

Benedikt Reier

Chapter 2: Books as Archives

Abstract: Various cultures have utilised the protective, organising, and mobile properties of the codex to preserve various forms of paperwork. The resulting books provide various perspectives on the materiality of archiving outside the confines of bricks-and-mortar archives. This chapter provides an overview of books that served an archival function for various individuals as well as organisations. To come to grips with this phenomenon, it furthermore proposes two large categories of these books, multiple-document manuscripts and composite-document manuscripts. While the former preserve initial paperwork and was thus meant to function as archive by design, the latter preserve later reproductions of documentary material.

1 Introduction

When you close your eyes and imagine an archive, chances are that you picture a room. This room is probably furnished with a customised armoire, a simple shelf, a mobile shelf system, other storage infrastructure holding boxes or various containers storing archival artefacts. Perhaps you picture a filing cabinet, open shelf filing or stacks of tied up papers. While such physical configurations have a prominent place in the past and present archival landscape – as the following chapters of this volume show – the material dimension of archiving has been more diverse. Scholars from different fields and archivists from various parts of the globe have questioned a narrow and particularly early modern European understanding of what constitutes an archive in recent decades. Consequently, the net is now cast wider. Triggered by the increasing number of documents born digitally and the concomitant fundamental changes relating to the materiality of archiving, the discussion about what constitutes an archive is far from over. The field of archival studies is now at a point where the archive is not defined strictly based on its form, i.e. its material configuration in mostly bricks-and-mortar buildings, maintained by a central organisation, but based on its function.¹

When dealing with the materiality of archives, however, form is the crucial object of analysis. One medium particularly appropriate to exercise an archival

¹ Millar 2017, 4.

function is the codex. This chapter will investigate largely overlooked yet crucial archival practices of using codices – whether newly created ones or pre-existing copies – as repositories for paperwork. Books have been a go-to material configuration to preserve written texts in different parts of the world. While the use of protective materials, such as wood, leather and cloth, to shield assembled paperwork and the use of strings to bind them together predates the codex,² we will focus in this chapter on archives in the form of a codex, bound gatherings of inscribable material (including prominently, but by no means limited to, paper), often furnished with a protective cover. To be sure, codices were not the first material configurations of written media in which we can find archived paperwork. Governmental offices and private households in Graeco-Roman Egypt, for example, pasted single papyri sheets together to eventually form rolls to preserve documents.³ Similarly, as can be seen in Chapter 1, Thai manuscript culture has produced documents written in leporello manuscripts. There are, thus, a number of tied and bound documents that appear in material manifestations similar to books, sometimes with a needle and a thread through pre-folded sheets of paper. Though this practice of bundle archives is similar to the archive in book form, these examples are covered in Chapter 1 of this volume and are, thus, not included in the present chapter. Furthermore, materials other than paper or parchment were similarly bound to form archival books, such as bound bamboo slips in China or *amate* in Mesoamerica.⁴

The role of books in archives goes beyond that of a storing medium for records. Firstly, they are a go-to device designed to navigate archival collections. Finding aids, such as catalogues, indices or accession lists, often come bound as books and these form a crucially important tool to navigate archival collections. Secondly, literary books may enter archives as part of a private collection, i.e. they may enter the archive as an item.⁵ However, it is important to emphasise that not every book in an archive is an archival book in itself. We will focus in this chapter exclusively on books that themselves constitute archives.

What is an archival book? Put simply, a book that preserves the paperwork emanating from the conduct of affairs of organisations and individuals. As we will see below, at times, this meant the preservation of the initial written artefact, the document itself. More often, a surrogate of the initial document was produced

² See Chapter 3 of this volume by Cécile Michel for the different containers used to store and protect archival materials.

³ Maltomini 2023.

⁴ Staack 2020; Gómez Tejada 2022.

⁵ Brown 2018.

with an archival purpose. Yet, other times, archival books preserve records resulting from the everyday work of organisations and individuals, records that can take the form of brief notes or be long entries. What we will encounter in this chapter are, thus, a great variety of books produced in different written cultures over the last two millennia. These books have not, so far, been treated as forming one category. In this chapter, I approach these books, nevertheless, as one specific type of book, united by their archival function.

Though books have been used to store much more than that, this chapter focuses exclusively on written paperwork that historical actors preserved in book form.⁶ If the preservation of the paperwork and, thus, the archival function was the main intention of its respective producer or commissioner, is of secondary relevance. Similar to other books, archival books can have multiple functions for their producers, their commissioners and their readers. Secretarial handbooks, to give just one example, may contain reproduced documents to show aspiring secretaries an exemplar of how certain documents ought to be written. This exemplar might very well be a faithful reproduction of an archival document. However, more than preserving sample documents, the handbooks arguably had an educational and normative function for the professional group of secretaries – their most likely readers. The book might also have had the function for the producer or commissioner to establish a personal reputation or foster a certain secretarial tradition. Still, for later readers, these exemplary documents could constitute an accidental archive, preserving a selection of certain records produced in that particular secretarial tradition. At times, such books are indeed used by historians as archives.⁷ The borders of what constitutes an archival book and what does not are, thus, fluid. How far a book can be seen as serving an archival function or not is often a matter of contention.

In terms of content, there is virtually no boundary of what archival books may contain. We can find paperwork archived in books relating to the administration of governmental, religious, and other social and cultural organisations, commercial activities of merchants and private individuals, education, judicial procedures, personal matters, such as correspondences, and more. The storage place of archival books today and in the past oscillates between archives and libraries. The conceptual distinction between these two institutions has not always been a clean-cut case, and we find documents in libraries and books in ar-

⁶ For different objects preserved in books, see Hidalgo 2022, 374, n. 3.

⁷ For the use of a secretarial handbook as an archive, see, for example, Holt 1995; for a comparison between the initial document and transmediated documents in the very same secretarial handbook, see Potthast 2021.

chives in different cultures and different periods of history, especially in private settings where spatial circumstances did not allow two strictly separate compartments for the storage of written material.⁸

The reasons why different actors throughout history archived paperwork in books are various and not always clear. We can assume that, firstly, documents collected in books were considered more permanently secured than those loose and uncovered.⁹ Being mostly made of paper, they were certainly susceptible to the dangers of water, fire, paper-relishing bugs and more.¹⁰ Secondly, once bound in a particular order, the documents tend to remain in that very sequence and this prevents the second ever-lurking danger of clutter. Bound together, papers are less likely to disassemble the given order and become lost. Thirdly, the security caused by binding allows greater mobility and easier handling of larger numbers of records.¹¹ This not only helps the archivist to manage the ever-increasing holdings but also the initial creator of the archival book to take it along and produce records on the spot. The physical form of a codex, thus, had an intrinsic archival lure which certainly facilitated its spread through various cultures.

This chapter argues for linking two separate, yet overlapping, fields of research: book history and archival studies. Crossing the boundaries between these two fields by investigating the role books have played in various archival traditions will reveal similarities and disparities which can only enrich both fields. This cross-pollination will enable a more comprehensive look at how books have been utilised in contexts other than the more thoroughly studied, mostly literary world of libraries. More detailed in-depth studies by experts in different fields and regions are needed to better understand this archival practice with all its intricacies. In turn, this chapter integrates a range of distinct (and usually separately treated) phenomena, showing how ubiquitous the utilisation of books as archival storage devices was.

⁸ For the ancient Near East, see Pedersén 1998, 2–3; for Rome, see Neudecker 2013; for sixteenth-century England, see Grafton 2017; for Ethiopian history, see Bausi 2014, 74; also see various contributions in Bausi et al. (eds) 2018.

⁹ Wolfe and Stallybrass 2018.

¹⁰ For security as the reason for the production of cartularies, see Clanchy 2013, 103–104; Ramsay 2008, 427–428; Bouchard 2002, 24, 31–32; for *tǔngnok*, see Wang 2019, 267.

¹¹ Bouchard 2015, 35.

2 Multiple-document and composite-document manuscripts

The diversity of archival books in various manuscript cultures throughout history exacerbates a clear presentation. In order to give the phenomenon a specific outline, the following presentation will be framed by two main categories of archival books. The first category, multiple-document manuscripts, denotes archival books containing paperwork that was from the outset meant to be preserved in the physical form of a book. The term multiple-document manuscript adopts the concept of ‘multiple-text manuscript’ to more proper archival contexts. Multiple-text manuscripts are customarily defined as manuscripts ‘made up of more than one text and [which] have been planned and realised for a single project with one consistent intention; as a result, they are usually made of a single production unit’.¹² Similarly, multiple-document manuscripts consist of more than one document, are planned and realised as books with the aim to preserve paperwork, and are usually made of a single production unit (though they may exist in series). The most important point here is that the paperwork in multiple-document manuscripts was meant to be archived in these books, the decision to place it there was prior to the paperwork being brought into life, it was destined to be preserved in that very book. Although a lot of emphasis here is put on the book as the point of origin, this is not to say that the documents in these books are, by definition, the initial documents nor the only copies ever produced. Prior or subsequent copies of the paperwork preserved in multiple-document manuscripts may have existed. The versions we find in multiple-document manuscripts may, in some cases, be transmediated (see below). The preservation of the paperwork in book form, however, was the designated trajectory of these documents.

Composite-document manuscripts, on the other hand, designate books containing paperwork that has initially been written on independent physical objects and was brought together in a book only at a later stage. The eventual preservation in book form was not a forgone matter but a later decision. Again, the term composite-document manuscript refers to the better-known composite manuscript understood as ‘a codicological unit [...] made up of formerly independent units’.¹³ The most important defining feature here is, thus, that the paperwork in composite-document manuscripts had a prior material life outside the book. It consequently stands in contrast to the content of multiple-document manuscripts,

¹² Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci (eds) 2019, vii.

¹³ Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 16.

which, in most cases, was born into the book. The process of how the paperwork – that is, mostly the textual or informational content, not the physical initial document – ended up in composite-document manuscripts at a later stage is not fully captured in the ill-defined concept of copying.¹⁴ It is, thus, necessary to look at and define this pivotal practice more thoroughly.

Randolph Head has recently introduced the concept of ‘transmediation’,¹⁵ which, in contrast to ‘copying’, is not – at least not yet – overloaded with meaning. The transmediation of documents in books is, as we will see in the following, an archival practice of global reach. It is important to realise that a document transmediated into a new context may be endowed with new meanings:

[R]eproduction changes records’ communicative context, since the documentary surroundings of a record (materially, visually, and in who possessed it) were, and are, often as important as the actual text for shaping a record’s meaning.¹⁶

The initial documentary text was often abbreviated¹⁷ or sometimes supplemented in its new physical support. In rare cases, the result was a longer text than the initial record, but generally, one of the main ideas was producing a more compact, more to-the-point version to prevent the ever-lurking danger of archives – excess of the archive’s holding capacity. Transmediation did not often entail what is nowadays called a ‘faithful reproduction’ of the initial record. The concomitant changes in the documentary text were seen as tampering only in rare cases – more often the abbreviation of a document to its essentials was executed deliberately and systematically. In the following, we will use Head’s terminology when referring to documents which had a life prior to being incorporated into an archival book, regardless of whether it is a multiple or a composite-document manuscript.

The categorisation of the broad variety of archival books into multiple- and composite-document manuscripts is not without caveats, two of which I will briefly address here. Firstly, a crucial yardstick in the categorisation of archival books proposed above is the intention to archive, i.e. to preserve paperwork with an eye to retrievability. Gauging the intention of historical actors or organisations is quite frankly not an exact science but a matter of interpretation and assumption. The second issue arising from the classification above is that the complexity of the

14 For a review of the concept of ‘copying’, see Brita et al. (eds) 2020; the archival profession is also struggling with the concept of a copy, see Kahn 2018.

15 Head 2019.

16 Head 2019, 12.

17 For the medieval European writerly technique of *abbreviatio*, see Bertrand 2019, 136–142.

phenomenon of archival books is not reducible to two categories.¹⁸ There are several phenomena related to documents-in-books that do not fall neatly into the categories above. I will look at some fringe cases in the concluding part of this chapter which show the open borders of the two categories proposed.

The following presentation is limited in time from the invention of the codex until the early twentieth century CE. In space, the discussion aims for global reach, though I will discuss most detailed examples from Eurasia, predominantly Islamic West Asia and North Africa. This part of the world was not only rich in documents but many of these survive thanks to being bound in or transmediated into books.¹⁹

3 Multiple-document manuscripts

The first major category of archival books comprises all those designed from the outset to preserve documents. Books produced with an archival focus from the beginning were highly popular in various manuscript cultures and we can see different organisations and individuals throughout history producing and maintaining them. The issuing body of the paperwork or a recipient was generally responsible for producing multiple-document manuscripts. The creation of these books usually stretched over a period in which the documents were consecutively written down, resulting in a chronological order.

Prime examples are books subsumed under the catch-all term ‘register’. What exactly has been understood under that term varies quite a bit in form, function and content throughout time and place. Two features, however, seem essential. Firstly, register books were used to record either issued or received items. There is virtually no limit as to which items were registered. There are registers of births, circumcisions, salaries, taxes, correspondences, orders, members, shiploads, produce, deaths and much more. The second essential characteristic of register books is that the registration was mostly conducted in a serial manner, most often chronologically and in a more or less consistent form. It is important to note here that not all register books preserve initial documentation. As some contain exclusively transmediated documentation, we will encounter register books in this category of archival books and further below amongst the composite-document manuscripts. However, in many cases, a register substituted the pro-

¹⁸ The same goes for multiple-text manuscripts which may be further subdivided, see Brita and Karolewski 2021.

¹⁹ Paul 2018, 348.

duction of an archival copy of the recorded document and, thus, constituted the archival copy. When chanceries in the European Middle Ages, for example, issued charters or letters, they often did not retain a single-sheet copy but registered their outgoing paperwork, that is, they noted down a transmediated form, mostly condensed to the essentials of the text's content. The preservation of single-sheet documents was often up to the recipient. Registers were, thus, a practical tool to avoid paper jam in archives by either acting as proxies for single-sheet copies or dispensing the need to produce single-sheet documents in the first place.²⁰

Governmental officials, tax collectors, secretaries, notaries, municipalities, heads of guilds, merchants and private individuals maintained various forms of registers. In the history of Britain, for example, several registers survive from the paperwork of the crown, the church, landowners, the gentry and traders. These British registers were initially written on rolls, but rolls were superseded by bound books around the fourteenth century.²¹ Register books vary in terms of format. One form that was particularly popular for different sorts of registers were narrow rectangular, oblong-shaped books. They were used, for example, in Parisian registers of dues and rents, but also in other regions and for various purposes. Paul Bertrand ascribes practical considerations to the popularity of this format as such codices fitted neatly into saddle bags or pouches for tradesmen or administrators travelling about.²² The same reasons may explain the same format's popularity in West Asia and North Africa. Here, registers were mostly known as *daftar* in Arabic or *defter* in Turkish and used by, among others, market traders in twelfth/thirteenth-century Damascus, the tax registers (*tahrir defterleri*) of the Ottoman administration and Franciscan monasteries in Ottoman Bosnia. The format was so closely connected to the functional aspect of registers that the term *daftar/defter* came to denote both the physical object of registers and their format and layout.²³

One specific kind of register with far-reaching popularity was the account book. These books follow a similar logic to register books in that they contain either the in- or the outgoings of financial assets in a serial, consecutive manner.²⁴ The household accounts of the duke of Burgundy from the late fifteenth century, for example, consisted of several quires which were mostly bound.²⁵ Material evidence from late me-

²⁰ Evergates 1985, 159–160.

²¹ Ramsay 2008.

²² Bertrand 2019, 148–152; for more on that format, also see Durand-Guédy and Paul 2023, 19–23.

²³ Lewis 1991; Burak 2016; Burak 2019; Coşgel 2004; Aljoumani and Hirschler 2021; Sekulić 2022.

²⁴ For medieval and early modern Europe, see the various contributions in Gleba and Petersen (eds) 2015; Arlinghaus 2006; Keitel and Keyler (eds) 2005; for a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Syrian trader's ledger, see Aljoumani and Hirschler 2021.

²⁵ Nosova 2020, 173–174.

dieval Sicilian financial books show how such codices came into being, going through different life cycles before ending up in bound volumes. The archival books in question are the outcome of a new administrative office called the *conservator generalis regii patrimonii*, installed by the Crown of Aragon to enable long-distance government over the newly conquered Mediterranean island. The *conservator* was charged with the control of royal patrimony, and with this new office came a new method of record keeping. The office preserved records for one administrative year in thematically confined volumes called *libri*. In material terms, the surviving books show a conspicuous hole in the upper-left parts of each folio. These holes were pierced by the clerks even before the paper was used to record documents and they were made to hold the documents together – yet unbound – by enabling stacking on specifically designated pegs. In a second step, at the end of the administrative year, small units of documents were kept together by quire tackets, small, knotted ribbons perforating the folia near the spine. While holding them together, the loose knotting still allowed easy additions to the existing units. In a third step, a number of units were bound by a technique called ‘primary stitching’, i.e. by stitching a thread through the book block and a parchment cover (see Fig. 1). Most volumes today have gone through a fourth step, ‘oversewing’, a binding procedure by which gathered pages previously held together by the primary stitching were now permanently preserved bound as books.²⁶ This case is, thus, one where initial documents were collected to be bound later into multiple-document manuscripts.

Another concept related to registers are the *pinkasim*, logbooks from Jewish communities in early modern Europe. The communities were autonomous in certain matters, and they used books to record protocols of various important matters regarding their internal organisation. These books were endowed with an official status, their content regarded as legally binding, and even endowed with mystical powers in some Eastern European communities. The earliest surviving *pinkasim* are from early-sixteenth-century Germany and Italy and contain matters such as appointments within the communities, regulations, and pledges from non-Jewish authorities. There were, furthermore, more specialised register books belonging to a particular function or organisation within the community with the title *pinkas*, such as *pinkase mohel* (registers of the circumciser), *pinkase heshbonot* (cash books) and *pinkase bet ha-kneset* (synagogue seating arrangement books).²⁷

²⁶ Gialdini and Silvestri 2019; Silvestri 2016.

²⁷ Litt 2008, 7–11, 92–113; Litt (ed.) 2021, 7–15.

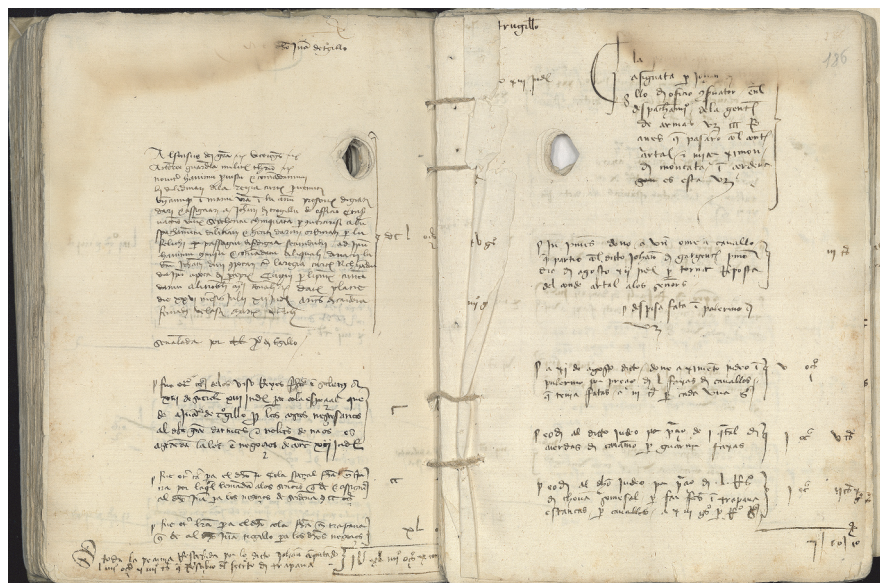


Fig. 1: Archivio di Stato di Palermo, Conservatoria di registro, no. 841, fols 185v–186r; © Soprintendenza Archivistica per la Sicilia – Archivio di Stato di Palermo.

One particular type of archival book evolved in the Ottoman Empire in connection with one specific institution, the Islamic Sharia courts. From the fourteenth to the twentieth century, the paperwork of the Islamic courts from the centre to the peripheries of the Ottoman world were written in books called *sijillat*.²⁸ Court scribes recorded each case brought before the qadi in these registers. The entries in these books are not exclusively limited to judiciary matters as the role of Islamic courts entailed notary functions. We can find entries on a wide range of everyday life in the Ottoman lands, including such things as marriages and divorces, estate inventories, endowment registrations, acknowledgments, demands for payment and purchase contracts. Each entry was signed by a number of witnesses (*shuhūd al-hāl*). The *sijillat* constituted the archive of Muslim judges who, in the Ottoman Period (1299–1922), as far as we know, did not maintain additional single sheet paperwork. Litigants, in turn, could request a single-sheet copy for a fee.

Though studies focusing on the material make-up of the multiple-document manuscripts described above are so far missing, it can be assumed that, in some cases, ready-made books served as the scaffolding of the respective books. There are,

²⁸ Müller 2018, 378–380; Okawara 2015; Akgündüz 2009.

however, other ways in which such books could be assembled, for example, by using pre-folded but unbound paper. We can see such an example in action in Fig. 2. Jan Gossaert's 'Portrait of a Merchant' shows Jan Snoeck (c. 1510–1585) in Gorinchem in the Netherlands at work. Snoeck served in different positions throughout his life, but here, he is most likely portrayed as a collector of river tolls. He is sitting in his office, surrounded by various tools and raw materials required to manage his paperwork.

We see him in this painting writing on a single bifolium lying on pre-folded but unbound quires which, in turn, appear to lie in a bound booklet. This booklet, in turn, lies on top of another booklet which appears to be bound as well.²⁹ Whether Snoeck is copying here or starting a new page is not relevant. What is most interesting regarding our discussion is that he apparently used prepared fascicles to conduct his paperwork which were later bound into booklets. This way of working suggests a certain amount of prior reflection and planning.

While the pictorial evidence in the case of Jan Gossaert's painting does not allow for far-reaching conclusions, there are a number of techniques which help to preserve initial single-sheet documents in prepared books. To what extent an archival book was prepared priorly varied. Some were made up of elaborate and specialised receptacles meant to hold documents by pursing or gluing. One technique that evolved in the nineteenth century, for example, are books with adhesive stubs in their spine onto which documents could be glued. Some American government agencies in the 1820s and later and railroad operators used these prepared storage volumes, mainly to preserve their incoming correspondence.³⁰ A volume of 173 documents from early-twentieth-century Afghanistan consists of initial stand-alone documents simply glued onto thick paper frames, bound into a book.³¹ A similar phenomenon can be seen in the late-fifteenth-century album of letters, the *majmū'a-yi murāsālāt* made by 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, the addressee of most of the letters. Navā'ī glued 594 predominantly Persian letters he had collected into an album which originally consisted of 46 sheets, on each of which he glued multiple signed autograph letters in horizontal and vertical alignment.³² Here, however, there is no particular order discernible (to the modern reader) and the question of retrievability, thus, remains an open question. Gluing single-sheet documents onto pages was also one of the different ways in which solicited legal opinions (*fatāwā*) were preserved in the Ottoman Period.³³

²⁹ Wolfe and Stallybrass 2018; Colenbrander 2010; Ainsworth 2010.

³⁰ Yates 1989, 32.

³¹ Shokhumorov 2009, 117.

³² Gross and Urunbaev 2002, 57–63. For a facsimile reproduction, see appendix in Gross and Urunbaev 2002.

³³ Heyd 1969; Burak 2021.



Fig. 2: Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of a Man, possibly Jan Snoeck*, c. 1530; courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 1967.4.1.

It is not easy to ascertain in cases where documents are preserved through these book techniques whether these were the predestined archival practices or if a later actor decided that one of these was the apt way to store documents. In some cases, such as the American government agencies, we can assume that they became the norm, at least for some time. In the case of the volume of 173 documents from Afghanistan mentioned above, the intention is not as easily ascertained and the preservation in this album-like form may be an outlier. It is, however, likely that this volume followed a practice established by the amir of Afghanistan, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Khān (r. 1880–1901), who changed record-keeping practices of state agencies and his own court to the extent that they were to be transmediated into registers.³⁴ With practices such as gluing documents into pre-existing books, filing them in folders or sticking them into designated albums, we are coming to the realm of transmediation, a practice we will encounter in more detail now.

4 Composite-document manuscripts

Composite-document manuscripts are archival books containing transmediated paperwork, reproductions of records that had existed previously on (mostly) a single sheet, materially independent from their eventual archiving in a book. In this category, we can find books that contain exclusively transmediated documents and others that contain transmediated documents next to other, non-documentary material. Composite-document manuscripts were produced retrospectively, often to safeguard documents from decay when, through inappropriate storage conditions or other natural and human forces, the initial single-sheet documents ceased to exist or if they had to be actively deaccessioned. The process of transmediating paperwork into books often involved reappraisal of the archival stock. To reassess the retention value of the given material – copying an entire archive is not only cumbersome (or impossible) but often deemed unnecessary – a selection had to be made. Books in this category are, thus, often one or a series of bound volumes containing a part of what was originally found in an earlier bricks-and-mortar archive. This often highly subjective filtering procedure has been rightfully emphasised in recent decades and the producers of these books have been analysed as authors in their own right, working with their own, often obscure, agenda. Furthermore, later copyists of these archival books may add yet another subjective layer to the preserved material by changing, omitting or add-

³⁴ Shokhumorov 2009, 116–117.

ing content.³⁵ The agency of producers of composite-document manuscripts is certainly a major caveat to keep in mind when approaching these books as a window into the past. At any rate, it is important not to over-emphasise the agency of the compilers of archival books in contrast to a bricks-and-mortar archivist, who, in this line of scholarship, are often implicitly seen as more neutral and less agenda-ridden. In reality, most archives are highly selective. The National Archive of the United States, for example, preserves only between 2 and 5 per cent of the government's total records.³⁶

The most prominent example in this category of archival books from European history are certainly cartularies.³⁷ In these books, produced across medieval Europe from around the ninth century onwards, monasteries, rulers or noble houses transmediated a variety of documents from their conduct of affairs into parchment and, later, paper books (see Case Study 2.1). At times, we find draft versions and sometimes also multiple versions in these codices.³⁸ While earlier research has often treated these books as unproblematic representations of their respective organisation's vanished archive, since the 1990s, cartularies have been critically reevaluated. Authorial interventions undertaken by the cartularists are now appreciated as active and conscious acts, decisively influencing what can be found in these books.³⁹ The transmediated charters concerned mostly transfers of land and title deeds and often appear void of any easily discernible organising principle (at least in their handwritten form; modern editions often obscure this). The purpose for which cartularies have been produced, on the one hand, and to which they have been put to use, on the other, has to be researched individually and often cannot be pinpointed to exclusively one function. Scholarship so far has attributed mainly administrative and memorial functions to cartularies, while in some exceptional cases, cartularies have also been used in legal contexts.⁴⁰

King Manuel of Portugal (r. 1494–1521) initiated the production of a series of archival books with similarities to cartularies in the early sixteenth century. This archival project built on an earlier, more modest attempt by one of his predecessors, Afonso V (r. 1438–1481). Starting in 1459, Afonso's chancery began to preserve past and recent royal acts in *chancelarias*, bound volumes of chancery documents. Under Manuel, the most important royal deeds were transmediated into the so-

³⁵ Geary 1994; Geary 2006; also see Bouchard 2015.

³⁶ Yale 2015, 332.

³⁷ For a recent survey on cartulary studies, see Tucker 2020, 4–33.

³⁸ Hummer 2013, 190–191; Bouchard 2015, 23–24.

³⁹ Geary 1994.

⁴⁰ Tucker 2020, 14–25; Bouchard 2015, 31–34.

called *Leitura Nova* ('New Reading'). The result was a sixty-one volume series produced between 1504 and 1552. The *Leitura Nova* included the most important privileges guaranteeing, on the one hand, the wealth of the landed elite and, on the other hand, the role of the crown as the central mediator.⁴¹ This new archival entity was not merely seen as copybooks but

many indications suggest that for its creators, the collection constituted an *archivum* in itself, a treasury of authentic records attested by notarial signatures and by the visual royal presence on the illuminated frontispieces. Whereas sixteenth-century theory and practice elsewhere had begun differentiating the *archivum* of original charters from the books kept in chancelleries, and eventually from information management registries, the Lisbon chancellery chose to create an *archivum*-in-codices to record and guarantee the monarchy's acts.⁴²

Korea during the Chosŏn Period (1392–1910) knew various archival books. In fact, the archival landscape here seems to have been characterised by the rather short life cycles of the initial documents. Instead of keeping the paperwork in single-sheet form, predominantly state actors engaged in a lively culture of transmediating them into bound volumes and this was the default mode of long-term preservation.⁴³ One example is the genre of *tŭngnok*, compilations of transmediated records from different governmental offices. We can find in *tŭngnok*, for example, royal commands sent to prefectures and their responses or diplomatic records with neighbouring empires. These books served as the main references for different administrative agencies looking for precedence.⁴⁴ *Euigwe* were books of records produced for the planning of state rites, such as royal birthdays, weddings or funerals. Up to six copies of these records in bound books were usually produced to be kept in different offices, most probably to serve as a guide for future events of a similar nature.⁴⁵ The most famous example of archival books in Korean history are the so-called *sillok* ('veritable records'), official annals covering the reign of a king after his death, compiled from different documentary sources. The compilation of these histories – 1893 volumes in total⁴⁶ – often entailed the subsequent destruction of the initial documents: what was chosen to be archived were the compilations, not the initial records from which they were compiled.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Head 2019, 72–93.

⁴² Head 2019, 87.

⁴³ Vermeersch 2019; Kim 2019, 192.

⁴⁴ Vermeersch 2019, 216; Wang 2019.

⁴⁵ Sŏng-mi 2008.

⁴⁶ Youn 2013, 25.

⁴⁷ Vermeersch 2019, 207–208; for a broader perspective of the transformation of Korean archives, also see Reynolds 2019.

The archival tradition in Korea was influenced by China, which knew a very similar tradition to the *sillok*, the *shilu* ('veritable records'). These books were compilations from official court diarists, including archival material which remained legally binding as long as the dynasty that created them was in power.⁴⁸ The Chinese Huangce ('Yellow Registers') from the period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) was an archive located at the Houhu Lake in Nanjing. By the end of the Ming dynasty, this gigantic archive is said to have held a staggering number of 1.7 million volumes of population surveys conducted to assist taxation and labour service obligations. Each volume consisted of household and population data as well as the land and taxation records of villages of 110 household units. Local headmen were responsible for forwarding the data to the county. Here, a registrar checked the data and produced four certified copies: one for the household, one for the county record office, one for the prefectural government and one for the Ming national archive in Nanjing. While the volumes in the archive were formerly outfitted with yellow silk covers, glued onto the cover with flour starch, from 1490 onwards heavy paper and thick cotton threads were mandatory to minimise the nuisances from rodents and insects attracted by the starch used formerly.⁴⁹

Muslim jurisconsults in Central Asia produced what are known as juristic miscellanies (*jung*) mostly between the sixteenth and nineteenth century. Besides heterogenous content, such as personal notes, quotes from authoritative books on legal issues and poetry, these books often contain a large number of initial but also transmediated documents. Jürgen Paul recently classified two of them particularly which he studied in detail as notebooks and doubted their function as archives.⁵⁰ It is still telling that some of these books contain more than hundred glued-in documents, mostly solicited legal opinions (*riwāyāt*). It is probably not too far-fetched to assume that for at least some producers of these manuscripts, they did serve as a personal repository for paperwork of their profession, produced by either themselves or other actors in their field. The fact that muftis got criticised for using *jungs* in their work at least shows that these books were not only maintained for strictly personal reasons but indeed utilised in actual legal work.⁵¹

While the previous examples arise from an organisational context, the following example from the world of Muslim learning was a highly personal and, to a

⁴⁸ Twitchett 1992, 119–159; Fitzgerald 2020, 74–75.

⁴⁹ Zhang 2008; von Glahn 2012, 45; Fitzgerald and Nappi 2021, 49; tax records in Qing China (1644–1912) were similarly preserved in books called 'copied archives' (*chao dang*), see Guo 2022, 88.

⁵⁰ Paul 2023, 391–392; Mukhammadaminov 2017; Bhalloo and Husyani Ishkawari 2025.

⁵¹ Sartori 2016, 220.

certain degree, idiosyncratic tradition of archival books. Scholars preserved transmediated forms of audition certificates, documents that gave them permission to transmit certain books collecting the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (*ḥadīth*), in books variously called *ṭhabats* or *fihristis/barnāmaj*. While *ḥadīth* collections were transmitted orally in face-to-face sessions, the transmission was recorded in so-called audition certificates (*samā'āt*) on a manuscript of the transmitted text.⁵² The certificates vary in detail but most basically contained the name of the transmitter, his or her unbroken chain-of-transmission back to the compiler of the *ḥadīth* collection, the names of attendees, which at times exceeded one hundred, the name of the writer of the certificate, and the date and location of the session. This certificate was issued once only on a manuscript copy of the transmitted book and the individual attendee did not receive a take-home certificate.

Muslim scholars devised personal archival books in which they diligently transmediated the initial audition certificates for each session they attended. We can find this personalised form of record-keeping from the eleventh century onwards.⁵³ They recorded the sessions they attended, providing the information extracted from the audition certificates, in chronological order: the title of the transmitted text, name of the transmitter, his or her chain back to the compiler of the text, time and location. The names of the other attendees were omitted as the idea was to register your very own scholarly achievements, not those of others. We can find two sample pages from the *ṭhabat* of a certain Muḥammad al-Nadrūmī (d. c. 1380), an otherwise unknown scholar living in Jerusalem, in Fig. 3.⁵⁴ He added the title of the transmitted *ḥadīth* collections in the margins next to each entry, which helped him to quickly find the transmediated audition certificate for which he was looking. In some entries, al-Nadrūmī, as well as other scholars maintaining such a *ṭhabat*, made sure to have the transmediated certificate signed by the authority presiding over the respective transmission session. A case in point is the entry on the right side, which was validated and signed by the scholar who acted as the transmitter.⁵⁵

⁵² Davidson 2020; focusing more on the intricacies of these documents, also see Aljoumani 2021; and Aljoumani and Reier 2024.

⁵³ The most comprehensive survey to date is al-Mar'ashli 2002; for a history of the genre, see Davidson 2020, 254–274; 'Abd al-Qādir 2007.

⁵⁴ Manuscript Riyadh, King Saud University Library, Majmū' Qāf 1:34, fols 18b–19a; al-Zabadāni 2017.

⁵⁵ See Reier 2022 for a more detailed analysis of how audition certificates were transmediated into *ṭhabats* and other archival books.

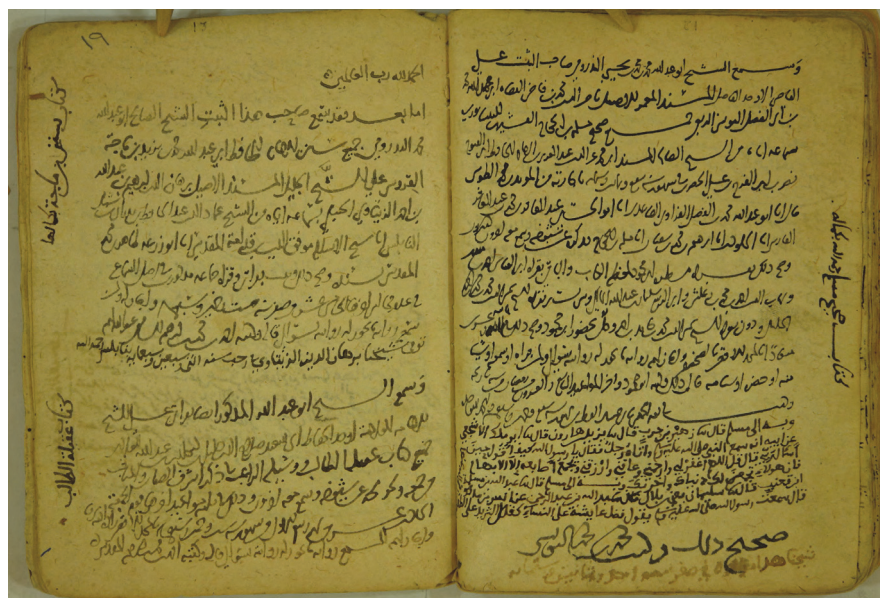


Fig. 3: *Thabat* of al-Nadrūmī, manuscript Riyadh, King Saud University Library, Majmū' Qāf 1:34, fols 18b–19a; © King Saud University.

The case of the signed transmediated certificates in *thabats* immediately raises the question regarding how far these books could serve as proofs in cases of doubt. Although an entry in such a book was not the initial document, the signature, nevertheless, endowed it with an official approval. While today we may deem transmediated paperwork as not ‘original’, it is far from certain that people such as al-Nadrūmī and the scholarly community of which he was part saw them as less of a proof than the initial certificate. The same will certainly also ring true for other composite-document manuscripts from other manuscript cultures. Not only the concept of an archive but also what different societies understood as ‘documents’, ‘originals’ or ‘proofs’ has been contingent.

5 Beyond multiple- and composite-document manuscripts

The two major categories of archival books sketched out above cover many examples of archival books throughout time and space but cannot capture all the

phenomena of documents in books. In the remainder of this chapter, I will present some more examples of books that, to some degree, fulfilled an archival purpose but which do not fall into one of the categories above. We will find archival books here with a substantial amount of initial or transmediated documents in which, however, the preservation of documents is but one of many functions.

Practices of secondary repurposing of books or documents for additional archival purposes were often facilitated by the layout of the underlying books or documents. The production of books, it should be remembered, was for most of the last two millennia an expensive endeavour. This economic factor accidentally facilitated the book-as-archive phenomenon. The utilisation of free spaces in pre-existing books to preserve documentary texts, for example, can be found in many manuscript cultures. These materials may relate to various fields of activities. One pertinent aspect are notes related to family issues, such as births and deaths. Given that books are made of durable material and were likely to be kept in the same family, matters of importance were often scribbled on the margins.⁵⁶

The phenomenon of preserving documents in the margins and on flyleaves of books is well attested in Ethiopian history, so much so that recently the call has been made that the term

‘[a]rchives’ [...] should replace older terms used in Ethiopian studies, such as ‘marginalia’ or ‘addenda,’ which reduce a document to the way it has been copied in the margin of, or the appendix to, the principal text.⁵⁷

The most famous example of this phenomenon is the Golden Gospel of Dabra Libānos za-Ham, a parchment manuscript housed today in the Dabra Libānos monastery in the Eritrean village of Ham. This book is a collection of different texts, brought together in different points in time. The core text comprises the four gospels. Different archival materials were added to this core, mostly related to land donations and grants received by the monastery. These were not added at one time, but probably spread over a long period.⁵⁸ This is not the only manuscript from Christian Ethiopia/Eritrea which functions as a container for documents, and the field of Ethiopian studies is discussing extensively how to deal with and define these documents (see Case Study 2.2).⁵⁹

The, at times, big spacing between the lines of some chancery documents from the Cairo sultanate (1250–1516) gave authors a cheap alternative to buying

⁵⁶ Parker and Maxton 2022; Davidson 2022, 461; Wollina 2019, 5–9; Clanchy 2013, 157.

⁵⁷ Wion and Bertrand 2011, x.

⁵⁸ See most recently Valieva and Liuzzo 2021. Table 4 lists the different documentary texts.

⁵⁹ Bausi 2014; Kropp 2005, esp. 138–139; Heldman and Devens 2005.

blank paper for their notebooks. Regarding North Africa, this phenomenon is best researched for the Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), whose notebook contains numerous reused folia originally emanating from the chancery. The same phenomenon can be seen in the notebook of his teacher, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449). Similarly, the high-quality paper used for governmental documents in China under the Song dynasty (960–1279) caused some of them to be sold and their backsides reused in printed private books. In these cases, however, the reasons why the documents ended up in books was most certainly not archival: the reused (and cut up) documents were not meant to be retrievable. The same logic applied to another, largely underexplored feature of documents in books, those reused to produce cardboard for book covers. While the reuse in these examples probably also had an economic aspect to them, the phenomenon goes beyond cost-cutting measures. In at least one case from twelfth-century Damascus, a scholar recycled the back of his parents' marriage contract to write an important book for his career. Here, it has been argued that this was a conscious act of merging a scholarly pedigree with a family genealogy.⁶⁰

The examples presented in this chapter show how different societies since the advent of the codex used this very medium to archive their paperwork. Firstly, books were used to preserve initial documents. Secondly, various actors transmediated paperwork into books to secure their preservation. Thirdly, records proceeding from the everyday conduct of affairs were written into books instead of onto single sheets, again, to have a handy way of archiving. The intricacies of these archival books, their physical properties, various functions and changing cultural meanings await dedicated research.

Acknowledgements

The research for this chapter was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

⁶⁰ For al-Maqrīzī, see Bauden 2004; for Ibn Ḥajar, see manuscript Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murad Molla 609; for Song China, see Zhang 2004, 30; for documents in book covers, see Liebrecht 2020; Hirschler 2017.

I am grateful to my colleagues from Research Field E, Archiving Artefacts, at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Universität Hamburg for their feedback on this chapter.

References

- al-Mar'ashlī, Yūsuf (2002), *Mu'jam al-ma'ājim wa-l-mashyakāt wa-l-fahāris wa-l-barāmij* [sic] *wa-l-athbāt*, 4 vols, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd.
- al-Zabadānī, 'Umar Anwār (2017), 'Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kūmī al-Nadrūmī: Dirāsa fī thabāt al-Nadrūmī', *Majallat al-ta'rikhiyya al-Jazā'iriyya*, 3: 29–46.
- 'Abd al-Qādir, Muwaffaq b. 'Abd Allāh (2007), *ʿIlm al-athbāt wa ma'ājim al-shuyūkh wa-l-mashyakāt wa fann kitābat al-tarājim*, Riyadh: Dār al-tawḥīd li-l-nashr.
- Ainsworth, Maryan W. (2010), 'Portrait of a Merchant (Jan Jacobsz. Snocke?)', in Maryan W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures: Jan Gossart's Renaissance, The Complete Works*, New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 290–292.
- Akgündüz, Ahmed (2009), 'Sharī'ah Courts and Sharī'ah Records: The Application of Islamic Law in the Ottoman State', *Islamic Law and Society*, 16/2: 202–230.
- Aljoumani, Said (2021), 'Wathīqa jadīda 'an naql al-'ilm fī al-ta'rikh al-islāmiyya: Taḥqīq awraq al-samā' li-Sunan al-Dāraqutnī', *Majallat Kulliyat al-Sharī'a wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya*, 38/2: 19–75.
- Aljoumani, Said and Konrad Hirschler (2021), 'Trading Fruits and Legumes on a Medieval Damascene Market: The Documentary and Archival Life Cycle of an Account Book from the Qubbat al-Khazna (Şam Evrakları 13327)', in Hatice Aynur, Didar Bayır, Tuncay Zorlu, Fatma M. Şen, Magda Makhlouf and Jan Pieter Hogendijk (eds), *İlim ve İrfan Yolunda Bir Hezarfen: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu'na Armağan / A Festschrift in Honor of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu for His 75th Birthday*, Istanbul: Ötüken, 57–94.
- Aljoumani, Said and Benedikt Reier (2024), 'The Documentary Depth of Hadith Transmission: Audition Attendance Lists', *Al-'Uşūr al-Wuṣṭā*, 32: 142–164.
- Arlinghaus, Franz-Josef (2006), 'Account Books', in Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, Marcus Ostermann, Oliver Plessow and Gudrun Tscherpel (eds), *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages* (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 6), Turnhout: Brepols, 43–69.
- Bauden, Frédéric (2004), 'The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place', in Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (eds), *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, Leiden: Brill, 59–76.
- Bausi, Alessandro (2014), 'Documentary Manuscripts and Archives: The Ethiopian Evidence', *Studi Magrebini*, 12–13/2: 63–80.
- Bausi, Alessandro, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich and Sabine Kienitz (eds) (2018), *Manuscripts and Archives: Comparative Views on Record-Keeping* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 11), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Bausi, Alessandro, Michael Friedrich and Marilena Maniaci (eds) (2019), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 17), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Bertrand, Paul (2019), *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe: The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250–1350*, tr. Graham Robert Edwards, Turnhout: Brepols.
- Bhalloo, Zahir and Sayyid Sadiq Husyani Ishkawari (2025), 'Writing and Preserving Islamic Legal Documents: Bukharan Fatwas inside a Central Asian Jung Manuscript in Qum', in Olly Akkerman (ed.), *Social Codicology: The Multiple Lives of Manuscripts in Muslim Societies*, Leiden: Brill, 312–334.

- Bouchard, Constance B. (2002), 'Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity', in Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (eds), *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 22–32.
- Bouchard, Constance B. (2015), *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Brita, Antonella, Giovanni Ciotti, Florinda De Simini and Amneris Roselli (eds) (2020), *Copying Manuscripts: Textual and Material Craftsmanship*, Naples: Unior Press.
- Brita, Antonella, Giovanni Ciotti, Florinda De Simini and Amneris Roselli (2020), 'Manuscripts and Craftsmanship: An Introduction', in Brita et al. (eds) 2020, 9–30.
- Brita, Antonella and Janina Karolewski (2021), 'Unravelling Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Introducing Categories Based on Content, Use, and Production', in Jörg Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 25), Berlin: De Gruyter, 459–490.
- Brown, Sarah (2018), 'Books as Archival Objects', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 46/1: 49–58.
- Burak, Guy (2016), 'Evidentiary Truth Claims, Imperial Registers, and the Ottoman Archive: Contending Legal Views of Archival and Record-Keeping Practices in Ottoman Greater Syria (Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 79/2: 233–254.
- Burak, Guy (2019), '"In Compliance with the Old Register": On Ottoman Documentary Depositories and Archival Consciousness', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 62/5–6: 799–823.
- Burak, Guy (2021), 'Şeyhulislâm Feyzullah Efendi, the Ḥanafī Mufti of Jerusalem and the Rise of the Provincial *Fatāwā* Collections in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 64/4: 377–403.
- Clanchy, Michael T. (2013), *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*, 3rd edn, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Colenbrander, Herman (2010), 'The Sitter in Jan Gossaert's "Portrait of a Merchant" in the National Gallery of Art, Washington: Jan Snoeck (c. 1510–85)', *The Burlington Magazine*, 152/1283: 82–85.
- Coşgel, Metin M. (2004), 'Ottoman Tax Registers (*Tahrir Defterleri*)', *Historical Methods*, 37/2: 87–100.
- Davidson, Garrett (2020), *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of Hadith Transmission Across a Thousand Years* (Islamic History and Civilization, 160), Leiden: Brill.
- Davidson, Garrett (2022), 'On the History of the Princeton University Library Collection of Islamic Manuscripts', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 13/4: 421–479.
- Durand-Guédy, David and Jürgen Paul (eds) (2023), *Personal Manuscripts: Copying, Drafting, Taking Notes* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 30), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Durand-Guédy, David and Jürgen Paul (2023), 'Introduction', in Durand-Guédy and Paul (eds) 2023, 1–32.
- Evergates, Theodore (1985), 'The Chancery Archives of the Counts of Champagne: Codicology and History of the Cartulary-Registers', *Viator*, 16: 159–179.
- Fitzgerald, Devin T. (2020), *The Ming Open Archive and the Global Reading of Early Modern China*, PhD thesis, Harvard University.
- Fitzgerald, Devin T. and Carla Nappi (2021), 'Information in Early Modern East Asia', in Ann Blair, Paul Duguid, Anja-Silvia Goeing and Anthony Grafton (eds), *Information: A Historical Companion*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 38–60.
- Friedrich, Michael and Cosima Schwarke (2016), 'Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities', in Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), Berlin: De Gruyter, 1–26.
- Geary, Patrick J. (1994), *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Geary, Patrick J. (2006), 'Medieval Archivists as Authors: Social Memory and Archival Memory', in Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg (eds), *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 106–113.
- Gialdini, Anna and Alessandro Silvestri (2019), 'Administrative Knowledge and Material Practices in the Archive: Binding and Rebinding in Late Medieval and Early Modern Sicily', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 131/1: 169–187.
- Gleba, Gudrun and Niels Petersen (eds) (2015), *Wirtschafts- und Rechnungsbücher des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit: Formen und Methoden der Rechnungslegung: Städte, Klöster und Kaufleute*, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Gómez Tejada, Jorge (2022), 'The *Matrícula de Tributos*: Stylistic and Material Observations into its Dating and Original Context', *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 33/3: 459–473.
- Grafton, Anthony (2017), 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of Humanities*, 2/1: 15–50.
- Gross, Jo-Ann and Asom Urunbaev (2002), *The Letters of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and His Associates* (Brill's Inner Asian Library, 5), Leiden: Brill.
- Guo, Yongqin (2022), *Land and Labor Tax in Imperial Qing China (1644–1912)* (The Quantitative Economic History of China, 18/5), Leiden: Brill.
- Head, Randolph C. (2019), *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe: Proof, Information, and Political Record-Keeping, 1400–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heldman, Marilyn E. and Monica S. Devens (2005), 'The Four Gospels of Dābrā Mā'ar: Colophon and Note of Donation', *Scrinium*, 1: 77–99.
- Heyd, Uriel (1969), 'Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetvā', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 32/1: 35–56.
- Hidalgo, Alex (2022), 'The Book as Archive', *The American Historical Review*, 127/1: 373–384.
- Hirschler, Konrad (2017), 'Document Reuse in Medieval Arabic Manuscripts', *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin*, 3/1: 33–44.
- Holt, Peter M. (1995), *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treatises of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Islamic History and Civilization, 12), Leiden: Brill.
- Hummer, Hans (2013), 'The Production and Preservation of Documents in Francia: The Evidence of Cartularies', in Warren C. Brown, Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes and Adam J. Kosto (eds), *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 189–230.
- Kahn, Miriam (2018), 'Archival Copies: An Evolutionary Journey', *Journal of Archival Organization*, 15/1–2: 71–77.
- Keitel, Christian and Regina Keyler (eds) (2005), *Serielle Quellen in südwestdeutschen Archiven*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Kim, Jungwon (2019), 'Archives, Archival Practices, and the Writing of History in Premodern Korea: An Introduction', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 24/2: 191–199.
- Kropp, Manfred (2005), '"Antiquae Restitutio Legis": Zur Alimentation des Hofklerus und einer Zeugenliste als *Imago Imperii* und *Notitia Dignitatum* in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Zār'a Ya'qob im *Condaghe* der Hs. BM Or. 481, Fol. 154', *Scrinium*, 1: 115–147.
- Lewis, Bernard (1991), 'Daftar', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, new edn, Leiden: Brill, 77–81.
- Liebrenz, Boris (2020), 'An Archive in a Book: Documents and Letters from the Early-Mamluk Period', *Der Islam*, 97: 120–171.
- Litt, Stefan (2008), *Pinkas, Kahal, and the Mediene: The Records of Dutch Ashkenazi Communities in the Eighteenth Century as Historical Sources* (Studies in Jewish History and Culture, 19), Leiden: Brill.
- Litt, Stefan (ed.) (2021), *Jüdische Fürsprache: Quellen aus Gemeindeprotokollbüchern (pinkasim) des aschkenasischen Kulturraums 1586–1808*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Maltomini, Francesca (2023), 'Papyrus Rolls as Archives: The *tomoi sunkollēsimoī*', in Alessandro Bausi and Michael Friedrich (eds), *Tied and Bound: A Comparative View on Manuscript Binding* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 33), Berlin: De Gruyter, 231–250.
- Millar, Laura (2017), *Archives: Principles and Practices*, 2nd edn (Principles and Practice in Records Management and Archives), London: Facet Publishing.
- Mukhammadaminov, Saidakbar (2017), 'Jung – the Collection of Practicing Traditional Judge of Central Asia (End of 16th Century – 19th Century)', *Institut Français d'Études sur l'Asie Centrale (IFEAC) Working Paper*, 17: <<https://doi.org/10.58079/pva5>>.
- Müller, Christian (2018), 'The Power of the Pen: Cadis and their Archives, from Writings to Registering Proof of a Previous Action Taken', in Bausi et al. (eds) 2018, 361–386.
- Neudecker, Richard (2013), 'Archives, Books and Sacred Space in Rome', in Jason König, Katerina Oikonomopoulou and Greg Woolf (eds), *Ancient Libraries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 312–331.
- Nosova, Ekaterina (2020), 'A Codicological Approach to the Auditing Process: The Duke of Burgundy's Household Accounts during the Swiss Campaign (1476)', in Ionut Epurescu-Pascovici (ed.), *Accounts and Accountability in Late Medieval Europe: Records, Procedures, and Socio-Political Impact*, Turnhout: Brepols, 165–181.
- Okawara, Tomoki (2015), 'Reconsidering Ottoman *Qāḍī* Court Records: What Are They? Who Produced, Issued and Recorded Them?', in Vanesa Guéno and Stefan Knost (eds), *Lire et écrire l'histoire ottomane*, Beirut: Presses de l'Ifpo / Orient-Institut Beirut, 15–37.
- Parker, Lucy and Rosie Maxton (2022), 'Archiving Faith: Record-Keeping and Catholic Community Formation in Eighteenth-Century Mesopotamia', *Past & Present*, 257/1: 89–133.
- Paul, Jürgen (2018), 'Archival Practices in the Muslim World Prior to 1500', in Bausi et al. (eds) 2018, 339–360.
- Paul, Jürgen (2023), 'Mufti Notebooks: Two *ḡung* Manuscripts from Late Nineteenth-Century Bukhara', in Durand-Guédy and Paul (eds) 2023, 359–394.
- Pedersén, Olof (1998), *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East, 1500–300 B.C.*, Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.
- Potthast, Daniel (2021), 'How Documents Were Quoted in *Inshāʾ* Literature: A Comparison of P. Aragon 145 and Its Quotation by al-Qalqashandī', in Andreas Kaplony and Daniel Potthast (eds), *From Qom to Barcelona: Aramaic, South Arabian, Coptic, Arabic and Judeo-Arabic Documents* (Islamic History and Civilization, 178), Leiden: Brill, 187–216.
- Ramsay, Nigel (2008), 'Archive Books', in Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 2: 1100–1400, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 416–445.
- Reier, Benedikt (2022), *Documents in Books: Archival Practices in Medieval Arabic Biographical Dictionaries*, PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin.
- Reynolds, Graeme R. (2019), 'Culling Archival Collections in the Koryŏ-Chosŏn Transition', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 24/2: 225–253.
- Sartori, Paolo (2016), '*Jītihād* in Bukhara: Central Asian Jadidism and Local Genealogies of Cultural Change', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 59/1–2: 193–236.
- Sekulić, Ana (2022), 'The Franciscan Order of Things: Empire, Community, and Archival Practices in the Monasteries of Ottoman Bosnia', *Comparative Southeast European Studies*, 70/4: 642–666.
- Shokhumorov, Saidanvar (2009), 'Princely Archive of Court Decrees: A Rare Insight into the History of Afghanistan (End 19th–Beg. 20th C.)', in Francis Richard and Maria Szuppe (eds), *Écrit et culture en Asie centrale et dans le monde turco-iranien, Xe–XIXe siècles*, Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 111–126.

- Silvestri, Alessandro (2016), 'Ruling from Afar: Government and Information Management in Late Medieval Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History*, 42/3: 357–381.
- Söng-mi, Yi (2008), 'Euigwe and the Documentation of Joseon Court Ritual Life', *Archives of Asian Art*, 58/1: 113–133.
- Staack, Thies (2020), 'From Copies of Individual Decrees to Compilations of Written Law: On Paratextual Framing in Early Chinese Legal Manuscripts', in Brita et al. (eds) 2020, 183–241.
- Tucker, Joanna (2020), *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and Their Patterns of Growth: A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Twitchett, Denis (1992), *The Writing of Official History under the Tang*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valieva, Nafisa and Pietro Maria Liuzzo (2021), 'Giving Depth to TEI-Based Descriptions of Manuscripts: The Golden Gospel of Ham', *Aethiopica*, 24:175–211.
- Vermeersch, Sem (2019), 'Archival Practice in Premodern Korea: Record-Keeping as Archive and Historiography', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 24/2: 201–223.
- von Glahn, Richard (2012), 'Household Registration, Property Rights, and Social Obligations in Imperial China: Principles and Practices', in Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (eds), *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 39–66.
- Wang, Sixiang (2019), 'Compiling Diplomacy: Record-Keeping and Archival Practices in Chosŏn Korea', *Journal of Korean Studies*, 24/2: 255–287.
- Wion, Anaïs and Paul Bertrand (2011), 'Production, Preservation, and Use of Ethiopian Archives (Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)', *Northeast African Studies*, 11/2: vii–xvi.
- Wolfe, Heather and Peter Stallybrass (2018), 'The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England', in Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 179–208.
- Wollina, Torsten (2019), 'Devotional Annotations: Preserving the Family's Memory in Arabic Manuscripts', *Religions*, 10/6: <<https://doi.org/10.3390/rel10060376>>.
- Yale, Elizabeth (2015), 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 18/1: 332–359.
- Yates, JoAnne (1989), *Control through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Youn, Eunha (2013), 'Archival Traditions in Korean History: From Medieval Practice to the Contemporary Public Records Management Act', *Archival Science*, 13/1: 23–44.
- Zhang, Wenxian (2004), 'Dang An: A Brief History of the Chinese Imperial Archives and its Administration', *Journal of Archival Organization*, 2/1–2: 17–38.
- Zhang, Wenxian (2008), 'The Yellow Register Archives of Imperial Ming China', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 43/2: 148–175.