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MEGAN WILLIAMS

9.4 Unfolding Diplomatic Paper and Paper Practices in Early Modern Chancellery Archives

The 1530 Habsburg-Hungarian peace negotiations at Poznań were not going well, and former Tyrolean chancellor Beatus Widmann was weary. "Most gracious King," he wrote to Austrian Habsburg archduke Ferdinand I, "I beg your patience with this deplorable paper […] I can't find anything better in this city."[1] A small scrap tacked into his longer missive, Widmann's apology for the poor quality of paper in Poznań made its way back to Vienna. There it was read, discussed, responded to, bundled with a stack of other missives with which Widmann and his fellow diplomats had deluged the secretaries of the court chancellery over the past months, and filed away in the chancellery vaults.

For modern readers, it is not the paper quality or Widmann's script which hampers legibility; rather, the right half of the document, and others bundled with it, is badly charred. Archival historians such as Otto Stowasser, Lothar Gross, Michael Hochedlinger, or most recently Markus Friedrich have traced the fragility and unlikely survival of documents such as Widmann's, due to peripatetic courts, territorial redivision, and the usual panoply of flood, war, theft, vermin, or as here, fire.[2] As Friedrich emphasizes, ensuring documents' survival and the continued utility of the information they contained required complex, contingent cultural techniques and material measures.[3] Widmann's complaint points to another, foundational, material measure underlying the sending, receiving, processing and archiving of diplomatic communications – that of obtaining regular supplies of quality paper.

A good proportion of the paper in modern archives such as the Vienna *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* is what might be called "diplomatic paper": the concepts prepared for, or missives sent back by, diplomats such as Widmann. Early modern diplomats engaged in the relatively novel practice of dispatching written reports every few days to chancellery secretaries, ministers, and princes eager for strategic political information, a practice which consumed a fair amount of paper. Diplomatic historians have traditionally characterized these reporting

1 Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv [= HHStA] (Vienna), Ungarische Akten 16 b f. 90r.

2 Stowasser, Otto: Das Archiv der Herzoge von Österreich. Eine Studie zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der habsburgischen Urkunden, in: *Mitteilungen des Archivrates* 3/1 (1919), pp. 15–62; Gross, Lothar: *Die Geschichte der deutschen Reichshofkanzlei von 1559 bis 1806*. Vienna 1933, pp. 281–306; Hochedlinger, Michael: *Österreichische Archivgeschichte. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Papierzeitalters*. Vienna 2013.

3 Friedrich, Markus: *Die Geburt des Archivs*. Munich 2013, p. 160.

practices as a pivotal element in a shift around 1450 from the extraordinary embassies of medieval diplomacy, dispatched for finite purposes of representation, ratification, and peace-making, to 'modern' diplomacy, in which princes established networks of resident ambassadors tasked with gathering and transmitting politically-relevant information. This shift is often connected with political innovations in the later middle ages. Less remarked is that diplomats' new reporting practices also coincided with and presupposed the growing availability of relatively cheap, portable, and easily-stored paper. At the same time new and intensified archiving practices led to the rapid accumulation and more extensive preservation of diplomats' letters and papers from about 1500.

Research on paper has traditionally been dominated by codicological and bibliographic analysis or technical history. While these fields have contributed immensely to our understanding of printed or bound paper's manifold uses, far less is known about the paper upon which early modern diplomats and chancellery secretaries depended. Happily, early modern diplomatic, chancery, or archival histories intersect several fields in which paper's materiality has recently become problematized. Yet diplomatics has not always informed the diplomatic. To paraphrase aptly-named paperwork ethnologist Ben Kafka, historians have tended to look *through* paper, at how it can be used to reconstruct events or epistemic processes, but rarely *at* it, as a material artefact and communications technology around which coherent historical practices developed.[4] Greater appreciation for the material basis of record-making and record-keeping is a vital step in understanding the socio-political contexts and material constraints within which methods of processing, ordering, and archiving documents, and the political knowledge they contained, developed. Historians of the archives as well as of diplomacy can learn much from paying more attention to paper practices– not simply taking paper for granted.

This article offers an initial examination of paper procurement and management practices in the institution receiving, replying to, and ultimately archiving Widmann's missives: the Austrian Habsburg court chancellery during the reign of Ferdinand I (1521/22–1564).[5] Ferdinand's court was strategically positioned to take advantage of the new technology of paper. Lying between the early papermaking and diplomatic centres of northern Italy and southern Germany yet at the formal heart of the vast early modern Habsburg Empire, it was a key nexus

4 Kafka, Ben: Paperwork. The State of the Discipline, in: *Book History* 12 (2009), p. 341; id.: The Demon of Writing. Paperwork, Public Safety and the Reign of Terror, in: *Representations* 98 (2007), pp. 16–18. Stimulating exceptions: Parker, Geoffrey: *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*. New Haven 1998; Senatore, Francesco: *'Uno mundo de carta'. Forme e strutture della diplomazia sforzesca*. Naples 1998.

5 Gross, Reichshofkanzlei; Fellner, Thomas/Kretschmayr, Heinrich: *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung.* Vol. I. Vienna 1907 [= *ÖZV*].

of information exchange, archival organization, and paper consumption. Paper quickly became one of the chief means by which the court chancellery (*Hofkanzlei*) sought to obtain, organize, control and deploy political knowledge in Ferdinand's foreign policy. Not only was the *Hofkanzlei* key in shaping, communicating, and preserving foreign policy decision-making, but it was also a diplomatic nursery. Like Widmann, many Habsburg diplomats as well as diplomatic secretaries began their careers pushing paper in chancelleries. They tailored or addressed their communications in ways which reflected their intimate familiarity with paper and paper-based chancellery practices.

In the sixteenth-century *Hofkanzlei*, paper purchasing, use, and archiving were united in the same individual, the *Taxator-Registrator*. This figure's strategies for procuring paper and other writing materials reflected, generated, and reinforced broader social, spatial, commercial, and political relationships. The multiple chancellery regimes he enforced restricted access to purchased paper, inscribed and uninscribed, and were designed to secure the public authority of chancellery documents as well as the public reputation of the prince subscribing them. The paper codices he maintained structured and tracked the circulation of paper through the chancellery, while paper wrappings and paper inventories strove to manage ever-proliferating papers once they were transferred to the archival antechamber which he oversaw: the chancellery registry, or *Registratur*.

9.4.1 A Late Medieval 'Paper Revolution'?

Paper came to Europe via China and the Muslim Mediterranean by the twelfth century, an era of far-reaching social, demographic, and political changes which generated new cultures of reading, writing, and writing-based administration. Paper production to meet these new markets demanded sufficient demographic density to yield a ready supply of linen or cheap fustian rags, which were shredded, fermented, strained, pressed, dried and sized into paper in a tedious and exacting process. Papermaking also required substantial capital to establish a mill and maintain it, vast amounts of clean, flowing water, and skilled technical labour. By the end of the fourteenth century, there were about thirty paper mills on the Italian peninsula, concentrated along the wool-trade routes from Genoa, Casella, and the Veneto in the north to Fabriano in the Anconian Marches (which soon provisioned the papal curia and expanding university at Bologna).[6] This paper was imported into the Austrian lands, typically from Venice via the Linz fairs or Salzburg. Although the number of southern German paper mills mushroomed

6 Schweizer, Gottfried: From Fabriano into the Heart of Europe, in: Castagnari, Giancarlo (ed.): *L'impiego delle techniche e dell'opera dei cartai fabrianesi in Italia e in Europa*. Fabriano 2007, pp. 379–399.

in the late fifteenth century, it was only around 1530 that German paper overtook Italian on the Austrian market.[7]

Over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, paper began to replace parchment in Austrian and South-German administrative and commercial records. Paper was often initially used for financial record-keeping, but soon spread to other types of documents; paper historian Maria Zaar-Görgens speaks of a pre-print "paper-boom" in the early fifteenth century driven especially by expanding chancelleries.[8] The shift from parchment to paper was no progressive, exclusive shift – parchment continued to be used for prestigious documents intended to have representational value and juridical validity, such as diplomatic credentials, even as diplomatic instructions and reports were written on paper. Nonetheless paper possessed a number of advantages over parchment. Paper was more difficult to modify through erasure. Unlike the wax tablets used in preparing parchment texts,[9] paper also facilitated the proliferation and preservation of concepts, drafts, and notes– in ways which allow historians to trace decision-making processes. Paper was above all cheaper, and became cheaper as papermaking spread, as a booming population produced more linens, and as cattle prices rose over the sixteenth century. The price differentials are striking: at Innsbruck in July 1471, for example, the imperial court chancellery obtained 48 sheets of common writing-paper or 38 of fine Venetian paper for the cost of each parchment skin. Sixty years later, at Linz in April 1531, its smaller successor, the *Hofkanzlei*, acquired 96 sheets of common paper per skin (120 sheets if Austrian rather than German ream weights).[10]

The Austrian archdukes stimulated paper production indirectly, through demand, as well as by providing grants of princely protection which were typically justified by the importance of paper to the Austrian chancelleries. Such grants

7 Graziaplena, Rosella: Paper trade and diffusion in late medieval Europe, in: ead./Livsey, Mark (eds.): *Paper as a Medium of Cultural Heritage*. Rome 2004, p. 347f.; cf. Thiel, Victor: Papiererzeugung und Papierhandel vornehmlich in den deutschen Landen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 41 (1932), pp. 126–151; id.: *Geschichte der Papiererzeugung im Donauraum*. Biberach 1940.

8 Zaar-Görgens, Maria: *Champagne-Bar-Lothringen. Papierproduktion und Papierabsatz vom 14. bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Trier 2004, p. 138.

9 Stalleybrass, Peter et al.: Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England, in: *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004), pp. 379–419.

10 Seeliger, Gerhard: Kanzleistudien, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 8 (1887), 50; HHStA, Reichstaxamtsbücher [RTB] 720, f. 6^{r}, cf. Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv [= FHKA], NÖ. Herrschaftsakten [= NÖHA], W61/a/36/a f. 192^{r-v}. German reams ran 20 quires of 24 sheets each. However, the 1523 *Mautordnungen* decreed "Ain Riss Papier sol haben Vier und Zwaintzig Puech, und ain Puech funff und zwainsig Pogen": NÖHA, L40/C/1. Superior vellum might raise the paper-skin ratio to 400:1. A skin generally yielded two bifolios: Rück, Peter (ed.): *Pergament*. Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 134–135.

were as simple as a *Passbrief* allowing the toll-free import of paper "to supply the needs of our Imperial Court Chancellery",[11] or a privilege to make and sell paper with a unique watermark, such as Frankfurt papermaker Anastasius Leuthold received in 1544. In his application for the privilege, Leuthold thrice described his paper sales to chancelleries as serving "the common good". In 1546, Leuthold again petitioned the court council for a judicial safe-conduct to return to his native Bavaria. This was granted on the grounds that "he has at several previous imperial diets […] supplied the needs of our chancellery and those of other princes with paper, and he intends to come to this our present diet, also bringing paper".[12]

9.4.2 Paper Provisioning Practices

Such strategies for stimulating paper production and ensuring reliable suppliers underline that access to affordable, good-quality paper was critical to the proper functioning of Habsburg court chancelleries, in their daily working practices, expedition of documents, registration of incoming and outgoing correspondence, and archiving and inventorying of written materials.

Small-scale, periodic purchases for the court chancellery were made through the chancellery servant. Though often neglected in institutional or intellectual histories, the *Kanzleidiener* played a principal role in the physical set-up, maintenance, securing, and provisioning of the chancellery, as well as the guarding, packing, and transport of chancellery papers.[13] Supervising the *Kanzleidiener* was the *Taxator-Registrator*, who was tasked with procuring, or overseeing and reimbursing the *Kanzleidiener's* procuring of, chancellery necessities.[14] As *Taxator*, this figure was primarily responsible for assessing fees on all documents sent out under the prince's seal – those on parchment, but also those "so zu zeiten auf papier geschribn"; tax receipts were used to purchase paper and other writing supplies. As *Registrator*, he was responsible for receiving, registering, and distributing incoming and outgoing correspondence, overseeing day-to-day chancery operations, and archiving all concepts, incoming missives, and supplications in

11 E. g., HHStA, Reichshofrat [= RHR], Gratialia, Passbriefe 5, f. 167^{r} [1571]. I am currently preparing an article on Leuthold and the early modern paper trade.

12 HHStA, RHR, Gratialia, Geleitbriefe 4, f. 108–109; ibid., Fabriks-, Gewerbe- und Handelsprivilegien [FGH] 6 f. 140^{r}.

13 Williams, Megan: 'Zu Notdurfft der Schreiberey': Die Einrichtung der frühneuzeitlichen Kanzlei, in: Freist, Dagmar (ed.): *Diskurse – Körper – Artefakte. Historische Praxeologie in der Frühneuzeitforschung*. Bielefeld 2015.

14 Ferd. I 1528, Hofkanzleiordnung, in: *ÖZV*, 1.2, p. 245–246; Gross, Reichshofkanzlei, 107–111.

the chancellery *Registratur*.[15] For much of Ferdinand's reign, these two offices were united in the person of a single chancellery scribe. Thus paper purchasing and archiving were intimately connected in Habsburg chancellery practice.

Ferdinand's 1545 *Taxordnung* instructed the *Taxator-Registrator* to ensure that his purchases of chancellery necessities "such as parchment, paper, wax, string, and so on" were made from good-quality goods, at "opportune times", and were bulk purchases (*sämbkeufen*).[16] This was intended to prevent unnecessary expenditure and wastefulness. That paper procurement practices diverged somewhat from precept, and that the peripatetic nature of the early modern court hindered faithful adherence to ordinances, is suggested by Court Treasury Chancellery Taxator (*Hofkammerkanzleitaxator*)-deputy Mathias Zeller's account-book. Zeller's *Raitung* details the frequency, amount, cost, suppliers, and type of paper purchased by a mid-sixteenth-century court chancellery organ during the court's progress to five cities in the first half of 1542. Zeller's purchases typically consisted of several quires of paper – three here, ten there, at about four kreutzer apiece – every few days.[17] The accounts demonstrate that early sixteenth-century Habsburg chancelleries were far from the stable, fixed spaces often envisaged by institutional histories. The logistics of an unpredictably situated chancellery complicated its operations materially, in terms of sourcing goods, as well as practically, in terms of repeatedly unsettled routines. Unfamiliar cities meant that at times the *Taxator-Registrator* relied upon translators to relay local knowledge of the best locations for sourcing supplies.[18] The chancellery's mobile world was one in which stationary supplies were anything but stationary.

An even richer source from the same archive is the account-book for August 1530 to April 1532 of Zeller's predecessor Hans Prandt. Prandt's *Raitung* is a 55-sheet parchment-bound booklet divided into incomes and expenditures; paper heads the expenditures.[19] We can further compare Prandt's *Hofkammerkanzlei* accounts with those of his counterpart in the *Hofkanzlei*, Panthaleon Vogt, for the period August 1530 to December 1531. Vogt's unbound booklet, an apparent draft, is the earliest Vienna volume of *Hofkanzleitaxamtsbücher*, a series detailing chancellery incomes and expenditures from 1555 to 1808. This series is of central

15 On the *Registratur*, see Stolz, Otto: Archiv- und Registraturwesen der oberösterreichischen (tirolisch-schwäbischen) Regierung im 16. Jahrhundert, in: *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 42/43 (1934), pp. 81–136; and Randolph Head in this volume.

16 *ÖZV* 1.2, pp. 97–100.

17 FHKA, NÖHA, W61/a/36/a, f. 300–315.

18 E. g., "ainem Tulmettsch der allenthalben mitganngen ist unnd gezaigt wo obbemelte gattung zu khauffen zufinden gewesen" [Prague, 1558]: HHStA, RTB 5, f. 82^{v}.

19 FHKA, NÖHA, W61/a/36/a, f. 179–236.

importance for understanding the material content and context of chancellery and *Registratur* practices.[20]

Studying entries related to paper in Prandt's or Vogt's accounts, several patterns emerge. First, as with Zeller, Prandt made smaller, frequent purchases of a few quires of paper (each 24–25 sheets) from a wide variety of vendors while the chancellery was travelling, but substantial paper purchases of one or two reams about twice a month. Prandt's larger acquisitions typically preceded periods of peak business such as the four annual Ember (*Quatember*) days in early March, mid-June, late September, and mid-December. Prandt spent roughly two to three gulden per month on paper in 1530–1532. This was not a substantial expense: it approximated monthly expenditures for candles. By comparison, Vogt purchased nearly five reams of paper per month, or treble Prandt's figures, and at a much higher rate of five gulden per month, reflecting the *Hofkanzlei's* broader competencies.

Vendors often overlap in these accounts, despite the variety of paper-sellers named. Vendor and sourcing preferences are especially visible in large purchases of a ream or more, which were made chiefly from trusted suppliers with court and long-distance trade connections. A good example is Linz merchant Colman Grüenthaler (1464–1532), a former *Hofkämmerer* whose son, one of Ferdinand's creditors, was *Gegenschreiber* at the busy Linz customshouse. Grüenthaler is mentioned on a number of occasions in both Vogt's and Prandt's accounts, each time in conjunction with larger orders. The *Hofkanzlei* also placed large orders with Augsburg merchants with court connections, such as the Mätschperger, Stenglin, or Zangmeister, or looked to friends and family-members for paper-purchasing. For more than a decade, for example, the *Hofkanzlei* obtained much of its paper from Memmingen via bulk purchases made by the *Taxator's* brother-in-law, a Memmingen city councillor. In 1566 these purchases – more than half of the year's totals – came to 230 gulden, or about 177 reams of paper.[21] Such paper-sourcing strategies reveal the extent to which chancellery personnel were imbricated in and acted through webs of financial, political, and kin relations.

Tracing paper procurement strategies provides not only dynamism to chancellery practices of using and archiving paper, but also connects the chancelle-

20 HHStA, RTB720. Gross, Reichshofkanzlei, 262, was unware of this booklet. I thank the HHStA's Dr. Michael Göbl for locating this previously missing source and for his generous assistance with the *Taxamtsbücher*. I am currently preparing an article utilizing the sixteenth-century tax books.

21 E. g., "umb Papier laut meines Schwagern Caspar Bösserers schreiben": HHStA, Mainzer Erzkanzleiarchiv, Reichskanzlei u. Taxamt [MEA-RT] 2 (Taxator Christoph Ungelter's 1571 accts.), f. 96^{v}, 106^{r}. FHKA, *Gedenkbücher* [= GB] for 1567–1576 also evidence large Memmingen paper purchases: Pruett, Lilian: Sixteenth-century Manuscripts in Brussels, Berlin, and Vienna, in: *Revue belge de Musicologie* 50 (1996), pp. 81–84.

ry to apothecaries' or printers' long-distance trade networks, and to papermakers' artisanal craft practices. Small-scale purchases, typically in combination with other writing materials, were frequently made from apothecaries such as "the apothecary in Speyer" who figures in both Prandt's and Vogt's accounts. Sixteenth-century German apothecaries, who generally belonged to the same guilds and commercial networks as papermakers, stocked a remarkable range of products from around the world, often including small quantities of writing and wrapping paper.

By the later years of Ferdinand's reign many of the largest purchases were made from papermakers such as Anton Fietz of Augsburg or Leuthold's heirs in Frankfurt. These papermakers also provisioned printers and stationers, from whom, in turn, the chancelleries purchased paper. In 1564, for example, Vienna printer Michael Zimmerman, who ran a stationer's shop behind St. Stephan's, was commissioned by the *Hofkanzleitaxator* to travel to the Krems autumn fair to purchase several bales of paper for the chancellery.[22] By Krems standards a bale contained 7,200 pages, so several bales constituted a substantial purchase. The chancellery's *Gedenkbücher* and *Taxamtsbücher* show regular payments to Zimmerman and to fellow Vienna printer-stationers Johann Singriener sr. and jr. for print-jobs, and occasionally for unspecified "chancellery necessities". Both printer-stationers had court connections: Singriener jr.'s godfather was the veteran diplomat and privy secretary Paul von Oberstain, for example.[23] Dealing primarily with purveyors with court connections reduced unseemly haggling over prices,[24] enhanced the likelihood of obtaining credit, and allowed poorly-paid clerks to participate more fully in the economy of favours. The chancellery paper purchases which made paper-based diplomatic communications and archival practices possible were thus neither random nor mere economic phenomena, but socio-cultural events which created or reinforced, and sometimes (as when payment was long-delayed) undermined chancellery relationships.

A final pattern emerging from these accounts is a concern for the quality and type of paper purchased. Poor-quality paper could impede the efficient transfer of information: ink might bleed through or soak in, while a rough surface might preclude more delicate scripts, thereby reducing each page's content. Although Prandt and Vogt defined the type of paper purchased on only three occasions – in each case high-quality *Regalpapier* – their colleague Zeller, a decade later, regularly noted whether he had bought "a better" or a "lesser" paper. On one occasion, Zeller even purchased two quires "*zu ainer Prob*", to test their quality

22 HHStA, RHR, Gratialia, Passbriefe 18 (1564); HHStA, RTB 12 f. 114^{r}.

23 Lang, Helmut: *Die Buchdrucker des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in Österreich*. Vienna 1972, pp. 49–50.

24 Welch, Evelyn: *Shopping in the Renaissance*. New Haven 2005, pp. 215–217.

and suitability.[25] Zeller's *Hofkanzlei* colleague, *Taxator* Christoph Ungelter, cautioned his deputies to seek out "the best Kaufbeuren 'Schiltl' paper" bearing a shield watermark, and to "expend much effort so that you select paper which is fine [and] white and doesn't [cause ink to] run during engrossing".[26] Frankfurt papermaker Leuthold highlighted his paper's fine finish in applying to sell his wares at the 1546 Regensburg Diet: he claimed that chancelleries preferred his well-sized paper above all others, and had made it famous. His 1544 petition to produce paper with an exclusive watermark also emphasized quality: otherwise "someone might make poor-quality, bad paper with the eagle watermark, and thereby deceive the chancelleries".[27] The *Hofkanzlei* thus sought out and purchased superior "Adler", "Schiltl", or Venetian paper for expedition, while "rougher paper" (*gröbere Pappier*) was designated for internal minutes.[28] Mapping paper purchases through the *Taxator-Registrators*' paperborne receipts traces a geography of consumption, a set of choices and strategies designed to inscribe texts with authority and to materialize power via expedited paper.

Concerns about paper quality also reflected paper's semiotic and representational potential. As literary historian Timothy Hampton has argued, early modern diplomacy and diplomatic communications were deeply structured by the dynamics of signification.[29] In Widmann's comment which opened this article, the diplomat worried not about legibility but the message his paper medium communicated to his sovereign – perhaps suggesting insufficient care or diligence in the execution of his commission. Outgoing diplomats' instructions or intercepted dispatches might end up in the hands of rival princes, their ministers and archivists, as tangible testimony to the authority, dignity, and fiscal solvency of the commissioning prince and his ministers. Poor paper could visit personal and collective dishonour upon the sender. Early modern princely reputation was no static quality, but the result of a series of contingent performances acted out, in many cases, on paper.

More pragmatically, paper's quality and format affected not only day-to-day chancellery operations but also archiving and early modern technologies for producing order. Because flatter than parchment and not weighed down with heavy pendant seals, sheets of paper were more compact and manipulable, and easier to file. The method of archiving might even determine the material form of correspondence. As Markus Friedrich shows in his work on Jesuit adminis-

25 Zeller accounts, f. 305^{r}-v, 308^{v}.

26 E. g., FHKA, GB 103, (1567–1568), f. 489^{v} and 116 (1571–1572), "Dem Vitzdomb in Österreich ob der Enns was unnd wieuil Er papirs zu Jetzigem OsterLintzermarckht für die HoffCamer Cantzlei erkhaufen solle": f. 50^{v}–51^{r}, 53^{v}, 352^{r}.

27 HHStA, RHR, Gratialia, Geleitbriefe 4, f. 108^{r}; ibid., FGH 6, f. 139^{r}.

28 HHStA, RTB 5, f. 76^{v}, 83^{r} [1558], 9 f. 184^{r} [1560], 11 f. 84^{v} [1564]; MEA-RT 2, f. 107^{r} [1560].

29 Hampton, Timothy: *Fictions of Embassy.* Ithaca 2009, p. 10.

tration, for example, the Order repeatedly reminded members to send their correspondence on standard paper sizes (*in charta ejusdem magnitudinis cum Romana*) so that it might be bound into codices for archiving.[30] Likewise Austrian chancellery instructions specified that secretaries were to take draft concepts or minutes on regular full sheets of paper, rather than on irregular scraps which were harder to keep track of, register, or archive.[31] Preserving a relatively standard paper format and quality for chancellery papers not only facilitated their archiving and efficient future retrieval of their information, but also helped to represent the professionalism and diligence of the chancellery more broadly.

9.4.3 Paper practices between chancellery and archive

The 1526 *Hofkanzleiordnung* evidenced a clear concern with losing track of rapidly proliferating paperwork. In response, court chancelleries developed virtual as well as social and material technologies to manage loose paper in its initial circulation through their chambers, and then to convert that paper into usable files for accessible consultation in the *Registratur*. The first, social measures were designed to restrict access to chancellery paper to well-disciplined and sworn professionals, while chancellery ordinances prescribed elaborate procedures to ensure the orderly circulation of that paper. Newly-purchased paper was to be kept under lock and key by the *Kanzleidiener* in special trunks, to be apportioned to the scribes as needed and solely for use within the chancellery; if courtiers outside the chancellery were to request paper, he was to give them only "the poorer paper, and the lesser inks".[32] These regimes of restricted access to paper were intended not only to save money, but even more importantly, to secure the public authority of chancellery documents and the public reputation of the prince subscribing them.

In the *Hofkammerkanzlei*, and likely also in the *Hofkanzlei*, paper-borne correspondence was initially distributed into a rubricized set of hanging "leather sacks for daily affairs".[33] The contemporary *Hoffinanzprotokolle* – running paper

30 Friedrich, Markus: *Der Lange Arm Roms?* Frankfurt a. M. 2011, pp. 92–93.

31 Stolz, Archiv- und Registraturwesen, p. 120.

32 Ferd. I 1526, 1559, Max. II 1564, in: *ÖZV*, 1.2, 96, 294, 310–311; Uffenbach, Johann C. von: *Tractatus singularis et methodicus de excelsissimo Consilio caesareo-imperiali Aulico / Vom Kaiserl. Reichs=Hoff=Rath […].* Frankfurt a. M. 1700, p. 78.

33 Prandt: "Am 13 May [1531] dem dischler von zwaien leisten in Cannnzlej daran dj Charnier zu denn teglichn sachn gehenngt werdn", 38^{r}. Cf. "Der alten Seckh mit schrifften so im Canntzley gewelb auf der hof porten zu Ynnsprugg hanngen" [1517]: HHStA, Alt AB 348, f. 865; "den obgemelten Reuersen und briefen Jn 18 Segkhen die mit dem Alphabet […] betzaichent sein": FHKA, GB 29, f. 118^{r}. In later Hofkanzlei accounts, sacks nearly disappear, suggesting a shift to alternate means of document management.

registers of incoming correspondence, its thematic categorization and disposition – materialize the working procedures which went into the *Hofkammerkanzlei's* filing, and give a good picture of how papers were divided between the eleven hanging sacks prior to their filing in the *Registratur*. The protocols open with a table of rubrics, each corresponding to the label on a hanging sack: R for imperial affairs, B for Bohemian, K for military matters, V or H for Hungarian papers, and so forth. After its entry, each incoming document received a rubric, the abbreviation "br" to signify that it required a written response, and the initials of the secretary to whom it was delegated.[34] Since documents in sacks could not be taken in at a glance, the indexed paper protocols were a necessary complement and a vital yet simple, and easily expandable, means of organizing paper and paperwork.

Chancellery secretaries used not only such paper codices and filing systems, but also paper memorials to structure and track the circulation of paperwork. The *Hofkanzlei's* Latin and German Expeditions communicated via small scraps of paper carried by chancellery runners between the ill and often housebound Latin secretary, who was chiefly responsible for diplomatic correspondence, and his counterpart in the German Expedition: "[S]end me an extract of what His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador at Venice has written about the Turks […] and I wish you a peaceful night", or "You should alter the powers you've drawn up for the diplomats who are now in Hungary for the peace negotiations".[35] Unlike scholarly or medical notes which have attracted recent academic attention, these undated, loose paper scraps, with their rough immediacy and irregular edges, were not intended as epistemological aids, but rather to process incoming paper-based diplomatic correspondence, to communicate paperwork practices, to coordinate the different rhythms of the two chancellery expeditions, and to express collegiality.[36]

Though the scraps are serendipitously-preserved ephemera, the paper codices in which the chancellery's outgoing documents were to be daily registered or *Hofrat* decisions protocolled were produced on high-quality paper and were intended to endure as long-term organizational aids subject to regular consulta-

34 "Alle sachen sollen unnderschiden und in die Sekh so wie hernachuolgt bezaichent gelegt, und Monatlich ausgetaillt werd[en]": FHKA, Hoffinanz, Protokoll 180 (Exp. 1531), f. [2].

35 E. g., HHStA, UA19c, f. 54^{r}, 58^{r}; cf. RHR, Verfassungsakten, Reichshofkanzlei, Taxamt 31.

36 Ann Blair pointed to paper's availability as a causal factor in notetaking's rise: Notetaking as an Art of Transmission, in: *Critical Inquiry* 31 (2004), pp. 85–107. Cf. Soll, Jacob: From Note-Taking to Data Banks, in: *Intellectual History Review* 20/3 (2010), pp. 355–375; Daston, Lorraine: Taking Note(s), in: *Isis* 95 (2004), pp. 443–448; Heesen, Anke te: The Notebook. A Paper-Technology, in: Latour, Bruno/Weibel, Peter (eds.): *Making things public*. Cambridge (MA) 2005, pp. 582–589; *Isis* 103 (2012) on lists; and Volker Hess or Sabine Schlegelmilch in this volume.

tion.[37] These codices offer an inherent reminder of the close connection between paper procurement and paper archiving. Thus in Innsbruck in December 1531, *Taxator* Prandt purchased "two books for Inventories of chancellery affairs", while Ungelter's taxbooks contain repeated references to purchasing and binding registries.[38] Once bound, the *Hofkanzleiregister* enjoyed their own, double-locked trunk to which only the *Registrator* and (vice-)chancellor held keys.[39] The registers and protocols were intended to enable concepts and original missives stored in the *Registratur* to "be found easily and quickly if necessary".[40] That they largely worked as intended is suggested by numerous petitions to consult the *Registratur*.[41]

Since so little of the archival space and its labelled sacks, painted cabinets, or rubricized trunks has survived, the paper chancellery tax-books and their companion registers –books purchased, maintained, and archived by the self-same scribes– are among our best sources for the physical furnishings which preserved the papers of the early modern Habsburg chancellery registries, and for the cultural techniques and practices those furnishings embodied. To borrow Ann Blair's "4 S-es" of information management,[42] paper facilitated the sixteenth-century's new methods of summarizing, selecting, sorting, and storing paper for future retrieval.

9.4.4 Towards a conclusion

The late-medieval spread of paper facilitated not only new practices in an intensified diplomacy, but also new practices of managing the proliferating documents that resulted. This contribution has striven to show the myriad ways in which practices of paper procurement were intimately connected to practices of registering and archiving documents, including diplomatic documents, at the sixteenth-century Habsburg court. Archives possess a peculiar efficacy in causing us to forget that they, too, are historical artefacts. This is perhaps even

37 HHStA, RHR, Resolutionsprotokoll saec. XVI 4 [1549] and 13 [1558–1564] are on Leuthold's Adler paper. The most remarkable of these paper organizational aids are the monumental inventories which Secretary Wilhelm Putsch prepared in reorganizing dispersed *Schatzbriefen* in the 1520s–1540s.

38 E. g., Prandt accounts, f. 222^{r}; "gedennckh buech einzupinden": RTB3 [1556] f. 49^{v}; binding two "Puechern zur Registratur": RTB5 [1558], f. 72^{v}; binding "drey ungescrhiben Puechern zu den Registern": MEA-RT2 [1560], f. 106^{v}; "etlich Registraturpuechern": RTB9 [1560], f. 504^{r}.

39 Prandt accounts, f. 218^{v}; RTB2 [1555], f. 77^{r}.

40 "damit wan man deren notturftig, das dieselben leicht und bald zu finden sein": Ferd. I. 1526, in: *ÖZV*, 1.2, pp. 92–94.

41 E. g., Georg von Wolfframstarff's 27 November 1535 petition, "etlicher Urkhundt halb aus der Registratur", "aufgerambt" by 31 Dec.: FHKA, NÖKA 7, f. 194^{r}.

42 Blair, Ann: *Too Much to Know*. New Haven 2010.

more true of the paper the archive holds. Like the archive, a piece of paper is not merely a window into the past or a source of data to be harvested; it ought not to be taken for granted. The sixteenth-century paper documents now in the archives are repositories not only of historically-traceable ontological and epistemological practices, but also of the hidden labour that supported those practices. Paper's trajectories help us to reconstruct the material constraints, but also the paper-borne possibilities, which early modern diplomats and archiving entities faced. If we seek to understand the practices through which Renaissance diplomacy functioned or archives were built up, organized, dispersed, or consulted, we must strive to understand the institutions and individuals responsible for these practices – and we must strive to understand the tools they wielded, including paper.