Ars Sacra? *The 'Objects' of Churches*

A few days before the opening of the exhibition *Ars Sacra: Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* in Munich in 1950, the art historian Willibald Sauerländer, then a student, witnessed a 'bizarre' scene that he vividly described many years later. The philosopher Martin Heidegger, who had come to give a lecture on 'things', had taken his place just below a large Romanesque crucifix in one of the rooms. In a 'guttural and hoarse' voice, he spoke about things that 'thing', 'the being of things' (*das Wesen der Dinge*), and that which 'dwells' (*weilt*) in things. 'It is possible, then', concluded Sauerländer, 'that in 1950, the reception of the philosopher's rasping and of the primitive cross had become completely interchangeable, for both seemed to satisfy a need for exculpatory meaning, on the one hand irrational, on the other charged with guilt. Both served to supplant history with transcendence'.[1] What did such a comparison mean? In postwar Catholic Germany, invoking early medieval history in an exhibition like *Ars Sacra* was a way of reaffirming the country's long-established participation in Western Christian culture (often termed *Abendland* at the time) and of offering reassurance that this history justified its return to the community of nations. The extraordinary gathering together of hundreds of medieval objects was an expression of this aspiration. That evening, Heidegger presented ideas that would become fundamental for the study of objects in general,[2] as well as for the issues at stake in their exhibition and display. And so, this strange scene from 1950 in fact poses the same question that this book sets out to answer, extending it beyond Germany and applying it to the 'objects' that belonged to churches in medieval Latin Christendom: Before they became museum objects and historical testimonies, how were these objects conceived of, experienced, and used? Moreover, this question can and should be turned on its head: To what extent have modern conceptions of history and of the museum been shaped by the ecclesiastical heritage of the Middle Ages? This perspective will determine the themes studied in the chapters that follow, and I will return to this central question in my conclusion.

The Latin formula *ars sacra* or 'sacred art' used to introduce the objects exhibited in Munich in 1950 might have a medieval aura, but it was in fact only a few decades old: its roots lay primarily in attempts at Catholic reform or restoration.[3] The expression 'objet d'art', meanwhile, combines the notion of 'fine art' or 'Beaux-Arts', introduced in the eighteenth century,[4] with the term 'object' in the sense of a thing of limited dimensions, designated to be used in a certain way—a definition that itself dates from the end of the eighteenth century.[5] As a term, 'objet d'art' seems to have emerged in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1838 and 1846, Alexandre Du Sommerard published a multivolume catalogue of the 'objets d'art'[6] within the collection of medieval artefacts that he had installed in the hôtel de Cluny in Paris (fig. 1),

1   'Objets d'art'. Alexandre Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au Moyen Âge, en ce qui concerne principalement le palais romain de Paris, l'Hôtel de Cluny, issu de ses ruines, et les objets d'art de la collection classée dans cet hôtel*, 5 vols, *Atlas*, and *Album* (Paris: Hôtel de Cluny, 1838–46), *Album*, 10e série, pl. xiv

which the French state would subsequently transform into the first museum devoted to such objects.[7] Honoré de Balzac also spoke of 'objets d'art' in his 1847 novel *Cousin Pons*, where he took inspiration from Du Sommerard to mock the nostalgic and aesthetic passion of an impoverished collector.[8] These notions of 'sacred art' and 'objet d'art' thus go back only to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: they simply did not exist in the Middle Ages. How, then, can we free ourselves from them in order to understand the nature of the 'objects' in medieval churches? Turning to etymology in fact introduces an unexpected level of complexity. Especially during the High Middle Ages, the 'thing', or *res*, called for interpretation as it was taken as a sign of a higher reality. An ornate gold cross or a richly decorated binding for the gospels could therefore be subjected to exegesis in the same way as a sacred text.[9] The root of the French words *réel* (real) and *rien* (nothing), the word *res* could from the twelfth century on refer both to material 'reality' and, particularly in legal vocabulary, to the subject under discussion. The term *causa*, which yielded both *chose* (thing) and *cause* (a legal case), followed a similar evolution. These etymologies recall the practice, particularly prevalent between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, of associating objects and legal deeds in order to give the latter material form and preserve them in memory. Along with words and gestures, the rituals of transferring property,[10] ecclesiastical, feudal, or royal investiture,[11] dubbing a knight, or taking an oath involved objects such as swords, reliquaries, rings, horns, or gloves. Contact with or possession of these objects had serious legal implications, a reality reflected in epic and courtly literature.[12] The noun *obiectum* or object—etymologically 'that which is put before'— itself appeared in the thirteenth century, though it had a rather different signification from that with which we are familiar today. The theologian Duns Scotus (*c.* 1266–1308) used it to refer to something that has an existence in itself, independent from the knowledge or the idea that subjects might have of it. The nominalist Nicole Oresme (*c.* 1325–82), meanwhile, employed it to designate whatever affected one of the five senses or occupied the spirit.[13] In his *Philobiblon*, the bishop of Durham and chancellor of England Richard de Bury (1287–1345) thus stated that among his books he found both 'the object (*obiectum*) and the remedy (*fomentum*) of his love'[14]; these volumes imposed themselves on him—elsewhere in the same work he even gives them a voice. This notion of 'object', often invoking an object of desire, implies a subject capable of feeling and thought—like that of *joyau* or jewel, which from the twelfth century was seen as an object of *jeu* (play) and *joie* (joy).[15] More broadly, another evolution took place from the twelfth century on, linked to the rise of urban and mercantile cultures and their increasing prominence in the late Middle Ages. It involved the production of objects in numbers,[16] and even their submission to quality control procedures,[17] as well as the development of new social practices surrounding the 'consumption' of these objects.[18]

This brief sketch has already begun to reveal the diversity and the richness of medieval conceptions of what we now call an 'object'. If we continue to use this word with reference to the Middle Ages, it is only because certain medieval 'objects' have effectively become objects in our sense—at the very least upon being placed in the museums that preserve them today. Beyond the history of words, the study of the discourses to which these objects gave rise, of the practices in which they were involved, or even of the forms they took and the materials from which they were made can help us understand how they were experienced. In order to explore what would become of medieval ecclesiastical objects as historical and museum objects, however, it

is necessary to define a certain set of approaches. In particular, this volume will consider three separate questions, each of which concerns Latin Christendom in its entirety.

The first of these concerns the history of the notion of 'treasure', a concept that continues to play an important role in the imaginary of accumulations and collections even today. The word *thesaurus* will be used here as it is used in the medieval texts—that is, as a rhetorical tool whose precise relation to 'objects' is not evident but rather calls for analysis. In ecclesiastical contexts, the stakes of the notion of *thesaurus* extend far beyond the particular objects whose value it was used to emphasize: it was not simply a matter of designating relics and reliquaries, liturgical instruments or vestments, books, money, or archives. Throughout the entire Middle Ages, as will be seen, the question of 'treasure' was associated with debates that were at once polemical and theoretical, that related to the care of souls, to the laws of the Church, to theology, or to what would later be known as the economy. The Church Fathers' initial reflections about spiritual 'treasure' in late antiquity were followed by a series of shifts and innovations, from the introduction of the idea of 'church treasure' in the material sense during the Carolingian Reform to the establishment of a 'common' treasure in the thirteenth-century framework of developing mercantile exchange; the concept of 'treasure' also played a predominant role in the Protestant Reformation. Examining the history of the notions of *thesaurus* and *thesaurus ecclesiae*, and how they were used in the clergy's reflections on spiritual and material exchanges and on the institution of the Church, therefore allows us to understand how Christian society defined itself on the basis of practices surrounding precious objects, often in a context of crisis and always with material consequences.

The second chapter explores the memorial function of medieval ecclesiastical objects, revealing the influence of Christianity on the practice of conserving objects in institutions over several centuries. This above all concerns objects that make reference to a past reality by explicitly laying claim to authenticity. In churches, these generally invoked the memory of someone important, primarily the saints. Their relics were gathered to form collections, whose management and mediation can be studied through the associated written documents, that is, labels and inventories. Here, it is productive to retrace the complex narrative and material processes involved in the construction of two memorial objects that were particularly meaningful in Christian society. The first is the staff believed to have been given by Saint Peter, the apostle who became the first archbishop of Rome, to several founders of bishoprics, who thus aligned themselves with his authority. The second, the foreskin of Christ, was evidence of the Incarnation, and its appearance was linked to debates surrounding the ritual of the Eucharist. Finally, considering chess pieces and chessboards gifted to churches brings to light the role of this game in the staging of special relationships between these institutions and certain members of the feudal elite.

The third and final chapter is devoted to unusual objects of plant or especially of animal origin, which provoked wonder. Ostrich eggs, coconuts, or the shells of giant mollusks, giants' bones, unicorn horns, dragons or crocodiles, griffin claws, and whale teeth formed, as marvels, a coherent category of objects that began to appear around 1200. But they were used within churches in diverse ways—as reliquaries, as *exempla*, as ex-votos, or as trophies—entailing different sorts of knowledge about their origins and thus about the world. It was only from the end of the sixteenth century that these objects were grouped together under the common
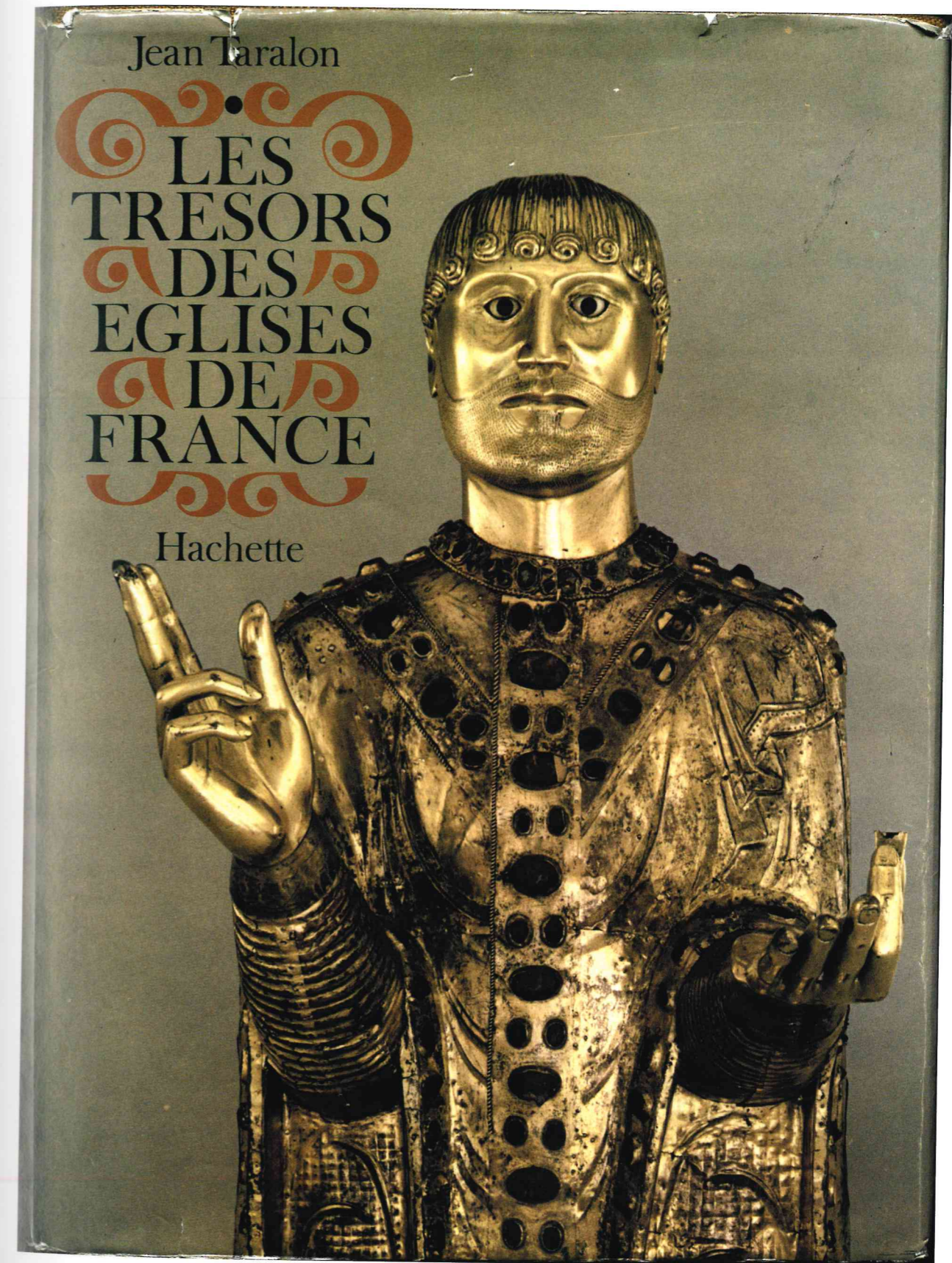
Cover of Jean Taralon, *Les trésors des églises de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1966). Published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same name at the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris 1965

heading of *naturalia*: their history is linked to that of the concept of 'nature', and this chapter will also explore how they were construed by the 'naturalists' of the early modern era.

Any study of church objects in the Middle Ages can draw upon a large well of earlier research, which can also be used to develop and explore other questions.[19] Medieval commentaries on the liturgy represent the first systematic writings on ecclesiastical objects,[20] followed by the prescriptive treatises drawn up during the post-Reformation[21] Catholic Revival and especially after the Council of Trent (1545–62).[22] But overall it was in the context of the French Revolution and the nationalization of the clergy's property in 1789 as well as in that of the Final Recess of the Holy Roman Empire in 1803, when these objects lost their functions and were sold off in large numbers, that historical approaches began to emerge from a variety of perspectives. In the nineteenth century, medieval objects were regarded as the products of 'arts', variously qualified as 'decorative', 'minor', 'applied', or 'industrial', and were unfavorably contrasted with painting, sculpture, and architecture, and especially with examples in these media dating from more recent periods. Medieval objects were shown in public to serve as models for artists,[23] and also inspired the creation of pastiches and forgeries.[24] Glossaries and dictionaries endeavored to order and classify this vast legacy in an attempt to reconstruct everyday medieval life[25] or to expound the achievements of Christianity.[26] An interest in renewing Catholicism spurred historical studies of ceremonial objects,[27] ecclesiastical ownership,[28] and liturgical commentaries,[29] and gave rise to the notion of 'sacred art' or 'Christian art'.[30] With the emergence of the 'history of art'—with all its various inflections—as an academic discipline, the first general overviews of medieval production were published,[31] followed by syntheses and 'corpora' aiming to provide exhaustive coverage of objects according to the materials from which they were made: ivory, enamels, precious metals, bronze, semiprecious stones, illuminated books, and so on.[32] The 'written sources for the history of art' were systematically assembled[33] and began to be studied for their historiographical, aesthetic, literary, or theoretical import, with inventories being the focus of particular attention.[34] The evolution of form[35] and the respective roles of artists,[36] images,[37] patrons,[38] and donors have also been areas of research. Since the Second World War in particular, medieval ecclesiastical objects have been exhibited as *ars sacra, ornamenta ecclesiae,* or 'treasures' (fig. 2).[39] As interest in their context, their function, and their original status continued to grow, they sometimes came to be conceived of—whether they were conserved *in situ* or not—as ensembles of objects, gathered within churches over the course of history.[40] Liturgical practices and codifications had provided a strong organizational structure within the churches themselves, and it became common practice to blend art history and liturgical history,[41] presenting ecclesiastical objects according to a hierarchy grounded on rituals of worship—a structure already employed in certain medieval inventories in which the altar and Eucharistic vessels (chalices, patens) are followed by other liturgical instruments (thuribles, candelabras) and then by books, vestments (albs, tunics, chasubles), insignia (stoles, miters, croziers), reliquaries, and various kinds of ornaments (other textiles, images). Recent studies have focused on the relation between 'art' and liturgy, with particular attention to architecture and its decoration.[42] The rituals surrounding the display of relics have been the subject of research in their own right,[43] as have the *libri ordinarii*.[44] Liturgical books,[45] along with books in libraries[46] or documents in archives,[47] have, among other recent approaches, been considered in terms of the particular ways in which they were used and manipulated.[48]

1   Willibald Sauerländer, 'Von den *Sonderleistungen Deutscher Kunst* zur *Ars Sacra*. Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland 1945–1950' [1992]; repr. in Willibald Sauerländer, *Geschichte der Kunst – Gegenwart der Kritik*, ed. by Werner Busch and others (Cologne: DuMont, 1999), pp. 277–92 (p. 278).

2   On medieval objects, see Jean-Claude Bonne, 'Entre l'image et la matière. La choséité du sacré en Occident', in *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales. Pour une histoire comparée*, ed. by Jean-Marie Sansterre and Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome', 69 (Brussels / Rome: Institut historique Belge de Rome, 1999), pp. 77–111.

3   See Dario Gamboni, 'De "Saint-Sulpice" à l'"art sacré". Qualification et disqualification dans le procès de modernisation de l'art d'église en France (1890–1960)', in *Crises de l'image religieuse. De Nicée II à Vatican II*, ed. by Olivier Christin and Dario Gamboni (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999), pp. 239–61; Daniel Russo, 'Les lectures de l'art chrétien en France et en Europe au tournant des années 1880–1920. Autour du médiévalisme', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 49 (2006), pp. 373–80; Isabelle Saint-Martin, *Art chrétien / art sacré. Regards du catholicisme sur l'art. France, XIXᵉ–XXᵉ siècle* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

4   Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Modern System of the Arts: A Study in the History of Aesthetics', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 12, no. 4 (1951), pp. 496–527, and 13, no. 1 (1952), pp. 17–46.

5   My information on the history of words is drawn from Alain Rey, ed., *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, 3 vols (1992; revised ed. Paris: Le Robert, 2007).

6   Alexandre Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au Moyen Âge, en ce qui concerne principalement le palais romain de Paris, l'Hôtel de Cluny, issu de ses ruines, et les objets d'art de la collection classée dans cet hôtel*, 5 vols, *Atlas*, and *Album* (Paris: Hôtel de Cluny, 1838–46).

7   On the history of museums dedicated to the Middle Ages, see Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, 'Il Medioevo al museo. Dal "Musée des monuments français" ai "Cloisters"', in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi, 4 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 2002–04), IV, pp. 759–84; Wolfgang Brückle, Pierre-Alain Mariaux, and Daniela Mondini, eds., *Musealisierung mittelalterlicher Kunst. Anlässe, Ansätze, Ansprüche* (Berlin / Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2016).

8   Francesca Lederlin, 'L'apparition du terme *objet d'art*. Quelques hypothèses socio-culturelles', *French Studies in Southern Africa*, 26 (1997), pp. 33–41.

9   Eliana Magnani and Daniel Russo, 'Exégèse textuelle, exégèse visuelle. Autour du processus de la chose, *res*, dans le haut Moyen Âge' [2009]; repr. in *Objets sous contrainte. Circulation des richesses et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Laurent Feller and Ana Rodríguez, 'Série du LAMOP', 1 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 25–42.

10   Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 86–87.

11   On the objects linked to the transfer of property and investitures, especially of vassals, see Jacques Le Goff, 'The Symbolic Ritual of Vassalage', in Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago / London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 237–87 [original version: 'Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale. Les gestes de la vassalité', 1976].

12   For a general account, see Valerie Allen, 'On the Nature of Things in the Bayeux Tapestry and its World', in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Interpretations*, ed. by Martin K. Foys, Karen Eileen Overbey, and Dan Terkla (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 51–70.

13   On the history of the philosophy of the 'object', see Graziella Federici Vescovini and Orsola Rignani, eds., *Oggetto e spazio. Fenomenologia dell'oggetto, forma e cosa dai secoli XIII-XIV ai post-cartesiani*, 'Micrologus Library', 24 (Florence: Sismel, 2008).

14   Étienne Anheim, 'Portrait de l'évêque en collectionneur. Richard de Bury (1287–1345) et son *Philobiblon*', *Thesis. Cahier d'histoire des collections*, 1 (2002), pp. 39–65 (p. 61). For a psychoanalytical approach to the 'object' in this text, see Michael Camille, 'The Book as Flesh and Fetish in de Bury's *Philobiblon*', in *The Book and the Body*, ed. by Dolores Warwick Frese and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 34–77.

15   On objects and images of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, see Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), especially pp. 51–71; Camille, '"For our Devotion and Pleasure": The Sexual Objects of Jean, Duc de Berry', *Art History*, 24, no. 2 (2001), pp. 169–94 (p. 180 and p. 185 on the term 'joyau').

16   Michele Tomasi, *L'art multiplié. Production de masse, en série, pour le marché dans les arts entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, 'Études lausannoises d'histoire de l'art', 11 (Rome: Viella, 2011).

17   Elizabeth Sears, 'Craft Ethics and the Critical Eye in Medieval Paris', *Gesta*, 45, no. 2 (2006), pp. 221–38.

18   See, for example, Sophie Cassagnes, *D'art et d'argent. Les artistes et leurs clients dans l'Europe du Nord (XIVᵉ–XVᵉ s.)* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2001).

19   For overviews of the historiography, see Brigitte Büttner, 'Toward a Historiography of the Sumptuous Arts', in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. by Conrad Rudolph, 'Blackwell Companions to Art History', 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 466–87; Jean-Pierre Caillet,

'La place des arts dits "mineurs" dans l'historiographie de l'art médiéval. Les étapes d'un processus de revalorisation', in *Medioevo. Arte e storia*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, 'I convegni di Parma', 10 (Milan: Electa, 2008), pp. 513–21.

20   See especially Guillelmus Durantis, *Rationale divinorvm officiorvm*, ed. by Anselme Davril and Timothy M. Thibodeau, 3 vols, 'CCCM', 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–2000).

21   Cécile Dupeux and Peter Jezler, eds., *Iconoclasme. Vie et mort de l'image médiévale*, exhibition catalogue, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern; Musée de l'Œuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg (Paris: Somogy, 2001) [original version: *Bildersturm. Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?*, 2000].

22   Konstanze Thümmel, 'Auff das aller stattlichst und koestlichst geschmuecket un gezieret. Der *Ornatus Ecclesiasticus, KirchenGeschmuck* von Jacob Müller. Ein Handbuch zur Kirchenausstattung von 1591', *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 20, no. 1 (2009), pp. 53–73.

23   Michael Conforti, 'Les musées des arts appliqués et l'histoire de l'art', in *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art*, ed. by Édouard Pommier (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997), pp. 327–47.

24   Michele Tomasi, 'Falsi e falsari', in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, IV, pp. 871–88.

25   See, for example, Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, 2 vols (1887–1928; repr. Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1967).

26   For instance, Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey, 1913–53).

27   See a number of the works of the German Jesuit Joseph Braun (1857–1947).

28   Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 8 vols 'Mémoires et travaux publiés par des professeurs des Facultés catholiques de Lille', 6, 19, 30, 34, 44, 46, 50, and 53 (Lille: Giard / Facultés catholiques, 1936), III, *L'inventaire de la propriété. Églises et trésors des églises du commencement du VIII e à la fin du XI e siècle* (1936).

29   Joseph Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Honorius Augustodunensis, Sicardus und Durandus* (Freiburg im Brisgau: Herder, 1902).

30   Jean-Michel Leniaud, *La révolution des signes. L'art à l'église (1830–1930)* (Paris: Cerf, 2007).

31   See, for example, Michele Tomasi, 'De la collection à l'histoire. Sur la genèse et la structure de l'*Histoire des arts industriels au Moyen Âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance* de Jules Labarte', in *Histoire de l'histoire de l'art en France au XIX e siècle*, ed. by Roland Recht and others (Paris: La Documentation française, 2008),

pp. 255–66 and 518–19.

32   For a general approach, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

33   See the fundamental undertaking of Julius von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Texte des 4. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, 'Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit', 7 (Vienna: Graeser, 1896), which was followed by a wave of similar works.

34   See especially *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, ed. by Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte and Bernhard Bischoff, I, *Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 'Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München', 4 (Munich: Prestel, 1967).

35   Peter Lasko, *Ars sacra: 800–1200*, 'The Pelican History of Art', 36 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972).

36   Anton Legner, *Der artifex. Künstler im Mittelalter und ihre Selbstdarstellung. Eine illustrierte Anthologie* (Cologne: Greven, 2009).

37   For overviews see Jérôme Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008); Daniel Russo, 'Iconologie et ecclésiologie médiévales. Une question d'histoire de l'art', *Perspective. La revue de l'INHA*, no. 1 (2008), pp. 129–33.

38   For example Susanne Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retabel. Kunst und Liturgie bei Wibald von Stablo*, 'Pictura et Poesis', 17 (Cologne / Weimar / Vienna: Böhlau, 2004).

39   See especially *Les trésors des églises de France*, exhibition catalogue, Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris (Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques, 1965); Anton Legner, ed., *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, exhibition catalogue, Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Cologne, 3 vols (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985); Martina Bagnoli and others, eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, exhibition catalogue, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; British Museum, London (New Haven: Yale University Press / London: The British Museum Press, 2010).

40   See, for example, 'Les trésors des églises à l'époque romane', special issue, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 41 (2010).

41   For an approach based on the notion of the image, see Thomas Lentes, 'Ereignis und Repräsentation. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zum Verhältnis von Liturgie und Bild im Mittelalter', in *Die Bildlichkeit symbolischer Akte*, ed. by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger and Thomas Weißbrich, 'Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme', 28 (Münster: Rhema, 2010), pp. 155–84.

42   See Anne Baud, ed., *Espace ecclésial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, 'Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée', 53 (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 2010). On portable altars see Éric Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré dans le christianisme. La liturgie de l'autel portatif dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

43   Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum. Untersuchung über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deustchen Regnum*, 'Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte', 65 (Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2000).

44   Pascal Collomb, 'Le *liber ordinarius*. Un livre liturgique, une source historique', in *Comprendre le XIII e siècle. Mélanges offerts à Marie-Thérèse Lorcin*, ed. by Pierre Guichard and Danièle Alexandre-Bidon (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1995), pp. 97–109; Klaus Gereon Beuckers, ed., *Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften. Forschungen zum 'Liber ordinarius'*, 'Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift', 10 (Essen: Klartext, 2012).

45   See especially Éric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press 1998) [original version: *Le Moyen Âge. Des origines au XIII e siècle. Histoire des livres liturgiques*, 1993]; Éric Palazzo, 'Le livre dans les trésors du Moyen Âge. Contribution à l'étude de la *Memoria* médiévale' [1996]; repr. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 52, no. 1 (1997) pp. 93–118; David Ganz, *Buch-Gewänder. Prachteinbände im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 2015).

46   See a number of the essays in André Vernet, ed., *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, 'Histoire des bibliothèques françaises', 4 (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1989).

47   For an introduction see Pierre Chastang, 'Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale. La structuration d'un nouveau champ de recherche', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 49 (2006), pp. 21–31.

48   Philippe Cordez, 'Le lieu du texte. Les livres enchaînés au Moyen Âge', *Revue Mabillon*, 17 (2006), pp. 75–103; Stephan Müller, Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, and Peter Strohschneider, eds., *Codex und Raum* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).