Re-approaching the Western medieval church treasury inventory, c. 800-1250

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Introduction

As a typical example of an early medieval church treasury inventory, consider the following from the Benedictine abbey at Kremsmünster, drawn up c. 1013 under Abbot Sigimar and recorded in a late Carolingian evangeliary at the abbey:

> The treasury [*thesaurus*] of the church of St. Agapitus, [whose current condition] Abbot Sigimar ascertained [*repperit*]. Twenty-six albs. Ten scarlet copes. Four chasubles. Sixteen stoles. Four crosses furnished with gold, one silvered. Four silver chalices with patens, one gold [chalice] with a paten. Two candelabra furnished with gold and silver. One gold thurible, the next bronze [*eneum*] and gilt. These are the books, that Abbot Sigimar ascertained ...[1]

The language is Latin. A simple introduction identifies the text but omits the occasion for its making. Both vestments and objects are inventoried in clipped, minimal records largely restricted to object type, number, and material. In this way, the inventory functions less as an autonomous description of these objects and more as a mnemonic tool, functionally dependent upon a reader already familiar with the treasury.[2] As is typical for such an administrative document, the inventory was recorded in blank space, haphazardly chosen, within one of the monastery's most precious books. Three of the recorded objects possibly survive today (a chalice and

[1] *Thesaurus ecclesie sancti Agapiti, quem repperit Sigimarus abbas. Talares XXVI. X Cappe coccinee. IIII Casulas. XVI Stole. IIII Cruces auro paratos, I deargentatum. IIII Calices argentei cum patenis, I aureus cum patena. II Candelabra auro et argento parata. I Turribulum aureum, alterum eneum et deauratum. Isti sunt libri, quos repperit Sigimarus abbas* ... [then follows the book inventory]. Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated. For the inventory text see Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse: Teil I: Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Munich: Prestel Verlag, 47, cat. 39. For the text of the book inventory see Willibrord Neumüller and Kurt Holter, eds, *Die mittelalterlichen Bibliotheksverzeichnisse des Stiftes Kremsmünster*, Linz: Verlag des Amtes der Oberösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1950, 12-18. For additional bibliography on the inventory and its host manuscript see note 73 below.

[2] Jennifer L. Kingsley discusses treasury inventories as mnemonic texts in 'Picturing the Treasury: The Power of Objects and the Art of Memory in the Bernward Gospels', *Gesta*, 50, 2011, 24.

two candelabra), but the inventory adds little data beyond what can be gleaned from analyzing the objects themselves. Apart from documenting a typical treasury of typical size with typical contents for such an abbey at that time, the inventory does not necessarily demand the art historian's attention.

If, however, the inventory is treated as a calculated, layered text, it invites excavation. These inventories, whose terse, flat language masks underlying agendas, aspirations, and biases, were instrumental in enacting broader value systems of medieval society. In addition to the content of these texts, the circumstances of their function, circulation, recording, and storage further inform our understanding of the ways in which treasury objects were valued, conceptualized, and seen. Such analyses quickly bloom into broader questions of visibility, truth, and object ontology that resonate within many areas of art history. To these ends, this essay will first consider the overall function of these texts; the *mise-en-page* of the written inventories, that is, how they are disposed within the space of the page; and, by extension, the *mise-en-livre* of treasury inventories, i.e., in which books, and where within these books, they are typically recorded. The content of these inventories will then be questioned, in particular the vocabulary used to describe objects, materials, techniques of fabrication, and object origins, as well as the internal organization of data. Finally, early medieval (pre-1250) church inventories will be briefly compared to book inventories, secular inventories, and late medieval ecclesiastical inventories. The observations offered throughout are intended to introduce and demonstrate, and they do not pretend to exhaust the topic. For reasons of historiography noted below, the majority of the inventories discussed hail from German-speaking areas.

The need to periodically inventory a treasury—a dynamic ensemble that expanded and contracted per the fortunes of its host institution, and which was comprised of many potentially liquid and easily alienable precious-metal objects—seems self-evident. A recorded list of objects could assist with maintenance, storage, evaluation, and liturgical administration. The notoriously sparse and deceptively simple language of medieval treasury inventories, however, falsely implies a degree of detached objectivity in the inventory's composition, which in turn has tended to deflect scholarly attention from the richness and density, as well as the highly revealing generic conventions, of these texts.

The medieval church treasury

To understand the medieval church treasury inventory one must begin with the phenomenon of the church treasury itself.[3] The treasury resulted from the

[3] The brief remarks offered here on the function and form of the Western medieval church treasury are expanded upon in Joseph Salvatore Ackley, ''Offer him gold; that is true love': Ottonian gold repoussé and the Western medieval church treasury', PhD dissertation, New York University, 2014, 17-127.

intersection of two value systems fundamental to all facets of medieval society.[4] The first value system was generated by the otherworldly. To access the divine, the prudent Christian of the medieval West needed a method that was predictable, replicable, and safe. For the living, this access comprised both communication with the divine via earthly objects and practices (i.e., prayer and supplication) and, particular to Christianity, physical communion (via eating) with the divine made tangibly manifest in the form of the Eucharist. These moments of access came to be ritualized and eventually codified by the Church into a liturgy.[5]

Liturgists conventionally divide the medieval Christian liturgy into the Divine Office and the Mass; at the core of the Mass resides the generation and consumption of the Eucharist. At its most basic, the medieval liturgy comprised a series of public, communal performances with prescribed content and form. Medieval efforts towards orthodoxy and uniformity, however, partially mask what was in actuality a remarkably unstable, flexible, and multifaceted phenomenon. The medieval liturgy is best understood therefore as a series of variations on a conservatively unfolding template, a dynamic set of rituals that were constantly emended, locally inflected, and richly embellished.

The Mass required three hierarchically structured categories of actor: people, spaces, and objects. The substances, surfaces, and immediate spaces of these actors had to be prepared and consecrated before a liturgical performance, since certain

[4] Recent discussions that highlight the necessary interdisciplinarity of studying Western medieval church treasuries include those of Lucas Burkart, 'Schatz und Schatzbildung: Reflexionen zu disziplinärem Interesse und interdisziplinärem Zugang', in Lucas Burkart, Philippe Cordez, Pierre-Alain Mariaux, and Yann Potin, eds, *Le trésor au Moyen Age: questions de perspectives de recherche*, Neuchâtel: Institut d'histoire de l'art et de muséologie, 2005, 1-25; and Jean-Pierre Caillet, 'Le Trésor, de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane: bases de la recherche actuelle et éléments de problématique', in Jean-Pierre Caillet and Pierre Bazin, eds, *Les Trésors de sanctuaires, de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane*, Paris: Picard, 1996, 5-18.

[5] A brief selection of scholarly introductions to the Western medieval liturgy includes Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005; Cheslyn Jones, ed, *The Study of Liturgy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; and Herman A. J. Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*, trans. by Gordon W. Lathrop, New York: Pueblo, 1985, especially 143-238 for a succinct overview of the Latin liturgy from Gregory the Great to the Council of Trent. Especially helpful is Jürgen Bärsch, who provides a succinct overview with bibliography, of the medieval liturgy with special emphasis on the church treasury in 'Kirchenraum und Kirchenschatz im Horizont des mittelalterlichen Gottesdienstes. Die Liturgie als Sinnträger für Gebrauch und Funktion gottesdienstlicher Räume und Kunstwerke', *... das Heilige sichtbar machen: Domschätze in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, ed, Ulrike Wendland, Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2010, 31-58. Instructive remarks on the historiography of the medieval liturgy, and a renewed call for its increased incorporation into medieval art history, can be found in the relatively recent Susanne Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retabel: Kunst und Liturgie bei Wibald von Stablo*, Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004, 41-46.

spaces and surfaces—the interior of a church, the hands of a celebrant, the interior of a chalice—became especially fertile sites for both manifesting and/or containing the divine in its tangible, visible species. In addition to the Eucharist, the 'tangible divine' encompassed relics, which were infused with *virtus*, a (somewhat nebulously defined) power from God. Relics would be sealed within either portable reliquaries or select spaces within the church architecture, from the altar to column capitals. Liturgical objects, as compared to architecture and people, enjoyed the most immediate, physical contact with the tangible divine. While human mouths, tongues, eyes (given the tactile nature of medieval vision[6]), and, to a lesser extent, hands could sometimes touch the divine, Christ's blood would have been cradled in chalices, relics would have been tightly wrapped in precious textiles before being sealed away, and so on.

These liturgical objects, all portable and designed to be handled, collectively comprised a church's *thesaurus*, 'treasury'.[7] *Thesaurus* denotes both container and contained, both the concept and physical space of a treasury and the objects themselves. The most sacred treasury objects were those that touched the tangible divine, i.e., chalices, patens, ciboria, and reliquaries. They were joined by the vestments, textiles, books, furnishings, and other objects necessary to both perform and ornament the liturgy, i.e., candlesticks, crosses, thuribles, votive crowns, hanging lamps, and more. The treasury could also include, at least in concept, such non-portable items as church bells and ambos, especially when clad in precious metal.[8]

[6] Although medieval understandings of vision were neither monolithic nor static, medieval thinkers generally ascribed both optic and haptic qualities to the act of seeing: to see something was (or, at least, could be) a form of touching it. For an introduction, with bibliography, to this sprawling topic see Cynthia Hahn, 'Vision', in Conrad Rudolph, ed, *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, 44-64.

[7] Following the linguistic developments of the patristic period (c. 200-735 CE) the word *thesaurus* dominates in the Early and High Middle Ages (c. 725-1250) as the Latin designation for 'treasury'. For an etymology of *thesaurus*, including Antique precedents and its relationship to the vernaculars of the High and Late Middle Ages, see Anita Guerreau-Jalabert and Bruno Bon, 'Le Trésor au Moyen Age: Etude lexicale', in Lucas Burkart, ed, *Le Trésor au Moyen Age: discours, pratiques et objets*, Florence: Sismel, 2010, 11-31. Other designations for 'treasury' include, and are not limited to, *arca*, *camera*, *gaza*, *gazophylacium*, *repositorium*, *saccellus*, *sacculus*, *sacrarium*, *scrinium*, *thesaurarium*, and *vestiarium*.

[8] A sampling of helpful surveys of the composition of the medieval church treasury includes Anton von Euw, 'Liturgische Handschriften, Gewänder und Geräte', in Anton Legner, ed, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vol. 1, Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985, 385-414; Victor H. Elbern, 'Über die mobile Ausstattung der Kirchen in ottonischer Zeit', in Matthias Puhle, ed, *Otto der Grosse: Magdeburg und Europa*, vol. 1, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001, 305-326; and Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, 'Liturgical Vessels and Implements', in Heffernan and Matter, *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 333-389. Joseph Braun's

Thus runs one explanation for the medieval church treasury. The other value system complicit in the church treasury phenomenon was that of earthly economics. Church treasuries were one of the primary sites for storing precious metal. Bluntly put, a medieval church treasury can be understood as capital temporarily frozen in the form of objects and at the ready to be melted down—a literal liquidation—and re-circulated into the economy.[9] In the form of the treasury, therefore, the spiritual and the economic, the otherworldly and the worldly, intersected.[10]

Finally, threaded throughout the treasury is a system of gifting and memorializing on the individual, dynastic, and institutional scale. An object donated to a treasury generated both heavenly rewards and earthly commemoration. Documentation buttressed the claim. Church treasury inventories, therefore, grant qualified access into this entwinement of otherworldly communion and earthly economics, a locus anxiously traversed and negotiated by the faithful, an environment mediated in part by treasury objects that touched both the human and the divine.

The medieval church treasury inventory

Church treasury inventories, similar to analogous texts such as gift records, wills, and testaments, translate objects into language, making them suddenly commensurable with other entities that have been treated thus, including secular treasury objects, land, buildings, income, produce, and people. An otherwise non-distinguished thing becomes, via the inventory, marked, reduced, quantified, and

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foundational study of treasury objects remains immensely informative. Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, Munich: M. Hueber, 1932.

[9] For examples of the selling, destruction, pillaging, pawning, and melting down of medieval church treasuries see Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 3, *L'inventaire de la propriété. Eglises et trésors des églises du commencement du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1936, 155-166; Lucas Burkart, *Das Blut der Märtyrer: Genese, Bedeutung und Funktion mittelalterlicher Schätze*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2009, 51-52; Gerhard Weilandt, *Geistliche und Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur Kultur der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche und zur Veränderung künstlerischer Traditionen im späten 11. Jahrhundert*, Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1992, 175-185; and, for late medieval examples (many from secular treasuries), Johann Michael Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa*, Munich: Beck, 1982, 106-109. Essential on the general relationship between the medieval economy and the church treasury remains Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, 'L'or et l'église au Moyen Age', *Revue de l'art*, 26, 1974, 64-77. Dominic Janes discusses how the early church molded its teaching to not only justify but demand the use of precious materials to service the divine in Dominic Janes, *God and gold in late antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 42-93.

[10] Fritz, commenting on the church treasury's frequent symbiosis of the liturgical and the economic, eloquently writes of the 'remarkably Janus-faced nature' of treasuries in Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik*, 88.

likened, via language, to other previously unlike objects; it is positioned not only as property but also as an object of exchange. Inventories of precious-metal objects, as Lucas Burkart notes, marked the first step in formally entering those objects back into economic circulation.[11]

Emile Lesne's discussion of the many functions of treasury inventories, published in 1936, remains foundational.[12] Inventories and inventory-like documents pre-date the Carolingians. Notable examples include the 'Book of Pontiffs' (*Liber pontificalis*), which records donations from the pope to Church establishments, as well as discrete examples, such as the list of gifts given by Bishop Didier (d. 621) to the churches of Auxerre.[13] The Didier lists, which are preserved in a ninth-century copy, most likely document an ensemble of Byzantine treasury objects, many decorated with Classical iconographies (which the lists describe). Per Jean Colin, the objects were inventoried probably not on the occasion of their donation, but just before they were to be melted down, thus explaining why the objects' weights are carefully given.[14]

It was under the Carolingians that church treasuries came to be systematically inventoried and quantified at the behest of the state, and the Carolingian practice provided a template for subsequent centuries.[15] For Charlemagne and his successors to take the measure of their empire in terms of land, property, people, and wealth, a bureaucratic administration compelled the creation of polyptychs (*descriptiones*), i.e., estate inventories, which quantified and

[11] Burkart, in making this argument, is discussing a fourteenth-century treasury inventory for the papal court, an inventory made for a significantly more literate and monetized community than those of early medieval church treasury inventories. His characterization of the inventory as the first step of economic quantification, however, still pertains to earlier, less monetized contexts. Lucas Burkart, 'Das Verzeichnis als Schatz. Überlegungen zu einem *Inventarium Thesauri Romane Ecclesie* der Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. Ottob. lat. 2516, fol. 126r-132r)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 86, 2006, 187.

[12] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, vol. 3, 1-83.

[13] The Didier inventory was published and translated by Jean Adhémar in 1934. Adhémar argues that the objects dated to Classical Antiquity. Colin, however, published a new reading of the Didier lists in 1947 in which he convincingly argues that the objects were most likely Byzantine and near contemporary. Colin also corrects some of Adhémar's translations, including, importantly, that for *anacleum*: whereas Adhémar translated *anacleum* to mean 'silvered copper-alloy', Colin notes instead that *anacleum* simply means 'repoussé'. See Jean Adhémar, 'Le trésor d'argenterie donné par saint Didier aux églises d'Auxerre', *Revue archéologique,* 3, 1934, 44-54; and Jean Colin, 'La plastique 'gréco-romaine' dans l'empire carolingien', *Cahiers archéologiques, fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, 2, 1947, 91-106.

[14] Colin, 'La plastique 'gréco-romaine'', 92-93.

[15] Melanie Holcomb provides an informative, succinct discussion of Carolingian inventory practices in Melanie Holcomb, 'The Function and Status of Carved Ivory in Carolingian Culture', PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1999, 31-77.

inventoried property, including church treasuries.[16] It was not uncommon for bureaucratic observers to monitor the process to validate the polyptych's accuracy.[17] As Lesne notes, such *descriptiones* benefited both the inventoried institution, as they provided an accurate assessment of resources, and the emperor, who would then have known how best to draw riches and income from Church property.[18]

In the tenth century the impulse to inventory Church establishments came not from the state but from within. The polyptych fell out of fashion. Inventories were recorded in smaller, more specialized documents, such as diplomas and charters.[19] Because inventories were written in Latin and secreted into precious manuscripts, access to them was restricted to perhaps no more than a handful of the educated elite. These inventories could carry legal weight, especially against claims of local secular authorities, however their wider world was still one of extremely limited literacy in which the written word exerted varying degrees of legal authority.

Manfred Groten notes the irony of early medieval treasury inventories: an individual inventory was rarely emended or updated, and thus it became outdated the moment the treasury gained or lost objects.[20] If a treasury inventory happened to survive the Middle Ages, either by virtue of being recorded in a precious book or copied into a cartulary with other documents of legal importance, it assisted, however modestly, in creating and maintaining an institutional history. Inventories recorded on loose parchment, however, would have been discarded once outdated.

Treasury inventories sometimes record the circumstances of their creation. Moments of addition and loss were, understandably, prime occasions for inventorying the treasury. In addition, inventories could mark the arrival of a new bishop, abbot, or *custos*, the clerical 'treasurer' (as seen in two inventories from Merseburg Cathedral[21]); the donation of objects to a treasury (such as those from a

[16] In addition to Lesne, Holcomb discusses polyptychs in Holcomb, 'The Function and Status of Carved Ivory', 35-39.

[17] An exceptional example would be Soissons, which was inventoried in the presence of Charles the Bald himself. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, vol. 3, 6-7.

[18] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, vol. 3, 5.

[19] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, vol. 3, 80-83.

[20] Manfred Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters', in Legner, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, vol. 2, 150.

[21] Bischoff publishes four inventories of Merseburg Cathedral—see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 59-61, cat. 50-53. Markus Cottin provides alternate dates for two of them. Cat. 52 and 53 were most likely drawn up upon the arrival of a new bishop. The latest inventory chronologically (cat. 53) explicitly names, and thus dates to the time of, Bishop Meingoz (1126-1137). The third inventory (cat. 52) originally named in its first line either, per Bischoff, Bishop Wigbert (1004-1009) or, per Cottin, Bishop Winither (1062-1063). This name was scraped out (only the beginning WI- remains visible) and replaced, by a late-eleventh-century hand, with WERINHERUS, a reference to Bishop Werner (1063-1093). Given that Werner was the immediate successor of Winither, it seems likely that Winither

noblewoman, Adelhaid, to the abbey at Tegernsee around 1150); the acquisition of objects via gift, commission, or purchase (the abbey at Komburg, mid-1100s); the melting down of objects (Bremen Cathedral, 1063-1066); the listing of objects that had gone missing from a treasury (Bamberg Cathedral, c. 1125-1150); the pawning of objects (Bamberg, c. 1247); the transfer of a church or monastery to a new administrative or diocesan jurisdiction (Bibereck, 842); the accounting of a treasury after a Norman invasion (*post Nordmannicam infestationem*—St. Bavo, Ghent, after 851); the temporary sequestering of the treasury to another location in anticipation of a coming invasion (Disentis, c. 940); and so on.[22] Most early medieval church treasury inventories, however, are not so explicit.

Historiography of medieval church treasury inventories

Scholarship on treasury inventories developed somewhat independently of the considerably more abundant literature on relic and especially library inventories.[23]

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was the bishop originally named in the inventory. Also modified in the inventory were three of the object tallies (the original sum crossed out, the new added above—e.g., '*III cappe*' became '*V cappe*'). The two earliest Merseburg inventories (cat. 50-51) are dated by Bischoff paleographically to, respectively, the late tenth century and the tenth or early eleventh century; Cottin, however, notes that cat. 50 dates at earliest to the early eleventh century as a church, Ölschwitz, named within the inventory, was only given to the Merseburg bishopric in 1017. The second Merseburg inventory (cat. 51) is recorded in a tenth-century pontifical (Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, Cod. membr. 57, fol. 184v). The other three Merseburg inventories are recorded, adjacently and in chronological order, in a ninth- or tenth-century Gospel lectionary (Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, Cod. membr. 54, fols. 102v-103r). For Cottin's discussion of the inventories and their correspondence to the arrival of new bishops, as well as a thorough reconstruction of the early history of the Merseburg treasury, based on a combination of chronicles and inventories, see Markus Cottin, 'Geschichte und Schicksal des Merserburger Domschatzes', in Markus Cottin, Uwe John, and Holger Kunde, eds, *Der Merseburger Dom und seine Schätze: Zeugnisse einer tausendjährigen Geschichte*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2008, 77-84. For Cottin on the dating of the first Merseburg inventory (Bischoff cat. 50) see Cottin, 'Geschichte und Schicksal', 80, note 13.

[22] The Disentis treasury was sent to Zurich (*Turegum*) for safekeeping, probably, per Bischoff, due to the 'Saracen' invasion of 940. For the St. Bavo inventory, it is interesting that an inventory of the relics immediately follows that for the treasury, however in a different hand. For the texts of these inventories see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 146, cat. 145 (Tegernsee); 142-143, cat. 140 (Komburg); 132-133, cat. 131 (Bremen); 19-20, cat. 7 (Bamberg); 20-21, cat. 8 (Bamberg); 24, cat. 13 (Bibereck); 38-39, cat. 28 (Ghent); and 28, cat. 18 (Disentis).

[23] For a brief historiography of the scholarship on medieval treasury inventories see Burkart, 'Das Verzeichnis als Schatz', 144-145. For bibliography on medieval relic lists and library catalogues see, respectively, Philippe Cordez, 'Die Reliquien: ein Forschungsfeld. Traditionslinien und neue Erkundungen', *Kunstchronik*, 60, 2007, 271-282; and Albert Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1979. The historiography of

Published editions of the texts are prerequisite. A wave of publication across nineteenth-century Europe, propelled by antiquarians and academics, released into scholarly circulation an abundance of treasury inventories from such medieval textual genres as cartularies, polyptychs, chronicles, correspondence, book inventories (often recorded adjacently to treasury inventories), and various legal and administrative documents.

Citations of published treasury inventories were eventually gathered into Fernand de Mély and Edmund Bishop's two-volume *Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés*, which appeared in 1892 and 1894.[24] In 1967 Bernhard Bischoff published his *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse: Teil I: Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1967), which remains the most useful primary source for church treasury inventories. Bischoff's publication capped a group research project begun in 1955 under the initiative of Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, from whom Bischoff had assumed stewardship of the project in 1960.[25] Bischoff's survey culled published or cited inventories from a variety of secondary sources, including the de-Mély-Bishop corpus; Lehmann-Brockhaus's two-volume *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen, und Italien* (Berlin, 1938); and foundational catalogues of medieval library inventories, including the long-running *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, the first volume of which appeared in 1918, and the five-volume *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, which began to appear in 1915.[26]

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medieval church treasury inventories is of course entwined with that of church treasuries and medieval treasury objects in general, whose historiography was recently charted by Brigitte Buettner, among others, and is not discussed in detail here. Brigitte Buettner, 'Towards a Historiography of the Sumptuous Arts', in Rudolph, *A Companion to Medieval Art*, 466-487; as well as Burkart, *Das Blut der Märtyrer*, 11-26; and Wittekind, *Altar – Reliquiar – Retable*, 33-41.

[24] De Mély and Bishop succinctly describe their method in their introduction and conclude by calling on fellow scholars to assist in their ongoing project. Their geographic scope is largely restricted to Western Europe; their temporal scope runs into the nineteenth century. They omit inventories of books, relics, and non-treasury property. Fernand de Mély and Edmund Bishop, eds, *Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés*, vol. 1, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892, v-ix. Nigel Abercrombie briefly narrates the history of the de Mély-Bishop project from the 1870s onwards in his rather enthusiastic biography of Bishop. Nigel Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop*, London: Longmans, 1959, 130-133, and 143-146.

[25] Ludwig Heydenreich narrates the history of the *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse* project in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 5-6.

[26] See Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, ed, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen, und Italien*, 2 vols., Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1938; Paul Lehmann and others, eds, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, 7 vols., Munich: Beck, 1918-present; and Theodor Gottlieb and others, eds, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, 5 vols., Vienna: Holzhausen, 1915-

Bischoff restricts his inventories to those recorded from the Carolingian era to roughly 1250. He also limits the inventory corpus to church treasuries located largely within German-speaking areas while acknowledging the historically arbitrary nature of such a geographic constraint.[27] A second volume treating later medieval inventories, as the subtitle of *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse* suggests, was planned but did not appear.[28] There is a fortuitous historical accord with Bischoff's temporal division. Church treasury inventories produced between c. 800-c. 1250 cohere as an historically specific textual genre. As will be discussed below, treasury inventories recorded during the thirteenth century and after are distinctly different in terms of content, form, vocabulary, and language, and they thus entail a different set of concerns and methods than earlier treasury inventories.

While Bischoff succinctly encapsulates the primary characteristics of church treasury inventories in his introduction, it is the work of Emile Lesne that is seminal for both the study of inventories and, more significantly, the study of the medieval church treasury as a whole.[29] Manfred Groten and Melanie Holcomb have authored recent contributions to the study of church treasury inventories that build upon Lesne and Bischoff, and this essay in turn builds upon these four.[30]

Challenges in using inventories as historical sources

These synthetic treatments of the medieval church treasury inventory are, however, the exceptions. Art history has tended to use treasury inventories for the empirical

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1971. Perhaps because of redundancy, Bischoff and his team did not avail themselves of the sources in Julius Ritter von Schlosser, ed, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, Vienna: C. Graeser, 1892; and Chrétien Dehaisnes, ed, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans le Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut, avant le XVe siècle*, Lille: L. Danel, 1886. To these primary-source collections should be added Elsmarie Knögel-Anrich, ed, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte der Merowingerzeit*, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1992 (a re-print of the 1936 edition).

[27] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 7-8.

[28] Bischoff and his students and colleagues only began to gather sources and citations for a second volume. These papers are in the possession of Wolfgang Augustyn, Deputy Director, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich. I thank Lothar Lambacher and Philippe Cordez for their comments on this.

[29] See Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 3, *L'inventaire de la propriété. Eglises et trésors des églises du commencement du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1936. Lesne, who served as the rector of the Université Catholique in Lille from 1920 to 1940, authored six volumes total on the medieval church in France; his discussion of the church treasury occupies the third. The scope of his examination is perhaps unparalleled. The sixth volume of the *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique* was published posthumously in 1943 (Lesne died in 1940).

[30] See Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters', 149-155; and Holcomb, 'The Function and Status of Carved Ivory', 31-77.

confirmation of provenance and for reconstructing lost treasuries. Extant treasury objects—a chalice, a shrine, a cross, and so on—are typically cross-referenced with whichever medieval and early-modern inventories of the host institution happen to survive in the hopes of documenting and confirming the object's location at the time of the inventory. While late medieval inventories are sometimes descriptive enough in their entries to permit such an identification, early medieval inventories are frequently far less conclusive.

Figure 1 Tassilo Chalice
c. 763-787, South Germany/Alemannic region (Salzburg? Regensburg?)
gilt copper-alloy, silver, niello
25.5 x 15.6cm
Kremsmünster, Benediktinerstift
Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York

For example, Kremsmünster, which was founded in 777 by Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria (d. c. 796), still possesses today a sumptuous chalice presumably donated by Tassilo himself, given that the duke and his wife Liutpirc are named in an inscription circling the chalice's foot (see Fig. 1).[31] The dating of the chalice is

[31] The inscription reads + *TASSILO DUX FORTIS* + *LIUTPIRC VIRGA REGALIS*, 'Tassilo, strong duke, and Liutpirc of royal progeny'. The precise dating of the chalice, while restricted to a few decades, is still contested. Tassilo reigned from 748-787/788, he married Liutpirc around 765, and Kremsmünster was founded in 777. Recent datings of the chalice range from c. 777-787/788 to 'after 768' and 'before 788' (Irmgard Siede) to, most recently, 'after 763' and 'before 788' (P. Klaudius Wintz). I support a generous date range. Select literature on the Tassilo Chalice, all with bibliography, includes Wintz in Peter van den Brink and Sarvenaz Ayooghi, eds, *Karl der Grosse: Charlemagne*, vol. 3, Dresden: Sandstein,

relatively firm: stylistically, the ornament and figural decoration (Insular-influenced though distinctly Bavarian), as well as the chalice's overall morphology, accord well with the late eighth-century dates yielded by the biographies of Liutpirc and Tassilo. The inventory of the abbey's treasury drawn up c. 1013, already discussed above, lists five chalices, 'four silver chalices with patens, one gold chalice with paten'.[32] Although the Tassilo Chalice is a copper-alloy chalice, its surface is both gilded and adorned with silver inlay, and it thus appears to be a gold and/or silver chalice. One may therefore use the Kremsmünster inventory, rather uncritically, to confirm that the Tassilo Chalice was at Kremsmünster, at least from the early eleventh century.[33] The inventory data, however, is not only redundant but tenuous. The conventional brevity of the inventory record permits only minimal differentiation among its five chalices, and it frankly precludes a positive identification of one of those chalices with the Tassilo Chalice.[34]

2014, 197, cat. 9; Siede in Bruno Reudenbach, ed, *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst*, Munich: Prestel, 2009, 487, cat. 257; Victor H. Elbern, *Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1964, 13-15 and 70-71, cat. 17; Hermann Fillitz and Martina Pippal, *Schatzkunst: Die Goldschmiede- und Elfenbeinarbeiten aus österreichischen Schatzkammern des Hochmittelalters*, Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1987, 59-63, cat. 2; and, for an exceptionally detailed survey of the various scholarly interpretations and attributions of the Tassilo Chalice from 1857 to 2005, Renate Prochno, 'Der Tassilokelch. Anmerkungen zur Forschungsgeschichte', in Lothar Kolmer and Christian Rohr, eds, *Tassilo III. von Bayern. Großmacht und Ohnmacht im 8. Jahrhundert*, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2005, 155-174.

[32] *IIII Calices argentei cum patenis, I aureus cum patena*. See note 73 below for literature on the 1013 inventory.

[33] See, for example, Wintz in van den Brink and Ayooghi, *Karl der Grosse*, 197, cat. 9.

[34] The limited evidence gleaned from the inventory could actually work towards the opposite argument, as one might ask whether the Tassilo Chalice was originally destined for Kremsmünster at all. Tassilo and Liutpirc founded and patronized multiple church establishments, and the chalice inscription does not name 'Kremsmünster'. The value of such a question, however, is minimal, and such an inquiry, at least in this instance, is not particularly productive. Many church establishments, including Kremsmünster, preserve objects that were originally given to them in the Early Middle Ages; the fact that the chalice has been firmly documented at Kremsmünster since the early modern period thus supports the assumption that the chalice has always been at the monastery. More importantly, the questions art historians typically ask of the Tassilo Chalice would be minimally impacted by the sudden knowledge that the chalice had actually been donated to another establishment patronized by Tassilo and came only later to Kremsmünster, especially because Tassilo's patronage was largely restricted to eighth-century Bavaria. Still, it is worth mentioning that, as Prochno notes, in 1932 Romuald Bauerreiβ advanced (with some circular reasoning) the provocative and rather eccentric argument that the Tassilo Chalice was originally donated to Niedernburg in Passau, another establishment founded and patronized by Tassilo. Bauerreiβ's argument, which ultimately found no following, hinges upon a re-identification of the two still unidentifiable medallion figures on the foot as patron saints of Niedernburg

Even if an extant object could be positively identified within an early medieval treasury inventory, the inventory data would matter little to efforts to date and localize the object since treasury objects—portable, highly mobile luxury objects—frequently moved. Inventories and inventory-related texts are slightly more useful when considering larger, less mobile objects, such as monumental crosses or antependia. Overall, provenance data generated by an inventory is of variable importance and dependent upon the inquiry at hand.[35]

Likewise, inventories are both revelatory and frustrating sources for reconstructing entire treasuries. The lexicon of medieval treasury objects is semantically unstable, and a single word could carry multiple referents. Recent scholarship, such as Klaus Gereon Beuckers's critically aware reconstruction of the early-twelfth-century treasury at Gandersheim, models how these issues of vocabulary can be negotiated.[36] Edward Foley uses a 1234 ordinary from Saint-Denis to reconstruct a hypothetical inventory of the abbey's treasury, an 'inventory' whose objects Foley then contextualizes within the liturgy as it was specifically documented at Saint-Denis.[37] Occasionally, multiple inventories of a single treasury

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and Pfaffmünster (a monastery located today in Münster bei Straubing). For a summary of Bauerreiβ's hypothesis see Prochno, 'Der Tassilokelch', 161-162.

[35] For historians, and by extension art historians, treasury inventories, which are occasionally replete with dates, locations, and the names of donors (sometimes lay) and recipients, often yield valuable historical data. Bischoff indicates when a treasury inventory is indeed one of the few, if not the only, sources documenting the existence of a (usually modestly sized) church. See, for example, the inventories for the parish churches at Bibereck, Bubach, Mauern, Passau (tentatively), Villip (near Bonn), and Wieblingen (near Heidelberg) in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 24, 26, 58, 73, 101, and 107, cat. 13, 15, 49, 65, 97, and 107.

[36] The Gandersheim inventory was recorded on the second to last blank page of a c. 860 Metz evangeliary (Veste Coburg, Ms. 1, fol. 167v). The occasion for the inventory is not stated; Beuckers speculates that the inventory could have been made following the reconstruction of the nave and crypt, or perhaps upon the 1111/1112 arrival of Abbess Agnes. See Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 35-36, cat. 26; and Klaus Gereon Beuckers, 'Das älteste Gandersheimer Schatzverzeichnis und der Gandersheimer Kirchenschatz des 10./11. Jahrhunderts', in Martin Hoernes and Hedwig Röckelein, eds, *Gandersheim und Essen: Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu sächsischen Frauenstiften*, Essen: Klartext, 2006, 97-129. For the manuscript as a whole see, with bibliography, Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, vol. 2, 118-121, cat. III.12.

[37] For Foley on the 1234 'inventory' and, more expansively, the 1234 ordinary of Saint-Denis see, respectively, Edward B. Foley, 'The Treasury of St.-Denis According to the Inventory of 1234 (Paris, *Bibliothèque Mazarine 526*)', *Revue benedictine* 105, 1995, 167-199; and Edward B. Foley, *The First Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526*, Fribourg: University Press, 1990. An ordinary (*liber ordinarius*), a liturgical book commonly found from the thirteenth century onwards, contains rubricated directions for the physical performance of the Christian liturgy (including cues for movements and gestures, as well as the incipits to the texts to be spoken, chanted, or sung). German scholarship refers

may permit a diachronic history, such as the exceptional number of relic, book, and treasury inventories (seven treasury inventories alone) from the Benedictine abbey of Pfäfers, all recorded in the abbey's *Liber Viventium*, or 'book of the living' (to be discussed below).[38]

On the one hand, treasury inventories tantalizingly list the luxurious abundance of treasury objects that did not survive into the modern era. The sheer quantity is striking. One conclusion from this lost luxury that is easily overlooked—indeed, a conclusion that significantly impacts our understanding of the medieval reception and interpretation of precious metalwork—is that the medieval economic elite (i.e., the Church and the lay nobility) must have been quite accustomed to interacting with treasury objects. Luxury objects were not exceptionally rare things within elite circles. Medieval art history continues to deemphasize the implications of this observation. Indeed, a modern enthusiasm for, say, the few dozen pre-1200 gemmed crosses that have happened to survive from across the Early and High Middle Ages in Europe must be tempered by the fact that the canonesses at tenth-century Erstein alone would have possessed at least seven.[39] The Benedictine abbey

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to ordinaries as *Regiebücher*. For an historiographic overview of ordinary scholarship and an abundance of further bibliography see Tillmann Lohse, 'Stand und Perspektiven der *Liber ordinarius*-Forschung,' in Klaus Gereon Beuckers, ed, *Liturgie in mittelalterlichen Frauenstiften: Forschungen zum* Liber ordinarius, Essen: Klartext, 2012, esp. 215-218, 226-230, and notes 1 and 61.

[38] For the Pfäfers treasury inventories see especially Carl Pfaff, 'Die Schatzverzeichnisse', in P. Iso Müller and Carl Pfaff, eds, *Thesaurus Fabariensis: Reliquien-, Schatz- und Bücherverzeichnisse im Liber Viventium von Pfäfers*, St. Gall: Kommissionsverlag, 1985, 59-84. For other examples see, in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, the multiple inventories for Augsburg Cathedral (15-17, cat. 4-5); Bamberg Cathedral (17-21, cat. 6-8); the Benedictine abbey at Benediktbeuern (21-22, cat. 9-10); Chur Cathedral (26-27, cat. 16-17); St. Bavo, Ghent (36-38, cat. 27-28); Krakow (45-46, cat. 37-38); Merseburg Cathedral (59-61, cat. 50-53); the Benedictine monastery of Abdinghof at Paderborn (69-73, cat. 62-64); the Benedictine abey at Pfäfers (74-77 and 124, cat. 66-72 and 121); St. Emmeram, Regensburg (83-85, cat. 76-79); Strasbourg Cathedral (91-93, cat. 86-97); the Benedictine abbey at Weltenburg (104-105, cat. 102-103); the Benedictine abbey at Wessobrunn (105-106, cat. 104-106); St. Viktor, Xanten (111-112, cat. 112-113); and the Benedictine abbey at Zwiefalten (113-118, cat. 115-116).

[39] Theo Jülich notes the abundance of gemmed crosses that must have originally existed, citing Erstein as a token example, in Theo Jülich, 'Gemmenkreuze: Die Farbigkeit ihres Edelsteinbesatzes bis zum 12. Jahrhundert', *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 54-55, 1986-1987, 127-128. Jülich counts only those crosses that are explicitly recorded as having 'stones and gems'—see note 20. The Erstein inventory, dated paleographically to c. 900-950, was recorded on the very last page, which had been left blank, of a c. 840 Touronian Gospel book, immediately following the explicit of John (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Cod. 2186 [= Cod. Guelf. 16 Aug. fol.], fol. 162v). See, with bibliography, Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 52-53, cat. 23.

at Disentis counted six liturgical crosses c. 940, the church at Eller seven c. 900-950, at least six of which were gemmed.[40]

On the other hand, the brevity of the inventory descriptions makes it difficult to determine whether the crosses at Disentis, for example, would have been gemmed crosses, as opposed to non- or minimally gemmed crosses potentially furnished with Christ corpora. The specific language for Disentis reads 'Three large and three small crosses'; for Eller, by contrast, 'Two gold crosses, of which one is furnished with precious stones. And five other small crosses [*cruciculas*[41]] adorned with gold and gemstones'. The Erstein inventory reads 'One large Sunday cross furnished on both sides with gilt silver. The other [cross] smaller, similarly furnished with silver, and equipped with a tang [*bacul*(*o*)]. And we found seven other small gold crosses with relics of the saints tastefully furnished with stones and gems, and three smaller ivory crosses, furnished with gold, with the relics of the saints'.[42] These descriptions, coupled with the art historical evidence for tenth-century portably scaled crosses (admittedly thin), permit a reconstruction of the appearance of the Disentis crosses, which, for the purposes of this exercise, might run as follows: before the later eleventh century sumptuous liturgical crosses prioritized the display of precious materials over that of a plastic Christ corpus, which would suggest that the Disentis crosses would have been, if not abundantly gemmed, then at least similarly non-representational. Such a reconstruction, however, must be responsible, i.e., tentative and purposefully contestable.

Given these constraints, the instances in which inventories record no longer extant object *types* nonetheless raise especially rich questions for the field. For

[40] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 28-30, cat. 18 and 20. A medieval version of the Disentis inventory no longer exists; Bischoff cites Jean Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 1, Lucca: Leonardo Venturini, 1739. The Eller inventory was recorded on a blank page following the *capitulare envangeliorum* at the very end of a c. 825-850 Gospel book from Reims, sometimes called the 'Eller Gospels', London, British Museum, Harley 2826, fol. 150v. The presence of the inventory itself situates the Carolingian manuscript at Eller for at least the tenth century. For a reproduction of the inventory see Ferdinand Pauly, 'Ein Dokument aus dem Britischen Museum zur Geschichte der Pfarrei Eller an der Mosel', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 8, 1956, 348-350.

[41] *Cruciculas* probably designates small pendant or votive crosses designed to be suspended. For suggestions on the meaning of *crucicula* see, with bibliography, Pfaff, 'Die Schatzverzeichnisse', 68-69.

[42] For Disentis: *Cruces tres maiores et tres minores*. For Eller: *... cruces aureas II, quarum una preciosis lapidibus parata. Et alias cruciculas auro et gemmis ornatas V*. For Erstein: *Crucem dominicam argento deaurato paratam utraque parte I. Alteram minorem similiter argento p*(*ara*)*tum cum bacul*(*o*) *p*(*arato*). *Alias autem cruces aureas minores lapidibus et gemmis honorifice paratas cum reliquiis sanctorum invenimus VII, et minores ebur*(*neas*) *auroque paratas cum reliquiis sanctorum III*. Whereas Jülich counts seven gemmed crosses in Erstein I would argue that the Sunday cross and the silver cross with the tang were also gemmed crosses; it is possible that these precious-metal crosses were equipped with repoussé Christ corpora in the manner of the c. 973-982 Otto-Mathilde Cross at Essen.

example, the 'three smaller ivory crosses, furnished with gold, with the relics of the saints' mentioned in the Erstein inventory are puzzling. The inventory, which was recorded in a c. 840 Touronian evangeliary, dates paleographically to c. 900-950.[43] However, the earliest ivory processional and altar crosses that survive date from the later eleventh century. While potentially polychromed, these later crosses do not appear to have incorporated significant amounts of precious metal.[44] In reconciling the material record suggested by the written sources with that assembled from the extant objects, we might ask if the Erstein ivory crosses resembled the ivory/gold combination seen in the small reliquary cross now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, a late-tenth-century assemblage of Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian morse ivory and metalwork (Fig. 2).[45] Or, perhaps, a c. 1000 Anglo-Saxon morse-ivory pectoral cross, whose recto was originally decorated with gold and gilt-copper-alloy sheet (Fig. 3).[46] Or would the Erstein crosses have combined gold and ivory in a manner not at all seen in surviving crosses (e.g., ornamental ivory plaques from a disassembled casket mounted onto a precious-metal cross)? The question remains open and productive.

[43] *Minores ebur*(*neas*) *auroque paratas cum reliquiis sanctorum III*. Bischoff notes that the page is severely abraded in places and inserts the missing text into his edition in parentheses, hence the '*ebur*(*neas*)'. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 52-53, cat. 29. Bischoff cites 895, the year in which relics of St. Berta, which the inventory mentions, were translated from Mainz to Erstein, as a *terminus post* for the inventory.

[44] Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little summarize the evidence for pre-1100 ivory crosses and cite a handful of inventory mentions, including a c. 925-939 record from England (*unam crucem auro et ebore artificiose paratam*, 'one cross skillfully furnished with gold and ivory'), in Elizabeth C. Parker and Charles T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross: Its Art and Meaning*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994, 16-17 and note 6.

[45] The Winchester-style ivory corpus and metalwork of the cross recto, including the cloisonné enamels, are Anglo-Saxon; the metalwork verso and sides of the cross are Ottonian. It is supposed that the Victoria and Albert cross would have been suspended as a votive cross. The cross's core is wood; behind the ivory corpus a full-length finger relic is inserted into a cavity in the wood. For bibliography see Paul Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings: Early Christian to Romanesque*, London: Victoria and Albert Publishing, 2010, 238-241, cat. 60; and Puhle, *Otto der Grosse*, vol. 2, 434-436, cat. VI.27.

[46] It is speculated that the recessed areas of the cross would have been filled with gold leaf (there is no trace of polychromy) and the raised cross borders covered with gilt copper-alloy strips secured to a back plate of gilt copper-alloy with studs, the holes for which are visible. Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, 234-235, cat. 58.

Figure 2 Reliquary cross, late tenth century, Anglo-Saxon (ivory corpus and recto, pictured) and Ottonian (cross sides and verso, not pictured)
wood, gold, morse ivory, cloisonné enamel
18.5 x 13.7cm
London, Victoria and Albert Museum
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figure 3 Pectoral reliquary cross, late tenth or early eleventh century, Anglo-Saxon (Gloucester?)
morse ivory
9 x 5.5cm
London, Victoria and Albert Museum
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Beyond provenance and reconstruction
Mise-en-livre and *mise-en-page*

The books in which treasury inventories are recorded and the manner in which the inventories are disposed within the page both index and symbolize the value placed on these textual records of precious property. As Bischoff and Anton von Euw have noted, treasury inventories were typically recorded in a church's most precious books, that is, liturgical books, specifically evangeliaries.[47] Bischoff notes that of the sixty-nine original inventories in his catalogue, four were recorded in lectionaries, two in pontificals, two in psalters, and *forty* in evangeliaries.[48] A mid-eleventh-century inventory of a collegiate church treasury at Frankfurt is recorded on the largely blank verso of the famous ninth-century Lorsch Rotulus.[49] Five tenth-

[47] See Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 9-10; and Anton von Euw, 'Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Evangelienbücher im Gebrauch', in Christel Meier, et al, eds, *Der Codex im Gebrauch*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1996, 21-30.
[48] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 9-10. Emphasis is mine.
[49] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 33-34, cat. 24. The Lorsch Rotulus (Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Barth. 179) is the only Carolingian liturgical rotulus to survive

through twelfth-century inventories from St. Emmeram, Regensburg, are scattered across available blank pages in a single ninth-century evangeliary made at and specifically for St. Emmeram.[50] Beuckers argues that the oldest, most prestigious (and usually Carolingian) evangeliary at a monastery or church would have been considered a 'founding evangeliary', either because it was the first evangeliary acquired by the establishment and/or simply the most venerable. Treasury inventories, including the twelfth-century Gandersheim inventory of Beuckers's study, are not infrequently contained within such Carolingian 'founding evangeliaries'.[51]

These liturgical books frequently recorded other types of administrative records, among which donor names commonly appear. Within the chosen book, any blank page would suffice, including margins and flyleaves, and inventories and other records would gradually accumulate throughout one codex. This is standard medieval practice. The aforementioned c. 1000-1050 Aschaffenburg inventory, for

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north of the Alps. The recto contains a litany for Lorsch monastery that includes prayers for Louis the German and his family, which helps date the rotulus to Louis's reign (843-876). Four different texts, including the book and treasury inventory, were added to the originally blank verso in the tenth and eleventh centuries (the datings of the verso texts are contested, though most scholars place them variously within the tenth and eleventh centuries). For a succinct description of the rotulus see Gehardt Powitz and Herbert Buck, eds, *Die Handschriften des Bartholomaeusstifts und des Karmeliterklosters in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1974, 396-400. For a facsimile, with commentary and bibliography, see Johannes Fried, ed, *Der Lorscher Rotulus: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Ms. Barth 179 der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, Graz: Adeva, 2004.

[50] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 83-85 and 127-128, cat. 76-79 and 125. For literature on the evangeliary, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14222, see Ingeborg Neske, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Handschriften aus St. Emmeram in Regensburg, Band 2, Clm 14131-14260*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, 204-205; and Katharina Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1990, 66, cat. 124. Two of the inventories are written on fol. 17r, the recto of a blank folio situated between the canon tables and the beginning of Matthew (the evangeliary contains no evangelist portraits nor, preceding the other three Gospels, the space for a portrait), one on fol. 198v, the blank verso immediately following the conclusion of the *capitulare evangeliorum*, and the other two facing it on fol. 199r, a blank recto whose blank verso concludes the manuscript. The scribe of the fol. 198v inventory, which is dated c. 1000 (Bischoff cat. 77), emphasizes the supplemental status of his text (compared to the text of the evangeliary proper) by placing it at the bottom of the blank page despite the availability of the entire page, separating the inventory text with as much space as possible from from the conclusion of the *capitulare evangeliorum* on the recto.

[51] Beuckers, 'Gandersheimer Schatzverzeichnis', 117-122. Beuckers notes that Essen, Gandersheim, and Quedlinburg, three of the most important Ottonian-era female abbeys, all possessed sumptuous Carolingian evangeliaries that could have functioned as *Gründungs-Evangeliare*, a phenomenon that merits further study.

example, is contained within a ninth-century evangeliary made at Reichenau (perhaps an example of a 'founding evangeliary' for Aschaffenburg, which was founded c. 950). In addition to the inventory, the evangeliary contains an earlier treasury inventory; relic inventories; a c. 1000 text noting the boundaries of the Aschaffenburg forest; an excerpt from Gratian's *Decretals* regarding the interaction of male clerics with women; a c. 1050 entry recording the 982 death of Otto II and his burial at Aschaffenburg; a c. 1057-1084 notice confirming the dedication and transfer of the parish church at Lorhaupten to Aschaffenburg; a memorial donation given by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz to Aschaffenburg in honor of Otto II and his sister Mathilde; and many additional notices of historical, legal, economic, and memorial import.[52]

Liturgical books, especially in the early medieval period, were the most likely to be illuminated and, more conspicuously, the most likely to be clad or stored within a precious-metal cover or book box. These books thus occupied a hybrid status between text and precious-metal object: they would have been stored in the treasury, not the library or book cupboard (*armarium*), and they and their precious-metal covers were just as likely to be recorded in treasury inventories as they were in book inventories.[53] Storage in the treasury ensured security. Fittingly, an attribute of the *custos* or *thesaurarius*, 'treasury-keeper', was the key: the seal for the *custos* of St. Georg, Cologne, which was attached to a 1238 testament, depicts the *custos* Gerhard holding a book in one hand and large key in the other.[54]

Beyond security and posterity, the inscribing of treasury inventories in evangeliaries bonded these records to the sacredness, truth, and authority embodied by the book of Gospels. Evangeliaries largely contain just the Gospels, the narrative accounts of the life of Christ; other liturgical books (sacramentaries, epistolaries,

[52] Bischoff dates the evangeliary, which is Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. Perg. 37, to c. 800-850, while Josef Hofmann dates it c. 850-900. For a brief description of the evangeliary see Josef Hofmann and Hermann Hauke, eds, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek und der Stiftskirche zu Aschaffenburg*, Aschaffenburg: Geschichts- und Kunstverein, 1978, 78-83. For a detailed analysis, including transcriptions and translations, of the many historical notices in the Aschaffenburg evangeliary, see Josef Hofmann, 'Das älteste Evangeliar der Aschaffenburger Stiftskirche', *Aschaffenburger Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Landeskunde und Kunst des Untermaingebietes*, 4, 1957, 175-202.

[53] On the storage of precious liturgical manuscripts in the treasury see Eric Palazzo, 'Le livre dans les trésors du moyen âge: contribution à la l'histoire de la *memoria* médiévale', in Caillet and Bazin, *Les trésors de sanctuaires*, 156-159; and Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. 4, *Les livres: 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques, du commencement du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1938, 1-3. Recorded within Bischoff's treasury inventories, Palazzo counts fifty-one sacramentaries or missals, twenty-eight evangeliaries, twenty-six lectionaries, twenty-two psalters, twenty graduals, fourteen antiphonaries, twelve homilaries, eleven epistolaries, and so forth, including three books of Genesis and two discrete volumes of Matthew with commentary—see Palazzo, 'Le Livre', 147-148.

[54] Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters', 150.

etc.) contained the remaining texts of the Mass, including Old Testament readings. As Thomas Lentes, among many others, observes, the evangeliary thus symbolized not only the Word of God but also the body of Christ, clothed in both earthly and glorious flesh. The ritual procession of the evangeliary into the sanctuary during the Mass (the sole liturgical book to be thus honored) intentionally echoed a high-status, highly visible *adventus*.[55] Treasury inventories, while obviously not read or activated in the Mass, were nonetheless tucked into and physically present in the evangeliary, thereby privy to the most rarified spaces of the Christian liturgy.

Similarly, the *mise-en-page* of the inventories reinforces the administrative, memorializing, and symbolic importance of these texts. In addition to occupying any available blank pages within liturgical books, treasury inventories are occasionally disposed within the formal space of the decoration, a distinctive example of which is the aforementioned *Liber Viventium* from Pfäfers. The manuscript, a c. 800-825 Rhaetian lectionary, contains multiple pages of arcades, reminiscent of canon tables, following each evangelist-specific group of lections. These arcades were intentionally left blank and subsequently filled with the names of living and deceased donors to the monastery (e.g., pp 25 and 116, Figs. 4 and 5), as well as other types of administrative documents, including six treasury inventories (e.g., those on pp 118 and 177, Figs. 6 and 7). The entries in the arcades date from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, after which the monastery began recording their administrative notices in another codex, the Pfäfers *Liber Aureus*.[56]

[55] The relationship between the evangeliary with the Word of God, the incarnate body of Christ, and so on, is a well-studied topic. See, with helpful references to both primary and secondary literature, Thomas Lentes, '*Textus Evangelii*: Materialität und Inszenierung des *textus* in der Liturgie', in Ludolf Kuchenbuch and Uta Kleine, eds, *'Textus' im Mittelalter: Komponenten und Situationen des Wortgebrauchs im schriftsemantischen Feld*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006, 133-138.

[56] The *Liber Viventium*, which is St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fab. 1, has a modern-style numeric pagination. The inventories on pp. 118 and 177 are Bischoff cat. 68 and 71, respectively. For general literature on the manuscript see Jurot Romain, ed, *Katalog der Handschriften der Abtei Pfäfers im Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen*, Dietikon-Zurich: Urs Graf, 2002, 81-83. The *Liber Aureus* is St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fab. 2. For the contents and dates of the administrative entries in the *Liber Viventium* see Anton von Euw, *Liber Viventium Fabariensis: Das karolingische Memorialbuch von Pfäfers in seiner liturgie- und kunstgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Bern: Francke Verlag, 1989, 11-18.

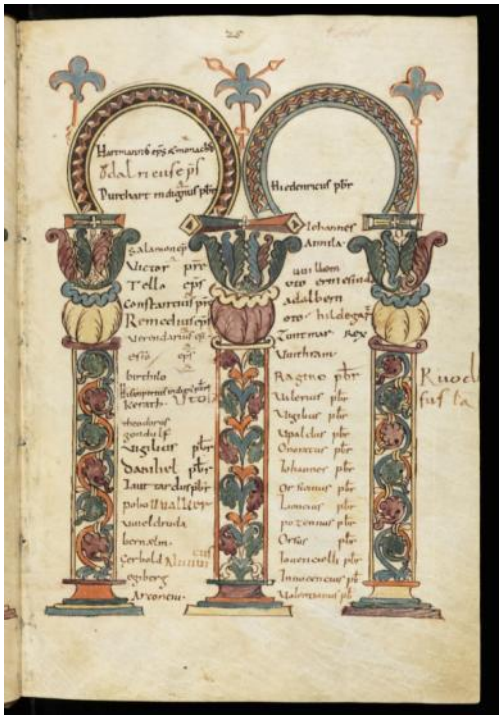

Figure 4 Donor names in arcades from the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, lectionary, Rhaetian, c. 800-825
St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv (Abtei Pfäfers), Cod. Fab. 1, fol. 25 (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ssg/fab0001)

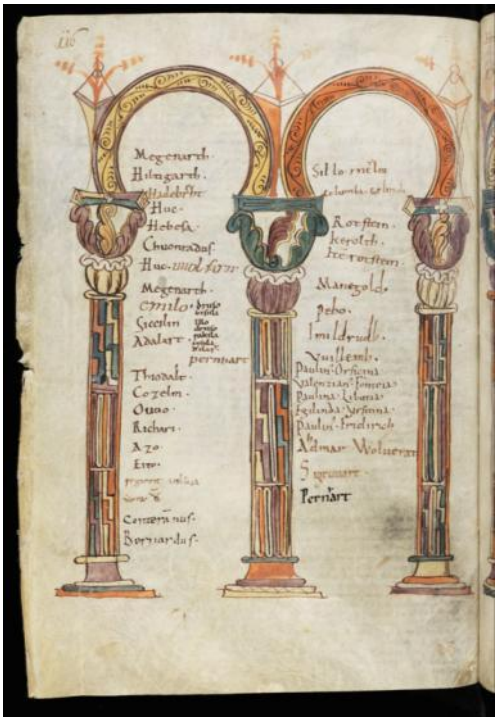

Figure 5 Donor names in arcades from the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, lectionary, Rhaetian, c. 800-825
St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv (Abtei Pfäfers), Cod. Fab. 1, fol. 116 (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ssg/fab0001)

Figure 6 Treasury inventory (c. 1030) in arcades from the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, lectionary, Rhaetian, c. 800-825
St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv (Abtei Pfäfers), Cod. Fab. 1, fol. 118 (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ssg/fab0001)

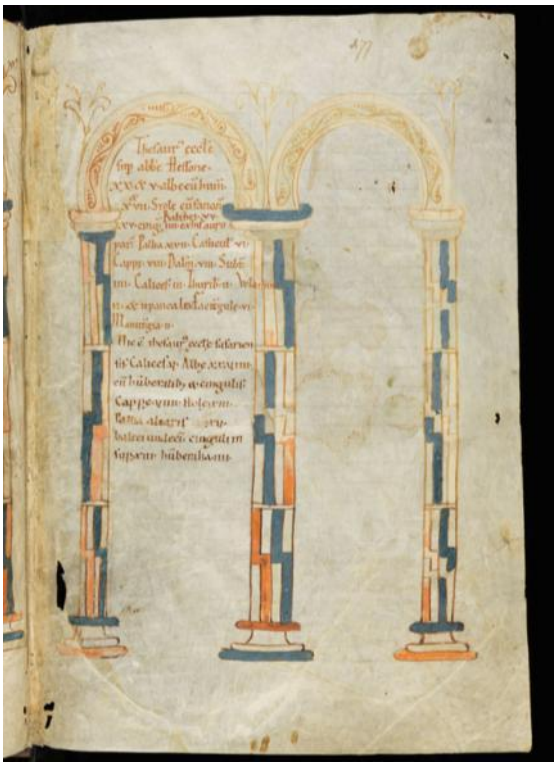

Figure 7 Treasury inventory (c. 1100-1150) in arcades from the Pfäfers *Liber Viventium*, lectionary, Rhaetian, c. 800-825
St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv (Abtei Pfäfers), Cod. Fab. 1, fol. 177 (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/ssg/fab0001)

The 1165 inventory from Prüfening is spectacularly incorporated into the decorative program of its manuscript (Fig. 8). A full-page drawing frames the inventory: the diploma-like inventory is held up and presented to the reader by a mixture of heavenly figures, saints, and portraits of earthly abbots and bishops pivotal to Prüfening, led by a nimbed Christ at top.[57] Below (and separated from)

[57] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 77-79, cat. 73. Counter-clockwise from top, and identified with inscriptions, are Christ; Bishop Otto of Bamberg (1102-1139), the founder of Prüfening; an angel; Abbot Erbo of Prüfening (1121-1162); his successor Abbot Eberhard (1163-1168), during whose abbacy the inventory was recorded and the drawing executed; another angel; and St. George, the monastery patron. Below the document, also accompanied by inscriptions, are, at left, Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg (1146-1170) and, at right, St. Paul. The treasury inventory is recorded on fol. 5v of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13002, a *Glossarium Salomonis*, a glossary composed by Bishop Salomon III of Constance (890-919), executed in 1158 at Prüfening itself. The inventory follows a well-published series of miniatures showing a physician at work, anatomical studies of the human body, the virtues and vices, and the Heavenly Jerusalem, all of which were executed in 1165 and added at some point to the beginning of the preexisting glossary. The inventory begins by noting the year and thus dates the ensemble of miniatures to 1165. For recent

Figure 8 Treasury inventory (1165) from Prüfening, *Glossarium Salomonis*, Prüfening, 1158 and 1165
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13002, fol. 5v
Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

the giant document, five monks turn their heads upwards to witness, evoking the necessity of recorded witnesses for select documents of legal consequence;

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literature see Claudia Fabian and Christiane Lange, eds, *Pracht auf Pergament: Schätze der Buchmalerei von 780 bis 1180*, Munich: Hirmer, 2012, 298-301, cat. 70. For a detailed description of the manuscript see also Elisabeth Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek: Teil I. Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980, 60-64, cat. 87. Klemm notes that visible underdrawings indicate that fol. 5v was originally planned slightly differently in form (not necessarily in content). Adam Cohen discusses fol. 5v in Adam S. Cohen, 'Making Memories in a Medieval Miscellany', *Gesta*, 48, 2009, 141-142. Klemm uses the saints and clerics pictured in fol. 5v to give a detailed institutional history of Prüfening in Elisabeth Klemm, 'Die Klostergemeinschaft von Prüfening im Spiegel ihres Schatzverzeichnisses', in Anežky Merhautové, ed, *Čechy jsou plné kostelů* (= *Boemia plena est ecclesiis*), Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010, 37-44.

accordingly, the monks' banderole repeats *fiat*, 'let it be done'.[58] Treasury inventories typically do not entail documented witnesses, but in form and function they are generically adjacent to more overtly legal documents, such as testaments and charters.[59]

Internal structure and organization

While the internal structure of treasury inventories varies from author to author, general patterns do obtain. The inventory may begin by specifying the reason for its recording, or it may simply announce that it is inventorying a treasure before launching into the listed items. The inventory usually ends abruptly with the last item recorded. In its list of treasury objects the inventory replicates liturgical and material hierarchies only very generally (material preciousness and liturgical importance tend to work in tandem with these objects). Deviations from strict object hierarchies should be considered the rule.

Inventories do not always represent all four categories of treasury objects—that is, vestments, other liturgical textiles, liturgical objects, and liturgical books—although vestments and liturgical objects will almost always be included. Liturgical objects may be listed together or divided throughout the inventory. Books may be scattered throughout, or they may occupy their own section. Vestments are as likely as liturgical objects to be listed first since they were equally esteemed. In the list of treasury contents vestments tend to be grouped together more consistently than liturgical objects; when liturgical textiles are inventoried they are almost always placed immediately after, not before, the vestments. It can be observed, however generally, that the more esteemed objects, such as chalices, patens, and reliquaries, are clustered towards the beginning of the inventory, with crosses, thuribles, candelabra, and especially bells recorded in the middle or at the end. Although this arrangement arises frequently, it still cannot be considered a norm.

Vocabulary

Having discussed the function, format, placement, and circulation of treasury inventories, we now turn to a closer look at vocabulary, for which a few

[58] The banderole reads *Amen, fiat, fiat, amen fiat, amen.*

[59] For witness lists and the legal authority of the oral vs. the textual in Carolingian culture, see Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 23-75. Groten discusses a late medieval example of an exceptionally specific treasury inventory of St. Georg, Cologne, drawn up on 4 April 1370, which not only names the four canons conducting the inventory, but also the approximate time they began, where in the church they began, and where each of the inventoried objects was located (more than one 100 positions are represented in the inventory). See Groten, 'Schatzverzeichnisse des Mittelalters', 153.

observations on authorship are prerequisite. The 811 Staffelsee inventory, a typical example, is written in the first-person plural, the inventoried objects in the accusative.[60] The language intimates a group of officials together surveying the monastery and coming upon the things inventoried. Neither the name of the scribe nor those of the individuals conducting the inventory process are recorded. The inventory begins, 'We came upon [*invenimus*] the island, which is called Staffelsee, to the church constructed in honor of St. Michael. In it we found [*repperimus*] one altar decorated with gold and silver ...'. *Invenire*, 'to come upon', and *reperire*, 'to find', 'to discern', 'to ascertain', or 'to perceive', etc., are two of the verbs most commonly used to describe the actions of those creating the inventory. The author(s) of the inventory cannot be identified necessarily with the particular scribe physically writing the inventory text, but rather authorship lies with the presumably high-ranking and appropriately skilled, though potentially fallible, individual(s) conducting the inventory acts of seeing, perceiving, ascertaining, and verbalizing.

Overall, when recording the actual items, inventory language focuses not on form or figural imagery but instead on materiality. This linguistic reduction clearly cues the inventory's priorities. If the inventory author chooses to add a descriptor to his recording of, say, 'two chalices', he will almost always turn first to the constituent metal. For vestments and textiles, inventories frequently record the presence of silk or linen; the colour recorded significantly more than any other is *coccineus*, 'scarlet'.

Metalworking *techniques*, such as hammering, alloying, or filigree-work, are rarely represented by the inventory beyond the generic 'decorated' and its synonyms, i.e., *paratus* and *ornatus*. The occasional exception is when an object is cast, *fusilis*, testifying to the esteem accorded to mould- and especially lost-wax casting, the latter regarded as especially evocative of Antique or, in later periods, Carolingian achievements. An 1109 record of gifts to the abbey at Pegau, for example, records 'two candelabra embellished with work [that is] cast and Greek [or perhaps in a 'Greek style', however that would have signified to the inventory author]', *duo kandelabra Graeco opere fusilique decora*.[61] *Opus* carries of range of meanings, including 'work' (the concept and act of), 'work' (the thing produced), 'workmanship', and style or manner. Here, the 'cast, Greek work' likely refers to something applied to the basic candelabrum morphology, such as a foot or a series of knops and shafts—or, given that *fusilis* can refer to anything molten, the phrase could also denote melted glass, i.e., enamel, for which Byzantium was highly

[60] For the text of the Staffelsee inventory, which is discussed below, see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 90-91, cat. 85.

[61] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 140, cat. 137. The gift was from Wiprecht of Groitzsch for the care of the soul of his recently deceased wife. The primary-source medieval manuscript appears not to survive; Bischoff takes the text from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

esteemed.[62] How the author would have conceptualized 'Greek'—as something actually from Byzantium, something from or evocative of the Eastern Mediterranean (including, from our point of view, Islamic regions), or something done by a Western metalworker in the style of a Byzantine or Islamic object—remains an open, provocative question.

Regardless of his specific referent, the Pegau author's mention of 'Greek work' resonates with the Grecophile 'k' in *kandelabra*. This two-pronged evocation of a distant place and culture is exceptional, as geographic markers of style, technique, or provenance are rarely recorded in pre-1250 ecclesiastical inventories. Later medieval inventories abound with specialized techniques coded geographically, such as *opus lemovicense*, 'Limousin work', which specifically signals enamels from Limoges; *opus veneciarum* or *veneticum*, 'Venetian work', for Venetian-style filigree (either from Venice or elsewhere in Europe); *opus anglicanum*, 'English work', for English embroidery; and the revealingly vague *opus sarracenum*, 'Saracenic work', for a variety of objects, especially glass and textiles, from the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond.[63] Earlier, pre-thirteenth-century markers of geography, however, do sometimes appear: a c. 1125-1150 inventory of Bamberg, for example, lists a *pallium altaris Sarracenum*, a 'Saracen altar covering', and a 1238 inventory of Trier Cathedral includes *duas pelves operis Limugis*, 'two dishes of Limoges work'.[64] What the author of a c. 1247 inventory at Bamberg could have

[62] The vocabulary for and textual representation of cloisonné enamel, as well as the important question of whether enamel would have been seen more as a material or a technique (or both combined in a manner unavailable to other material/technique pairings) is not discussed here.

[63] The first mention of *opus lemovicense* is in a letter dated 1167-1169; for *opus lemovicense* see Barbara Drake Boehm, '*Opus lemovicense*: The Taste for and Diffusion of Limousin Enamels', in Barbara Drake Boehm and Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, eds, *Enamels of Limoges, 1100-1350*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, 40-47. For *opus veneticum* see Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, 'Venetian filigree', in Guido Perocco, ed, *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, Milan: Olivetti, 1984, 233-236. For *opus anglicanum* see especially Françoise Pirenne, 'Le succès et la renommée de l'*Opus Anglicanum* aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles,' in Robert Didier and Jacques Toussaint, eds, *Autour de Hugo d'Oignies – Actes du colloque*, Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 2004, 287-292. For *opus sarracenum* see Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic portable objects in the medieval church treasuries of the Latin West*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998, 172 and elsewhere.

[64] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 19-20 and 95-97, cat. 7 and 91. The Bamberg author was perhaps particularly interested in geographic provenance and perhaps Byzantine prestige, as he also lists 'one Greek book adorned with enamel and gemstones', *Liber I Grecus electro et gemmis ornatus*, as well as 'five small shrines decorated with gold and gemstones, and one silver without gemstones, two ivory, one from Venice formed in the Greek manner', *Scriniola V auro et gemmis ornata, et I argenteum sine gemmis, eburnea II, de Venetia I Greca arte formatum*'. The Bamberg inventory was recorded in a preexisting eleventh-century glossed double psalter, specifically on the blank page preceding the beginning of the psalter text (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 45, fol. 1r)—for the manuscript see Gude Suckale-

intended by *crux Arabie*, an 'Arabian cross', remains intriguingly unclear.[65] Such admittedly few geographic markers document within this textual genre an interest in regional and ethnic identity, an observation pertinent to larger discussions of geography, ethnicity, and group identity in the Early and High Middle Ages.[66]

Treasury inventories are particularly revealing for how they record metal, that is, how they translate the metal spectrum, a continuous and overlapping array of alloys that often exceed linguistic categories, into a simplified, commensurable, and communicable verbal system. The medieval definition for some of these metals, such as silver, was relatively stable from Late Antiquity onwards. The conceptualization of other metals, however, developed and varied over time; this is especially true for the various guises of copper alloy. A further complication results when copper alloy and other less precious metals are gilded and 'dressed up' to the costlier status of gold. Would a medieval viewer have seen gilt copper-alloy, or gold? Would an inventory author have recorded 'gilt copper' or 'gold'?[67]

In these instances the function and subgenre of the inventory could be determinant. For example, Jürgen Dummer, in discussing a 1208 gift record to Halberstadt, notes that the legal aspect of the document could have prompted the author to record a silver-gilt dish not as gold but as its true material, 'silver', *argentea*. The dish in question, which still exists, was perhaps obtained by Bishop Konrad von Krosigk (d. 1225) in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade of 1204. The chronicler of the Halberstadt *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium* ('the deeds of the bishops of Halberstadt'), however, would have seen no need to describe the dish

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Redlefsen, ed, *Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004, 75, cat. 57. The manuscript containing the 1238 Trier inventory appears to be lost.

[65] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 20-21, cat. 8. The source is a fourteenth-century copy of the c. 1247 inventory. A *crux Arabie* is recorded twice in the inventory, the second time as one of three crosses, *III cruces, unam cum smaragdis, alteram Arabie, terciam cum speculo*, 'three crosses, one with emeralds, the second one Arabian, the third with a mirror [perhaps rock crystal?]', which strongly suggests that the 'Arabian' descriptor signals a distinguishing material and/or morphological aspect of the cross.

[66] The topic of medieval concepts and practices of ethnicity, regionalism, group identity, and the proto-nation state has been and continues to be well studied by historians, art historians, musicologists, and literature historians alike. For one example from an art historical perspective, Jonathan Alexander argues that pictorial representation comes to reflect and shape a growing awareness of ethnic and national difference first in the eleventh century before accelerating in the twelfth and thirteenth. See, with many references to other works on this topic, Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Medieval Art and Modern Nationalism', Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham, eds, *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives: A memorial tribute to C.R. Dodwell*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, 206-223.

[67] For introductory remarks on medieval interpretations of copper alloy, as well as gilt copper-alloy objects, see Joseph Salvatore Ackley, 'Copper-alloy substrates in precious-metal treasury objects: Concealed and yet excessive', *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art*, 4, 2014, 1-34.

and other precious-metal objects beyond the generic 'adorned with gold and gemstones' when narrating the events of Konrad's triumphant 1205 return to Halberstadt. The *gesta* carried less legal authority than the gift record, a difference reflected in how these two texts chose to record metal.[68]

In numerous inventories metals are recorded for some objects but not others; indeed, many inventory authors omitted all metals but gold and silver. Weight is not usually mentioned.[69] When weight, or sometimes a monetized value, is included, it suggests an economic imperative for the inventory. For example, three inventories of Bamberg Cathedral survive from 1127, c. 1125-1150, and c. 1247. The first inventories the treasury under the *custos* Udalrich, the second missing objects, and the third mortgaged objects. The third inventory, understandably, is the only one to include weight (given in marks). The 1127 Udalrich inventory, therefore, records its chalices as 'two golden chalices decorated with gemstones'. The c. 1247 inventory of mortgaged objects, however, records its first chalice as 'a precious gold chalice with gemstones having in weight thirty-three marks [the mark is a medieval unit of measuring weight, though its amount varies from location to location]'.[70] The Bamberg chalices now enter the textual record as objects of economic exchange, suddenly and easily commensurable with any other object, space, or person that can be evaluated in marks. I would argue that in the first two Bamberg inventories, an economic assessment, while not explicit, was still potential, ready to effloresce as soon as an economically charged context obtained.

The well-studied 811 inventory of Staffelsee monastery, intended by Charlemagne to be used by his *missi* as a model demonstration of surveying

[68] Dummer is connecting the 1205 and 1208 texts with the silver-gilt Byzantine dish still extant in the Halberstadt Domschatz largely for the sake of argument. He acknowledges that the dish cannot be conclusively identified with the *scutella argentea*, 'silver dish', recorded in the 1208 document. Recent literature agrees that the date of the dish's entry into the Halberstadt treasury cannot be ascertained or conclusively documented. Dummer's larger conclusion, however, is the point: the circumstances of an inventory could inform how its author would have recorded gold and silver objects, and the 'accurate' vocabulary (e.g., 'silver-gilt' instead of 'gold') was always potential. See Jürgen Dummer, 'Überlegungen zur literarischen Darstellungen von Gold und Silberarbeiten', in Arne Effenberger, ed, *Metallkunst von der Spätantike bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1982, 15-16. The dish was recently catalogued by Christian Hecht in Harald Meller, and others, eds, *Der heilige Schatz im Dom zu Halberstadt*, Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2008, 90-93, cat. 20. For the text of the 1208 gift record see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 150-152, cat. 149.

[69] For a discussion of the history and historiography of weight in late medieval and early modern treasury inventories see Allison Stielau, 'The weight of plate in early modern inventories and secularization lists' in this special section of the *Journal of Art Historiography*.

[70] Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, 17-21, cat. 7-9. The chalice citations for all three inventories read, respectively, *II Calices aurei gemmis ornati* (1127), *Calices V auro et gemmis ornati* (c. 1125-1150), and *Calix aureus preciosus cum gemmis habens in pondere XXXIII marcas* (c. 1247). The three inventories record additional chalices not cited here.

property, carefully lists the value of its objects (excluding the vestments, textiles, or books, i.e., those items that cannot be melted down) in solidi and denarii. The Staffelsee inventory comprises just one part of the so-called *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales*, or, roughly, 'the brief list of examples for describing church and imperial property', whose date is contested (I follow Bischoff).[71] This was part of a broader Carolingian campaign to gain a reliable idea of the precise extent and nature of the many types of wealth and property throughout the empire. The careful inclusion of weight does not surprise given the inventory's economic impetus. Equally expected, though somewhat distinct in the context of other pre-1250 inventories, is the fact that the Staffelsee author soberly sees and records both precious and non-precious metal. Especially distinct is the repeated use of an adjectival form of 'copper', *cuprinam*, which is seldom found in pre-1250 inventories. The abundance of 'copper' signals perhaps an authorial desire for objective information.

Semantic instability accompanies all inventoried metals to varying degrees. The surface/substance circumstances of gilt copper-alloy treasury objects, however, present an especially problematic situation. The word 'gilt', *deauratus*, does appear in inventories from the Carolingians through and beyond the thirteenth century, as does *aes*, *aurichalcum*, and *cuprum*, the medieval Latin analogs, somewhat nebulously, of 'bronze', 'brass', and 'copper'. The physical properties of copper alloys, in particular, help promote their semantic instability since 'bronze', 'brass', and 'copper' are not and were not well defined substances containing universally standardized amounts of copper, tin, lead, and zinc (the last of which had not even been defined as a stand-alone metal by medieval thinkers).[72] Relative to gold and silver, copper alloys appear significantly less in treasury inventories.

To probe one specific example further: when are chalices inventoried as 'gilt bronze', *calix aeneus deauratus*? Hardly ever. The c. 763-787 Tassilo Chalice from Kremsmünster, already discussed above, is a copper-alloy chalice that was then gilded and decorated with silver and niello (Fig. 1). The c. 1013 Kremsmünster inventory, however, lists 'four silver chalices with patens, one gold [chalice] with paten'.[73] The copper-alloy substrate of the Tassilo Chalice has been sublimated into

[71] For a recent interpretation of the *Brevium exempla*, with numerous references to earlier scholarship, see Darryl Campbell, 'The *Capitulare de villis*, the *Brevium exempla*, and the Carolingian court at Aachen', *Early Medieval Europe*, 18, 2010, 243-264. For other literature and bibliography on the *Brevium exempla* see Christoph Stiegemann, ed, *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Leo III. in Paderborn*, vol. 1, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999, 93-96, cat. II.54.

[72] For discussion and literature on the various meanings of *aes*, *aurichalcum*, and *cuprum* see Ackley, 'Copper-alloy substrates', 9-13.

[73] For the text of the inventory see above, note 1. The inventory is recorded on fol. 70v of the *Codex Millenarius Minor* (Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, CC Cim. 2). The *Codex Millenarius Minor*, a complete evangeliary, is actually composed of two principal fragments, one attributed paleographically to Freising c. 850-900, the other, larger portion to southeastern

the costlier category of gold or silver and thus fails to achieve textual representation. One might argue that many inventory authors omitted all metals but gold and silver. The Kremsmünster author, however, records shortly after the chalices 'one gold thurible, the other bronze (*eneum*) and gilt'. When so desired, therefore, a gilt copper-alloy object could indeed enter the inventory space as such.

It is plausible that the omission of the copper-alloy substrate of the Tassilo Chalice, and the general omission of copper alloy from the overwhelming majority of inventoried chalices, results from Carolingian-era church proscriptions on the proper material for chalices.[74] The chalice, and especially the interior of its cup, was an exceptionally and anxiously controlled site given the physical context between the chalice and Christ's blood. Pre-Carolingian canon law yielded few prescriptions for chalice material. By contrast, the ninth and tenth centuries witnessed a steady increase, across regional church synods, of language specifying acceptable and unacceptable material for chalices, accompanied by control measures. Hincmar of Reims (d. 882), for example, ordered that official pastoral inspections of diocesan churches should include a determination of which metals were being used in liturgical chalices.

The canon law collected by Regino of Prüm (d. 915) was adopted, sometimes verbatim, into later collections of canon law that determined Christian liturgical practice for the High and Late Middle Ages, including those penned by Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) and Gratian (d. c. 1160-1180). Regino, drawing upon a mid-ninth-century church council at Reims, prescribes gold and silver for chalices, tin if absolutely necessary. The medieval permutations of copper alloy, i.e., *aes* and *aurichalcum*, were expressly prohibited because the metal interacted with the wine

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Germany c. 875-900. Throughout the entire manuscript multiple hands are evident for both the script and decoration. Kurt Holter speculates that the codex could have been a gift to Kremsmünster from Emperor Arnulf (d. 896). The c. 1013 Sigimar inventory on fol. 70v firmly confirms that the book was in the possession of the Kremsmünster community by at least that time. An entry on fol. 225r, which dates paleographically to the late ninth or early tenth century, lists the relics contained in the book-cover of the codex (the current book-cover of CC Cim. 2 is a c. 1595 cover by Heinrich Vorrath). For literature on the *Codex Millenarius Minor*, including the attributions of its various components, see Hauke Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Kremsmünster*, vol. 1, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984, 36-40; and especially Kurt Holter, 'Kunstschätze der Gründungszeit', in Siegfried Haider, ed, *Die Anfänge des Klosters Kremsmünster*, Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, 129-143 (Holter's essay is re-printed in Kurt Holter, *Buchkunst – Handschriften – Bibliotheken*, vol. 1, Linz: Oberösterreichischer Musealverein, 1996, 239-283). The text of the fol. 225r relic inventory can be found in Fill, *Katalog der Handschriften*, vol. 1, 40.

[74] For Late Antique, early medieval, and late medieval Church proscriptions on chalice material see Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 30-47.

and developed verdigris, which causes vomiting.[75] The material drawbacks of copper alloy dovetailed nicely with the traditional compulsion to use the most precious metals for the most important liturgical objects.

Many medieval chalices, however, were indeed crafted of copper alloy, their cup interiors at least gilded or silvered to prevent verdigris. The Tassilo Chalice is gilded on both exterior and cup interior, its copper-alloy substrate covered.[76] Instead of inventorying the chalice simply as *calix*, 'chalice', without a metal descriptor, or as *eneum deauratus*, 'gilt bronze', as he did the (less liturgically important) thurible, the Kremsmünster author recorded the Tassilo Chalice as either gold or silver. The inventory record conforms to Church prescriptions even if the chalice substrate does not. *Aes* and *aurichalcum*, the metals expressly prohibited by name by Regino of Prüm approximately a century before the Kremsmünster inventory, as well as the gilding process denoted by *deauratus*, are present in the Tassilo Chalice itself but absent from its inventory record. The generic format of the inventory—brief entries with minimal description—has allowed the author to 'cover' the 'truth' of the Tassilo Chalice. This is but one example of an inventory text actively interfacing between normative discourse and material reality.

Treasury inventories vs. book inventories

The Prüfening treasury inventory page, already discussed (Fig. 8), is immediately followed by a two-page book inventory (fols. 6r and 6v, Fig. 9).[77] Comparing treasury inventories with book inventories illustrates differing approaches to material wealth and intellectual wealth. While treasury objects were stored in the

[75] For Regino's prescription see Book 67 of the *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplines ecclesiasticis*, which reads as follows: *De aere autem aut ex aurichalco non fiat calix; quia ob vini virtutem aeruginem parit, quae vomitum provocat*, 'let the chalice not be made of bronze [*aere*] or brass [*aurichalco*], because of the strength of the wine which causes verdigris, which induces vomiting'. 'Bronze' and 'brass' are provisional translations; equally acceptable would be a less refined copper-alloy (*aes*) and a more refined copper-alloy (*aurichalcum*), or, in the latter, a metal with a yellower hue (*aurichalcum*) than another (*aes*). The text can be found in J. P. Migne, ed, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 132, Alexandria: Chadwick-Healey, 1995, col. 205.

[76] The cup interior, the surface of which is rather rough, could have originally been covered with a precious-metal insert. See the literature on the chalice noted above in note 30.

[77] For the full text of the Prüfening book inventory see Christine Elisabeth Ineichen-Eder, ed, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4, pt 1, *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg*, Munich: Beck, 1977, 421-427, cat. 41. The inventory is incomplete. Ineichen-Eder notes that on the second folio of the Prüfening book inventory, fol. 6v, the fifth and sixth columns are blank; originally the books of the liberal arts, the *libri artium*, were to have been recorded here. An earlier book inventory for Prüfening exists (in a separate manuscript) that, while containing fewer volumes than the 1165 catalogue in Clm. 13002, does contain the *libri artium*. The earlier book inventory is dated to between 1146 and 1165. See Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, 416-420, cat. 40.

treasury, books would have populated the library (or a set of *armaria*). Treasury objects both facilitated the liturgy and served as a platform for the storage and temporary immobilization of precious metal. Books, on the other hand, were used for individual reading, research, and the occasional composition of new texts. Instead of material or liturgical functions, library books were valued for the texts contained within, each of which could be classified by author and title. Yet, as

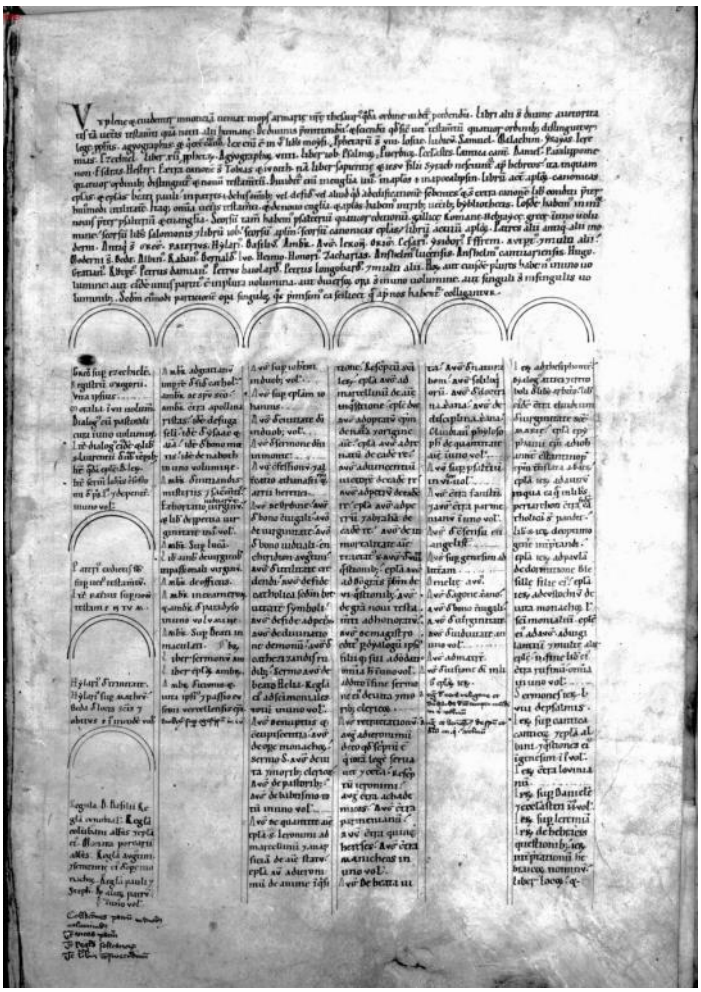

Figure 9 Book inventory (1165) from Prüfening, *Glossarium Salomonis*, Prüfening, 1158 and 1165
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13002, fol. 6r
Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

previously noted, liturgical books, both because of their precious book-covers and their liturgical function, would have been usually housed in the treasury, not the library.

The different demands thus placed on treasury versus book inventories, and the underlying value systems, are visually apparent in the Prüfening manuscript. To function as a searchable catalogue a book inventory greatly benefits from a

standardized and internally differentiated organization.[78] Instead of the framed mass of text seen in the treasury inventory, the Prüfening book inventory begins with a paragraph of text listing, in order, liturgical and Biblical texts, patristic texts, and texts from later medieval authors. Then, within simply drawn arcades extending from fol. 6r to fol. 6v, the patristic and later texts are listed again. Most but not all of the authors on fol. 6v receive their own arch. The order duplicates that in the paragraph text above, except for the liturgical and Biblical texts, which are noticeably absent from the arcades.

Compared to treasury inventories, the internal order of book inventories was relatively rigid and systematic.[79] As in the Prüfening manuscript, book inventories typically commence with the Church Fathers before proceeding to later writers. The first column of the Prüfening book inventory on fol. 6r lists the works of Gregory the Great, the next column Ambrose, the next three Augustine, and the last Jerome. Three arches inserted into Gregory's column list the works of Paterius (Gregory's notary and compiler of his writings), Hilary of Poitiers, and Basil. The arcades of the second inventory page catalogue authors including Origen, Isidore, Bede, and more recent authors such as Anselm and Peter Damian. The Prüfening book inventory's nested-arcade disposition increases its functionality via visual means. The contrast between the undifferentiated textual mass of treasury objects in the Prüfening treasury inventory and the differentially disposed (and significantly less ornate) Prüfening book inventory is striking.

Late medieval and secular treasury inventories

Late medieval treasury inventories, both secular and ecclesiastical, functioned in a context of increasing literacy and an increasingly complex legal system.[80] These inventories, therefore, generally contain more data and greater description. They thus function less mnemonically. The information needed to connect the text to

[78] Derolez emphasizes the distinction of a catalogue, which he defines as a searchable reference tool, and an inventory, which simply lists goods, in Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*, 15-26.

[79] For a detailed discussion of the development and organization of Carolingian book inventories, which collectively established a template used through the twelfth century, see McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written word*, 165-210. See also Derolez, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques*, 30-33.

[80] For exemplary studies of the form, content, generic conventions, and overall function of late medieval inventories both secular and sacred see Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, ed, *L'inventaire du trésor du dauphin futur Charles V, 1363: Les débuts d'un grand collectionneur*, Paris: Société de l'histoire de l'art français, 1996; and 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. Gaborit-Chopin's introduction offers instructive remarks on late medieval inventories in general. Gaborit-Chopin, *L'inventaire du trésor*, 1-23.

actual objects was increasingly contained within the texts themselves, and the inventories begin to resemble documents intended to be used by interchangeable members of a trained professional class.

The 1482 inventory of the treasury of St. Blasius in Braunschweig, for example, which has been thoroughly analyzed by Andrea Boockmann, generously describes its objects to the degree that extant objects can be positively identified within the inventory (see Appendix A).[81] The inventory is largely written in Latin, although the vernacular is interspersed. Interestingly, as Boockmann notes, the vernacular is frequently used to describe materials and stuffs. For example, *blackmale* designates 'enamel' instead of the Latin *electrum*, and *missinge*, 'brass', can designate both 'brass' and 'bronze' per Boockmann, although the inventory author also uses the Latin *aurichalcum*.[82]

The differences between early medieval ecclesiastical and late medieval *secular* inventories are stark. The 1363 inventory of the collection of then dauphin Charles V (d. 1380) is instructive. There are 964 entries. The inventory is written in French. The inventory is subdivided into sections, each named either for an object type (e.g., 'Jewels of gilt silver'), location, and/or past donation (e.g., 'Jewels deposited at Saint-Denis on 24 July 1363'), or another, even more specific criterion (e.g., 'Tableware of "white silver" purchased in January and February 1363').[83] The individual object records, which are numbered, describe their objects with detail, including medium, depicted iconographies, weight, armorial data, and, if possible, provenance. See, for example, the entry for a statuette of Thomas of Canterbury in Appendix B.

The 1396 will of Blanche of Navarre (d. 1398) describes its objects with detail, couches them within judgments of merit and subjective praise, and names both the intended recipient and, when possible, the illustrious person from whom Blanche herself acquired the object. As Marguerite Keane observes, the highly personal tone distinguishes Blanche's will to the point where it is thought that Blanche herself collaborated with the will's author during its writing (which took two days).[84] Consider, for example, the entry for a bejeweled True Cross reliquary given by

[81] For example, two adjacent entries (inv. nos. 7 and 8) can be positively identified with, respectively, the Eilbertus Portable Altar in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, and the Gertrude Portable Altar in the Cleveland Museum of Art. See Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, 130-131. The St. Blasius inventory was actually completed between 1482 and 1485.

[82] Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, 61-63.

[83] The section titles read *Joyaux d'argent doré*, *Joyaux déposé à Saint-Denis le 24 juillet 1363*, and *Vaisselle d'argent blanc acheté en janvier et février 1363*. The inventory only survives in an eighteenth-century copy (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 21147, fols. 2r-49r). For the inventory's table of contents see Gaborit-Chopin, *L'inventaire du trésor*, 29.

[84] See Marguerite Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best: value in the collection of a medieval queen', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34, 2008, 360-373. I thank Marguerite Keane for sharing her thoughts on the authorship, function, and generic conventions of the will.

Blanche to Isabeau of Bavaria (d. 1435) in Appendix B. For each object Blanche's bequest created memorial chains linking Blanche, the recipient, *and* any former owners of the object.

Surprisingly, this specificity of provenance and intended recipient, though not necessarily integral to describing the object, is also found in some *early* medieval wills and testaments, particularly when objects are being given to individuals instead of establishments. Elisabeth van Houts argues that objects given to other individuals preserved the memory of the specific giver to a greater extent than objects given to and incorporated into ecclesiastical treasuries.[85] This suggests that the generic conventions of secular wills and testaments were significantly different from those of treasury inventories from at least the Carolingian period onwards.

Pierre Riche's oft cited analysis of the testaments of Erward of Friuli and Eccard of Mâcon from, respectively, 865 and c. 876-882, for example, reveals a specificity of description and recipient.[86] These Carolingian secular testaments name both individual recipient and, when possible, previous owner. Riché observes clear patterns in the order and type of the bequests: for example, male heirs receive swords, weapons, horses, hunting hounds, falcons, and so on, that is, those things necessary for the wartime and leisure pursuits of the male aristocrat. On average, the objects are described with more detail than objects in peer Carolingian treasury inventories. A beryl seal ring given by Eccard to an Abbess Bertrade, for example, is recorded as a seal ring 'from beryl, from/on which a serpent is sculpted'.[87]

While the few examples of secular inventories, wills, and testaments introduced here are intriguing, significantly more research is needed to conclusively argue these points. The idea that church treasuries loosened the bond between donor and donated object to a greater extent than secular treasuries, thus rendering the object more anonymous, less worldly, and more in the general service of God, is an especially intriguing and consequential hypothesis. Indeed, the many questions surrounding both the church treasury inventory and the church treasury itself remain rich and plentiful. This essay probes select instances in which the phenomenon of treasury inventories can be scrutinized in terms of language,

[85] Van Houts's argument is cited by Keane in Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best', 365. See also Elisabeth van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, 118-120. Van Houts casts these types of bequests as a gifting practice specific to noblewomen, as noblemen had more memorializing opportunities at their disposal. I would assume, however, that noblemen also used interpersonal gift-giving as a memorializing practice.

[86] Pierre Riché, 'Trésors et collections d'aristocrates laïques carolingiens', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 22, 1972, 39-46. For the complete text of the Erward (or 'Eberhard') testament see Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mütherich, eds, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II*, Munich: Prestel, 1962, 93-94.

[87] *De berilo ubi serpens sculptus est*. Riché identifies the motif as a serpent of Dionysus. Riché, 'Trésors et collections', 44.

format, audience, circulation, and function. By considering the physical existence of these texts, the context within which we understand them becomes denser and more significant. A sustained critique of the language of these inventories segues into crucial questions of how medieval subjects valued and conceptualized some of their most precious objects. The inventory text, both in its singular material existence and its role in a broader discursive system, provides a specific, intentional, and revealing space within which treasury objects could be represented—indeed, it offered yet another mode within which they could exist.

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Appendix A – Late medieval church treasury inventory excerpts.

Selections from the inventory entries for the Eilbertus and Gertrude Portable Altars from the 1482 treasury inventory from St. Blasius, Braunschweig.
For the text see Boockmann, *Die verlorenen Teile des 'Welfenschatzes'*, 130-131, nos. 7 and 8.

Inv. no. 7 (Eilbertus Portable Altar, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin)

Item: in a precious, beautiful, and magnificent altar/reliquary (*scrineo*), gilded on every side, upon which the image of the blessed Virgin Mary typically stands on the high altar, in the upper portion of which is contained an image of Jesus accordingly seated in judgment with the four Evangelists placed around, having the relics written below ... [the relics are then listed]

Item in uno precioso et pulchriori ac magnifico scrineo super quo solet stare ymago beate Marie virginis in summo altari deaurato circumquaque in quo superius continetur ymago Ihesu prout sedit iudicium cum quatuor ewangelistis circumpositis habens reliquie infrascripte ...

No. 8 (Gertrude Portable Altar, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland):

In a precious reliquary/altar (*scrineo*) having above a marble stone of a swarthy color and in circumference many gilt images of the saints, upon which is usually placed

on feast days the head of St. Blasius, the relics written below are contained ... [the relics are then listed]

In uno precioso scrineo habens superius lapidem fusci coloris marmoreum et in circumferenciis multas ymagines sanctorum deauratas super quo in festivitatibus solet poni caput sancti Blasii habentur reliquie infrascripte ...

Appendix B – Late medieval secular treasury inventory excerpts.

Inv. no. 31 from the 1363 inventory of Charles V.
For the text see Gaborit-Chopin, *L'inventaire du trésor*, 35.

31 - A gold statuette of St. Thomas of Canterbury, vested and wearing a mitre, decorated with gemstones and pearls; it weighs in total five marks, two ounces; and the foot of said statuette is made of silver, it weighs four marks, two-and-a-half ounces. And in his *pallium* and his mitre, three balas-rubies. The foot carries the arms of France and Burgundy.

31 – Une ymage d'or de Saint Thomas de Cantorbière, revestu et mitré, garny de pierres et de perles; poise en tout V marcs II onces; et le pied du dit ymage liquel est d'argent, poise IV marcs II onces et demie. Et faut en son pallion et en sa mitre, III balaiz. Le pied est armoyé de France et de Bourgogne.

Selection from the 1396 will of Blanche of Navarre.
For the text see Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best', 366-367.

Item: We leave to our very dear daughter the queen of France a gold cross to be hung in a *clotet* [a small niche or partitioned chamber within a larger room], which has five balas-rubies, four sapphires, and nine pearls, and which opens, and inside is a piece of the True Cross. And with this one of our books, which begins *Audi fili Israel*, and which contains much good information, and these were bequeathed to me by my lady the queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, and I pray that she [Isabeau] may keep these things throughout her life out of love for us.

Item nous laissons à nostre très chiere fille la royne de France une croix d'or à pendre à un clotet, où il y a cinq balais, quatre saphirs et neuf perles, laquelle se euvre, et y a dedens de la vraie croix. Et avecques ce un de noz livres qui se commance Audi fili Israel*, et y a pluseurs bons enseignements, et fu à ma ditte dame la royne Jehanne de Bourgongne, et lui prions que elle le veuille garder sa vie durant pour amour de nous.*