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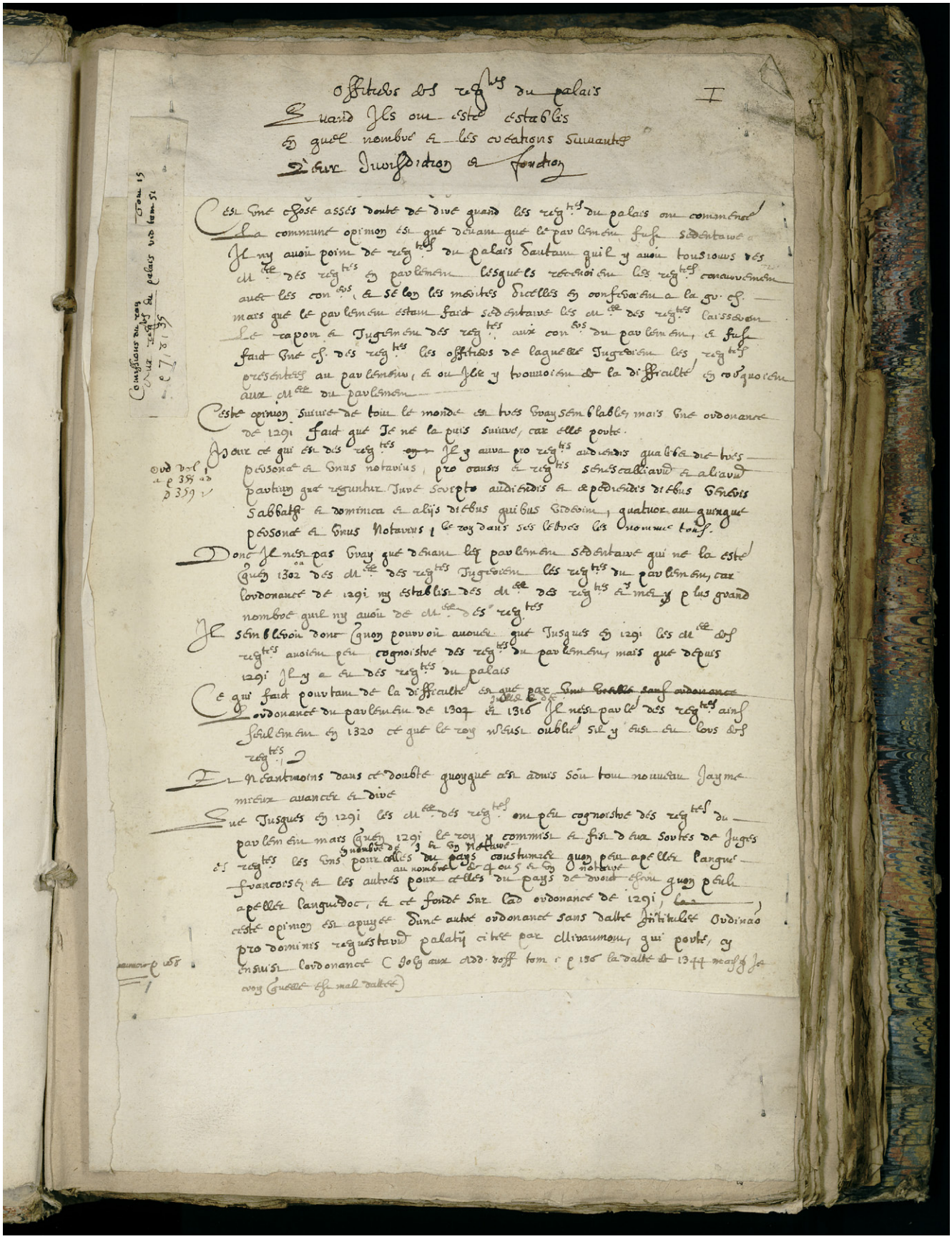


Fig. 1: Archives nationales (France), document U 2343, fol. 1r. Thematic index volume showing summaries of copied documents of the French Parliament on paper snippets (*fichettes épinglées*), written and arranged by Jean Le Nain of the French Parliament's Library.

Article

How to Make an Archival Inventory in Early Modern Europe: Carrying Documents, Gluing Paper and Transforming Archival Chaos into Well-ordered Knowledge

Markus Friedrich | Hamburg

Inventories are fundamentally important for using archives because they tell us which documents are part of them. Inventories enumerate the documents contained in a certain repository and present them in an epistemically meaningful order. Intelligently constructed inventories permit us to navigate the archive. Most research on archival inventories concentrates on their epistemic structure. Authors discuss the arranging of knowledge embedded in the inventories and how it mirrors political or other realities.[1] However, only rarely do scholars wonder how archivists actually created those impressive surveys of archival documents. This question will be addressed in the following pages.

In order to fully appreciate the complexities and difficulties entailed in the production of inventories, it is helpful to draw on recent scholarly work about lists and list-making.[2] Lists are studied by literary scholars, among others, who view them as important narrative tools and rhetorical means for describing the world. They are also increasingly attracting the attention of scholars interested in the organisation of knowledge, following implicitly or explicitly a line of analysis frequently associated with the name of Michel Foucault. Rarely, however, have the growing bodies of scholarship on lists and archival inventories been linked together.

According to the literary scholar Robert E. Belknap, 'lists are frameworks that hold separate and disparate items together'. He continues: 'the list is simultaneously the sum of its parts and the individual parts themselves'. Lists are both 'accretive' and 'discontinuous' according to Belknap, that is, they consist of elements which, while being separate and segregated, are still connected within a larger organising structure.[3] The elements in a list are thus isolated and integrated at the same time, being taken out of context on the one hand and yet part of a larger ensemble on the other. Lists can be systematic in terms of their organisation, but they can also be spontaneous and may even be chaotic in their enumeration of items. Moreover, they are subject to constant addition – ending a list is, in fact, often a highly problematic procedure. It is not by chance that many lists end with an 'etc.', indicating that an end to the list was simply imposed for pragmatic reasons. Many of these features of lists are also pertinent to archival inventories. As we will see, archivists in the early modern period understood perfectly well that the dynamic of isolation and integration, discontinuity and coherence that characterises the list as a media form was highly relevant for the production of well-organised archival inventories.

Archival inventories frequently claim to be organised according to some meaningful epistemic structure, but this systematic order can only emerge in the course of actually analysing each of the documents. The structure of archival inventories in the early modern period did not emerge without any preconceived ideas, yet the process of arranging items constantly challenged, deepened and altered those initial assumptions. Thus, the order among the inventory's items was constantly in danger of changing and evolving while the list was in the making. In other words, inventory-making was more than just a simple procedure of sorting a large number of documents according to pre-existing criteria. Individual

Many thanks to Liesbeth Corens for her help with the English version of this text. This is an expanded and reworked version of a Spanish essay entitled 'Cómo elaborar una lista? Teconologías del papel en la edad moderna y la creación de inventarios de archivio', which is due to be published in 2018.

[1] See Head 2007, for instance.

[2] One of the best-known, recent contributions to this burgeoning body of work is Eco 2009.

[3] Belknap 2004, 2, 15

items had to be put on a list in a certain order while the order itself was still emerging. The archival order of knowledge needed to remain flexible and open to adaptation, at least while the process of inventorying was still going on. In practice, this meant that the order of archival items possibly had to be altered as new items were identified and analysed.

How could that be done without rewriting the entire list every time the order had to be changed? Early modern archivists were very articulate about their procedures and spoke at length about the challenges of inventorying and about ways to overcome the problems they encountered. They relied both on physical and spatial activities and on the advanced use of writing and paper to achieve their aims. As this essay will show, inventorying an archive was a resource-intensive procedure involving not just ink and paper, but many other instruments and physical objects as well.

Unmixing the salad: carrying documents to create 'archival things'

Before an archive was inventoried, it was nothing but an 'Italian salad', as Christoval Rodriguez, archivist at the Cathedral of Ávila in Spain, wrote around 1730.[4] Like a bowl of mixed salad, in which many different items are mixed together in such a way that no individual ingredient can be picked out easily,[5] the unorganised archive was nothing but an amorphous and continuous mass of paper. What was tasty in the kitchen – a mélange of ingredients – proved counter-productive in the archive; a jumble of paper and parchment was completely unusable, in other words. The archival salad therefore had to be 'unmixed', and this would be achieved by creating an inventory, a list of individual documents.[6] Other eighteenth-century archivists concurred on this point, though in less culinary language. In 1779, for example, the French archivist M. Mariée described the archivist's most basic task as the 'distinction des objets du cahos'.[7] Transforming piles of papers into a series of distinctive, discontinuous and discrete documents was the first step in creating an inventory. Inventorying meant bringing the logic of lists to bear upon an archive.

For the process of sorting the archival chaos into discrete objects, Mariée and his colleagues suggested a strategy that seems almost self-evident, but was, in fact, highly complex. All writers agreed that epistemic organisation rested upon spatial organisation. Physically moving and placing archival documents was, thus, a key moment in the production of an inventory. According to the German archivist Philipp Ernst Spieß, for instance, the archivist was 'to take one document after another and put [them] into baskets or drawers. If there is enough space, he can distribute the documents on the floor of a large room'.[8] Other early modern archivists agreed: Ernst Moritz Leonhardi, for instance, working in the German town of Ansbach in 1741, suggested that the task of inventorying the local government's archives should begin by taking all its documents out of their current location and dividing them into twelve large piles.[9] In France, Joseph Batteney described a similar routine in 1775: creating order meant distributing documents in a room and making piles out of those that belonged together.[10] In this view, the making of an archival inventory started with transporting document after document from one place to another. Ordering an archive thus implied a great deal of tedious physical labour as it meant carrying papers back and forth.

This work could involve specific skills and required great care. The unfolding and refolding of ancient parchments, for instance, was a key part of this labour. It was also a risky activity, though, as old documents could easily be destroyed by handling. Thus, the French archivist Pierre Camille Le

[4] Rodriguez 1992–1993, 250: 'As de suponer (Lector mio) que entras a componer un Archivio […] este esta tan pervertido, y con ninguna union colocado, digamoslo de una vez, como ensalada italiana'.

[5] An 'Italian salad', according to Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon*, was characterised by its many ingredients being mixed together without any distinction – fish, oysters, mussels, lemons, capers, olives and 'other Italian stuff'; vol. 33, Leipzig/Halle 1742, col. 666 (s.v. 'Salat').

[6] The other aspect of 'unmixing' the archival salad, of course, was to create physical order so that individual documents might be located easily in the armoires, drawers and containers in the rooms of the archive. The epistemic order of the inventory and the physical order of the archival furniture had to be coordinated, e.g. by connecting individual items in the inventory to specific locations by specific signs or descriptions. For more on this, see Friedrich 2013.

[7] Mariée 1779, 38f.

[8] Spieß 1777, 58f.: 'daß man eine Urkunde um die andre nimmt und selbige in Körbe, Schubläden oder wohl gar, wenn man einen Saal oder sonst geräumiges Zimmer hat, auf dem Fußboden nach der Verschiedenheit der Materien abtheile, sodann eine gemachte Abtheilung um die andre aufs neue vornehme, und jede Urkunde ganz kurz aufschreibe'.

[9] Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz 30/171, 37–41.

[10] Batteney 1775, 2. Each pile was to be divided – and later subdivided – into chapters, with each chapter potentially becoming a distinctive *liasse* or *carton* of documents. Eventually, every single document was to be wrapped in an envelope which was to bear a brief summary of the document together with the number of the relevant chapter and a short reference. The summaries were ultimately transcribed into the inventory according to the order of *cartons/liasses* and chapters.

Moine, writing in 1765, wrote no less than four pages on how to handle such precious and fragile items.[11] A few years later, in 1770, when Le Moine was planning to reorganise the archives of Saint-Germain-des-Près Abbey, he returned to the issue. Again, the first step he had in mind was to inspect existing piles of documents and move specific papers to different heaps if necessary. This time, he insisted that the archivist should take great care not to break the fragile seals attached to mediaeval charters during the process.[12] Given this physical aspect of archival work, it is no wonder that archivists like Spieß or Leonhardi frequently complained about the material side-effects of their activities – getting dusty and dirty was an inherent consequence of inventorying, for example.[13]

And yet, material and physical as it was, this spatially implemented process of 'unmixing the salad' was much more than just a manual task; it required sophisticated abilities such as deciphering ancient handwriting and understanding mediaeval Latin. Archival list-making also presupposed considerable knowledge of diplomatics and law.[14] Furthermore, a set of tools and helpful devices had to be at hand. Especially necessary were reference works such as geographical encyclopaedias to identify the names of villages, or dictionaries to help with mediaeval Latin. Charles Du Cange's famous Latin–French dictionary was particularly useful: 'The gentlemen of the Chambre des Comptes always have M. du Cange's Latin glossary on their desks so that they can turn to it when ancient deeds present difficulties', one contemporary author noted.[15] Le Moine, too, relied routinely on Du Cange's dictionary during his daily work.[16] Only rarely mentioned in the literature, but equally important, were tools and objects like slips of paper for labelling and enfolding documents, needles and thread to tie documents together, and boxes or envelopes to gather papers and parchments. List-making in the archive was therefore an embodied epistemic practice dependent upon sophisticated intellectual, cultural and physical resources.

What happened when archivists unmixed the archival salad and produced a list of records was quite similar to what happened in early modern laboratories and observatories. Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, a German historian of science, has explained that the laboratory – seen as an ensemble of technical apparatus, mental habits, habitualised research practices and scientific discourses – first creates the objects that it then studies.[17] In the environment of a laboratory or observatory, he concludes, the facts and phenomena subjected to scientific classification and interpretation are not simply found, but rather created in complex processes – reality is transformed into 'epistemic things', to use Rheinberger's terminology. Something similar takes place in an archive when an archivist produces an inventory. This implies ensembles of practices, resources, infrastructure and abilities to create distinctive, discrete and discontinuous items – individual documents, which could be talked about and worked with in a professional way. Archivists make complex decisions about documents while creating a list of the inventory: what should be listed and what should not? How should it be listed? What defines a single 'document' and where does a 'file' or 'book' start? These were (and are) not so much questions of ontological necessity, but the result of an archivist's practical decisions. Most early modern archivists, for instance, very explicitly distinguished 'useless' and 'useful' documents, and only those papers that were considered useful were catalogued and listed.[18] As for those documents deemed less useful, however, the list's logic of 'et cetera' applied: they were only alluded to, but not identified in detail.

Unmixing the archival salad, both in physical and in epistemic ways, was a first step that was necessary

[11] Le Moine 1765, 27–30. For more on Le Moine, see Friedrich 2016.

[12] The documents regarding Le Moine's work at Saint-Germain are edited in Omont 1897, 55.

[13] On dirt in the archive in a broader perspective, see Steedman 2002.

[14] In fact, Le Moine's work at Saint-Germain was precisely deemed necessary because an entirely new level of diplomatic knowledge had become available since the previous attempt at arranging the archive. The scientific progress following Mabillon and his *De re diplomatica* made a much more sophisticated inventory desirable and possible; see the abbey's statement in Omont 1897, 58.

[15] On Du Cange now, see Considine 2009. The quote is on p. 278.

[16] Archives departementales de l'Indre-et-Loire G 456 ('Inventaire des titres de la prévôté de La Varenne, achevé par Lemoine, archiviste'), 131, where Du Cange is quoted as explaining unusual and regional terminology. The reference to Du Cange was possibly scribbled by a later archivist, not by Le Moine himself.

[17] Rheinberger 1997 and 2010.

[18] Although the authors occasionally attempted to provide general criteria for what was useful or useless, it seems as if this distinction was often a highly personal one. D'Estienne 1778 suggests a 30-year period after which many documents move from being use*ful* to use*less*.

to impose some order by creating an inventory. To do this, archivists sorted the continuous, amorphous mass of records into individual units. They did so – in strong analogy to the creation of 'epistemic things' in laboratories and observatories – by applying specific tools, discourses and practices, both mental and material. The result was a large number of distinctive items: documents or groups of documents that could count as 'archival things' that could and needed to be classified, ordered and inventoried.

Creating coherence

Archival inventories were – and still are – not simply enumerations of individual documents in random order. Quite the opposite, in fact: inventories (claim to) impose a rational structure on the individual items they list. They are, to put it in Robert E. Belknap's terminology, 'accretive'. Archival inventories (claim to) reassemble the discrete items that they mention into larger structures according to overarching criteria. Just where did these criteria come from in the case of early modern archives?

Some experienced archivists felt they could create order in an archive by relying on a preconceived and deductive organising framework. To Heinrich Ernst Moritz Leonhardi, the archivist from Ansbach quoted above, what each of the twelve piles of documents was to be labelled was clear before work even started on them: Historia Saynensia, Regalia et Iura, Pacta et Negotia, Processualia, Rechtssachen [legal matters], Militaria, Feudalia, Consistorialia, Regierungs und Landesverfassung [national and state constitution], Justiz [judicial system], Cammeralia, Miscellanea.[19] Likewise, Christoval Rodriguez, the author from Ávila who compared unordered archives to Italian salads, knew in advance that archives were best structured in 21 categories in alphabetical order, from A like 'Arendamientos, Apeos, Apelaciones' to Z like 'Zedulas reales etc.'.[20] In a similar vein, German authors developed ideal plans for archival structuring, which were presented as being rational and universally applicable. In 1687, for instance, Theodor Reinkingk published an ideal archival order for German territorial states.[21] His plan was based on the political and social realities of the Holy Roman Empire – documents concerning the empire and the emperor should always come first, he said, followed by those addressing fellow princes; papers on different areas of domestic policy only came after these. Augustin Balthasar, writing in 1742, felt equally confident about producing a standardised system of categories – he created an ideal archival order for German imperial cities.[22] Writers like Reinkingk and Balthasar obviously thought that archives and their inventories could and should be ordered according to preconceived principles – this could be called a 'deductive' approach to structuring archives.

Other archivists apparently did not believe in general, abstract systems of archival order, but took a more 'inductive' approach to list-making and thought that organising principles would only emerge in the process of sorting documents. Theirs was a bottom-up approach to ordering written knowledge. Le Moine thought there should be as many different categories as was 'convenient'.[23] According to the German archivist Spieß,

> […] allein die Erfahrung hat mich bishero gelehret, daß der beste Plan derienige ist, den die Urkunden selbst an die Hand geben. Mein verfertigter Plan thut mir also wenig Dienste, ich finde Urkunden, die mich an einen Titul erinnern, an den ich vorhero gar nicht gedacht habe, oder ich sehe offenbahr, daß ich fehlen und mir viele Unbequemlichkeit zuziehen würde […]. Durch das tägliche Arbeiten lernt man erst besser erkennen, welcher Titul mit dem andern mehr oder weniger Verbindung hat, und wie also mit der Zeit alle Titul in der schicklichsten Ordnung auf einander folgen können.[24]

> […] experience proves that the best system for ordering archives is provided by the documents themselves; a preconceived plan is of little help. I find charters that fall into a category I had not thought of before. […] Only daily work with the documents teaches us which documents are connected. It thus requires time and experience to understand how to organise documents.

The order of knowledge and the structure of an inventory list was to be found empirically and inductively. Creating

[19] Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz 30/171, 37–41.

[20] Rodriguez 1992–1993, 250–262. A strictly chronological order was to be implemented within these categories, then.

[21] Reinkingk 1687.

[22] Balthasar 1742, 551–554.

[23] Le Moine 1765, 2: 'il conviendra'.

[24] Spieß 1777, 57f.

organised lists thus had something tautological or paradoxical to it: a list of documents was not supposed to be random, but its structure only emerged in the course of sifting through the documents in question and was not apparent at the beginning. The series of items had to be finalised on the one hand, but the position of individual items on the list still had to be flexible enough to allow changes to be made later. This was the crux of the matter: how should lists of archival documents be made and yet be readily adaptable at the same time?

Producing a well-ordered inventory

Archivists could walk well-trodden paths to overcome such difficulties. Together with scholars, administrators and authors, they relied on a wide range of 'little tools of knowledge'[25] that helped them to manage vast amounts of information: note-taking, excerpting, filing and referencing, compiling, cutting and pasting were part of the daily routines of learned people all over Europe, as Ann Blair and others have demonstrated so well.[26] All these technologies relied, in one way or another, on the sophisticated handling of paper and writing. In fact, in Early Modern Europe, control of knowledge not only meant control of paper, but also control by paper. These practices, while most visible in the erudite milieu of scholars and literary figures, were not confined to the 'republic of letters', but were available to bureaucrats and administrators as well – and to archivists.[27]

For instance, Mariée's short treatise on archives from 1779 suggested – similar to early modern erudite practice – that archival inventorying had to rely on notebooks. Two different notebooks were needed, in fact.[28] In the first one, which was called a *pouillé*,[29] the archivist was supposed to write a short summary of each document as he read it – the *pouillé* thus reflected the sequence of his work. A second set of notebooks was structured in thematic order, quite similar to erudite commonplace books. These were the so-called *caïers de distribution*. The excerpts of the *pouillé* were to be copied into these ledgers (*cahiers*) according to topics. Mariée gave an example: when the archivist read the first document dealing with legal issues, he was to start a new *caïer* entitled 'jurisdiction'. When he found the first *terrier*,[30] he was to start a new *caïers* with the heading 'terriers', and so on. There were to be as many *caïers* as one needed, although Mariée estimated that about 20 of them would suffice.[31] Later documents on similar topics were to be inserted into these *caïers*. That still left a final task to be done, though: to connect the entries in the *pouillé* with the *caïers* and the documents themselves so that clear identification was possible. Mariée suggested the following: each short summary in the *pouillé* should receive a number. The same number should also be attached to the entry in the *caïers*. This number should finally be written on a standardised slip of paper which was to be attached to the original document by a small pin (*epingle*). Three things were achieved by this complex process: first of all, every single document was numbered and could be filed away in numerical order; second, the continuous series of excerpts in the *pouillé* allowed one to find a brief excerpt of each document by its number; and third, the excerpts in the *caïers* enabled one to search for specific topics and identify the relevant document and summary.

Things became even more complicated if one did not merely want to make an inventory, but create an index (or, as the French called it, a *table*) of the entire archive. Again, the experience of indexing books helped here. Indices were frequently produced by using small, loose pieces of paper. Documents were read and each significant piece of information was noted on a small slip of paper, roughly resembling a modern index card. Each of these pieces of paper only contained one element, such as the name of a person or a fact and the exact source reference. Since these small slips of paper were loose, they could be sorted and arranged according to whatever logic one wished to employ. Loose slips of paper were easily recombined and reorganised

[25] Becker and Clark 2001.

[26] Blair 2010; Becker and Clark 2001; Yeo 2014.

[27] Soll 2010.

[28] This strategy of relying on two notebooks, one following the order of reading, the other the order of topics, was well established in erudite practice. It is explained in Clemente 1635, 479f., for instance.

[29] The name was significant and most likely used as an analogy: *pouillé* was originally a French technical term denoting a type of document otherwise known as *Urbar* (German) or 'rent-roll' (English). It is basically a systematic register of fiefs pertaining to one lord, including descriptions of the rights and dues attached to each fief. The analogy probably lies in the fact that rent-rolls also had the appearance of being simple summaries of legal titles, one after another.

[30] *Terriers* were complex documents detailing seigneural lands and the dues and rights attached to them.

[31] Mariée 1779, 40: 'Vous ferez autant de petits caiers que vous appercevrez d'objets distincts & appellatifs de noms differents, qui seront de nature différentes'. The number of 'vingt, plus ou moins' *caïers* is on p. 29.

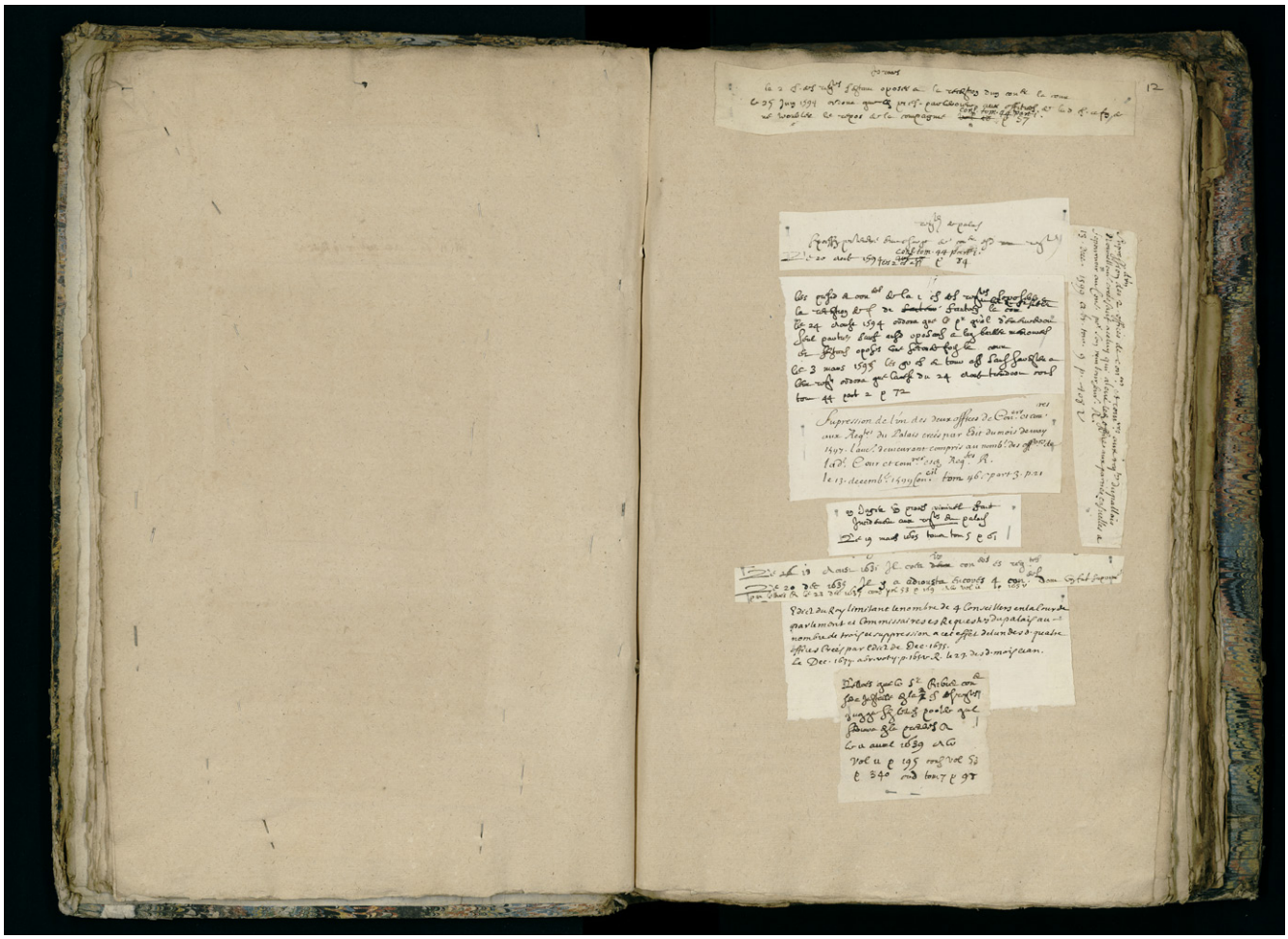


Fig. 2a: Archives nationales (France), document U 2343, fols 11v/12r. Thematic index volume (*fichette épinglée*) by Jean Le Nain of the French Parliament's Library.

if necessary. Early modern encyclopaedists such as Conrad Gesner and Theodor Zwinger relied on such methods to produce and organise their staggering compilations of excerpted pieces of information.[32] As Fabian Krämer has recently shown, Ulisse Aldrovandi also wrote, cut and collected such small pieces of paper with individual items of information for much of his life. Aldrovandi preferred to order information alphabetically and kept the pieces of paper in bags, one bag for each letter. Only when he finally compiled his 83-volume manuscript encyclopaedia, the *Pandechion epistemonicon*, did he order the snippets in each bag alphabetically. He fixed the order of the slips by gluing them into large folios.[33]

Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, a late seventeenth-century German poet and author, has left us a helpful description of this typical procedure:

> The subject index [is] arranged according to the ABC, and for this it is very useful to have a box with 24 compartments, each of which is marked with a letter. If you now wish to make an index, you must write the contents in proper measure on a sheet of paper, cut it up into individual pieces and then you must put each piece into its own letter compartment. Finally, you take them out again, arrange one letter after the other, and either paste the paper slips in their proper order or write them out once again.[34]

More or less the same procedure was also used in archives to create indices and inventories. A modest example comes

[32] Blair 2010.

[33] Krämer 2013; Krämer and Zedelmaier 2014.

[34] Translated in Wellisch 1981.

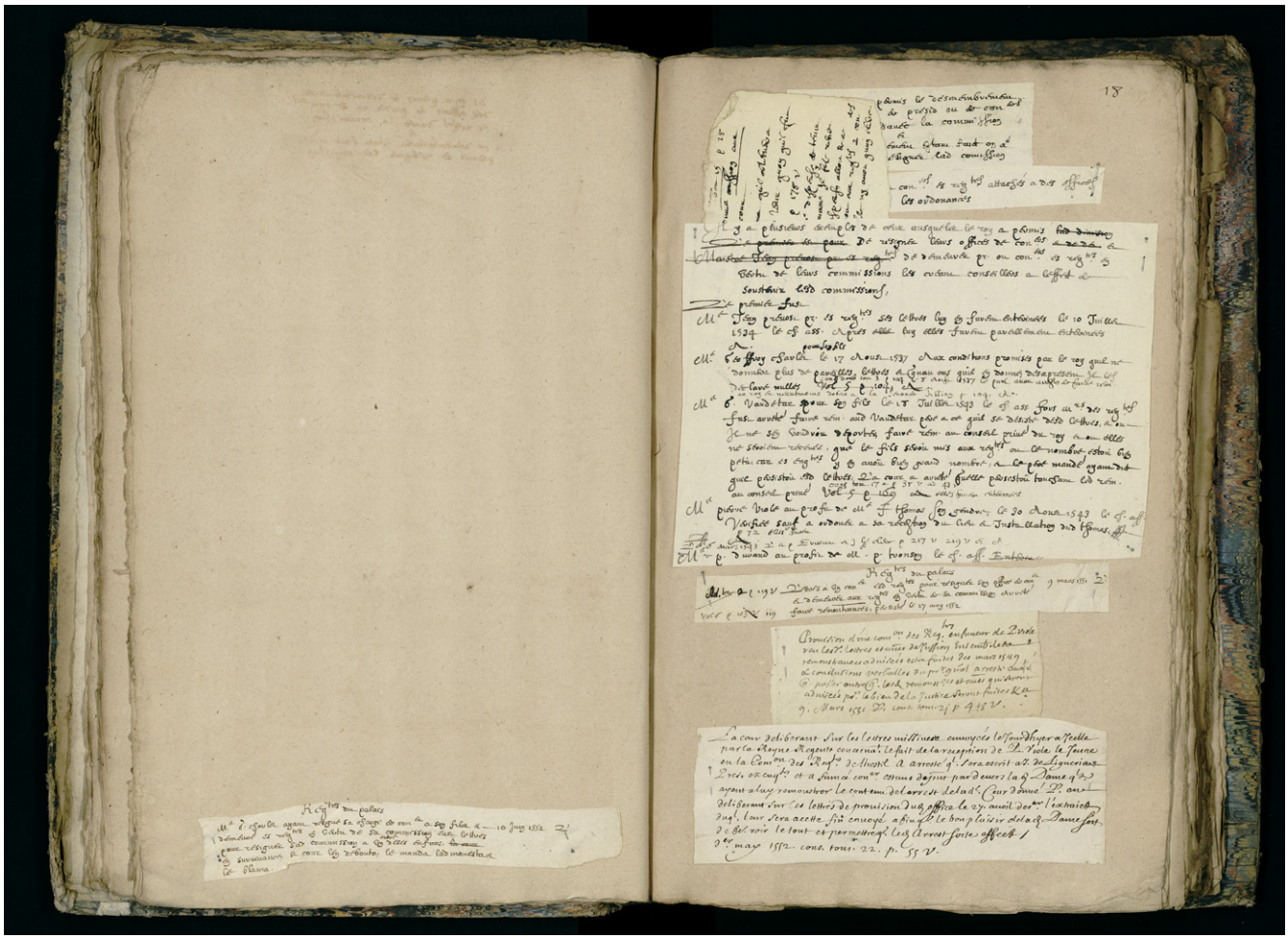


Fig. 3: Archives nationales (France), document U 2343, fols 17v/18r. Thematic index volume (*fichette épinglée*) by Jean Le Nain of the French Parliament's Library.

from the German duchy of Sachsen-Gotha.[35] There, in the middle of the seventeenth century, an unknown archivist produced a small index to parts of the ducal archive by using a method similar to Aldrovandi's: he read through many documents, wrote interesting pieces of information on small and fairly standardised slips of paper (including a reference to the document and page number) and underlined the keyword on each piece. Later, he arranged the slips alphabetically according to the underlined keywords and glued these ordered snippets of paper onto blank pages, which were finally arranged into bound volumes.

The famous *Schedario Garampi* in the Vatican Archives is a much more impressive and famous example of this procedure.[36] Giuseppe Garampi, Prefect of the Archives in the second half of the eighteenth century, had several assistants browse through thousands of volumes and take notes on them on roughly 800,000 snippets of paper. The card index that was thus developed – the *Schedario Garampi* – originated as a historical project, initially being intended as a starting point for a *History of Bishops and Churches of the World*. Later, at the end of the nineteenth century, the many small pieces of paper were glued into 125 volumes, ordered in several series and ranked more or less alphabetically within each series. As all these cases show, in Early Modern Europe (and well beyond, well into the nineteenth century) blank pages were used to keep the slips of paper in a strict order. Gluing tiny bits of paper into large books was the ultimate step in fixing the order of knowledge once and for all. Archival inventories were produced by cutting, sorting and gluing thousands of small and unassuming pieces of paper.

[35] The volume is Staatsarchiv Gotha Geheimes Archiv SS X.

[36] Diener 1982.

Glue and pins, and the ordering of knowledge

Glue was, thus, a highly important tool for early modern scholars, bureaucrats and archivists.[37] Just like handling and making ink, being able to make and handle glue was a key skill that organisers of knowledge needed to acquire. The French scholar Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Pereisc, for instance, in a letter from 1619, describes how his servant inadvertently cut an old charter made of parchment; 'with a little bit of glue, we can remedy this misfortune', he added.[38] There were other cases, however, where cutting up pieces of parchment and regluing them was actually a deliberate criminal activity. One such example from the seventeenth century was reported in English case law:

> One Leak, a Clerk in Chancery, intending to Forge a Patent, puts together two pieces of Parchement, and had fitted them, and put them together with Mouth-glew, that they appear'd as one: Than a Grant was written upon the outmost, and a Seal affix'd, so that the Great Seal is put on a true Thing, then he cuts off the edges of the Parchment, so as to sever them, takes of the written One, and leaves the Seal on the Blank, then Forgeth the Grant and makes us of it.[39]

However, what was much more typical, if slightly less spectacular, were the many legal ways in which glue was regularly used to attach things to large books. Glues were used to affix specimens of plants to paper and to fasten single snippets of paper to larger sheets, as we have already seen in the cases of Aldrovandi and Garampi.[40] Even more impressive are what are known as *Klebebände* in German – large volumes in which avid collectors glued large numbers of prints of all shapes and sizes. The series of *Klebebände* produced in Dresden and Arolsen are particularly famous: in these cases, the princes who resided in these two areas ordered the collection of hundreds or thousands of prints that were cut to size and reassembled into meaningful groups by gluing them onto blank pages.[41]

Certain types of glue were well known. In French, people spoke admiringly of *colle de bouche*. In English, the same type of glue was similarly called 'mouth-glew'. Its usage is described in detail in a well-known passage by Robert Hooke (note that the passage starts by describing the practice of *Klebebände*):

> Now these Histories being writ in brief, in a small piece of very fine Paper, 'twill be very convenient to have a large Book bound after the manner of those that are very usual for keeping Prints, Pictures, Drawings &c. in, to preserve them smooth and in order; On the sides of which, in the same manner as those Pictures are kept, it would be convenient to stick on with Mouth Glew, or some such Substance in the best Method that can be thought of for the Present; the several small Schedules containing the abbreviated and complicated Histories of Observations and Experiments, as they are last written on fine Paper, for by the Contrivance of this book, which for Brevity's sake I will call a Repository, not only all the Histories belonging to any one Inquiry may be placed so as to appear all at one View […]; But they may at any time, upon occasion, be presently remov'd or altered in their Position or Order.[42]

Even though Hooke does not talk about indexing proper, his account of how he ordered his notes on his observations closely resembles the procedures for indexing described above. In his view, this kind of glue had the advantage of being dissolvable; the snippets of paper could thus be removed if the order needed to be rearranged. The temporary adhesive powers of such types of glue were also considered important for surveyors, who often had to work with large maps or plots that they were advised to 'glew […] with Mouth-glew fast to the Table at the four Corners thereof' while working with them so as to keep them steady.[43] Crucially, 'mouth-glew' of Hooke's kind helped to combine stability with fluidity, two potentially contradictory aspects

[37] I am currently collecting material for a larger project entitled 'The Glue of Knowledge and the Knowledge of Glue'. The following remarks present some initial findings from this research.

[38] Correspondance de Rubens 1887, 231: 'avec un peu de colle de bouche, il y a encor quelque remède à ce malheur'.

[39] Proceedings 1700, 75. This was used as an example in a debate about what exactly constituted treason. According to his judges, the above-mentioned clerk had not committed treason in forging the grant. The example was most likely taken from Edward Coke, *Third Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England*, London, 1644, 16.

[40] See the article on 'Herbier' in Denis Diderot et al. (eds): *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des connaissances humaines tome XXIII*, 1773, 114.

[41] Brakensiek 2003; Vogel 2015.

[42] Waller 1705, 64. The section has been cited by Siegert 2000, 43 and by Yeo 2014, 249, for example.

[43] I quote from Love 1760, 139. The very same passage appears in several other handbooks on surveying.

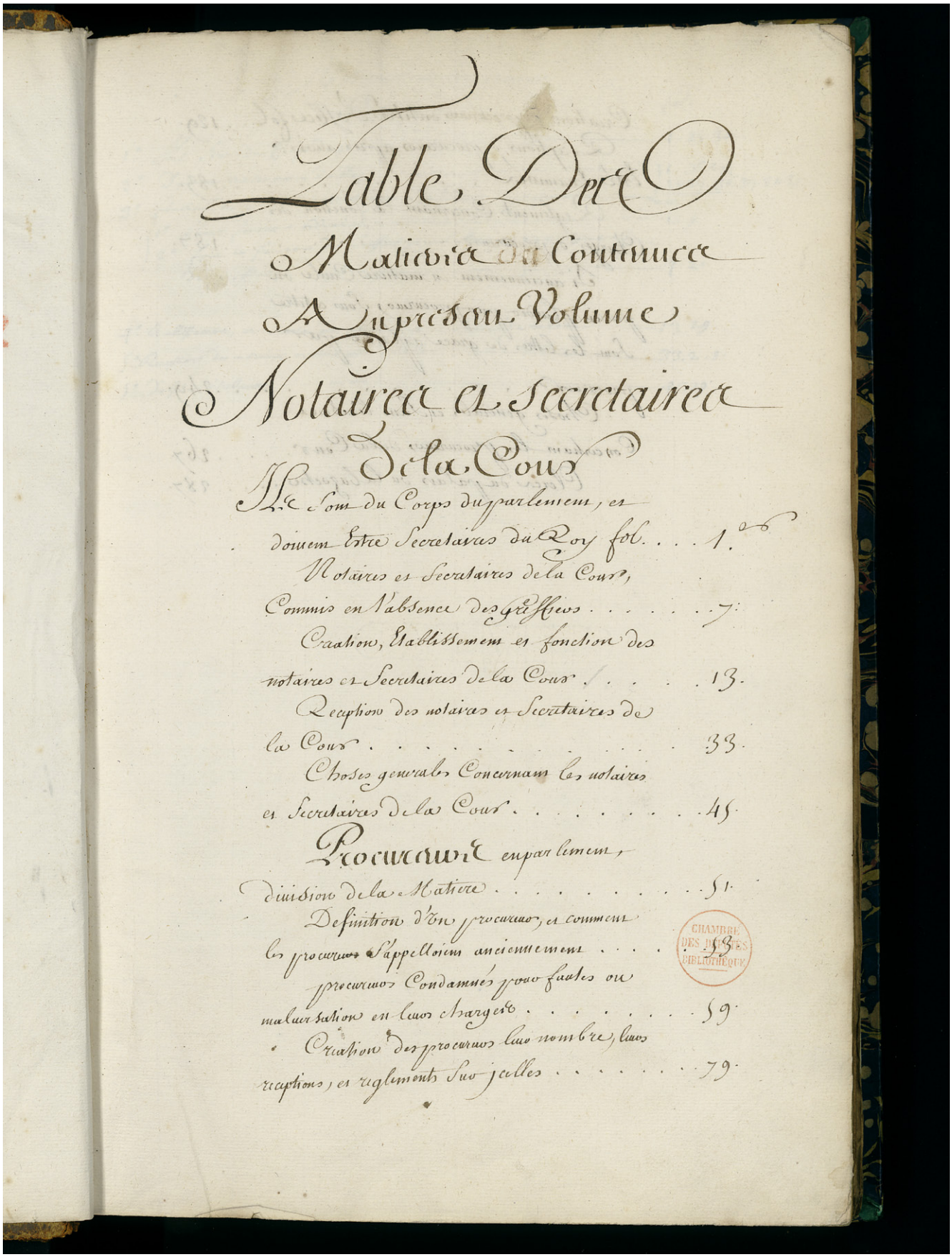
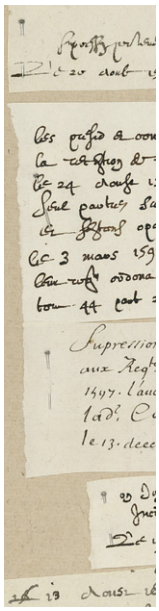


Table Des
Matieres Contenues
Au present Volume
Notaires et Secretaires
de la Cour
Le Nom du Corps du parlement, et
doivent Estre Secretaires du Roy fol. . . . 1.
Notaires et Secretaires de la Cour,
Commis en l'absence des greffiers . . . . . 7.
Creation, Etablissement et fonction des
notaires et Secretaires de la Cour . . . . . 13.
Reception des notaires et Secretaires de
la Cour . . . . . 33.
Choses generales Concernant les notaires
et Secretaires de la Cour . . . . . 45.
Procureurs en parlement,
diuision de la Matiere . . . . . 51.
Definition d'vn procureur, et comment
les procureurs s'appelloient anciennement . . . 53.
procureurs Condamnés pour fautes ou
malversation en leurs charges . . . . . 59.
Creation des procureurs leur nombre, leurs
receptions, et reglements sur icelles . . . . . 79.

Fig. 4: Archives nationales (France), document U 2260, title page with table of contents. One of the final index volumes (*tables méthodiques*), that is a clean copy of an index volume with thematic snippets, by Jean Le Nain of the French Parliament's Library.



Figs 2b and 2c: Document U 2343, fols 11[v] and 12r, details showing the needles (*épingles*).

required of slips of paper involved in the making of archival inventories.

Glue did have its down-sides, however. Johann Christoph Gatterer, the well-known German professor of history and polymath at Göttingen, noted in 1768 that it would attract all sorts of insects.[44] Others feared the same consequences, but a solution was available: in 1728, for instance, Sigmund Jakob Apin had defended the use of glue by pointing out that insects could be deterred by adding lavender or other herbs to the mixture.[45] In any case, there was a much more elegant alternative at hand: instead of glue, small pins could be used to fix the tiny pieces of paper in place in books (Figs 2b and c). Mariée had suggested this in the passage mentioned above. Pins were also used in one of the most fascinating early modern projects of archival indexing. In the second half of the seventeenth-century, Jean Le Nain (1609–1698), président of the Parlement de Paris, filled more than 200 volumes with copies of documents in the Parlement's archives.[46] He then created a multi-volume index to these copy-books, which is still one of the best tools with which to navigate the archives of the Parlement to this day (Figs 1–3).[47] To create this index, he produced numerous tiny snippets with short (or sometimes fairly long) summaries of the copied documents. Le Nain then sorted and ordered these pieces of paper in thematic order. The little slips of paper were pinned into 83 books, which were eventually copied in clear handwriting to create the final index (Figs 4 and 5).

The important question here is not why Le Nain did this or how his project worked in detail (if it did at all). What Le Nain's dozens of volumes demonstrate is the enormous effort it took early modern archivists to create the inventories they desired. Archival list-making was a procedure that required a great deal of technical sophistication. It relied not only upon epistemic decisions, but on more mundane, yet crucial manual skills. Producing lists of information implied ordering it. Ordering information, in turn, was a laborious manual task that called for the skilful use of scissors, glues and pins.

Conclusion

Archival inventories are lists, and lists are tools to create order. They cut reality into distinct items in order to reinsert them into larger epistemic frames. Before being subjected to the order of lists, an archive is 'like an Italian salad', to quote the Spanish archivist Rodriguez once more. In the case of archival inventories, items on the list must be arranged in systematic ways for the list to be effective – a randomly ordered archival inventory would be of no use whatsoever. Yet it is frequently unclear what an inventory's organisational structure might be, as the best order of documents often only emerged during the process of ordering them. To cope with this situation, the archivists had to develop a set of practical approaches. In Early Modern Europe, they frequently relied on well-established practices of paper-based knowledge management. The making of archival inventories required pins and glue, scissors and bags, notebooks and loose snippets of paper. Order was created through the manual tasks of writing, cutting and pasting, in addition to handling, placing and transporting documents. Inventory-making was, quite literally, a physical activity and was even said to require heroic virtues. Writing in 1779, the French archivist Mariée was particularly eloquent on the mental qualities necessary for archival work in such circumstances: 'Arm yourself with all the courage that a hard-working soul will need', he said. 'I advise you not to be baffled by all the chaos you will have to sort'; 'have courage' – this was realistic advice to all those involved in the making of archival inventories.[48]

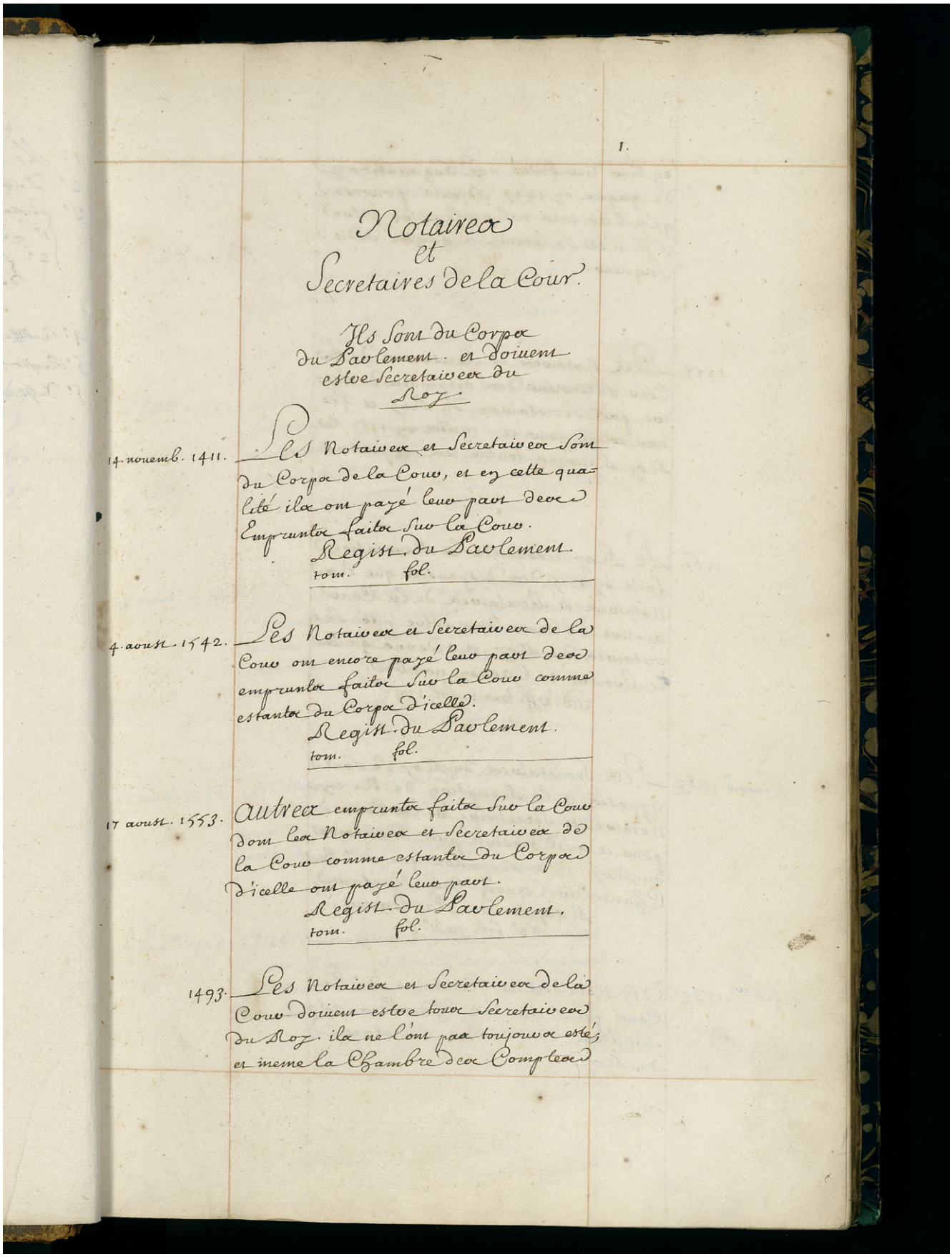
[44] Gatterer 1768, 96.

[45] Apin 1728, 35.

[46] On Le Nain, see Le Grand 1907. The volumes are part of the *Archives Nationales*, 'U' series. Also see Brancourt 2010 <https://parlementdeparis.hypotheses.org/214>.

[47] The index can initially be used to locate an interesting piece of information in Le Nain's copy-books where references to the original volumes can be obtained. In a second step, the original volume of parliamentary documentation can be retrieved.

[48] Mariée 1779, 23–25. 'Armez-vous du courage qu'une ame la plus laborieuse doit avoir'; 'Je vous recommande actuellement de n'avoir aucune inquiétude sur le cahos que vous avez à débrouiller'; 'ayez du courage'.


1.

Notaires
et
Secretaires de la Cour.

Ils Sont du Corps
du Parlement. et doivent
estre Secretaires du
Roy.

14. novemb. 1411. Les Notaires et Secretaires Sont du Corps de la Cour, et en cette qualité ils ont payé leur part des Emprunts faits Sur la Cour.
Regist. du Parlement.
tom. fol.

4. aoust. 1542. Les Notaires et Secretaires de la Cour ont encore payé leur part des emprunts faits Sur la Cour comme estants du Corps d'icelle.
Regist. du Parlement.
tom. fol.

17 aoust. 1553. Autres emprunts faits Sur la Cour dont les Notaires et Secretaires de la Cour comme estants du Corps D'icelle ont payé leur part.
Regist. du Parlement.
tom. fol.

1493. Les Notaires et Secretaires de la Cour doivent estre tous Secretaires du Roy. ils ne l'ont pas toujours été; et meme la Chambre des Comptes

Fig. 5: Archives nationales (France), document U 2260, fol. 1r. Beginning of one of the final index volumes (*tables méthodiques*) headed *Notaires et Secretaires de la Cour* ('Notaries and Secretaries of the Court'), by Jean Le Nain of the French Parliament's Library.

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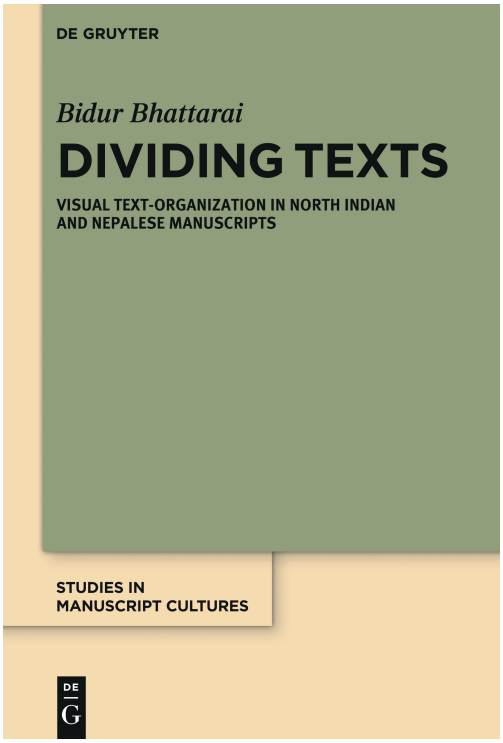
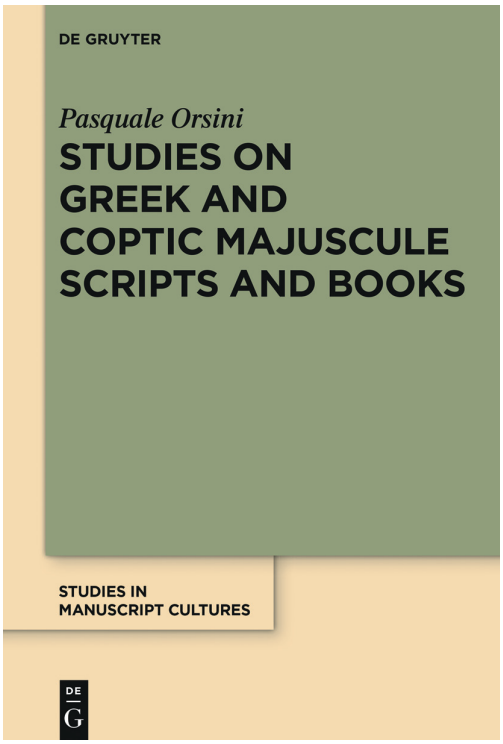
Forthcoming



10 - Dividing Texts: Visual Text-Organization in North Indian and Nepalese Manuscripts by Bidur Bhattarai

The number of manuscripts produced in the Indian sub-continent is astounding and is the result of a massive enterprise that was carried out over a vast geographical area and over a vast stretch of time. Focusing on areas of Northern India and Nepal between 800 to 1300 ce and on manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts, the present study investigates a fundamental and so far rarely studied aspect of manuscript production: visual organization. Scribes adopted a variety of visual strategies to distinguish one text from another and to differentiate the various sections within a single text (chapters, sub-chapters, etc.). Their repertoire includes the use of space(s) on the folio, the adoption of different writing styles, the inclusion of symbols of various kind, the application of colors (rubrication), or a combination of all these. This study includes a description of these various strategies and an analysis of their different implementations across the selected geographical areas. It sheds light on how manuscripts were produced, as well as on some aspects of their employment in ritual contexts, in different areas of India and Nepal.

Forthcoming



15 - Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books by Pasquale Orsini

The volume contains a critical review of data, results and open problems concerning the principal Greek and Coptic majuscule bookhands, based on previous research of the author, revised and updated to offer an overview of the different graphic phenomena. Although the various chapters address the history of different types of scripts (i.e. biblical majuscule, sloping poitend majuscule, liturgical majuscule, epigraphic and monumental scripts), their juxtaposition allows us to identify common issues of the comparative method of palaeography. From an overall critical assessment of these aspects the impossibility of applying a unique historical paradigm to interpret the formal expressions and the history of the different bookhands comes up, due to the fact that each script follows different paths. Particular attention is also devoted to the use of Greek majuscules in the writing of ancient Christian books. A modern and critical awareness of palaeographic method may help to place the individual witnesses in the context of the main graphic trends, in the social and cultural environments in which they developed, and in a more accurate chronological framework.

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