admitted to the Christian faith (Acts 10:1–48); in the center, a sleeping bishop; and, at right, his two guards, one of whom is equipped with a lance and a shield. The bishop is probably Saint Peter himself, imprisoned in Rome by Herod (Acts 12:3–19). The angel shown descending to free Peter reassures him with the words: 'may you not be disheartened', according to the inscription running over the central arch and across the horizontal band that separates the upper and lower registers. Herod's death will follow soon after (Acts 12:20–25).
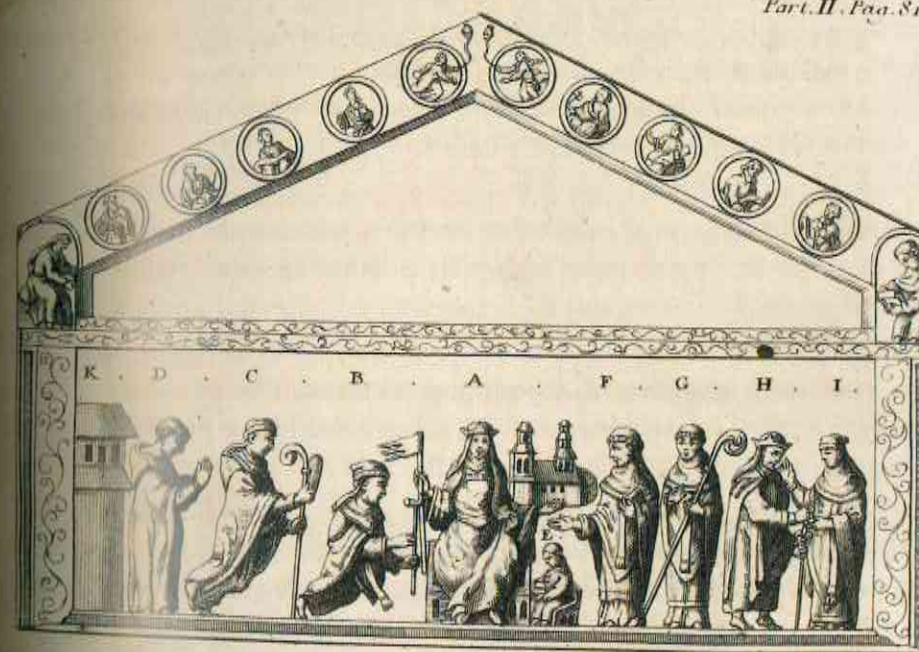
The program of images sets the Three Kings and King Herod into opposition, not only in terms of their relation to Jesus but also of their relation to the institution of the Church. This institution is represented by the Virgin enthroned—which often evoked the *ecclesia*—and by Saint Peter, but above all by the architectonic structure whose various elements—pediment, roofs, arches, colonnettes—organize the relations of meaning among the figures. The handing over of the gift from the first magus is highlighted by the exaggerated size of his hands and those of Christ, and further by the unfolding of this action against the base of a prominent round tower that belongs to the main building. On the opposite side of the object as a whole, an isolated, broken, and angular tower stands at the right edge of the Massacre of the Innocents. In a similar contrast, whereas the Three Kings are bound together underneath a continuous and ascending architectural band, a monstrous mask emerges from an angle in the structure just above Herod and seems to crush him. The bearded man, upright beneath a large arch decorated with rinceaux next to the arch that supports the façade, seems to serve as a sort of guardian of the Law.

At Reims, these images would certainly have recalled the baptism of the king Clovis by the bishop Rémi around 498, a foundational moment for the Frankish kings. With this, Saint Rémi had repeated for the Franks what Saint Peter, by baptizing Saint Cornelius, had done for all the non-Jewish—that is, all the pagan—nations. The architecture evokes both the church in general and a localized edifice such as the cathedral at Reims.[212] If a sovereign can act negatively, ordering massacres and imprisonments like Herod, or positively, by recognizing Christ and accepting baptism, the object itself already expresses a clear position—a game piece that stands for a secular king is transformed into a support for images and very probably also for a reliquary. The high quality of the carvings suggest that this may have been a gift from the king of France to the church of Reims, pointing to the circumstances and dynamics of a royal coronation. Closer consideration allows us to identify a more precise context.

The kings Henry I and Philippe I were respectively crowned at Reims in 1027 and 1059. Coronations had taken place there in 922 and 954, and again in 1129 and 1131, followed by a gap until 1179.[213] That the chess piece was realized in the contentious context of the 1129 and 1131 coronations seems to provide the best explanation.[214] The coronation of Louis VI at Orléans in 1108 had effectively called into question the exclusive right of Reims to crown the kings of France, and Suger sought to use this to the profit of Saint-Denis during the 1120s, before Reims regained the upper hand. It was probably in the 1130s that a monument was realized in stone for the abbey of Saint-Rémi, intended as a surround for a royal throne (fig. 39). At its center, enthroned beneath a pediment decorated with rinceaux, was a figure holding a church in one hand. This figure was flanked to its right by three clerics oriented inwards, their attitude resembling that of the Three Kings, and to its left by five other figures, the first of whom was consulting a book. These images are primarily known through an

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beau, on voit un évêque qui tient une fainte ampoule, & qui facre un roy. Il eſt à remarquer que la mître de ces évêques n'eſt point femblable à celles des évêques d'aujourd'hui, ni même comme celles que l'on voit dans les anciennes figures des évêques de quatre, cinq & fix cens ans ; mais qu'elle reſſemble plûtôt à une coëffe qu'à une mître : ce qui fait croire que ce tombeau eſt plus ancien que Raoul-le-Verd. Ceux qui le lui attribuent prétendent, que le prince qui préfente une églife à un archevêque à genoux, eſt le comte de Rétel, qui reſtituë à l'archevêque quelque bien qu'il avoit ufurpé. Mais outre qu'on ne repréfenteroit pas ce prince habillé à la grecque, on ne repréfenteroit pas non plus à genoux à fes pieds l'archevêque de Reims, dont il étoit vaſſal. Afin que les ſçavans & les antiquaires puiſſent en porter un jugement plus certain, nous repréfenterons ici le tombeau.

Part. II. Pag. 81.

II. Partie.   L

Surround for a royal throne, stone, 1130s (?). Formerly at the abbey of Saint-Rémi at Reims. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur [...]*, 2 vols (Paris: Delaulne, 1717–24), II, p. 81

eighteenth-century description with an engraving, and must be interpreted with caution since only a few fragments have been preserved.[215] But the resemblance to the Marian scene on the chess piece is striking. There, the most pronounced visual element is the star guiding the Magi to Christ, which is represented just above the pediment: a recessed area, still bearing traces of copper alloy, was carved into the ivory to accommodate a small piece of gilt metal, fixed in place through the hole. This celestial body has the unusual form of a droplet, which, if one considers the anthropomorphism of the chess piece, shines out from the forehead of the king. Its shape thus recalls the oil with which the archbishop of Reims anointed the king during the coronation. The competition with Saint-Denis had effectively sparked the revival of a Carolingian legend according to which a miraculous dove had descended from the heavens bearing a vial of oil to be used in the coronation of Clovis by Rémi. And indeed, the coronation of 1131 is the first in which the use of this oil is attested. Perhaps to reinforce this allusion, the dove alighting on Christ at the moment of his baptism is very clearly featured on the chess piece. One final question concerns the plant form that rises from the back of the piece, worn in such a way as to suggest that it was regularly used as a handle. Its design in the form of a tree or flower, perhaps a lily, may evoke an element of the crown: although associated with Mary since the eleventh century, it was precisely during this period and under the influence of Abbot Suger that the lily or fleur-de-lis became an emblem of Capetian royalty, which was thus placed under the sign of the Virgin[216]—just as it is on this object.

Chivalric Histories

The study of chess pieces offered to churches between the tenth and the twelfth centuries reveals a widespread practice that must have drawn its potency from the rapid success of the game. It staged a range of actors, from the lords of regions at the margins of Christianity seeking to stabilize their authority to the imperial or royal powers undergoing a process of institutionalization. Certain usages, such as the mounting of chess pieces on reliquaries, seem to have recurred over the decades, while some particular objects stand out for their conceptual and formal complexity. From the simple donations of Islamic pieces around the year 1000 to the fine objects carved in ivory in the early twelfth century, a development had taken place. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as social relationships evolved, the game of chess progressively entered into literature. *Chansons de geste* and courtly romances portrayed it as an art to be mastered by nobles, sometimes resolving interlacing narrative situations using scenes in which the game was played.[217] The attribution of the Saint-Denis chess pieces to Charlemagne participates in this broader interest. At the abbey of Saint-Arnoul in Metz, chess pieces were similarly attributed to queen Hildegarde, the wife of Charlemagne, and are mentioned in a poem that was installed in front of her tomb during the fourteenth century.[218] At the collegiate church of Sainte-Marie at Roncevaux in Navarre, a key site for the Carolingian *gestae*, a fourteenth-century reliquary made up of alternating squares of rock crystal and enamel, though never intended to serve in play, was presented as 'Charlemagne's chessboard'.[219] From the thirteenth century, the game of chess gave rise to moralizing interpretations. Sometime before 1330, its structure was notably used by the Italian Dominican Jacobus de Cessolis in his *Book of the Customs of Men and the Duties of Nobles, or the Book of Chess*, a compilation of sermons that was

soon translated from Latin into many vernacular languages and witnessed an enduring success right to the end of the Middle Ages.[220]

This new literary and moral conception of the game of chess is apparent in the final offering to a church that I will discuss here. This is a chessboard that in 1339 was transformed into the front board of a binding for a copy of the gospels at the behest of the duke of Brunswick Otto the Mild, who subsequently offered it to the collegiate church of the same town (fig. 40).[221] The squares of this chessboard were made from red jasper and rock crystal, the latter encasing miniatures with a gold background. This combination of materials was employed in Venice between the mid-thirteenth and the late fourteenth centuries. The chess pieces were moved over images depicting by turn hybrid creatures, armed knights, a dubbing ceremony, a musician playing for a lady, and even a royal couple absorbed in a game of chess. The Brunswick chessboard thus associated the game with an epic and courtly adventure, without determining in advance how the story would unfold as the game was played. The fact that the act of playing was in this way rendered an allegory for the unfolding of life perhaps contributed to the decision to convert the chessboard into a gospel binding,[222] which entailed several significant modifications. The number of squares was reduced from sixty-four to thirty-five in order to adapt the square gaming table to the rectangular format of the book. The fifteen central squares were set slightly deeper into the wooden support compared to the twenty that surrounded them. This support is 2.5 centimeters (nearly one inch) thick and contains under each of the squares a cavity one centimeter in diameter, for the storage of relics. The list of the contents was inscribed on a sheet of parchment and glued to the inside of the front cover, thus sealing these tiny reliquaries, the placement of which can still be glimpsed through the transparent parchment.[223] The binding board preserves the structure of the chessboard, but transforms the adventure story evoked by the miniatures into a path toward salvation: the course no longer simply leads from courtly scene to heroic combat but also from one saint to another.[224] The recession of the central section of squares is emphasized by the brilliance of the plates of rock crystal that this configuration clusters together, in contrast to the surround where they continue to alternate with the duller texture of the jasper. Echoing the colors of the border, the white pearls and red gems dotted among the crystal of the central section reinforce this contrast. In this brilliant field, certain miniatures have made way for other elements. At the very center, a relic of the True Cross is presented in the form of a small wooden cross whose arms are extended into the adjacent squares by the symbols of the evangelists, also in slight relief. This central point attracts the gaze, as if encouraging the beholder to move beyond the gaming table and enter into the book of the gospels. This chessboard is in fact without chess pieces: it is its individual observers that the binding invites to enter into the play of images or to meditate on the Cross, appealing to their imaginative capacities and thereby shaping them as responsible subjects. The implications of this transformation are clearly revealed when one examines the back board of the volume, formed from a slab of punched copper. There, the duke Otto and his wife Agnes of Brandenburg are depicted kneeling on either side of the patron saint of the collegial church, Saint Blaise. The chessboard had most likely belonged to the duchess Agnes, who died in 1334, and the gospel book was destined for a funerary chapel that was consecrated in 1346, two years after the death of Otto. The object thus had a strong personal dimension: the act of converting the gaming table signaled the end of earthly and profane life and opened an eschatological perspective.

Chessboard transformed into the front cover of a binding for the gospels, c. 1300–39. From the collegiate church at Brunswick. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum

1 On these objects, see Klaus Gereon Beuckers, 'Schatz und Stiftungen. Allgemeine Bemerkungen zu Stiftungsmotivationen im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', in *Der Gandersheimer Schatz im Vergleich: Zur Rekonstruktion und Präsentation von Kirchenschätzen*, ed. by Hedwig Röckelein (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2013), pp. 21–34. For an introduction to 'relics' and reliquaries, see Philippe Cordez, 'Die Reliquien, ein Forschungsfeld. Traditionslinien und neue Erkundungen', *Kunstchronik*, 2007, no. 7, pp. 271–82 [original version: 'Les reliques, un champ de recherche. Problèmes anciens et nouvelles perspectives', 2007]; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Relics: An Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity', in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. by Cynthia Hahn and Holger Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015), pp. 41–60.

2 For a reflection on these documents from the perspective of the history of writing and of proof, see Paul Bertrand, 'Authentiques de reliques. Authentiques ou reliques?', *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie*, 112 (2006), pp. 363–74. An initial version of what follows was published in Philippe Cordez, 'Gestion et médiation des collections de reliques au Moyen Âge. Le témoignage des authentiques et des inventaires', in 'Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval', ed. by Jean-Luc Deuffic, special issue, *Pecia. Ressources en médiévistique*, 8–11 (2005), pp. 33–63. For a more recent account, see Julia M. H. Smith, 'Portable Christianity: Relics in the Medieval West (c. 700–1200)', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 181 (2010–11), pp. 143–67; Smith, 'Relics: An Evolving Tradition'.

3 On this christianization, see Andreas Hartmann, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie. Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften* (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2010), pp. 593–660.

4 Luigi Canetti, 'Reliquie, martirio e anatomia. Culto dei santi e pratiche dissettorie fra tarda Antichità e primo Medioevo', in 'Le cadavre. Anthropologie, archéologie, imaginaire social (Moyen Âge, Renaissance)', ed. by Jacques Chiffoleau and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, special issue, *Micrologus*, 7 (1999), pp. 113–53. Hostility toward these practices is explored in Arnold Angenendt, 'Der "ganze" und "unverweste" Leib – eine Leitidee der Reliquienverehrung bei Gregor von Tours und Beda Venerabilis', in *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Hubert Mordek, 'Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte', 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 33–50.

5 See, in particular, Bruno Reudenbach, 'Loca sancta. Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten', in *Jerusalem, du Schöne. Vorstellungen und Bilder einer heiligen Stadt*, ed. by Bruno Reudenbach, 'Vestigia bibliae', 28 (Bern: Peter Lang 2008), pp. 9–32.

6 John M. McCulloh, 'The Cult of Relics in the Letters and Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great: A Lexicographical Study', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion*, 32 (1976), pp. 145–84; Peter Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours* (Reading: University of Reading, 1977).

7 Cynthia Hahn, 'Collector and Saint: Queen Radegund and Devotion to the Relic of the True Cross', in 'The Language of the Object: Essays in Honour of Herbert L. Kessler', ed. by Martina Bagnoli and Peter W. Parshall, special issue, *Word & Image*, 22, no. 3 (2006), pp. 268–74; Jaś Elsner, 'Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza and Walsingham', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 9, no. 1 (1997), pp. 117–30.

8 Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, ch. 3, 1–3, ed., trans., and intr. by Jacques Fontaine, *Vie de saint Martin*, 3 vols, 'Sources chrétiennes', 133–35 (Paris: Cerf, 1967–69), I, pp. 256–59; trans., intr., and notes by Richard J. Goodrich, *The Life of St. Martin*, in *Sulpicius Severus: The Complete Works*, 'Ancient Christian Writers', 70 (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), pp. 23–54 (p. 27). On the symbolic range of this use of the cloak, see Dominic Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 159.

9 Hervé Oudart, 'Le manteau partagé. Un écho de l'épisode d'Amiens dans les œuvres de Grégoire de Tours', in 'Le partage du manteau et le rayonnement martinien', ed. by Christiane Deluz, special issue, *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, 63 (1997), pp. 207–15.

10 Olivier Guillot, 'Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des vi^e–xe siècles. Un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par le cas des Francs en Gaule' [1989]; repr. in Olivier Guillot, *Arcana Imperii (ive–xie siècle)* (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2003), pp. 95–138.

11 On what follows, see Johannes van den Bosch, *Capa, basilica, monasterium et le culte de saint Martin de Tours. Étude lexicologique et sémasiologique* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1959), pp. 7–35; and Joseph Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2 vols, 'Schriften der MGH', 16 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1959–66), I, pp. 11–18 and 28–30. See also Luce Pietri, 'La capa martini. Essai d'identification de la relique martinienne', in *Romanité et cité chrétienne. Permanences et mutations, intégration et exclusion du ier au vi^e siècle. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Yvette Duval*, ed. by Françoise Prévot (Paris: De Boccard, 2000), pp. 343–57.

12 See the synthesis provided in Matthias Untermann, '*opere mirabili constructa*. Die Aachener "Residenz" Karls des Großen', in *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, III, pp. 152–64.

13 One of the manuscripts is composite, the other is a cartulary. On this subject, and for the discussion that follows, see Heinrich Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen: Volk, 1951), with an edition of the list at pp. 81–83; Klaus Herbers, 'Die Aachener Marienschrein-Reliquien und ihre karolingische Tradition', in *Der*

Aachener Marienschrein. Eine Festschrift, ed. by Dieter P. J. Wynands (Aachen: Einhard, 2000), pp. 129–34; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Rulers and Relics c. 750–c. 950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven', in 'Relics and Remains', ed. by Alexandra Walsham, special issue, *Past and Present*, 206, suppl. 5 (2010), pp. 73–96 (particularly pp. 77–88 on the relics of the Carolingian monarchs and pp. 80–81 on Charlemagne).

14 Norbert Wibiral, 'Altarort und Altarzahl. Bemerkungen zu Aachen, York und Centula', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 54 (2005), pp. 39–60 (p. 46).

15 Helga Giersipen, ed., *Die Inschriften des Aachener Doms*, 'Die Deutschen Inschriften', 31, 'Düsseldorfer Reihe', 1 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1992), no. 12.

16 On the transfers of relics of Roman saints at this time in order to supplant local cults, see Patrick J. Geary, 'The Ninth-Century Relic Trade: A Response to Popular Piety?' [1979]; repr. in Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 177–93; Julia M. H. Smith, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. by Julia M. H. Smith, 'The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453', 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 317–39.

17 *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, II, no. 425, pp. 448–54 (p. 451). Charles the Bald saw Compiègne as a substitute for Aachen, to which he no longer had access. See May Vieillard-Troïekouroff, 'La chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 21 (1971), pp. 89–108 (pp. 94–95 and 103, note 77 on the relics).

18 This undertaking was a great success, and Barbarossa reused the text in the freedom charter that he granted to the town on January 8, 1166. See Walter Kaemmerer, ed., *Aachener Quellentexte*, 'Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Aachen', 1 (Aachen: Mayer, 1980), pp. 196–201 (p. 198).

19 Erich Meuthen, 'Karl der Große – Barbarossa – Aachen. Zur Interpretation des Karlsprivilegs für Aachen', in *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm, 5 vols (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1966–68), IV, *Das Nachleben* (1967), pp. 54–76 (pp. 73–74).

20 See the notice drawn up at this time by the dean to announce the presentation of the relics, preserved in fifteenth-century copies: Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz*, pp. 83–84, and 43–44. On the new chest, see Wynands, *Der Aachener Marienschrein. Eine Festschrift*.

21 Jean-Pierre Laporte, *Le Trésor des saints de Chelles* (Chelles: Société archéologique et historique, 1988), p. 118.

22 Angilbertus Centulensis, *De ecclesia Centulensi libellus*, ed. by Georg Waitz, 'MGH, SS', 15, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), pp. 173–79.

23 Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), p. 142, see also p. 200.

24 Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, I, pp. 106 and 108.

25 This comparison was established in Heinrich Schiffers, *Kulturgeschichte der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt* (Cologne: Gilde, 1930), pp. 101–05 and 195–99; with a synthesis in Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz*, p. 14.

26 Wibiral, 'Altarort und Altarzahl', p. 57.

27 On this point, see François Héber-Suffrin and Anne Wagner, 'Autels, reliques et structuration de l'espace monastique. L'exemple de Saint-Riquier', in *Le programme. Une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art médiéval?*, ed. by Jean-Marie Guillouët and Claudia Rabel, 'Cahiers du Léopard d'Or', 12 (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2011), pp. 27–55.

28 This could even extend beyond the altars, as relics were also placed at the tops of pillars, bell towers, and so on: see Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints. Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), pp. 169–73, and more generally Jean-Pierre Caillet, 'Reliques et architecture religieuse aux époques carolingienne et romane', in *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles*, ed. by Edina Bozoky and Anne-Marie Helvetius (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 169–97.

29 The differences between the two lists have yet to be identified and precisely interpreted in the context of the architectural projects and reliquaries at Saint-Riquier. For a general study, see Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

30 Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1948; repr. 1962), II, pp. 213–25.

31 Angilbert himself recommended the liturgical use of various litanies in his *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*, which he compiled as abbot of Saint-Riquier. See Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, 'MGH, Hilfsmittel', 24 (Hanover: Hahn, 2007), pp. 11 and 19.

32 Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 22–34.

33 Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 165–210.

34 *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ordo XL, ch. 128, ed. by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 'Studi e Testi', 227 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1964), p. 169.

35 Maurice Prou and Eugène Chartraire, 'Authentiques de reliques conservées au Trésor de la cathédrale de Sens', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 59 (1890), pp. 129–72 (no. 160 and p. 132); Iso Müller, 'Zum mittelalterlichen Reliquienschatze von Beromünster', *Der Geschichtsfreund. Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Fünf Orte Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden ob und nid dem Wald und Zug*, 120 (1967), pp. 5–40 (pp. 12–17).

36 Cited in Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols (Munich: Koch, 1924), I, p. 632, note 2.

37 *Le pontifical romain du XII⁰ siècle*, ordo 17, ch. 1, ed. by Michel Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain au Moyen Âge*, 4 vols, 'Studi e Testi', 86–88 and 99 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938–41), I, p. 176. This text also specifies that the list should be announced publicly.

38 Guillelmus Durantis, *Pontificale*, book 2, ordo 2, ch. 10, ed. by Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen Âge*, 4 vols, 'Studi e Testi', 86–88 and 99 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938–41), III, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (1940), pp. 456–57. On these containers, see Hedwig Röckelein, 'Schätze in Altären. Profane Gebrauchsgegenstände im sakralen Raum', in *Le trésor au Moyen Âge. Discours, pratiques et objets*, pp. 179–97.

39 Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, p. 632. Braun nevertheless considers that these prescriptions were rare.

40 Philippe George, *Les reliques de Stavelot-Malmedy. Nouveaux documents* (Malmedy: Art et Histoire, 1989), no. 43. On this reliquary, today in the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels, and its liturgical context, see Susanne Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retabel. Kunst und Liturgie bei Wibald von Stablo*, 'Pictura et Poesis', 17 (Cologne / Weimar / Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 173–224, in particular pp. 195–202.

41 These reliquaries are now preserved in the parish church of Bouillac (in Tarn-et-Garonne). The labels and inscriptions have both been published in Fernand Pottier, 'Les authentiques de reliques', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne*, 40 (1912), pp. 145–59 (pp. 150 and 152). The inscriptions have been edited more recently in Robert Favreau, Jean Michaud, and Bernadette Leplant-Mora, eds., *Ariège, Haute-Garonne, Hautes-Pyrénées, Tarn-et-Garonne*, 'Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale', 8 (Paris: CNRS, 1983), pp. 117–24.

42 See the description in Charles Urseau, 'Authentiques de reliques provenant de l'ancienne abbaye du Ronceray à Angers', *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 21 (1903), pp. 587–93. On the reliquary, today preserved in the cathedral's treasury though lacking both relics and labels, see Monique Jacob and others, *Les orfèvres d'Anjou et du bas Maine*, 'Cahiers du patrimoine', 50 (Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 1998), p. 326.

43 Hans Mosler, 'Das Camper Reliquienverzeichnis von 1472', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das alte Erzbistum Köln*, 168–69 (1967), pp. 60–101 (no. 33, p. 98).

44 Andrea Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'. Eine Übersicht anhand des Reliquienverzeichnisses von 1482 der Stiftskirche St. Blasius in Braunschweig* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1997), p. 65.

45 This was not always an easy operation. In 1482, the author of a Brunswick inventory took care to explain the mechanism that opened an ivory casket: Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, no. 17, p. 133.

46 Ed. in George, *Les reliques de Stavelot-Malmedy*, nos 1–27.

47 Jacques Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques de l'abbaye du Mont Saint-Michel', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 4 vols (Paris: Lethielleux, 1967–70), I, pp. 501–93 (no. 2).

48 *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, no. 57.

49 Angilbertus Centulensis, *De ecclesia Centulensi libellus*, pp. 173–79.

50 Denis Bethell, 'The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection', in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. by Geoffrey J. Cuming and Derek Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 64–72.

51 For what follows see Herrad Spilling, *Sanctarum reliquiarum pignera gloriosa. Quellen zur Geschichte des Reliquienschatzes der Benediktinerabtei Zwiefalten* (Bad Buchau: Federsee, 1992), pp. 1–8.

52 Mosler, 'Das Camper Reliquienverzeichnis'.

53 Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, p. 57.

54 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques'.

55 Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, pp. 60 and 70.

56 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques', no. 16. For an edition and French translation of the *De translatione et miraculis beati Autberti*, composed around 1080–95, see Pierre Bouet and Olivier Desbordes, eds., *Chroniques latines du Mont Saint-Michel (IX⁰–XII⁰ siècle)*, 'Les manuscrits du Mont Saint-Michel. Textes fondateurs', 1 (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2009), pp. 229–55.

57 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques', no. 28. On this narrative see Armelle Le Huërou, 'Essai de reconstitution de l'histoire des armes miniatures du saint Michel depuis leur introduction au Mont jusqu'à leur disparition', *Annales de Bretagne*, 110, no. 2 (2003), pp. 157–87, which indicates on p. 171 that two copies of the text probably date from the abbacy of Pierre le Roy. For an edition and French translation, see Bouet and Desbordes, *Chroniques latines du Mont Saint-Michel*, pp. 343–65.

58 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques', no. 27. The relic is mentioned as early as 1080–95 in an account of a miracle: pp. 292 and 304.

59 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques', no. 10.

60 See the analysis in Spilling, *Sanctarum reliquiarum pignera gloriosa.*

61 Mosler, 'Das Camper Reliquienverzeichnis'.

62 Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, p. 52.

63 Mosler, 'Das Camper Reliquienverzeichnis', nos 8, 10, and 11, p. 90.

64 Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, *Das Bamberger Heiltumsbuch von 1508/1509 in der British Library London (Add. Ms. 15 689)*, I, *Faksimile* (Bamberg: Historischer Verein, 1998).

65 See Ursula Timann, 'Bemerkungen zum Halleschen Heiltum', in *Der Kardinal. Albrecht von Brandenburg, Renaissancefürst und Mäzen*, ed. by Katja Schneider, Andreas Tacke, and Thomas Schauerte, exhibition catalogue, Stiftung Moritzburg, Halle an der Saale, 2 vols (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2006), II, pp. 255–83.

66 Ernst Alfred Stückelberg, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz*, 2 vols, 'Schriften der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde', 1 and 5, (Zurich / Basel: Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1902–08), I, pp. xxxix–xliii.

67 Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, pp. 43 and 50. On this kind of altar, see Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, pp. 212–20.

68 Iso Müller, 'Das Reliquienverzeichnis', in *Thesaurus Fabariensis. Die Reliquien-, Schatz- und Bücherverzeichnisse im Liber Viventium von Pfäfers*, ed. by Carl Pfaff and Iso Müller, 'Sankt-Galler Kultur und Geschichte', 15 (St. Gallen: Staatsarchiv, 1986), pp. 13–55 (p. 13).

69 Didier Méhu, ed., *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration d'église dans l'Occident médiéval*, 'Collection d'études médiévales de Nice', 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

70 On these consecrations, see Karl Josef Benz, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Bedeutung der Kirchweihe unter Teilnahme der deutschen Herrscher im hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zum Studium des Verhältnisses zwischen weltlicher Macht und kirchlicher Wirklichkeit unter Otto III. und Heinrich II.*, 'Regensburger historische Forschungen', 4 (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1975), pp. 159, 176, and 234–36.

71 Dubois, 'Le trésor des reliques'.

72 See the synthesis in Nine Robijntje Miedema, *Die römischen Kirchen im Spätmittelalter nach den 'Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae'*, 'Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom', 97 (Tübingen: Niemeyer 2001), p. 320.

73 Several examples are given in Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, pp. 364–66.

74 Jean Michaud, 'Culte des reliques et épigraphie. L'exemple des dédicaces et des consécrations d'autels', in *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles*, pp. 199–212.

75 Rüdiger Fuchs, ed., *Die Inschriften der Stadt Worms*, 'Die Deutschen Inschriften', 29, 'Mainzer Reihe', 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1991), no. 10, pp. 11–12.

76 Christine Wulf, ed., *Die Inschriften der Stadt Hildesheim*, 'Die Deutschen Inschriften', 58, 'Göttinger Reihe', 10 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003), no. 24, pp. 217–18.

77 Herbert E. Brekle, *Die Prüfeninger Weiheinschrift von 1119. Eine paläographisch-typographische Untersuchung* (Regensburg: Scriptorium Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft, 2005).

78 Hans Georg Schmitz, *Kloster Prüfening im 12. Jahrhundert*, 'Miscellanea Bavarica Monacensia', 49 (Munich: Wölfle in Kommission, 1975), pp. 31 (for the date) and 44.

79 Robert Favreau, 'Épigraphie médiévale et hagiographie', in *Le culte des saints*, ed. by Robert Favreau, 'Civilisation médiévale', 1 (Poitiers: Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1995), pp. 63–83 (pp. 77–78).

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Germ. N. S.', 10 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1951), pp. 31–32.

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100 Georg Hauser, 'Zur Archäologie des Petrusstabes', *Kölner Domblatt*, 76 (2011), pp. 197–217.

101 Martin A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church. Chrodegang of Metz and the 'Regula Canonicorum' in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

102 Daniel Carlo Pangerl, *Die Metropolitanverfassung des karolingischen Frankenreichs*, 'Schriften der MGH', 63 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung 2011), p. 51–52.

103 Paulus Diaconus, *Libellus de episcopis Mettensibus*, pp. 48–49; see Kempf, 'Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*', pp. 292–93 and Elling, 'Institution versus Individuum, Diözese versus Dynastie', pp. 221–23 on Saint Peter.

104 Jean-Claude Ignace, 'Réflexions sur la légende et le culte de saint Front. À propos des travaux de M. le chanoine A. Fayard', *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord*, 106 (1979), pp. 52–72 (pp. 67–68); Alain Dierkens, 'Martial, Sernin, Trophime et les autres. À propos des évangélisateurs et des apôtres en Gaule', in *Saint-Martial de Limoges. Ambition politique et production culturelle (xᵉ–xiiiᵉ siècles)*, ed. by Claude Andrault-Schmitt (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2006), pp. 25–38 (pp. 27–28).

105 Jean-Charles Picard, *Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord, des origines au xᵉ siècle*, 'Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome', 268 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1988), pp. 693–97 (p. 697 for Paul the Deacon's knowledge of these traditions).

106 Eva Schurr, *Die Ikonographie der Heiligen. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte ihrer Attribute von den Anfängen bis zum achten Jahrhundert* (Dettelbach: Röll, 1997), pp. 108–21.

107 Richard Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin / Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1929), pp. 61–62 on scepters, which are generally surmounted by the busts of emperors; Cecilia Olovsdotter, *The Consular Image: An Iconological Study of the Consular Diptychs* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2005), pp. 73–78.

108 Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, ed., *Le trésor de Saint-Denis*, exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1991), no. 2, p. 60.

109 Since the secularization, this object has belonged to the cathedral of Limburg an der Lahn. See Thomas Head, 'Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier', *Gesta*, 36 (1997), pp. 65–82; Rüdiger Fuchs, ed., *Die Inschriften der Stadt Trier*, 2 vols, 'Die Deutschen Inschriften', 70, 'Mainzer Reihe', 10 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2006–12), I, no. 53, pp. 102–08.

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Bordeaux (vɪᵉ–xɪvᵉ siècles)', in *Autour de Saint-Seurin. Lieu, mémoire, pouvoir. Des premiers temps chrétiens à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Isabelle Cartron and others (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2009), pp. 87–116 (pp. 103–05 and 108–09).

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120 Thomas Bauer, *Lotharingien als historischer Raum. Raumbildung und Raumbewusstsein im Mittelalter* (Cologne / Weimar / Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 460–64.

121 *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, ch. 32, ed. by Georg Waitz, 'MGH, SS', 8 (Hanover: Hahn, 1848), p. 640. On these texts see Monique Goullet, 'Les saints du diocèse de Toul (Sources Hagiographiques de la Gaule, 6)', in *L'hagiographie du haut Moyen Âge en Gaule du Nord. Manuscrits, textes et centres de production*, ed. by Martin Heinzelmann, 'Beihefte der Francia', 52 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001), pp. 11–89; Michel Parisse, 'Un évêque réformateur. Gauzelin de Toul (922–962)', in *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Joseph-Claude Poulin*, ed. by Jean-François Cottier, Martin Gravel, and Sébastien Rossignol (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), pp. 69–82 (p. 72 for the date, trans. p. 82).

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127 Hartmut Kühne, 'Reliquien und Reliquiare des Magdeburger Domes im 13. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme', in *Aufbruch in die Gotik. Der Magdeburger Dom und die späte Stauferzeit*, ed. by Matthias Puhle, exhibition catalogue, Kulturhistorisches Museum, Magdeburg, 2 vols (Mainz: Zabern, 2009), I, pp. 180–91 (p. 187).

128 Wolfgang Schmid, 'Reliquienjagd am Oberrhein. Karl

IV. erwirbt Heiltum für den Prager Dom', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 159 (2011), pp. 131–209 (p. 182).

129 See, in particular, Gisela Schwering-Illert, *Die ehemalige französische Abteikirche Saint-Sauveur in Charroux (Vienne) im 11. und 12. Jh. Ein Vorschlag zur Rekonstruktion und Deutung der romanischen Bauteile* (Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1963), pp. 27–35; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 44–51.

130 The True Cross did not, however, entirely disappear, for it was later given or sold to King Charles VII (1422–61).

131 Ed. in Pierre de Monsabert, *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, 'Archives Historiques du Poitou', 39 (Poitiers: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1910), p. 40.

132 Ed. in Monsabert, *Chartes et documents*, pp. 8–9.

133 During the thirteenth century, this composite reliquary was itself installed in a new arrangement where it was presented by two angels. Perhaps hidden during the Wars of Religion, in 1856 it was rediscovered with another reliquary in one of the cloister walls. See Robert Favreau and Marie-Thérèse Camus, *Charroux* (Poitiers: Oudin, 1989), pp. 25–26; for the engolpion, see Jannic Durand, ed., *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), no. 231, pp. 317–18. At the beginning of the 1990s, the object contained a wooden cross, two bones, and a piece of horn: see Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 177, note 111.

134 Only the tower is still extant. See Marie-Thérèse Camus, 'À propos de la rotonde de Charroux', in *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes*, ed. by Christian Sapin and Monique Jannet (Dijon: Éditions de l'Université de Dijon, 1996), pp. 119–33.

135 Alfons Becker, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France', in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade*, 'Collection de l'École française de Rome', 236 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), pp. 127–40 (p. 135).

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137 Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*, pp. 155, note 23, 172, note 89, and 175, note 105.

138 Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*, pp. 51–68.

139 See in particular Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 14–20.

140 This treatise is only preserved in two manuscripts, probably copied at Echternach between 1110 and 1140–50. Thiofridus Epternacensis, *Flores epytaphii sanctorum*, especially pp. xLIX–L of the introduction.

141 Guibertus de Novigento, *De sanctis et eorum pigneribus*, ed. by Robert B. C. Huygens, 'CCCM', 127 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1996), pp. 110 and 113. For a comparison with the miracle narratives of Saint-Médard, see Karin Fuchs, *Zeichen und Wunder bei Guibert von Nogent. Kommunikation, Deutungen und Funktionalisierung von Wundererzählungen im 12. Jahrhundert*, 'Pariser Historische Studien', 84 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2008), pp. 203, 205–06, and 208–10. Guibert's treatise is preserved in a unique manuscript copied at Nogent around 1119–20.

142 Marinus B. Pranger, 'Le sacrement de l'eucharistie et la prolifération de l'imaginaire aux xɪᵉ et xɪɪᵉ siècles', in *Fête-Dieu, 1246–1996*, ed. by André Haquin, 2 vols, 'Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales. Textes, études, congrès', 19 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1999), I, pp. 97–116.

143 Beate Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints: Sainte Foy of Conques and the Revival of Monumental Sculpture in Medieval Art*, trans. by Andrew Griebeler, 'Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages', 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015) [original version: *Ecce fides. Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen*, 2007], pp. 83–147; on the artists see Pierre Alain Mariaux, 'Eucharistie et création d'image autour de l'an Mil. Le crucifix de Géron', in *Les pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. by Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau, and Dominique Rigaux, 2 vols (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 2009), II, pp. 1043–55; for seals see Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages*, 'Visualizing the Middle Ages', 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

144 Peter Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters*, 'Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie', new series, 4 (Breslau: Müller and Seiffert, 1938), pp. 117–18.

145 Theologians would comment only later on Eucharistic miracles: Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder*, pp. 177–202; Godefridus J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction*, 'Studies in the History of Christian Thought', 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1995) [original version: *De eucharistie- en reliekverering in de middeleeuwen. Middeleeuwse eucharistie-devotie en reliekverering in onderlinge samenhang*, 1989], p. 310; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 87 and 297, note 5.

146 Benedictus Canonicus, *Ordo Romanus*, ed. by Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, *Le 'Liber Censuum' de l'Église Romaine*, 6 vols (Paris: Fontemoing, 1889–1910), II (1910), pp. 141–77 (p. 159).

147 Johannes Diaconus, *Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae*, ed. and trans. in Eivor Andersen Oftestad, *The Lateran Church in Rome and the Ark of the Covenant: Housing the Holy Relics of Jerusalem. With an Edition and Translation of the Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae (BAV Reg. Lat. 712)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019), pp. 216–32 (pp. 219 and 226).

148 Innocentius III, *De sacro Altaris Mysterio*, ed. and trans. by Stanislao Fioramonti, *Innocenzo III. Il sacrosanto Mistero dell'Altare (De sacro altaris mysterio)*, 'Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica', 15 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2002), pp. 312–13.

149 Bartholomeus Tridentinus, *Liber epilogorum in gesta sanctorum*, ch. 25, ed. by Emore Paoli, 'Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini', 1, 1 (Florence: Sismel / Galluzzo, 2001), p. 43.

150 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ch. 13, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols, 'Millennio Medievale', 6 (Florence: Sismel / Galluzzo, 1998), I, pp. 128–29; trans. by William Granger Ryan, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; repr. 2012), p. 77.

151 Ralf Lützelschwab, 'Zwischen Heilsvermittlung und Ärgernis – das *preputium Domini* im Mittelalter', in 'Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval', pp. 601–28.

152 In what follows I revisit reflections first made in Philippe Cordez, 'Images ludiques et politique féodale. Les matériels d'échecs dans les églises du XIᵉ siècle', in 'Tempus ludendi. Chiesa e ludicità nella società tardo-medioevale (sec. XII–XV)', ed. by Yann Dahhaoui and Gherardo Ortalli, special issue, *Ludica. Annali di storia e civiltà del gioco*, 13–14 (2007–08), pp. 115–36 and explored in greater depth in Philippe Cordez, 'O jogo de xadrez. Imagem, poder e Igreja (fim do século X – início do século XII)', in 'A Imagem Medieva. História e Teoria', ed. by Maria Cristina Pereira Leandro Correia and Eduardo Hendrik Aubert, special issue, *Revista de História*, 165 (2011), pp. 93–120.

153 *Versus de scachis*, ed. by Gabriel Silagi and Bernhard Bischof, 'MGH Poetae latini medii aevi', 5, 3 (Munich: MGH, 1979), pp. 652–55. See also Helena M. Gamer, 'The Earliest Evidence of Chess in Western Literature: The Einsiedeln Verses', *Speculum*, 29, no. 4 (1954), pp. 734–50.

154 For an overview, see Alain Guerreau, 'Féodalité', in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Occident médiéval*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris: Fayard, 1999), pp. 387–406.

155 On the history of the game of chess and in particular its transformations over the course of the Middle Ages, see Harold James Ruthven Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913; repr. 2007).

156 The metaphor of a game is recurrent in these studies. For a recent example, see Claudia Garnier and Hermann Kamp, eds., *Spielregeln der Mächtigen. Mittelalterliche Politik zwischen Gewohnheit und Konvention* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010). On the role of images in particular, see Hagen Keller, 'Ritual, Symbolik und Visualisierung in der Kultur des ottonischen Reiches', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 35 (2001), pp. 23–59; Gerd Althoff, 'Die Bilder der mittelalterlichen Historiographie', in *Die Bildlichkeit symbolischer Akte*, pp. 23–35.

157 Antje Kluge-Pinsker, *Schach und Trictrac. Zeugnisse mittelalterlicher Spielfreude aus salischer Zeit*, 'Römisch-germanisches Zentralmuseum. Monographien', 30 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991); Mathieu Grandet and Jean-François Goret, eds., *Échecs et trictrac. Fabrication et usages des jeux de tables au Moyen Âge*, exhibition catalogue, Musée du Château, Mayenne (Paris: Errance, 2012).

158 For other objects, see Philippe Buc, 'Conversion of Objects', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 28 (1997), pp. 99–143.

159 On this structure, see Silke Schomburg, 'Der Ambo Heinrichs II. im Aachener Dom' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aachen, Technische Hochschule, 1998), especially pp. 85–97 for the chess pieces; Karen Rose Mathews, 'Expressing Political Legitimacy and Cultural Identity through the Use of Spolia on the Ambo of Henry II', *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*, 5 (1999), pp. 156–83.

160 Today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna: Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magie der Steine. Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Vienna: Brandstätter, 2008), pp. 84–91.

161 Only the vessels in rock crystal and glass imitating agate (top, right, and left) are original. Lydia Konnegen and Gunnar Heuschkel, *En détail. Der Ambo Heinrichs II. im Aachener Dom*, exhibition catalogue, Domschatzkammer, Aachen (Aachen: Domkapitel, 2002), pp. 18–19.

162 See the three charters of Henry II on www.klosterarchiv.ch (accessed October 15, 2019).

163 A fifth count at the bottom left, in the place where one would expect a king or a queen, is the exception to this rule.

164 Schomburg, 'Der Ambo Heinrichs II.', pp. 18–31 and 91.

165 Henry II returned regularly to Aachen: Thomas Zotz, 'Die Gegenwart des Königs. Zur Herrschaftspraxis Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.' [1997]; repr. in *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, 'Mittelalter-Forschungen', 1 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000,), pp. 349–86 (p. 384).

166 See Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade. Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), p. 281.

167 On the history of this idea and its application to sovereignty, see Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages*, trans. by C. J. Gemma Simmonds (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007) [original version: *Corpus Mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Âge. Étude historique*, 1944], pp. 3–7 on the assimilation of the body of Christ with the Church during antiquity and the early Middle Ages; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; repr. with a new intr. by Conrad Leyser and a preface by William Chester Jordan, 2016), pp. 42–86 on the assimilation of the king and Christ; Tilman Struve, *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter*, 'Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters', 16 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978).

168 Stefan Weinfurter, 'Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action: The Case of Henry II', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Geary (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute / Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 19–37.

169 Eliza Garrison, *Ottonian Imperial Art and Portraiture: The Artistic Patronage of Otto III and Henry II* (Farnham / Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 87–163.

170 Ed. in *Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins*, ed. by Haarry Bresslau and others, 2 vols, 'MGH, Diplomata', H II (Hanover: Hahn, 1901–03), no. 277, p. 327; see John William Bernhardt, 'King Henry II of Germany: Royal Self-Representation and Historical Memory', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, pp. 39–69 (pp. 56–57, trans. p. 56).

171 Islamic objects in crystal became more common in Europe following the sacking of the Fatimid palace at Cairo around 1069: see Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, 'Ars Faciendi', 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996; revised ed. 1998), pp. 56–71; Sophie Makariou and Gabriel Martinez-Gros, 'Le trésor du palais fatimide du Caire. Inventaire du profane, mécanisme de dispersion et pieuse conservation', in 'Les trésors des églises à l'époque romane', pp. 193–202 (p. 198 for chess sets).

172 On this object, only mentioned at a late date and with an attribution to Charlemagne (in Ernst Hermes, *Der Dom zu Halberstadt. Seine Geschichte und seine Schätze. Eine Festschrift zum 18. September 1896* [Halberstadt: Koch, 1896], p. 125), see Andrea Lermer, 'Schachstein', in *Der Heilige Schatz im Dom zu Halberstadt*, ed. by Harald Meller, Ingo Mundt, and Boje E. Hans Schmuhl (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), no. 2, pp. 46–47. On the offering of the scepter, see Gerd Althoff, 'Magdeburg – Halberstadt – Merseburg. Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen', in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. by Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert, 'Vorträge und Forschungen', 46 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), pp. 267–93.

173 On this object, see Géza Jászai, *Die Domkammer der Kathedralkirche Sankt Paulus in Münster. Kommentare zu ihrer Bilderwelt* (Münster: Kapitel, 1991), pp. 16 and 77–78. On Otto III and Münster, see Joseph Prinz, 'Prebenda regis', in *Monasterium. Festschrift zum 700jährigen Weihegedächtnis des Paulus-Domes zu Münster*, ed. by Alois Schröer (Münster: Regensberg, 1966), pp. 511–45 (pp. 522 and 540, note 131, pp. 537–38 on the object), and above all Manfred Groten, 'Von der Gebetsverbrüderung zum Königskanonikat. Zur Vorgeschichte und Entwicklung der Königskanonikate an den Dom- und Stiftskirchen des deutschen Reiches', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 103 (1983), pp. 1–34 (pp. 7–8).

174 *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, Bamberg: no. 6, pp. 17–19 (p. 18); Spire: no. 84, pp. 89–90 (p. 90).

175 *Versus de scachis*, p. 653.

176 *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, no. 91, p. 96.

177 Ulrich Knapp, ed., *Ego sum Hildensemensis. Bischof, Domkapitel und Dom in Hildesheim 815 bis 1810*, exhibition catalogue, Dom-Museum, Hildesheim, 'Kataloge des Dom-Museums Hildesheim', 3 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2000), no. D 4, p. 488, where this pawn is not recognized at a chess piece.

178 Walter Borchers, *Der Osnabrücker Domschatz*, 'Osnabrücker Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen', 19 (Osnabrück: Wenner, 1974), pp. 32–34 and 174, and Claude Joly, *Voyage fait à Munster en Westphalie, et autres lieux voisins, en 1646 et 1647* (Paris: Prome, 1670), p. 180. Hermann Queckenstedt, 'Schachspiel Karls des Großen', in *Karl der Große / Charlemagne. Orte der Macht*, ed. by Frank Pohle, exhibition catalogue, Rathaus, Aachen, 2 vols (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014), I, *Katalog*, no. 236, pp. 202–03.

179 Hans-Werner Goetz, 'Die bischöfliche Politik in Westfalen und ihre historiographische Legitimierung während des Investiturstreits', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 141 (1991), pp. 307–28 (particularly pp. 317–20). See also a number of the essays in Hermann Queckenstedt and Bodo Zehm, eds., *Der Dom als Anfang. 1225 Jahre Bistum und Stadt Osnabrück*, 'Das Bistum Osnabrück, Schriften zur Archäologie des Osnabrücker Landes', 4 (Osnabrück: Dom-Buchhandlung, 2005).

180 Odo Fossatensis, *Vita Burchardi comitis*, ed. by Charles de La Roncière, *Vie de Bouchard le Vénérable, comte de Vendôme, de Corbeil, de Melun et de Paris (Xᵉ et XIᵉ siècles)* (Paris: Picard, 1892), p. 28 (the editor reads *locum* rather than *iocum*).

181 Ed. in Petro de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus, hoc est, Geographica & historica descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis, & circumjacentium populorum* (1688; repr. Barcelona: Base, 1998), no. 162, col. 974; Murray, *A History of Chess*, p. 405.

182 *Iter pro peregrinis ad Compostellam*, intr., ed., trans.,

and notes by Paula Gerson and others, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela: A Critical Edition*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1998), I, p. 38.

183 Ed. in Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nîmes*, 7 vols (1744–58; repr. Nîmes: Lacour, 1988–89), II, p. 266. No chess pieces are cited in the inventories of 1491, 1552, and 1562 (IV, pp. 55, 194, and 303).

184 *Liber Feudorum Maior. Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. by Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols (Barcelona: Caridad, 1945–47), I, p. 523. See also Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du xe à la fin du xie siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975–76), II, p. 500.

185 *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, ed. by Luca Robertini (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1994), p. 236 (p. 65 for the date of the text); trans. (from an earlier ed.) by Pamela Sheingorn: *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 194 and 195, note 34 on the date of the events.

186 On this type of ex-voto see Anne-Marie Bautier, 'Typologie des ex-voto mentionnés dans des textes antérieurs à 1200', in *La piété populaire au Moyen Âge*, 'Actes du congrès national des sociétés savantes, section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610', 99, 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1977), pp. 237–82 (pp. 262–69). On Saint Foy see in particular Fricke, *Fallen Idols, Risen Saints*, p. 218, and p. 217 for the episode involving the chessboard.

187 *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, p. 237.

188 *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, ed. pp. 237–38; trans. pp. 195–96.

189 The resolution of this conflict is discussed in Dominique Barthélemy, *Chevaliers et miracles. La violence et le sacré dans la société féodale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2004), p. 100.

190 Manuel Casamar and Fernando Valdés Fernández, 'Les objets égyptiens en cristal de roche dans al-Andalus, éléments pour une réflexion archéologique', in *L'Égypte fatimide, son art et son histoire*, ed. by Marianne Barrucand (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1999), pp. 367–81 (pp. 376–78). Arnau Mir de Tost did own a chess set: see Pedro Sanahuja, *Historia de la Villa de Ager* (Barcelona: Serafica, 1961), pp. 339–49 (especially pp. 340 and 349).

191 Casamar and Valdés Fernández, 'Les objets égyptiens en cristal de roche dans al-Andalus', pp. 374–76.

192 Augusto Quintana Prieto, *Peñalba. Estudio histórico sobre el Monasterio Berciano de Santiago de Peñalba* (León: Nebrija, 1963; repr. 1978), p. 114.

193 Fernando Valdés Fernández, *Las figuras de ajedrez y cristal de roca del museo catedralicio de Ourense* (Ourense: Grupo Francisco de Moure, 2004).

194 Charles de Beaurepaire, 'Anciens inventaires du trésor de l'abbaye de Fécamp', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 20 (1859), pp. 153–69 and 399–411 (pp. 155 and 163); Lucien Musset, 'Le mécénat des princes normands au xie siècle', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Xavier Barral i Altet, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1986–90), II, *Commande et travail* (1987), pp. 121–34 (p. 123).

195 Charles de Linas, 'Le trésor et la bibliothèque de l'église métropolitaine de Rouen, au xiie siècle', *Revue de l'art chrétien*, new series, 4 (1886), pp. 455–67 (p. 462); Jacques Le Maho, 'Le trésor de la cathédrale de Rouen de l'époque mérovingienne aux premières années du xiiie siècle', in *Les Trésors de sanctuaires de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Caillet, 'Université de Paris X-Nanterre, Centre de recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Âge', 7 (Paris: Picard, 1996), pp. 123–35 (p. 135).

196 A king or queen in crystal, probably Fatimid and dating from the late tenth century: Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Nobiles officinae. Die königlichen Hofwerkstätten zu Palermo zur Zeit der Normannen und Staufer im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, exhibition catalogue, Palazzo dei Normanni, Palermo; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum / Milan: Skira, 2004), pp. 175–76.

197 Black and white figures are attested in 1510: Anna Rotondo, 'L'Arcivescovo Federico Fregoso nella storia della Diocesi di Salerno e la Santa Visita del 1510–1511', *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 15 (1954), pp. 151–80 (p. 171).

198 *Annales Pegavienses*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, 'MGH, SS', 16 (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), pp. 232–70 (pp. 240–41 and 246). On Wiprecht, see Marco Innocenti, 'Wiprecht von Groitzsch', in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz and Traugott Bautz, 39 vols (Hamm / Herzberg / Nordhausen: Bautz), XXII (2003), cols 1551–56. On the foundation of the monastery, see Enno Bünz, 'Wiprecht von Groitzsch und der hl. Jakobus', in *Der Jakobuskult in Sachsen*, ed. by Klaus Herbers and Enno Bünz, 'Jakobus-Studien', 17 (Tübingen: Narr, 2007), pp. 61–95 (pp. 82 and 84 on the role of Vratislav in relation to Wiprecht).

199 *Cantatorium sancti Huberti*, ed. by Karl Hanquet, *La Chronique de Saint-Hubert dite 'Cantatorium'* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906), p. 208; trans. by Aimé Louis Philémon de Robaux de Soumoy, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert dite Cantatorium* (1847; repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1982), p. 135. Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, 'The Commemoration of Patrons and Gifts in Chronicles from the Diocese of Liège, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries', *Revue bénédictine*, 109 (1999), pp. 208–43 (p. 215).

200 Jean-Michel Mehl, *Les jeux au royaume de France du xiiie au début du xvie siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), p. 124, note 89.

201 Ulrich Schädler, 'Eine Bergkristall-Schachfigur in der Schweiz', in *Festschrift für Egbert Meissenburg – Schachforschungen / Festschrift for Egbert Meissenburg – International Research in Chess*, ed. by Siegfried Schönle (Vienna: Refordis, 2008), pp. 654–67.

202 *Recognitio reliquiarum anno 1197* (= *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, no. 856), ed. in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur [...]*, ed. by Jean Bolland and others, 68 vols (Antwerp / Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1925), XI, no. 1, col. 80c. Alain Dierkens, 'Une abbaye médiévale face à son passé. Saint-Pierre de Mozac, du ixe au xiie siècle', in *Écrire son histoire. Les communautés régulières face à leur passé*, ed. by Nicole Bouter, 'Travaux et recherches', 18 (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), pp. 71–105 (pp. 85–86 and 104–05).

203 Cited in Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, and Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Le trésor de Saint-Denis. Inventaire de 1634*, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1973–77), II, p. 213.

204 See Gaborit-Chopin, *Le trésor de Saint-Denis*, pp. 130–41 (p. 141). For other hypotheses, see Michel Pastoureau, *L'échiquier de Charlemagne. Un jeu pour ne pas jouer* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), pp. 34–36; Lucinia Speciale, 'Il gioco dei Re: intorno agli "Scacchi di Carlomagno"', in *Medioevo. La Chiesa e il Palazzo*, ed. by Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, 'I convegni di Parma', 8 (Milan: Electa, 2007), pp. 238–48 (pp. 245–46).

205 For what follows, see Françoise Gasparri, 'La politique de l'abbé Suger de Saint-Denis à travers ses chartes', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 46 (2003), pp. 233–45.

206 Jens Peter Clausen, 'Suger, faussaire de chartes', in *Suger en question. Regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*, ed. by Rolf Große (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 109–16 (pp. 112–14).

207 On the competition between Saint-Denis and Saint-Rémi during the twelfth century, see Mario Kramp, *Kirche, Kunst und Königsbild. Zum Zusammenhang von Politik und Kirchenbau im capetingischen Frankreich des 12. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der drei Abteien Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-Prés und Saint-Remi / Reims* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1995), especially pp. 289–90.

208 Sugerius Sancti Dionysii, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, ch. 27, ed. and trans. by Henri Waquet, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1929; repr. 1964), pp. 207–08 and 214–17; trans., intr., and notes by Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1992), pp. 121–22 and 126.

209 Françoise Gasparri, 'Le programme iconographique de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis au xiie siècle', in *L'image dans la pensée et l'art du Moyen Âge*, ed. by Michel Lemoine (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 115–34; Lucas Burkart, *Das Blut der Märtyrer. Genese, Bedeutung und Funktion mittelalterlicher Schätze*, 'Norm und Struktur. Studien zum sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und früher

Neuzeit', 31 (Cologne / Weimar / Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 156–96.

210 Rolf Große, 'Saint-Denis und das Papsttum zur Zeit des Abtes Suger', in *Die französische Kirche und das Papsttum (10.–13. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Rolf Große, 'Studien und Dokumente zur Gallia Pontificia', 1 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1993), pp. 219–38 (pp. 233–35 for the hypothesis of a link between the failure of this false charter of Charlemagne and the papal acts of 1129–31).

211 I would like to thank Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty for allowing me to examine this object preserved in the Musée national du Moyen Âge in Paris. See Kluge-Pinsker, *Schach und Trictrac*, pp. 30–32. It is not mentioned in the inventories of Reims Cathedral and Saint-Rémi assembled in Prosper Tarbé, *Trésors des églises de Reims* (Reims: Assy, 1843).

212 On the assimilation of ecclesiastical buildings and the institution of the Church, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), pp. 119–52, and 521–37 for the figure of the king as a builder of churches.

213 Robert Henri Bautier, 'Sacres et couronnements sous les Carolingiens et les premiers Capétiens. Recherches sur la genèse du sacre royal français', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* (1987–88), pp. 7–56 (pp. 52–53).

214 Until now, comparisons have dated the chess piece to the late eleventh century: Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser. VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols, 'Die Elfenbeinskulpturen', 1–2 (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1914–18), II, pp. 43–44; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Âge* (Freiburg: Office du livre, 1978), p. 196.

215 Lawrence Nees, 'The *Fastigium* of Saint-Remi ("the Tomb of Hincmar") at Reims', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. by Robert A. Maxwell (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), pp. 31–52 and 211–21.

216 Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII', in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. by Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 95–103 (p. 100); Michel Pastoureau, 'Une fleur pour le roi. Jalons pour une histoire médiévale de la fleur de lis', in Michel Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), pp. 99–110.

217 Jenny Adams, *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

218 Isabelle Bardiès, François Heber-Suffrin, and Pierre-Édouard Wagner, eds., *Le chemin des reliques. Témoignages précieux et ordinaires de la vie religieuse à Metz au Moyen Âge*, exhibition catalogue, Musées de la Cour d'or, Metz (Metz: Éditions Serpenoise, 2000), p. 32.

219 The reliquary was identified as a chessboard in 1618, but the attribution to Charlemagne is first attested in 1897. See Isabel M. Herraez Martin, 'Restauracion de esmaltes sobre plata. El Ajedrez de Carlomagno', in *Preprints of the 13ᵗʰ Triennial Meeting of the ICOM Committee for Conservation*, ed. by Roy Vontobel, 2 vols (London: James & James, 2002), I, pp. 841–45.

220 Oliver Plessow, Volker Honemann, and Mareike Temmen, *Mittelalterliche Schachzabelbücher zwischen Spielsymbolik und Wertevermittlung. Der Schachtraktat des Jacobus de Cessolis im Kontext seiner spätmittelalterlichen Rezeption*, 'Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme. Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 496', 12 (Münster: Rhema, 2007).

221 Johann Michael Fritz, 'Der Rückdeckel des Plenars Herzog Ottos des Milden von 1339 und verwandte Werke', in *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, ed. by Joachim Ehlers and Dietrich Kötzsche (Mainz: Zabern, 1998), pp. 369–85, pl. 23–24.

222 For other chessboards transformed into reliquaries, see Monique Rey-Delqué, ed., *Toulouse sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques. De saint Saturnin au 'Tour des Corps Saints' (vᵉ–xviiᵉ siècles)*, exhibition catalogue, Ensemble conventuel des Jacobins, Toulouse (Milan: Skira / Paris: Seuil, 1999), no. 117, pp. 225–27; Katja Schneider and others, eds., *Der Kardinal. Albrecht von Brandenburg, Renaissancefürst und Mäzen*, I, pp. 248–49.

223 Ed. in Wilhelm Anton Neumann, *Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Vienna: Hölder, 1891), p. 247.

224 On the presence of relics in book bindings see Anatole Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, 'Archives de l'Orient chrétien', 8 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1965), pp. 71–73; Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), pp. 53–54.