

Records out and archives in: early modern cities as creators of records and as communities of archives

Eric Ketelaar

Published online: 22 July 2010
© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2010

Abstract Cities in Italy, Germany and England experienced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a scriptural revolution. The city registers served the functional and archival memories of the city and its citizens. The creation, storage and use of records were social and cultural practices, embedded in and constituting communities of memory. The records were re-organized and re-used, repositioning the text in time–space within different communicational spectra. Records created and maintained by cities in early modern history were archives, the city archives were records.

Keywords Communities · Cities · Recordkeeping · Liber civitatis · Italy · Germany · England · Ghent rebellion

Ghent, Thursday 9 December 1451. A procession of aldermen, the two head deans and guild officials under their flags approach the city's belfry (Arnade 1996, p. 110–111; Van Uytven 1998; Stabel 2000, p. 53). As in other Flemish and French cities, the belfry is regarded as a symbol of civic independence. It is independence that the Ghent guilds are fighting for in their rebellion against the duke of Burgundy. Upon reaching the belfry, some men enter the building to search for the city archives, from which they retrieve a number of letters from counts, dukes, and cities, the earliest written in 1272, the last one in 1440. The letters are translated

Paper presented at a conference at the Clark Library, University of California at Los Angeles: "In and out of the archive: Archival practice and political information in the early modern period", January 23–24, 2009.

E. Ketelaar (✉)
Faculty of Humanities, University of Amsterdam, Herengracht 286 k. 006, 1012 BX Amsterdam,
The Netherlands
e-mail: ketelaar@uva.nl

from French and Latin into Dutch and taken to the nearby Friday market—since the late thirteenth century the place where all important public and political meetings are staged (Boone 2007)—to be read aloud by the leaders of the rebellion. By reading historic promises of protection and cooperation, and pardons granted by Philip the Good after Ghent's political unrest in the 30s and 40s, they sought to provide the audience with “both a past of legendary rights and a blueprint for action” (Arnade 1996, p. 111). In listening to this ceremonial reading of the city's records, the Ghent burghers showed themselves to be a textual community. Brian Stock introduced this term for eleventh century dissenters, united by an individual who interpreted and used a written text for reforming a group's thought and action (Stock 1983). It is perhaps bold to suggest an analogy between on the one hand the Cistercians and Saint Bernard and on the other hand the fifteenth century Ghent burghers and their captains. However, I am not the first to apply the term textual community to a medieval city: in 1994, Brigitte Bedos-Rezak—a professor of history, trained as an archivist at the *École des Chartes*—used the concept in her ground breaking article “Civic Liturgy and Urban Records in Northern France, 1100–1400” (Bedos-Rezak 1994). In Ghent, as in Stock's textual communities, the records were re-performed orally, which formed the basis for shared assumptions and a shared identity. The procession on 9 December 1451 to retrieve the documents from the archives and their public reading was a ceremony, in which the textual objects were both enshrined and a shrine for the performance of an urban liturgy (Bedos-Rezak 1994, p. 40).

The records were retrieved from the archive to become part of the citizens' active or functional memory. Aleida Assmann, distinguishing two modes of remembering—functional memory and storage (or archival) memory, argues that the latter does not constitute collective identity in the way functional memory does:

The archival memory is accessible only to specialists. This part of materially retrievable and professionally interpretable information does not circulate as common knowledge. It has not passed the filters of social selection nor is it transformed into a living memory supported by public awareness and validation by cultural institutions and the public media (Assmann 2006, p. 221, 2010, pp. 43–44).

Assmann acknowledges that the borderline between the archival and the active memory is permeable in both directions: “Some things may recede into the background and fade out of common interest and awareness while; others may be recovered from the periphery and move into the centre of social interest and esteem” (Assmann 2006, p. 221, 2010, pp. 44). But she still equates archival memory with forgetting and considers it static, and not as a constituent of collective identity. I question both arguments, starting with the latter. I have argued elsewhere that any group recognizes itself through its memory of a common past: a community is a “community of memory” (Ketelaar 2005; McKemmish et al. 2005). Constructing a community (any community is a construction) involves an embeddedness in its past and, consequently, in the memory texts through which that past is mediated. As in the textual communities of the eleventh century, these memory texts do not need to be spelled out or reiterated: the members all know what they are (Stock 1983, p. 91).

The Ghent burghers *knew* which important letters were stored in the city archives: they were part of the community's collective functional memory, which was reinforced by their public reading.¹

Communities, Jeannette Bastian argues, are defined through the relationship between actions and records, the actions creating a mirror in which records and actions reflect one another (Bastian 2003). A community is therefore also a “community of records”, a term used by Bastian for “the aggregate of records in all forms generated by multiple layers of actions and interactions between and among the people and institutions within a community” (Bastian 2003, p. 5).

This implies also challenging Assmann's assumption that archival memory is static and can be made dynamic only through permeating the borderline with functional memory. Assmann is, of course, using the archive as a metaphor for (a part of) memory. Many writers, past and present, in applying this metaphor (Draaisma 2000), suggest that the archive is a fixed entity. Only a few understand the dynamics of the archive, as it is shaped by those who build its internal structures (Craig 2002, p. 286; Schwartz and Cook 2002). When the Ghent city archives were (re)organized in 1432, the letters of safe-conduct granted by the French kings were put together in the first drawer (marked A) of the charter press, and not in drawer G which contained the peace treaties.² The documents used in the 1451 rebellion were confiscated by Charles V in 1540 and only later returned to Ghent (Decavele and Vannieuwenhuysse 1983). On the back, they are marked as “chartes confisqués”. Some have been slashed, signifying their cancellation. All these traces point to what I call activations of the record (Ketelaar 2001; Nesmith 2005, p. 262–263). Every interaction, intervention, interrogation, and interpretation of a record, by creator, user, and archivist is an activation of that record. Each activation attributes to the archive's infinite meaning. All these activations are acts of co-creatorship that participate in determining the record's meaning. In the modern conceptualization of the “records continuum”, recordkeeping objects “are marked out by their processes of formation and continuing formation” (Upward 2005, p. 206). A record is never finished and never completed, the record “is always in a process of becoming” (McKemmish 1994, p. 200). This is acknowledged in the concept of *mouvance* or fluidity, a concept gaining acceptance among scholars of medieval manuscript culture and pragmatic literacy. *Mouvance* refers to the re-organization and re-use of text, to the repositioning of the text in time–space within different communicational spectra (Arlinghaus 2006). The Ghent letters retrieved from the belfry, translated and performed by public reading, are an example of such movement within a records continuum.

This challenges the distinction between records and archives, a distinction that features more predominantly in North America than in Europe. Records, in current archival terminology, are documents “created, received and maintained as evidence by an agency, institution, organization or individual in pursuance of legal

¹ In 1432 a full inventory of the charters had been made. Copies of that inventory in Ghent City Archives, series 93bis, nr. 1, fol. 52 verso–75 and series 93bis, nr. 4, fol. 1–44. The former dates from the fifteenth century (the youngest registered document is from 1440), the latter from the sixteenth century (the youngest document dates from 1516).

² As footnote 1.

obligations or in the transaction of business” (Walne 1988). Only some records are chosen to become archives (or, as some people say, *permanent* records) to be “preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator” (Pearce-Moses 2005). It is quite obvious, wrote the founding father of American archival methodology, Theodore Schellenberg, “that modern archives are kept for the use of others than those that created them, and that conscious decisions must be made as to their value for such use” (Schellenberg 1956, p. 14). This distinction between creator and user, between records and archives, is questionable. Sir Hilary Jenkinson—that paragon of English archival methodology—warned 50 years ago against “flirting ... with Dr. Schellenberg and his arbitrary distinction between *Records* and *Archives*.” (Jenkinson 1980, p. 352). The distinction between records and archives is neither valid for modern archives nor founded historically, as I will demonstrate in this article. Records created and maintained by cities in early modern history were archives, the city archives were records: Records out and archives in.

Italian cities experienced, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a scriptural explosion, or revolution (Maire-Vigueur 1995; Cammarosano 1991; Behrmann 1995; Britnell 1997). Beginning in the twelfth century, notaries and civic institutions took over writing and archiving for and on behalf of civic communities, in place of clerics and religious institutions. New documentary genres arose, such as the *liber iurium*, the city cartulary, and the statute-book, each meant to archive the city’s privileges and other charters. The second phase of the scriptural revolution—coinciding with the replacement of the *Podestà* by the *Popolo* around the middle of the thirteenth century—is marked by the introduction of the *liber civitatis* and subsequently other communal registers.

Henceforth every act of communal administration, the least of its decisions, the smallest of its expenses or the most banal of the judicial procedures, will be the object of a registration in one or the other of the registers kept for these purposes by the notaries attached to each office and each bureau of the commune (Maire-Vigueur 1995, p. 184, translation *EK*).

A similar documentary revolution occurred in towns elsewhere. In German cities, the *liber civitatis* appears in the thirteenth century. The *Stadtbuch* or city book of Cologne starts in 1212, Magdeburg 1215, Lübeck 1227, Rostock and Wismar ca. 1250, Hamburg 1248 (Petter 2006; Pitz 1959; Groten 1997; North 1997). Out of (or parallel to) the general city book, specialized series developed from the thirteenth century. In England, eleven towns are distinguished by the systematic keeping of records from before 1272 (Martin 1997, 2000). The earliest surviving civic records are the registers of guilds, later followed by court rolls of various kinds. Registration of deeds of title starts in Wallingford in 1231, the London Husting roll begins in 1252 (Martin 1971). In Ireland, one finds rolls of admissions to the guild merchant of Dublin from c. 1190 to 1265 and the rolls of admission of free citizens from the early thirteenth century (Connolly 2002). The *Liber primus Kilkenniensis*, begun in the fourteenth century, has a similar function as the *liber civitatis*. It contains a

variety of material, including charters, records of the election of town officials, admissions of burgesses, by-laws, court proceedings, and rentals of town property.

Setting up a *liber civitatis*, and even more the establishment of what we currently call a *recordkeeping system*³ of specialized registers (*Amtsbuchregistratur*), marks the start of a city archive, according to the German medievalist Andreas Petter. He considers the mere keeping of charters not as proper archiving, because it lacks the intent to represent the administration's affairs, which he deems as the constitutive feature of archives (Petter 2006, p. 29). I agree that we have to distinguish different phases: (1) from safekeeping the incoming charters as evidence of legal rights and obligations, via (2) "cartularization", that is transcribing and re-ordering those charters, to (3) regularly registering the transaction of business.⁴ The second and third phases resemble what Maire-Vigueur called "l'éveil d'une véritable conscience archivistique" (the rise of a truly archival consciousness), followed by the fourth phase, the scriptural revolution marked by the introduction of civic registers of transactions (in Germany called *Amtsbücher*). Very often, this coincided with the separation of the original charters from the business records. The former were to be preserved in special repositories, sometimes in a church,⁵ the latter were kept at hand in the registry (Pitz 1959, pp. 467–470).

As Ernst Pitz concluded 50 years ago in his study of the recordkeeping in Cologne, Nuremberg and Lübeck, the introduction of the book as an archiving technique in the cities led to the duality of *Urkunden* and *Akten* (Pitz 1959, p. 468). This duality has had a significant effect, since pre-modern and modern scholarship in diplomatics and medieval history focused on the charters, while neglecting the other records. Even archivists in nineteenth and twentieth century Germany and elsewhere privileged charters over other records through their archival management (Meisner 1953, 1969, p. 36). In this respect, the German undifferentiated *Stadtbuch* and the Italian *libri iurium* and statute codices fared better than the mass of seemingly monotonous serial records, since the former were put on the same level as the cartulary, treated as reproducing charters which diplomatists could deal with as with the original charters.

There was, of course, an important distinction between the archival memory practices in northern Italy and those north of the Alps. From Roman times, people in the south went to a notary to record their legal affairs, whereas in Germany, northern France, and the Low Countries, people would address the aldermen or another civic institution (Behrmann 1998). The difference, however, should not be overestimated, given the role of notaries as semi-official scribes in Italian cities. For example, in Bologna the *Libri Memoriali* were kept by notaries serving the city. The registers

³ "Coordinated policies and procedures that enable records to be collected, organized, and categorized to facilitate their management, including preservation, retrieval, use, and disposition" (Pearce-Moses 2005).

⁴ These stages occur in religious institutions too, but much earlier: Heidecker 2000; Declercq 2000.

⁵ Examples: Cologne (Pitz 1959, p. 62); the *treserie* or *Tresekammer* in the Mariachurch in Lübeck (used until 1939, while until 1912 under the control of the *Treseherrn*, later *Archivherren* (Pitz 1959, pp. 419–420).

include private business transactions, with over a million entries from the years 1265–1399 (Carniello 2002; Behrmann 1998, p. 12).⁶

The city registers served different purposes, as the fifteenth century city clerk of Prague (Prager Neustadt) Prokop wrote in his manual: *ad bonum honestum*, *ad bonum utilem* and, thirdly, *ad iustum* (Petter 2006, p. 41–42). To the first category—for the truly good, or as one might say: serving accountability—Prokop brought the *liber memorialis* and the book of accounts. The second category—for expediency or what we might call for the service of the community—consisted of the registers of real estate, of servants, of citizens, and of leases. Finally, the judicial registers served what is right. The three categories overlap: the registers in all three categories benefit the city and its citizens. These registers were both records and archives, inscription of the functional *and* archival memories of the city and the citizens.

It seems logical that citizens had access to these registers, kept by city officials on behalf of the *civitas* or *communitas*.⁷ Every citizen could request a search of the registers or the production of an extract, as regulated for example in Florence (1289) (Lodolini 1994, p. 39) and Padua (Bonfiglio-Dosio 2005), while in Siena (1298), the city government provided that all citizens could use all documents and city registers for their own defense or to prove a right.⁸ In Venice and elsewhere, city registers were duplicated or even triplicated, one copy serving public access but secured with a chain: “una delle qual stii de continuo alla bolla ducale, attaccata lì cum una cadenella ferma, in facultà de tutti che la vorano veder, et un'altra simile precise in la cancellaria nostra, publica ad ognuno, et una terza sia conservata nel conseio nostro...” (Salmini 1998, p. 101). Only later, when Italian city governments came into the hands of lords, princes and kings, did secrecy become the norm (Lodolini 1994, p. 50; Koch 1995, p. 67). The White Book (*Liber Albus*) of the city of London, compiled in 1419, allowed access for anyone to any record, provided the Chamberlain or the Common Clerk found the demand reasonable. Otherwise, any clerk who “monstre la privete des rolles et recordes ... soit il puny par soun corps en prisone et perde soun office pur toutz jours” (discloses the secrets of the rolls and records ... shall be punished bodily by imprisonment and shall lose his office for ever) (Riley 1859, p. 48; Barron 2004, p. 181).

Petra Koch concludes that in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Italian *communes*, by appointing special officials for managing records and

⁶ In Verona and Vicenza documents of more valuable transactions had to be presented promptly to the communal Registry Office for copying into official volumes; the notary of record received nothing for this service. In both cities notaries had to present a copy of testaments to public archives within a few days of completion of the *imbreviatura* (Grubb 1996, p. 128).

⁷ Access to records of judicial proceedings (including those with regard to transfer of real estate) was, at least in Germany, regarded as a sequel of the publicity of justice (Weitzel 1998; see also Smail 2003).

⁸ “Quod quilibet uti possit...omnibus actis et scripturis et instrumentis librorum comunis vel populi...ad suam defensionem quandocumque eis uti voluerit pro monstrando ius suum” (Koch 1995, pp. 45–46). Not all series were accessible, for example the city accounts of Parma were excluded from citizens' access (1221) (Becker 1995, p. 141).

archives, created legal certainty for themselves and for every individual citizen. Everyone could use the city registers to prove his claim and pursue his right against the commune and his fellow citizens (Koch 1995, p. 49). The city archives were truly “Pro evidenti utilitate omnium et singulorum hominum et personarum et universitatum civitatis Mutine et districtus”, to quote the justification for establishing the *camera actorum* in Modena in 1316 (Koch 1995, p. 67).⁹ Similarly, the Bolognese statutes of 1357 declared the *camera actorum comunis et populi Bononie* to contain the records serving as “ipsius comunis et singularum personarum preciosissimum munus et ipsius civitatis et iurium ipsius claritas et tutela et singularium personarum defensio et inventio veritatis” (Lodolini 1994, p. 39). The public archives of the Italian *communes*, according to Koch, were not in the first instance a place of custody, but became an important place for use in a society that more and more was acting on the basis of writing (Koch 1995, p. 68). The archive became an instrument for governance (Behrmann 1995, p. 16).

Medieval urban records in Northern France, according to Brigitte Bedos, “apart from their more obvious functions, elicited attachment, involvement, and commitment on the part of townspeople” (Bedos-Rezak 1994, p. 34). The English medievalist, Andrew Butcher—who studied the functions of script in the speech community of the late medieval town of Hythe (one of the Cinque Ports)—also argues that the records were communal texts with a social function (Butcher 2004).¹⁰ Both Bedos and Butcher stress the duality and complementarity of the written and oral modes in medieval towns. Some records—as shown in the episode of the Ghent rebellion this article started with—gained meaning by reading aloud, not so much because of illiteracy, but because the record had, as it were, to be “performed” (Ketelaar 2009). Records do not speak for themselves: to make them alive requires a rhetorical act, as Wolfgang Ernst writes (Ernst 2007, p. 197). Even today, every bill in the Netherlands begins with “Greetings to all who shall see or hear these presents! Be it known...”. Other records were evidence of an orally and publicly performed act, the written deed being evidence of the oral deed (Pitz 1959, p. 462). The record was part of a ceremony or was the centerpiece of a civic ritual, thereby operating as a symbolic form which confirmed the citizens as members of a textual community (Bedos-Rezak, p. 44; Dartmann 2004). This social function of the record is neglected by many writers—even the term “pragmatic literacy” does not fully acknowledge that the creation, storage, and use of records were social and cultural practices, embedded in and constituting communities of memory in early modern cities—and the same is true in today’s Web 2.0 world.

⁹ The reasoning continues with: “et ad tollendas et removendas malicias et fraudes que cotidie committuntur circa scripturas publicas...que scripture publice sepiissime deperduntur et occultantur”.

¹⁰ Butcher (2004, p. 162) draws attention to the constructed nature of those records “to record is to choose ways of recording, it is not a neutral collection but a socially and individually selective one. In the process of selection the record reveals itself to be part of a system of collective memory and political distinction”.

References

- Arlinghaus FJ (2006) Introduction. Written texts on the move: medieval manuscript culture in a multimedia environment. In: Arlinghaus FJ et al (eds) *Transforming the medieval world: uses of pragmatic literacy in the middle ages*. Brepols, Turnhout, pp 1–5
- Arnade P (1996) *Realms of ritual: Burgundian ceremony and civic life in late medieval Ghent*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca
- Assmann A (2006) Memory, individual and collective. In: Goodin RE, Tilly C (eds) *The Oxford handbook of contextual political analysis*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp 210–224
- Assmann A (2010) Re-framing memory. Between individual and collective forms of constructing the past. In: Tilmans K, Van Vree F, Winter J (eds) *Performing the past. Memory, history and identity in modern Europe*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, pp 35–50
- Barron CM (2004) *London in the later middle ages. Government and people 1200–1500*. Oxford University Press, Oxford
- Bastian JA (2003) *Owning memory. How a Caribbean community lost its archives and found its history*. Libraries Unlimited, Westport
- Becker C (1995) Beiträge zur kommunalen Buchführung und Rechnungslegung. In: Keller H, Behrmann T (eds) *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien. Formen, Funktionen, Überlieferung (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften vol. 68)*. Fink, München, pp 117–148
- Bedos-Rezak B (1994) Civic liturgy and urban records in Northern France, 1100–1400. In: Hanawalt BA, Reyerson KL (eds) *City and spectacle in medieval Europe*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp 34–55
- Behrmann T (1995) Einleitung: Ein neuer Zugang zum Schriftgut der oberitalienischen Kommunen. In: Keller H, Behrmann T (eds) *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien. Formen, Funktionen, Überlieferung (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften vol. 68)*. Fink, München, pp 1–18
- Behrmann T (1998) Genoa and Lübeck: the beginnings of communal record-keeping in two medieval trading metropolises. In: Roberts MV (ed) *Archives and the metropolis*. Guildhall Library Publications in association with the Centre for Metropolitan History, London, pp 11–21
- Bonfiglio-Dosio G (2005) Padua municipal archives from the 13th to the 20th centuries. *Archivaria* 60:92–95
- Boone M (2007) The Dutch revolt and the medieval tradition of urban dissent. *J Early Mod Hist* 11:351–375
- Britnell R (ed) (1997) *Pragmatic literacy, East and West 1200–1330*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge
- Butcher A (2004) The functions of script in the speech community of a late medieval town, c. 1300–1550. In: Crick J, Walsham A (eds) *The uses of script and print, 1300–1700*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 157–170
- Cammarosano P (1991) *Italia medievale: struttura e geografia delle fonti scritte*. La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Rome
- Carniello BR (2002) The rise of an administrative elite in medieval Bologna: notaries and popular government, 1282–1292. *J Mediev Hist* 28:319–347
- Connolly P (2002) *Medieval record sources*. Four Courts Press, Dublin
- Craig BL (2002) Selected themes in the literature on memory and their pertinence to archives. *Am Arch* 65:276–289
- Dartmann C (2004) Schrift im Ritual. Der Amtseid des Podestà auf den geschlossenen Statutencodex der italienischen Stadtkommune. *Z Hist Forsch* 31:169–204
- Decavele J, Vannieuwenhuysse J (1983) *Stadsarchief van Gent. Archiefgids. Part I: Oud archief*. Stadsarchief, Gent
- Declercq G (2000) Originals and cartularies: the organization of archival memory (ninth–eleventh centuries). In: Heidecker (ed), pp 147–170
- Draaisma D (2000) *Metaphors of memory: a history of ideas about the mind*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Ernst W (2007) *Im Namen von Geschichte: Sammeln—Speichern—Er/Zählen; infrastrukturelle Konfigurationen des deutschen Gedächtnisses*. Fink, München
- Groten M (1997) Civic record keeping in Cologne, 1250–1330. In: Britnell (ed) pp 81–88
- Grubb JS (1996) *Provincial families of the renaissance. Private and public life in the Veneto*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore
- Heidecker K (ed) (2000) *Charters and the use of the written word in medieval society*. Brepols, Turnhout

- Jenkinson H (1980) The problems of nomenclature in archives. In: Ellis RH, Walne P (eds) Selected writings of Sir Hilary Jenkinson. Gloucester, pp 349–360 (first published in *The Journal of the Society of Archivists* 1 (1958), pp 233–239)
- Ketelaar E (2001) Tacit narratives: the meanings of archives. *Arch Sci* 1:143–155
- Ketelaar E (2005) Sharing: collected memories in communities of records. *Arch Manuscr* 33:44–61
- Ketelaar E (2009). *Levend archief*. In: Waalwijk H, Weterings J (eds) *Spreken is goud. Oraties en colleges van hoogleraren...en de archivistiek*. 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, pp 15–27
- Koch P (1995) Die Archivierung kommunaler Bücher in den ober- und mittelitalienischen Städten im 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert. In: Keller H, Behrmann T (eds) *Kommunales Schriftgut in Oberitalien. Formen, Funktionen, Überlieferung (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften vol. 68)*. Fink, München, pp 19–69
- Lodolini E (1994) *Lineamenti di storia dell'archivistica italiana. Dalle origini alla metà del secolo XX*. La Nuova Italia Scientifica, Rome
- Maire-Vigueur JC (1995) *Révolution documentaire et révolution scripturaire: le cas de l'Italie medievale*. *Bibl Ec Chartes* 153:177–185
- Martin GH (1971) The registration of deeds of title in the medieval borough. In: Bullough DA, Major K, Storey RL (eds) *The study of medieval records. Essays in honour of Kathleen Major*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, pp 51–173
- Martin G (1997). English town records, 1250–1350. In: Britnell (eds) pp 119–130
- Martin GH (2000) The diplomatic of English borough customals. In: Prevenier W, De Hemptinne T (eds) *La diplomatie urbaine en Europe au moyen âge. Actes du congrès de la Commission internationale de Diplomatie*, Gand, 25–29 août 1998. Garant, Leuven, pp 307–320
- McKemmish S (1994) Are records ever actual? In: McKemmish S, Piggott M (eds) *The records continuum*. Ian Maclean and Australian archives first fifty years. Ancora Press and Australian Archives, Clayton, pp 187–203
- McKemmish S, Gilliland-Swetland A, Ketelaar E (2005) “Communities of memory”: pluralising archival research and education agendas. *Arch Manuscr* 33:146–175
- Meisner HO (1953) *Das Begriffspaar Urkunden und Akten*. In *Forschungen aus mitteldeutschen Archiven*. Zum 60. Geburtstag von Hellmut Kretzschmar. Rütten & Loening, Berlin, pp 34–47
- Meisner HO (1969) *Archivalienkunde vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen
- Nesmith T (2005) Reopening archives: bringing new contextualities into archival theory and practice. *Archivaria* 60:259–274
- North M (1997) Records of Lübeck and Hamburg, c. 1250–1330. In: Britnell (ed) pp 89–93
- Pearce-Moses R (2005) *A glossary of archival and records terminology*. Society of American Archivists, Chicago. Available at www.archivists.org. Accessed 10 Dec 2008
- Petter A (2006) *Schriftorganisation, Kulturtransfer und Überformung—drei Gesichtspunkte zur Entstehung, Funktion und Struktur städtischer Amtsbuchüberlieferung aus dem Mittelalter*. In: Sarnowsky J (ed) *Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten*. Porta Alba Verlag, Trier, pp 17–63
- Pitz E (1959) *Schrift- und Aktenwesen der städtischen Verwaltung im Spätmittelalter: Köln, Nürnberg, Lübeck: Beitrag zur vergleichenden Städteforschung und zur spätmittelalterlichen Aktenkunde*. Paul Neubner, Cologne
- Riley HT (ed) (1859) *Munimenta Gildhallae Londonensis; Liber albus, Liber customarum et Liber Horn*, vol 1. Longman, London
- Salmini C (1998) Buildings, furnishing, access and use: examples from the archive of the Venetian chancery, from medieval to modern times. In: Roberts MV (ed) *Archives and the metropolis*. Guildhall Library Publications in Association with the Centre for Metropolitan History, London, pp 93–108
- Schellenberg TR (1956) *Modern archives. Principles and techniques*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
- Schwartz JM, Cook T (2002) Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory. *Arch Sci* 2:1–19
- Smail DL (2003) *The consumption of justice: emotions, publicity, and legal culture in Marseille, 1264–1423*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca
- Stabel P (2000) The market place and civic identity in late medieval Flanders. In: Boone M, Stabel P (eds) *Shaping urban identity in late medieval Europe*. Garant, Leuven, pp 43–64

- Stock B (1983) The implications of literacy. Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ
- Upward F (2005) The records continuum. In: McKemmish S, Piggott M, Reed B, Upward F (eds) Archives: recordkeeping in society. Charles Sturt University, Wagga-Wagga, pp 197–222
- Van Uytven R (1998) Flämische Belfriede und südniederländische städtische Bauwerke im Mittelalter: Symbol und Mythos. In: Haverkamp A (ed) Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, pp 125–159
- Walne P (ed) (1988) Dictionary of archival terminology: English and French, with equivalents in Dutch, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish, 2nd rev. edn. K.G. Saur, Munich
- Weitzel J (1998) Gerichtsöffentlichkeit im hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. In: Haverkamp A (ed) Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Munich, pp 71–84

Author Biography

Eric Ketelaar is Professor Emeritus at the University of Amsterdam. From 1997 to 2009, he was Professor of Archival Studies in the Department of Media Studies of the University of Amsterdam. As a honorary fellow of his former department, he continues his research which is concerned mainly with the social and cultural contexts of records creation and use. Ketelaar was General State Archivist (National Archivist) of The Netherlands from 1989 to 1997 and held the archival chair in the Department of History, University of Leiden, 1992–2002. In 2000–2001, he was The Netherlands Visiting Professor at the University of Michigan (School of Information). In 2003–2008 he was Honorary Professor at Monash University, Melbourne, where he continues to be involved as an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow. He served the International Council on Archives in different capacities and in 2000 was elected Honorary President. He has written over 350 articles in different languages and several books, including two general introductions on archival research and a handbook on Dutch archives and records management law. He is one of the three editors-in-chief of *Archival Science*.