselves be overwhelmed by the archives. Rather, they had to keep a cool head, show perseverance, and trust in the

effectiveness of stubborn daily work. "Soyez tranquille"—"keep calm"—this advice seemed particularly appropriate to Mariée from his own experience.[74] Besides offering practical advice on how to deal with potential crises,[75] the author wanted his treatise to encourage his colleagues in moments of mental stress. Daily life in the archives as presented by Mariée was psychologically taxing; the many steps involved in the work, each of which was difficult enough in isolation, demanded the archivist's entire person in the archive.

A longing for order and the effort to achieve it appear as major themes of the actions and thoughts of archivists in their correspondence.[76] In the archive, there were "two arch-enemies: order and confusion."[77] Order was usually described as a goal, seldom as a state. Of course, there were rhetorical reasons for doing so—complete order might have raised the question of whether one still needed to employ the archivist at all. But this emphasis on chaos was also justified by the facts, because work in the archive was profoundly shaped by the discrepancy between what was ideal and what was possible day to day. Warnings were always appropriate, and it was not without reason that they profoundly informed the statements of many archivists. Order in the archive, as these statements make clear, was effectively open-ended and had to be constantly maintained or restored. A functioning archive was not a fixed state, but an ongoing project; in a certain sense, it only ever existed under duress.

In light of this fact, many archivists worked daily on projects small and large dedicated to preserving or creating order. Today their impressive cataloguing labors often stand at the center of scholarly attention. Inventories, registers, and indexes are of historical interest as windows on early modern orders of knowledge.[78] Inventories are today not only treated as overviews of the material currently kept in an archive, but are also read as important evidence for the categories in which their creators and users thought. They inform us about the structures and criteria used to construct the world and to order knowledge in the Early Modern Period. Yet in the view of early modern archivists themselves, the topical organization of documents was by no means the only focus of their struggle for order. Archivists stressed the physical dimension of documents at least as often. Order existed in space; creating it, therefore, was a physical process, as Heinrich Ernst Moriz Leonhardi emphasized, when in 1741 he proposed to reorganize the archive of Altenkirchen. As a first step, Leonhardi proposed to lay the files on tables in the archive room, or even in piles on the floor, so as first to sort the documents into rough categories and then ultimately group them under ever more specific topics.[79] On the basis of this description, we should probably

imagine a workroom full of piles of papers with Leonhardi hustling back and forth between them, putting documents onto the appropriate pile for their content.

Many other archivists also described such spatial practices to produce order as important first steps toward a well-organized archive.[80] Such piles of documents could serve as the basis of finding aids and catalogues. Placing and shelving, hauling and sorting files were matters of great care and responsibility—these tasks were therefore often performed by the archivists themselves or under their close supervision. This physical dimension was particularly prominent in the event that an archive was moved to new premises, as emphasized, for example, by the archivist Zollmann in Weimar.[81] Accurate labeling also was an essential part of properly filing documents.[82] The physical side of the profession shaped archivists' self-perception to a considerable degree.[83] Archivists performed physical labor, indeed, labor that was thoroughly unpleasant and sometimes even dangerous, as many of their testimonials stressed. Laments over the "especially hard work" that one had to perform "from day to day" as an archivist shaped their identity—and at regular intervals was supposed to induce princes to make financial displays of favor. Gottfried Stieber of Ansbach, for example, remarked in 1742 that it "required extraordinary effort and patience, besides the fact that a considerable amount of clothing and laundry is worn out and ruined by the constant dust that is produced and the ubiquitous dirtiness, not to think of the growing trouble to one's health caused by the latter." The "ruin of the eyes" caused by constant reading "late at night or [only by artificial] light" was also mentioned regularly.[84] Laments over the "unbearable smell" and "harmful poison" that one had to breathe while working "in an inhospitably moldy vault" were likewise a rhetorical device with which archivists positioned themselves.[85] In the eighteenth century, as the effects of air and "moisture" on the human body became a central topic of the Enlightenment, the notion became an outright obsession in archival literature. Le Moine's treatise of 1765 contained an entire chapter of detailed instructions for the archivist; for example, how he should look away while opening boxes and documents, and how he could reduce threats to life and limb with regular ventilation.[86]

All these complaints were grounded in reality, as we shall see. Yet, at the same time, they became rhetorical topoi that served a rhetorical function. Archivists used these themes to paint a particular picture of their profession. They created a persona, a public image of themselves: such alarming passages made archivists appear to their employers as selfless, indefatigable, loyal servants, who sacrificed even their own health to the service of order. Archivists

were "more energetic" and "more diligent" than other employees.[87] At the same time—and over the long term this was no less important—the habitual use of such arguments caused archives and archival material to be credited with intrinsic worth: documents may have caused physical and mental discomfort, but they deserved bold, tireless effort. Archivists had to be tough and selfless; there was practically no way around it, but archives and documents also were worth the trouble—and princes should reward the heroic dedication of archivists accordingly. Justin Vierschrodt, for one, used this argument to motivate himself in the face of the criticism discussed above.

In light of these everyday difficulties and challenges, we occasionally find mixed in among archivists' typically proactive and pragmatic statements faint hints of exhaustion, disillusionment, and even disappointment. These feelings might relate to vastly different aspects of the profession. Many ambitious archivists were forced to watch with dismay as their daily archival work gradually gained the upper hand over and began to dominate their life plans, projects, and self-image. It was practically impossible to combine the scholarly and administrative duties of archival work, Chilian Schader noted with resignation after taking office as chief archivist of Hanover in 1686.[88] Other archivists saw, not their scholarly, but their social ambitions dashed. Friedrich Paul Wachler in Gotha, for example, bitterly complained before Duke Friedrich III in 1733 that there "also was no advancement in the archive as there was in other princely colleges, where one might move forward after the departure of [superiors] or through other forms of accommodating this or that member."[89]

Lastly, other testimonials reveal that not only the external circumstances of the profession—administrative constraints or social barriers—were sources of disillusionment. Daily work in the archive itself, the essence of the profession, was potentially disheartening. Mariée's depiction of everyday life in the archive clearly, albeit rather stylized in form, shows its emotional drawbacks. Ominously, in Mariée's experience, archivists experienced "embarrassment" and "awkwardness" every day. These feelings crept over an archivist when he could not find the documents he was looking for. An archivist's success or failure, glory or misery hinged on whether he could or could not find things, and his feelings likewise hung in the balance. The dread of failing to find something, an all too common event, was great. Archivists feared that their initiatives would founder, even though (or rather, precisely because) they presented themselves as champions of order.[90] The practical unmanageability of the documents weighed on their minds; it certainly became a constant feature of their textual self-representation. Fear of

loss and chaos shaped archivists' thoughts as much as did their self-depiction as agents of order.

VISITORS AND VISITS

Archivists and their subordinates were not the only people in the archives. Small archives, such as those of noblemen or monasteries, may have been entirely bereft of visitors for long periods. Notarial archives, in contrast, would have been far more frequented, particularly when they were located immediately in the notary's office. The painting *The Village Lawyer* by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (ca. 1615–1622), for example, shows a rather large number of people in the midst of the files. Despite the ironic and critical exaggeration of the depiction, which aspires to satire rather than realism, the interior scene and its social dynamics may have been extremely close to contemporary reality—written accounts indeed repeatedly attest such circumstances (fig. 5).[91]

The administrative archives of cities, princes, and other institutions may also have had fairly lively rhythms of use. Fixed hours of operations were, however, by no means conventional in the Early Modern Period. Often whole public offices and their respective archives were open for only an hour at a time. Studies of several European administrations have found that short hours of operation contributed significantly to a general atmosphere of negligence and indifference with respect to business and related papers.[92] In 1690, Tobias Pfanner complained that his work in the archives of Weimar was severely hampered by a lack of scheduling coordination among the staff. [93] But it also is obvious that the growing prestige of archives coincided with a desire for better, more regular access. In the Electorate of Trier and the imperial city of Frankfurt, for example, archivists were instructed to be present for precise, extended periods of time. In Trier, the archivist was to ensure that the archives could be used from 8:00 in the morning until noon, and in the afternoon from 2:00 to 4:00. He moreover was required to be present at meetings of the archbishop's council.[94] Archivists' working hours were supposed to be determined by the wishes of archive users, not the other way around.

Working hours were regulated in this way above all so that town councils and other authorities could ensure that archivists would be available to support their meetings. The primary goal was probably not to enable counselors or ministers to make personal visits to the archives. But as we shall see in de-

Fig. 5. Pieter Brueghel's satirical depiction of a village lawyer

tail below, ministers and counselors did occasionally come to the archive in person in search of records and documents.[95] More often, though, historians and scholars kept archivists company. Their presence often posed a challenge for both parties. Archivists frequently acted as gatekeepers, especially vis-à-vis such visitors. They could act with astonishing liberty in granting or denying access. This too will be described in greater detail below. Far less often than visits to archives by officials or scholars do we hear of encounters motivated by tourism. There is no denying that archives were not as popular destinations as libraries.[96] The obligation to keep the contents of archives secret made it difficult or downright impossible to reinterpret them as places of touristic interest. Princes and government officials regularly flaunted their book collections before travelers, but not normally their documents and records. But there were exceptions. In 1678, for example, privy counselor J. P. Stang was allowed into the archive of Plassenburg Castle in Kulmbach and was shown, not the documents, but the rooms and furnishings.[97] In Rome, noble visitors and their wives and children were shown the archives in Castel Sant'Angelo.[98] The rooms of the archives of the new ministry of foreign af-

fairs built in Versailles in 1761 were accessible to a "select audience."[99] And William Coxe visited the Moscow archives accompanied by the archivist Müller during his trip to Russia more out of curiosity than for any specific research interest.[100]

The visit paid by the scholar and respected Benedictine monk Dom Martène in Dijon in 1715 is a very well-documented example of a touristic archive visit.[101] At the time, Martène was systematically traveling through France in order to see as many archives as possible. He actually was doing so for historiographical research—Martène was collaborating on the multivolume publication *Gallia christiana*. In Dijon, though, he had additional reasons. He was "curious" (*curieux*) to see the archives of the local Chambre des Comptes. He did not record whether he conjectured that the archives held specific files relevant to his scholarly project—instead, he was shown a particularly prominent document, the original union between the Catholic and the Armenian Church in 1439, which Pope Eugene IV had sent to the dukes of Burgundy. Various documents from the Council of Basel (1414–1418) were also produced—they too may not have had anything directly to do with *Gallia christiana*. Instead, they were impressive documents that were sights in their own right. Thus, spectacular documents were occasionally shown in touristic fashion to at least a select circle of travelers. Documents were not only "epistemic things," but also "touristic objects."

Princes and kings only rarely visited archives, and in most cases for ceremonial purposes rather than to conduct research. Louis XIV visited his own library, which Colbert had expanded dramatically into a government archive, just once—no more often did Maria Theresa visit the Hausarchiv she founded or James I visit the new State Paper Office in Whitehall.[102] Philip II likewise was present in Simancas only once, although on that occasion he personally worked in the files for two days.[103] On other occasions when princes paid visits to the archives, it was for the purpose of inspection, not for direct use.[104] In several places, however, the personal relationship between princes and document repositories was more intense. In 1550, Duke Christoph of Württemberg had a spiral staircase built directly from his chambers to the archive.[105] Many popes were also men of the archives. Carlo Cartari, papal archivist in the Castel Sant'Angelo, nonetheless reported only sporadic visits by the leader of the Roman Catholic Church in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[106] Only seldom were rulers in the Early Modern Period so familiar with their own archives that they could actively become involved in everyday research. One rare example is Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha. Ernest, who ruled over a newly created principality, showed his

dedication to documents and archives throughout his reign. Characteristically, in 1662, he once personally burst into the archive after his employees had failed and delivered the wrong document:

> [L]ast year while preparing the state maps for the Collegia, His Princely Grace ordered us to retrieve the description of the districts of Weimar from the year 1603, titled *de Visitationibus*, from the white cabinet, but we failed to find it and instead brought back a wrong book, whereupon He himself subsequently had to go down [to the archive] and look for it.[107]

Apparently the prince was more familiar with the files than his helpers were. It was easier for Ernest the Pious to retrieve the documents he needed personally than to give instructions to his subordinates. The duke, however, was not yet satisfied and subsequently ordered the documents in question to be catalogued better. The justification for this command is noteworthy. Ernest did not express any reservations to the effect that archival work was unworthy of a prince. On the contrary, he prided himself on his personal familiarity with the files. A catalogue was necessary only because his own knowledge would someday be lost: "So that in the future others who do not have these things in their memory from long experience can orient themselves and more easily find this and that." The duke's pride in his knowledge of the files is on full display. At least momentarily and in emergencies, a prince like Ernest the Pious could be numbered among the people of the archives.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS: PAPERS AND ARCHIVES AS PRIVATE PROPERTY

As the second part of this chapter now turns from people of the archives to the archives of people, we first must mention a practice that was as widespread as it was controversial in the Early Modern Period: the fact that (former) officials kept sometimes extensive collections of official records in their private possession. Secretaries, notaries, and ministers ever since Antiquity generally regarded documents they had prepared or had in their possession as their own property. From the perspective of archival historiography, following the nineteenth-century ideal that archives were autonomous institutions with a monopoly on "state" documents, such practices were deplorable. The "removal" of files was frequently viewed as a "bad habit."[108] But such

an interpretation is, at least to some extent, anachronistic. Given the fact that (as we have seen) archives only gradually reemerged in Europe from the Late Middle Ages as independent institutions with a clearly organized structure, the individualized record-keeping of secretaries, ministers, and notaries should be viewed as the original, quite practical form of keeping archives. Who else, if not the people mentioned, was supposed to worry about charters and other documents in administrations that still relied on mobile archives well into the sixteenth century?[109] Without the personally motivated interest in collecting documents exhibited by scholars and politicians such as Philippe Hurault, Béthune, and Antoine de Loménie, each of whom compiled extensive archives on foreign affairs from various sources, very little would be transmitted about France's diplomatic relations with other European powers from the period prior to Louis XIV—these collections provided the most important basis for the future archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[110] Accordingly, the widely held view that papers were the private property of those who produced or possessed them should not simply be understood as an obstacle to the creation of archives. Rather, it was an expression of an alternative archiving rationale that had been tried and tested and found quite successful. As late as 1777, the veteran practitioner Philipp Ernst Spieß argued that archivists should keep a close eye on private collections, because material missing elsewhere could often be found in them.[111]

It is undeniable, however, that these two conceptions of archives—institutionalized-depersonalized versus individualized-personal record-keeping—increasingly came into conflict during the Early Modern Period. While in the Late Middle Ages there were, at most, isolated and "episodic" measures to gather records retroactively, this changed ever more so with the passage of time.[112] In Spain, a change of heart can be dated relatively precisely to the year 1509, when the first plans for a central royal archive emerged and campaigns to "retrieve" files from the possession of (former) officeholders were launched.[113] In the Vatican, Dionysius Zanchi was given extensive powers to recover documents.[114] In France, when Minister of State Hugues de Lionne died in 1671, the king decreed for the first time that all papers relevant to foreign affairs could no longer be kept as private property after the death of senior officials.[115] Countless other such provisions and norms issued by German authorities likewise demanded that records be surrendered to them for archiving; items could, however, still be borrowed, although archives had to closely monitor whether they were returned.[116] Archive record books, a commonly preserved type of source, were intended to document

when officials removed files and when they returned them.[117] Misconduct by delinquent officials who took documents home or never surrendered them in the first place was "punished" more vigorously, as councilman Ludwig Savigny in Sponheim learned in 1728.[118] The traditional view that it was the responsibility of individuals to preserve the documentary tradition was first supplemented and then openly pushed back by a growing preference for the model of storing and protecting materials in independent institutions under government supervision.

Despite redoubled government engagement in this sphere, it is no surprise that the triumph of the depersonalized view of archives was beset by conflict, slow in coming, and by no means comprehensive. Repeated complaints by the most diverse authorities in Germany and France about papers that had gone missing, been borrowed, or never deposited show that early modern officials long adhered to a highly personalized view of archives.[119] Vice versa, many authorities also dealt with the practice in a comparatively pragmatic way. In Rostock, the sometimes vast collections of relevant "city papers" (*Stadt-Schriften*) in officials' private abodes were not considered anything reprehensible—the papers were left in place until the death of (former) council members and were brought to the archive only afterward. This procedure, which seems to have understood personal and institutional responsibility for record-keeping as successive stages, may have functioned quite well overall. Thus, in 1627, "a whole volume" of files was transported from the house of the deceased *Syndikus* Gryphius, several "citizens' protocols" from the apartment of Johann Nieman, and in 1755 a "packet" of documents from the private residence of the former mayor Beselin—each time without encountering difficulties, as the reports indicate.[120] Conditions in Gotha present the same picture; there, too, upon the passing of high officials, the sometimes very extensive holdings in their private homes were simply inventoried and integrated into the archive.[121]

Sometimes, however, such attempts to enforce the government's archiving rationale met with significant resistance. The widow of the former councilman of Rostock Hagemeister, for example, did not deny in 1739 the public interest of the "city papers" in her possession from the estate of her deceased husband. She refused, however, to relinquish her private title to the apparently extensive collection of documents entirely, as became evident on the morning of July 4. The assistant city secretary Heinrich Schwabe had been sent by the mayor to look through the widow's papers in search of civic documents. He found several heaps of papers in an attic in a state of extreme

neglect. Before he could remove the files he had identified as relevant, Mrs. Hagemeister and her adult sons intervened. The confident widow was, in principle, prepared to hand them over, but not unless she was politely asked to do so first. On account of the affront, her son-in-law even challenged the civic authority's right "with violence." He asserted, "[I]t is my house [. . . and] all papers and things [in it] also belong to me." Even if a brawl did not break out over these archival papers, the authorities' access to the official papers of former officials was controversial. Private claims to ownership of old official papers apparently remained plausible. During the hours-long, "heated" dispute with Hagemeister's widow, it did not seem worthwhile to discuss the obvious question as to why records of the city of Rostock were in the possession of the Hagemeister family in the first place, and moreover why they were in such deplorable condition.

Possessing such files was not just a matter of prestige. Inherited papers might also represent real economic capital. Since incoming officeholders needed their predecessors' archives, but there was no obligation to pass them on, there were many opportunities for profit. There in fact was a large market for official and "public" papers, which were sold for cash. Whoever obtained a particular office, often by making a considerable financial commitment, also then had to be able to buy the relevant files on the open market. This "commercialization" of archival material was especially pronounced in the case of notarial records.[122] Numerous attempts were made in France, Spain, and Italy to create and ensure the transgenerational continuity of notarial records, but it proved impossible to suppress the lucrative trade in these folios, as Charles Loyseau realistically conceded in 1620.[123] The authorities themselves also had no choice but to take active part in this market for files. In 1696, for example, the city of Lyon bought back nineteen volumes of files from the widow of the city secretary Renaud for the considerable sum of 2,000 *livres*, even though she supposedly was contractually obliged to return the documents.[124]

In order to legitimate such private assertions of ownership of official papers in the face of mounting criticism, several heirs devised revealing strategies. When the counselors of the duke of Saxe-Weimar demanded in December 1641 that Zacharias Prüschenk, son-in-law of the recently deceased archivist and historian Friedrich Hortleder, restore politically sensitive notes from his father-in-law's papers, Prüschenk refused, stating that Hortleder had "assembled [these documents] *privatim* only for himself." Prüschenk relented only after repeated protestations.[125] When in 1697, in a very similar situation, Johann Christian Schmid also inherited political papers after the

death of his father, vice-chancellor of Saxony, Schmid insisted that they did not contain a "*documentum publicum* that might bring prejudice and disadvantage on someone."[126] He too could not keep these controversial papers. In both cases, the princely authorities of Weimar applied massive pressure in order to recover the files in question. But the terminology used in these cases is as remarkable as their actual outcome. Prüschenk and Schmid evoked a category of "private" documents distinct from those of an "official" nature, that is, relevant to the commonwealth. They presumably relied *ex negativo* on the logic of the *ius archivi* and its concept of "official," discussed above. Be that as it may, this defensive strategy failed to hold. The status of "official" or "unofficial" (*öffentlich* versus *nicht-öffentlich*) at issue in juristic terminology referred to evidentiary force. But this time the Saxon authorities were interested in something completely different: the knowledge contained in Hortleder's and Schmid Sr.'s papers. And in this case it was clear: the information contained in these documents might very well create a *praejuditz*, quite independent of the question of whether it derived from an "official document." According to this knowledge-based rationale, *everything* that came from the princely archive was "official," because it pertained to the welfare of the state and that of the prince's house. No such documents should remain in private hands.

RADICAL PERSONALIZATIONS: THEFT AND THE HELPLESSNESS OF ARCHIVES

The debates between the princes of Weimar and Prüschenk and Schmid show that court officials' and their heirs' power to dispose of public papers lay in a gray area of the law. Numerous other radical forms of the personal utilization of archives, however, were patently illegal in the eyes of archive-owners. That was particularly true of the theft of archival material. In this section, however, we will learn about still other forms of highly idiosyncratic relationships between people and archives. The many unorthodox ways in which archives were subordinated to personalized rationales must not be discredited as mere curiosities. As proposed for the case of Adrien Alexandre, discussed at the beginning of this book, the creative, if illegal exploitation of depots by shrewd individuals should rather be regarded as evidence of the embeddedness of archival culture in European society. A plundered depot was, albeit in radical form, an archive of the people. Marconnes, who stole

parchment from the Chambre des Comptes in 1682 for Alexandre, explicitly testified that he had risked the break-in in order to buy cloths to celebrate the upcoming Feast of Pentecost in the company of his friends.

Material gain was a highly persuasive incentive for many people in the Early Modern Period to resort to criminal acts in their dealings with archives: archives and files were commodities sought after by thieves across Europe. The unscrupulous break-in of the summer of 1682 was anything but unusual. Again in Paris, there had been a similarly dramatic theft nearly two centuries earlier in the neighboring Parlement: in 1494, numerous registers were removed from the archive there. The volumes stolen were never recovered. The perpetrator was one Bertrand Grebert.[127] He was a parchment manufacturer and was interested in the volumes for the same reasons as Alexandre: the lucrative reuse of writing material.[128] The punishment handed down in Grebert's case, however, was far more severe: he was sentenced to death on the gallows (fig. 6). In 1557 and 1620, the Parlement archive again fell victim to violent break-ins involving crowbars and fire.[129]

Parchment, however, was not the only attractive raw material in archives. Used paper also had resale value, especially for producing fireworks and cartridges—and files were repeatedly stolen for precisely this reason.[130] Document repositories held yet a third lucrative raw material: sealing wax. In Germany, during the Thirty Years' War, several archives were plundered in the search for this material. In 1640, Swedish soldiers broke into the archive of Meiningen, cut old seals off the documents, and melted them in order to sell them. Almost simultaneously, virtually the same thing happened in Zweibrücken.[131]

In order to exploit documents economically, Bertrand Grebert, Adrien Alexandre, and the Swedish soldiers had to cross the fragile but no less real border between archives and their surroundings with secrecy and violent break-ins. The economically motivated appropriation of archives by these people entailed the deliberate crossing of boundaries. But the use of archives in this way might also occur from within. Although Grebert was executed in 1494, employees of the Parlement archive followed in his footsteps some two hundred years later. In this case, the clerks themselves were the ones who put bundles of archival materials on the market for recycled paper.[132] While the sale was characterized as an unusual interpretation of the archive's usefulness, it was legitimated by an exculpatory reference to a general lack of space.

Even when the value of raw materials was not at play, it was possible to obtain considerable private economic advantages from possessing archival material. In 1699, a court in Kornelimünster on the lower Rhine pledged its

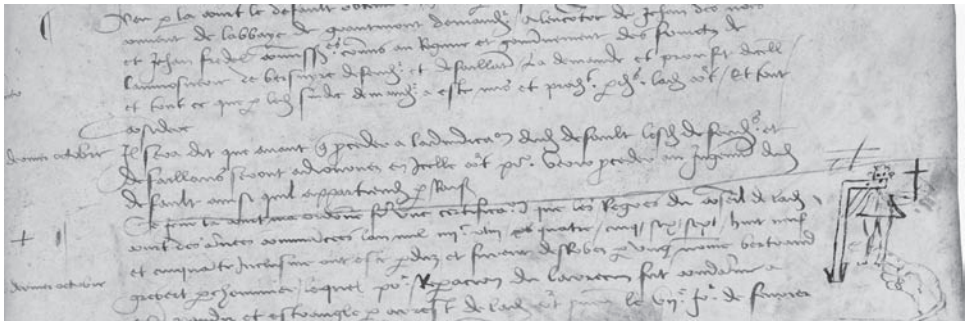

Fig. 6. Parchment thieves and their fate: the case of Bertrand Grebert, sixteenth-century sketch

archive as security for debts and thus was able to secure significant loans.[133] Citizens who by chance came into the possession of archival material likewise attempted to capitalize on these situations. In 1633, in the midst of the Thirty Years' War, Heinrich Keller from Zurich possessed significant portions of the archive of the bishopric of Konstanz, which had been plundered by the Swedes. He haggled for months over the price at which he was prepared to sell the files. He was not interested in the value of the documents as raw materials and repeatedly threatened to destroy them if Konstanz refused to yield with respect to their price.[134] Nearly a century later, in 1730, Jean Pierre Ruffier and his wife Caterine Amiel in Lyon discovered 840 city documents that they released only in exchange for financial compensation.[135] All these people appropriated the archival holdings available to them and subjected them to their own goals and aspirations.

There were also illegal attempts to manipulate archives to one's personal legal advantage. Papers and parchments were removed from small and even the smallest repositories in order to hurt neighbors or to change local legal relations. It is not directly transmitted why Toussaint Souzy cheated his neighbor and colleague, the tanner Laurent Rols of Beaujeu, and stole a "wooden box with many papers" at night during the latter's absence.[136] It was probably with the intent to harm him, potentially by removing documents that secured Rols professional or legal advantages. We must also presume the intent to deliberately change legal relations when we hear of the theft of contracts.[137]

The suboptimal storage conditions of notarial archives made them particularly vulnerable to manipulation for personal purposes.[138] For example, the French chancellor Lamoignon received a petition from Valence in 1757

that described how the notary Biousse deliberately kept old notarial records under lock and key for purely personal motives, because their contents would have hurt his private interests. Biousse also fleeced his customers for copies of archived originals, some of which were well over a century old.[139] Other notaries similarly indulged in such individual methods of exploiting one's archival expertise.[140]

The temptation to remove undesirable legal documents from archives was complemented by the opposite desire to insert nonexistent contracts retroactively. Even the archive of the Parlement of Paris was not immune to such tampering. In 1565, a certain Le Blanc exploited his institutional and social familiarity with the institution to smuggle a document into the records of Parlement. He knew a trusted employee of the director (*greffier*) who had access to current files. Even the most prominent early modern archives could be manipulated for legal purposes via such social connections.[141] There were also notorious cases in eighteenth-century Württemberg in which "a *folium* [had been] cut out and [. . .] a different one glued in its place."[142]

In all these cases, people of the Early Modern Period made the archives available to them their own in highly personal ways. At the same time, they came with their own private needs and (as seen quite literally above) brought them into the archives themselves. We should not consider archivists, ministers, and councilmen the only people of the archives. The thieves, forgers, and tamperers also belong. Sometimes these archive-users remained at least partly beholden to the intended rationale of the archive-founders—document forgers, for instance, continued to presume the legal function of notarial archives. Other acts of appropriation, however, were completely contrary to the intentions that had originally shaped European archival culture—Adrien Alexandre's pecuniary view of parchment broke with all content-based conceptions of archives. Archives thus patently acquired social and individual significance beyond merely as places of knowledge. People brought a variety of other perspectives to bear; they projected their own personal goals and hopes onto archives. The examples of alternative approaches to archives presented above clearly illustrate yet again what archives really were in everyday life during the Early Modern Period: they were the archives of people, perceived and utilized by individuals with specific, clearly defined goals.

6 ✦ Places

Archives as Spatial Structures and Documents as Movable Objects

In 1725, the royal procurator at the Parlement of Paris, Joly de Fleury, set off for the archives in the civil law chamber of the court. "The documents," he noted,

> are located in a tower that is completely secure, but there are so many registers that currently three or four are shelved one in front of the next. There are no stairs; instead, one has to climb a ladder to take down the registers one needs each time. It is easy to imagine how hard it is in such a position to take out a register that is sometimes shelved directly against the wall, which forces one to take out the volumes shelved in front of it first. If, for instance, someone needed to find ten registers about the same subject from different years and different centuries, it is easy to imagine the inconvenience and delay caused by this process. In addition to that, since everything has been full for some time, it has become necessary to place new registers in stacks of thirty or forty volumes on the floor, which now is so cluttered that only narrow paths cut through it.[1]

Joly de Fleury describes a practically unusable archive. In this case, the source of the chaos was the physical condition of the archive. The registers of Parlement are thick, heavy codices normally consisting of several hundred pages. We can easily imagine from Joly's vivid sketch how many archivists

abandoned their search for old documents as they teetered on the top rungs of a ladder with their hands full of a half dozen of these unwieldy volumes.

The procurator's dramatizing complaint addresses a subject that all too often is overlooked in the history of knowledge. Because written culture creates physical objects—pages, rolls, books—archives inevitably have a spatial dimension. Thus, in the Early Modern Period, the term "archive" also always indicated spatial structures. This spatial dimension determined in the most basic way how and whether archived knowledge could be found and used. The "order of knowledge" meant far more than merely mental or conceptual structures—it also involved a sensible physical arrangement. As Joly noted, it was no use knowing what was in a volume of documents if one could not subsequently find it in the room or safely take it down from the shelf. The order of knowledge in archives amounted to the arrangement of objects in space.

In physical form, knowledge was not only unwieldy and impractical, but also fragile and susceptible to loss. The survival rate of texts as repositories of knowledge critically depended on the material on which they were written—it was not texts as such that survived, but rather written documents.[2] On account of physical reasons, the odds of survival for parchment and especially paper were quite bad. Although, in contrast to inscriptions on stone or metal, parchment and paper (like papyrus) were more mobile, cheaper, and easier to use, their physical makeup made it unlikely that they would last for all eternity.[3] Complex cultural technologies were required to raise their survival rate. Building architectural structures that could shield parchment and paper from weather was one such technology.

The goal of this chapter is not to write an architectural history of archives (which remains a desideratum).[4] Rather, its particular purpose is to highlight the inevitably physical nature of written knowledge so as to illustrate the spatial presence of archives in people's living environment. This is by no means a trivial subject: spatial relations reflect and shape our social structures and daily routines, as Gaston Bachelard has explained.[5] Applied to archival practices, this means: archives are inscribed onto European culture precisely because of their three-dimensional, physical, and spatial dimensions.[6]

ARCHIVE ROOMS: PROTECTIVE SHELLS FOR FRAGILE CONTENTS

Two major threats to the physical survival of records and documents dominated the Early Modern Period (if we leave war aside for the moment):

fire and water. Archival architecture had to ward off both threats. Over the course of the Early Modern Period, architects and archivists developed several viable strategies to protect archives. In essence, this meant ensuring that a fire that had broken out elsewhere could not reach the archive. This was accomplished by the generous, albeit extremely costly, use of iron. In 1681, the archive of Weimar purchased iron shutters that could be closed in the event of fire, thus preventing the flames from penetrating inside.[7] In 1719, Gotha made a request for the installation of ironclad window shutters and an iron door.[8] Other institutions went even further. When Gerhard Friedrich Müller reorganized the Moscow archives in the 1760s, he had all the wooden parts torn out during renovations of the building and replaced with iron components. Even "iron floors" were installed.[9]

A different solution was attempted in France. There, the search for building materials that did not rely on wood at all led to the use of so-called *voûtes plates*. This architectural technique amounted to building vaults out of stone and stucco and dispensing with wood as a supporting material entirely.[10] This innovation was possible because, circa 1750, brick had become the most popular building material. The *voûtes plates* building method had originally been developed in Catalonia and Roussillon in southern France; from there, it gradually spread northward over the eighteenth century, encouraged not least by the energetic support of the minister of war Belle-Isle, who had utilized the method in 1740 when building his own château in Bizy. Félix-François, Comte d'Espie, popularized the method throughout Europe in a treatise published in 1745 and quickly translated into English and German. Its very title indicates the foremost advantage of *voûtes plates*: *The Manner of Securing All Sorts of Buildings from Fire*.[11] Espie was a retired officer, and his first thought was to secure magazines and stables, not archives, but he explicitly included archives in the foreword to the new 1776 edition of the book, after Belle-Isle had used the technique for the first time to build an archive during the reconstruction of the war ministry at Versailles in 1761, attracting much attention in the process.[12]

In the architectural struggle against water and dampness, relatively few weapons were available in the form of building methods during the Early Modern Period. Although the roof of the archives of Weimar, for example, was supposedly "well insulated," water still leaked inside in 1623 because "the rainfall had been quite heavy."[13] A century later, Weimar faced similar problems when rain found its way into the archives yet again.[14] Even without flooding, dampness was regular threat, since documents were often stored in rooms with thick walls or even in cellar vaults twenty steps underground in

order to protect records from fire.[15] Various options were explored to prevent mold in such circumstances. In Nancy as early as the 1570s, nutmeg was put in the drawers to counteract at least the musty air.[16] A proposal by Mariée in 1779 proved to be more helpful over the long term: archive furniture should not be placed directly against damp walls, but rather some space should be left so that the air could circulate.[17] Regular ventilation was also considered helpful against dampness, and mention is constantly made of general ventilation.[18] Of course, this had its drawbacks, as Jakob Friedrich Ludovici noted in 1714: "How often it happens that the windows are open during the summer, and the wind, which does not understand anything about the order of files, mixes everything up."[19]

Obviously, solving one problem immediately created new difficulties. Ventilation let in the wind, thick walls retained moisture, and building methods might be associated with a third major source of damage: Espie mentions that wooden roof structures were a particularly fertile breeding ground for mice and rats, two more archenemies of archivists.[20] Complaints about documents that had been "eaten by rats" repeatedly occur.[21] And indeed archivists' thoughts always revolved around the question of how one could keep rooms free of rodents or at least minimize the consequences of their presence. Pierre Camille Le Moine developed a method for building "indestructible drawer boxes."[22] Cabinets were supposed to keep mice out, and elevated storage places on stilts were supposed to make life difficult for the pests. Perhaps the most sensible solution in the battle against rats and mice was a strategy that had been tested in Siena in 1337: the city elders bought the archive a cat to keep parchment-gnawing rodents in check.[23]

Technological resources in the struggle against water and fire, mold and pests thus were limited. But even more problematic was the fact that available means were often not exhausted. A legion of dilapidated archive rooms could be cited as examples. Around 1700, in the castle of Charolles, some sixty kilometers west of Mâcon, the extensive holdings of the archive were kept in a tower with a defective roof, which was finally repaired at the insistence of the authorities after a decade of foot-dragging.[24] "Useless" files, as we have seen, were regularly kept in attics and lofts. In Weimar, archival materials were stored above an "ice pit" (*Eißgruben*), that is, a damp cellar room where ice was stored for cooling, thus dooming any attempt to fight mold and mildew to failure.[25] Despite countless theoretical reflections, despite repeated complaints and warnings by affected archivists, and despite undeniable advances in building methods, paper and parchment documents were and remained fragile.

Since the protective measures introduced in many places in Europe thus often were ineffective, damaged documents regularly had to be restored. Prior to the late eighteenth century, there were few in-house restoration workshops in early modern archives, in contrast to some libraries in Rome or Oxford, and no budget for repairing archival materials.[26] Nonetheless, the care for fragile holdings, the fight against the consequences of mold, water, and pests, and the preparation of authenticated copies as a last resort to preserve individual texts were undoubtedly fundamental tasks.[27] In 1711 in Gotha, for example, Ernst Salomon Cyprian had some old letters from the sixteenth century restored; they were in poor condition on account of "age and the owners' neglect."[28] And in Vienna, masters of "the art of restoring faded texts" were hired in 1767 to counteract the illegibility of documents.[29]

THE WELL-ORDERED ARCHIVE AS A SPATIAL IDEAL

The material and physical imperfections of archives described above were often lamented,[30] but only occasionally captured in a picture. The ironically critical oil painting mentioned in the last chapter, *The Village Lawyer* (fig. 5), several versions of which Pieter Brueghel the Younger painted circa 1620, may serve as an example. It depicts villagers and their notary in the midst of papers. Brueghel places stacks of bundled documents—albeit not as high as Joly de Fleury's—on the floor, the shelves, and the lawyer's desk.

Other depictions, in contrast, idealize archives as places of perfect order. For example, a color drawing from Bologna from approximately 1726 shows the local notarial archive from a severe central perspective (fig. 7). The files on the left and right of the room are stored differently, but overall the image gives an impression of symmetry and harmony. The containers are full, but not overflowing. The archive has neither too many nor too few documents. A large table stands at the point where the architectural lines of the building converge. There, two clerks are at work on the files—a picture of intensive use taking place under well-moderated and well-coordinated conditions. The archive here is presented as a bright, pleasant room, as a rational structure, as a domesticated resource.

Other early modern depictions of archives confirm this stylized view, as, for instance, the etchings documenting the reconstruction of the French ministries of war, the navy, and foreign affairs at Versailles in 1761,[31] or the small depiction of an archive that the bishop of Mainz and historian Stephan Alexander Würdtwein placed as a vignette on the title page of his *Nova sub-*

Fig. 7. Illustration of the interior of an archive, Bologna, ca. 1726

sidia diplomatica in 1781 (fig. 8).[32] Yet again, the walls are full, but not too full, and again documents—here, in rolls—are arranged in rank and file. Würdtwein, the author, sits in the middle of his archive, writing the very book of which the copperplate engraving adorns the title page. Two assistants bring him additional documents. There is not a hint of difficulty using the archive, let alone chaos. A side scene visible through an open door reinforces the stylization of the archive as an effortlessly usable place of knowledge for historiographical research. A fountain bears the Latin inscription *Dulcius ex ipso fonte*—"sweeter from the very source." The archive and its documents are a pure source of knowledge—that is the message of such depictions. Whereas Brueghel's depiction of the archive satirically presents a chaotic archive loaded with negative moral connotations, representations such as these propagated the ideal of archives as well-ordered and rationally organized knowledge infrastructure.

SUITES AND SURROUNDINGS: ARCHIVES AS PARTS OF BUILDINGS

Before the modern era, there were few pure office buildings, and even fewer specialized archival buildings were constructed that then operated successfully.[33] In contrast to libraries, there thus was no specific building type for archives until the nineteenth century.[34] In owners' eyes, it generally sufficed to reserve particular rooms in existing buildings. Initially, for reasons of security and symbolism, defensive towers and churches or sacristies were

Fig. 8. The interior of an ideal archive, 1781

chosen. It was no coincidence that the Trésor des Chartes of the kings of France had been located in the Sainte-Chapelle on the Ile de la Cité since the thirteenth century. Similarly in Frankfurt, documents kept in the Church of St. Leonhard were virtually inaccessible.[35] Many other examples attest to this practice, which only in hindsight seems like the misappropriation of sacred rooms. In some places, it remained conventional until the dawn of the Modern Era. The imperial city of Friedberg in Hesse kept important documents in the tower of the local Church of Our Lady well into the nineteenth century.[36]

Sacristies and towers, however, became ever more impractical. Documents that were needed only rarely could be locked away, but the rapidly swelling files of the administration were needed "almost daily" (*quasi quotidianum*) and thus had to be more easily accessible.[37] It was best that they be stored in close proximity to officials, so they were moved to princely palaces (where the seats of government were often located) and the headquarters of church administrations, corporations, and businesses. With

the passing of time, new buildings increasingly provided rooms designated specifically for this purpose. Palaces, official buildings, and residences were planned with archives in mind. In Gotha, for instance, Ernest the Pious had an archive housed in a ground-floor vault of the northwestern tower of Friedenstein Castle from the start. Complex renovation projects were also regularly undertaken during the Early Modern Period either to expand the rooms housing an existing archive, to repurpose rooms to accommodate an archive, or to create new rooms for that purpose. The particular needs of an archive's rooms were often explicitly taken into consideration. In late July 1703 in Rome, for example, no fewer than five craftsmen were consulted for their opinions on the feasibility of moving the archive of the congregation of cardinals to a room over the Sistine Chapel.[38] When the Saxe-Ernestine Samtarchiv in Weimar was moved to the Green Palace in 1733, the rooms designated for it were completely refurbished and renovated (fig. 9).[39] A functional approach normally predominated in plans to furnish specific rooms for an archive. In contrast to libraries, which were conceived and furnished as showrooms, only seldom can we find complex artistic works or iconographic programs in archives.[40]

Ideally, the rooms of an archive were self-contained areas that were clearly separated from other rooms surrounding them, constituting a coherent series of rooms for storing their contents. One common method of separating the rooms of an archive from the rest of a building was to install as few entranceways as possible. To protect against unwanted entry, archive doors—as well as archive boxes—were often provided with two, three, or even more locks, and the keys to them were distributed to several different people. To protect against break-ins and fire, the doors were as massive as possible. They often were "iron doors," as mentioned above—extremely tough, but rather Spartan (fig. 9, by letter *c*). Costlier, more representative architecture was worthwhile when the entrance to an archive lay in publicly accessible rooms, as inside a church (fig. 10).

On many occasions, archive doors not only closed off space, but also made it clear with their striking architectural form that a special sphere began beyond the generally accessible parts of a building. The archive door was both forbidding and promising, both inviting and foreboding. The archive should simultaneously be shown and hidden. This ambivalence of the archive door was taken to a highly unusual extreme in Salzburg. In St. Peter's Abbey, the door leading to the archive featured a trompe l'oeil that depicted texts and archival materials where there were none (fig. 11).[41] The archive as a delimited space was both revealed and concealed. Its door aroused curiosity.

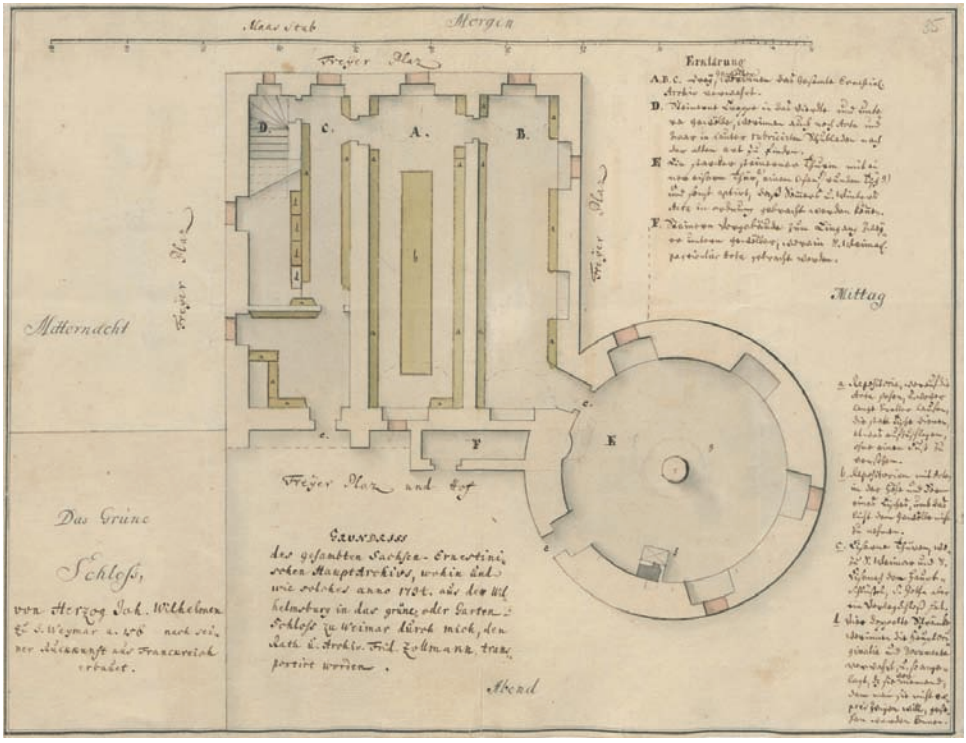

Fig. 9. Plan for the remodeled archive rooms in Weimar, 1733

The question of who was permitted to open such doors, and when and how, could quickly raise tempers in the Early Modern Period. Pragmatic considerations undoubtedly played a part in determining who was authorized to hold the keys. But often archive doors ignited conflicts of much broader significance. The practice of using several keys and distributing them among different people all but guaranteed high symbolic significance. In the 1660s, for example, controversy erupted between Saxe-Gotha and Saxe-Weimar over how the Ernestine Samtarchiv in Weimar Castle was locked, vividly illustrating the symbolic nature of such questions of space. Ernest the Pious, duke of Saxe-Gotha, insisted on one door with two keys for the Ernestine Samtarchiv, according to the rationale that it could be opened only jointly by himself and the dukes of Weimar.[42] Weimar, however, emphatically opposed Gotha's wish, because documents that belonged to Weimar and were needed relatively often were kept in a neighboring room that could be reached only by way of the same door. If the door was locked as Gotha proposed, these

Fig. 10. Entrance to the parish archive in the ambulatory of the Church of St. Nicolas, Stralsund

documents would effectively be inaccessible to Weimar. For decades, Ernest the Pious insisted on his wish, over the objections of Weimar. Not until 1690 did Weimar change its tune and adopt Gotha's view.[43] Now they even agreed to remodeling measures lasting several days. A "special entrance" to the Saxe-Ernestine Archives was installed, and the different archives could be closed off and accessed independently.[44]

Despite such efforts, however, we should not exaggerate the physical or symbolic capacity of archive doors and other architectural elements to isolate archives from their surroundings, as various studies of the spatial structures of early modern life recently have shown. Not even cloister walls, as Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti emphasize, could prevent contact between nuns and the outside world.[45] Neither could iron towers or barred windows prevent archives from coming into contact with their surroundings[46]—even disregarding violent break-ins like that perpetrated by Adrien Alexandre and Pierre Marconnes in 1682. The permeability of archive boundaries was often directly related to the fact that early modern archivists lived in the immediate vicinity of the repositories they oversaw. When the French Assemblé du

Fig. 11. Trompe l'oeil on the archive door in St. Peter's Abbey, Salzburg

Clergé, the powerful body that represented the clergy, rebuilt and modernized its Paris headquarters in the Couvent des Grands Augustins directly opposite the Ile de la Cité in 1780, a residence was furnished for the archivist directly next to the archive itself. A door (albeit built of iron and secured by several locks) led from his dining room directly to the documents.[47]

Since such close living arrangements were normal or desirable, it is no surprise that many archivists carried the fusion of private quarters and archive rooms even further on their own initiative. Charles Georges de Coqueley de Chausse-Pierre (1711–1790), royal archivist at the Louvre, provides us with a nice example. In 1773, the reorganization of the files had to be put off, because Coqueley and his wife, and presumably his entire household, had moved into a magnificent apartment directly adjoining the palace courtyard, which actually had been the intended destination of the files.[48] Since he had an excellent relationship with the leading official of the Louvre, the architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–1780), this conduct was tolerated for a long time. Examples from Italy point to the same conclusion. A certain Bartolomeo Anzidei, for example, moved into the notarial archive in Castello di Francavilla in 1747, because he either had too little room at home or because the rooms of the archive were in better shape. He did not even hesitate to bring his document-eating rabbits along with him. Archives repeatedly served early modern people as private storerooms or public meeting places for a wide range of social activities, from theatrical performances to games of chance. Corresponding complaints from various small locales in the Papal States, together with the examples of Anzidei and Coqueley, attest that archives could easily be transformed into private quarters even well into the eighteenth century.[49] Their architecture at any rate did not function as a clear boundary that might have prevented it. In terms of structure, archives were conceived as clearly demarcated spaces, but everyday life, with its objects and practices, still forced its way inside.

This mingling of archival and extra-archival life was encouraged in many places because *stabilitas loci* and the spatial integration of archive rooms often left much to be desired. Even the self-containment of archives more often than not was a wish rather than a reality. The archives of Weimar, for instance, were "split into two pieces and places," as Tobias Pfanner noted in 1697.[50] Documents were frequently scattered in different rooms, despite theoreticians' objections to the practice.[51] That was even the case with modest holdings. Postmortem inventories attest that noblemen and bourgeois did not concentrate their papers in a single place in their residences or castles.[52] Using early modern archives—for example, doing research in Weimar—

therefore usually meant moving from room to room—for instance, from the garden house to the *Kammergewölbe* and then to the entrance vault. Archives were neither homogeneous nor exclusive rooms.

These disjointed conditions were often the consequence of practical constraints caused by a dramatic scarcity of space. Such conditions, for example, led to fierce competition for space between different archives in Paris in 1760.[53] This pragmatic reasoning, however, should not be pushed too far, because authorities in the Early Modern Period often appear to have regarded archives as freely disposable elements in their plans—a sign of the still highly ambivalent status of archives and the rather low regard in which they were sometimes held. In Weimar, for example, the fragmentation lamented by Pfanner was the result of the relative neglect of the Ernestine Samtarchiv, documented since 1654. In that year, it was necessary to move the archive while the palace was being rebuilt. Whether there really was no other place available than the damp and harmful confines of the prince's garden house is immaterial. What is undeniable is the fact that no one subsequently was particularly concerned with remedying the situation. The return of the archive to the palace, promised many times, occurred only gradually. Thus, not only did the inadequate, supposedly temporary solution in the garden house last until 1733, but the Ernestine Samtarchiv was also reduced to the fragmentary state criticized by Pfanner on account of further subdividing and shuffling of space.[54] For decades, we cannot say that the dukes showed respect for their records by providing optimal, appropriately furnished quarters for them. In practice, archives were often tailored to available space, not vice versa.

THE CREATION OF ORDER IN SPACE: ARCHIVE FURNITURE

It was (and is) furniture that brought order to archival holdings. Cabinets, shelves, and chests are extremely important for a history of knowledge and the order of knowledge that seeks to incorporate the material objects and physical bearers of knowledge. The order of knowledge in space always entails the use of aids for structuring space. A room or vault is partitioned and classified in order to bring a system into being. Archive furniture shapes archival work and its position in space. Yet despite its importance, the order-bringing furniture of document collections only rarely receives adequate attention in historical accounts.[55]

Archivists and authors on archives of the Early Modern Period, in contrast, discussed the type, significance, and function of furniture in highly

precise and detailed terms. In 1699, Georg Aebbtlin, for example, carefully differentiated what kind of container was suitable for which kind of document: depending on their type, they could be (or had to be) either laid flat or filed upright; he thus distinguished between "closed, high boxes" and "open bookstands," that is, between cabinets and shelves. The former could then be divided into compartments or drawers.[56] Johann Stephan Pütter repeated this classification about a century later.[57]

One point that one had to bear in mind when structuring space with furniture of all kinds was the right balance between detail and overview.[58] Since drawers, cabinets, doors, and compartments inevitably created relationships between some archival materials and simultaneously destroyed relationships between others, special care was absolutely necessary. Should one opt for a system of cabinets covering entire walls or rather for smaller, individual cabinets? Large cabinets or small drawers divided into sections? It was impossible to give explicit instructions: it was a question of organizational categories, which depended heavily on the structure of the archival material to be organized. A degree of skepticism toward all too finely partitioned units of space notably emerges from Tobias Pfanner's criticism, in 1689, of the "spice-merchant-like drawers, boxes, [and] chests" of the Weimar archives.[59] He can only have meant a storage system that worked with small units and closed containers, such as were commonly used by pharmacists and spice traders. Pierre Camille Le Moine also detested the "old" practice of installing "a thousand small compartments."[60] Given the physical dimensions of many fascicles and codices, generously sized spatial structures were appropriate. Le Moine was terrified most of a (fictitious) archive that was partitioned into as many compartments as there were individual documents. Like the paradoxical 1:1 scale map imagined by the Argentinian writer José Luis Borges, any sort of an overview in such circumstances would have been impossible.[61] That the authors' fears were by no means unfounded is illustrated, for instance, by an old archive cabinet from the fifteenth century from Montpellier in southern France. It stored archival materials in 8 sections and a grand total of 116 drawers of the most diverse sizes. Comparison to a pharmacist's cabinet full of tiny containers was completely justified.[62]

Here we also clearly see that archival furniture followed a different rationale from that of the cabinets and exhibition cases of Baroque galleries and cabinets of curiosities, which made their breakthrough in European society more or less contemporaneously. In contrast to cabinets of curiosities, where the furniture served to "package the most diverse objects artfully and deftly," archive furniture was not intended to produce some "moment of surprise"

by presenting unexpected combinations of documents from the collection.[63] In contrast to galleries and cabinets of curiosities, archives did not seek to elicit astonishment with carefully staged exhibitions or to stimulate conversation between invited observers by presenting surprising combinations. Archive cabinets accordingly lacked the artistic pretentions of cabinets that themselves were often fashioned as representative objects at extremely great expense. Moreover, in comparison to the sometimes elaborate spatial structures of galleries and cabinets of curiosities, archive cabinets were subdivided in relatively simple fashion. Christoph Fischer, who described how to set up an archive on a landed estate, proposed a simply designed cabinet with forty-seven compartments, laying down the criteria, but not the precise sequence, for each one (fig. 12).[64]

In the view of the French author Pierre Camille Le Moine, the spatial structures that archive furniture might create were somewhat more complex: doors that closed off parts of cabinets or entire cabinets could divide an archive "generally" by topic, while the drawers or compartments behind them could produce a "detailed classification."[65] Cabinet doors and drawers were thus meant to visualize distinct organizational levels of the archive (fig. 13).

In Fischer's and Le Moine's discussion, the cabinet and its compartments served first of all as a conceptual tool that helped illustrate for their readers the necessity and nature of a subdivided archival order. Fischer accordingly stressed that the specific number and names of the compartments would naturally vary from case to case. The cabinet was a mental tool for conceiving of and developing order. Thus the very act of "placing documents into compartments," mentioned so frequently in the instructional literature of the 1770s, was an important step toward the transformation of unorganized seigneurial document collections into series of discrete—that is, known and thereby clearly categorized—bundles of files.

Cabinets, however, not only facilitated the subdivision of knowledge by creating order. They also performed a key function in the archivist's daily task of finding documents. Cabinets made it easier to orient oneself in space. If you know that the volume you are looking for is in "cabinet A," that reduces the time you need to find it. The efficiency of archives depends not only on whether an inventory comprises all files (or as many as possible) under an intuitive organization for users—making it possible to see what files are available and which ones should be used. It moreover is necessary that one be able to find the volumes one wants in the room quickly and easily. The list of all archival materials must be combined with a list of their locations. In brief: it is not enough to know which particular documents

42. Gütliche Vergleich.	43. Mancherley Contract.	44 Formalien der zugestandenen und verweigerten Abschieden.	45. Formalien der Testimonien und Vollmachten.	46. Ordnungen von Raths-Wahl und Aenderungen.	47. Verschiedene Eyd und Pflicht.
36. Criminalien und darbey ertheilte Gnaden.	37. Bittliche Ansuchen und Antwort darauf.	38. Gräntz-Ordnungen und Verträg.	39. Abschiede.	40. Inventarien und Beschreibung.	41. Titular-Beschreibung und Calender.
30 Geburts-Schein und Zeugniß.	31. Testament und Bürgschafften.	32. Gewisse und ungewisse Anlagen und Steuren.	33. Sonderliche Anschläge.	34. Mancherley Handschrifften und Gegenschrifften.	35. Strittigkeiten und deren Entscheyd.
24. Pfleg- oder Amts-Rechnungen.	25 Frucht Rechnungen.	26. Schuld-Einnahms-Rechnungen.	27. Steur- und Anlags-Rechnungen.	28. Bedienten Bestand und Staat.	29. Vorbitten und darauf ertheilte Antwort.
18 Besoldung und Kost-Rechnung der Bedienten.	19. Bezahlung der Handwercksleute uñ Taglöhner.	20. Herren-Tafel-Rechnung und Aufgang.	21 Guts Beschwerungen.	22. Collatur- und Einsetzungs-Gerechtigkeiten.	23. Pupillen- und Spital-Rechnungen.
12. Vertrag Kauff und Verkauff samt den Schaf Registern	13. Wald- und Holtz- oder Forst-Rechnungen.	14 Mühl-Register.	15. Wein- und Herbst-Rechnungen.	16. Fisch-Register.	17. Erndt-Register.
6. Jährliche Protocoll.	7. Tag- und Zeit-Bücher.	8. Merck und denckwürdige Sachen.	9. Geborgt- und ausgelibenes Geld und Schulden.	10. Manual- oder Hand-Bücher und Schrifften	11. Brau-Register.
1 Reichs-Gesätze und Bürger-Recht.	2. Städt- und Güter-Beschreibung.	3. Gerechtsame Herrlichkeiten / und rechtmässige Besitzung.	4. Reichs- und Land-Täge / und Königliche Befehl.	5 Gemeine Handlungen / und Zahl aller Zugehörungen.	

Fig. 12. Diagram of an archive cabinet by Christoph Fischer

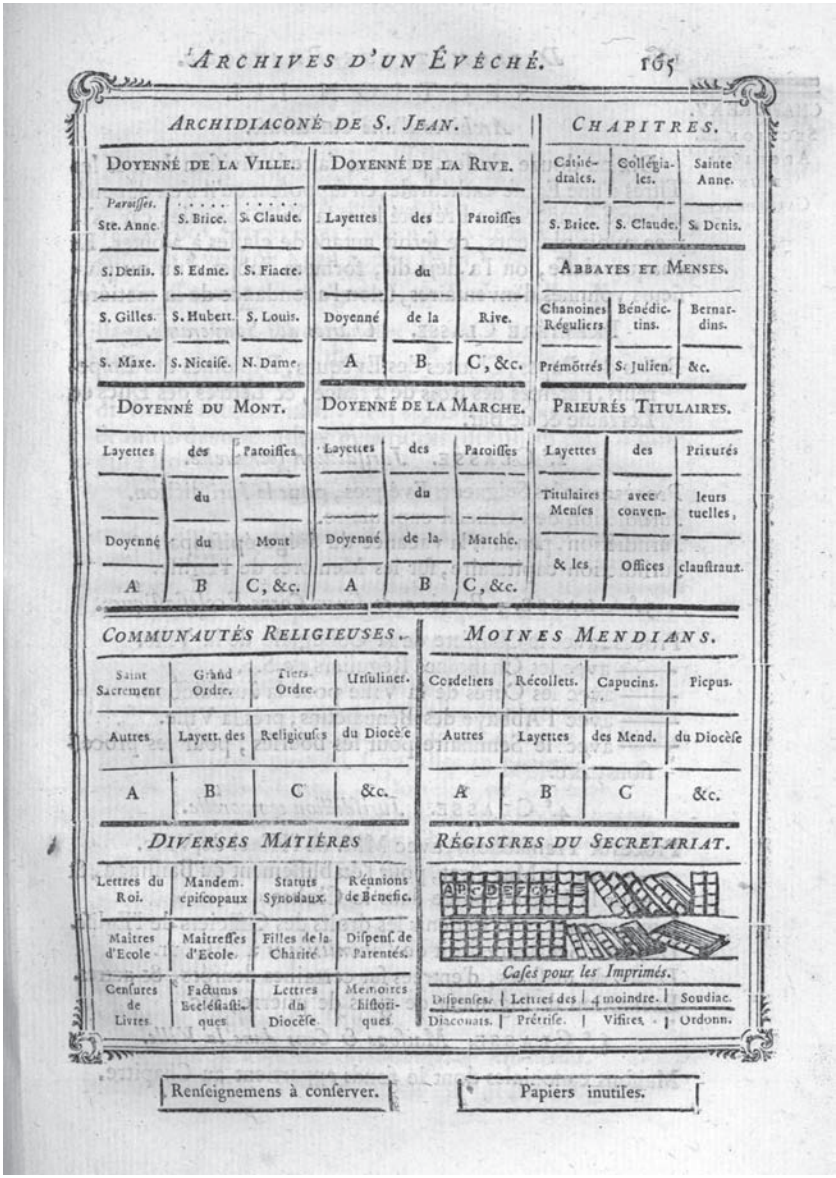

Fig. 13. Diagram of an archive cabinet by Pierre Camille Le Moine

are available on a given topic; one must also know where each one may be found. Cabinets facilitate this process of localizing files in space.

The connection, however, between a cabinet and the documents in it must be clear and obvious. It must be easy to identify which cabinet contains which files. That is even more important when the cabinets are locked, because then it is impossible take a quick glance over the labeled backs of the documents: behind closed doors, the files themselves are invisible. There were two ways in such circumstances to identify archive cabinets precisely and efficiently: the first way was to affix a brief description of contents in some form or other to the front of the cabinets. Such labels could help someone standing in front of the cabinets quickly determine which one he had to open. When the feudal holdings of the archive of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris were catalogued in 1725, a (very rough) inventory was written directly on drawings of the cabinets (fig. 14).[66]

Elsewhere, this information was put on the cabinets in the form of summaries or inventories written on or glued to the doors.[67] The Assemblé du Clergé, presumably in 1780, had brief summaries of the contents of its archive cabinets put on pieces of cardboard that then were hung on them with ribbons. By a happy chance, these utilitarian and disposable objects, without which it would have been impossible to use the archive, survive today.[68]

The second way was not to indicate the contents of the cabinets on them, but rather to mark the cabinets with abstract signs—such as numbers or letters. The inventory then had to inform the archivist in what cabinet the desired document could be found. In the opinion of some authors, this was advantageous insofar as the archive (or cabinets) gave no indication of its contents. Locked cabinets without inventories on their doors were ineffective and unusable without additional finding aids, as, for instance, Theodor Reinkingk emphasized.[69] Authors like him viewed the invisibility of the files behind knowledge-ordering cabinet doors as an advantage, because it protected the secret of the archives.

Other archivists took the opposite view and felt this was too complicated. They therefore searched for alternatives to solid doors. Repeated attempts were made to retain the structuring potential of the cabinets without having to accept the consequences of rendering their contents invisible. Sometimes cabinets with glass doors were used, as had become ever more popular in galleries and cabinets of curiosities since the mid-eighteenth century.[70] In Mainz, presumably as an alternative to this expensive solution, "barred cabinets" were installed, that is, probably cabinets with doors of wooden or iron grating that one could see through.[71] Such grating can also be seen on the

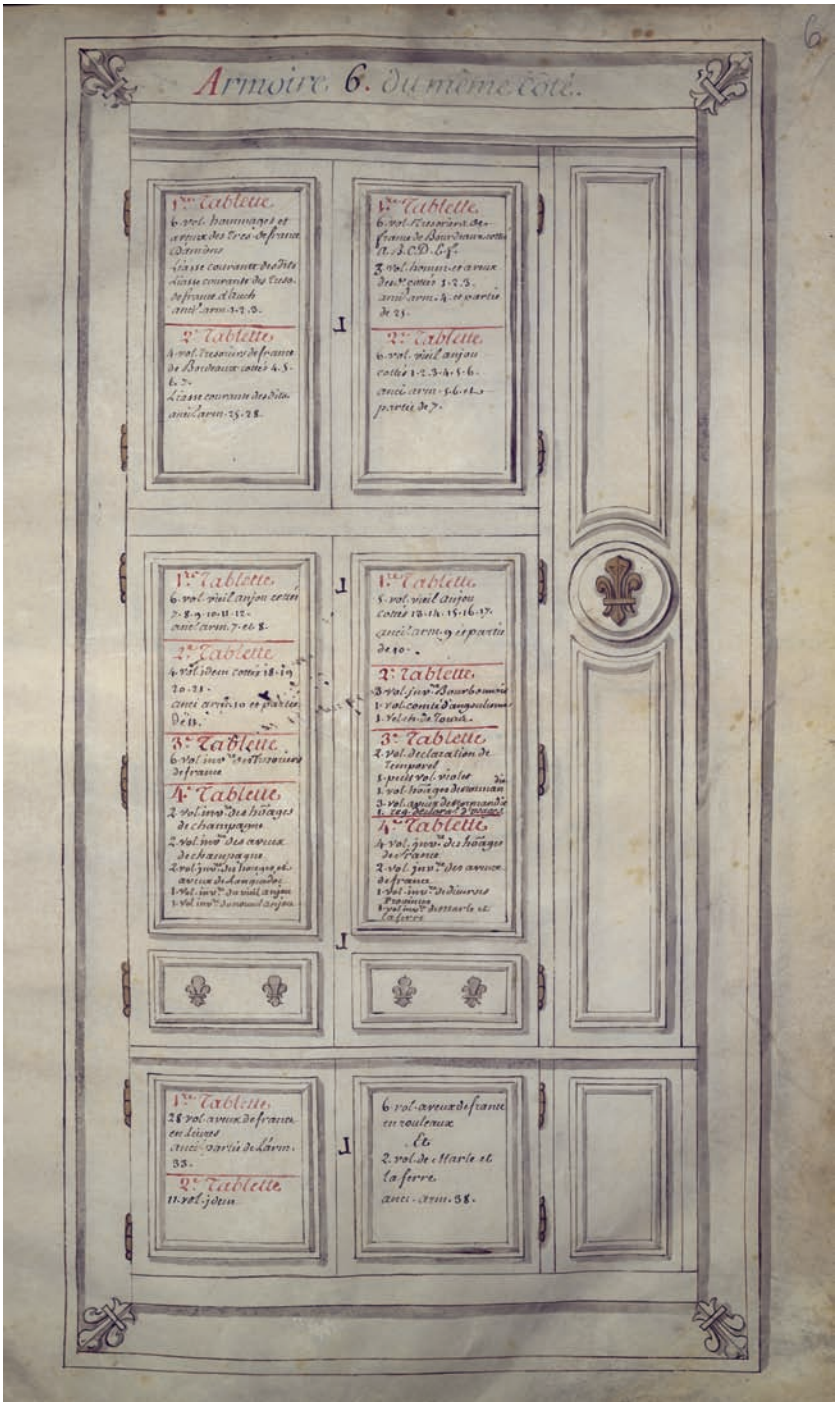

Fig. 14. Overview of documents in a sketch of archive cabinets, Paris, Chambre des Comptes, ca. 1725

Fig. 15. Archive chest, "Archivum Synodi Montensis," 1689

right side of the depiction of the archive from Bologna discussed above (fig. 7). Archive furniture, in sum, was intended to perform different, potentially contradictory tasks: spatial structures, especially doors, created individual units of meaning in the archives, yet, at the same time, locked cabinets removed the documents inside from observers' sight.

In light of the organizational potential of cabinets and shelves, early modern archive-users were agreed that large chests, the classical container type for documents, had become obsolete. Simple boxes had long served to store documents, and for a long time such furniture continued to be commissioned for this purpose (fig. 15).

Yet in the history of furniture, the Early Modern Period is rightly considered a watershed marking the transition from chests to cabinets, especially with respect to archives.[72] From the perspective of archivists, however, chests still had one key advantage: in contrast to large cabinets, they were mobile if necessary and could easily be brought to safety in the event of danger.[73] As late as 1736, when trunks had long ceased to be used in many places, the archivist of the Hanseatic city of Rostock proposed returning to this method of storing documents:

> Whereas our venerable forefathers were always accustomed to keep the most eminent city privileges, which at present are have been distributed under various rubrics . . . , in a small box that can be carried away, so that without going to great lengths one may remove and save them from outbreaks of fire or dangerous wartime and civic unrest, therefore I must seek Your Princely Counsel's resolution as to whether [this practice] may be the same in the future and maintained in perpetuity.[74]

Shortly thereafter, Johann Stephan Pütter also weighed the respective advantages and disadvantages of chests and cabinets. Although chests were "awkward to use," they had the "unique advantage that they could be removed in the event of an emergency." To solve this dilemma, Pütter proposed a kind of modular cabinet system: "In contrast, cabinets could be made in such a way that they could be disassembled into pieces and brought from one place to another by means of attached handgrips."[75] In this way, both advantages could be realized, the structured spatial order of the cabinet and the mobility of escape chests. Pütter does not specify how this would look in practice. Such portable spatial structures, however, were in fact manufactured, namely, in the form of cabinets that could be disassembled, which are attested in Germany from the latter half of the seventeenth century.[76] For the archive of Trarbach, for example, a cabinet with twelve drawers was made in 1740 in such a way that "in an emergency one could carry it off together with the files."[77]

Numerous pieces of early modern archive furniture survive today. They often are large-scale ensembles that were built for a specific archive to utilize the available space optimally. Walls were often completely covered by built-in cabinets, as the depictions of archives from Bologna and Mainz, discussed above, suggest. In 1553 the walls of the archive of the city hall of Freiburg were completely covered by 278 drawers varying widely in size (fig. 16). In Rothenburg ob der Tauber, as in many other archives, the door to the archive led directly through a cabinet (fig. 17). The walls of the archive at Weikersheim Castle were also completely covered by cabinets in the eighteenth century. In this way, archive furniture completely lined the walls inside its architectural space like a membrane. The spatial structures of the building shaped the form of the cabinets and drawers, but were optically suppressed by the furniture.

The other, far less expensive solution to furnishing the interior of archives was to erect individual, freestanding cabinets as needed. We also find nu-

Fig. 16. Archive vault in the court arcade of Freiburg

Fig. 17. Archive cabinet in the city archive of Rothenburg ob der Tauber

Fig. 18. Mobile archive room from Tordesillas

merous examples of this practice, which reaches back at least to the fifteenth century, as in the case of two cabinets from Zurich.[78] An especially spectacular, albeit highly unusual, example of the capacity of archive cabinets to evolve as a type is a piece from the royal monastery in Tordesillas in Spain. There, an archive cabinet was expanded into a walk-in archive container. This piece of furniture was simultaneously an office, archive room, and cabinet (fig. 18).

The use of individual freestanding cabinets to store documents was especially attractive when the amount of archival material was too small to fill an entire room. This was frequently the case, as we learned in the second chapter, with private archives, but it also applied to institutions and organizations that made only modest use of documentary culture. In such circumstances,

Fig. 19. Archive cabinet from the Evershop and Utholm regional court, eighteenth century

an individual cabinet was identical to the archive, and various examples show that such cabinets could be directly called and labeled an "archive." An early-eighteenth-century cabinet from Isenhagen Abbey near Lüneburg bore the inscription "Kloster Archiv" ("abbey archive"); a somewhat later example from Utholm was called "Archiv des Evershop und Utholmischen Landgericht" ("archive of the Evershop and Utholm regional court"; fig. 19).[79] In cases like these, the archive and other objects shared a room, which accordingly had several functions. Quite literally, at least in the form of archive furniture, archives intruded daily on the living and working environment of people. It thus was practically inevitable that certain representational tasks were transferred to archives (or archive furniture). Hence, cabinets in such cases were furnished and decorated at greater expense. The cabinets from Zurich were lavishly painted, not least because they stood in the cathedral sacristy. As utilitarian as its internal structure of simple compartments may be, the outer shape of the Utholm cabinet still betrays an aesthetic approximation of the Empire style of the latter half of the eighteenth century.[80] Even archives were supposed to be fashionable, particularly when they stood in rooms open to the public.

We must discuss a final point with respect to furnishing archive rooms. So that archives could be utilized as sites of knowledge-production, acceptable working conditions had to be provided. Specific furniture was required not only to preserve and organize archival material, but also to work on it

and transform it into utilizable knowledge. Knowledge could scarcely be gotten from archival material without tables. It is no coincidence that, in the images discussed above, both the Bolognese archivists and Stephan Alexander Würdtwein are depicted sitting at tables or writing desks (figs. 7 and 8). Archival work was difficult or impossible where there were no serviceable work surfaces (or they were deliberately denied to users). Jean Doat, for example, regularly complained about precisely this problem when he traveled to archives in France for Louis XIV. "Cramped, dark, and uncomfortable" working conditions made it impossible to accomplish anything.[81] In many early modern archives, writing desks had not yet been moved into their own rooms. The separation of stacks and reading rooms had generally not yet taken place in early modern places of knowledge.[82] On the plan of the archives of Weimar from 1734 (cf. fig. 9), however, the round tower room already appears to be reserved as a place where "files can be put in order."

Besides tables, the Weimar floor plan mentions another piece of furniture that fundamentally determined whether knowledge might be gleaned from archived documents: a stove that ensured that a pleasant temperature prevailed not only in summer, but also in winter. This was essential not only for the physical comfort of visitors, but also for the functioning of writing implements. Archival work with frozen ink was impossible. "In winter," Leibniz thus concluded, "one can scarcely use time in the archives sensibly."[83] Although it was necessary to light a fire inside the archive to heat it, most—but not all—of those affected supported the use of stoves.[84]

A "SHIP FULL OF DOCUMENTS," OR: THE MOBILITY OF EARLY MODERN ARCHIVES

A glance at the architecture of archives suggests stability and sedentariness, even though a degree of mobility persisted in the form of escape chests. The archive as a protective and organizing architectural structure for written documents embodied and justified the growing skepticism of "transporting [documents] back and forth," which was considered ever more harmful with the passage of time.[85] By being stored in their own space, archives were supposed to benefit from *stabilitas loci*. Inside the archive or in its immediate vicinity, documents remained mobile, but ideally only for the short distances that they traveled en route to the council chamber, a minister's office, or a historian's desk. And even this circulation of individual documents (and people) in, out of, and through archives was supposed to occur

over the shortest possible distances and under close supervision. Numerous rules about and against the lending of documents and files attest to this. As an edifice, the archive should, if not completely prevent the movement of documents, at least limit and monitor, regulate and organize it.[86]

Yet individual document collections and whole archives in the Early Modern Period were much more mobile than their static lodgings in rooms, vaults, and behind closed doors suggest. Documents were and remained mobile to an often astonishing degree until well into the eighteenth century. For one, we have already observed how monarchs in France and Germany transported extensive document collections with them as late as the sixteenth century. Documents in the Early Modern Period moreover were routinely moved back and forth between archives and government officials for administrative reasons as a matter of course. For example, in the 1740s, documents circulated on a regular weekly basis between the two neighboring counties of Sayn, from the counts' joint archive in Hachenburg to the chancellery in Altenkirchen.[87] And in many other places, archival materials and current files were regularly sent and transported to and fro. The dispatch of files was a key element of early modern legal practice, as, for instance, in witch trials.[88] Messengers, carriages, and even barges carried papers and parchment in grand style. In this regard, early modern archival culture also shaped the space between individual stores of documents.

Sometimes even whole archives were moved. There might be the most diverse reasons for doing so. Often the move was the consequence of an administrative change. In Dombes, France, considerable sums were expended in 1772 for transporting the archive, which was considered indispensable during the process of restructuring the regional judiciary.[89] Often whole archives were packed and relocated in response to outside pressure. Especially under the threat of war, even extensive holdings were transferred as a precaution. In Ansbach in 1693, no fewer than seventy-six carts were loaded with documents and transported away.[90]

Such evacuations were often haphazard affairs. In 1633, the episcopal archive of Constance was hastily loaded aboard ships to be brought to safety across Lake Constance from the Swedes.[91] Similarly, in early July 1683, important imperial documents and large parts of the house archive of the Habsburgs were packed in just a few hours and evacuated with the imperial treasure toward Passau to the northwest, as the advance of the Turks seemed unstoppable.[92] And the adventurousness of the flattering account that the archivist Johann Baptist Kissel from Mainz gave of his efforts to save the archchancellor's archive in 1792 can hardly be surpassed. In the midst of

"confusion on all sides," Kissel alone stayed focused and loaded the documents onto a ship. It first sailed down the Rhine to Amsterdam, then back to Aschaffenburg in the territory of Mainz. There, the archive weathered the chaos of war until it finally reached Vienna during the Napoleonic Wars.[93]

The evacuation of the archive of the Reichskammergericht ("Imperial Chamber Court") in the crisis year 1681 was rather more orderly, when the French troops of Ludwig XIV advanced threateningly close to the court's official seat in Speyer. On this occasion, a "ship full of documents" was evacuated to Frankfurt.[94] We have precise information about this effort, illustrating the difficulty of packing the archive and the dangerousness of the entire process. Chests or barrels were the preferred means of transporting archival materials in the Early Modern Period. In order to make these suitable for transport, it was often insisted that they also be wrapped in oilcloth and secured with heavy locks.[95] Merely obtaining or making these packaging materials might pose a challenge and was always a logistical feat. Once everything was ready, vehicles had to be procured. For moving archives over land, carts and teams were necessary.[96] In general, however, despite the danger of water, transport by ship was preferred.[97] First of all, however, it was necessary to find suitable boats and "experienced" captains and "pilots" (*Schifführer*), which, for example, was apparently hard to do in Constance in 1633.[98]

For moving the archive of the Reichskammergericht, it was not the transport logistics, but rather the process of packing the archive that received the greatest attention. If something went wrong, it was feared that the archive would be unusable once it was unpacked. In this case, an effort was made to preserve the spatial and thematic order of the documents in Speyer during transport so that it could be re-created at the destination—and ideally upon returning to Speyer—without requiring a new inventory. First, the alphabetically labeled records of proceedings were retrieved in baskets, in reverse order. Records filed under *Z* had to be packed first, since they would be unpacked last, as the instructions emphasize. Every basket of files taken from the shelves or cabinets was recorded in a register, and every full barrel contained a summary of the records inside, their shelf marks, and the place where they were stored in Speyer. Finally, the barrel was sealed. A serial number was placed on the cover, as well as the number of the room in the Speyer archives from which the documents had been taken, so that the containers could be correctly identified later.

Once enough barrels had been packed to fill the first ship, the actual process of transporting them began. Here, too, there were numerous opportunities for mishaps and difficulties. When the documents from Speyer

were moved yet again in 1698, the city was in the midst of a dispute with the local bishop, who abruptly seized the ship with the documents from the city archive at one of his toll stations along the river.[99] Things went even worse for the bishop of Constance in 1633, when he wanted to evacuate his archive across Lake Constance before the approaching Swedes: the ship with his archive and treasure sailed straight into the Swedes' hands and was confiscated.[100] In light of such occurrences, it is no wonder that some archive-owners moved their archives only under armed escort. In January 1733, for instance, the prior of the French Benedictine monastery in Mauriac demanded such an escort to guarantee the safety of his archival materials. He suspected an attack would be made on the monastery's documents—his request was granted.[101]

In conclusion, we see that in reality the ideal of archival *stabilitas loci* often conflicted with the considerable mobility of documents. On the one hand, there is no doubt that following the Middle Ages Europeans increasingly tended to store papers and parchment stably in places specifically designated for that purpose. One reason for doing so was undoubtedly the fragility of documents. Codices and volumes of files, moreover, were extremely unwieldy. As spatial structures, archives provided architectural support for these conditions for the existence of written culture. That archives remain in a fixed place was both a precondition and consequence of this development.

The success of these measures, however, should not be exaggerated. In practice, the necessary knowledge or commitment to implement theorists' plans and ideas was often lacking. The mobility of archival materials, despite the drive toward *stabilitas loci*, remained considerable. Documents were moved for various reasons, but their nature as material objects always reemerged precisely at this point. The transport of documents clearly revealed their physical characteristics: written artifacts—whenever someone intended to pick them up, had to pack them, or wanted to ship them—were fragile and vulnerable, heavy and unwieldy.

7 ✦ Power(lessness)

Archives as Resources, Symbols, and Objects of Power

In 1604, Johannes Althusius, the renowned German political theorist, ranked archives alongside granaries and arsenals as elements of state infrastructure that were indispensable for maintaining power.[1] As we have seen, Baldassare Bonifacio, the pioneer of Italian archival literature, wrote something similar in 1632: in his mind, archives were at least as powerful as armies and navies. Because states stored their legal titles in such document repositories, both they and many other authors viewed archives as powerful means of enforcing—legally sanctioned—state ambitions. Archives underpinned state power. Many modern authors would agree with Althusius and Bonifacio, albeit from a somewhat different standpoint.[2] Contemporary cultural theorists and historians also view knowledge as an essential supplement to arms when we consider how and by what means control and power are obtained. Including knowledge as a factor in the study of power relations is a mainstay of a new, more pronouncedly cultural-historical understanding of politics. Hence it is almost taken for granted today that the gathering of knowledge for administrative and political purposes is an expression of a specific form of power. Under the label "biopolitics," popularized by Michel Foucault, scholars study the systematic surveying and cataloguing of people in censuses, tax registers, and directories. Historians of cartography have interpreted the creation of maps and descriptions of territories as a government technology. Many historians now take the connection between

knowledge and power for granted.[3] Archives are considered an important, almost self-evident bridge between knowledge and power.[4] They contain the information (documents recording censuses or tax data, for example) on which power is based. As the rhetoric of Althusius and Leibniz suggests, archives make this knowledge available to rulers as needed. Many modern interpreters seem to accept this model, relying on it more heavily than ever.

Yet scholars have hardly investigated whether and how archives actually performed this function in everyday politics and met such high expectations. This chapter will examine several case studies in an attempt to answer these questions. Since knowledge in the Early Modern Period was frequently aggregated in archives, its real influence on the exercise of power depended directly on the actual possibility and prospects of successfully using archives. In order to get to the bottom of the connection between knowledge and power, we must follow not only the path documents took from government practice to the archives, but also the path taken by political documents from archives back to the seats of power. Along the way, we shall see that archives (and the knowledge they contained) were not inherently and obviously mainstays of power, but rather could intermittently be transformed into such resources at greater or lesser expense. Archives were not *per se* places of knowledge in the service of power, but could become such places by way of complex "activation" processes.[5] This chapter will show the variety of forms this power-related "activation" might take, the difficulties they respectively encountered, and how archives suffered from the ploys of power-hungry early modern princes.

PRINCES' RIGHTS, OR: ARCHIVES OF ROYAL LAWS

According to a well-known, rather derisive characterization, the premodern Ancien Régime was exactly what its name implies: a social order constituted primarily by historically documented legal relations and conventions—by "old law."[6] That was also true for kings and princes. Where a ruler's power started and stopped was not defined so much categorically as it was by the sum of specific agreements and accepted historical precedent. The king's rights were ultimately the totality of all competences that could be proven to have been granted him in the past. The king's power, a contemporary observer aptly noted, was based to a considerable extent on "the maintenance of the legal titles that establish the authority of the king; that determine the extent of the rights of companies, corporations, and communities; that

establish their laws, conventions, and prerogatives."[7] That explains why archives played such a prominent part in every early modern debate about the rights of rulers, and why kings and princes took a growing interest in historians' archival research. While some, especially in the eighteenth century, claimed that this historical legitimation of royal power was obsolete,[8] in general ensuring the preservation and availability of the vast body of historical royal legislation stored in archives remained one of the highest priorities. Tremendous efforts were made to collect relevant documents. But the practical difficulties inherent in such endeavors were considerable.

The example of the king of France in this case is very instructive. Since the Middle Ages, the royal bureaucracy in Paris had—as we have seen—consciously attempted to keep track of its own activity. The archival holdings of the capital indeed made very large quantities of royal legal texts available, but they by no means held them all. An "endless number" of laws could be found outside of Paris. There were also important archives in the hands of the *parlements*, with which the monarchs came into increasingly fierce conflict.[9] Accessing these archives was very complicated, to say the least. The holdings of the archives in Paris and elsewhere in the kingdom had not been adequately catalogued. The idea of archives as the basis and expression, storage site and embodiment of royal power thus remained only virtual: "France was very fertile in laws, and the majority of them are unknown," as the expert Louis Guillaume de Vilevault aptly described this virtual status in 1757.[10]

In order to tap the power-enhancing potential of archives, kings were forced to resort to administrative and scholarly acts of violence. At the suggestion of his chancellor Louis de Phelypeaux de Pontchartrain in 1700, for example, Louis XIV ordered that every archive in the kingdom should be systematically searched for royal laws and that these should be methodically collected and published.[11] This order launched one of the monumental editorial achievements of the eighteenth century. In 1723, the first volume of the *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* appeared, followed by the publication of twenty more volumes until 1849. This collection was initially dedicated to the legislation of the medieval French kings.[12] The undertaking stood at the intersection of scholarly historiography and political-legal theory, but until the Revolution in 1789 its political purpose to support monarchic objectives was clear to see.[13] In contrast to a long series of earlier collections, this new initiative was personally backed by the king and chancellor. The personnel responsible for carrying the project out was chosen accordingly. Important scholars took part in compiling the collection, but high government officials directed and coordinated the project.[14]

Researching, editing, and printing the *Ordonnances* was a long and tedious process.[15] Correspondence about the preparation of this work survives today from Vilevault's time in office—his letters attest to the difficulty of using archives to underpin royal rights and powers. The people in charge in Paris repeatedly sent circular letters to the leading royal officials in the provinces, ordering them to search for royal legal texts in local archives.[16] In 1757, Vilevault published a roughly 250-page list of all the documents recovered up to that point, so that magistrates could check whether they had any additional material.[17] The addressees replied in several waves; we can infer from their letters what utilizing the archives meant in practice. In many places, it was determined that no archival holdings at all had been preserved until the Late Middle Ages. Several magistrates therefore proposed to broaden the scope of the search.[18] In Rouen, it was conceded that such investigative work was possible, but would require "exceptional perseverance," and hardly anyone was capable of carrying out the search competently.[19] Vilevault received a nuanced conceptual discussion from Montauban that distinguished between "general" and "particular" laws. Should the latter—that is, special royal documents or documents with limited local or social scope—be included? General laws could scarcely be found in the "extremities" of the kingdom, whereas there were large numbers of particular laws even on the periphery. The transition from the ideal of the archive as embodiment of royal rights to the practice of conducting archival research on royal ordinances thus raised the question of what legislative forms actually constituted the king's power.[20] Determining what exactly one was looking for in the archives remained a serious problem throughout the production of the *Ordonnances*.[21]

Given the fact that the *Ordonnances* was too cumbersome for everyday political purposes and covered only the Middle Ages anyway, the search for more flexible alternatives to this project soon commenced. Work on the *Ordonnances* continued, but, starting in the 1760s, purely politically motivated archival research was put on a new basis. In 1759, Jacob-Nicolas Moreau convinced the government to launch a comprehensive copying campaign so as to create a kind of central archive of copies of royal legal titles that could ultimately be incorporated in the *Ordonnances* together with the collections of the *parlements*. Moreau initiated a large-scale campaign to collect such copies. For many people interested in archival research, the plan was an attractive opportunity for advancement, and so it is no surprise that archivists recommended their colleagues; historians, their clerks; and acquaintances of Moreau, their friends as potential collaborators.[22] Information was even sent

from beyond French borders.[23] In terms of both its ideas and its personnel, the new Bureau des Chartes evinced many points of continuity with the earlier *Ordonnances* project, but it was more versatile and could be utilized more quickly and flexibly in everyday politics.[24] Not least, its collaborators were directly involved in the production of day-to-day propaganda. The Bureau was much closer to current events and the vicissitudes of everyday politics. But, in terms of the history of the use of archives, this final grand project of concentrated archive use in the service of monarchic legitimation encountered similar challenges to those that beset the production of the *Ordonnances*. Both undertakings are impressive monuments to the richness of French archives and the intensity of French archival culture. Yet they also show how difficult it was to employ archives to legitimate rights and privileges. If archives were to become sources of power, this remained a complex, ambivalent, and tedious—and, at least in part, utopian—project.

SUBJECTS' OBLIGATIONS, OR: ARCHIVES AND FEUDAL PREROGATIVES

When Pierre Camille Le Moine attempted to explain what archives were useful for in 1765, he made the following remark:

> Since parishes and whole communities rebelled against their lords and refused to pay dues [and since] inferior groups, casting off the yoke of subordination, attempted to subvert the old regime . . . then, to defend one's demesnes, it was necessary to rummage through the archives, leaf through cartularies, registers, and disturb old papers that had long been buried in dust.[25]

Le Moine had a clear bias when he wrote this. He was explicitly against the rebel subjects and communities. Indeed, he represented the noble and ecclesiastical lords. But that was precisely why he knew the value of archives all too well. It would be documents and other archival material that would clarify how rights and duties, entitlements and obligations were distributed across society. Or, put more concretely: in cases of doubt, one could learn from archives what duties and taxes people had to pay their lords. What Le Moine describes here, historians today call the "patrimonial" function of archives.[26]

This term expresses the fact that archives were intimately bound up in the social logic of the premodern society of estates. Accordingly, unless we

take a brief, very schematic glance at this social order, the role played in it by document repositories will remain unclear. A relationship of dependency and reciprocal obligations prevailed between the owner of a landed estate (in France, a *seigneur*) and his subjects. The (land)lord provided land and certain pieces of infrastructure. In return, he was entitled to various services of a material and symbolic nature; for example, a proportion of the harvest or preferential seating in church. The *seigneur* moreover exercised jurisdiction, at least to some extent; this led to the creation of court archives, as we have already seen. The key point here is that all these relationships between superiors and inferiors had long ago ceased to be arbitrary. Instead, they were, or were supposed to be, based on a multitude of individual contracts and regional agreements. The earliest known written record of such a feudal relationship dates to the year 1156. From the thirteenth century on, and subsequently throughout the Late Middle Ages, the formalization of feudal relations in the form of written documents became commonplace.[27] Since then, what the *seigneur* controlled and what an individual subject owed him was ideally a question that could be checked and answered on the basis of parchments and papers. That is where archives came into play. They contained the documents that showed what powers the lord possessed and what freedoms his subjects enjoyed. Archives therefore, as Le Moine explained, were systematically searched when a dispute arose over these rights and duties. The (selective) retrieval of old documents helped one understand, change, and enforce social relations of freedom or dominance. According to this patrimonial rationale, archival research was usually the consequence or cause of specific challenges to the social *status quo* by one of the two parties.

In this way, archival research became an everyday part of the European society of estates. Archives frequently served to stabilize and maintain the prevailing social order, and occasionally to challenge it. Thus lords or *seigneurs* were urged by many advisors to search archives frequently to ensure that none of their rights or sources of income were forgotten. Many lords therefore attempted to take inventories of the legal relationships on their lands at regular intervals. Such projects were all the rage in the Early Modern Period. Since they were decreed from the top and adopted the perspective of the lords, these processes were unpopular among their subjects and occasionally provoked resistance.

We can differentiate between two different goals that lords pursued with such undertakings. First, they were always determined to identify the exact geographic extent of their territories, which in German legalese was called their *Bann*. Second, they sought to keep abreast of the material dues and

symbolic privileges that their subjects owed them. In both cases, archives or the archived legal documents they contained joined forces with a broad variety of sources of information to measure the *status quo* against the original legal conditions.

In the Holy Roman Empire, jurists called the periodic verification of geographic boundaries and areas of jurisdiction "the renewal of bans" (*Bannerneuerung*, *renovatio bannorum*).[28] Determining where one's own territory ended and that of one's neighbors' began was no simple task in the Early Modern Period. The problem was a serious concern for contemporaries. Boundary stones weathered away and prominent trees disappeared with time, until there were no landmarks left. Topographic names constantly changed and created more confusion than clarity. On account of these difficulties, determining legal boundaries and verifying them—"renewal," *Renovatur*—were practical necessities. It was this realization that inspired the first German archival literature in 1571, when Jacob von Ramingen turned his attention to registries only because he had worked on *Renovatur* in the context of his wide-ranging economic and political reflections. In the process, he stumbled upon archives as a vital source of information.[29] He viewed the compilation of archives and surveying as two sides of the same coin. According to Ramingen, studying old books and records helped bring to light necessary information about the location and course of boundaries. The findings of the renewal process were in turn deposited in the archives in the form of improved surveys.[30] Compiling archives and administering manorial estates were mutually both conditions and catalysts. To a considerable extent, the renewal of bans always involved archival work.

Other authors took up Ramingen's initial observation. Soon, a whole genre of legal literature was dedicated to *Renovatur* and the archival research it entailed. Friedrich Wieger published a standard work on the subject in Strasburg in 1674. Regularly updated, "renewed" knowledge about the actual course of boundaries would increase legal certainty for all parties involved and thus help promote not only social tranquility, but also intensive agriculture. Such an elaborate procedure was necessary every ten to twelve years in order to counteract the "mutability" (*mutatio*) of conditions. The people who carried out such renewal projects were primarily bureaucrats and file aficionados. A "vast number of documents" had to be processed, even though interviews and on-site surveys naturally were also highly important.[31] Archived documents, boundary stones, and witness depositions thus constituted an interconnected web of sources of information that a knowledgeable *Renovator* had to utilize expertly and simultaneously.[32]

Wieger and other theoreticians thus were not far off from the truth. In 1629, Friedrich Hortleder supposedly used "charters and autopsy" to resolve a dispute between different branches of the Saxon dynasty over the right to tax the village of Wölnitz.[33] In practice, "border files" (*Grentz-Acten*) were regarded as the decisive basis for determining the precise extent of one's territory. As described in Hesse in 1628, these files were "in many ways highly necessary [. . .] for the currently planned general territorial survey of all our princely property, borders, estates, lands, and people."[34] Hortleder therefore did not merely travel around "on foot" ("*zu fuß*") or on a "rented nag" ("*Miet Klepper*") interviewing farmers and inspecting boundary stones; he regularly conducted research in the most diverse archives in order to collect evidence for the sovereigns in Weimar.[35] Central files had "to be brought along from Weimar," so they could be used to clarify conditions on the ground.[36] When the necessary documents were missing—for instance, because someone had neglected to archive them—matters quickly came to an impasse.[37] Without thoroughly researching papers and other evidence about old legal conditions, French practitioners also believed that *seigneurs* could never exercise their authority uncontested, "because assessed property would no longer be known on account of the obscurity of their borders, change to them, and the complex nature of inheritances."[38]

What an attempt (or need) to utilize archives systematically for such purposes really meant can be seen by glancing at the creation of so-called *terriers* in France. This had to do with the second purpose of seigneurial archival research. *Terriers* recorded all the privileges and taxes to which a seigneurial lord was entitled. A *terrier* was created by compelling all one's vassals to present their legal titles before the lord or his delegate on a fixed date so they could be notarized (as a *déclaration*). It thus was a kind of mandatory archival self-disclosure, and on such occasions the *seigneurs* themselves also normally rummaged through their archives so as to be sure of their own rights. The process posed a potential threat to their subjects, since the legal status of their documents was often disputed.[39] On top of that, outstanding payments were also often called in when a *terrier* was compiled. It thus is obvious that such initiatives of seigneurial archival research were anything but welcome among regional institutions and vassals.[40] In France, to protect subjects, the law required a lord to obtain judicial permission before carrying out such a project.[41]

The most impressive example of the compilation of a *terrier*, with all its opportunities and difficulties, is the initiatives undertaken by the crown. The king was the greatest lord in France, and royal estates still represented

approximately 7 percent of his income in the Early Modern Period.[42] In order to maximize the revenue they stood to collect, the kings also repeatedly had *terriers* of their demesnes compiled. Under Louis XIV, efforts to renew the royal *terrier* began in 1656 and intensified in the 1670s, so that by collecting dues more strictly Louis could finance his expensive wars on the Rhine. In many places, from the county of Forez to the small city of Agen in Aquitaine, local authorities put up stubborn resistance.[43]

The lion's share of the work performed by the royal commissaries sent to renew the king's *terrier* in the various provinces of France around 1700 consisted of certifying the documents produced by local vassals of the king.[44] This often entailed discussions and legal disputes between the delegates and vassals over the meaning of the documents presented. It was necessary to check such cases by the thousand, and complicated trials frequently ensued. Thus, despite the protestations of the leading minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the compilation of the *terrier* inevitably became an "ongoing task."[45] Over the course of these disputes about local rights, such as those that raged between the king and the mareschal de Humiers over properties in Lille, royal officials regularly carried out detailed archival research; in the latter case, the official in question was the prominent local scholar and archivist Denis III Godefroy.[46] Again and again, royal delegates were instructed to search local archives for material, prepare inventories, and remove older documents. The project of compiling an inventory of royal estates thus also entailed the concentration of archival holdings.[47] In 1691, the constantly accelerating production of files for this undertaking resulted in the creation of a separate section of the archive of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris.[48]

The sources give a fragmentary yet clear picture of how complicated the archival work for this gigantic project was. Especially impressive information is available for the years 1682 and 1683 from Aix-en-Provence. In May 1682, Colbert dispatched *sieur* Legras, in whose abilities he had complete confidence, to Provence to collaborate with the intendant Morant on evaluating royal possessions.[49] After arriving in early June, Legras immediately got to work, supported by locals familiar with the archives. He describes the progress he made in his work in regular, detailed reports. From these texts, we can clearly see how a *terrier* was indeed created directly in the archive. Legras regarded the archive of the Chambre des Comptes of Aix as in a state of total neglect. He describes the catastrophic conditions there for Colbert in unusually drastic terms. He viewed the poor local preservation of documents as a serious threat and, as he suggests several times, as a deliberate effort to weaken royal prerogatives. Only after he had worked for months to restore

order could he dedicate himself increasingly to clarifying the ownership of individual properties.[50] Work on the *terrier* in Aix also included research trips and written inquiries to sometimes distant collections.[51] Soon the investigation extended as far as Barcelona and Chambery. The royal delegates repeatedly reported with some self-satisfaction that the king's local subjects were "alarmed" by their systematic and far-reaching archival research.[52] Vice versa, the royal investigators also repeatedly accused local archive-founders of deliberately suppressing and forging documents.

We thus can conclude that archive use played an important part in legitimizing or changing social relations and their economic consequences under the society of estates. The compilation of both the *Ordonnances* and the *Terrier du Roi* shows that archive use could be a clear demonstration of power and integral to its exercise. Archives were places of knowledge for governmental power. By the same token, however, approaching the archives was also a moment of uncertainty and even weakness, since they again and again exposed the limits and inherent difficulties of the authorities' control of information.[53] Exploiting archived knowledge was expensive, complicated, and, if possible at all, only through collectively coordinated campaigns.[54]

WHAT TO DO? OR: ARCHIVES IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES

It remains to clarify whether archives also played a part in everyday political life in the Early Modern Period. In the case of the large-scale projects from the age of Louis XIV described above, the king's delegates had essentially carried out preliminary research. If, in contrast, one wanted to exploit archives as sources of information on a short-term basis and situationally for everyday political decision-making, other forms of archival work had to be devised. One especially obvious method was to include archivists directly in deliberative and decision-making bodies. Political theorists frequently called for this, and their proposals were taken up in practice.[55] Carlo Cartari, for example, the papal archivist in Castle Sant'Angelo, regularly attended the meetings of the congregations of cardinals.[56] The minutes of many early modern government bodies indicate that archival research was regularly conducted in anticipation of individual decisions.[57] In Frankfurt, the archivist's oath itself stipulated that an archivist had to be on duty at all council meetings, because otherwise "things are considerably delayed." Extremely urgent archival inquiries might stem directly from deliberations.[58]

This form of archive use can be observed especially well in the Electorate of Trier.[59] The registrar (*Registrator*) there appears to have had a seat on the local *Hofrat*, the highest deliberative body under the elector, or at least was dispatched to the archives as a direct consequence of the counselors' discussions. On September 10, 1726, for example, the archivist Kircher was ordered "immediately to find and present to the council" an old ordinance, so that current problems could better be assessed. In November of the same year, when details of religious policy were at issue, he was given a somewhat longer-term research project on the question of "whether several documents bearing on the jurisdiction of the Electorate might be present in the chancellery." In order to carry out such commissions, which are extensively documented, the registrar will have spent long hours in the archives looking for the papers that his superiors hoped would adequately address particular issues. The minutes of council meetings regularly noted that the archivist "presented [. . .] the *fasciculus actorum*," "presented [. . .] older files under such rubric," or "produced various original records." In many of these cases, the archivist's research was a success and he was able to provide the sought-after information. Often enough, however, as the minutes also emphasize, the search proved inconclusive. Sometimes the absence of the desired documents could be compensated for by clever use of the secondary tradition, but in most cases the registrar had to appear before the counselors empty handed. The process itself, however, is no less remarkable, quite independent of its actual outcome: the prince-bishop's counselors discussed a matter, but delayed their final decision because they required additional information; they then turned to the archivist to obtain this information. In everyday practice, affairs that did not primarily fall under the category of "patrimonial" archive use were dealt with in this way. The goal was to ensure that current decisions were consistent with past policy or to illuminate the context of one's present options as clearly as possible. This was the practical implementation of what Leibniz, for instance, had called for, as we saw in chapter 4.

Such explicit and institutionalized integration of archives in the decision-making process cannot be found everywhere. But there were other methods of providing government employees with files, such as the lending of documents. Precise records were usually made of such loans. Even today, many archives still religiously keep record books of who borrowed and returned what files when. These record books impressively document how regularly and extensively archival materials were used for government ends. Often over dozens or hundreds of pages, they registered the withdrawal of

thousands of documents in preparation for individual case-related political or administrative decisions. In this way, the archivist of Rostock, Daniel Brun, documented the lively use and borrowing of coin ordinances and the minutes of the state diet.[60] In the chief archive of Brandenburg-Bayreuth at Plassenburg Castle in Kulmbach, fiscal records and documents pertaining to boundary and other legal disputes were used by the hundreds.[61] And in the well-documented case of Gotha, a lively traffic in files is attested across the courtyard of Friedenstein Castle. The chancellor, fiscus (*Kammer*), and individual privy counselors, such as Hiob Ludolph, constantly borrowed documents.[62] The same was true of nationally important major French archives, such as that of the Chambre des Comptes, as well as of important regional and local archives, such as the archive of the cathedral chapter of Lyon.[63]

Of course, we should not allow the impressive abundance of such cases to mislead us into presuming that governments made efficient use of archives. The sources from Gotha note on many loans that the document in question "was not the correct one."[64] Accordingly, we should neither overestimate nor take for granted the political-administrative benefit that even a relatively well-organized archive like that in Gotha gave to government efforts to exercise power. For many reasons, archive research often enough proved unsuccessful or contingent on the expertise of individual users. Yet despite all these difficulties, the minutes of meetings and loan records make it clear that early modern decision-making bodies and administrative institutions relied on their archives to a high degree in their everyday work as a remarkably conventional resource. Archive work became integral to administrative practice, just as Seckendorff and Leibniz had demanded.

EXPERT REPORTS, OR: THE PROCESSED ARCHIVE

There was yet another technology that facilitated the use of archives in everyday political administration: the archive-based expert report. In some of the cases cited above, the point may have been to present original archival documents.[65] Normally, however, it would hardly have helped decision-making officials if the archivist dumped a heap of folios, a shapeless mass of old letter drafts, or an indecipherable medieval charter on their council table. As important as the direct presentation of archival documents was, it was at least as crucial to distill old documents in the archive into decision papers for discussion. This task was performed by means of expert reports (in German, *Gutachten*). These reports made archives into places of knowledge.[66]

Accordingly, many princely offices and archives of the Early Modern Period employed people who worked constantly to provide authorities with extensive reports, drawing on available records and documents to answer the most diverse questions of policy and law. Two Saxon authors, Friedrich Hortleder in the first half of the seventeenth century and Tobias Pfanner circa 1700 will serve here as examples.

Friedrich Hortleder is known today primarily as a historian. Born in the small town of Ampfurth in 1579, he studied in Wittenberg and Jena before he was employed in 1606 as a tutor to several young dukes of the Ernestine branch of the Saxon ruling house.[67] In 1609, he became an instructor at the University of Jena; in 1617, privy counselor (*Hofrat*) in Weimar and director of the princely archive. In 1618, his massive, over 1,600-page edition of texts and records pertaining to the Schmalkaldic War and the conflict between the emperor and Protestants in the years 1546–1548 appeared.[68] Hortleder had begun working on this collection, *Von Rechtmässigkeit Anfang Fort- und endlichem Außgang deß Teutschen Kriegs* ("On the justification, beginning, progress, and ultimate outcome of the German war," still in use today) already while at Jena. He gave *colloquia* on the subject, in which several students participated, as early as 1607.[69] Various disputations on the events circa 1550 that were so significant for German history survive from Hortleder's university days. While I have not been able to determine whether these students actually collaborated with Hortleder on his major project, student involvement in historiographical research was a widespread phenomenon, as we shall see. In terms of sources, Hortleder's historiographical research relied on a variety of Saxon archives. His posthumous papers include several volumes of copied material connected to this publication. Besides numerous references to various libraries, we also find notes such as "in archivis Saxonicis" among his cited sources.[70]

After 1617, Hortleder utilized this archive-based knowledge for political decisions as privy counselor in Weimar. After personally checking and examining old records, Hortleder gave clear opinions on whether and how specific territories belonged to various rulers.[71] Hortleder also took up questions of precedence bearing on the house of the dukes of Saxony. He produced comprehensive work on the subject as early as the years around 1612. His findings were put in writing in 1619 as the *Gruntvest Sächssischer Weimarischer Praecedentz* and subsequently printed.[72] Hortleder's expert reports also digested archival information on matters of transregional politics. Several times in the 1630s, for example, the house of Wettin was interested in an explanation of the legal status of the Thuringian *Ballei* of the Teutonic

Order. Hortleder located records even outside the territory controlled by the Saxe-Ernestine house and, after repeated inquiries, delivered his opinion in detail to Albert of Saxe-Eisenach.[73] In this high-quality report, he presented a survey of archived legal titles, only to argue against using them in favor of other political means.

Hortleder's use of archives thus went far beyond merely retrieving clearly labeled documents. Of course, the princes continually asked him about specific documents, which he had to find and present to them;[74] but in most cases he understood his purpose differently. He not only located relevant archival material, but also edited and processed and ultimately passed judgement on it with respect to a specific situation, so that he could distill it into a plausible legal or political position. The expert report was the medium through which this challenge was met. It was especially in *this* form that princes and counselors came into contact with archives. The transmutation of archival research into deliberative reports concealed the actual difficulty of working with documents and files. Written position papers purged away the practical laboriousness of using archives without suppressing the actual complexity of the solutions that emerged from them. Reports made disorganized, unwieldly, bewildering archives into nuanced, yet manageable and clearly structured sources of information. Naturally, that does not mean that Hortleder was not also frequently summoned to give a report in person.[75] But the written distillation of his research was a key medium of the transformation of archives into politically influential places of knowledge.

In Saxon territory, Tobias Pfanner perfected the media technology of the expert report with particular aplomb. Born in Augsburg in 1641 to religious refugees from Austria, Pfanner came into contact with the Ernestine house after receiving a scholarship from the Duchy of Saxe-Gotha to study in Jena in 1661.[76] In Gotha, he initially served as a tutor for local noblemen, but by about 1671 began to perform administrative tasks for the dukes of Saxe-Gotha.[77] In 1680, he served as *Amtmann* in Saalfeld, and in 1687 as the first *Gesamtarchivar*—"general archivist"—for all the Ernestine houses in Weimar. He was permitted to retain this title when he left Weimar for Gotha in 1699 on account of his increasingly difficult position.[78] He died there in 1716. Pfanner, an occasionally erratic and "melancholic" personality, was very active in the fields of historiography, imperial law, and theology. His acquaintance with many scholars, such as political theorist Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff and historian Caspar Sagittarius, secured him a sure place in the archive-related world of politics and scholarship.[79]

Pfanner left his mark everywhere in the archives of Weimar and Gotha.

Even today in the state archive of Thuringia, a corpus of eighty-nine volumes is called the *Pfannersche Sammlungen* ("Pfanner collections").[80] The collection contains working documents (collections of excerpts and catalogues) and finished papers for the princes, predominantly on political and legal affairs. Pfanner had been hired precisely to prepare such texts. His initial briefing as an archivist shows that he was paid primarily to carry out such research.[81] The subject and nature of most reports he composed did not concern burning contemporary political conflicts. Pfanner wrote primarily about questions of principle, such as the relationship between the dukes and the regional counts over whom the Ernestines had traditionally claimed sovereignty, or the difficult question of whether the prince-bishoprics of Naumburg, Meissen, and Merseburg were under direct imperial authority and so exempt from Saxon power.[82] Shortly before the end of his time in office in Weimar, he composed one more heavily archive-based legal-historical work intended to clarify the legal and historical position of the Ernestine branch of the Saxon dynasty vis-à-vis a broad range of other lineages: *Report on the Princely Land Divisions in the Saxon House* (*Bericht von den fürstlichen Landestheilungen im Haußе Sachsen*).[83] He composed further, smaller reports on the county of Henneberg, on pacts of confraternity, and on numerous other topics.[84]

Pfanner and the dukes communicated closely about these "reports" and "essays."[85] The princes will have frequently asked their historical-legal archival expert in Weimar and then in Gotha to produce various texts. His reports certainly made the rounds among the dukes.[86] The princes also regularly took an active part in helping procure the necessary files, if these were no longer in Weimar.[87] Sometimes, however, roles seem to have been reversed and Pfanner himself took proactive measures to perform his duties.[88] In 1710, he sent the dukes a lengthy list of potential topics for future reports and "essays," requesting that they choose a new research project for him. In preventative obedience, the aging privy counselor (*Hofrat*) apparently had diagnosed gaps in the information available to the Ernestines and offered to fill them using his archival expertise.[89] At this late point in Pfanner's career, however, his efforts to produce expert reports seem to have been received with ambivalence. On the one hand, the dukes continued to hold Pfanner in the highest regard, but, on the other, they no longer seem to have actively consulted his expertise. In 1710, Pfanner was explicitly asked to choose his own next topic from the list he had provided. The princes no longer informed him of their own needs.

Pfanner sporadically commented on the nature of his expert reports. He

emphasized that his reports were distinct from official *Deductionen*, which publicly advocated a political position backed by legal argumentation. His work, in contrast, was intended merely "to contribute some material."[90] Of course, both Pfanner and the princes were well aware that his reports were far more than mere collections of material. The findings of his research justified specific decisions, corroborated various claims, and therefore were anything but objective descriptions of facts. The dukes accordingly used these texts with great discretion and care. These expert reports could not fall "into private hands . . . especially because this and that essay contain not only what can be adduced in favor of our entire princely house, but also what may be adduced against it."[91] As with Hortleder's expert reports, Pfanner's papers likewise revealed not only the strengths of the Ernestines' positions, but also their archival weaknesses. They show that the potential of archives was multivalent.

Like Hortleder's, Pfanner's work also clearly exposed the limits of archive use in the service of politics. On account of missing documents, he often could give no more than a simple "opinion."[92] He also clearly noted cases in which "occasionally quite defective documents with respect to the case" made it impossible to reach a definitive verdict.[93] Pfanner accordingly viewed some of his texts as interim reports that reflected the present state of information while also exposing clearly diagnosed gaps.[94] Pfanner's "essays" and the correspondence associated with them thus illustrate yet again how the political-legal exploitation of archives was at best a work in progress. The available archives did not simply furnish information one could access at will; on the contrary, it had to be found and assembled piece by piece.[95] Using archives was a dynamic learning process. Expert reports, like those composed by Hortleder or Pfanner and countless other, similar actors, were of immense importance. Without the work of selection, synthesis, and analysis that they performed, many holdings could never have become politically relevant at all.

PARTITIONING AND REGIME CHANGE: ARCHIVES BETWEEN PRAGMATISM AND SYMBOLISM

Archives fell under the shadow of power and ambition not only as places of administrative or political knowledge. Since their origins, archives had always been hotly contested political prizes with immense symbolic power—totally independent of the content of the documents they contained.[96] This

fact is illustrated very well by the widespread phenomenon of partitioning that marked the territorial structure of the Holy Roman Empire and in most cases directly impacted regional archive history. Many princely families followed the principle of dividing their estates, with the result that the territories they ruled were distributed among the (male) heirs of a deceased prince. This brought about not only various family branches, but also as many divided principalities. In oft-caricatured fashion, this "mini-statism" of German micro-princes shaped the territories of rulers like the dukes of Saxony and the landgraves of Hesse and many other, smaller families, such as the counts of Sayn or Wertheim. When an estate was divided, all the property was carefully and meticulously partitioned. Archives naturally were included in this process.[97] Early modern archivists had no illusions that dynastic shifts could "cause files to be divided into many parts."[98] Physical and epistemic control over one's own documentary record therefore required precise knowledge of the history of the state and its archives.[99]

In light of the often fierce envy and rivalry between newly partitioned principalities, sorting and dividing their archival holdings was often a conflict-ridden, difficult, and counterproductive process, as illustrated by the experience of Hesse. When Hesse was partitioned in 1567 between the four sons of Philipp I, they immediately began the "extraction" (*extrahirung*) and dismemberment of the archive.[100] The highly complex history of the Hessian principalities, which were constantly reorganized, unified, and divided anew, resulted in a permanent back-and-forth of files according to their current state of ownership. For example, an extensive exchange of files took place a year after both of the two remaining Hessian landgraves in Kassel and Darmstadt reached a temporary solution to the interfamilial Hessian War with the so-called *Hauptakkord* of 1627. Kassel had to surrender many documents that objectively seemed to belong to Darmstadt. George II of Hesse-Darmstadt, who was interested generally in archival matters, personally oversaw the logistical details of redistributing the documents sent from Kassel to Darmstadt and Marburg and vice versa.[101]

This effort, however, ultimately proved unsuccessful. Instead of perfectly differentiated archives divided along dynastic lines, the result was total chaos. Instead of consolidating the branches of the House of Hesse and their archives, the attempt to separate files caused embarrassing crises. In 1629, during the Thirty Years' War, Emperor Ferdinand II issued the Edict of Restitution, which threatened to radically cut the possessions of Protestant princes. Archival research was necessary in order to survive this crisis situation.[102] But the two Hesses were in a bad way, because "We will still

be missing information with respect to certain documents, which is the result of the fact that heretofore during ongoing recent strife and division in our princely house our entire archive has not been kept in good, correct order."[103] Everywhere, the constant redistribution and reallocation had left chaos in their wake. The confusion caused by partitioning had dulled the edge of the Hessian archive. Help had to be sought from outside, and so the authorities addressed a request for useful documents to their cousins in Weimar. In the summer of 1630, Saxe-Weimar actually made documents available to Hesse to help alleviate its archival woes after the Edict of Restitution. But this sobering episode did not fundamentally change things in Hesse. Dynastic logic continued to trump pragmatic considerations. When conditions changed yet again after Kassel's definitive military victory over Darmstadt in 1648, documents again were redistributed in grand style. Now various papers from Darmstadt's archives made their way back to Marburg, which again belonged to Kassel, while others were moved from Marburg back to Kassel and Darmstadt.[104]

Despite these transfers, many documents initially remained in the "wrong" archive. Documents that the rulers of Hesse believed they had a right to were recovered from various relatives in subsequent years.[105] Over the long term, the archival landscape stabilized in tandem with the regional political situation. Archive-related correspondence from the ensuing decades often permits us to see comparatively cooperative interaction.[106] The complex history of regional archives, which had thrown the documentary tradition into chaos, still afforded numerous highly symbolic occasions for asserting one's own viewpoint, but also regularly forced the two sides to collaborate, thus integrating their respective territories.

It is undeniable how difficult yet essential it was to adapt archives to contemporary dynastic logic. Intrafamilial rivalry led to conflicts over archives, and these were contested with all available means. Contemporaries alleged again and again—and probably not wrongly—that various documents had been "perhaps deliberately held back."[107] Archives were not only places of knowledge, but also symbolic property of great interest. The mere desire to have archival holdings sometimes dominated so thoroughly that files were simply divided among competitors by lot, without any recognizable rationale.[108] The possession of archives and archival holdings in such cases had nothing to do with the need for information or the quest for knowledge.

When archives were divided like those in Hesse, there always remained an "indivisible" core of charters and documents. Many pieces concerned the family as a whole, so that no one branch could profess an exclusive

interest in them. These documents thus were kept in a "joint" or "general" archive—a *Samtarchiv*.[109] They frequently were the most fundamental and prestigious documents in the state. These joint archives were usually institutions that all the heirs of a house shared. Accordingly, the consent of all family members was required each time they were used. It was repeatedly emphasized that "no side should be permitted to control the briefs (i.e., documents) without the other," as the rulers of Lichtenberg decreed after partitioning their domain in 1480.[110] But if two, three, or more rival princes were supposed to watch over their *Samtarchiv* jointly, trouble was hard-coded into the system. In reality, it was often extremely difficult just to coordinate use of the archive in practical terms, because every party had to be present or give its consent.[111] The fear that one branch might get the upper hand through access to the joint archive was sometimes so great that the counts of Löwenstein-Wertheim in the seventeenth century, for instance, agreed that not even family members would be permitted to borrow documents, but rather copies would be made if necessary.[112]

No example illustrates how the archive question was fraught with potential conflicts over symbolic prestige and identity in interfamilial politics better than the situation in Saxony, where the Ernestine line of the House of Wettin, founded in 1485, was repeatedly divided into half a dozen minor duchies. From 1554 on, the joint archive of all these lines was located in Weimar; in certain phases, its door had as many locks and keys as there were duchies.[113] In order to use the archive, all the keys had to be brought together, which made tedious preparation necessary every time someone wanted to open it.[114] Although this elaborate procedure sometimes surprised and astonished observers from outside, it seemed quite appropriate to the Saxon dukes.[115] It was likewise extraordinarily difficult to reach a consensus in other regards pertaining to the joint archive. Negotiations over Tobias Pfanner's appointment as archivist in 1686–88 laid bare the dukes' mutual "mistrust" with respect to the archive. The creation of this office was supposed to put using the archive in Weimar on a new footing, which in principle was in the interest of all the Ernestine dukes.[116] The extensive correspondence concerning Pfanner's appointment, however, enables us to see that while the eight dukes involved in the decision were indeed interested in promoting archival cooperation, they also jealously feared they might thereby let some of their control over the joint archive slip away.[117] The Saxon-Ernestine archives had become an arena for symbolic power struggles and the expression of princely identity. That did not rule out genuine cooperation in the form of lending files,[118] but familial rivalry and mistrust were constant threats.

The examples of Saxony and Hesse thus show how the partitioning of states could unleash a spiral of archival fragmentation. It produced complex hierarchical networks of partial and joint archives, which both reflected and reproduced the fragmentation of princely families. Prestige and symbolic capital were primarily at stake. Contemporaries knowingly observed the often devastating practical consequences of archive policies driven by motives of identity and prestige, but they were not shocked. They had no fundamental reservations about subordinating archives to such external criteria. The importance of having archives in the "right" place—even if primarily for symbolic reasons—trumped other considerations.[119]

Archives often took on such symbolic significance also in the event of regime change. This too was a potential moment at which archives could become a bone of contention for both practical and symbolic reasons. One remarkable example of such a case occurred in the year 1742. At the time, the Holy Roman Empire was in the midst of a major crisis. For the first time in ages, the deceased emperor, Charles VI, was not succeeded by a Habsburg. Charles had died without producing a son, but had declared his oldest daughter, Maria Theresa, his heir in 1713. A series of imperial princes, however, including Charles Albert of Bavaria and a young Frederick the Great, in alliance with Louis XV of France, seized this opportunity to break the Habsburgs' power over the Empire. Eventually, Charles Albert of Bavaria was crowned Emperor Charles VII in Frankfurt on February 12, 1742. This power shift inevitably required at least part of the imperial administration to move. Important officials were to be recalled from Vienna and, among other things, transferred to Frankfurt. In October 1741, Imperial Chancellor Philipp Karl von Eltz-Kempenich, archbishop-elector of Mainz, first explicitly ordered Maria Theresa to surrender the imperial archive in Vienna. His demand received the new emperor's support, as one might have expected. The Austrian archduchess, however, fiercely resisted, at least initially, although later she showed herself willing to gradually transfer particular holdings.[120]

There were strong practical reasons for this conflict on both sides. The various branches of the imperial administration needed their files in order to function. Von Eltz accordingly emphasized imperial officials' everyday dependence on the archive. The Austrians in turn insisted that, on account of the centuries-long fusion of imperial affairs and Habsburg interests, the archive in question also contained "private" documents pertaining exclusively to the House of Habsburg in addition to imperial documents. Thus, it would be necessary to carry out a painstaking "separation of their files" before the archive could be surrendered. The two parties were unable to come

to an agreement over the details of this separation process, for which matters of political prestige were also responsible.[121]

The imperial archive thus quickly ceased to be merely a storehouse of information and instead was fought over for its political symbolism.[122] Physically possessing records—independent of any practical needs—had as great a symbolic significance as did the question of who in particular would carry out the separation of imperial and Habsburg files. Maria Theresa thus openly stated that should the Empire first meet her demands, "then there will be no delay with respect to the imperial archive."[123] In her view, the archive was only being instrumentalized by Mainz and Bavaria "to incite hatred [of Austria] in the part of the Empire insufficiently informed of the true course of affairs."[124] A remark made by the duke of Bavaria reveals that Maria Theresa's adversaries were eager to humble the Habsburgs symbolically by seizing control of the imperial archive: "The Viennese court will have to content itself with the fact that requested information and certified copies shall henceforth be delivered to it as needed, like every other imperial estate."[125] The end of the Habsburg line thus would also be the end of its conventional archival practices.

There were no serious consequences to the conflict between the Electorates of Mainz and Bavaria and the Habsburgs because Charles VII died in 1745 and was replaced with Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine. But the fight over the imperial archive and the plan to transfer its extensive holdings for political reasons were hardly far removed from reality. Contemporaries regularly witnessed such moves, as for instance almost contemporaneously in 1741–1742, when Brandenburg-Ansbach took possession of the county of Sayn-Altenkirchen from Saxe-Eisenach.[126] The Hohenzollern margraves immediately established a new government office in Ansbach. Part of the archival holdings of Sayn was accordingly transferred from Altenkirchen to Ansbach late in 1741.[127] Objections to the move were raised by the Electoral Palatinate, which had traditionally pursued political and feudal interests in neighboring Sayn-Hachenburg. In a blunt letter of November 2, 1741, the Palatinate protested the transfer of files with the authorities in Ansbach.[128] Since the two counties had enjoyed a joint archival infrastructure since 1736,[129] officials in the Palatinate viewed the removal of archival material from Altenkirchen as an affront and the beginning of further aggression in the region by Brandenburg-Prussia. Brandenburg-Ansbach's next step would surely be to steal, "by cunning" and "an infantry regiment," the joint archive at Sayn established in 1736. This archive dispute also was soon overshadowed by the general imperial crisis and the Silesian

Wars,[130] but these events yet again show the extent to which even archives had become flash points in the general struggle for power. In addition to their function as places of knowledge, archives also obviously possessed a symbolic value that was clearly recognized and deliberately exploited by all parties involved.

ARCHIVES IN WAR AND PEACE

Potentates of the Early Modern Period not only demonstrated their control of individual archives with symbolic gestures, but also regularly seized control with naked force and in defiance of the law. The removal of archives, such as that feared by the Electoral Palatinate, was a frequent occurrence. Political adversaries were routinely blackmailed in this fashion. Archives' pragmatic and symbolic value made them an attractive bargaining chip. Most cases of archival violence were not spontaneous outbursts of destructive force, but rather meticulously orchestrated forms of archive use. This can be illustrated by an episode that occurred in Dijon in early 1732. In order to improve the financial standing of the local bishopric, which had been founded only the year before in 1731 and was still "quite poor," the king and his first minister, Cardinal Fleury, set their covetous sights on the wealthy Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bénigne; they decreed that its property would be fused with that of the new bishopric.[131] Without warning, on the morning of April 6, a Sunday, Fleury dispatched the king's local representative, the comte de Tavannes, to the abbey to enforce this decision. The symbolic means with which he did so was the confiscation and removal of the entire abbey archive. De Tavannes worked for two days until the last papers had been transported to the town hall. The monks and their abbot largely cooperated in carrying out the king's order. The affair ultimately was resolved by compromise, and the archive was given back to the abbey in September. In this context, it is not only significant that the attack on the abbey's property began with the confiscation of the archive, but also that it was immediately recognized as a transparent means of extorting financial and political concessions. Hence no one was interested in taking stock of what the archive actually contained, since everyone knew that its contents would be transported back unharmed once the abbey acquiesced.[132]

We can reconstruct the reactions of some contemporaries to these events at least in general terms. The president of the Chambre des Comptes in Dijon, Jean Bouhier (a cousin of the identically named bishop), and the

Parisian jurist and author Mathieu Marais discussed the affair several times in their correspondence.[133] Both of them considered such actions to be an unproblematic, even typical maneuver in the struggle for power. Almost cynically, they cited the events in Dijon as evidence of the correctness of the maxim of *literature galante*, "il faut toujour commencer par enlever"—"one must always start by clearing out." Neither observer was outraged or surprised by the events, although both certainly regarded them as grounds for political and anti-monastic remarks. As long as the right people were targeted, the letters suggest, contemporaries regarded the confiscation of archives as a legitimate and effective measure; its effectiveness gave reason to hope that matters would quickly move forward.

The willingness to resort to violence against foreign archives in international conflicts was even more pronounced. In every period since the rise of archives in Europe, documents have suffered in wartime, and the Early Modern Period also—regrettably—contributed significantly to the violent destruction of the documentary tradition. The religious and civil wars of sixteenth-century France, for example, destroyed the archival infrastructure of many places almost entirely.[134] In Germany, the Thirty Years' War was a period of extreme danger for archives. Hostile armies proceeded, however, in a wide variety of ways. Some generals were very well aware of the strategic value of papers. Alexander Erskein, a general and diplomat for Sweden, gave the following personal account:

> The plundering that I have carried out in Germany is one of documents. When we came to a place with the army, especially a monastery or Jesuit college, I immediately hastened to the archive and packed up all the documents. When I have time, I read through them, and in this way I have come across so many secrets, so many bits of information that you would probably not believe it.[135]

Erskein's open declaration underscores his interest in archives. Here was an officer who knew how to make the most of documents. That is why he treated the troves of documents he found so carefully. Many of his colleagues in the armies of the Thirty Years' War, however, did not share his view and permitted their soldiers to wantonly destroy archives. Many examples could be cited: imperial troops looted the archival holdings in Stuttgart, the Swedes heavily damaged Meiningen in 1640, and the archive of Wolfenbüttel also suffered extensive damage.[136] Many contemporaries therefore thought the return of peace in 1648 must mark the dawning of a new era for archives.[137]

The wars of conquest under the French kings on the eastern border of their kingdom had particularly dramatic consequences for European archival history. Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV plundered vast quantities of documents from Nancy and had them brought to Paris in 1633, 1661, 1670, and 1740, after they conquered, reconquered, and finally integrated Lorraine into the kingdom.[138] In 1688–89, during the Nine Years' War, French troops also reached Speyer. The fate of the imperial city and its various archives gives a perfect illustration of the ambivalent status that depots of documents enjoyed in such violent situations.[139] Speyer, moreover, is of particular interest because, in addition to the city archive, the city was also home to the archives of the bishop and the Rheinische Städtebank, and most importantly the archive of the Reichskammergericht, the highest judicial institution of the Holy Roman Empire. The archives of all these institutions were equally affected by occupation under Louis XIV. The manner in which the French treated "enemy" archives ranged from close inspection of their contents and symbolic gestures of appreciation, on the one hand, to neglect and disinterest on the other. When French troops marched into Speyer in 1688, they immediately shut the archives. By the end of the year, it became apparent that the occupiers planned to burn the city to ashes, and so measures were taken to transfer the various archival holdings. Hundreds of boxes were packed with documents from the archives of the city, bishop, and Reichskammergericht and sent to Strasbourg. Citizens were also able to rescue some material at the last minute, but much was left behind to fall prey to the flames.[140]

In order to counteract the consequences of such political and military violence, contemporaries in the Early Modern Period explicitly began to consider protective measures: beginning in the Late Middle Ages, and especially after 1648, archives were increasingly regulated under international law. Initially, the general protection of archives was only rarely discussed—for instance, the idea of automatically declaring archives neutral in the event of war.[141] It was completely normal, in contrast, to engage in retrospective international negotiations over archives affected by war after hostilities had ceased. Peace treaties increasingly established what would happen to archives in former theaters of war. In some cases, detailed provisions were issued as to how erstwhile enemies would collaborate with respect to such archives.[142] When Henry III issued edicts to end the civil wars in France in 1570, 1576, and 1577, he explicitly mentioned the restoration of seized archives.[143] In 1583, the Treaty of Tenremond between France and the Netherlands likewise stipulated the restoration of "removed" papers.[144] When peace treaties regulated the surrender of territories, they normally gave precise instructions

for what would happen to the archival holdings located therein. The Peace of Münster in 1648, the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, and the Treaties of Nijmegen in 1679, Ryswick in 1697, Altranstädt in 1706, and Hubertusburg in 1763 all preoccupied themselves with the fate of archives.[145] The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 may be cited as an example. In this treaty, among other things, France restored numerous cities to the Netherlands. In paragraphs eight and twelve, the treaty established that "all papers, briefs, documents, and archives, insofar as they pertain to the Netherlands or a part thereof" were to be returned. The same was true vice versa: the Netherlands was to restore Lille to France with all its archives, among which the particularly valuable holdings of the Lille Chambre des Comptes were explicitly mentioned. Some international agreements contained even more nuanced descriptions of relevant archival property. In the Articles of Capitulation of Montreal in 1760, the victorious British granted the defeated marquis de Vaudreuil and his officers, on the one hand, the right "to take with them their papers, without their being examined" (art. 12 and 14), but, on the other, "all the charts and plans of the country" (art. 14) and "the archives which shall be necessary for the Government of the country" (art. 12) had to be left behind. The latter consisted particularly of court records, which the French wanted to leave in Canada of their own accord.[146] As all these sources show, archives became objects of international law because they were regarded as belonging directly to the conquered territory. Possessing a territory without its archives put one at a serious disadvantage in the Early Modern Period. Anyone who forgot to set out his claims to such records and papers in a peace treaty found himself in a difficult position.[147]

Once a treaty had been signed, it had to be enforced. The archive of Ilbenstadt Abbey in Hesse, for example, had made an outright odyssey beginning in 1633, moving to Frankfurt, Kassel, Düsseldorf, and as far as Bremen. After 1648, the abbey tried for years to compel the emperor to return its archive on the basis of the Peace of Münster.[148] At the same time, the Habsburgs themselves demanded that France respect the agreement to return documents taken from Ensisheim—fruitlessly, since not until the diplomatic revolution of 1756 did the political will to enforce these archive-related legal provisions materialize.[149] The Reichskammergericht also argued for the restoration of its papers from France on the basis of the treaties of Ryswick and Rastatt—also with limited success. While most of its archival holdings were returned in late 1698, it continued its quest for the rest "very keenly" in Frankfurt, Strasbourg, and Paris in 1723, 1733, 1738, and 1755.[150] Not only did less powerful political actors find it difficult to realize their claims. In 1723, the city

of Speyer launched a diplomatic campaign to recover remnants of its city archive from holdings in Paris. The timing was favorable: a German elector, Georg Ludwig von Hannover had now sat on the English throne for several years as George I. London and Paris had reestablished a relatively cooperative relationship, so that England's intercession on Speyer's behalf seemed fairly promising. George I actually brought up the topic with Louis XV, and several letters are extant that Speyer sent to England and France in anticipation of these actions.[151] The city consequently got at least some individual documents back.

But the practical usefulness and symbolic significance of what the various archives of Speyer had recovered since 1698 seemed to be diminished by the delay and subsequent disorganization. The city had expended considerable effort to recover its archives—but the energy to restore those holdings to their previous functions flagged. By 1746, at any rate, most of the material lay forgotten and neglected "on the upper floor" of city hall. Even the bishop's archive, for the return of which he had stubbornly fought, "still has not had an archivist in this century."[152] Undoubtedly, the catastrophic physical conditions of the devastated city circa 1700 contributed significantly to its archival chaos. But this neglect stands in stark contrast to the city's restitution efforts. It cannot be simply a consequence of the hard times after the fire that ten completely forgotten and disorganized boxes of old material, probably brought back from Strasbourg, were still sitting in an attic half a century later.[153] Even the files of the Reichskammergericht, which the city had fought so hard to recover, took decades to reach the court, while they languished in a state of interim storage in the palace of the elector of Mainz in Aschaffenburg, where they were never properly unpacked. While these restored files were certainly used there and were even catalogued in 1713, they remained relegated to the shadows long after their return.[154] It is characteristic of the disrupted value of these rescued archival volumes that when conditions in Aschaffenburg became unbearable in 1752, it was proposed that the documents, once considered so valuable but now regarded as worthless, should simply be discarded.[155] This rapid devaluation of stolen and subsequently returned archival material demonstrates how the violence of war often caused breaks in the archival tradition that contemporaries were able or willing to repair only in part, despite the restitution of the documents.

Given such experiences, it is no surprise that archive-founders often explored crisis scenarios and were nervous about imminent conflicts. The reality of war had a fixed, decisive place in European archival culture. The "establishment of lasting security" for the archive of the Reichskammergericht

had been a desideratum for years and called for fundamental strategic reflection.[156] We can clearly see how international politics transformed archives into the playthings of fear and threats of violence. Speyer was considered a safe place in the sixteenth century, but in 1681 its citizens had to pin their hopes on Frankfurt, and in 1692 they even deliberated fleeing to distant Kitzingen or Erfurt.[157] The safety of Wetzlar, where the court had found a home in the eighteenth century, soon proved to be illusory: as early as 1734, a new wave of French expansionism made it necessary to plan how to store the archive safely elsewhere, even though these fears soon dissipated.[158] The wars and violence of the Early Modern Period drove archivists and their archives fleeing before their onslaught.

The symbolic and pragmatic attractiveness of documents and their physical fragility made archives fall victim to all kinds of deliberate and collateral damage. Archives were vulnerable targets of rulers' violence. The physical fragility of archives and the difficulty of using them represented the dark or flip side to their immense social and political potential. The episodes discussed above vividly demonstrate that archives were by no means simply mainstays and instruments of authority—although they could very well become that, if their owners invested enough effort and made sufficient resources available. As the examples of the *Ordonnances* and royal *terriers* have shown, archives could realize their potential as tools of government with good maintenance, competent application, and persistent use—at least, temporarily.

8 ✦ Sources

Archives in Historiography and Genealogy

Christoph Lehmann's *Chronica der Freyen Reichs Stadt Speyer* ("Chronicle of the free imperial city of Speyer"), the first edition of which appeared in 1612, was a standard historical work of the seventeenth century. It was reprinted several times and enjoyed great popularity well into the eighteenth century. To no small extent, this was due to the fact that the author had undertaken very extensive, reliable research. Sources of the most diverse kinds found their way into his treatment, many of them from the rich archives of his home city. In 1612, in Lehmann's view, in-depth research in all available source types was indispensable to high-quality historiographical work. In his dedicatory foreword, Lehmann held that in historiography,

> it is not only required that one must diligently read old and new historical works and learn from them what will serve one's purpose and be useful, but also from the archives and chancelleries, since finding old catalogues, documents, and written records can be very helpful and productive, so that the history may proceed on a good, solid basis.[1]

The necessity of historiographical archival research was repeatedly emphasized in Lehmann's day and in subsequent generations—if not by all historians, then certainly by many, and their numbers would grow over the following decades. At the end of the century, for example, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz could ask rhetorically, "How is one supposed to write the history of

a country without free access to archives?"[2] In 1686, Leibniz duly attributed the advances made in historiography over the work of earlier historians to the fact that "one has, for some time now, researched the history of the Middle Ages by citing numerous chronicles, charters, and other documents from archive boxes and piles of old papers."[3] We could cite many more seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians' similarly self-conscious assessments, but none expressed historians' obligation to conduct archival research as pointedly as Philipp Julius Rehtmeyer, a church historian of the early eighteenth century:

> Someone who wanted to write a chronicle of Brunswick or some such work without such archives and preserved documents would be just like someone who set out to work on a religious book without first diligently gathering readings from the Bible.[4]

Archives became the indispensable basis of historical work; they became—like the Bible for religious writers—a source of inspiration and guarantor of truth. This final chapter will illustrate what that actually meant for historians and their work, as well as for archives and archivists, in everyday life.

BEFORE HISTORICISM

The elevation of archive use to the key "principle of credibility" of historical research in no way began with Leopold von Ranke and nineteenth-century historicism.[5] Scholars of the Early Modern Period had also sworn by the "reality effect" (*effet de réel*) that archives had on historiography.[6] Historical writing in which one could not find "a single diploma one had not already seen" or which offered "little from manuscripts" was summarily dismissed by Leibniz in 1691 as a "disappointment."[7] While as late as the seventeenth century Professor Heinrich Meibom of Helmstedt described historical, chronological, or genealogical interest in reading and analyzing documents as an "extraordinary use" of old papers, the "actual" purpose of which was supposedly to provide legal proof, he also presented a detailed study of how one might critically examine medieval documents and use them for historiographical or genealogical purposes.[8] It had long since become impossible to forgo utilizing archival materials.

If therefore we abandon the strict focus on the nineteenth century with respect to the exploitation of archives for historiographical work, the con-

ventional periodizations and boundaries blur. It was neither eighteenth-century (church) historians like Rehtmeyer, nor late humanist scholars like Meibom or Lehmann in 1600, nor their sixteenth-century French colleagues Jean du Tillet or Hubert Languet who first made their way to the archives to find out something about the past. For all intents and purposes, western historiographical writing had already embraced the practice of digesting archival sources and reconstructing the past from archives in the Middle Ages. Many examples of this can be found: Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims* from the tenth century contains summaries of many documents, as does the even earlier *Deeds of the Abbots of Fontenelle*, which cites several dozen archival documents already several centuries old at the time of the writing. The text gives precise dates for some of these documents and at least a rudimentary explanation of their origins.[9] Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in the twelfth century had it particularly easy: in writing his *Life of King Louis VI*, he could draw directly on documents that the king had recently issued on the abbey's behalf (at Suger's recommendation). Later chroniclers and authors from Saint-Denis used the same documents, although they often probably did not read the originals, but rather biased summaries of them in inventories.[10] In the twelfth century, Baldwin V of Haguenau launched a search for historical information about Charlemagne "in all good abbeys of France" in hopes of uncovering the "true history" that could serve as the basis of his own treatment. In the same century, William of Malmesbury conducted extensive, unusually broad library research to compose his works.[11] In some cases, we can even find the original documents used by historians, along with traces of use, such as four French royal charters used by Eudes of Saint-Maur in 1050 to write his *Life of Burchard, Count of Vendôme*.[12] From Breton historiographers, who increasingly began to rely on archives in the fourteenth century, late fifteenth-century notebooks from their archive visits are extant today.[13] As medievalists have shown, these beginnings pointed the way directly to the chronicles and historiographical literature of the Early Modern Period.[14] In Nuremberg from around the mid-fifteenth century, for example, we can vividly see how a lively archival culture initially came into being independent of historiographical ambitions, but soon came to serve them.[15] In Bern in 1523, Valerius Anshelm, the author of a semi-official city chronicle, drew heavily on local archival material that the town clerk found and delivered to him.[16]

Building on this long medieval tradition, the Early Modern Period witnessed a dramatic intensification and expansion of historiographical archival research. Archive use became the norm and now expanded to include a va-

riety of repositories.[17] References to archives and original documents began to shape people's relationship to the past. "Authorized history," as Claude-François Ménestrier called the new form of historiography he practiced in 1694, made headway.[18] In his view, the use of charters, archives, and legal documents was routine even for historians who lagged far behind the avant-garde. Historians' philological skills, enhanced by Humanist fascination with rhetoric and the observable historicization of law in sixteenth-century France, may be regarded as the methodological side of this changing historiographical culture. The evolution of Humanist enthusiasm for language into Late Humanist philological specialization produced ever more refined analyses of archival documents. Beginning in the sixteenth century, moreover, European scholars developed a rapidly growing interest in collecting objects and texts. Antiquarianism, as this culture of seeking and collecting information about the past is called, inspired several vast research projects that regularly depended on the cooperation of multiple researchers. These scholars turned to European repositories of written texts again and again. Archives became firmly embedded in European scholarly culture.[19] It is this archive-reliant form of engaging with the past that Jean Mabillon and others would furnish with a methodological basis at the end of the seventeenth century. We shall turn our attention to it below.

WHY ARCHIVAL RESEARCH?

What historians hoped to get from archival material, what they expected from it, why they took the trouble to include it in their studies—all that underwent a certain change. Bernard Guenée, whose groundbreaking study investigated the historiographical praxis of medieval authors in 1981, emphasized the increasingly "concrete and everyday" character of the (few) late medieval archive-based historical works, which drew on both charters and records.[20] In the Early Modern Period, archival materials were tied to aspirations of writing something approximating the "true" history of political events. Friedrich Hortleder, for example, criticized Johannes Sleidan's earlier treatment of sixteenth-century German history because it was derived "in several places" from records that had "previously come out in print." According to Hortleder, Sleidan had predominantly recycled previously published material. Hortleder faulted such a secondary use of evidence for being needlessly removed from the events themselves—it reduced the accuracy and credibility of the work, since it made room for further misinterpretation and

distortion. His own work, in contrast, based primarily on original manuscripts, was as close as possible to the historical actors themselves. Precisely this "closeness" was the advantage of the archival tradition. Subsequently, at the dawn of the seventeenth century, Hortleder made exemplary use of that fundamental metaphor that continues to influence historians' work today: he explained why manuscript evidence is preferable by comparing it to a "spring"—an immediate "source" of water.[21] Just as one prefers fresh water from the source to the stagnant water of a slow river or lake, Hortleder's archival material was especially pure and uncontaminated by later additions. It thus was preferable to sullied and modified later accounts. To illustrate his point, he cited some lines from Georg Rollenhagen's 1595 verse fable *Froschmeuseler*:

> The spring itself is pure and fine,
> The further that the water flows,
> The more it takes on dirt and sand
> From other streams
> And from the land.[22]

The poem had nothing to do with historiography—Rollenhagen's text instead argued that one should, as a good person, attempt to live according to the Bible as closely as possible. But transferring this religious motif to the realm of historiography beautifully illustrates why the metaphor of the source was so attractive to critical and archive-conscious historians like Hortleder: equating certain texts with the "source" marked them out as particularly credible, because they were so close to the events (or the source of the stream). An archive, one might say, was a reservoir of the purest information about the past—just as a spring was a source of the purest water.

Such praise of archives often went hand in hand with an increasingly pronounced fear that history effectively had two dimensions: superficial history, which historical actors might even deliberately create (e.g., for self-legitimation), and true, real history, which historians had to labor to uncover—a topos that lives on today in modified form. Gottfried Lengnich, in his *Geschichte der Preußischen Lande* of 1722, gives us an illuminating insight into this. He presumed the seemingly obvious inference that only those who were directly involved in politics knew the underlying course of events, the "actual connections between things and their true nature."[23] The general population, in contrast, as well as outside observers and contemporary authors, generally learned only about "certain things / and sometimes

the fruits." Lengnich thus differentiates between a historical substructure and superstructure. Archive-based historiography had the potential to move beyond the latter and penetrate to the former, because the historical actors had supposedly "written down [the essence of things] and stored it in archives for the good of posterity."[24] The modern historiographical conviction that archives let us see the process whereby history is made, the genesis of historical phenomena, is already apparent here. Archives brought historians born in subsequent generations as close to historical events, their motives, and causes, as the historical politicians themselves. Lengnich may not have abandoned the old historiographical commonplace that an eyewitness would understand events best simply because he could distinguish "the effects from the causes" instead of arriving inductively at the causes from the effects, but he definitely amended it:[25] in his view, the actors—ministers and secretaries—no longer had to write historiographical works themselves. The written tradition that they left behind in the archives of Europe would allow later historians to obtain the same knowledge.

Lengnich's confidence that archival sources guaranteed deeper insight into historical processes was not, however, undisputed. There were still many other forms of historiography that simply valued other things; for these, searching for old documents was not a priority. History was long considered the province of rhetoric, whereby the narration of the past was supposed to follow the criteria and standards of this discipline.[26] Later, during the Enlightenment, history was repeatedly the object of philosophical reflections.[27] Antiquarianism, in contrast to these traditions, motivated historians to turn their attention definitively to archival documents, coins, and other objects. These were now regarded as the fundamental basis of all historical writing. In the late seventeenth century, the Benedictine monks of St. Maur (Jean Mabillon, Bernard Montfaucon) and the Bollandists from the Jesuit Order (Daniel Papebroch) developed a methodology to analyze such source types, putting their study on a new footing. This heavily empirical form of historical research, however, was not without its own share of enemies. Rhetoricians and philosophers derided antiquarians' zeal for collecting and their obsession with details. Much more importantly, however, the power of archive-based historiography to reveal historical truth was also questioned in even more fundamental ways, as Markus Völkel showed some time ago.[28] The belief in archives itself, as embodied by Hortleder and Lengnich, came in for criticism. Controversy continued to rage over the role and function of archives in the historical sciences, even after the methodological renewal inaugurated by Jean Mabillon. One of the most important protagonists of our

account thus far, the archivist and counsellor Tobias Pfanner, participated in one such dispute.

In 1698, Johann Peter von Ludewig, an aspiring diplomat, skeptic historian, and professor at the University of Halle, announced a lecture concerning the recently concluded peace negotiations in Rijswijk.[29] Ludewig, who was in the service of Brandenburg-Prussia, had personally taken part in the congress and wanted to lecture on the subject explicitly as an eyewitness. The diplomat was proud of his personal experiences, and his lecture announcement became an open attack on a brand of historiography that aspired to draw exclusively on archives and dispense with direct involvement in historical events. Ludewig cited his own experiences at the peace congress in the Netherlands as the chief reason for his skepticism of archives. He had witnessed how the documents preserved in archives and used by later historians came into being. Omissions, embellishments, and distortions were the rule—and by every party involved, each for their own ends. In no way were such documents an objective reflection of the events. Hence the archives of the various protagonists inevitably contradicted one another, and true statements were nowhere to be found. Thus, in Ludewig's opinion, archives could not reveal historical truth.

Pfanner polemicized vehemently against Ludewig's radical position. The Weimar archivist presumably viewed the forceful position taken by the Halle professor as a personal attack: Pfanner had, after all, written about another peace congress, that at Münster and Osnabrück in 1648 resulting in the Peace of Westphalia, all without being personally present.[30] It was probably also for that reason that Pfanner composed an aggressive polemic against Ludewig.[31] According to Pfanner, Ludewig wanted "to cast suspicion on archives and especially diplomatic relations."[32] Anyone who, like Ludewig, attacked the reliability of archives (*fides actorum*) so vehemently and so unjustifiably was "thus inimical to all historical work."[33] Pfanner did not outright deny the difficulties and inconcinnities of archives described by Ludewig, but he asserted that one could overcome the inherent problems of the documentary tradition with the right historical and ancillary methods. Like Lengnich, Pfanner also believed that by studying records—for instance, by reading internal correspondence—one could penetrate beneath the surface of phenomena and arrive at the actors' real motives.[34] Ludewig's position moreover made a critical error: no one eyewitness, not even Ludewig himself, could be everywhere at the same time. Only archives could paint a complete picture of historical events.

Pfanner and Ludewig's conflict is less interesting for their actual posi-

tions. Both authors polemically advocated extreme views. As an indicator of the status of the historiographical use of archives circa 1700, however, their quarrel is highly significant. On the one hand, Pfanner's view shows the immense newfound self-confidence of archive-based historiography, particularly when practiced on an advanced theoretical and methodological level. On the other, Pfanner faced a powerful, harsh contemporary critique of archives in the form of Ludewig's contrary position. Whereas Ludewig merely seemed to advocate the old notion of historical writing based on autopsy, he also updated it by incorporating contemporary criticism of the historical method. Despite or perhaps because of the newfound self-confidence of archive-based historiography, doubts in its potential persisted.

FEAR OF HISTORIANS: HISTORY BETWEEN POLITICS AND SCHOLARSHIP

Calling for archival research was one thing. Answering the call was another. Historians could not simply walk right into the archives they so eagerly wished to visit. On the contrary, when scholars petitioned princes and other authorities for access to their archives, they initially met with—in their own words—"much questioning and suspicion."[35] Princely authorities were reluctant even with their own house and court historians. Ernst Wilhelm Tentzel, the Ernestines' historian, for example, discovered this in 1701, when his request for access to the archives in Weimar, Meiningen, and Gotha was declined.[36] It was especially the patrimonial nature of early modern archives that caused this distrust of historians. Since archives and the documents they contained were considered sources of political power, it seemed advisable to the authorities to keep their arsenal of legal titles secret. Historians in turn were often regarded with suspicion, because they might not actually be researching the past out of scholarly interest, but rather representing the interests of another prince or a dynastic rival. For all these reasons, the authorities were skeptical of historiographical inquiries. "Archival interest" determined who would be permitted to inspect the documents.[37]

Concern about the political motives and consequences of historical research was all too justified. There is no clean divide between historiographical and political motives in early modern archival research. Many of the most famous historical works of the Early Modern Period—and particularly works that would have long-lasting influence on new trends—stood at the crossroads of politics, jurisprudence, and historiography. If we believe

Donald Kelley, the fundamental methodological and practical innovations of early modern historical writing can be traced back to the pioneering work of French Humanists and jurists, who first developed their new archival practices as a weapon in the sixteenth-century political struggle between the monarchy and *parlements*.[38] Both sides recognized that political claims could gain new support from old documents and records. Historians with antiquarian and legal backgrounds began to obtain and critically interpret ever greater numbers of such documents. Authors who wanted to defend the ecclesiastical-political rights of the French king against papal claims also increasingly turned to archival documents, as the jurist and historian Hubert Languet pointedly noted: "Since the pope is acting ever more arrogantly in French politics, some people here have been given the task of tracking down the privileges of the French Church in the king's archives."[39]

The political implications of historical archive use were also obvious when historiographical research was undertaken to provide a legal basis for claims to the territories of waning dynasties. Since territories were inheritable, it was necessary in such cases to prove a family connection or even to produce old contracts of inheritance—archives also had these texts at hand. Countless examples show that such historical research was planned long in advance. The extremely well-coordinated research all over Central Europe undertaken by Leibniz and Chilian Schrader for the electoral court of Hanover in 1691 is well known—it served, on the one hand, to produce a major *History of the House of Welf* and, on the other, to legitimate Hanoverian claims in various crises of succession, particularly with respect to the Duchy of Saxe-Lauenburg.[40] In light of these events, which he knew from his own experience, Christian Ludwig Scheidt aptly noted in Hanover in 1748 that "historians are far more useful for defending the rights of princes than well-trained armies. Paper and pens can do more damage than the destruction caused by a hostile army."[41] Scheidt then cited an especially notorious example of political historiography, or rather archive use, which even contemporaries at the time considered an absurd extreme case: the evidence that Frederick the Great had fabricated at the beginning of the Silesian War to legitimate his military aggression after the fact.

The political usefulness of goal-oriented, archive-based historiography remained strong in the eighteenth century. It has been said that scholarly historiography suffered a decisive "defeat" around 1700. At the time, in the wake of the Enlightenment, a more interpretive, philosophical form of historiography had come into vogue; its declared enemy was the antiquarian pedantry of the monks of St. Maur and the Bollandists.[42] That did not,

however, put an end to politically motivated historiographical research. The conflict between antiquarianism and the Enlightenment is anyway in need of qualification and should be regarded at least in part as a rhetorical construct. In the big picture, archive-based historiography continued to be a very useful genre that lost none of its significance in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, in France, this form of research-based, politically oriented historiography again proved to be extremely important in the power struggles between the monarchy and *parlements* after 1753.[43]

We can, however, observe ever more clearly how archive-based historical research also emancipated itself from purely political cost-benefit calculations and even competed with them.[44] The massive project of the *Ordonnances des rois de France*, which had been undertaken primarily for political motives, is a case in point. The discrepancy between ministerial plans and actual archival findings led to a differentiation between purely historical and more politically motivated research. Joly de Fleury emphasized this explicitly *ex negativo* by demanding that "documents concerning our history," namely "everything that has nothing to do with legislation," should be excluded from the collection.[45] The search for specific documents with political or patrimonial legal significance brought to the surface other finds and new interests, the significance of which lay elsewhere, namely in the scholarly world. In 1785, the Austrian state chancellor Kaunitz also distinguished "scholarly curiosity" from politically motivated, "genuine diplomatic-historical scholarship," which followed different criteria.[46] In the eighteenth century at the latest, the newfound independence of historical research gradually can be seen in archival practices themselves.

Scholarly-historical and political views of archives also occasionally parted ways in other contexts. Precisely in the eighteenth century, the criteria according to which princes granted archive access to scholars changed. A markedly growing number of other considerations now joined the politically motivated fear of archival research. Scholars appealed to archive owners with some success, citing the Enlightenment ideal of the common good.[47] But archive owners also began to resist by drawing more nuanced distinctions according to the importance of their holdings. The old patrimonial rationale persisted, but it no longer applied to every document indiscriminately. Documents that raised no political, legal, or social concerns were made available for legal or historical research more readily than before. At least, that is what Johann Adam Kopp, a German jurist and historian, believed when he praised the princes of the Holy Roman Empire in 1739 for "no longer so carefully keeping their archives locked with the chains of

eternal silence and secrecy, as happened in former times."[48] Interested historians and legal scholars were now granted access much more generously to documents that were no longer counted among the arcana of power. For their cooperation, the authorities in turn received symbolic gestures of gratitude from scholars: laudatory mention in the expanding public sphere of the late seventeenth century. Princes could now hope to improve their reputations in educated circles by granting archive access liberally. Whoever opened his archives to scholars could at least count on the goodwill of historians, men of letters, and the educated—an eloquent group, whose opinion had grown increasingly loud and who exercised a growing influence on the public perception of princes. A prince could win himself an "immortal name" by making his archives easily accessible, petitioners tantalizingly promised.[49] Parisian writers rhetorically told compliant magistrates how they "always admired how you enriched the public with a thousand things that would be lost without you."[50] Liberality in questions of archive access could increase a prince's prestige. Famous archives attracted famous historians, and their interest in the documents and archive itself increased the owners' prestige in turn. When the famous "Herr Leibniz" asked for permission to see files in Gotha in 1696, the ducal chancellery supported his request, not least because "it may redound to the honor of the electoral and princely house itself."[51] The fame of an extensive collection was projected back onto the authority responsible for it.

Secrecy as Project and Projection: The Possibilities and Limitations of Scholarly Archive Access

The politically motivated sealing of archives limited and impeded many historians' research. Nevertheless, many scholars still managed to obtain access to their target archives by using the most diverse strategies. The publications of the historians mentioned above, from Lehmann to Rehtmeyer, not only advocated archive-based historiography, but also impressively demonstrated how it could be conducted. Their works prove that historians could obtain access to princely and ecclesiastical, and even occasionally private, archives despite the dense thicket of restrictive regulations. With respect to historiographical practice, we accordingly should not insist on the secretive character of early modern archives without some qualification. Rather we should ask to what degree and for whom various archives were open, and for what

reasons they were kept secret. Instead of presuming actually secret archives, we should rather think of the secret archive as a project or, still better, as a projection. Thus, partial access was anticipated, albeit feared, in some cases, and encouraged and permitted in others. We accordingly must explain the strategies and tactics used by scholars interested in archives to overcome their owners' mistrust and gain access.

Christoph Lehmann's case was relatively straightforward. When he wrote the book mentioned at the opening of this chapter, he had served the city of Speyer for several years and had long enjoyed regular access to its archives. He was paid for his archival work and also occasionally received gratuities "on account of the city records."[52] Lehmann thus was in a privileged position, since as a historian he was also directly involved in the day-to-day administration of the most important archive on which his work was based. People like him were the archive insiders *par excellence* of the Early Modern Period and were perfectly situated to write archive-based historical works.

One might also obtain access to originals by formally applying for entry into a collection. When the Benedictine monks were conducting research for a detailed history of Bretagne in 1690, they officially petitioned the provincial estates for access to its archives, which was subsequently granted on September 31, 1691.[53] Patron-client relations of the most diverse kinds were often useful for such requests, indeed often indispensable. Personal acquaintance with leading magistrates also helped open doors—literally. That was the case for the Benedictine monk Dom Guillaume Aubrée, for example, when the president of the parlement of Dijon, Jean Bouhier, "opened the doors of the archive of the local Chambre des Comptes" for him, as Bouhier somewhat patronizingly remarked.[54] When Aubrée's posthumous *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne* subsequently appeared in two volumes in 1729, it indeed contained a great deal of information derived from these files. In particular, the extensive lists of Burgundian officeholders since the Middle Ages that appear in the second volume were essentially taken right out of them.[55] Sieur de Batteney, who in 1781 sought to gain access to various archives in Lyon, also petitioned a high royal official, the *garde des sceaux*, to intercede on his behalf. The resultant letter of recommendation placed great emphasis Batteney's expertise and the usefulness of his research.[56]

We thus have broached several key themes and topoi that frequently surface in such requests for archive access: besides factual and technical expertise, scholars also regularly professed not to pursue any political agenda. They claimed to conduct useful research and, whenever possible, they reminded their addressees of earlier favors granted in similar circumstances.[57]

In this way, a motif of technical competence and scholarly innocuousness was created—whoever utilized it successfully could surely hope to receive permission to conduct research. The officials in charge of archives, such as Anton von Kaunitz in the case of the Viennese house archive, often evaluated the numerous individual applications very thoroughly.[58] In cases they considered harmless or even potentially beneficial, they could be very accommodating. Gottfried Lengnich was granted access to the archives of the city of Danzig on the basis of one such request.

Vice versa, princes sometimes approached scholars with requests that they work on specific historical topics. Their motives varied widely, ranging from political to dynastic to religious purposes. Support in archival matters, insofar as it was necessary, was often part of the deal. Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, for instance, received privileged access to various Ernestine archives for his exceptionally influential and completely archive-based *History of the Reformation*, because Duke Frederick II of Saxe-Gotha actively stood behind the project. Over 400 volumes of material were transported from Weimar to Seckendorff's manor Meuselwitz.[59] When princes or other state authorities made certain historiographical projects their own, vast resources could be made available for archival research. In France in 1745, for example, the entire administrative apparatus of the intendancies was tapped to provide virtually complete material for the thirteen-volume publication of a collection of medieval French historians (*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*).[60] In such cases, the princes involved might personally intercede on behalf of their historians with requests for archive access, even abroad. In this way, historians' research became the object of early modern foreign policy and diplomacy.[61]

Not all historians could obtain such state patronage, nor could it resolve every problem. The power of patronage networks that were not reinforced by the most influential personages often waned over physical distance. The farther away the archive one wanted to consult, the harder it was to inspire the necessary trust. Archive access thus became, at least in part, a question of regional affiliation and identity. Johann Heinrich Schmidt, a historian in Helmstedt, concisely summarized the situation: it was clear that "locals rather than foreigners should have the good fortune not only to research pertinent information in their country, but also to be admitted to the churches and other archives step by step."[62] Archives, archive access, and regional identities seemed to be intertwined.

In light of this fact, it was a given that visits to archives abroad had to be carefully planned. In 1699, Leibniz engaged in an extensive preliminary

correspondence with Vienna just to find out in which archives—and under whose supervision—the files he needed were kept, and whether his personal connections sufficed to obtain access to them.[63] Such preparations naturally also included the effort to obtain convincing letters of recommendation.[64] Nonetheless, securing archive access from afar was difficult even with the best preparations and remained an uncertain business. Everything depended on the local social landscape, on the friendly or hostile relationship between visitor and archivist. In addition to preliminary preparations, one also often had to navigate tedious processes of social adaptation so that, regardless of prior arrangements, one could win the confidence of the right people the right way. Andreas Lamey, for instance, vividly describes how complicated it was in 1769 to actually get into the archive of the cathedral chapter of Speyer, despite having received permission to do so long beforehand:

> We arrived in Speyer at noon, where the chapter had already granted us permission to enter the archive in order to compare our document copies against the originals. We had also been promised that additional material would be made available to us. We still needed eight days, however, to learn what we had wanted to know. Things here are as they are everywhere: nothing happens without a multitude of complications. Even the people who want to help us will only speak very reservedly so as not to ruin anything. The president forced us to dine with him every evening. Only once were we left in peace. We moreover had to spend every evening with the archivist, who received a gold medallion worth twenty-five ducats.[65]

A wearisome series of social events thus was inescapable in order to obtain the archive access that had been promised. Dinner and conversation, carefully cultivated contacts, and social tact were necessary to obtain the documents one wanted—in spite of the fact that Lamey had planned everything in minute detail long in advance. Cultivating local relationships, however, proved to be the decisive tactic, because gaining access to the archives was ultimately a situational and local affair. The people of the archive had to be won over and convinced one by one. To accomplish that took time and money. That was no easy task for Lamey, since, like so many scholars traveling to visit archives, he had both in notoriously short supply.

In emergencies, when all else seemed impossible and nothing helped, there were several less refined means one might resort to in order to gain access to archives or retrieve documents from them. Of course, all parties

preferred "friendly and honorable" methods of accessing archives.[66] But, besides these, there were other, quite devious strategies for gaining access to archives. Money, for one, might open the doors of potentially any archive and was sometimes used very aggressively. Lamey's gift to the archivist of Speyer mentioned above—a medallion worth twenty-five ducats—illustrates such methods. Chilian Schrader likewise was well acquainted with this practice. Before embarking on a journey to distant archives, he regularly received blank promissory notes from the administration of the Electorate of Hanover. He was authorized, if necessary, to fill these out and use them as financial favors to persuade reluctant archivists to cooperate. Occasionally, considerable sums were involved. Once Schrader was permitted to pay a single archivist the hefty sum of 1,000 guilders.[67] When voluntary support was not forthcoming or personal ties were not close enough, financial compensation might grease the wheels for procuring files.[68]

Besides outright bribery, various more or less elaborate forms of fraud and deception might open a way into many an archive. Cunning and, if necessary, misleading communications strategies were extremely important. The son of historian Heinrich Meibom the Elder of Helmstedt reports that his father had "ingratiated himself with many prelates." Meibom the Elder managed to dispel the distrust of archive owners by deliberately hiding from them "what he thought to write notes about therefrom." He was apparently very smooth and reassuring in his dealings with archive owners: he regularly inspired "good faith" and so "oftentimes received many *monumenta*."[69] Other historians took this approach a step further and adopted false identities in order to dispel suspicions. When Chilian Schrader wanted to conduct research in the Hessian town of Waldeck, he pretended he was taking a curative trip to the therapeutic baths at nearby Wildungen. His excursions to the archive of Waldeck were merely the amusements of a convalescent, not at all missions planned long in advance, and certainly not for political reasons.[70]

Sometimes, though, all it took was patience. In an age of constant warfare and shifting alliances, political conditions could rapidly change. Archival research regularly benefited from such changes. The year 1709 was one such moment for the electors of Hanover. Hoping to clarify their dynastic history, the Welfs of Hanover had long sought to obtain permission to use the archives of the Electorate of Bavaria, which had also once been ruled by the House of Welf. The dukes of Bavaria, however, had normally responded in the negative.[71] During the War of the Spanish Succession, however, the tide turned. Munich had sided with France against Austria, while Hanover had remained loyal to the emperor. When the Austrians conquered Bavaria

in 1709 and expelled and outlawed the local dukes, Hanover's path to the archives suddenly lay clear.[72] Elector George Louis immediately seized the opportunity and sent Chilian Schrader to Munich. He simultaneously launched a diplomatic initiative to obtain special concessions from the emperor, as current ruler of Bavaria, with respect to its archives. Emperor Joseph I was only too happy to open the archives of hostile Bavaria to his northern German allies.[73] With the political and military backing of the Austrian occupation, Schrader was able to carry out his work with great success. He regularly sent Hanover reports of his findings in long lists.[74] Political support in Vienna and Munich, along with additional bribes (*gratialia*), opened the archives of Bavaria.

From a historian's perspective, it was hard enough getting into the archives of princes and secular authorities; setting foot in ecclesiastical collections was another thing altogether. Scholars were often very interested in doing so, because the archives of monasteries had a reputation for incomparable wealth. Many historians, however, openly lamented the fact that it was so difficult or even virtually impossible to work in church archives. That applied even to the Benedictines of St. Maur, as Jean Mabillon repeatedly remarked.[75] Secular researchers had an even harder time. Jean-Baptiste Carpentier, for instance, an experienced French author, repeatedly complained in 1661 of the "monks' pigheadedness and indifference."[76]

This oft-cited stubbornness on the part of churches might lead one to conjecture that confessional tensions in Germany exacerbated the difficulties of scholarly archive use. Catholic historians in fact occasionally suspected that religious reasons were why they were denied access to monasteries that had fallen into Protestant hands during the Reformation.[77] Similar cases might also occur at Catholic institutions. The (Catholic) archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire argued in 1752 that one could only expect "harmful misuse" if a "Protestant assessor" were to use the archive of the Reichskammergericht. Johann Heinrich von Harpprecht, who was working there and needed files to compose a historical study about the court, was therefore to receive papers only after they had been rigorously inspected and under no circumstances should he gain direct access to the archive itself.[78]

Many other examples, however, illustrate the opposite. For Andreas Lamey, for example, confessional boundaries in the eighteenth century were permeable enough that, with careful planning, he could still work in Catholic church archives as a Protestant. Contemporaries in the eighteenth century also regarded Protestant archivist and historian Philipp Ernst Spieß from Kulmbach as a symbol of inter-confessional historical archival work.[79]

Confessional and archival boundaries did not necessarily coincide, as the Protestant church historian Johann Georg Leuckfeld also knew. In 1721, he wrote about the help he had received from the French Benedictine monks on archival affairs for his projects in highly complimentary terms.[80] To the extent that the republic of scholars could realize its inter-confessional ideal at all in practice, the opportunities and limitations of archive access do not seem to have depended primarily on questions of faith.

CONTROLLING ARCHIVAL WORK: RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS

One way or another, many historians overcame considerable difficulties and got into various archives. But even if it was impossible to seal an archive completely, archive-owners still had many other ways of making archive visits more or less frustrating and useless. It almost seems as if many of them made a cold and calculating decision to use such strategies of impeding scholars in the archive rather than completely shut them out. The most obvious way was to make working in the archive as uncomfortable for visitors as possible. Jean Doat, who for years traveled to southern French archives at the behest of Colbert and Louis XIV in search of historical documents of political interest, complained again and again about how unpleasant it was to work at various stops. Archivists would forbid him to take relevant documents home, where he could have them copied efficiently and comfortably. Thus Doat, who maintained a well-appointed office with up to a dozen scribes during his travels, was often forced to have the work done in "very small, very dark, and very uncomfortable places."[81] In his own words, that not only made work difficult, but also expensive, and it taxed the patience of everyone involved.

If one sniffed political danger from outsiders using one's archives, excerpt-taking historians might be placed under strict supervision.[82] When Chilian Schrader was working in the ducal archive of Schwerin in 1691, for example, he was forbidden to leaf through certain files himself. In contrast to today, the purpose was not to protect the physical integrity of the documents. Rather, the purpose was to prevent material that was a threat to the "high interest" of Mecklenburg from coming into Schrader's hands.[83] In this instance, censorship was imposed directly on the object itself, the files. Schrader was allowed to read other documents only in the presence of an archivist.[84] Thus it was commonplace to monitor and restrict research. There

was no denying that considerations of national interest determined and limited how archival materials were accessed and utilized.[85] Even the use of one's research findings was affected. Since many documents were considered ducal arcana, Schrader was permitted to read them only after agreeing that he would "never have them cited, let alone printed."[86]

There were still other, more subtle strategies of impeding and complicating the research efforts of unwanted guests. The church historian Rehtmeyer could say a thing or two about them. Again and again, he complained, archivists would show him important documents, but not give him enough time to study them thoroughly, let alone copy them.[87] Another strategy was to grant access to the archive, but to withhold the finding aids available there. There were few printed inventories in the Early Modern Period,[88] so users were forced to rely on manuscript resources on site. Hiding the catalogue thus was an elegant way to limit the effectiveness of searches: for anyone who did not already know what he was looking for, a trip to an archive without finding aids was practically pointless. Inventories were to archives what compasses were to seafaring: without their guidance, the collections were unnavigable.

Good preparation could defeat such tricks, at least to some extent, instilling fear in the guardians of documents. Pierre Louvet, who came to the archive of Cluny Abbey in 1672 in search of old documents, brought no fewer than a dozen printed historical works with him so that he could ask specific questions on site. These in fact broke the resistance of the subprior, who had withheld the finding aids from Louvet up to that point.[89] In Ratzeburg in 1690, when Chilian Schrader was kept from his research with various excuses, he simply asked directly for the item that interested him most, the *Chronicon Chemnitii*. His interlocutor, one Herr Burmeister, interrupted him in surprise, asking "how I knew that such a chronicle was present there?"[90] The locals in Ratzeburg had not counted on Schrader's comprehensive knowledge of archives and their holdings. In this way, scholarly experts could break through many a blockade, but the examples from Schrader's research also show how archive-owners' position had become very ambivalent by 1700. Simply lying about one's holdings or unabashedly withholding them was no longer an option, at least with visitors like Schrader, who united enormous political, social, and scholarly capital in his person.

Despite or even because of the complicated situation in the archives, historians continued to attempt to go beyond the limits imposed on archive use. Caspar Sagittarius once openly remarked that, once inside the archives, he had used his research on the genealogy of the Thuringian House

of Schwartzburg, which the family had sponsored and financed, to conduct further research on Thuringian history. He made the most of the "advantage [he] received" in the form of archive access and "not only retrieved and catalogued what was considered useful and necessary for a chronicle of the House of Schwartzburg, but I also observed and made note of other Thuringian comital and lordly families besides."[91] Heinrich Meibom the Elder, discussed above, also seems to have utilized access to the archives of the monasteries of Lower Saxony, which he received in good faith, for research that went beyond the scope of his officially declared purposes.

Taking a broad view, there was no straightforward, unambiguous relationship between archives and arcana. Archives were perhaps "secret," but surely not inaccessible. And what did "secret" mean anyway? Schrader was permitted to view arcana in Schwerin, but not print them. Rather than an outright sealing of archives, we rather should presume a range of ways in which archival secrecy was handled, which contemporaries will have simply taken for granted. Thus an extremely nuanced answer must be given to the question of the extent to which early modern archives were open or closed. Archive access was a resource that both sides—users and owners—managed very carefully. The accessibility of archival material thus was ultimately less a question of norms and principles than it was one of social, scholarly, and political considerations. Scholars and archive-owners accordingly found themselves in a constant game of cat and mouse. Historians attempted to gain access to archives and elude surveillance and restrictive tactics as best they could, resorting to official requests and carefully cultivated contacts, misrepresentation and shrewd maneuvering. The authorities in turn did everything in their power to place access under strict control as long as possible after granting it. In some cases, this effort might extend even beyond an actual visit to the period after a visitor's death. After the death of historians for whom they had opened their archives, princes routinely fretted about the papers of the deceased—a kind of last act of attempted archival control. "The princes of Saxony will not neglect to take pains over the papers of someone who has leafed through their archives," Chilian Schrader wrote upon the death of Caspar Sagittarius in 1694.[92] A transregional race for his papers indeed commenced, as politicians, scholars, and universities vied with one another for them. The result was their dispersal. Princely chancelleries and scholars—even Leibniz himself—similarly went after the papers of Heinrich Meibom the Elder and Johannes Letzner, which consisted partly of copied archival materials.[93] The French state laid claim to the working papers and other documents of the French historian Dom Aubrée after his death in

1729.[94] Thus, even beyond the grave, historians' archive access remained an ambiguous phenomenon, the consequences of which authorities did their utmost to control.

WORKING IN THE ARCHIVES

Historians faced a complex task in the archives. We can distinguish between three fundamental aspects: finding material, copying what one found, and finally interpreting it. The process of finding was often the first major hurdle. In late 1695, for example, Dom Lobineau twice spent several hours searching for a certain manuscript in the archive of the cathedral chapter of Le Mans—in vain, as he was sadly forced to conclude.[95] Sometimes even the owners themselves were unaware that they had archives on their premises. In the sixteenth century, simple folk from the neighborhood informed Johannes Letzner of walled-in "books" in Corvey Abbey that no one else knew about.[96]

Once the relevant material had been found and located, the monotonous everyday reality of copying commenced. For extensive finds, this process might last days or weeks. One major practical problem was simply keeping track of one's excerpts. French historians repeatedly voiced their concern that they might unintentionally copy the same document more than once.[97] To carry out the physical labor of copying, early modern historians often employed teams of assistants—and complained when no (suitable) copyists could be found locally.[98] As monotonous as copyists' work was, it was not lacking in challenges, especially when dealing with older files, as for example the Strasbourg magistrate Jean Rogier was dejectedly forced to admit in 1626. He had wanted to lend a hand to the famous historian André Duchesne by preparing copies from the archive of Strasbourg, but he could not find any copyists able to read Latin.[99] Even the Benedictines of St. Maur, who regularly employed large groups of monks to copy documents, constantly ran out of copyists in their own order, so that they had to search—not always successfully—for help from outside.[100] Sagittarius, as a professor in Jena, enjoyed a more advantageous position for conducting his research on regional history: he could employ his own students. Andreas Röthel, Jakob von Melle, and Esaia Thilo supported their teacher in the archive and in other documentary research. In return, he promoted the early careers of some of them, whether by writing letters of recommendation or by conferring academic ranks.[101] The intellectual and physical labor of these often anonymous helpers laid the basis for modern historiography.

Fig. 20. Sketch of a seal from the papers of Caspar Sagittarius, last quarter of the seventeenth century

Copying relevant sources did not always simply take written form. We should not overlook the fact that early modern historiography frequently relied on a creative combination of multiple sources of information. German and French historians regularly went beyond the written tradition, also relying on buildings and ruins or tombstones as sources. Good artists were needed in order to "copy" inscriptions.[102] Even in the archives, graphic arts were necessary, especially in the case of seals, which had long been recognized as a significant source. "By the way, I inform you that you will definitely need a good artist in order to make sketches of seals, graves, coins, and old inscriptions," Dom Maur Audren recommended to his fellow monk Dom Aurbée in 1712.[103] Sagittarius mentions such artistically gifted aides in his throng of assistants several times; very well executed sketches of seals are among his papers (cf. fig. 20).[104]

What one found and copied ultimately had to be assessed and understood. For this task, the expertise and techniques of the new discipline of

diplomatics came into play. It was possible to make extremely precise qualitative assessments of archival material. In 1680, during his research on the family history of the counts of Kefernberg in Thuringia, Sagittarius noted:

> We must note regarding the following documents extracted from the cartularies of the monastery at Ichterhausen that wherever "NB" appears these [documents] appear in the monastery's book complete, word for word; where "NB" does not appear, however, only the words from the register located at the end have been written there. They do not contain complete copies of the actual documents.[105]

Sagittarius was well aware of the implications that cartularies and registers had for the reliability of his sources. Even medieval historians had distinguished between archival materials on the basis of their authenticity and associated reliability. As Bernard Guenée has shown, however, the medieval understanding of authenticity concentrated almost entirely on the person of the writer, not on the stages behind the creation of the text.[106] Sagittarius' remark cited above goes far beyond this type of source criticism: Sagittarius ultimately was differentiating between different forms of copies on the basis of their credibility.

The critical assessment of documents was closely connected to methods of interpreting documents. Scholarly archival research constantly had to be combined with learned practices from entirely different contexts. Here, too, Sagittarius provides us with good examples. A key document for his history of Thuringia was a charter of Otto I, in which Otto gave large swaths of Thuringia to the archbishop of Mainz. Sagittarius discussed this charter in detail in 1680. Particularly the place names listed in it caused problems of interpretation. How could the villages and regions cited in the document under their medieval names be identified? Sagittarius was able to draw on preliminary work that had been prepared by none other than Friedrich Hortleder. In 1624, the historian from Weimar had entrusted forest superintendent Dietrich Scherer, whom he believed possessed good geographic knowledge from his own autopsy, with the task of matching the historical names to their present designations.[107]

Early modern historians were ever more prepared to meet such challenges. By the eighteenth century at the latest there were even isolated "paleography schools"—such as that at Pau in southern France since 1735—where one could take specialized courses on how to read ancient scripts.[108] It was especially universities, however, that transmitted such knowledge to future

archive users. Long before there were professorial chairs and lectures in diplomatics and other historical ancillary disciplines, experienced history professors prepared their students for the many problems one encountered in everyday archival work and research. Caspar Sagittarius, for instance, professor of history at Jena, gave lectures on library science. After a lengthy introduction, he gave his audience a detailed overview of the book and manuscript holdings of the Holy Roman Empire and Europe, based on his own experience.[109] Sagittarius also held the first "news colloquium" (*Zeitungskolleg*), at which problems of source criticism and questions of interpretation in this still quite new medium of information were discussed.[110] In the same vein, he also composed an instructional text for his students on the correct method for taking excerpts, one of many such texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This text anticipated both historiographical and literary or rhetorical use, even if it does not directly mention copying archival materials.[111] Heinrich Meibom the Younger, a contemporary of Sagittarius and professor of history in Helmstedt, also occasionally gave lessons on practical problems that might come up during archival research. For example, he covered the aforementioned problem of changing German place names and gave assistance in identifying them. He also suggested principles that might be helpful in dating or interpreting sources. For this, he drew on the treatises of Jean Mabillon, which had found their way into academic courses soon after their publication and were illustrated with example documents for discussion.[112]

ARCHIVAL TRIPS AND TRANSREGIONAL COLLABORATION

It was not least because of the ever more complex nature of archival work in the Early Modern Period that historiography came to rely to a greater degree on transregional research and thus on enhanced mobility.[113] Visiting archives became indispensable, and so, for many authors, writing history became a journey. Jean Doat, for instance, who roamed through archives in France for Colbert and Louis XIV in search of the most diverse historical documents, patiently traveled from place to place and archive to archive for years.[114] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz likewise spent months traveling to libraries and archives in the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, and Italy. Chilian Schrader, whom we have already met several times, also traveled extensively to the most diverse archives in search of documents for his duke and his history of the House of Welf. Again and again, we find him at the most

diverse places in northern and southern Germany on behalf of the Welfs of Hanover. His tireless personal engagement and willingness to travel were regarded as exemplary scholarly practice by observers of both confessions in the early eighteenth century.[115]

For infrastructural and physical reasons, however, there were limits to many historians' enthusiasm for archive-related travel. Practical complications made some visits "a bit superficial," as early modern historians disappointedly were forced to concede.[116] Cyriacus Spangenberg, a historian from central Germany, described himself in 1551 as "no good on foot" and therefore did not want to travel to libraries or archives unless his patron, Count Hans Georg von Mansfeld, would "provide him with horse and wagon."[117] The physical exertion made many a scholar, especially those of an advanced age, refuse to travel at all. Denis Briant, for example, an experienced Benedictine scholar in the latter half of his life, wrote in 1712:

> At my age, I am not thinking of committing myself to two years of wandering across the entire province, of endlessly sleeping in rented rooms, of traveling by horse and carriage, of reading old papers round the clock despite the fact I need glasses to see anything at all. And then there is the danger of falling short of one's own standards! All this leads me to my decision to happily decline the invitation to collaborate on archival research.[118]

Archival trips were not only stressful, but also potentially dangerous. Briant's fellow monk Dom Lobineau, for example, seriously injured his hand in a riding accident in 1714 while traveling in the service of scholarship and had to delay his research in the archives of the parlement of Rennes for months.[119] On account of such dangers and difficulties, Joachim Schmincke, a historian supported by the landgrave of Hesse, had a paid associate carry out a large number of the archive visits necessary to his work. Johann Wilhelm Schannat, who visited monasteries and other archives for Schminke, was a highly skilled helper. Rising to fame in later years, as a young man Schannat "rummaged through" dozens of monastery archives between 1721 and 1723 for his employer Schmincke.[120] In the eighteenth century, young scholars with research training like Schannat could make a living by taking on tedious archival work for better situated historians. Such working relationships moreover provided a springboard for launching a career of one's own. That was not only true for Schannat. Christian Schlegel, for example, who had supported his professor at Jena, Caspar Sagittarius, with his re-

search and on archive trips a generation before, had used the experience to launch his own career. He got to know important sources and acquired vital practical know-how for working with old documents.[121] The expansion of archive research into a collective activity had long-term, highly positive consequences for both sides.

When archive trips were delegated or undertaken with a large staff of assistants, they caused considerable expense, making historiographical work—already not exactly cheap—even more expensive. Even the French Benedictine monks, who were able to house their highly mobile researchers in monasteries of their order, regularly groaned over their travel expenses.[122] The historians in the Benedictine Order had further organizational complications in addition to such material considerations. Mobility and work had to be adapted to monastic life. Permission to travel had to be obtained from the superiors; long hours spent writing conflicted with religious duties, from which one could be released only by special dispensation.[123]

To a certain extent, archive trips could be avoided or at least reduced, as scholars wrote to local historians asking for help. Cooperation and constant exchange between scholars were practices that were taken for granted in the early modern republic of scholars. Requests for archival research and the procurement of documents, whether copied or original, were anything but unusual. As Ernst Salomon Cyprian in Gotha summarized for his acquaintance Joachim Schmincke in Kassel: "I have no lack of documents; what of the latter escapes me, correspondence can replace."[124]

There in fact were very close, intense scholarly contacts between Hesse, Saxony, and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in the first half of the eighteenth century that regularly concerned archive research. Conrad Mel from Hersfeld sent "*documenta und monumenta*" to Schlegel in Gotha, who wanted to write a collective biography of the abbots of Hersfeld.[125] Johann Zacharias Gleichmann sent copies from Ohrdruff to Frankfurt, "attesting" in an accompanying letter that the copies corresponded exactly to the originals.[126] When, in Wolfenbüttel in 1717, Johann Jakob Burckhardt was working on a biography of Luther's friend Ulrich von Hutten, the history professor Schmidt from Helmstedt assured him that he would want to ask Ernst Salomon Cyprian and Christian Schlegel about further materials in Gotha.[127] Johannes Joachim Müller in Weimar, in turn, was so impressed by Burckhardt's work in Wolfenbüttel that he wished he could provide additional material to support Burckhardt's research in the archives of Weimar.[128] Such plans might occasionally balloon into research requests at widely scattered archives and libraries. In 1742, for example, Joachim Schmincke attempted

to find medieval documents for his son by inquiring with the archivist in Fritzlar and subsequently at the library in Wolfenbüttel.[129] The fact that the famous father here asks for help on behalf of his son, whom he describes as a novice historian, also shows how closely such support depended on the social prestige of the parties involved and their ability to return a favor.

Such cooperation could also exist on a transregional and international level. Leibniz, for example, received archival materials from Paris sent by d'Hozier and Mabillon and from Warsaw by Kochanski.[130] In 1777, Philipp Ernst Spieß needed archival material from Spain for a history of Alfonso X the Wise, which the state chancellor of Austria, Kaunitz, procured for him.[131] Historians who could turn to more institutionalized contacts in addition to their own scholarly network were in a particularly advantageous position for coordinating transregional archive research. This was particularly true of the historians active within the Benedictine and Jesuit orders at the turn of the eighteenth century. Both the Maurists in Paris and the Bollandists in Antwerp, as well as the Benedictines of Melk around the brothers Bernhard and Hieronymus Pez, took advantage of the communications and infrastructural resources that their orders put at their disposal to multiply the amount of archival material they could get many times over.[132] In the framework of the communications practices of the republic of letters, archive research became, at least in part, a collective, jointly coordinated process.

Predictably, conflicts quickly arose out of such collaboration. Uncertainties about who discovered which document first were encouraged by the exchange. Making a generally acknowledged "discovery" became a key indicator of scholarly prowess and knowledge. In consequence, scholars' willingness to help one another was often undermined by mistrust and attempts at control. Leibniz, for example, made important sources that he intended to publish personally available through his assistants only to close acquaintances, and even then with explicit instructions that the documents were "not to be made public."[133] Obstinacy and shrewdness in handling spectacular archive finds thus played an essential part in calibrating relations with colleagues. Conrad Berthold Behrens, a doctor and historian from Hildesheim, expressed this with exemplary clarity in 1725, when he rejected Polycarp Leyser's expectations that he collaborate with him. According to Behrens, Leyser behaved "as if one were obligated to do a favor for another against one's own interest." Since the material that Behrens had collected and Leyser wanted to see "made up a large part of [his] *Antiquitates Genealogicae*," and since Leyser had announced he would publish such documents, Behrens was afraid that his own publications would "become rather malnourished in the process."[134] This ex-

ample not only clearly illustrates the limits of scholars' willingness to help and communicate, but it also shows how competitive historiography had become as a social practice. Knowledge and control of relevant archival documents were social capital that no scholar would easily let slip through his fingers.

One way out of such predicaments was to reconfigure the terms of collaboration, namely, so as to strictly avoid overlapping interests and research objectives. Could not an overarching historical account be assembled from many territorial histories composed by regional scholars? Genuinely collaborative work would be replaced with the composition of individual, independently authored parts. Johann Heinrich Schmidt, who we have come to know as particularly sensitive to the connection between archive use and regional identities, seemed to propose such a project for the German situation. He argued that regional historians should exploit their archive-related advantages and focus particularly on composing geographically circumscribed historical works. The many monographic histories that were composed in this way would become generally available in print and could be brought together as needed.[135] It is uncertain how realistic Schmidt's hopes were, even though we find numerous positive statements about the growing number of publications focused on regional or local documentation and history.[136] In France, however, a historiographical practice took root that made this idea a reality.[137] Building on a tradition of local monastery histories cultivated throughout the seventeenth century, the Benedictine congregation of St. Maur, between 1710 and 1712 launched a systematic series of regional histories that were to be composed in the spirit of Jean Mabillon. In 1737, the institutional basis for these activities in the provinces was reinforced by a decree of the general chapter to the effect that "academies" would be established at the branches involved in the project. Numerous groundbreaking works of territorial historiography were composed in the process of carrying out this initiative, and all of them were based on years of collective archive research in the surrounding area. We cannot say whether Schmidt himself was aware of these efforts. It is conceivable, though, since Protestant scholars were well acquainted with French-Benedictine historiography.

Aristocrats, Archives, Ancestors: Genealogy as a Scholarly Practice

A significant amount of the research work mentioned thus far was focused primarily on questions of genealogy. Family traditions were of paramount

importance in premodern times. Ideally, one could trace one's own family back to dim prehistory, and many families actually constructed a family tree that featured biblical, mythical, Trojan, or at least Roman heroes as their earliest progenitors.[138] Originally, the memorialization of earlier family members had a religious background and for that reason was reflected especially in monasteries and in the form of purgatorial societies. This salvific significance persisted in the Catholic territories of Europe, but views of family history changed over time after the Late Middle Ages. Genealogy became a legally and socially relevant form of actualizing the past. In addition to monks and priests, scholars and private citizens also appeared as freelance genealogists.[139]

Demand for their services grew. Notwithstanding the objections of individual Protestant theologians, who considered genealogy a "useless pastime," genealogical research became a central social practice on a previously inconceivably broad scale.[140] In the Holy Roman Empire, the Habsburgs' intensified appeal to their ancestors, especially under Emperor Maximilian I, set a strong precedent.[141] In France, the long religious and civil wars after 1550 forced noble houses to reassess their relations both to one another and to the monarchy, particularly since, with the extinction of the Valois line in 1589 and the accession of the Bourbons, a new royal family ruled France. New reconstructions of family connections were needed. Ancestry became an ever more important element of aristocratic self-conception—not least to counteract growing competition from urban elites. At the same time, monitoring claims to aristocratic status was declared to be a power of the state. The power to review noble genealogies in particular became a royal right. In 1595 and 1615, two royal offices were established—the *Généalogiste des Ordres du Roi* and the *Juge d'armes*—whose purpose was to review the "nobility" of numerous families. Claims to nobility were critically screened especially under Louis XIV.[142] The topic of proving one's pedigree became ever more important. The antiquity of one's family played a major part in this evaluation process.[143] In 1682, the famous French genealogist, Claude-François Ménestrier, published an entire book about proving ancient noble ancestry.[144] A separate royal archive for documenting noble legal titles (*Cabinet des titres*) was established at approximately the same time.[145] Genealogy had a decidedly defensive task.

The rules of evidence for such genealogies underwent a conspicuous transformation.[146] New criteria of credibility in assessing evidence of kinship took hold. Ménestrier clearly summarized these views in 1682: "[E]vidence [of noble ancestry] consisting of records and documents is the most certain

and is in use everywhere today."[147] Dom Maur Aubrée, another scholarly genealogist, agreed in 1694: "One must not mix anything fabulous in this genealogy, because that would only corrupt everything."[148] As time went on, what documents or tombstones attested about family connections was considered the only reliable evidence for drawing genealogical conclusions. Archival materials no longer served merely as mnemonic aides; they became a key means of authentication: "On this point, the archives [. . .] must provide certainty."[149] Étienne Baluze, who was working on a critical survey of noble families for Colbert and Louis XIV, therefore ruthlessly demanded such written evidence for genealogies.[150] In this socio-political and scholarly context, genealogy became virtually synonymous with systematic archival work. Heinrich Meibom the Younger declared in 1675 that archives, together with genealogical tables, coins, and (funerary) inscriptions, were among the most important sources for genealogical research.[151]

Often very detailed archival knowledge was needed in order to produce a convincing reconstruction of one's earliest family ties. The "moldering right of time and decrepitude" had detrimental effects on the early medieval history of many genealogies—explicit documentary evidence was usually lacking.[152] The Sainte Marthe brothers, who had produced a genealogy of the House of Trémoïlle shortly before 1650, spoke at length about this problem. First, they openly admit the scarcity of sources for the Early and High Middle Ages. But the learned genealogists knew what to do and took a new look at familiar sources. The names of many donors and witnesses could be found in charters for medieval church foundations:

> In order to write the genealogy of the Trémoïlle family and trace it back into the remote past, we have turned to various cartularies that contain old charters and documents (*monumens*) from churches and monasteries that were built or restored in their territories. In some of them, we also found further names of other families, along with their offices and status. We have encountered such things in many other archives, as well as in some historians.[153]

The brothers of Sainte Marthe then go on to quote numerous lists of witnesses found in donation records. By reading such extant texts against the grain, the authors reconstructed the family connections of the Trémoïlles. Producing a credible genealogy without the expert knowledge of historians acquainted with archives had simply become inconceivable.

Contemporary German princes were also interested in archive-based ge-

nealogical research and increasingly turned to appropriately distinguished scholars with ample research experience.[154] In 1626, Louis of Hesse, who had married a princess from Brandenburg, launched a comprehensive survey of various German princely houses. He requested information about the genealogy of the rulers of Brandenburg. In this case, legally guaranteeing his own claims to noble status was secondary; rather, Louis was interested in ensuring that later generations could "see [in such a] line of descent [. . .], as in a brightly shining mirror, the fortitude and high princely virtues of their greatly esteemed forefathers of their maternal line, and follow them gloriously in their lives, what they do and do not do, [and have] an everlasting *monitorium*."[155] These efforts continued later: in 1648, a family tree was printed and in 1649 Johann Jost Winckelmann was employed for a year to produce a *Chronicon genealogicum*.[156] The dukes of Saxe-Eisenach were also preoccupied with their princely ancestors. This case, from 1631, concerned heraldry rather than genealogy. They wanted to have large-scale depictions of the old family crests woven into tapestries, so they first asked Hortleder to provide absolutely certain confirmation for the available information. Archival research initiated by the princes but carried out entirely by non-aristocratic experts was the basis for practices of visual representation in one of the most ambitious artistic media of the time.[157]

Through the trend toward methodologically rigorous, critical genealogy, archive use became ever more embedded in the practices of aristocratic self-understanding and representation. It is important to emphasize that not only scholarly genealogists, but also aristocratic families themselves were heavily involved in this genealogical turn toward archives and their introduction to mainstream culture.[158] To support their genealogical evidence-collecting, aristocrats often went to great lengths to obtain relevant documents. Jules Mazarin, for instance, cardinal and chief minister of Louis XIII, wrote several letters between 1654 and 1661 to the small community of Montaldeo north of Genoa in order to obtain some documents concerning his genealogy. He wanted to prove a connection between two homonymous Mazzarini families from Sicily and Genoa.[159] In general, the members of the nobility increasingly attempted to keep the evidence of their family history in more or less good order or even complete it, especially on account of political pressure, such as that exercised by the French kings. Over time, genealogical works came to be viewed as a necessary component of a well-ordered aristocratic archive.[160] Genealogies and archives might even virtually coincide. When Louis de Bouvier from Lausanne compiled an inventory of his family archive in 1445, his cataloguing of documents repeatedly veered into a brief

family history as he wrote.[161] His recapitulation of family connections arose directly from his list of the individual documents he had to describe. Archival inventory and family history melded in a single text.

The same intimate connection that genealogy created between aristocrats and archives is reflected in an entirely different medium in a bundle of files from the French noble family of the Jaucourts two and a half centuries later.[162] This unorganized collection of drafts and working papers reveals that the Jaucourts of the eighteenth century were constantly engaged in and confronted with archive-based genealogical research. Family trees were drawn and corrected, information on individual ancestors was distilled from documents, and delegates were dispatched to the archives to conduct research. The Jaucourts' genealogical interest in their own past became wrapped up in a kind of seigneurial history of the family. Thus their notes also contain various information about castles, seigneurial rights, and economic affairs. Genealogies and surveys of feudal rights went hand in hand during archival research. Precisely in their provisional, unorganized, and unrefined form, the archive-related working papers of the Jaucourts document how thoroughly the practice of confirming one's genealogical background had become an everyday routine among the nobility.

The symbiosis of aristocrats and scholarly historians had ambivalent consequences for both sides. In the best-case scenario, constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation was the result. In 1623, for example, Friedrich Hortleder provided valuable information about the genealogy of the Schenk von Tautenburg family in Saxony and could feel sure of their gratitude and goodwill.[163] Aristocrats could also often count on historians to understand their interest in keeping various documents secret.[164] But they also might quickly find themselves pursuing conflicting goals. Étienne Baluze tried outright to blackmail powerful aristocrats into opening their archives by citing their obligation to document their genealogy. If Archbishop Daniel de Cosnac refused to make documents available to him for review, Baluze wrote in 1688, then he would have to publish in his forthcoming genealogy that certain family connections that Cosnac presumed to be obvious were unverifiable and so open to attack.[165] The Cosnacs gave in, which in this case actually turned out to be to their benefit. Since archive research became a genealogical standard, recalcitrant aristocrats were less and less able to escape this scholarly social practice. Archives were not only influenced by nobles, but might also influence them in turn.

Vice versa, genealogical archival work might put not only the nobility, but the genealogists themselves in dire straits. Baluze, who had been so pow-

erful in 1688, lost the support of Louis XIV in 1710 because he had, in the king's opinion, used "forged" documents to defend the genealogy of the La Tour-Bouillon family, which eclipsed that of the royal family itself. Exile was his reward.[166] Genealogical archival work was lucrative but dangerous. Still, the potential of document repositories for family histories radiated a powerful force of attraction that even archivists and archive practitioners of far more humble milieus neither could nor wished to escape. In the view of many authorities on archives, the production of genealogies was even part of an archivist's everyday business. Pierre Camille Le Moine, for example, included a detailed section on the "Method for Preparing a Genealogy" in his praxis-oriented handbook of 1765, intended primarily for members of the profession who managed rural seigneurial archives.[167] Aristocrats, archives, ancestors—within this triangle, not only were key aspects of the early modern social order legitimized, but also the historiographical, written, and scholarly culture of Europe was shaped decisively. Genealogy was a vital defining power of European archival culture.

TALKING ABOUT ARCHIVAL WORK, OR: THE ARCHIVE AS A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE TOPOS

Analysis of the past had thus become archival, and historians were willing and able to talk about this fact. It is indisputable that talking about archives became an important element of historians' professional habitus. The narrative role and rhetorical function of archives and archival work, however, were multifaceted and ambiguous. On the one hand, the difficulties of archival work could and had to be appreciated and mentioned. The endlessly repeated accounts of the struggle for archive access and the difficulty of working with the documents found inside became a veritable badge of expertise and seriousness. The ability to tell plausible and detailed archive stories, whether in letters or in the prefaces of publications, played no small part in marking a historian or editor as an expert and lending authority to his product. Personal familiarity with several archives guaranteed legitimacy. Archive experience became a mark of quality and a criterion of competence. When in 1600 Heinrich Meibom wanted to highlight his special expertise as a historian to various enemies, he emphasized precisely this aspect: his professional opinion should be taken especially seriously, and not just because he had been active as a professor for "now more than forty-four" years, but particularly because "I had sought out all kinds of written antiquities at the

places where they hopefully were kept"—thus, for Meibom, archive visits served as a proof of distinction. Meibom used this argument in a sticky situation. He wanted to prove, *contra* another historian, that a certain charter of Emperor Louis the Bavarian *did not exist*, although it was discussed in the scholarly literature. Historiographical arguments *ex negativo* were (and are) always dangerous, given the overwhelming mass of archival materials. But Meibom cast his lifelong experience with archives into the balance as an argument. Although for decades he "had received more and better opportunities to make inquiry about old diplomas, documents, and papers," he had "not found [. . .] the slightest information" about the document in question.[168] The experienced historian's knowledge (or ignorance) was elevated to a criterion of truth by virtue of his extensive, personal familiarity with archives. Research that was conducted "not only through letters, but in person" garnered respect and conferred credibility.[169]

Historians also repeatedly described the details of their own hands-on archival work, because regularly telling stories of archive use illustrated their archival expertise and made their claims plausible. They often elevated archive visits to outright heroic deeds. One historian, for example, stressed that his source material could only be described as an "abyss" that he, of course, had managed to bridge with his almost superhuman "patience."[170] Christoph Lehmann, with whom we began this chapter, stressed quite similarly how "tough and hard" the work on his *Chronica* had become.[171] Thanks to his indefatigable "efforts" and "diligence," though, he had shed light on the darkness.

At first glance, Dom Martène and Dom Durand describe similar things in their *Voyage littéraire*, published in 1717.[172] The two traveling historians' itinerary was impressive. Over the years, they visited over eight hundred abbeys and one hundred bishoprics to collect material for the massive *Gallia christiana* project. The *Voyage* gives a conversational account of these months-long journeys from monastery to monastery, bishopric to bishopric, village to village. The two authors tell of the most diverse difficulties and amusing episodes that they experienced along the way: visits prevented by processions, Martène falling into water, bad road conditions, trouble with horses, sickness, and even the threat of plague.[173] More than once the archives were in such poor condition that they first had to be cleaned. Other archives had been destroyed by war or natural disasters.[174] We can see in their account, on the one hand, that Martène and Durand were already very well informed and had clear ideas about local holdings; on the other hand, and just as frequently, they traveled to particular monasteries to see whether there were any documents there at all.

The *Voyage littéraire* also contains the conspicuous retelling of interesting episodes taken from everyday research. But in this extensive scholarly travelogue, we can observe yet another at least equally important, albeit countervailing, narrative tendency: namely, the authors' silence about the archives that were actually the focus of their trip. Often, the archives vanish for pages on end behind casual descriptions of architecture and historical anecdotes, coupled with various religious remarks.[175] Whenever something is said about archives, it is done in a narrative style that obscures difficulties and sources of frustration in preference for an entertaining, edifying register. The Benedictine monks' silence about their actual archival work—the copying and page-turning, the seeking and (not) finding, the reading and deciphering—is almost deafening. Only very seldom, and then merely in passing, does this literary account mention the methodologically rigorous source criticism that Martène and Durand had learned from Mabillon and undoubtedly applied to every archive.[176] Apparently, they felt no account of actually using archives was needed. Seemingly harmless statements, such as "I visited the documents and found the following interesting details there" or "I obtained all the information I needed," conceal the exacting nature of methodologically rigorous archival work.[177] Statements admitting relief, frustration, or exhaustion are correspondingly rare.[178] In the highly specialized milieu of the Maurists, mention of archives quickly became a literary gesture necessary merely to authenticate an "interesting," "unique," or "unusual" historical source and embed it in the narrative.

At the end of their six-year archive trip, Martène and Durand had accomplished a major achievement. They had "found" over two thousand documents in archives for *Gallia christiana*. This in turn created over two thousand new "epistemic things," that is, phenomena constructed by scholars that, after this preparatory process, can become the basis of (historical) knowledge.[179] Archives were transformed into a series of significant individual documents that could be presented at the end of one's research as an undeniable, ineluctable basis for the interpretation of the past. Archival work turns archival materials into the building blocks of historical narratives. This process is by no means trivial. On the contrary, it is extraordinarily creative and constructive. Epistemic things, as scholars of intellectual history have shown, are culturally created. The search for facts itself changes, indeed even creates archival materials as "epistemic objects." But although they accordingly are constructed in order to serve historiography, the documents discovered are often presented as inalterable, fixed "facts"; hence, narratives that build on them are free to dispense with the myriad ways in which

such facts are "made." At least, early modern historiography often conceals the creative processes that transform amorphous papers into a series of discrete, organized documents and charters, on which in turn an interpretive historical account could be built. The creation of historiographical facts was *de facto* physical, chaotic, and contingent, but these traits vanish in literary depictions. The narrative style of the *Voyage littéraire* shows exactly that: with two thousand new documents, one also felt two thousand times over the inclination to suppress the taxing, creative, and in some cases completely unforeseeable processes that had created these "facts."

Martène and Durand's *Voyage* is undoubtedly an extreme example of this narrative approach to archival research, since it attempts to make a (modest) literary spectacle out of an archive journey undertaken for highly specialized reasons. But, in doing so, it also illustrates in this radical way how archive visits became a legitimating topos, an emblem of historiographical rectitude.[180] On the one hand, the difficulties of the archival work one had carried out might be cited to legitimate the findings, and details might sometimes be given of the circumstances of the work. On the other, the narrative ensured that the archival work one had undertaken would be taken to guarantee unimpeachable historical facts, leaving no room for skepticism or doubt.

In this way, archives began to acquire key rhetorical and legitimizing importance for historiography. Archives were invoked as a topos when authors aspired to sniff out authentic information about the past. They became a place of hope for knowledge of the past. This rhetorical utilization was reflected in manifold practices and everyday difficulties, as we have seen. By no means everyone, but certainly a great many, and especially a growing number of historians, began to view historiography and archival work as two sides of the same coin and to describe them as interconnected. This tradition shapes our understanding of history and historiography even today.

Epilogue

The Premodern and Modern Archive

On July 14, 1789, the citizens of Paris stormed the Bastille. On August 6, 1806, Emperor Francis II laid down the crown of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. In the wake of these events, European archival culture also underwent profound change. The most obvious consequence of this sea change was undoubtedly the fact that the social and political structures of the old society of estates fell away. The old charters and legal titles on which the tightly woven net of dependent relationships between the estates was based were thus robbed of their everyday function. The moment the old legal edifice of the society of estates collapsed in France and Germany, the patrimonial function of archives ceased. At a blow, most archives lost their contemporary legal significance. They became remnants of a vanished epoch, of a defunct legal system. Archives now became historically, not legally, relevant.

Interest in repositories of written texts was also transformed. The break with tradition in the Holy Roman Empire changed elites' relationship with the past, as Wolfgang Burgdorf has shown.[1] The archival and documentary expertise of imperial jurists was rededicated and made available for historical research with unprecedented intensity. History was sundered from the current state of law. These elites were no longer interested in archives because they wanted to document current, valid legal relationships, but rather because archives contained the historical legacy of the nation. The new historical culture was linked to the rising nationalism of the nineteenth century.

History, and the period of the Middle Ages in particular, became a symbol of national identity. New social forms of organized historical archival and scholarly research emerged against this background. Both academic institutions, such as the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, founded in 1819–1832, and a broad social spectrum of historical societies were typical, serving to help the nation to uncover its historical legacy. Archival work played an important part in all these facets of the historical culture. Various civic groups, enthusiasm for the past, national consciousness, and archive use blended in a new way.[2] This turn toward history often was marked by nostalgic romanticism or aggressive rehabilitation of the Ancien Régime.[3]

The new social position of archives and the knowledge to be got from them was accompanied by the professionalization of source criticism and archivology. Institutions like the École des Chartes in Paris, founded in 1821, or the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung in Vienna, founded in 1854, became centers (despite various early difficulties) of specialized training in diplomatics and auxiliary sciences.[4] Karl Lachmann laid the foundation of modern philology, which was also of major importance for historians' archival and editorial practices—for example, Lachmann had personal and professional contacts to scholars collaborating on the Monumenta.[5]

Reflections about archives also were integrated into the scholarly world and systematized in novel forms. Joseph Anton Oegg's treatise on archives from 1804, for example, featured scholarly language inspired by Immanuel Kant that attempted to force archives into a rational matrix with new terminological and systematical rigor. The practice of archiving was to be given a supposedly logical structure.[6] The buildings that housed archives themselves became the subject of increasingly precise reflections, inspiring a distinct architectural discourse about this building type in the latter half of the century. Archives came to occupy a prominent place in the urban landscape of many cities.[7] Finally, archive schools were founded in the nineteenth century, where archivists could be systematically educated under state supervision.[8]

In many regards, national and state archives were at the forefront of these changes to European archival culture—their purpose was to make holdings available for the historical master narrative of the nation.[9] This was a new type of archive that had not existed as such in the Early Modern Period. In both France and Germany, the disintegration of the Ancien Régime had led to a massive redistribution and centralization of archival materials. Aristocratic and monastic archives were removed from their centuries-old locations and (if they escaped destruction) rehoused in new public institutions. After the break with tradition around the year 1800, the task of administer-

ing these archives fell to the state, especially for holdings of historical interest. In France, the Archives Nationales was founded in 1794, and Archives departementales in 1796; similar institutions were created in Germany in the successor states to the Holy Roman Empire.[10] As a result, archives became government institutions and were seamlessly integrated into administrative apparatuses and bureaucratic hierarchies. A national archival policy on a new scale became conceivable, and debates over the centralization of archives or the compilation of overviews of all national archival holdings were the order of the day.[11]

Other archives, such as ecclesiastical or civic institutions, also profited from these developments, but their archivists often betrayed a somewhat divergent understanding of their duties. City archivists, for example, remained to a certain extent more open to the idea that archives should not be completely subsumed under ministerial and state bureaucracies.[12] Such institutions frequently performed further tasks of historical documentation, such as keeping city chronicles. While the dominant archivological view that emerged from state archives viewed archives ever more emphatically as passive institutions for storing official bureaucratic documentation, city and regional archives remained more open to proactively collecting various materials and to other services of a historical nature.

With the French Revolution, the notion of democratizing archives became feasible to a previously unimagined extent. The comprehensive archive law issued by the French National Assembly on June 25, 1794 (Messidor 7, II), regulated more than simply the extensive and highly symbolic destruction that was to be inflicted on feudal legal titles. Article 37 laid down that all citizens were to have unlimited, free access to all public archives at set visiting hours. Archive access had become a civil right.[13] Of course, access to archives, especially for historians, remained the object of governmental concern and control efforts throughout the nineteenth century. But notwithstanding such qualifications, the law of 1794 was the first to formulate the important connection between democracy and archive access, a connection that remains important today.[14]

With all these consequences, the years of upheaval around 1800 inaugurated a phase of rapid change in European archival history. In many areas, the archival conditions of the Ancien Régime were abolished. The state-organized, professionalized, and (with many qualifications and intermediate steps) democratized archive of the Modern Era altered the self-conception of archives and archivists. Despite all these changes, though, we should note this: the nineteenth century did not mark a total break, a completely new

beginning. It did not simply mean a transition from "primitive" to "actual" archives; it is not synonymous with the end of the prehistory and the beginning of the "real" history of European archives. In many regards, the archives, archivists, and archive users of the nineteenth century took the experiences of bygone times for granted and continued their practices. The storage conditions in many places, for instance, remained the same for a long time, so that early modern archivists would have felt right at home.[15] The methodological "archival turn" that swept through historiography took place long before Leopold von Ranke, as we have seen. Ranke himself was forced to wrestle with archive access in a complicated way, recalling the efforts of early modern historians.[16] The academic correspondence between the historians Georg Waitz and Theodor Sickel in the 1860s strongly recalls the exchange of letters between early modern scholars.[17] The ability to borrow files to take home long remained a totally ordinary practice in many archives, even state archives.[18] Just as in the past, this had catastrophic consequences: in 1880, valuable manuscripts from the eighth century that the Roman historian Theodor Mommsen was working on were lost when his private home went up in flames.[19]

And archive buildings still collapse in the twenty-first century—disaster notoriously struck the Historical Archive of the City of Cologne in 2009—and files that might be politically "dangerous" are sometimes destroyed in flagrant violation of the rules, even in democratic states.[20] Historians still complain even today about archivists who hinder their work with forms of passive resistance that would have been all too familiar to their early modern counterparts: refusing to provide information, removing finding aids, misplacing documents.[21] If we look at the everyday practices of archival work, the caesura circa 1800 is not as sharp as it first may seem.

Ultimately, the modern archives of Europe are built on premodern, medieval, and early modern archives in a very basic sense: it was these periods of European history that firmly anchored archives as institutions, archivists as a social type, and archiving as a cultural practice in European society. The saturation of Europe with archives occurred long before the nineteenth century, however much archives may have changed since then. Between the Middle Ages and the French Revolution, archives became both an everyday and ubiquitous element of European politics, economics, jurisprudence, and culture. It was then that European culture itself became archival.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. AN P 2618, unfoliated, contains the extensive records of proceedings on this case.
2. Cf., e.g., Bouza, *Corre*, 39f.
3. Ozanam, *Le Palais*.
4. Loyseau, *Traité*, 287.
5. Goutal-Arnal, "Le Palais marchand."
6. Vivo, *Information*, 49–53.
7. Ago, *Il gusto delle cose*.
8. Cf. also Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 44–48.
9. Shapin and Ophir, "The Place of Knowledge," exemplifies this approach.
10. Steedman, *Dust*.
11. There are hardly any precedents, but cf. Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare"; Andermann, "Archivbenutzung"; Filippini, *Memoria*. On the subject of bureaucracy, albeit without interest in archives, see Sarmant and Stoll, *Régner et governer*.
12. The organic metaphor is explicitly defended, e.g., in Papritz, *Archivwissenschaft*, vol. 1, 85–87; vol. 2, 143f., 152f.
13. Baldwin, *Government*, 412.
14. Reichardt, "Praxeologische Geschichtswissenschaft," 48.
15. "Activations of the record" is the expression used by Keletaar in *Records Out*, 203.
16. Artières, "Histoire d'Archives," 126.
17. Cf., e.g., Chartier, *Order of Books*.
18. For overviews, see Findlen, "The Museum"; Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.
19. Shapin, *Scientific Revolution*, offers an introduction to this current research.
20. Vismann, *Files*; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.

21. This institutional perspective still dominates in Hochedlinger, *Österreichische Archivgeschichte*.

22. Cf., e.g., two outstanding studies: Baschet, *Histoire*; Tröger, *Die Archive*.

23. Cf. also the critical remarks in Sandri, "La storia," 102, on this limited form of archival history.

24. Behne, in "Geschichte aufbewahren," 286f., for instance, argues along these lines.

25. Cf. some astonishing quotations in an American context as late as the late 1980s in O'Toole, "Symbolic Significance of Archives," 235.

26. Reininghaus, "Archivgeschichte." Cf. also McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 257.

27. E.g., Rück, "Zur Diskussion"; Behne, "Mantua"; Rodríguez de Diego, "Archivos del poder"; id., "Estudio." This is also true of Irace and Bartoli Langeli, "Gli archivi." See now also the monumental work of Grebe, *Simancas*.

28. Barret, *La mémoire*; Goez, *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*.

29. This is argued also by O'Toole in "Symbolic Significance of Archives."

30. Stoler, *Archival Grain*, 44–47 and *passim*.

31. Ernst, "Gedächtnisort."

32. Davis, *Fiction in the Archive*; Farge, *Goût*.

33. Ernst, *Im Namen von Geschichte*, 553–756 (quotation on 554). Cf. also Derrida, "Archive Fever," 38.

34. Cf., e.g., Stoler, *Archival Grain*; Hamilton, ed., *Refiguring*.

35. Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 36.

36. The second quote is from Ernst, *Rumoren*, 24, cited also in Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 57. The key passage quoted above is from Foucault, *Archeology*, 129. A case study is Netzloff, "Speed."

37. See Csendes, "Metaphern für Archive"; Manoff, *Theories*; Ernst, *Rumoren*, 18–20 and *passim* on Foucault's highly metaphorical concept of archives.

38. Derrida, "Archive Fever."

39. On the concept of the "unconscious archive," see Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 19. For helpful explanations of Derrida, see Bell, "Infinite Archives."

40. See especially Groys, *Über das Neue*. Cf. also Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 56f.; Derrida, "Archive Fever," 45 and *passim*.

41. Ferraris, *Documentality* (quotation about bureaucracy on 32).

42. On the concept, see, e.g., Ebeling and Günzel, eds., *Archivologie*. Cf., however, e.g., Netzloff, "Speed." *passim*.

43. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*; Bautier, "Histoire des Archives," 1121–25.

44. Cf. the overview in Zozaya Montes, "Una Revisión." Helpful critical remarks may also be found there.

45. Cf. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 259n6, for a similar interpretation. Pitz, "Registraturwesen," part 1, 59f., also emphasizes continuity between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

46. Lodolini, *Lineamenti*; Sandri, "La storia."

47. Rodríguez de Diego, "Archivos del poder."
48. Bautier, "La phase cruciale."
49. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 6, 44f., and *passim*. Youn, "Archival Traditions," emphasizes that this was not the case in this form in Korea. The quotation is from there.
50. On these terms, see Esch, "Überlieferungs-Chance."
51. See, e.g., the references in Beasley and Pulleyblank, eds., *Historians*; Youn, "Archival Traditions"; Zhang, "Chinese Imperial Archives."

CHAPTER 2

1. Siegert, "Perpetual Doomsday," 69.
2. For an example of a call for the regular destruction of selected files, see Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 69–71. For examples of numerous acts of destruction, see García Ruipérez and Fernández Hidalgo, *Los archivos municipales*, 146f.; Duranti, "Medieval Universities and Archives," 39.
3. Cf., e.g., Keller, ed., *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*; Britnell, ed., *Pragmatic Literacy*.
4. On Carolingian written culture, cf., e.g., McKitterick, *Books*; McKitterick, *History and Memory*.
5. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 271, 274, with charts. For Italy, see Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*; Behrmann, "Einleitung," 8. On the feudal system, see Spieß, *Formalisierte Autorität*.
6. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 61.
7. Cf. Frenz, *Kanzlei*, 38.
8. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 50.
9. See the edition in Zimmermann, "Protocoles," vol. 2, 79.
10. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 9, 151–56.
11. Brundage, *Medieval Origins*.
12. Wetzstein, "Prozeßschriftgut"; Helmholz, "Quoniam contra falsam."
13. Brundage, *Medieval Origins*, 439, 446.
14. Cf. Magin, "Schriftlichkeit."
15. See the pointed remarks of Laffont in "Une dynastie notariale," 355f.
16. Meyer, *Felix et inclitus notarius*; Costamagna, *Il notaio a Genova*; Costamagna, "La conservazione."
17. Cf., e.g., Magistrale, ed., *Protocolli*.
18. Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 272; Amman-Doubliez, "Esquisse," 183.
19. Audisio, "Notariat en Provence," 522: 66.3 percent of 7,266 notarial acts.
20. The concept of "banality" comes from Audisio, in "Notariat en Provence," who, however, attempts to paint a more "colorful" picture of this professional group with his study of other notarial documents.
21. Bec, *Les marchands*. On book-keeping, see especially Arlinghaus, *Notiz*; Ketelaar, "Records Out."
22. For a brief overview, cf. Dover, "Deciphering."
23. Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta* is representative of the extensive literature on this subject.

24. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.
25. Cf., e.g., Soll, *Information Master*.
26. Baldwin, *Government*, 137–52. On the papers of the Chambre, see Langlois, "Registres perdus."
27. Hageneder, "Die päpstlichen Register," 52. On book-keeping, see Weiß, *Rechnungswesen*.
28. See the overview in Revel, "Knowledge of the Territory."
29. The quotation is from Langlois, "Registres perdus," 89f.
30. Behrmann, "Von der Sentenz zur Akte."
31. For a comprehensive, media-historical view, cf. Vismann, *Files*.
32. Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 7–18 and *passim.*
33. Dartmann, "Dimensionen"; Keller, "Die Veränderung"; Simon, *"Gute Policey*." On written culture in the cities of the German Empire, cf. Pitz, *Aktenwesen*. In general, see also Koch, "Archivierung."
34. Cammarosano, *Italia medievale*, 113f.; Irace and Bartoli Langeli, "Gli archivi," 405–9; Koch, "Archivierung."
35. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 9.
36. This is emphasized by Kosto in "*Liber feudorum*." He thus takes a view contrary to that of McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest."
37. Cf., e.g., Cygler, Melville, and Oberste, "Aspekte."
38. Quoted in Brundage, *Medieval Origins*, 148.
39. For France, see Métayer, *Au tombeau*. For Spain, see Bouza, *Corre*, 31–47.
40. Cf. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest."
41. Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*.
42. To the Council of Augsburg, May 3, 1511, ed. König, *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, 143.
43. Kleinau, *Geschichte*, 22f. (quotation on 1584); *Memoires d'Estat*, 68; Wencker, *Apparatus*, 52.
44. StA Marburg 19a 534. The quote is from an unfoliated letter of September 26, 1597. In contrast, at virtually the same date in Ansbach, cf. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 45f.
45. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 292.
46. For an overview, see Bouchard, "Monastic Cartularies."
47. Guyotjeannin, "La science des archives."
48. Cf., e.g., Barret, *La mémoire*, 107–43.
49. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 48.
50. See the summary in Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz III."
51. Schulte, ed., *Summa*, 104.
52. The quotations and assessment are from Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz III," 100.
53. Frenz, *Kanzlei*, e.g., 133. For *breves*, in contrast, cf. p. 175.
54. Hageneder, "Die päpstlichen Register," 49–51.
55. See the overview in Hageneder, "Die päpstlichen Register." For the quotation "unclear," cf. p. 59.
56. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 50f.
57. Canteaut, "Les archives du Parlement."

58. On the registration of wills in England since 1254, cf. Postles, "Record Keeping."
59. See especially Teuscher, *Erzähltes Recht*, 279–90.
60. On the terminology, cf., e.g., Romiti, "Archival Inventorying," 91–95.
61. For an exemplary overview, see Keitel and Keyler, eds., *Serielle Quellen*.
62. De Wignacourt, *Observations*, 81.
63. Cf. Guyotjeannin, "Super omnes," 113; McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 289f.
64. Cf. in general Vismann, *Files*.
65. For discussion of the term *filza*, see Romiti, "Archival Inventorying."
66. Metzler, ed., *Briefe*, 303, 346f.
67. Ibid., 409.
68. Ibid., 375f.
69. Ibid., 272f., 276, 283, and *passim*. On "newsletters" (*Neue Zeitungen*) that he shared, see pp. 274, 298, and *passim*.
70. Ibid., 322, 415.
71. Ibid., 253.
72. Ibid., 499.
73. Mentioned ibid., 289, 369 (from 1538).
74. Ibid., 274f., 277f., 278, 285, 305, 360, and *passim*.

CHAPTER 3

1. Riley, ed., *Annals*, vol. 2, 328. Cf., e.g., Vismann, *Files*, 76f.
2. Baldwin, *Government*, 408–10, stresses the year 1194 as a turning point in archival praxis.
3. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 19f.
4. The *grands jours* (extraordinary sessions of parlement) took place at changing locations; cf., e.g., Aubry, Langlois, and Reydellet, "Les Archives," 130. The parlement of Aix was postponed on account of the risk of plague; see Dolan, *Le notaire*, 25–35.
5. Michaud, *La grande Chancellerie*, 292, 334 (quotation on 334).
6. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, vol. 4, 421. For the actual wording, see Zinnhobler, "Leichenrede," 70f.
7. Antoine Granvelle to Ferdinand I, Sept., 5, 1557, ed. Brandi, *Berichte und Studien*, 259.
8. On this tradition, see the critical study by Favier, *La mémoire*. Cf. also Guyotjeannin and Potin, "La fabrique," 22f.
9. McCrank, "Documenting Reconquest," 265.
10. The quotation is from Favier, *La mémoire*, 22.
11. Guyotjeannin and Potin, "La fabrique," 22, 24. Guyotjeannin, "Super omnes"; Guyotjeannin , "Les méthodes."
12. On the location of the collection, see Potin, "Archives en sacristie."
13. The quotation is from Guyotjeannin, "Super omnes," 114 (see also 128f, with examples).

14. Moreau's correspondence often documents intense work in the middle of the eighteenth century on indexing and extracting material from the register volumes; see BnF Moreau 343 and *passim*.

15. Cf. Hildesheimer, *Les Archives de France*.

16. Grün, "Notice," XXXIII–XLVII. For an overview, see Aubry, Langlois, and Reydellet, "Les Archives."

17. AN U 2343, fol. 1^{r-v}.

18. Langlois, "Registres perdus."

19. Richard, "Les archives."

20. Thus Denis Godefroy III from Lille to Chancellor Seguier, BnF Ms fr 17411, fol. 161^{r}.

21. On this and the ensuing discussion, see Baschet, *Histoire*.

22. Sarmant and Stoll, *Régner et gouverner*, 381–89; Soll, *Information Master*.

23. Baschet, *Histoire*, 59f.

24. AN Marine 8 B 18 (Memoire de Lafillard), 29.

25. AN Marine 8 B 25, p. 3. This material came largely from the possession of Marquis de Seignelay and other "principaux officiers."

26. Tadra, ed., *Summa*, 81.

27. Koegl, "Die Bedeutung," 198.

28. Schnurrer, "Geschichte"; Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*.

29. Sprandel, *Ratsprotokoll*, 38. Cf., in general, Pitz, *Aktenwesen*.

30. Lippert, "Archive"; Zimmermann, "Grundlagen"; Klinkenborg, *Begründung*; Kleinau, *Geschichte*.

31. Schneider, "Geschichte," 1 ("eigentliche Archiveinrichtung").

32. Koegl, "Die Bedeutung"; Stolz, *Archiv- und Registraturwesen*.

33. Tille, "Versuch"; Hochedlinger, "Geistige Schatzkammer Österreichs," 18f.

34. Droste, *Lüneburg*, 33–48, 263f.

35. Hildesheimer, *Les Archives de France*, 27.

36. ASR Camerale II Notariato busta 1, no. 2, fol. 40^{v}; San Martini Barrovecchio, "Gli archivi," 302–7 (citing a list of places).

37. Cf., e.g., Alvarez-Coca González, "El Consejo de las Ordenes Militares."

38. Cf., e.g., Beretta, "L'Archivio"; Chiappafreddo, "L'Archivio."

39. Cf., e.g., Grebe, *Simancas*; Poncet, *Les Archives*; Hochedlinger, "Geistige Schatzkammer Österreichs"; Hochedlinger, *Österreichische Archivgeschichte*, 50–59.

40. Cf. Gembicki, *Histoire*, 84–173.

41. Cf. AD Haute-Vienne C 276. This file proves that the *intendants* and their delegates were much more heavily involved than in the picture that emerges from Gembicki, *Histoire*, 127–29.

42. Feldkamp, *Die Kölner Nuntiatur*; Hugon, *Au service*, 128f.; López Toro, ed., *Epistolas*, 267f., 272–76; Pedani Fabris, *I "documenti turchi"*, 445.

43. Burns, *Into the Archive*; Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*.

44. Masères, *Freeholder*, vol. 2, 192.

45. Koschorke, ed., *Minutes*, 17, 41, 55, 63, 77f., 84f., 283, 292, 309 and *passim*.

46. Müller's efforts are praised by Coxe, *Travels*, vol. 1, 368–70; cf. also Hoffmann, *Gerhard Friedrich Müller*, 155, 267–80.

47. Hare, "Records."

48. Myers, *Records*.

49. This is the view taken by Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 171, who views the reign of Louis XII (1462–1515) as a turning point.

50. AD Gironde C 4251, fol. 147^{r} (no. 4).

51. AD Gironde C 4251, fol. 138^{v} (March 26, 1709).

52. For a highly readable overview, cf. McNeely and Wolverton, *Reinventing knowledge*, 37–75.

53. Barret, *La mémoire*; Goez, *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*.

54. Cf. Penz, "Prälatenarchive," 687, for the quotation ("kein eigenes Archiv zu erwarten"); Penz, "Erinnern."

55. Friedrich, "Archive und Verwaltung"; Friedrich, "Archives as Networks."

56. Cf. several requests from 1680 in StA Darmstadt F 11/A 1/3. On their difficulties with the *registrator* Erbenius in Mainz, cf. esp. p. 2 (shortly before Feb. 6, 1680).

57. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 43f.; Hochedlinger, *Österreichische Archivgeschichte*, 266–69.

58. MGH Cap II, 339: *Episcopi privilegia Romanae sedis et regum praecepta ecclesiis suis confirmata vigilii solertia custodiant*.

59. Ottnad, "Das Archivwesen," *passim*.

60. Cf. the edited appointment documents in Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, vol. 2, 195–99.

61. Burg, "Les archives," 121f.; Ottnad, "Das Archivwesen," 78; Scherzer, "Die Anfänge."

62. Burg, "Les archives"; Pitz, "Registraturwesen"; Ottnad, "Das Archivwesen"; Jäger, *Fürstentum Fulda*, 325–34; Donati, *Curie*.

63. Reuss, "Les Collectanées de Daniel Specklin" (part 2), 385. On Johann himself, see Hahn, *Manderscheid*.

64. On Trent, cf., e.g., Hoffmann, "De influxu." For an edition of *Muneris nostri*, see Duca, ed., *Enchiridion*, 6–8.

65. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 164.

66. Palestra, "San Carlo"; Palestra, "La Legislazione."

67. *Acta et Decreta*, vol. 1, col. 39, 129, 362, 579f. (pulpit).

68. Duca, ed., *Enchiridion*, 104–16; Loevinson, "La costituzione."

69. For parish archives in Paris, cf. Bos, "Les archives." Bos makes no mention of Trent.

70. Börsting, *Geschichte der Matrikeln*.

71. AD Ain G 214, unfoliated (visitation record). Upon the death of Father Guilliot in 1690, however, baptismal registers since 1593 were found when his estate was inventoried.

72. Cattin, ed., *Visites*, 19f. (Trevoux), 54 (St. Cire en Bresse), 202 (Charnox).

73. De Spirito, ed., *Visite*, 88f., 101, 135, 246 (Lob), 281.

74. On Calvin, cf. Grosse, "Techniques"; Kingdon, ed., *Registers*. On the Inquisition, cf., e.g., Scharff, *Häretikerverfolgung*; Scharff, "Schrift zur Kontrolle."

75. Arnold, ed., *Diensttagebuch*, 2. Hütterodt reports that he had reached a "settlement" (*vergliechen*) with the heirs of his predecessor in office regarding the

"Superintendenz Repositur" (i.e., the archive of the superintendent). This must be delivered (*Liefferung*) to him (4).

76. Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 4, 334, 337 (Pomerania 1535), XIII, 207f. (Palatinate-Neuburg 1576), 517 (Regensburg 1588).

77. Arnold, ed., *Diensttagebuch*, 221, 321, 330, 557, 697 ("Nothing can be found in the Repositur").

78. Ibid., 48, 48f., 68f., 311, and *passim*.

79. Ibid., 232, 398.

80. Ibid., 406: "Herr Bodenstein complains about the missing church and pastor registers that his predecessor Herr Becker took with him. He should demand them from his son and I will write to the *decanus*"; cf. 614, 747.

81. Ibid., 567.

82. Ibid., 302.

83. Cf. the competent overview in Schattkowsky, *Rittergut*, 11–59, 111–16.

84. StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 1, unfoliated.

85. Cf. Martin, ed., *Dirmstein*.

86. Ibid., 218f.

87. Harnisch, "Rechnungen," 349 (use of earlier accounts), 351 ("because it was not possible to obtain the registers," 1614). Cf. also Schwineköper, "Das 'Gutsarchiv.'"

88. AD Ain E 396, 397; AD Ain E 140, unfoliated ("summary inventory of the testaments or copies of those that were found in confusion in the archives and which were put in the following order," 1621).

89. HesHStA 121/von Bodeck 1, unfoliated (fasc. 1): quotation from a letter dated June 2, 1660, from Dominicus von Bodeck to Johann Count of Nassau. On October 14, 1660, he also could find just a single document concerning a different subject.

90. Bouza, *Corre*, 53–56, 241–83 and *passim*.

91. Grieser, ed., *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 150f.

92. HesHStA 121/von Breidbach 13, unfoliated (January 11, 1735, to *Lehenssekretär* Voigt).

93. HesHStA 121/Loener von Laurenburg 30, unfoliated ("Exact specification of the documents in my possession, charters of enfeoffment, and other papers," 1756). Six densely written pages follow.

94. For an edition, see Winkelbauer, ed., *Gundaker von Gundaker*, 446–66. On Gundaker himself, see Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendiener*. Cf. also Schattkowsky, *Rittergut,* for similar, albeit not particularly spectacular, findings.

95. Fischer, *Fleißiges Herren-Auge*, vol. 2, 3–25.

96. Charbonnier, "Les justices," 95, 102.

97. Mauclair, "Greffes et Greffiers," 262.

98. Cited in Bailly, *L'Histoire du greffier*, 48. On the decree of the Parlement of Paris, cf. Bosquet, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, 146.

99. AD Ain 46 B 136, unfoliated for La Batie 1695; AD Ain 46 B 4, unfoliated (fasc. "Inventaire"), on Amberieux for 1730 and 1762; AD Ain 42 B 23, unfoliated (1710 and 1772, *Ordonnance du Procureur du Roy* from 1773 after the establishment of the *sénéchaussée* of Dombes).

100. AD Ain C 528, unfoliated (Trevoux).

101. Mauclair, *La justice au village*, 68–71.

102. AD Rhône 4 B 54, unfoliated (fascicle 1 for 1723).

103. AD Rhône 4 B 226, unfoliated (fascicle 1 for 1698); AD Rhône 2 B 260, unfoliated (in fascicle 1729).

104. The quote is from Dalsorg, "Réflexion," 219.

105. AD Saône-et-Loire J 551, unfoliated.

106. AD Ain 12 B 29, unfoliated (July 20, 1748, Claudine Bergier, a few papers and other things kept in a "cabinet"). Similarly, see Ago, *Il gusto delle cose*, 209–13.

107. AD Ain 12 B 31, unfoliated (Barthelmy Moul, June 1758; Elisabeth Collet, October 17, 1758); AD Ain 12 B 29, unfoliated (Jan. 27, 1748, Jean Blanchard; June 27/July 8, 1748, Jacques Bergier; May 23, 1747, Henine Margueritte Cheret); AD Ain 42 B 573, unfoliated (François Blans[?], Apr. 12, 1706).

108. AD Rhône 4 B 226, unfoliated (in fascicle 15).

109. AD Rhône 2 B 260, unfoliated (in fascicle 1736–1737 and fascicle 1740).

110. This emerges from the standardized inventory forms discussed in Mannheims, *Inventar*.

111. AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated (General Pradal to Vilevaut, March 19, 1758), and AD Puy-de-Dôme C 7047, unfoliated (Apr. 7, 1745, Chabrol to the intendant). Lancelot betrays a clear awareness of what is stored in the countryside and what is stored in Paris. In ASR Prefettura degl'Archivi, Cause Criminali 3, unfoliated (no. 4), an "Archivio di Campagna" is contrasted with city archives. Cf. also Auger, *La collection*, 4f.

112. AN 257 AP 11, unfoliated (at the end of fascicle 5).

113. Biscione, "Il Publico generale archivio di Firenze."

114. Friedrich, "Notarial Archives." On (de)centralization, cf. also Amman-Doubliez, "Esquisse," 187f.

115. Efforts to assemble notarial records physically in regional central archives first enjoyed periodic success after 1750; cf. Laffont, "Des gardes-notes à la garde-note," 23–25.

116. Cf. BnF Ms. fr. 7726, fol. 339^{r}–344^{v}. Cf. esp. Prouzat, "Introduction."

117. Such forms had been in use since at least 1736; cf., e.g., AD Deux-Sèvres C 364.

118. Mathieu Marais noted such a case in 1722; cf. Duranton, ed., *Journal*, 578. Paris remained exempt from this rule until 1722; cf. Duranton, ed., *Journal*, 578; and Prouzat, "Introduction," xxvii–xxix.

119. Hildesheimer, "Insinuation."

120. Soleil, "Les justices," 327, with an example for the first inspections in 1751 with a delay of fifteen years.

121. For this law and a *votum* of the royal general advocate in Lyon for keeping registers in duplicate, see AD Rhône BP 3945, unfoliated (fascicle "Greffe 1696–1770"). In general, see Prouzat, "Introduction," xviii, lxxx–lxxxiii.

122. AD Puy-de-Dôme 1 C 1490 contains several warning letters from 1736 to 1739.

123. *Befehl an alle Beambten, die Acta in denen Ämbtern zu registriren, und die registratur davon zur Cantzeley zu schicken* [Order to all officials to register the *Acta* in

their districts and to send the registry thereof to the chancellery], April 29, 1645, StA Gotha SS X 17, unfoliated. It was noted which offices had carried the order out.

124. This and the subsequent information are taken from StA Gotha SS VII 1, unfoliated.

125. On this and for further details, cf. StadtA Mainz 3/15, unfoliated.

126. Cf. a similar position taken in a text edited by Laffont, "Des gardes-notes à la garde-note," 28–31.

127. StA Gotha SS VII 1, unfoliated (letter of Oct. 7, 1668).

128. LA Speyer B2 690/5.

129. Chevrières, *Le nouvel archiviste*, 14.

130. "[I]nfrastructure is all about maintenance. Maintenance, maintenance, and more maintenance," according to Paul N. Edwards, in AHR 2011 (in the AHR conversation "Historical Perspectives on the Circulation of Information"), 1409.

131. De Conde y Delgado Molina, ed., *Brújula*, 54–57 ("profundissimum chaos," "indignum").

132. Donati, *Curie*, 216f.

133. AD Gironde C 4253, fol. 90^{r}.

134. Feutry, "Mémoire"; Feutry, "Sauver les Archives."

135. StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 23^{r}–24^{v} (Johann Georg, Eisenach, to administration in Gotha, March 27, 1685), 138r (Tobias Pfanner, Weimar, to Duke Friedrich II, Gotha, Jan. 18, 1689).

136. StA Gotha SS X 66, contains lists of "defects" dating from as early as 1668, and then from 1701.

137. Letters of Aug. 4, 1717 (quotations), Oct. 9, 1718, and May 13, 1719 in StA Gotha SS X 67, unfoliated.

138. Cf. StAGotha SS X 46a, e.g., fol. 2^{r} (Nov. 11, 1723) and especially the unpaginated letter from Sept. 9, 1723.

139. On this category, cf. Mulsow, *Prekäres Wissen*.

140. Feutry, "Mémoire," 25.

141. Rodríguez de Diego, "Estudio," 55–63; Grebe, *Simancas*, 418–37.

142. Request (Feb. 24, 1670) in StA Gotha SS 1, unfoliated; detailed reply in StA Gotha SS 2, unfoliated.

143. Quoted in Feutry, "Mémoire," 35f.

144. Cf. Joly de Fleury to Maurepas, Jan. 27, 1728, AN O1 749, unfoliated.

145. The discussion in Le Grand, "La table," is inadequate.

146. Cf. esp. AN U 2000–2223, 2232–48.

147. Some volumes have been bound together; cf. AN U 2250–2328.

148. AN U 2329–2411.

149. The finished copy was noted with satisfaction on the snippet volume with the words "Ce volume est fait"; cf., e.g., AN U 2343, unfoliated (title page).

150. Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 94–102, 210–29.

151. The number is taken from Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben*, 118.

152. Sir Hilary Jenkinson mentions a "natural process," and Johannes Papritz explicitly legitimates the metaphor of "organically growing" archival material. However, this metaphor inevitably imposes an inescapable intrinsic logic on the

complex processes behind compiling an archive, whereby everything is merely a consequence of the contextually understandable decisions of individual actors. Cf. Papritz, *Archivwissenschaft*, vol. 1, 70 (Jenkinson), 85–87 ("organic"), and *passim*.

CHAPTER 4

1. For a new edition of *Von der Registratur*, see Strömberg, ed., *Ramingen*. On the author, see Jenny, "Ramingen."

2. Cf., e.g., Sandri, *La letteratura*; D'Addario, "Lineamenti"; Delsalle, *Une histoire*, 144–51; Rumschöttel, "*Entwicklung*." An extremely good but little-known overview may be found in Tröger, *Die Archive*, 371–92.

3. Cf. Vossius, *Epistolae*, vol. 2, 98f.

4. Amezúa, *Lope de Vega*, vol. 1, 215.

5. Ramingen, *Von der Registratur*, fol.)(iij^{r-v} and *passim*. Cf. also fol. Biij^{r} on his father's role as registrar. On his father's activity, cf. the references in Schneider, "Geschichte," 1–4.

6. Ramingen, *Von der Registratur*, fol.)(iiij^{r}. On the text as an "advertising brochure," cf. Richter, *Lagerbücher*, 67.

7. This work is translated in Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio"; Sandri, ed., "Il *De Archivis*."

8. An edited version of the *Commentarius* may be found in Poleni, *Utriusque Thesauri*, vol. 1, cols. 1082–1125. On the text, cf. Born, "Albertino Barisoni."

9. Cf. Sandri, "Nicolo Giussani," 329f., which also provides information on Bonifacio, Barisoni, and Olmo.

10. Lamalle, "Un Livre."

11. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*.

12. Excerpts may be found in Sandri, "Nicolo Giussani."

13. Loyseau, *Traité*.

14. La Roche-Flavin, *Treze livres*.

15. Speidel, *Speculum*, 70f. (s.v. "Archiv"), 1041f. (s.v. "Registraturen").

16. Neveu's text was edited by Wencker and published in his *Collecta archivi*. Edited texts of Radov and Mutter, *De archivis*; Rudloff, *De Archivorum publicorum origine*; Johann Christoph Wagenseil, *De Imperii Archivo, aurea Bulla, et Lipsanis Imperii* (Halle 1675); and Christoph Lyncker, *De archivo imperii* (Jena 1686) are also included in *Collecta archivi*.

17. Schal, *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*.

18. Wedekind, *Dissertationum Scholasticarum Prima*; Behlen, *Dissertatio Inauguralis*.

19. Speidel, *Speculum*, 70 (referencing Boecler); Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. A3^{v}–A4^{r}, D4^{r-v}; Fladt, *Anleitung*, 41 (with Gundling).

20. For a case study from Italy, see Lodolini, "Giurisprudenza." Cf. also Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. E2^{v}–E3^{r}, who holds that documents from private archives have less evidentiary force.

21. Pitz, "Beiträge," col. 279f.

22. Cardinal Mazarin, letter dated Sept. 11, 1654, to Giannettino Giustiniani, edited in Marinelli, *Un corrispondente*, no. [16].

23. Schulte, *Scripturae publicae creditur*; Schulte, "*Fides Publica*."

24. For an introductory overview, cf. Merzbacher, "Ius Archivi." Cf. also Irace and Bartoli Langeli, "Gli archivi," 402–4.

25. Cf., e.g., Schweder, *Introductio*, 948–50.

26. For critical remarks on this narrow definition of *ius archivi*, cf., e.g., Layritz, *Dissertatio*, 7–10.

27. Rudloff, *De archivorum publicorum origine,* gives a typology of imperial estates according to their *ius archivi*. Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. E^{v}–E2^{r}, declares that the organization of an archive should imitate the structure of the empire. Similarly, see Reinkingk, *Politisches Bedencken*; Wedekind, *Dissertationum Scholasticarum Prima*; Behlen, *Dissertatio Inauguralis*.

28. Layritz, *Dissertatio*.

29. Wencker, *Apparatus*.

30. Wencker, ed., *Collecta archivi*. The title notwithstanding, Mader and Schmidt, *De bibliothecis*, is largely irrelevant, since, on the topic of "archives," it only contains Bonifacio's work.

31. Ludovici, *Einleitung Zum Civil-Proceß*, 315–44.

32. Pütter, *Anleitung zur Juristischen Praxi*, 265–92.

33. Fladt, *Anleitung*. Cf. also *Bedencken von Einrichtung*.

34. Balthasar, *Rituale Academicum*, 551–54. Reinkingk, *Politisches Bedencken*, likewise permitted some flexibility in adapting to specific circumstances (33).

35. Fladt, *Anleitung*, 114.

36. Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 57f., 65, 67, and *passim*.

37. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 386–90; Schwineköper, "Zur Geschichte des Provenienzprinzips."

38. The first use of this distinction known to me appears in Eckhard, *Introductio*.

39. Mabillon, *Brèves reflexions*; Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens*; Borghero, *La certezza*.

40. Becker, "Diplomatik und Rechtsgeschichte."

41. Fladt, *Anleitung*, 179f.

42. Legipont, *Dissertationes*, esp. 149–88. A Spanish translation appeared in Valencia in 1759. Cf. also Maffei, *Istoria diplomatica*; Eckhard, *Introductio*, 35f.; Joachim, *Einleitung*, 24f.

43. Adelung, trans., *Neues Lehrgebäude*.

44. Cf. his letter to Roussel dated Oct. 31, 1757, Arsenal Ms 7054, no. 169. Cf. also LeMoine, *Diplomatique-pratique*, i–v (preface).

45. D'Estienne, *L'archiviste citoyen*; Mariée, *Traité des Archives*; Chevrières, *Le nouvel archiviste*. I know only the second edition of Batteney, *L'archiviste françois*, but at least a prospectus is attested as early as 1770 by BnF Moreau 343, fol. 40^{v}.

46. There are no recent studies of this milieu, but cf. Cazauran, "Les Feudistes." I intend to publish several studies of this group in the near future.

47. *Mémoire instructif*, 1751.

48. On Oct. 31, 1757, Le Moine wrote to Roussel that a "livre elementaire" for archivists remained a desideratum; cf. Arsenal Ms 7054, no. 169.

49. Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. A2^{r-v}. Practically the same wording had already occurred in Speidel, *Speculum*, 70f.

50. BayHStA I Hst-Pas 1.1.1.1, fol. IV^{r} (no. 5): "fons originalium Documentorum."

51. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 100f.; Besold and Lindenspür, *Ad ordinationes*, 34f., who are quoted verbatim in Speidel, *Speculum*, 1041.

52. Fosi, "Justice and Its Image"; Friedrich, "Notarial Archives."

53. Cf., e.g., AM Lyon BB 144, fol. 12^{r} (1608) on archives as resources that could help guard against the "grandes changes que le temps et l'abbus on fait glissés au prejudice." Cf. also Chevrières, *Le nouvel archiviste*, 11f.

54. Poleni, ed., *Utriusque Thesauri*, vol. 1, col. 1125.

55. Jakob Bernhard von Multz von Oberschönfeld in Wencker, ed., *Collecta archivi*, 112.

56. Fladt, *Anleitung*, 60.

57. Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. A2^{r-v}.

58. Moser, *Lebens-Geschichte von ihm selbst beschrieben*, vol. 4, 32f.

59. Feldkamp, *Die Kölner Nuntiatur*, 131.

60. Mayerhofer, ed., "Inhalt und Zustand," 249.

61. AA IV 3, p. 332–40.

62. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 10f.; Ramingen, *Von der Registratur*, fol. D^{r}.

63. *Bedencken von Einrichtung*, 17.

64. AA IV 3, p. 332–40. In general, cf. Knabe, "Leibniz' Vorschläge."

65. AA IV 3, p. 340–49.

66. AA IV 4, p. 34 (1688–89, in which Leibniz clearly focuses on the archive). Leibniz had already petitioned his own prince several years before for a *Breviarium Imperii*, which he traced back to the ancient model of Augustus; cf. AA I 2, p. 86ff., and IV 3, p. 332.

67. AA IV 3, p. 335.

68. Althusius, *Politica Methodice digesta*, 92, 229, 252–54.

69. Reinkingk, *Biblische Policey*, 317–22.

70. Reinkingk, *Politisches Bedencken*.

71. Seckendorff, *Fürstenstaat* (ed. 1720), 104f., 432f., 524, 530, 663.

72. Fischer, *Fleißiges Herren-Auge*, vol. 2, 3–25.

73. Cf. the text in Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio," 233f.

74. "Preface," in Sagittarius and Cyprian, *Historia der Graffschaft Gleichen*, fol.)(2^{r}-)()(4^{v}.

75. Black, "Perugia," 531. The term used was "inferno."

76. "telerañas de esse Archivo," letter to Josef Dormer, Dec. 28, 1680, ed. Lamarque, *Cartas*, 200.

77. Conde y Delgado Molina, ed., *Brújula*, 54. Similarly, but not metaphorically, see Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 23.

78. Cf., e.g., the inventory of Lerch von Dirmstein from 1595, in Martin, *Quellen zur Geschichte Dirmsteins*, 23, 26, and *passim* (quotation at 15). Cf. also Salmini, "Buildings," 98, 104f.

79. AD Ain G 145, fol. 77^{r}–325^{r}.

80. AD Rhône 52 J 44, p. 17 (inventory of the family Sabot de Sugny).

81. The term *Verwahranstalten* in the original German emphasizes this passivity. The translation "file repositories" in Vismann, *Files*, 99 is somewhat misleading.

82. Soleil, in "Scenario," 7 cites a French case from 1744 in which during a fire an archivist wanted to rescue what was "*inutille*" last but proved unable to do so.

83. StA Gotha SS X 82, unfoliated (my emphasis).

84. Engel, "Bellum diplomaticum," 333. The counselors argued that one neither could nor should act "in bad faith, that is, in the knowledge of another's right to a property" ("*mit bösem glauben d.i. wissenschaft von eines andern gerechtigkeit an einem gute*").

85. AM Lyon BB 294, fol. 95^{r}–96^{r}.

86. StadtA Speyer 1A/77, fol. 43^{r}–44^{v} (he found biographical information about Christoph Lehmann).

87. Baudouin, *De institutione historiae*, 90. On Baudouin, cf. Grafton, *What Was History?*

88. Quoted without date or source in Sarmant and Stoll, *Régner et gouverner*, 381.

89. See the information given at http://www.numismatique-en-maconnais.fr/2011/01/m-bernard-numismate-en-1732-resultat-des-recherches/

90. AD Saône-et-Loire C 771 (quotation at the beginning).

91. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 51.

92. Cf. Lancelot's complaint about earlier archivists who destroyed holdings because they "regardé comme inutile tout ce qui n'alloit pas directement à approuver les droits & les pretentions actuelles des ducs de Lorraine." AN 257 AP 11, unfoliated (no. 5). Prosper Lévêque in 1753 similarly described the destruction of the papers of Cardinal Granvelle. Lévêque, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, XV–XVI.

93. Cf. Ernst, *Rumoren*, 95. Cf. also Derrida, "Archive Fever," 45 and *passim*.

94. Pütter, *Anleitung zur Juristischen Praxi*, 268.

95. In general, see Zedelmaier, *Der Anfang*. In contrast to constructions of the origins of many other fields, these prehistories and early histories of archives are rather modest. There is no archival counterpart, for instance, to Joachim Johann Mader's disquisitions of 1666 on antediluvian libraries; cf. Mader, *Epistola de scriptis et bibliothecis antediluvianis*, 1–30.

96. Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio," 229, 232.

97. Eckhard, *Schediasma*, 13.

98. Rudloff, *De Archivorum publicorum origine*, fol. A3^{r-v}. Cf. also the brief remarks of Wagenseil and von Haller Hallerstein in *Disputatio Juridica*, 3f.

99. Cf. Fritsch, *De Jure*, in Wencker, *Collecta archivi*, 17; Boecler, *Notitia*, 80: "Instructus apparatusque Archivorum, superioribus seculis rudius factus, in melius magis magisque coepit ordinari concinnarique" (quoted in Wencker, *Apparatus*, 43). Cf. also Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 1–6.

100. Eckhard, *Schediasma*; Beheim, *Dissertatio*; Richter and Schmidt, *De tabulariis*. Cf., e.g., Maffei, *Istoria diplomatica*, 95f.

101. Cf., e.g., Eckhard, *Schediasma*, 29–31.

102. Cf. the excerpts from Mabillon in Wencker, ed., *Collecta archivi*, 805. Cf. Wagenseil and von Haller Hallerstein, *Disputatio*, 6; Eckhard, *Schediasma*, 31f.

103. Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio," 228, 232; Rudloff, *De Archivorum publicorum origine*, fol. A3^{r}. Both authors, however, emphasize that archives are basically as old

as humanity itself. Maffei, *Istoria diplomatica*, 96, found no surviving texts from before 1200.

104. Wencker, *Apparatus*, 70–76; Wagenseil and von Haller Hallerstein, *Disputatio Juridica*, 8f.; Schal, *Zuverlässige Nachrichten*, 10–12. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 4f., mentioned Ferdinand I above all.

105. Wencker, *Apparatus*, 64.

106. See Brockie's foreword to Holstenius, *Codex Regularum*, I–VIII (quotation at I, section ii).

107. StadtA Rothenburg/T. B 511, unfoliated. Cf. Schnurrer, "Geschichte," for this and also for a fire of 1240 in Rothenburg.

108. Cf., e.g., Wencker, *Apparatus*, 43–83.

109. Summarized by Grafton, *What Was History?*, 113–15.

110. Zedelmaier, "Der Ursprung der Schrift"; Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*, 88f.

111. Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, col. 789f.

112. On Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, i–ij: "admirable laconisme."

113. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write*.

114. Grafton, *What Was History?*, 115f.

115. Temple, "Essay," 446.

116. Ovalle, *Historica Relacion*, 79. Cf. Bouza, *Imagen*, 46; Bouza, "Escritura," 106 (with note 36).

117. Ovalle, *Historica Relacion*, 92f.

118. Cf., e.g., *Constitutio novissima super Archivio civitatis Bononiae* (1706), 3, in ASV Cibo 4, fol. 139^{r}. Cf. also ASV Indice 214, fol. 4^{r} (1737).

119. Duca, ed., *Enchiridion*, 19.

120. Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio," 231f.

121. Ramusio, "Discorso," fol. [*4]^{r}.

122. Bonifacio presumably used the edition González de Mendoza, *Historia*, 64–71, 114–17.

123. Goez, *Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit*, 102f.; Barret, *La mémoire*, 190: *archivio* in Cluny 1375; Behne, "Mantua," 54 (from the sixteenth century); Senatore, *Uno mundo de carta*, 101 (1465 and 1484).

124. Cf., e.g., Wagenseil and von Haller Hallerstein, *Disputatio Juridica*, 3.

125. Cf., e.g., Eckhard, *Schediasma*, 5. This false etymology appears in Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 20.9, no. 2.

126. Friedrich, "Notarial Archives," 447.

127. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*.

128. Cf., e.g. Fladt, *Anleitung*.

129. Cf. the bibliographies by Michael Lilienthal, *Biblischer Archivarius der heiligen Schrift / Neuen Testaments*, Königsberg and Leipzig, 1745; *Biblischer Archivarius der heiligen Schrift / Alten Testaments*, Königsberg and Leipzig, 1746; *Theologisch-Homiletischer Archivarius*, Königsberg, 1749.

130. *Allamodische Artzney-Affen, Das ist: Wahre und klare Obschon schlechte, dannoch gerechte Beschreibung, Lächerlicher Fehler, einfältiger Thorheiten, und schädlicher*

Mißbrauch in der Artzney, wie auch vieler curiosen aus der alten Weiber Artzney-Archiv genommenen Recepten, n.p. 1720.

131. Wieland, *Beyträge zur Geheimen Geschichte*.

132. Cf. the funeral sermon of Peter Jeremias Hickmann, *Hypomnemata Sacra, Oder Geistlicher Denck-Zedel; In denen Archiven der Heimlichen Offenbahrung Johannis: Originaliter beygelegt und herfür gesucht nach Tödtlichem Hintritte Der* [. . .] *Frauen Annae Kunigundae von Buttlar*, n.p. 1675.

133. Aegidius Mosmayr, *Zusatz, Deß Geistlichen Perspectivs, Immittelst dessen man Hinauff in das Archiv Göttlichen Tribunals Der Allerstrengisten Gerechtigkeit, Auch Hinab in das Execution, oder Abstraffungs-Orth Deß Schwebelflammenden Feg-Feuers sehen*, Munich, 1699. Nothing more on this metaphor appears in this work.

CHAPTER 5

1. Ramingen, *Von der Registratur*, fol. Diij^{r}.

2. "Zu Weimar ware jungst bey Cammer und Cantzley / wie auch dem Cabinette, Ein harter Disputat: / Wer wohl das beste Recht zum alten Müller hätte? / Es brachte ieder Theil viel Schober Acten bey / Und rufte die zu Zeigen / Doch alle musten schweigen / Als das Archiv nunmehr ins Mittel trat / Und diesen Ausspruch that: / Vergeblich zanckt ihr Euch / Ich werde meinen Alten / Wohl vor Euch allerseits in Ewigkeit behalten. / Denn seht doch nur recht zu / Les't dieses Buch / betrachtet ihn und mich / Er ist und bleibt das *wahre Andre Ich*." Müller, *Des Chur- und Fürstlichen Hauses*, unfoliated at the beginning (my emphasis).

3. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 23; Guyotjeannin, "Un archiviste"; de Laborde, "Les inventaires"; Coussemaker, "Thierry Gherbode."

4. For late medieval Burgundy, cf., e.g., Richard, "Les archives," 132 and *passim*.

5. Cf. his report (1567) in Mayerhofer, "Inhalt und Zustand," 252.

6. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 24.

7. "Lebenslang" in the appointment record of Johann von Sachsen in Hesse, 1523, in Gundlach, *Die Hessischen Zentralbehörden*, vol. 2, 139.

8. That does not rule out isolated problems and the influence of economic and political circumstances. StadtA Speyer 1A 76 nonetheless shows relative continuity from 1614 to 1775.

9. Tröger, *Die Archive*, e.g., 131f.

10. Ibid., 73–75, on Plassenburg in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

11. AM Lyon BB 294, fol. 109^{r}.

12. Baudot, "Les archives municipales," 26f.

13. Cazauran, "Les Feudistes," 7–24.

14. An incomplete list includes AD Puy-de-Dôme 1 C 2133, unfoliated (June 3, 1738, commune of Chauriat) and 94 H 141 (inventory "dit Batteney," for the commandery für die *commanderie* of Chanonat); AD Rhône 12 G 726 ("Projet sur l'ordre qu'on doit tenir dans un arrangement d'archives," 1747, St. Just in Lyon) and 48 H 1905 (1755, at a commandery of the Knights of Malta); AM Lyon AA 80, unfoliated (no. 64, mentions Batteny's undated activity in the city archive of Lyon prior

to 1781); Bibliothèque Municipale Lyon Ms 252 (inventory of Ainay Abbey, 1750). Batteney also worked for Moreau; cf. BnF Moreau 343, fol. 149r–172v.

15. D'Estienne, *L'archiviste citoyen*, 4.

16. HesHStA 340/2319, fol. 9v (1720).

17. Both ordinances are included in Gundlach, *Die Hessischen Zentralbehörden*, vol. 2, 140–45, 200–216.

18. Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*, 244; StA Gotha SS X 93, *passim* (see, e.g., the duke to the counselors on Dec. 9, 1731). Cf., e.g., the (complimentary) report of Cyprian and Gotter on Wachler, 1734, StA Gotha SS X 94a, unfoliated.

19. Confidentiality was required; cf., e.g., LHA Koblenz 30/583, fol. 9v; StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 42v.

20. Rodríguez de Diego, ed., *Instrucción*; see the edition in Gundlach, *Die Hessischen Zentralbehörden*, vol. 2, 140–45.

21. Cf., e.g., StA Gotha SS X 60, 93, and 95 (Vierschrodt, 1752, Wachler, 1723, and Gotter, 1735).

22. LHA Koblenz 30/176, p. 5f., 15–18.

23. Cf., e.g., the list in Ramingen, *Von der Registratur*, fol. Diiij^{v}–E^{r}.

24. Friedrich, "Notarial Archives," 459.

25. Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare," 329f.; cf. the more precise remarks in Fladt, *Anleitung*, 178–80, 189–93.

26. HesHStA 340/19, fol. 6v: a chancellery clerk in Hachenburg in 1736 had to have "einige studia."

27. Cf. the overview in Bischoff, "Professionalisierung."

28. AM Lyon BB 294, fol. 109r.

29. These statements were made on October 14, 1674, upon the appointment of Dr. Detlev Marckwan. StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 2, unfoliated.

30. With unusual specificity, Ramingen, in *Von der Registratur*, fol. Eij^{r}–Eiiij^{v}, proposed an examination. So did Fladt, in *Anleitung*, 196–202.

31. Thus, in 1693 regarding Johann Sebastian Müller and Johann Joachim Müller, ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10868, fol. 26r; Brandenburg-Ansbach: Tröger, *Die Archive*, 153; Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare," 329; Sayn-Hachenberg: HesHStA 340/2320, fol. 46r-v, 51r-v (in 1766 the archivist Magdeburg had his son appointed as an assistant). "Instruction" (*Anweisung*) is from HesHStA 340/2320, fol. 47r.

32. StA Marburg 17/II 3240, unfoliated (letter to the counselors, March 2, 1752). Similarly, from 1690, cf. StA Gotha UU Ia, 2, unfoliated; UU Ia 22, unfoliated.

33. StA Marburg 17/II 3239, unfoliated (government rescript from September 2, 1716): "sich bey unser[er] Regierung, umb sich destomehr zu unsern diensten qualificirt zumachen in praxi uben möge[n]." Cf. also HesHStA 340/2320, fol. 69r-v (1769), notice to the archivist Magdeburg senior to intensify the "instruction" (*Anweisung*) of his son.

34. This and the following information is drawn from Brown, "Le greffe civil." On Tillet, cf. Kelley, "Jean Du Tillet."

35. StA Marburg 19b/101, unfoliated.

36. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 43^{r-v}, 50^{r} unmarked. It became clear early on that Pfanner would have problems in Weimar; cf. the reference to "diffidence" exhibited toward the archivist in 1692 in StA Altenburg Eisenberger Schlossarchiv I.14 no. 9/317, fol. 42^{r}. There we also find the idea of transferring Pfanner to Gotha and benefiting from his knowledge of the "arcana of our prince's house."

37. Richter, "Kompetenzstreitigkeiten," 340–44, provides an example from the eighteenth century (quotation on 343).

38. On Séraphim's protracted absences, cf. Brown, "Le greffe civil," 351–53.

39. BnF Ms fr. 7726, fol. 341^{v}–344^{v}.

40. This practice is preserved in print, e.g., in AD Rhône BP 3945, unfoliated (in the fascicle "Greffe 1696–1770").

41. Cf., e.g., AD Rhône BP 4088, unfoliated.

42. Feutry, "Mémoire," 31.

43. Friedrich Heinrich Avemann did so in 1719; cf. HesHStA 340/2319, fol. 13^{r}–14^{v}.

44. Avemann demanded that he retain the title of "secretary," which he had held when he became archivist of Hachenburg in 1719 (ibid.). He thus did not become the Archivarius but rather the ArchivSecretarius.

45. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, 95, provides several examples.

46. The quotation is from Favier, *La mémoire*, 23. Cf. also ASR Prefettura degl'Archivi 12, unfoliated (Imola, Dec. 3, 1759); Navarro Bonilla, *La imagen del archivo*, 60f.; García Ruipérez and Fernández Hidalgo, *Los archivos municipales*, 91; Rodríguez, *Forma i Modo*, 238; Engel, "Ein bellum diplomaticum," 332, 341.

47. Cf., e.g., LHA Koblenz 30/171, 91; StadtA Mainz 3/15, unfol (Aug. 23, 1786).

48. StA Marburg 17/II 3240, unfoliated.

49. AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated (the quotation is from an anonymous *Memoire* of 1748).

50. On the term "Gogericht," for example, see Cod. Guelf. 64.38 Extrav, fol. 309^{v} (Jan. 24, 1719, Schmidt to Burckhardt).

51. For the former, see Rodríguez de Diego, ed., *Instruccion*, 106; for the latter, see Rodríguez, *Forma i Modo*, 235f.

52. Wallnig, ed., *Briefe*, 361 (Petrus Friderici to Bernhard Pez, Feb. 12, 1712). A very similar complaint ("impossibile," "abbreviature," "termini oscuri, diversi di presente stile") appears in ASR Buon Governo II 2037, unfoliated (Sept. 3, 1760).

53. For a detailed account, see Goetze, *Frühzeit*, *passim*. Cf. also Auger, *La collection*, 62f.

54. The book in question is a volume held by the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt under the call number Pon Yb 1475. It is accessible online at http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/id/469758

55. Considine, *Dictionaries*, 264f. The 1883–87 edition of Du Cange is available for free online at http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/

56. For "Dictionarium [. . .] latinobarbarum" and "semibarbara," see Papebroch to Du Cange, Antwerp, Feb. 20, 1680, in Joassart, ed., *Pierre-François Chifflet*, 197. The topos of the "Latinobarbarian" translation was probably "invented" by Johann Martin Lydius in 1613; cf. Considine, *Dictionaries*, 258.

57. Dionisotti, "Glossary Studies," esp. 320–23, 330–36. Medieval Latin dictionaries go as far back as the late fifteenth century. Considine, *Dictionaries*, 250–61.

58. The quotation is from Considine, *Dictionaries*, 278.

59. Batteney, *L'archiviste françois*, 20-P51[!]. The work is excerpted from Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*. On Batteney's abilities, see AM Lyon AA 80, unfoliated (nos. 64 and 65).

60. This and the material discussed below are derived from Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 84–87. See also Chevrières, *Le nouvel archiviste*, 9.

61. ASR Buon Governo II, 2037, unfol (Jan. 4, 1760): "Ritrovandosi Protocolli, o altre scritture di caratteri antichi ovvero in qualche maniera differtosi [! = difficultosi], in tal caso dovranno queste separarsi e l'Archivista sarà tenuta avvisarne l'IllustrissimoMagistrato, il quale assieme con la Illustrissima Congregazione [de Buon Governo] si riserva di trovar'modo che si possano leggere." Similar remarks are found in Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 87.

62. Wencker, *Apparatus*, 79, formulated *ex negativo*.

63. Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 37.

64. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 7–11.

65. Cf. Schreibmüller, "Philipp Ernst Spiess (1734–1794)"; Wunschel, "Philipp Ernst Spieß (1734–1794)."

66. NLB Ms XLII 1931, unfoliated (§13).

67. The quotation is from StAGotha SS II 38, fol. 61^{r}. Three projects seemed promising to Pfanner: a history of the *Reichstage*, a history of the last three Ernestine electors, and a history of the Reformation. He dropped the last of these projects in disappointment when he was anticipated by Seckendorff, who had asked Pfanner for his help. Cf. Strauch, *Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff*, 19–21; StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 122^{r}–123^{v}. Pfanner decided to take up the first of the three projects, and in 1694 his *Historia Comitiorum imperii* appeared. He had already published a history of the Peace of Westphalia in 1679.

68. Kopfmann, "Augustin Kölner"; Schrader, NLB Ms XXIII 74, fol. 23^{r} and *passim*.

69. Wencker, *Apparatus*, 79: "blosse Handlanger"; Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 37: "archivalische[r] Pöbel."

70. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 10: "la classe obscure des simples déchiffreurs."

71. Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. D3^{r}, noted that archivists' services were unknown to the "vulgus."

72. StA Marburg 17/II 3240, unfoliated; the following quotes from Vierschrodt are from this manuscript.

73. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 14–19. Cf. also Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 186–89.

74. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 89.

75. In cases of uncertainty, one should just begin one's survey somewhere; pieces that are difficult to interpret should be kept for last, because details often become easier to understand once one has become familiar with the overall context of the archive; important decisions should be confirmed by one's employer. Cf. ibid., 23f., 47, 97, and *passim*.

76. For the distinction or contrast, cf. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 75, 157. For highly pointed remarks on the priority of order, cf., e.g., StA Gotha SS X 46a, fol. 23^{r-v} (April 2, 1724, Wachler to the government).

77. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 72.

78. Cf. the brilliant analysis in Head, "Mirroring Governance"; Head, "Knowing Like a State."

79. LHA Koblenz 30/171, 37–41.

80. E.g., StA Darmstadt F 11A 2/5, unfoliated (first page): one should first create "fasciculos" that are subsequently catalogued. See also Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, *passim*, in exhaustive detail.

81. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10729, fol. 26^{r}–34^{v}.

82. On this, see, e.g., the detailed inventory of the collegiate church of St. Florin in Koblenz in LHA Koblenz 112/1500, 2f.

83. Cf. Steedman, *Dust*, although Steedman's approach is primarily systematic.

84. All quotes are from LHA Koblenz 30/171, 63 (to the government, July 16, 1742), 91 (to the government, Jan. 17, 1743).

85. The first quotation (1648) is from Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*, 264; the second (ca. 1780) is from Jäger, *Fürstentum Fulda*, 327.

86. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 6 (7f. on protecting the eyes).

87. That is at least what Fladt demanded in *Anleitung*, 154–56.

88. Cf. two letters to Heinrich Meibom Jr., Nov. 22 and Dec. 21, 1686, in NLB Ms XLII 1901, unfoliated.

89. StA Gotha SS X 93, unfoliated (Nov. 30, 1733).

90. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 19, 22, 38, 40.

91. On the interpretation and influence of the painting, cf. Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel*, vol. 1, 487–507 (quotation on 493).

92. Wickwire, *British Subministers*, 27–30, with a skeptical judgment ("apathy and neglect of legitimate work").

93. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10715, fol. 6^{r-v}.

94. LHA Koblenz 1C 1173, fol. 45^{v} (undated); Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*, 298.

95. Examples can be found in Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare," 334, with n. 52.

96. Krimm, "Ex archivo Christi," 29.

97. Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare," 335.

98. Filippini, *Memoria*, 262–64.

99. Baudez, ed., *Les hôtels*, 36.

100. Coxe, *Travels*, vol.1, 293–301, describes the holdings in detail. Among other things, he was shown the letter sent by Maximilian I to the Russian tsars that Baron Shavirof had stumbled on in the archive in 1700 (p. 298); cf. the 1718 publication *Nachdeme man in der Reichs-Gesandten-Cantzley* [. . .].

101. Dom Martène and Dom Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, 147f.

102. Soll, *Information Master*, 94; Hochedlinger, *Österreichische Archivgeschichte*, 36; Netzloff, "Speed," 313.

103. Grebe, *Simancas*, 176–83.

104. A visit by the duke to the archive of Weimar in June/July 1697 is mentioned in ThHStAWissenschaft und Kunst 10706, fol. 11[r-v], 13[r-v].

105. Schneider, "Geschichte," 4.

106. Filippini, *Memoria*, 241–44.

107. StA Gotha SS X 5, fol. 143[r]. The following quotation also appears there.

108. Cf. e.g., Navarro Bonilla, *La imagen del archivo*, 72–74 ("mala costumbre," "práctica perniciosa").

109. Michaud, *La grande Chancellerie*, 368f.; Rodríguez de Diego, "Estudio," 28f. Cf. Lévêque, *Mémoires*, vol. 1, XV, in which Granvelle collects his own letters in order to protect himself against lawsuits.

110. Baschet, *Histoire*, esp. 1–58.

111. Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 24–26.

112. On France with the assessment cited above, see Guyotjeannin, "Super omnes," 118n25.

113. Rodríguez de Diego, "Estudio," 29f.

114. Cf. the edition of his commission reproduced in Orbaan, "Een pauselijk."

115. Vignal, "Des papiers." Cf. also Sarmant and Stoll, *Régner et gouverner*, 384–90.

116. StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 1, fol. 30[r] (Dec. 22, 1727); LHA Koblenz 635/57, unfoliated (decree issued May 31, 1735); Wencker, *Apparatus*, 117f.

117. This was viewed explicitly as a means of increasing their control over files; cf., e.g., the letter from C. L. Wagner to Wachler, Aug. 20, 1715, in StA Gotha SS X 67, unfoliated. Gundaker von Liechtenstein recommended recording loans in pencil in a record book. Winkelbauer, ed., *Gundaker von Lichtenstein*, 456.

118. LA Speyer B2 6717, fol. 2[r]–5[v] (several letters).

119. AD Dordogne 4 E 129, unfoliated (Sarlat, April 23, 1629); Feldkamp, *Dokumente und Materialien*, 79f. (Cologne, 1622).

120. On integrating private collections into the archive of Rostock, see StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 27, unfoliated.

121. Cf., e.g., StAGotha SS X 1, unfoliated: several extensive inventories of files in the possession of Gotter.

122. Dolan, *Le notaire*, 169–76; Herzog, *Mediación, archivos y ejercicio*, 22–24, 168–72.

123. Cf. Loyseau, *Cinq Livres*, 280f, on this subject.

124. AM Lyon BB 254, fol. 57[v]–58[v].

125. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 23, fol. 188[r] (Dec. 13, 1641). For the delivery of the papers, see fol. 192[r] (Dec. 15).

126. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 15[r]–16[v] (to the counselors of the prince, Aug. 31, 1697). The text in question was Pfanner's sensitive piece on the division of Saxony; cf. ThHStA Sammlung F 656.

127. The episode is mentioned in Brown, "Jean du Tillet," 51. The incident still attracted interest as late as the end of the seventeenth century; cf. AN U 2263, fol. 232[r].

128. This is explicitly mentioned in AN U 2263, fol. 388[r].

129. AN U 2045, fol. 274[r]; AN U 2263, fol. 392[r].

130. Hippel, ed., *Das Herzogtum*, 269; Burns, *Into the Archive*, 72.

131. Bechstein, "Geschichte," 11 (with footnote). The guilty parties ended up on the gallows like Grebert. Cf. Mayerhofer, ed., "Inhalt und Zustand," 231n1.

132. This was reported by Joly de Fleury, quoted in Feutry, "Mémoire," 23.

133. Gabel, "Ländliche Gesellschaft," 254.

134. GLA Rep 82, 12 and *passim* (for Keller's case, see esp. fol. 76^{r}f.). A threat that "all the letters would be thrown into the fire," e.g., appears in fol. 89^{r}.

135. AM Lyon BB 294, fol. 95^{r}–96^{r}. The inventory continues until fol. 100^{v}.

136. AD Rhône 4 B 41, unfoliated (the first file in the last fascicle, undated).

137. AD Rhône 4 B 159, unfoliated (fascicle II, in very poor condition), records the theft of a "marriage contract" in 1680 in Joux.

138. Friedrich, "Notarial Archives," 460f.; Burns, *Into the Archive*, 95f., 119f.

139. AN 399 AP 55, unfoliated (fascicle "Conservation des Actes des Notaires").

140. Cf., e.g., Limon, *Les notaires*, 75f.

141. Cf. the summary of the case in AN U 2256, fol. 39^{r}.

142. Richter, "Kompetenzstreitigkeiten," esp. 345f., 358f. (quotation at 358f.).

CHAPTER 6

1. Joly de Fleury, quoted in Feutry, "Sauver les Archives," 248

2. On "chance of transmission" as a heuristic concept, cf. especially Esch, "Überlieferungs-Chance."

3. For what remains a stimulating discussion of the cultural consequences of preference for a given writing material, see Innis, *Empire and Communications*.

4. For a rich, anecdotal account, see, e.g., Heydenreich, *Städtische Archivbauten*. For subsequent developments, see Leiskau, "Architektur."

5. Bachelard, *Poetik des Raumes*.

6. On physicality as an important category of the concept of "praxis," cf. Reichardt, "Praxeologische Geschichtswissenschaft." For similar questions on early modern library rooms, see Wagner, "Architekturen des Wissens."

7. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10868, fol. 1^{r}–2^{v}.

8. StA Gotha SS X 67, unfoliated (Kunkel to Herzog, May 13, 1719).

9. Coxe, *Travels*, vol. 1, 293. Cf. also Hoffmann, *Gerhard Friedrich Müller*, 272.

10. At Versailles, however, on account of their vast dimensions, large quantities of iron were also used to reinforce the ceiling vaults. Espie, in *Manière*, ij–iv, criticized this as "useless" and a clumsy adaptation of his method.

11. Espie, *Manner*.

12. Espie, *Manière*, ij–iij. On the archives at Versailles, cf. especially Béchu, "Mes archives"; Baudez, ed., *Les hôtels*, 17–20, 48–56.

13. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10697, fol. 34^{r} (Weimar to Altenburg, April 30, 1623).

14. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10869, *passim*.

15. For a "cellar vault" (*kellergewölb*), cf., e.g., ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 13, unfoliated (after fol. 33^{r}), 73^{v}f. and *passim*. For a detailed description of underground storage, cf. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10706, fol. 18^{r}–22^{r}.

16. Collin, "Le trésor des chartes," 285.

17. Mariée, *Traité des Archives*, 96.

18. Ibid., 82–84; Fladt, *Anleitung*, 123f.; ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10697, fol. 39[r].

19. Ludovici, *Einleitung Zum Civil-Proceß*, 321.

20. Espie, *Manière*, 17. He mentioned this additionally to advertise his *voûtes plates*, since the latter had no openings for rodents.

21. Thus, e.g., Étienne Baluze is quoted in Gillet, *Étienne Baluze*, 71.

22. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 178f.: "layettes incorruptibles."

23. Cited in Koch, "Archivierung," 64.

24. Cf. AD Saône-et-Loire C 454, unfoliated, especially the document dated April 26, 1727.

25. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10869, fol. 8[r-v] (1724).

26. Fletcher, "Repair"; Mercati, "Cenni," 131. Cf. also mention of assistants for restoring documents in NLB XLII 1931, unfoliated (§12), as an element of the ideal library.

27. Cf., e.g., Rodríguez de Diego, "Estudio," 109.

28. FB Gym5, fol. 4[r-v]: "Vetustas et incuria possessorum plerasquemale laceraverant; sed sanandas curauimus per bibliopegam."

29. Pillich, "Staatskanzler Kaunitz," 103, concerning a certain Luigi Zecchini.

30. LHA Koblenz 30/176, *passim* (Altenkirchen 1731); AN 7 G 1317, unfoliated (no. 9, Aix-en-Provence 1682).

31. These etchings are reproduced, e.g., in Béchu, "Mes archives"; Baudez, ed., *Les hôtels*, 275–77.

32. On this depiction, cf. Lutz, "Ein Mainzer Archiv." There it is incorrectly claimed that rolls of files or documents are fictitious; cf. contra, e.g., Fladt, *Anleitung*, 102, 117.

33. Early examples include the archive tower at Pforzheim (ca. 1550–60) and the annex to the Old Castle of Stuttgart in 1558; cf. Leiskau, "Architektur," 14–21; Wolf, *Archivbau als Fachaufgabe*, 135–39. A new building was constructed in Wertheim in 1742; see Müller, "Negotia communia," 306–10.

34. Accordingly, there is nothing about archives in Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*. That does not mean that archives could not occasionally come into conflict with city building plans. In 1754, for example, during the vacancy of the episcopal see of Metz, Louis XV had the episcopal archive torn down in chaotic conditions to make way for a new street; cf. AN 154/II AP 42, unfoliated (no. 19).

35. Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*, 237–40.

36. Dreher, *Das Städtische Archiv*.

37. The quotation is from BayHStA I Hst-Pas 1.1.1.1, fol. IV[r] as an explicit contrast between files and charters. Cf. also Fladt, *Anleitung*, 116f.; Wolf, *Archivbau als Fachaufgabe*, 136f.

38. ASR Camerale II, notariato, busta 3, unfoliated (fasc. "Sito grande sopra la Cappella Pontificia del Sisto nel Vaticano. Per fare Archivij per le Congregationi e spesa che vi sara necessaria 1703").

39. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10729.

40. One such case—the archive of Salem Abbey on Lake Constance—is described in Krimm, "Ex archivo Christi." On libraries, cf. Lehmann, *Die Bibliotheksräume*.

41. Penz, "Erinnern," including color plates.

42. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10708, e.g., fol. 17^{r-v} (Weimar to Gotha, June 27, 1667), 18^{r}–19^{v} (Gotha to Weimar, June 23, 1669).

43. The catalyst was Tobias Pfanner's appointment in 1687 as chief archivist of the Ernestine Samtarchiv. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10868, fol. 14^{r}–15^{r}; StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 84^{r}–85^{v} (Eisenach to Weimar, April 27, 1687).

44. StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 97^{r}–98^{v} (Weimar to Gotha, June 14, 1687); ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10868, fol. 7^{r}–8^{v}. There were conflicts between Weimar and Eisenach over financing; cf. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10868, fol. 16^{r}–23^{v}.

45. Cavallo and Evangelisti, "Introduction."

46. For example, bars were placed on the windows of the city archive in Montpellier in 1719; cf. Castets and Berthelé, eds., *Notice*, CXXIX.

47. Cf. the description and building plans in AN 8 G 772.

48. AN I O 1617^{A}, unfoliated (several letters from his opponent Pierron, 1773). On the protagonists, cf. Valois, "Introduction," cxlvii; and http://dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/journaliste/191-charles-coqueley-de-chaussepierre

49. These remarks about Anzidei and Italy are all taken from Friedrich, "Notarial Archives," 458.

50. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10706, fol. 11^{r-v} (Pfanner to Weimar, July 7, 1697).

51. Sandri, "Nicolo Giussani," 337: "aulae [. . .] annexae et connexae."

52. For examples, cf. AD Saône-et-Loire J 572, unfoliated; AD Rhône 52 J 44, unfoliated.

53. The remodeling of the Louvre in 1760 caused a small surge of archive foundations, including those of the Chambre des Comptes, the Conseil d'Etat, and the Pairs de France; cf. AN I O 1617^{A}, *passim*. The Pairs de France—the high nobility of France, which had just become organized as a political group and founded an archive of its own—claimed the best rooms for itself, as befited its members' rank; cf. the memoire "Archives de la Pairie au Louvre," AN I O 1617^{A}. On the Pairs, cf. Rogister, "Defence," esp. 123, 125, 127f.

54. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10706, *passim*.

55. Cf., however, Te Heesen, ed., *Schrank*.

56. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 25–27: "beschlossene hohe Kästen" and "offne Bücherständ," respectively.

57. Pütter, *Anleitung zur Juristischen Praxi*, 285f.

58. On this subject, see Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 18f.

59. StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 140^{r}. Very similar, but more constructive, see fol. 176^{v}.

60. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 18.

61. Borges, *Borges und ich*, 121.

62. Description and reproduction in Castets and Berthelé, *Notice*, XXV–XXVI, XXIX.

63. Cf. the richly illustrated discussion in Laue, ed., *Möbel* (quotations on 16).

64. Fischer, *Fleißiges Herren-Auge*, vol. 2, 12–20 for the description, 21f. for the illustration and discussion.

65. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 18.

66. Cf. AN PP 90.

67. Navarro Bonilla, *La imagen del archivo*, 89.

68. AN 8 G 756, unfoliated (first fascicle).

69. Reinkingk, *Politisches Bedencken*, 34.

70. Cf. e.g., in the Moscow archives, Coxe, *Travels*, vol. 1, 293. In general, see Te Heesen, *Geschlossene Ordnungen*.

71. On "Vergitterte Schränke" (barred cabinets), cf. StadtA Mainz 3/17, p. 28. On library cabinets, cf. Lehmann, *Die Bibliotheksräume*, 30f., 187, 222.

72. Cf., e.g., Heß, *Danziger Wohnkultur*, 128–61. Heß makes no mention of archives.

73. "Escape chests" (*Fluchtkisten*) from the eighteenth century are illustrated in Bernhardt, ed., *Stadtgeschichte*, 15.

74. StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 1, fol. 31^{v}–32^{r}.

75. Pütter, *Anleitung zur Juristischen Praxi*, 285f. For similar remarks, cf. Fladt, *Anleitung*, 119f.

76. Albrecht, *Schrank—Butze—Bett*, 45.

77. LA Speyer B2 6719, fol. 3^{r}. The following information is also taken from this source.

78. Schwarz, "Archivschränke." Cf. also the sketch (fifteenth century) of "aumaires de la Chambre de France" in the archive of the Chambre des Comptes, reproduced in Langlois, "Registres perdus," after 44. Cf. also the photograph of an archive cabinet from Medingen Abbey in Albrecht, *Schrank—Butze—Bett*, 59.

79. On Isenhagen, cf. the reproduction in Albrecht, *Schrank—Butze—Bett*, 52.

80. Cf. the essayistic discussion in Bothe, "Archivschrank."

81. Omont, "La collection Doat," 292.

82. Cf. again Wagner, "Architekturen des Wissens," 275–80.

83. AA I 17, p. 556.

84. For criticism, see, e.g., Sandri, "Nicolo Giussani," 339. A *mémoire* in BnF Moreau 343, fol. 170^{r}, composed around 1770, opposes having a stove in the Trésor des Chartes. In support, and with practical details, cf. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10869, fol. 1^{r}–2^{v}; ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10871 on deliveries of wood; StA Gotha SS X 46a, *passim*, on repairs to the stove in the interest of safety.

85. LHA Koblenz 1C/1173, fol. 46^{v} (appointment of Johann Christoph Fringh as registrar, Trier [undated]).

86. Here I follow the approaches of Wagner, "Architekturen des Wissens"; and Schneider, "Bücher und Bewegung."

87. The regular weekly carrier for official ordinances was designated to transport them: HesHStA 340/2320, fol. 64^{r-v} (government of Altenkirchen to government of Hachenburg, Nov. 4, 1747).

88. Lorenz, *Aktenversendung*. Cf. Keitel and Keyler, eds., *Serielle Quellen*, 35–41.

89. AD Ain 42 B 23, unfoliated (*procès-verbal* from 1772 with numerous bills).

90. On this and comparable actions, cf. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 126f.

91. GLA Rep 82, 12, unfoliated (esp. several undated letters at the beginning of the action).

92. Pillich, "Flüchtung," 143–45.

93. *Schicksal des Kurmainzischen Erzkanzlerischen Reichs= und Kreisarchivs* in StadtA Mainz 3/18, unfoliated, edited in Mathy, ed., *Mainz*, 126–31. Cf. pp. 4–27 for an overview of the history of this archive.

94. BAB AR/1/Misc 953, unfoliated (Dec. 23, 1682) ("Vertrag und Modus wie die gerichtliche acta einzupacken").

95. Cf. Avemann 1737, HesHStA 340/2321, fol. 23^{r}–24^{v}.

96. These details are taken from BAB AR/1/Misc 953 and 955, *passim*.

97. BAB AR/1/Misc 955, unfoliated (Reichskammergericht to the Elector of Mainz, Sept. 19, 1698) (the court would like to be housed on a "navigable river").

98. The references to "experienced" captains and "pilots" are from BAB AR/1/Misc 953 and 955. With respect to Constance, GLA Rep 82, 12, unfoliated makes mention of a "lack of ships," a "moderate-sized ship," and "no ship free at the time" ("Mangel der Schiffen"; "mittelmäßiges Schiff"; "nit ein schiff der zeit ledig").

99. See Oberseider, "Das Archiv der Stadt Speyer," for an account of the imbroglio and dispute.

100. Cf. GLA Rep 82, 12 and *passim*, for the details of its capture by the Swedes.

101. Cf. AD Puy-de-Dôme 1 C 7322, unfoliated (nos. 21–24).

CHAPTER 7

1. Althusius, *Politica Methodice digesta*, 92, 229, 252–54.

2. Hochedlinger, in *Österreichische Archivgeschichte*, 23–70, discusses the development of princely and state archives under the title "Arsenale der Macht."

3. See, e.g., Landwehr, *Die Erschaffung Venedigs*.

4. For a historical perspective, see Grebe, *Simancas*, 205–13 and *passim*. For a systematic treatment, see Didi-Huberman and Ebeling, *Das Archiv brennt*, 52f.

5. Cf., yet again, Ketelaar, "Records Out," 203.

6. On this definition, cf. Baker, *Inventing*, 34 and *passim*.

7. See de Vilevault, *Table général*, iii–viij (quotations at iv and vj).

8. This was claimed, for instance, by Joseph II of Austria; cf. the emperor's resolution in Winter, "Fürst Kaunitz," 133.

9. On parliamentary historical culture, cf., e.g., Rogister, "L'argument historique"; Baker, *Inventing*, 31–58 (esp. 33–37, 61), which views the exile of parliamentarians in 1753 as triggering an intensification of this historical-archival work.

10. Vilevault, *Table général*, vj.

11. See ibid., vj–vij, on this episode.

12. Olivier-Martin, *Les lois du roi*, 15–33; Baudouin-Matiszek, "La publication"; Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens*, vol. 3, 284–88.

13. Baker, *Inventing*, 39f. For a different view, see Olivier-Martin, *Les lois du roi*, 17.

14. Vilevault, who was in charge of producing the *Ordonnances* from the 1750s on, worked in the Cour des Aides. Its director, Malesherbes, was likewise involved. Later, in 1769, the general procurator Joly de Fleury and the former chancellor Maupeou took charge.

15. Cf. the preliminary work to create the indices in AN 399 AP 66, 67.

16. Baudouin-Matiszek, "La publication," 495; Olivier-Martin, *Les lois du roi*, 18. Cf. a letter from Lille, ca. July 1754, in AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated.

17. Vilevault, *Table général*. Cf. *Etat des personnes auxquelles il est necessaire d'envoyer la Table du Recueil des Ordonnances*, AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated.

18. On the inclusion of cities, see AN 399 AP 84, unfoliated (from Quas, May 5, 1758). On the inclusion of Flanders and ecclesiastical archives, see AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated (De Calonne, March 11, 1758).

19. In general, see Le Sens de Folleuille, March 16, 1758, AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated.

20. In general, see Pradal, March 19, 1758, AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated. For the 1760s, cf. Olivier-Martin, *Les lois du roi*, 21f.

21. Cf. the discussion between Moupeau and Joly de Fleury in 1769 edited in Bondois, "Le procureur général," 450.

22. The abundance of Moreau's informants can be gleaned from his correspondence. For engagement in Moreau's project against the background of otherwise disappointing remuneration for archive-based scholarship, cf., e.g., the letter from Dom Morle from Dijon, Dec. 12, 1782, BnF Moreau 291, fol. 267^{r}.

23. E.g., from Turin, with reference to holdings in Milan, see BnFMoreau 291, fol. 388^{r} (Bother Reycends, April 18, 1787).

24. Gembicki, *Histoire*; Baker, *Inventing*, 58–85, esp. 67f. Most notable among the collaborators on the *Ordonnances* was the prestigious scholar Georges Oudard Feudrix de Bréquigny, who joined forces with Moreau.

25. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, ij.

26. Rodríguez de Diego, "Estudio," 15; Pomian, "Les historiens," 110, 118–20.

27. For an overview, cf. Spieß, "Formalisierte Autorität."

28. Introduction in Keitel and Keyler, eds., *Serielle Quellen*, 55–61. Cf. Richter, *Lagerbücher*, 38–68.

29. Ramingen, *Von der Haußhaltung*. Cf. Richter, in *Lagerbücher*, 67f., whose assessment of Ramingen is skeptical.

30. Ramingen, *Der rechten künstlichen Renouatur*, fol. Fij^{v}–Fiij^{r}, Hiij^{r}, Liij^{r-v}, and *passim*.

31. Wieger, *Disputatio Inauguralis juridica*, 16 ("copia documentorum"), 22f.

32. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, 37f.; Wehner, *Practicarum Juris*, 415; ASV Cibo IV, fol. 46^{r} (about Florence).

33. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 42, fol. 3^{r}, "Uhrkunden und Augenschein" (Duke Wilhelm to Hortleder, July 16, 1629). Further correspondence mentions, among other things, a synopsis (5^{r}, "abriß") and additional source material.

34. StA Marburg 19b/1801, unfoliated (landgrave to Dr. Ruppel, June 14, 1628). Similarly, see StA Gotha SS 3, unfoliated (Altenburg to Gotha, Nov. 9, 1706); LA Speyer B2 6763, fol. 3^{r}–4^{v} (letter from Bachmann of Zweibrücken, 1747).

35. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 42, fol. 3^{r}, 13^{r}, 15^{v}, 18^{r} (on sources of information and means of travel). Files from the royal court are mentioned on 19^{r}. Hortleder also wanted to visit the general archive in Wittenberg (9^{r-v}).

36. See ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 42, fol. 42^{r}, for a list under this label.

37. LHA Koblenz 30/177, p. 11–31 (on the poor condition of the "grentz-Acten" of Sayn-Altenkirchen).

38. Sieur de Sertoise, responsible for the renewal of the *terrier* in Charolais, to Henri III Jules de Bourbon-Condé, comte de Charolais, April 15, 1698, AD Saône-et-Loire C 453, unfoliated.

39. Cf., e.g., numerous critical comments about documents presented in 1725 in AD Ain C 529.

40. Cf. AD Saône-et-Loire C 453 for many letters on the difficult work in the archive of the Chambre des Comptes of Dôle in compiling a new *terrier* for Charolais.

41. Cf. Soboul, "Pratique des terriers"; Déaux, "Rénover un terrier"; Brunel, Guyotjeannin, and Moriceau, eds., *Terriers*. In Germany, similar efforts to update inventories of feudal relations were rather informal; cf., e.g., an initiative of the counts of Nassau in 1734 described in HesHStA 121/von Breidbach 13, unfoliated (Nov. 28, 1734).

42. Le Maresquier-Kesteloot, "Le terrier du Roi," 134.

43. Loirette, "Un épisode," 133–35; Deharbe, *Le Bureau*, 370f.

44. For such a work book (*minutes du terrier du Roi*) for Lyon, see AD Rhône 8 C 286.

45. Cf. letters from Davoust in 1682 in AN 7 G 1317, unfoliated (fasc. 8). Cf. Baluze, 224 Lyon, to Colbert, Jan. 14, 1682, AN 7 G 1317 (fasc. 7); and Colbert's reply in *Lettres et Memoires de Colbert*, vol. 2, part 1, 194.

46. Cf., e.g., a letter dated September 30, 1682, in AN 7 G 1317, unfoliated (fasc. 6).

47. Cf., e.g., documents dating to 1692 from such a tour in Montbrison, capital of the county of Forez, in AD Rhône 8 C 281. Cf. Brussel, *Nouvel Examen*, ix–x.

48. Brussel, *Nouvel Examen*, iv–xxxii. On the archive, cf. Lalagué-Guilhemsans, "Le dépôt des terriers."

49. *Lettres et Memoires de Colbert*, vol. 2, part 1, 187.

50. Legras's account of his work in Aix is taken from AN 7 G 1317, unfoliated (fascs. 9 and 10).

51. E.g., Pierre Arnaud was dispatched to Marseille on May 12, 1683. AD Bouche de Rhône C 2194, fol. 135^{r}.

52. Belet to Colbert, July 1, 1682 ("allarmé"), August 4, 1682 ("j'ay faict donner l'alarme"), AN 7 G 1317, unfoliated.

53. Guenée, "L'enquête," 573.

54. It goes without saying that careful planning was necessary; cf. an *Avis à nos venerables freres*, in *Inventaire des rentes pensions et autres titres maintenant en valeur, pour le Chapitre de Chatillon les Dom[b]es* (1756), AD Ain G 22, unfoliated.

55. Spieß, *Von Archiven*, 11f.

56. Filippini, *Memoria*, 122, 125.

57. Cf., e.g., the vivid account in StadtA Mainz 3/15, unfoliated (fasc. "V no 20," 1757). The archivist also attended council meetings in Rostock after 1621; cf. Raif, "Die Entwicklung," 116. Cf. also StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 2, unfoliated (May 19, 1758): "Conclusum: Daß Dominus Archivarius auffsuchen möchte, wie es in vorzeiten in dergleichen Fällen gehalten worden, und darnach auch jetzo zu procediren wäre."

58. Cf. the copy in Jung, *Das Frankfurter Stadtarchiv*, 298.

59. LHA Koblenz 1C 10194, p. 29f., 382, 403, 457, 792f.; LHA Koblenz 1C 10195, p. 186f., 198, 416, 816f.

60. Cf. *Special Verzeichnus und beschreibung aller acten* [. . .] *so uff befehl eines Eines Ehrbarn Hochweisen Raths, den Herrn Syndicis* [. . .] *ex Archivo* [. . .] *zugestellet, von 1621–1650*, StadtA Rostock 1.1.22 no. 29.

61. Tröger, *Die Archive*, 110f., with a statistical assessment.

62. StAGotha SSX67, *passim*; StAGotha SSX5, 2 vols., *passim* (for Ludolph, see esp. here). A parallel case is that of documents brought to the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1559, StA Darmstadt 21A 1/7, unfoliated.

63. AN P 2887/1; AD Rhône 12 G 726, 727.

64. StA Gotha SS X 5, vol. 1, fol. 76^{r-v}.

65. This is strongly emphasized in Wunschel, "Die markgräflichen Archivare," 333f.

66. Cf. also Filippini, *Memoria*, 187–205.

67. On this in particular, see Ritter, "Hortleder als Lehrer."

68. Hortleder, ed., *Von Rechtsmässigkeit*.

69. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 52, fol. 264^{r}–304^{v}. This fact is overlooked in Klinger, "Geschichte als Lehrstück," 104.

70. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder, e.g., vols. 50 and 70. For a quotation, see, e.g., vol. 50, fol. 77^{r}.

71. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 42.

72. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 13, fol. 141^{r}–156^{v}; Limnaeus, *Secundus Tomus*, unfoliated (book 5, no. 15).

73. His report may be found, with extensive correspondence and preparatory work, in ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 2.

74. E.g., Duke Ernest I to Hortleder, undated (ca. 1624–28), ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 22, fol. 69^{r}.

75. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 22 and 48, *passim*, with frequent requests to leave Jena for Weimar. Ernest the Pious in particular took the health of the aging counselor into consideration.

76. The only source on Pfanner is his biography, Büchsel, ed., *Gottfried Arnolds*.

77. StA Gotha SS VII 1, unfoliated (May 22 and June 19, 1671, Pfanner's letters to Ernest the Pious).

78. The dukes consulted intensively over this move. They sought to ensure that Pfanner would not use his knowledge exclusively for the benefit of Saxe-Gotha; cf. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 43^{r}–75^{v}. Cf. StA Gotha SS II 37 for Pfanner's numerous complaints and petitions by letter. On his appointment and difficulties with Pfanner's salary, cf. also StA Altenburg Eisenberger Schlossarchiv I.14 no. 9/317.

79. Sagittarius described Pfanner as a "*conjunctissimus amicus*" in a letter to Elias Veiel in Ulm, July 6, 1690. StaBi Berlin Nachlass 141 (Slg. Adam) Kapsel 24, unfoliated (no. 1). For Seckendorff, cf. Strauch, *Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff*, 19–21.

80. The *Pfannersche Sammlungen* comprises ThHStA Sammlung F 573–662. At least part of this collection was "extracted" ("*extrahirt*") from the archive and at

least partly "collated" ("*collationirt*") in the 1730s. Cf., e.g., vols. F 591–611, 627, 634 (quotations taken from fol. 1[r]). It thus was used over the long term.

81. StA Altenburg Eisenberger Schlossarchiv I.14 no. 9/317, fol. 11[v]–12[v].

82. Report from the counts and lords of the House of Saxe, ThHStA Sammlung F 579, fol. 1[r]–275[v]. For the imperial political background, see Czech, *Legitimation*. Cf. the report about the imperial immediacy, or *Landsaesserey*, of the prince-bishoprics of Naumburg, Merseburg, and Meissen in ThHStA Sammlung F 638.

83. ThHStA Sammlung F 656.

84. Much is mentioned in StA Gotha SS II 38, *passim*.

85. Cf., e.g., StA Gotha SS II 36, fol. 128[r]–130[r] (Nov. 28, 1689, Frederick I to Pfanner), and 185[v]–186[r] (Pfanner to Frederick I, Oct. 27, 1690).

86. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10715, fol. 2[r]–3[v]. Pfanner received a "project" from the princes, as he writes in StA Altenburg Eisenberger Schlossarchiv I.14 no. 9/317, fol. 35[v].

87. StA Gotha SS II 38, *passim*. Numerous letters concern this matter.

88. E.g., StA Gotha SS II 38, fol. 66[r] (Pfanner to Frederick I, Sept. 29, 1690).

89. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10884, fol. 1[r]–15[v], consisting of various letters; StA Gotha SS II 38, fol. 71[r]–72[v].

90. Thus Pfanner remarks in his report on the imperial immediacy of prince-bishoprics. ThHStA Sammlung F 638, fol. 2[r-v], 10[r]–11[r]: "zu einigen Beytrag von materialien."

91. StA Gotha SS II 38, fol. 86[r].

92. ThHStA Sammlung F 656, fol. 279[r]: "Meynung." Cf. also Sammlung F 638, fol. 13[v]–14[r].

93. ThHStA Sammlung F 656, fol. 15[r].

94. This is on full display in StA Gotha SS II 38, fol. 58[r]–59[r] (Pfanner to Frederick I, March 11, 1690).

95. Cf. a clear example in the letter to Frederick I, Sept. 25, 1690, StA Gotha SS II 28, fol. 66[r]–67[r].

96. For a rural area, cf., e.g., the dispute over the right to access the archive between the community and the priest of Massiac in 1752 in AD Puyde-Dôme 1 C 7322, unfoliated (nos. 13–17).

97. Engel, "Territorialänderung." Cf. also Müller, "Zur Geschichte," 140–49; Tröger, *Die Archive*, 52–62.

98. StA Marburg 19b 98, unfoliated (in the second part of the document, ca. 1736).

99. Such "archival-historical" arguments were often made; cf., e.g., StA Marburg 19b 98 (ca. 1736).

100. StA Marburg C21 4. The basis was provided by the father's will, edited in Hollenberg, *Hessische Landtagsabsender*, 264f.

101. StA Marburg 19b 90. Among other things, George II gave instructions with respect to packing and transporting the materials.

102. The edict decreed that all monasteries secularized after 1552 had to be restored. For many Protestant princes, that would have meant extensive losses of territory and income. Archival research was necessary in order to document the moment of

secularization. Cf. also the inquiry from Königsberg to Hortleder, February 10, 1630, in ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 23, fol. 120r–121v. Cf. also Tröger, *Die Archive*, 65.

103. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 22, fol. 82r (Landgrave George to Duke Wilhelm of Weimar, Sept. 15, 1629): "Es will unß aber doch bey etzlichen stücken an bericht mangeln, welches dahero rühret, weil hiebevor bey werender neuerlicher Streittigkeit, und spaltunge in unsern fürstlichen hause unßer gesambtes archivum nicht also in guter richtigkeit gehalten worden." Hesse sent Nicolaus Vigelius to carry out this task and asked Hortleder for support. Cf. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 2, fol. 47r (George of Darmstadt to Hortleder, Jan. 4, 1630), and 78r (Feb. 25, 1630). Cf. also the correspondence between Weimar and Darmstadt, as well as that between the Ernestine dukes, in ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10697, fol. 1r–50v.

104. StA Marburg 19b 1801.

105. Cf., e.g., StA Marburg 19b 96: a "catalogue" of files sent from Marburg to Giessen in 1618 (cf. StA Marburg 19b 90) and demanded back in 1656. Cf. also the correspondence in StA Marburg 19b 89.

106. Cf. also StA Marburg 19b 1804.

107. StA Marburg 19b 89, unfoliated (letter from the Marburg archivist Christoph Beckmann, 1709).

108. HesHStA 340/62, fol. 2r explicitly stresses that the files subsequently listed there had "fallen by lot" to Duke John George of Saxony. Cf. also Mötsch, *Regesten*, 16.

109. "Joint archive" in German is "Gemeinschaftliches Archiv." Cf. also the comments (using the example of the House of Welf) in Engelbrecht, *De iure archivorum*, fol. Bv–B4r, and the comments on the "Gesamtarchiven" of the imperial cities and chivalric orders.

110. StA Darmstadt 21A 1/5, unfoliated (treaty of 1488).

111. StA Marburg 19a 9, unfoliated (William IV of Hesse-Kassel to Louis IV of Hesse-Marburg, April 14, 1590). Cf. StA Altenburg Eisenberger Schlossarchiv I.14 no. 9/317, fol. 17v, where joint control of the archive is demanded of Duke Christian in no uncertain terms.

112. Müller, "Negotia communia," 299.

113. Hoffmeister, Wahl, and Blaha, *Die Wettiner in Thüringen*, 191–93.

114. On the procedure in the 1620s, cf., e.g., ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10697, *passim*.

115. Anton Wolff expresses his amazement in a letter to Hortleder, March 22, 1630, ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 2, fol. 80r.

116. The various duchies had previously had resident archivists of their own, and continued to do so. Israel Eckold served Gotha, and Johann Sebastian Müller served Eisenach. These particular archivists remained in service at the joint archive even after Pfanner's appointment. Cf., e.g., the evidence drawn from practice in ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10706, *passim* (regarding Pfanner, Müller, and Eckold).

117. StA Gotha SS II 36, esp. fol. 6r–24r (letters from the princes to one another).

118. StA Gotha SS X 94, unfoliated: loan of files from Coburg to Gotha and request for return, 1734.

119. Cf. also LA Speyer B2 6659, unfoliated (correspondence between Christian

IV, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken, and Margrave Louis George of Baden on their jointly administered archive at Trarbach, Sponheim, in 1753).

120. See the source overviews in Moser, *Staats-Historie*, 296–311 (quotations on 297f.); Groß, *Die Geschichte*, 295–98; Duchhardt, *Philipp Karl von Eltz*, 217–26.

121. Schlösser, *Der Mainzer Erzkanzler*, 152–62, esp. 155f.

122. Duchhardt, *Philipp Karl von Eltz*, 219f.

123. Moser, *Staats-Historie*, 297f.

124. See the text edited by Kretschmayr, "Reichsvicekanzleramt," 484–86 (quotation at 485).

125. Ibid., 482–84 (quotation at 484).

126. Müller, *Gemeinden*. For the perspective from Hachenburg, see Czech, *Legitimation*, 272–79.

127. LHA Koblenz 30/171, fol. 1^{r}, *passim*. The archive had initially been moved from Eisenach to Altenkirchen in 1736 during the process of appointing a joint archivist; cf. HesHStA 340/19, e.g., fol. 20^{r}.

128. LHA Koblenz 30/171, fol. 30^{r}–31^{v}.

129. Cf., e.g., HesHStA 340/19, *passim*. Cf. also Müller, *Gemeinden*, 139.

130. In early 1742, these developments led to the first brief occupation of Hachenburg by the Electoral Palatinate. The Hachenburg archive was evacuated. HesHStA 340/1386a, fol. 398^{r-v}, 400^{r-v}.

131. AM Dijon D 43, unfoliated. This had been attempted previously in 1575, 1577, 1578, and 1633. See the contemporary account in Martène, *Histoire*, vol. 9, 210–24. Cf. further Auger, *La collection*, 43.

132. Cf., e.g., Secretary of State Florentin to de Tavannes, April 12 and Sept. 19, 1732, AM Dijon D 43, unfoliated. Cf. Fleury's letter dated April 30, 1732, in Martène, *Histoire*, vol. 9, 219.

133. Duranton, ed., *Lettres*, vol. 5, 15f., 18, 20, 23f., 26, 31, 49, 120, 133.

134. Cf., e.g., AD Saône-et-Loire C 770, fol. 1^{r-v} (Mâcon); AD Puy-de-Dôme C 7047, *passim* (Auvergne).

135. This is reported in Schupp, *Salomo*, fol. Ev^{r-v}, supposedly on the basis of an oral conversation.

136. Schneider, "Zur Geschichte," 10–13; Bechstein, "Geschichte," 11; Kleinau, *Geschichte*, 37–39.

137. Aebbtlin, *Anführung*, fol. A3^{v}.

138. See Collin, "Le trésor des chartes," 263f., on the seventeenth century; AN 257 AP 11, unfoliated (fasc. 4–6), on 1740.

139. Cf. also Oberseider, "Das Archiv der Stadt Speyer."

140. StadtA Speyer 1A 79, fol. 5^{r}–6^{v}; Lehmann, *Chronica*, fol.)(3^{r}.

141. As home to the Reichskammergericht, the imperial city of Speyer was considered "neutral" *per se*. In 1688, the court insisted vehemently on its "immunity." Cf. UB Gießen Ms 142, fol. 99^{r-v} (Johann Jakob Schatz to Johann Schilter, Oct. 6, 1688). In 1697, the court again demanded permanent neutral status for its personnel and—explicitly—for its archive. Cf. BAB AR/1/Misc 955, unfoliated (no. 5). In 1632, Bonifacio demanded that archives be considered untouchable as "holy" places. See the text edited in Born, "Baldassarre Bonifacio," 236.

142. Such terms are spelled out, for example, in the treaties between Austria and Transylvania in 1621 (p. 4) und 1624 (§7), both accessible at www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de

143. Du Mont, ed., *Corps*, vol. 5, part 1, 182 (art. 31), 269 (art. 43), 306 (art. 44).

144. Ibid., 434.

145. *Recueil de divers Traitez*, vol. 1, 29, 76f., 86 (Peace of Münster), 144 (Pyrenees), 459 (Nijmegen), 568 (Ryswick). The treaties of Hubertusburg (art. IV), Altranstädt (art. VI), and Utrecht (see below) are accessible at www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de

146. Doughty and Shortt, eds., *Documents*, vol. 1, 11, 13, 18, 23f., 27f. The articles may be consulted online at http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.42695/10

147. In 1697, in the Treaty of Ryswick, France neglected to demand the surrender of the records taken from the territories of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which is why the Holy Roman Empire was not prepared to cooperate. France attempted to use the files of the Reichskammergericht in Strasbourg as a bargaining chip according to several letters from 1698, and twelve containers there continued to be used in negotiations until at least 1743. Cf. BAB AR/1/Misc 955, unfoliated.

148. StA Darmstadt F 11A 117/1, *passim* (cf., e.g., May 11, 1658).

149. Steuer and Krimm, *Vorderösterreichische Regierung*, 23–25.

150. StadtA Speyer 1A 78–79; StadtA Speyer 1A 80, fol. 2^{r}; BAB AR/1/Misc 968, unfoliated (quotation in a letter from Speyer to Frankfurt, April 25, 1733). Remnants surfaced in Kiel as late as 1753; cf. Andermann, "Archivbenutzung," 336f.

151. The letters are preserved in StadtA Speyer 1A 77, fol. 81^{r}–106^{v}.

152. StadtA Speyer 1A 77, fol. 43^{r}–44^{v}.

153. StadtA Speyer 1A 77, fol. 59^{r-v}.

154. On Aschaffenburg, cf. BAB AR/1/Misc 961–66. On their use in 1738 on the basis of copies of the inventories of Aschaffenburg deposited in Wetzlar, cf. HesHStA 340/1312, fol. 19^{v}, 22^{r}.

155. Their destruction is mentioned in a *Promemoria* in BAB AR/1/Misc 973, unfoliated (point 2).

156. AB AR/1/Misc 952, unfoliated. The phrase quoted ("feststellung einer beharrlichen sicherheit") appears there *passim*.

157. On these stages, cf. StadtA Speyer 1A 200, fol. 16^{r}–17^{v}, 43^{r}–44^{r}, 51^{v}–52^{r}; BAB AR/1/Misc 952, 953, and 957; Ruppersberg, "Frankfurt und das Archiv des Reichskammergerichts."

158. BAB AR/1/Misc 969.

CHAPTER 8

1. Lehmann, *Chronica*, unfoliated (Lehmann's *Dedicatio*).

2. AA I 20, p. 734: "Car le moyen de travailler avec quelque succès à l'Histoire du Païs, sans avoir la liberté de consulter les Archives, quand on le juge à propos?"

3. AA VI 4a, p. 687. See also Leibniz's further remarks in this source.

4. Rehtmeyer, *Antiquitates*, unfoliated (preface).

5. The phrase is taken from Osborne, "Ordinariness." On Ranke and archives, cf. Eskilden, "Archival Turn," exaggerating the new beginning.

6. Farge, *Goût*, 12, 18, and *passim* ("effet de réel").

7. AA I 6, p. 501 (Huldreich von Eyben for Leibniz on historiography, May 1691).

8. NLB Ms VIII 630, unfoliated. On *usus ordinarius* versus *usus extraordinarius*, see the opening words.

9. Morelle, "La mise en 'oeuvre.'" In addition, see the earlier literature there, also on individual authors.

10. Guyotjeannin, "La tradition de l'ombre."

11. In general, see Guenée, *Histoire*, 110.

12. Morelle, "La mise en 'oeuvre,'" 81.

13. In general, see Jones, "Memory" (on the notebooks, p. 277).

14. For an overview up to the sixteenth century, cf. Guenée, *Histoire*, 91–99.

15. Meyer, *Die Stadt als Thema*, esp. 71–130 (*passim* on archives).

16. Schmid Keeling, *Geschichte*, 239f., 243, 251.

17. Guenée, *Histoire*, 92f.

18. Ménestrier, *Divers Caractères*, 60–69.

19. Woolf, in *Social Circulation*, does not write about archives directly but mentions them repeatedly in this sense.

20. Cf. Guenée, *Histoire*, 98, on Thomas Burton.

21. In German, *Quelle* means both "spring" and "source." Cf. Zimmermann, "Quelle als Metapher," especially with regard to the late eighteenth century.

22. Hortleder, *Von Rechtmässigkeit*, preface (unpaginated).

23. Lengnich, *Geschichte der Preußischen Lande*, preface (unpaginated).

24. Ibid.

25. The quotation is by Anthoine Laval in Schapira, "Occuper l'office," 44.

26. Cf., e.g., Grafton, *What Was History?* Eskilden, "Archival Turn," reduces early modern historiography almost entirely to this tradition so that Ranke's turn toward archives stands out.

27. Grell, *L'histoire*.

28. Völkel, *"Pyrrhonismus historicus" und "fides historica,"* 177–81.

29. See ibid., 191–96, based on von Ludewig, *Teutsche Schriften*, 324–409. On Ludewig's skepticism, cf. also Zedelmaier, *Der Anfang*, 34–58.

30. Pfanner, *Historia pacis Westphalicae*.

31. It was harshly criticized in Weimar and Jena; cf. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 21^{r}–28^{v}.

32. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 30^{r-v} (Aug. 30, 1698, to Weimar).

33. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10716, fol. 32^{r}.

34. He makes this argument very clearly, e.g., in ThHStA Sammlung F 656, fol. 110^{r}–112^{r}.

35. Cf., e.g., Schrader from Ratzeburg, Nov. 28, 1690, concerning authorities in Schwerin, NLB Ms XXIII 175a, fol. 6r.

36. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschath 10719, fol. 1^{r}–12^{v}; StA Gotha SS X 43, unfoliated.

37. The term "archival interest" is loosely adapted from Irace and Bartoli Langeli, "Gli archivi," 409 ("ragion d'archivio") and *passim*.

38. Cf. Kelley, *Foundations*; and Kelley, *History*, among other works. Grafton, *What Was History?*, 62–122, stresses that this view should be supplemented with consideration of the impulses that Church history and classical philology gave to manuscript research.

39. Ludewig, ed., *Arcana Saeculi*, 279.

40. Reese, *Die Rolle*; Schnath, "Archivreise." Cf. now also Gädeke, ed., *Leibniz als Sammler*.

41. NLB Ms XLII 1931, unfoliated (§3).

42. Cf. the title of Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens*, vol. 2: *La défaite de l'érudition*. For criticism of this view, see, e.g., Grell, *L'histoire*.

43. Cf. again Gembicki, *Histoire*; Rogister, "L'argument historique."

44. See the clear but somewhat exaggerated remarks in Pomian, "Les historiens," 121–23.

45. Bondois, "Le procureur général," 451. (Legal-)historical scholarly utility is emphasized in a *Memoire fait a l'occasion du Recüeil des ordonnances des rois de France* of 1748 in AN 399 AP 65, unfoliated. Cf. also Baudouin-Matiszek, "La publication," 497.

46. See the text reproduced in Winter, "Fürst Kaunitz über die Bedeutung von Staatsarchiven," 134.

47. Gembicki, *Histoire*, 118–20, 136–46.

48. Kopp, *Auserlesene Proben*, 16.

49. ThHStA Kunst und Wissenschaft 10719, fol. 1^{v} (Tentzel to Duke Bernhard, April 13, 1701).

50. Mathieu Marais to Jean Bouhier, Oct. 10, 1729, in Duranton, ed., *Lettres*, vol. 3, 145: "j'admire toujours comme vous enrichissez le public de mille choses qui seraient perdues sans vous."

51. StA Gotha SS II 41, fol. 118^{r-v} (Pfanner to the administration in Gotha, May 4, 1696).

52. StadtA Speyer 1A, 76, fol. 2^{r}–3^{v}: "wegen der Stadt acten."

53. The petition is in Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 41f.

54. Bouhier to Marais, September 20, 1729, in Duranton, ed., *Lettres*, vol. 3, 137 (quotation at 142): "Je lui [. . .] ai fait ouvrir les portes des archives de notre chambre des comptes." Cf. the condescending title "mon bon Aubrée" used by Bouhier (p. 175). The regent, Philippe of Orleans, may have been involved; cf. Bignon to Dom Aubrée, April 8, 1716, in Auger, *La collection*, 119.

55. [Aubrée], *Mémoires*, vol. 1, IX–X; vol. 2, very frequently *passim*.

56. StadtA Lyon AA 80, unfoliated (pièces 63–65); BnFMoreau 291, fol. 226^{r}. Moreau was the intermediary through whom Batteney approached the *garde des sceaux*. He also got Minister Bertin involved.

57. Cf. Tentzel's petition for archive access on March 21, 1701, in StA Gotha SS X 43, unfoliated.

58. Pillich, in "Staatskanzler Kaunitz" cites a large number of examples.

59. Cf. his letter to Leibniz of August 7, 1690, AA I 5, p. 654. There the archive in Weimar is described as "amplissimo sane et magni thesauri, sed pene absconditi, loco habendo." The number of files was mentioned approvingly by Leibniz to

Magliabechi as a measure of the high quality of the as yet unpublished work; cf. AA I 6, p. 280f. Cf. in general also Strauch, *Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff*.

60. AD Puy-de-Dôme C 7047. Cf. Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens*, vol. 3, 65–82; Gasnault, "Les travaux," 116f. The publication was mentioned as early as 1683, on June 12 in a letter from Du Cange to Papebroch. Joassart, ed., *Pierre-François Chifflet*, 246.

61. Cf., e.g., LHA Schwerin 2.11–2/1 Auswärtige Beziehungen, no. 2972.

62. See Schmidt's preface in Rehtmeyer, *Antiquitates*. This hypothesis was justified; cf. Klinge, "Johannes Letzner," 116.

63. AA I 16, p. 663, 696f (Leibniz to Joseph Wilhelm von Bertram, March 18, 1699; reply, April 8, 1699).

64. Cf., e.g., Voss, ed., *Briefe*, 619.

65. Ibid., 604.

66. "Il sera plus facile de réussir par des procédés doux et honnêtes que par des injonctions," Dom Col to Nicolas Moreau in 1765, quoted in Gembicki, *Histoire*, 121. For a similar remark by Colbert, cf. Soll, *Information Master*, 126.

67. Reese, *Die Rolle*, 97.

68. AA I 15, p. 124 (Sept. 19, 1698). Leibniz wished to see that d'Hozier was reimbursed. Leyser had sought to offer Behrens "payment" or "the equivalent" in return for material. Leyser, *Vertheidigung*, unfoliated.

69. Cf. Johann Heinrich Meibom to Johann Stucke, Sept. 15, 1637, NLB Ms XLII 1867, unfoliated.

70. Reese, *Die Rolle*, 121f.

71. Ibid.

72. See esp. NsHStA Hannover 91/Schrader 1. On bribes, see fol. 2^{v}.

73. Cf. the order issued by Joseph I to various monasteries, NLB Ms XXIII 74, fol. $2^{r\text{-}v}$.

74. NLB Ms XXIII 74 contains lists or *regesta* of documents from the holdings in Munich.

75. Jean Mabillon to Dom Aubrée, July 15, 1707, in Auger, *La collection*, 101.

76. Le Carpentier, *La veritable origine de la maison de Sohier*, 49.

77. Hartzheim and Schannat, *Concilia*, 1.

78. BAB AR/1/Misc 987, unfoliated (archchancellor to Rüdiger, a relative in the chancellery in Wetzlar, Dec. 4, 1755). Cf. Harpprecht, *Staats-Archiv*. On his archival research, which appeared to be based on primarily on "*communicationen*" and not on his own examination of the evidence, cf. the brief remarks in BAB AR/1/Misc 987, vol. 1, p. 3, 6f.; and vol. 3, fol.)()(4^{v}. Harpprecht explained his plans in a letter dated Nov. 28, 1755, in Misc 986, unfoliated.

79. Spieß, *Lebensumstände*, 11f.

80. Leuckfeld, *Antiquitates Praemonstratenses*, unfoliated (preface).

81. Omont, "La collection Doat," 292.

82. This happened even to the venerable Leibniz in 1699; cf. AA I 17, p. 111.

83. LHA Schwerin 2.11–2/1 Auswärtige Beziehungen, no. 2972, fol. 15^{r}.

84. NLB Ms XXIII 175a, fol. 6^{r}.

85. This is explicit in the work cited in n. 7.

86. NLB Ms XXIII 73, fol. 40[r] (Chilian Schrader to George William of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Dec. 24, 1691).

87. Rehtmeyer, *Antiquitates*, unfoliated (preface).

88. I know of just two examples: Powell, *Direction*; and Agard, *Repertoire*. Cf. Woolf, *Social Circulation*, 156f.

89. Castets and Berthelé, eds., *Notice*, CXX (Louvet to d'Achery, Nov. 7, 1672).

90. NLB Ms XXIII 175a, fol. 7[r].

91. UB Kassel 2° Hass 20, fol. 203[r-v]. Cf. also Sagittarius and Cyprian, *Historia der Graffschaft Gleichen*, fol. a3[r].

92. AA I 10, p. 353 (Chilian Schrader to Leibniz, April 7, 1694).

93. On the surrender of Meibom's papers, which also contained material from Letzner, to the government of Wolfenbüttel, cf. NLB Ms XLII 1867, unfoliated. Portions of Letzner's papers came into the possession of Conrad Berthold Behrens; cf. Behrens, *Responsio*. Leibniz was very interested in them; cf. AA I 18, p. 172, 182. Cf. Klinge, "Johannes Letzner," 109–14.

94. Auger, *La collection*, 24f.

95. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, p. 70f. (Dom Lobineau to de Gaignières, Jan. 1, 1696).

96. "Books" is the term used in Klinge, "Johannes Letzner," 118.

97. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 43 (Audren to de Gaignières, March 6, 1692); Castets and Berthelé, eds., *Notice*, CXX (Louvet to d'Achery, Nov. 7, 1672).

98. Daub, ed., *Auf heiliger Jagd*, 6, 51, 88, 90. Copyists who could read Greek were especially difficult to find; cf. Joassart, ed., *Pierre-François Chifflet*, 206 (Papebroch to Du Cange, Antwerp, March 11, 1683).

99. Rogier to Duchesne, Nov. 22, 1626, in Amiel, ed., *Archives administratives*, vol. 1, cxxiij–cxxv.

100. Dom Aubren to Dom Aubrée, June 2, 1713, in Auger, *La collection*, 113f. On teamwork, cf. p. 53–74.

101. Hiller, "Geschichtswissenschaft," 22. Cf. Melle, *Historia*, 34f. Cf. also the preface in Sagittarius, *Historia Gothana*, unfoliated.

102. Grell, *Le dix-huitième siècle*, 399f., records critical statements on this practice.

103. Dom Maur Audren to Dom Aurbée, Jan. 18, 1712, in Auger, *La collection*, 104.

104. One of these was Jakob von Melle; cf. Sagittarius and Cyprian, *Historia der Graffschaft Gleichen*, fol. a3[r]. Cf. UB Kassel 2° Hass 23, fol. 13[v]. On Leibniz, cf. AA I 17, p. 111.

105. UB Kassel 2° Hass 20, fol. 130[v].

106. Guenée, "Authentique et approuvé."

107. UB Kassel 2° Hass 22, fol. 7[v]f.

108. Samarin, "Projet d'une école." The school was founded by Larcher and in operation for only a few years.

109. Cf. Cod. Guelf. 166.2 Extrav.

110. Hiller, "Geschichtswissenschaft," 34–37.

111. Sagittarius, *Commentariolus*, esp. 52–58, 79. On preparing collections of theological *loci communes*, cf. also his long letter to Samuel Heumann, Jan. 12, 1668, FB Chart A 1037, p. 35f.

112. These remarks are based on the lecture draft (?)and visual material in NLB Ms VIII 630.

113. This is contra Tröger, *Die Archive*, 408. Woolf, *Social Circulation*, 142, also views working with texts as mostly "stationary."

114. Omont, "La collection Doat."

115. This was mentioned with praise by the Catholic Albert Krez in a letter to Bernhard Bez dated October 8, 1709, in Wallnig, ed., *Briefe*, 55.

116. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 43 (Audren to Gaignières, March 6, 1692): "Nous avons aussi veu les archives de M. le duc de Rohan à Blain, à la vérité un peu superficiellement."

117. Rembe, ed., *Der Briefwechsel*, 4 (Spangenberg to Count Hans Georg von Mansfeld, Oct. 21, 1551): "nicht wol zu fuße."

118. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 154, 156, 158f. (quotation on 156) (Briant to Audren or Sainte-Marthe, 1712).

119. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 167f. (Dom Lobineau to Abbé Chotard, Feb. 11, 1714).

120. "Durchwühlte," quoted in Goetze, *Frühzeit*, 7.

121. On Sagittarius's assistants, cf. the sources cited in n. 101.

122. Cf. the impressive tally in Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 97–99.

123. Cf. several letters on this edited by Auger in *La collection*, 110, 116. For a very good account of the research difficulties faced by the Maurists, see Gasnault, "Les travaux."

124. Ernst Salomon Cyprian, quoted in Fuchs, *Traditionsstiftung*, 373.

125. Mel to Kalckhoff, March 13, 1721, UB Kassel 2° Ms Hass 90b/1 (fasc. "Mel"), fol. 4^{r}.

126. FB Chart B 1830, fol. 14^{r} (Johann Zacharias Gleichmann to Johann Balthasar Vitter, Feb. 25, 1727).

127. Schmidt to Burckhardt, July 18, 1717, HAB 64.38 Extrav, fol. 307^{r}–308^{r}.

128. Müller to Burckhardt, 26.4.1717, HAB 64.38 Extrav, fol. 83^{r}.

129. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 167f. (Joachim Schmincke to Abbé Chotard, Feb. 11, 1714).

130. On d'Hozier, cf. n. 68. On Kochanski, cf. AA I 10, p. 403 (unsuccessful attempt).

131. Pillich, "Staatskanzler Kaunitz," 106.

132. Cf., e.g., Chifflet to Rosweyde, Besançon, March 29, 1627, in Joassart, ed., *Pierre-François Chifflet*, 55: Jesuits in all provinces should collect accounts of saints in all local archives.

133. Chilian Schrader to Heinrich Meibom the Younger, Sept. 2, 1692, NLB XLII 1909, fol. 111^{r-v}.

134. Behrens, *Abgenöthigte Remonstration*, fol. A2^{v}–A3^{r}.

135. Schmidt, preface, in Rehtmeyer, *Antiquitates*, unfoliated.

136. For praise for editorial accomplishments, cf., e.g., Eisenhart, *De fide historica*, 28; Wencker, *Apparatus*, 80f.

137. Lecomte, *Les Bénédictins*; Auger, *La collection*; Barret-Kriegel, *Les historiens*, vol. 3, 83–92; Gasnault, "Les travaux," 117–19.

138. Bizzocchi, *Genealogie*.

139. For a helpful overview, cf. Schröcker, "Genealogie."

140. Conrad Berthold Behrens (Cod. Guelf. 17 Noviss 2°, fol. 4^{r}–5^{v}) and Friedrich Hortleder (cf. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 52, fol. 9^{r}–10^{r}), for example, responded to theological criticism of genealogy. On the vast new importance of genealogy, cf. Woolf, *Social Circulation*, 86–100.

141. Cf. the good research summary in Czech, *Legitimation*, 28–32.

142. On ancestry and the state, cf. Burguière, "La mémoire familiale," 773f.; Jahn, "Genealogie und Kritik."

143. On the growing significance of ancestry to the concept of nobility, cf. Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree*.

144. Ménestrier, *Noblesse*, 513–15, on royal control. Cf. Bizzocchi, *Genealogie*, 86–90.

145. Grell and Da Vinha, "Les Généalogistes"; Butaud and Pietri, *Les enjeux*, 158–63; Descimon, "Élites parisiennes."

146. This point is stressed in Bizzocchi, *Genealogie*, e.g., 36–49, 54.

147. Ménestrier, *Noblesse*, 119. He gives a broad panorama of proof of nobility ibid.

148. Le Moyne de La Borderie, ed., *Correspondance*, 62 (Dom Maur Aubrée to Duke de Carcado, Jan. 20, 1694).

149. Zeitfuchs, *Stolbergische Kirchen- und Stadt-Historie*, 73: "Hier müssen die Archive abermahl Gewißheit geben." Cf. Burguière, "La mémoire familiale," 777.

150. Gillet, *Étienne Baluze*, 79–81, with explicit quotations.

151. NLB Ms VIII 643, unfoliated (lib. II, no 5).

152. "Vermoderungs-Recht der Zeit und Hinfälligkeit." This quotation, which takes aim primarily at ancient and mythical genealogical constructions, is taken from Ernst Salomon Cyprian's preface to Sagittarius, *Casparis Sagittarii*, fol. a4^{r}.

153. AN 1 AP 11, p. 59–61 (quotation on 61). The passage does not appear in the printed version of the *Histoire généalogique de la Maison de la Trémoïlle*. Heinrich Meibom the Younger makes a very similar statement in NLB Ms VIII 630, unfoliated (nos. 7–9).

154. For a rise of genealogical research among the Saxon counts after 1550, see Czech, *Legitimation*, 32–70.

155. See StA Darmstadt D3 6/2, unfoliated, *passim*. The quotations are taken from documents dated Feb. 9, 1626, and Oct. 26, 1626.

156. Ibid., 6/3, unfoliated (Oct. 7, 1648); 6/5, unfoliated.

157. ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 2, fol. 105^{r-v}. Several documents concerning the episode follow in the file.

158. Cf. similar remarks in Woolf, *Social Circulation*, 99, 120f.

159. Marinelli, *Un corrispondente*. Cf. a letter from Mazarin in 1661 (?) to Giustiniani (?) concerning the project to connect both families in his genealogy, in Centro di studi e documentazione di storia economica, "Archivio Doria," Genova, Fondo Doria 589, unfoliated.

160. Reinkingk, *Biblische Policey*, 321–23, cited in Cod. Guelf. 17 Noviss 2°, fol. 4^{v}–5^{v}.

161. Kaenel, ed., *Inventaire*. Cf., e.g., 89f., 103.

162. AN 86 AP 1, unfoliated.

163. Christian Schenk to Hortleder, April 3, 1623, ThHStA Nachlass Hortleder 22, fol. 60^{r}–61^{v}.

164. Cf., e.g., a passage by Sagittarius in Zeitfuchs, *Stolbergische Kirchen- und Stadt-Historie*, 114.

165. Cf. the long letter quoted in Gillet, *Étienne Baluze*, 81.

166. Cf. the decree in AN 399 AP 55, unfoliated. On the episode, cf. Wrede, *Genealogie*, 35, 39f.

167. Le Moine, *Diplomatique-Pratique*, 193–96.

168. NLB Ms XIII 776b, fol. 51^{v}f. (in a handwritten appendix to the printed texts).

169. Albert Krez, Ottobeuern, to Bernhard Pez, Oct. 8, 1709,in Wallnig, ed., *Briefe*, 55: "non per litteras tantum, sed et personaliter."

170. AA I 5, p. 654.

171. For this and the following, see Lehmann, *Chronica*, unpaginated (Lehmann's *Dedicatio*).

172. I have analyzed the first of the two journeys: Dom Martène and Dom Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, 1–179. See p. 64f. on the choice of Durand as Martène's companion.

173. Ibid., 17, 94, 134, 164f.

174. For critical statements about the state of archives, cf., e.g., ibid., 29, 56. The absence of archives—on account of the wars of religion, for instance—is also mentioned on p. 140 and *passim*.

175. Cf. e.g., ibid., 15, 49, 80, 94. For an exception ("Comme nous n'étions pas tant à Dijon pour voir les Églises que pour travailler") see p. 145. Over the entire work, the frequency with which archive visits are mentioned seems to decrease.

176. Cf., e.g., ibid., 87f., 154 (only in passing).

177. Ibid.,19, 52, 57 (in Auxerre, they dispensed with conducting their own archival work and used a compilation prepared by the abbot), 138.

178. Ibid., 65 ("Nous la crûmes bien employée pour la consolation que nous eûmes de trouver une lettre originale de saint Louis"), 64 ("fatigue du voyage & de l'étude").

179. Rheinberger, *Dinge*, 70f.; Sawilla, "Vom Ding zum Denkmal," 442f. Cf. Steedman, *Dust*, 77.

180. Cf. Sawilla, *Antiquarianismus*, 317f., on the formula *ex manuscriptis* on the title pages of editions.

EPILOGUE

1. Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild*, esp. 225–333.

2. Hoffmann, "Staatliche Archive"; Burgdorf, *Ein Weltbild*, 290–318; Bresslau, *Geschichte*; Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben*.

3. On the École des Chartes as an institution of the French Restoration, cf. Moore, *Restoring*, 23–60.

4. Moore, *Restoring*; Lhotsky, *Geschichte*.

5. Bresslau, *Geschichte*, esp. s.v. "Lachmann" in the index; Timpanaro, *Lachmann*, esp. 115f. on his accomplishments.

6. On the transformation of archivology, see the impressive work of Escudier in "De la mémoire." On Oegg, see p. 45.

7. Leiskau, "Architektur."

8. Berger, "Role of National Archives."

9. Cf. ibid.

10. Favier, *Le mémoire*; Burgdorf, *Weltbild*, 233f., 290f.

11. Escudier, "De la mémoire," 47

12. Friedrich, "Sammlungen."

13. The text of the law can be accessed at http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/1794/06/25/n1/jo

14. Berger, "Role of National Archives."

15. Heydenreich, "Städtische Archivbauten."

16. Eskilden, "Archival Turn," esp. 442–46.

17. Cf. Erben, ed., *Briefwechsel*.

18. Robert Bierschneider (Bavarian State Archive, Munich), personal communication, Aug. 21, 2012, with reference to the "Ausleihbücher" of the Munich archive.

19. Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben*, 119.

20. On the collapse of the Historical Archive of the City of Cologne on March 3, 2009, cf., e.g., Reininghaus and Pilger, eds., *Lehren aus Köln*. On the destruction of files in connection with the "Zwickau terror cell" in the summer of 2012, cf., e.g., "Innenministerium ordnete Aktenvernichtung an," *Zeit-Online*, July 19, 2012, http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2012-07/nsu-aktenvernichtung-innenministerium. There politicians from all German parties are quoted describing the act as a "scandal," "politically insensitive," a "cover-up," or "incomprehensible," while the authority responsible for the destruction cites "ordinary" routines.

21. On working in the archive of the Foreign Office under the Nazi regime, see Eckart Conze, Norbert Frey, Peter Hayes, and Moshe Zimmermann, "Panzerschrank der Schande," *FAZ*, May 5, 2012, http://www.faz.net/-gpc-6zn4p

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