

Doctoral Dissertation

**The Cult of the Chaste Imperial Couple:
Henry II and Cunigunde in the Hagiographic Traditions,
Art, and Memory of the Holy Roman Empire (c. 1350–1500)**

by

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List of Abbreviations

AS	Volume in the series of <i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
BHL	Catalog number in the series of <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i>
BHSA	Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
KBR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH DH II	von Sickel, Theodor, ed. <i>Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins</i> . Monumenta Germaniae Historica Diplomata regum et imperatorum 3. Hanover: Hahn, 1900–1903.
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores
MGH SS rer. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
SBB	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek
Stumpf, <i>Vita Heinrichi</i>	Stumpf, Marcus, ed. <i>Die Vita sancti Heinrichi regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adalbert</i> . Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi 69. Hanover: Hahn, 1999.

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INTRODUCTION

It is rare that within such a great imperial reign one of the two [spouses] is canonized; it is even more remarkable when both in a carnal union are beatified; it is especially rare when both are justified under the seal of chastity or continence.¹

With these words of amusement and praise, an anonymous medieval author marveled at two recently canonized saints—Emperor Henry II (973–1024, can. 1146) and his wife Cunigunde (c. 980–1033, can. 1200). This imperial couple, within a few centuries after their death, were invested with saintly powers and were believed to live in a virginal union. More than eight centuries have passed since this line was written down, and the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde still stand out as a unique example of a regnal virginal saintly couple in the history of the Catholic Church. The anonymous treatise, from which the quote above is cited, was written in Bamberg—an episcopal see in Upper Franconia where Henry II, and later Cunigunde, were buried; multiple other devotional texts and objects praising the holy couple originated from the same place. Indeed, the town became an intellectual cradle of these cults: since the town and the diocese had benefited largely from the emperor’s generosity in the early eleventh century, its ecclesiastical elite promoted their canonizations and have kept their cults alive. Nowadays, the imperial couple is still a symbol of Bamberg, as much as its cathedral with four towers. While St. Henry maintains his role as a historical founder and benefactor of the diocese, St. Cunigunde is invested with immense symbolic importance as she, for example, is believed to have saved the town from bombing in 1945.²

This continuous veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Bamberg is, though, only one of the stories that can be told about their sanctity in the medieval Holy Roman Empire. Although these saints did not enjoy an imperial-wide appreciation, many regions and social groups beyond Bamberg were involved in the veneration of these saints: we know about more than 150 churches, chapels, and altars dedicated to either SS. Henry or Cunigunde (or both), and more than 300 objects bearing images of these saints from 1146 until 1521 scattered across the Empire, a half of which comes from the

¹ Franz Pelster, “Ein Elogium Joachims von Fiore auf Kaiser Heinrich II. und seine Gemahlin, die heilige Kunigunde,” in *Liber Floridus: Mittelalateinische Studien*, ed. Paul Lehmann and Bernhard Bischoff (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1950), 344: “Rarum est, ut sub tanto imperii principatu quis ex duobus alter sanctificetur; rarius, ut ambo sub copula carnis beatificentur; rarissimum est, ut ambo sub sigillo castitatis seu continencie iustificentur.” Generally, in-text and pull quotes in languages other than English are given in translation with the quote in the original language in a footnote. If the translator is not mentioned, the translation is by the author.

² Bernd Schneidmüller, “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde: Das heilige Kaiserpaar des Mittelalters,” in *Kunigunde —consors regni: Vortragsreihe zum tausendjährigen Jubiläum der Krönung Kunigundes in Paderborn (1002–2002)*, ed. Stefanie Dick, Jörg Jarnut, and Matthias Wernhoff (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2004), 46.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Behind each of these dedications, as well as behind numerous legends about these saints written and told in Latin and the vernacular, stands a group or an individual who chose to engage with these cults.

Research Objectives

Saints were integral to symbolic and religious communication of the medieval period—through them, people constructed their private and communal pasts, embraced cultural memories of certain locations and institutions, expressed hopes for the future, conveyed political ideas, found solace and edifying examples, and entertained themselves. The present study explores the functions of the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in this web of communication and beliefs, while also inquiring into how their identification with a virgin couple and holy rulers influenced these functions, by asking the following questions: Why did these dedications, artistic representations, and hagiographic works devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde continue to appear throughout the medieval period in towns, in monasteries, in private book collections, and in imperial representational culture? Who were the individuals and groups that believed in the intercessory powers of these two figures and chose to commemorate them? Why and how did medieval believers decide to communicate their devotion to these cults in particular, and what did they know about these saints? What was the political and cultural impact of the belief in Henry and Cunigunde's sanctity, and how were their cults integrated into the overall *communio sanctorum*? While the title of the current study is dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, the study itself is not—as much as the analysis revolves around the two saints, it still discusses the groups and individuals of various social standings who believed in, communicated about, or doubted the saintly capacities of Emperor Henry and his spouse Cunigunde.

The study will reveal the “ways and motives of remembering”³ SS. Henry and Cunigunde, present on various levels defined by different types of communication and the actors involved: in the political sphere among the members of the imperial family, in the sphere of personal devotion among individuals and families, and in the sphere of communal life in monastic, urban, and clerical environments. It will show that the functions that these saints held were that of thaumaturgy, intercession, self-representation, edification, and political legitimation. The potential of this saintly couple to be perceived as rulers, donors, intercessors, and virgins had a profound political and cultural impact, triggering multiple forms of commemoration and devotion, engaging various communities and individuals—from parturient women and well-off clerics to famous humanists and German emperors.

³ Schneidmüller, “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde,” 29.

Despite their cults' relatively widespread geographic diffusion and the aura of "uniqueness" surrounding these two saints that had been noted by the anonymous Bamberg author, contemporary historiography cannot boast a cohesive treatment of these cults; and what attention has been paid has stayed within the domain of German historiography. While previous scholarship has concentrated on the veneration of the couple at single sites or in specific hagiographical texts, I aim at analyzing the impact and functions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults for individuals and communities remembering and venerating them as a couple or as individual saints. The current thesis is the first attempt to provide a concise investigation of the political and cultural history of St. Henry's and St. Cunigunde's cults in the late medieval Holy Roman Empire (c. 1350–1500).

Previous Scholarship

The deaths of Henry II in 1024 and Cunigunde in 1033 have appeared to be a justified full stop in the research on Ottonian political history and numerous biographical studies of the emperor and his spouse. At the same time, their deaths marked the beginning of their existence in the memories of the generations to come, also as legendary and saintly figures. Many legends surrounding Henry II and his wife developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries not only in Upper Franconia but also in Italy and Bohemia, and such an abundance of legendary material have to a certain extent steered research away from the question of their sanctity. Historians were more eager to distill these later impressions and memories of the holy couple in order to reach the "real" Henry II and Cunigunde rather than approach them as saints.⁴

While earlier studies on imperial political history expressed relative indifference to Henry II's rule (especially if compared with the *mirabilia mundi* Otto III or further tumults of the Investiture Controversy), from the mid-twentieth century onwards, the image of Henry II as a ruler—his political strategies, ecclesiastical policies, and views of rulership—attracted renewed attention in German historiography.⁵ Especially in the studies from the 1990s and early 2000s, Emperor Henry emerged as an almost idealized ruler, the pinnacle of the concept of Christomimetic rulership, as argued in the works of Hartmut Hoffmann, Manfred Höfer, Stefan Weinfurter, and Franz-Reiner Erkens.⁶ Further,

⁴ The pioneering study on Henry II, first published in 1862: Siegfried Hirsch, Hermann Pabst, and Harry Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II.*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1975). There, Hirsch added the legends about Henry II as a separate chapter in order to refute them as ahistorical: Hirsch, Pabst, and Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich II.*, 3: 359–370.

⁵ E.g., Henry II is not included in the classic essay collection on German medieval rulers by Karl Hampe from 1927: Karl Hampe, *Herrschergestalten des deutschen Mittelalters*, 7th ed. (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 1979).

⁶ Hartmut Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und "rex idiota": Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II.* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1993); Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, *Otto III. – Heinrich II.: eine Wende?*, vol. 1, *Mittelalter-Forschungen* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1997); Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II., 1002–1024: Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2000); Manfred Höfer, *Heinrich II.: das Leben und Wirken eines Kaisers* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 2002); Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Frommer Mönchskönig, sakraler Christusvikar und heiliger Kaiser:

in the wake of interest in female political agency, Cunigunde has been reassessed as a powerful female ruler, laudable for her political engagement and independent decisions, worthy to stand among other Ottonian queens—Mathilda, Theophanu, and Adelheid.⁷ Already from the middle of the last century, the research on Henry II's rule had neighbored with the discussion of his and Cunigunde's sanctity.

While several studies devoted to Henry and Cunigunde's sanctity appeared already in the early twentieth century,⁸ it was Renate Klauser, who in her doctoral dissertation published in 1957 for the first time investigated the circumstances of the appearance of the legends lauding Henry and Cunigunde's saintly capacities, who outlined the canonization procedures and studied the hagiographic and liturgical observance of these cults in high medieval Bamberg.⁹ This study constitutes a part of a scholarly trend in medieval studies, which had only begun evolving at that time, concerned with investigating sanctity in its own right as a cultural, religious, societal, and political phenomenon, best represented by the research of André Vauchez, Peter Brown, and Robert Folz.¹⁰

Klauser's considerations about the beginnings of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults, which are still prevalent in the scholarship to this day,¹¹ can be summarized as follows: St. Henry's canonization in 1146 was the culmination of this century-long veneration that spontaneously developed in Bamberg as a continuation of his postmortem commemoration at some point in the eleventh century. This view was subsequently challenged by Bernd Schneidmüller, who argued that St. Henry's canonization was predominantly the creation of the Bamberg clergy in the mid-twelfth century and not the confirmation of a continuous local devotional tradition.¹² Further, Klauser claimed that the sanctity of Cunigunde

Heinrich II.," in *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel: das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich II. und Kunigunde*, ed. Norbert Jung and Holger Kempkens (Bamberg: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 2014), 20–7.

⁷ Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Fürsprache, Rat und Tat, Erinnerung: Kunigundes Aufgaben als Kaiserin," in *Kunigunde — consors regni: Vortragsreihe zum tausendjährigen Jubiläum der Krönung Kunigundes in Paderborn (1002–2002)*, ed. Matthias Wemhoff, Stefanie Dick, and Jörg Jarnut (Munich: Fink, 2004), 47–69; Markus Schütz, "Kunigunde," in *Die Kaiserinnen des Mittelalters*, ed. Amalie Föbel (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2011), 78–99; Simon MacLean, *Ottoman Queenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 180–206.

⁸ E.g., Heinrich Günter, *Kaiser Heinrich II., der Heilige* (Kempten: Jos. Kösel, 1904); Heinrich Müller, *Das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich und Kunigunde* (Missionsdruckerei, 1905); Hermann Schöppler, "Die Krankheiten Kaisers Heinrich II. und seine „Josefsehe“," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, no. H. 3/4 (1919): 200–5.

⁹ Renate Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg* (Bamberg: Selbstverlag des historischen Vereins, 1957).

¹⁰ This list is far from being even merely sufficient, and further works are used throughout the present study: Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101, and *The Cult of the Saints, Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Age en Occident, VIe-XIIIe siècles*, *Subsidia hagiographica*: 68 (Bruxelles: Societe des Bollandistes, 1984); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Klauser's fundamental scheme of the cults' evolution has been adopted in later publications, for example: Georg Beck, *St. Heinrich und St. Kunigunde: das Leben des heiligen Kaiserpaares* (Bamberg: St. Otto-Verlag, 1961); Klaus Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde: das heilige Herrscherpaar: Leben, Legende, Kult und Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002); Carla Meyer, "Die konstruierte Heilige: Kaiserin Kunigunde und ihre Darstellung in Quellen des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 139 (2003): 39–101; Dieter J. Weiß, "Die Bamberger Diözesanheiligen im Mittelalter: Kaiser Heinrich II., Kaiserin Kunigunde, Bischof Otto und Sebalduß," in *Religion, Kultur, Geschichte: Beiträge zur historischen Kulturforschung vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Heidrun Alzheimer-Haller, Michael Imhof, and Klaus Guth (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 29–45.

¹² Esp., Bernd Schneidmüller, "Neues über einen alten Kaiser? Heinrich II. in der Perspektive der modernen Forschung," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 133 (1997), 16.

was first formed as a supplement to the cult of St. Henry. However, certain similarities between St. Cunigunde and the Virgin Mary guaranteed her widespread adoration after the canonization in 1200. Already in the thirteenth century, St. Cunigunde quickly surpassed her husband in popularity in the Bamberg diocese, attracting more devotees and dedications. This framework is discussed in more detail in the first chapter, when the early beginnings of the cults are outlined and necessary amendments to Klauser's scheme and further considerations are introduced.

After this pioneering study came out, other scholars continued to engage with SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults—most importantly, Jürgen Petersohn, Klaus Guth, Elisabeth Roth, and Bernd Schneidmüller.¹³ These studies have been undertaken primarily by the Bamberg and Würzburg scholarly communities and, consequently, are concerned mostly with the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Franconia, their visual attributes, and canonization campaigns initiated by the bishopric of Bamberg. This research current has been accompanied by similar studies from other veneration centers such as Kaufungen, Basel, Merseburg, and the Bohemian lands.¹⁴ However, these studies about specific locations remained quite isolated from each other, and the broader context of the veneration of the imperial couple has rarely been established.¹⁵ Bernd Schneidmüller also brought up the cults' connection with the imperial *memoria* and the motives behind the canonizations by applying

¹³ Jürgen Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III. zur Heiligsprechung der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1200)," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 37 (1977): 1–25; Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, and "Die frühe lateinische und deutsche Überlieferung der 'Legende' von Kaiser Heinrichs II. Heilung im Kloster Montecassino," in *Volkskultur und Heimat: Festschrift für Josef Dünninger*, ed. Dieter Harmening and Erich Wimmer (Würzburg: Neumann, 1986), 317–27; Elisabeth Roth, "Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildaussage," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 123 (1987): 5–68; Schneidmüller, "Neues über einen alten Kaiser?," and "Heinrich II. und Kunigunde: Das heilige Kaiserpaar des Mittelalters."

¹⁴ Some of the important studies concerning the cult of St. Cunigunde were initiated and conducted by Ingrid Baumgärtner in Kaufungen—another place connected to the empress: Ingrid Baumgärtner, ed., *Kunigunde—eine Kaiserin an der Jahrtausendwende* (Kassel: Furore-Verlag, 1997); Baumgärtner, "Fürsprache, Rat und Tat, Erinnerung." On the cults in Basel: Carl Pfaff, *Kaiser Heinrich II: sein Nachleben und sein Kult im mittelalterlichen Basel* (Basel, Helbing, and Lichtenhahn, 1963); Stefan Hess, "Zwischen Verehrung und Versenkung: zum Nachleben Kaiser Heinrichs II. in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 102 (2002): 83–143. For Merseburg see: Peter Ramm, "Bischof Sigismunds Heinrichskapelle," in *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg*, ed. Markus Cottin, Václav Vok Filip, and Holger Kunde (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 153–75; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung: das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich und Kunigunde in seinen Bistümern Bamberg und Merseburg* (Halle-Wittenberg: Halle an der Saale Universitätsverlag, 2015); Ulrike Siewert, "Die Verehrung Heinrichs II. in Merseburg," in *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg*, ed. Markus Cottin, Václav Vok Filip, and Holger Kunde (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 145–51. For the cults in the Bohemian lands see Miroslav Šmied, "Svatý Jindřich a Svatá Kunhuta, bamberští svatci v Praze jako duchovní reprezentanti imperiálních ambicí českých králů [Die hll. Heinrich und Kunigunde — die Bamberger Heiligen in Prag als geistliche Repräsentanten der Großmachtsambitionen der Böhmenkönige]," in *Svatá Anežka Česká a velké ženy její doby [Die heilige Agnes von Böhmen und die großen Frauengestalten ihrer Zeit]*, ed. Miroslav Šmied and František Záruba (Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2013), 166–83; Václav Bok, "Zum Kult der Bamberger Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde in den böhmischen Ländern," in *Von Heilige, Rittern und Narren: Mediävistische Studien für Hans-Joachim Behr zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingrid Bennewitz and Wiebke Ohlendorf (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 77–92. For other localities: Karl-Heinz Mistele, "Kaiser Heinrich II. und seine Verehrung im Elsaß," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 102 (1966): 209–21; Siegfried Seifert, "Die Verehrung des heiligen Kaiserpaares Heinrich und Kunigunde im Bistum Dresden-Meißen," in *Hortulus floridus Bambergensis: Studien zur fränkischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Werner Taegert (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004), 399–404.

¹⁵ In his mostly biographical study about the imperial couple, Klaus Guth departs from the Bamberg-centric paradigm, although he has not analyzed the cults per se: Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*; Schneidmüller has recently compared the functioning of the cults in Bamberg and Merseburg, see Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*.

recent methodological approaches from the studies of sainthood and memory construction, although mostly for the high medieval period.¹⁶ It is also important to mark the comprehensive work by Heinrich Linke on the “cult-topography” of these saints, which contains a catalog of churches and altars dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde (the saints’ *patrocinia*) and artworks depicting these saints from the early eleventh century up to the end of the twentieth century throughout the world.¹⁷ This is a useful auxiliary study for any research on the cults undertaken for a specific period (be it medieval, early modern, or the twentieth century); Linke’s catalog provided a foundation for a dataset on medieval *patrocinia* and cult-related objects used for the present research.

The new wave of interest in the holy figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was triggered by the 800-year anniversary of Cunigunde’s canonization (1200) as well as the millennia anniversaries of Henry II and Cunigunde’s coronations (in 1002 and 1014), the foundation of Merseburg Cathedral (1015), and the consecration of Basel Cathedral (1019).¹⁸ In the numerous collaborative volumes and exhibition catalogs published to mark these anniversaries of Henry and Cunigunde’s worldly lives, articles by Ulrike Siewert, Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch, Tanja Michalsky, Stefanie Dick, and Holger Kempkens were devoted to the cults of the saintly rulers, signifying a rising interest in the afterlife of the imperial couple.¹⁹ Moreover, these exhibition catalogs presented various objects bearing depictions of these saints.²⁰ For example, while such magnificent works as SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s tomb in Bamberg Cathedral carved by Tilman Riemenschneider at the beginning of the

¹⁶ Bernd Schneidmüller, “Kaiserin Kunigunde: Bamberger Wege zu Heiligkeit, Weiblichkeit und Vergangenheit,” *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 137 (2001): 13–34, and “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde.”

¹⁷ Heinrich Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie des Hl. Kaiserpaars Heinrich und Kunigunde: anlässlich des 1000-jährigen Bestehens für das Erzbistum Bamberg zusammengestellt* (Bamberg, 2007). His study is based on several catalogues such as *Dehio-Handbuch der deutschen Kunstgeschichte* and *Germania Sacra* as well as on an extensive number of other publications. Some of the data, however, originates from Linke’s correspondence with local officials and cannot be proved by any historical sources except for oral traditions, and I have not included these cases in the final dataset. The material is presented in more detail in Chapter 2 and referred to throughout the dissertation.

¹⁸ An issue of the *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 137 (2001) was devoted to the anniversary of Cunigunde’s canonization; also see Matthias Wemhoff, ed., *Kunigunde – empfangen die Krone* (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2002); Stefanie Dick, Jörg Jarnut, and Matthias Wemhoff, *Kunigunde, consors regni: Vortragsreihe zum tausendjährigen Jubiläum der Krönung Kunigundes in Paderborn (1002–2002)* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004); Norbert Jung and Holger Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel: Das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich II. und Kunigunde*, Veröffentlichungen des Diözesanmuseums Bamberg 26 (Bamberg: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 2014); Markus Cottin, Václav Vok Filip, and Holger Kunde, *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015); Marc Fehlmann, Michael Matzke, and Sabine Söll-Tauchert, eds., *Gold & Ruhm: Kunst und Macht unter Kaiser Heinrich II.* (Basel: Historisches Museum Basel, 2019).

¹⁹ Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch, “Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde an der Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert im Spiegel ihrer Mirakelsammlung,” in *Kunigunde: eine Kaiserin an der Jahrtausendwende*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1997), 157–86; Tanja Michalsky, “Imperatrix gloriosa - humilitatis et castitatis exemplum: das Bild der hl. Kunigunde,” in *Kunigunde: eine Kaiserin an der Jahrtausendwende*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner (Kassel: Furore Verlag, 1997), 187–222; Stefanie Dick and Carla Meyer, “Leben und Nachleben Kunigundes,” in *Kunigunde – empfangen die Krone*, ed. Matthias Wemhoff (Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2002), 67–84; Erkens, “Frommer Mönchskönig, sakraler Christusvikar und heiliger Kaiser;” Siewert, “Die Verehrung Heinrichs II. in Merseburg;” Holger Kempkens, “Die Verehrung des heiligen Kaiserpaars Heinrich und Kunigunde zwischen Bamberg und Basel,” in *Gold & Ruhm: Kunst und Macht unter Kaiser Heinrich II.*, ed. Marc Fehlmann, Michael Matzke, and Sabine Söll-Tauchert (Basel: Historisches Museum Basel, 2019), 302–11. Also see the catalog that presents artistic production related to their medieval and modern cults, see Jung and Kempkens, *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 74–241.

²⁰ Roth, “Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildaussage;” Michalsky, “Imperatrix gloriosa.”

sixteenth century were always in the spotlight of art historians,²¹ the mentioned catalogs put objects and images of presumably lesser “artistic value” on the agenda of researchers. While this historiographic overview encompasses only the works related to the medieval cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, it should not signify a complete lack of research pertaining to the early modern and modern history of these cults. One can mention, for example, studies on St. Henry’s representation in Jesuit drama and on the seventeenth-century frescoes of the Ancient Chapel in Regensburg, while Elisabeth Roth provides insightful parallels between medieval and modern textual and visual representations of St. Cunigunde.²²

Alongside these specialized inquiries into local manifestations of either St. Henry’s or St. Cunigunde’s cults, the saintly couple also surfaced in respective studies dealing with the formation and execution of papal canonization procedures and broader trends in medieval sanctity,²³ while the holy couple were also often presented as examples of chaste saints or holy rulers in several other studies.²⁴ Thus, SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared in a vibrant research field devoted to the cults of holy rulers and sacred kingship.²⁵ There, SS. Henry and Cunigunde have been mostly mentioned as comparative cases for other more prominent cults—be it the Hungarian holy kings or the status of Charlemagne in high and late medieval imperial ideology; therefore, certain aspects of the political veneration of these two saints have been neglected, especially their inclusion in the imperial symbolic language decades and centuries after their canonizations. A more in-depth discussion of this

²¹ For example, Justus Bier, “Riemenschneider’s Tomb of Emperor Henry and Empress Cunegund,” *The Art Bulletin* 29, no. 2 (June 1947): 95–117; Bruno Neundorfer, *Leben und Legende: die Bildwerke am Grab des Kaiserpaars Heinrich und Kunigunde im Bamberger Dom* (Bamberg: Bayerische Verlagsanstalt, 1985); Iris Kalden, “Beiträge zu Tilman Riemenschneiders Kaisergrab im Bamberger Dom,” *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 123 (1987): 69–119.

²² Franz Bittner, “Kaiser Heinrich II. im Jesuitentheater des Süddeutschen Raumes,” *Historischer Verein Bamberg* 137 (2001): 241–69; Norbert Jung, “Eine Legende ‘lokaler Überlieferung’? Das Fresko zum Becherwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II. in der Alten Kapelle zu Regensburg und sein hagiographischer Kontext,” in *Religion, Kultur, Geschichte: Beiträge zur historischen Kulturforschung vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Heidrun Alzheimer-Haller, Michael Imhof, and Klaus Guth, 2015, 403–28; Roth, “Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildaussage.”

²³ E.g., Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*; Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta, the Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1982); Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht: das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2004); Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung: die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation: ein Handbuch* (Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2005), esp. 90–7, 227–38.

²⁴ Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 128–31, 274–81; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 114–23, 154, 171–3.

²⁵ This short list of the most influential works on royal sanctity, some of which mention the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, is far from being complete; this topic is discussed in more depth in Chapter 6: Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Age en Occident*, and *Les saintes reines du moyen age en Occident, VIe-XIIIe siècles*, *Subsidia hagiographica*: 76 (Bruxelles: Societe des Bollandistes, 1992); Patrick Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens: Sainteté dynastique, royale et féminine autour de l’an Mil* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1986); Jürgen Petersohn, ed., *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994); Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*; Sean Gilsdorf, ed., *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, *Medieval Texts in Translation* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004); Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective*, *The New Middle Ages Series* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

historiographic field is due in Chapter 6 of the dissertation, which is followed by an analysis of the use of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults in the symbolic communication of late medieval rulers.

One should also account for specialized studies and critical editions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's Latin hagiographies, whose appearance, significant in itself, aided further studies on the history of the cults. The first edition that attempted to collate existing variations of their *vitae* appeared as early as 1611—the prolific Jesuit theologian and writer Jakob Gretser edited the hagiographies of three Bamberg saints (SS. Henry, Cunigunde, and Bishop Otto of Bamberg) in a volume titled *Divi Bambergenses*.²⁶ Subsequently, the *vitae* of Henry and Cunigunde were published in the respective volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* and *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.²⁷ In 1999, Marcus Stumpf published a critical edition of the *vita Heinrici* that engaged with textual traditions overlooked by the previous studies—the appearance of this volume corroborated the general trend of hagiographic texts being viewed as relevant sources for scholarly investigation.²⁸ However, a modern critical edition of the *vita Cunegundis* with its vast textual traditions remains a scholarly desideratum. Furthermore, another cluster of studies should be distinguished—those dealing with literary texts solely about SS. Henry and Cunigunde (for example, the vernacular poem by Ebernand of Erfurt)²⁹ and with works that are only partially devoted to either of the saints (among these are multiple studies on vernacular legends, including the edition of the most popular vernacular hagiographic collection *Der Heiligen Leben*, and multiple medieval chronicles).³⁰ While these are the major research traits influencing the state of the art on the holy couple in contemporary scholarship, further studies treating other European saints, specific objects, texts, the phenomenon of sanctity, and other political, religious, and social phenomena are employed in the analysis.

Evidently, this dissertation has not appeared in a scholarly vacuum—it is built in dialogue with existing studies on SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults while tackling the issues that have been continuously underrepresented in the scholarship. The problems of identifying the reasons for

²⁶ Jacob Gretser, *Divi Bambergenses S. Henricvs Imperator, S. Kvnegvndis Imperatrix, S. Otho Episcopvs* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1611).

²⁷ “De S. Henrico Imperatore,” in *Acta Sanctorum Julii III*, ed. Joanne Bapt. Sollerio et al. (Antwerp: Jacob du Moulin, 1723), 711–44; “Adalberti vita Heinrici II. Imperatoris,” ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 4*, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 792–814; “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” in *MGH SS 4*, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 821–8; “De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice,” in *Acta Sanctorum Martii 1*, ed. Godfried Henschen and Daniel van Papenbroeck (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1865), 265–80.

²⁸ Marcus Stumpf, ed., *Die Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adalbert*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 69 (Hanover: Hahn, 1999).

²⁹ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunigunde*, ed. Reinhold Bechstein (Quedlinburg; Leipzig: G. Basse, 1860); the recent translation: Ebernand of Erfurt, *Die Kaiserlegende von Heinrich und Kunigunde*, ed. Kurt Gärtner, trans. Manfred Lemmer (Sandersdorf-Brehna: Renneritz Verlag, 2012); the major study on this poem: Hans-Jürgen Schröpfer, “Heinrich und Kunigunde”: *Untersuchungen zur Verslegende des Ebernand von Erfurt und zur Geschichte ihres Stoffs* (Göppingen: Alfred Kümmerle, 1969).

³⁰ E.g., Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986); Kristina Freienhagen-Baumgardt et al., eds., *Der Heiligen Leben: Band I: Der Sommerteil* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), henceforth this edition is referred to as *Der Heilige Leben*.

venerating and commemorating either of the saints, the functions of these cults for groups and individuals, as well as the impact of these commemorative traditions, especially in the late medieval period, has largely remained untouched. A need for further engagement with these topics has been recognized by other scholars of SS. Henry and Cunigunde.³¹ Moreover, by choosing to analyze the late medieval functions of the cults—that is, already after their papal confirmation—this research contributes to a strain of studies that perceive saints’ cults as “a never-ending (not even with canonization) process of constructing many different meanings that change over time.”³² Essentially, this study of the late medieval functions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults and their devotees has been formed not exclusively in response to the insufficient treatment of this topic in the respective scholarship, especially in English, but also because the research on these two cults can illuminate multiple societal and cultural phenomena of the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries in the Holy Roman Empire.

A Note on Names, Times, and Spaces

The temporal backbone of this study lasts from the mid-fourteenth until the early sixteenth centuries and is referred to as the late medieval period, although some discussions necessitate digressions into earlier and later periods. The timeframe roughly corresponds to the period between the reigns of Charles IV (r. 1346–1378) and Maximilian I (r. 1486–1519). It is not strictly defined by specific events in the political and religious spheres, although one can mark the timeframe with the Golden Bull (1356) and the onset of the Reformation, traditionally marked by Martin Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses in 1517, as this movement signified major societal changes, largely impacting devotional preferences. The geographical set-up of this study corresponds to the regions included in the vast political multilingual and multiethnic entity of the Holy Roman Empire—the area where SS. Henry and Cunigunde were venerated the most.³³ While accounting for all immediate external and internal changes of the Empire’s borders is hardly manageable here, the key regions constituting the Empire were the German and Austrian lands, Burgundy, Swiss communities, the Low Countries and

³¹ Schneidmüller, “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde,” 45: “Eine weit ausgreifende Dissertation, die akribische Stoffsammlung mit moderner methodengeleiteter Interpretationskompetenz verbindet, bleibt nach der bahnbrechenden Regionalstudie für das Bistum Bamberg von Renate Klauser ein dringendes Forschungsdesiderat.”

³² Marie Škarpová, “Introduction: Patron Saints and Saintly Patronage as the Subject of Early Modern Studies,” in *Patron Saints and Saintly Patronage in Early Modern Central Europe*, ed. Marie Škarpová (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2019), 16–7.

³³ There are also marginal cases of the saints’ appearance in Rome, Sweden, and Iceland: the frescoes of St. Henry in San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome are briefly discussed in Chapter 4; about the representations of Henry’s soul-weighing on Gotland see Iliana Kandzha, “The Migrating Legend of Saint Emperor Henry II: Representations of the Soul-Weighing and the Chalice-Miracle in Medieval Frescoes on Gotland,” *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 74 (2017): 28–56; Kalinke has studied the transfer of the holy couple’s legends into an Iceland legendary: Marianne E. Kalinke, “Hendreks Saga og Kunegundis: Marital Consent in the Legend of Henry and Cunegund,” in *Sanctity in the North. Saints, Lives, and Cults in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. Thomas Andrew DuBois (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 307–33.

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Luxemburg, the lands of the Bohemian Crown, as well as several outposts of ecclesiastical power loyal to the Empire in Northern Italy—a map will do better than a bare recitation (fig. 1). The Empire’s internal political culture is notoriously known as a convoluted patchwork of kingdoms, duchies, ecclesiastical territorial lords, and free cities with intricate interrelations between each other and to the imperial authority, and these relations are treated in the dissertation when necessitated by the analysis.³⁴



Fig. 1. Map of the Holy Roman Empire around 1400. Wikimedia Commons, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heiliges_Römisches_Reich#/media/Datei:HRR_1400.png (accessed May 1, 2021). Reproduced according to CC BY 2.5.

In addition to changing political borders, the cultural and political landscapes in which the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde operated dramatically altered towards the late medieval period. The characteristics of this epoch, its religious and cultural changes, novel devotional forms, and rapid cultural, economic, and political transformations have been tackled in numerous studies.³⁵ Not going

³⁴ Further on the imperial power structure, its internal and external borders, as well as the relation between the German kingdom and the Empire see: Peter Moraw, *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung: Das Reich im späten Mittelalter 1250 bis 1490* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1989); Peter Moraw, ed., *Deutscher Königshof, Hoftag und Reichstag im späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 48 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2002); Tom Scott, “Germany and the Empire,” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History VII: 1415–1500*, ed. Christopher Thomas Allmand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 337–66; Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁵ Some of the studies on this period, specific for the German-speaking region: Hermann Heimpel, “Das deutsche 15. Jahrhundert in Krise und Beharrung,” in *Die Welt zur Zeit des Konstanzer Konzils*, ed. Theodor Mayer (Konstanz; Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 1965), 9–29; Hartmut Boockmann, *Stauferzeit und spätes Mittelalter Deutschland 1125–1517*

into the details of late medieval religious and social history, this period is characterized by the rise of the mendicant orders followed by Observant reforms, an increase in lay piety and the *Devotio Moderna* movement, the further development of universities, Humanism, Renaissance culture, the formalization of canonization procedures influencing contemporary concepts of sanctity, the schism, and the conciliarism movement—the list could be continued. On the level of cultural production, one should highlight increasing literacy, better accessibility of cult-related production as objects of private and communal veneration and entertainment, the establishment of printing, and historiographic production influenced by humanistic inquiries. The functions and the cultural impact of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were conditioned by these new devotional settings and the new medialities and, at the same time, the cults constituted an integral part of these broader phenomena.

A brief note on the use of German, Italian, and Slavic personal and place names is in order. Generally, English analogs of foreign names and terms are preferred. However, in rare cases, German terms and their English equivalents are used interchangeably (e.g., *Reichstag* and Imperial Diet) when allowed for in the anglophone scholarship, while for some names, the German version is preferred when such a use constitutes a scholarly tradition (e.g., Gottfried of Viterbo instead of the anglicized “Godfrey”). The personal name of one of the protagonists appeared quite problematic: while German “Henrich” and Latin “Heinricus” are traditionally referred to in English as “Henry,” the holy empress’s name can be rendered in English in several ways (e.g., Cunigunde, Cunegonda, Cunigund, and Kunigunde are quite common). The Latin and Old German orthography for this name varied greatly while local versions also existed in the Bohemian and Slovene lands (Kunhuta and Kungota, respectively), and therefore no version can be deemed prevalent. Here, “Cunigunde” is used to refer to the saintly empress since it is a common anglophone rendering,³⁶ which at the same time closely resembling its modern German analog. When other personalities with the same name appear, they are referred to as “Kunigunde” to avoid confusion with the saintly empress. Moreover, in the respective anglophone literature, it is more common to refer to late medieval ladies bearing the same name as “Kunigunde” (for example, Frederick III’s daughter is exclusively called “Kunigunde of Austria”). In order to avoid a confusion of historical personae and their subsequent role as saints, the guiding principle is to refer to Henry and Cunigunde in their saintly capacities with a prefix “St.,” while in the context of their worldly lives, Henry is rendered as “Henry II” or “Emperor Henry.”

Although Henry and Cunigunde, both in their worldly and saintly careers, were deeply interrelated—and therefore, it is justifiable to study these personae together—in a strictly liturgical

(Berlin: Siedler, 1994); Wilhelm Kühlmann and Bodo Guthmüller, eds., *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000); Erich Meuthen, *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Claudia Märkl, 5th ed. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2012); Dieter Mertens, *Humanismus und Landesgeschichte*, ed. Dieter Speck, Birgit Studt, and Thomas Zozt (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018).

³⁶ E.g., Simon MacLean uses “Cunigunde” in his recent study: MacLean, *Ottoman Queenship*.

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sense, St. Henry and St. Cunigunde form two individual cults, whose geographical and social appeal followed different patterns. Unlike St. Cosmas and Damian or St. Ursula with her following, SS. Henry and Cunigunde have separate feast days, their own liturgies, and hagiographic readings. Moreover, the cults were created by separate canonization procedures that operated in different political, cultural, and administrative settings. Therefore, the phrase “the cult of SS. Henry and Cunigunde” is used more as a shortcut for “the cults of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde” than a designation of a double-cult. However, the saints were merged together in the cultural memory of Franconia, the quintessence of which is their side-by-side placement on the so-called *Adamspforte* of Bamberg Cathedral and their shared tombstone carved by Tilman Riemenschneider.

Sources

This part presents the typology of sources used in the current study and their epistemic value for the analysis of the saints’ cults, while an in-depth discussion of the methodology follows in the next section. A hefty part of this research is based on written sources traditionally drawn for the analysis of cults and sanctity: hagiographies and canonization documents, liturgical texts and invocations, documents testifying to commemoration and veneration of saints (that is charters, lists of relics, consecration notes), as well as information on *patrocinia* (church, chapel, and altar dedications), topography, and personal names. Medieval historiography is also considered a valuable medium for transmitting blended historiographic and hagiographic knowledge of SS. Henry and Cunigunde. This study integrates remnants of material culture (such as altarpieces, statues, reliquaries) that were made and used for communicating with and through saints. Exactly these objects, often bearing the saints’ visual representations, together with liturgical chants, hagiographies, and invocations created the material and symbolic circumstances for performing devotion to a saint.

Hagiography designates a genre of writing related to a saint’s cult, often narrating about the saint’s life, martyrdom, and postmortem miracles, of predominantly liturgical, edifying, and promoting functions—a type of literature that for a long time had born a stigma of being untrue and ahistorical. It is with the works of Hippolyte Delehaye and his followers that the scholarly approach towards this literary genre has started to alter.³⁷ Especially with the advancement of social anthropology, hagiography has been rehabilitated as a valuable source for inquiries not only into their subjects, namely the saint, but also into popular religion, pagan holdovers, medical practice,

³⁷ Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography*, trans. Virginia Crawford (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1907), first published in French in 1905. On the problematics of the term “hagiography” and the history of its scholarly reception see: Felice Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism and Genre: ‘Hagiographical’ Texts as Historical Narrative,” *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–114. For a recent overview of the genre and new approaches towards hagiographies see: Samantha Kahn Herrick, “Introduction,” in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 1–10.

urbanization, culture, women and childhood history, as these hagiographic texts often reflected beliefs, preferences, and expectations of the “silent majority.”³⁸ Since hagiographies reveal not only the prevalent religious ideas but also the social consciousness of the people who venerated and maintained a saint’s cult, these texts have also been used for the history of mentalities. However, medievalists have been warned against using the term “hagiography” as it retrospectively imposes a modern distinction between “hagiography” and “historiography” onto medieval texts.³⁹ Although the term “sacred biography” has been proposed as a substitute,⁴⁰ here, “hagiography” is preferred as it is a capacious vessel for multiple types of literary forms about saints, related to establishing, liturgically celebrating, and propagating a cult, that include lives, passions, and miracles, as well as translation and elevation records. The smoother term “hagiographic narrative” proves useful when, for example, the elements of saints’ *vitae* are incorporated into chronicles, as it credits the generic fluidity of medieval writings.

For the study of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s commemoration as saintly figures, their Latin and vernacular hagiographies and liturgical texts are used as the principal sources to access the medieval perceptions of the saints, constructed by the author (who often remained anonymous, including subsequent editors and scribes who sometimes fancied subtle changes and additions) and the audience (which is rarely possible to unambiguously denote), determined by the immediate circumstances of their production, use, and subsequent dissemination and alterations. Within these texts, a perception of a saint is modified, among other features, by the use of recurring narratives, symbols, and typological associations. However, it is not among the purposes of the present study to scrutinize all hagiographic texts about SS. Henry and Cunigunde with the help of close reading to recognize the used narrative tools, biblical clichés, topoi, and variations. It is more significant to account for the circumstances of the texts’ appearance and use, correlations with visual media, as well as the social meaning of variations and transmission of texts.⁴¹ Looking at hagiographies through the prism of the materiality of text also helps to analyze individual contexts of use, plunging these strategies into their political, social, and cultural contexts.⁴²

³⁸ Studies by Finucane and Goodich are especially telling in this respect: Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997); Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

³⁹ Lifshitz, “Beyond Positivism and Genre.”

⁴⁰ Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). On the relation of hagiography to a biographical genre see Michael Goodich, “Biography 1000–1350,” in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 353–86.

⁴¹ Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004); Barbara Zimbalist, “Comparative Hagiology and/as Manuscript Studies: Method and Materiality,” *Religions*, no. 10 (2019): 604.

⁴² Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 59–86.

Medieval **historiography** forms another corpus of primary sources used in this study. While Henry II and Cunigunde's images were an integral part of any historical writing dealing with the succession of German rulers, some of these texts transmitted a blended "hagio-historiographic knowledge" of Henry II and his spouse and played a role in the dissemination of the saintly memory attached to these historical figures.⁴³ From the second half of the twentieth century, medieval historiography has been studied as a specific historiographic system different (not of lesser quality or more simplistic) than our contemporary understandings of history-writing.⁴⁴ Subsequently, a set of approaches were called for to analyze medieval historiography, recognize the different forms they can appear in, their stylistic features, inner logic, as well as social and cultural circumstances of their production and reception. This is a vibrant, ever-growing field of interdisciplinary medieval studies whose achievements are not possible to fully overview in this brief introduction.

Although we traditionally speak of historiography as a genre, the application of this term to medieval history-writing cannot be straightforward. Nevertheless, the categorization of various forms, styles, and traditions of medieval historical texts is necessary. The classification applied in the current study is based on the "subject-matter," in which, among others, the following forms and traditions are defined: world (universal) chronicles, ecclesiastical histories, imperial chronicles, local and institutional histories.⁴⁵ The content and form of each historiographic text is often a mixture of several types and is defined by the initial goal-setting, traditions, and subsequent use, which can vary even within available copies of the same text.

Visual representations and material culture surrounding the cults (including architectural and urban settings and performative actions in which these artifacts were used) comprised an integral part of the liturgical environment designed for devotional practices. At the same time, singular objects, visual representation in public spaces, and images such as woodcuts could provide an intimate moment of connecting with a saint, beyond strictly liturgical communal veneration.⁴⁶ Although this

⁴³ The term "historisch-hagiologische Wissensbestände" is introduced by Peter Strohschneider, "Johannes Rothes Verslegende über Elisabeth von Thüringen und seine Chroniken. Materialien zum Funktionsspektrum legendarischen und historiographischen Erzählens im späten Mittelalter," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 23 (1998): 1–29.

⁴⁴ For a brief overview see the introduction to Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), esp. 7–9; for the research on medieval historiography of the mostly German cultural area see Hans Patze, ed., *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, Vorträge und Forschungen 31 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987); Hans-Werner Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im hohen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie, 1999); Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Joseph Geary, eds., *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Rolf Sprandel, "World Historiography in the Late Middle Ages," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 157–80. Also the research conducted under the auspices of the Medieval Chronicle Society should be mentioned in this respect.

⁴⁵ This classification is applied in Deliyannis, ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages*; also see Patrick Geary, "Chronicles, Annales, and Other Forms of Memoria," in *Chronicon. Medieval Narrative Sources: A Chronological Guide with Introductory Essays*, ed. Janos M. Bak and Ivan Jurkovic (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 13–23.

⁴⁶ Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 409–57.

dissertation is not a study in art history, extensive adoptions of methods from iconography and visual studies are necessary for critical interpretation of the used images and objects.⁴⁷

The present approach to using images and objects for the study of sanctity is informed by a recent pragmatic turn in visual studies that emphasizes contexts and functions in which objects were created and used.⁴⁸ Moreover, it is worth noting that the interpretations attached to any of the saints' representations are constructed by a commissioner, an artist, and an audience and are also influenced by the circumstances of the image's display. Therefore, when dealing with artistic representations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde (such as reliquaries, altarpieces, frescoes, tombstones, sculptures), not only their artistic features and iconographic types are analyzed, but also their purpose, their position within sacral or other spaces, symbolic and economic values, and functions within the community.

Analytical Framework and Methodology

The concepts of communication, memory, and performance are critical notions within which this study operates—these concepts establish my understanding of the medieval cult and the figure of a saint as well as inform the methodology used to approach these phenomena. There are multiple ways of comprehending and studying sanctity and the cults of saints, and the approaches would be drastically different among art historians, theologians, historians of religious thought, and scholars interested in gender studies or postcolonial theories. The number of available approaches has multiplied, especially since the 1980s, when historians absorbed theories of anthropology, cultural studies, and social constructivism, also fruitfully applicable for inquiries into holiness and the functions of saints. Thus, these grand critical frameworks instigated scholars to investigate social consciousness and the religious mentality of believers who maintained a specific cult, as a cult was actively constructed by its devotees and performed a specific function in society.

The pragmatic approach towards a saint's cult has been formed largely under the influence of Peter Brown, who accentuated the functions of a holy man for a society.⁴⁹ For example, Kathleen Ashley has recently used a framework of "cultural work" to investigate the patterns of patronage and reception in the medieval cults of St. Foy—an approach used for investigating "meaningful variation" in a saint's cult that is similar to the one applied in the current study.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For the use of images as historical evidence see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2006), and "Interrogating the Eyewitness," *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 4 (2010): 435–43.

⁴⁸ Pragmatic iconology was introduced by Ernst Gombrich, *The Uses of Images: Studies in the Social Functions of Art and Visual Communication* (London: Phaidon, 1999).

⁴⁹ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; Claudia Rapp, "The Origins of Hagiography and the Literature of Early Monasticism: Purpose and Genre between Tradition and Innovation," in *Alternatives to the Classical Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. Christopher Kelly, Richard Flower, and Michael Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119–30.

⁵⁰ Kathleen M Ashley, *The Cults of Sainte Foy and the Cultural Work of Saints* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

Any saint is recognized as a multivalent figure, representing a mode of salvation for their devotees, a communal symbol, or an edifying story. For a living holy person, a direct contact with disciples, clerics, and laypeople was of the utmost importance;⁵¹ with the later proliferation of cults of holy men and women, a saint's *praesentia* was revitalized through relics, pilgrimages, dedications, liturgy, hagiographies, and invocations. In this context, one should differentiate between the experiences of "direct communication with the Divine" (through invocations or votive gifts) and those administered and controlled by clerical authorities (such as liturgy and pilgrimage sites).⁵² Invocations, as acts of personal devotion to a saint, became an exceptionally powerful tool in late medieval religiosity.⁵³ While this study is devoted not to living saints but to a retrospective investment of historical personae with saintly qualities, exactly these forms of mediated connections between a devotee and a saint are investigated. These dedications, veneration of relics, invocations and further practices constituted and promoted a belief in a cult's efficacy and allowed for using a saint as a tool for self-representation and communication.

Following this, the saints are regarded "as a form of **communication**," based on Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen's approach.⁵⁴ A saint can be a recipient of an individual's or group devotional work but also a message itself, used in a variety of communicative acts. Therefore, one can distinguish between the situations when saints are viewed as patrons possessing an intercessory power—a *potentia*, to use Peter Brown's term⁵⁵—and those occurrences when saints function as a sign (or a symbol), used to point at something "other than a saint itself."⁵⁶ A saint, therefore, is involved as a receiver either in a reciprocal communication that occurs between a saint and a devotee (an individual or an entity) or as a part of the message between the sender and the receiver.⁵⁷

Alongside Jürgensen's method, indebted to Charles Pierce's semiotics and communication theory, another trend in studying premodern societies is applied here, namely symbolic communication, influenced by the anthropological research of foremost Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz.⁵⁸ As defined by its modern champion Gerd Althoff and the Münster school of ritual studies, symbolic communication encompasses "all communicative activities, in which signs are used with

⁵¹ Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in Their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁵² Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, "Devotional Strategies in Everyday Life: Laity's Interaction with Saints in the North in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, ed. Maria Raisa Toivo and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 21–45, cit. 21.

⁵³ André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 444–62.

⁵⁴ Martin Wangsgaard Jürgensen, "The Elusive Quality of Saints: Saints, Churches, and Cults," in *Saints and Sainthood around the Baltic Sea: Identity, Literacy, and Communication in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen et al. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), 13–34.

⁵⁵ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 106–27.

⁵⁶ Jürgensen, "The Elusive Quality of Saints," 18.

⁵⁷ See Mauss' fundamental study on reciprocal action and gift-giving: Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. Jane I. Guyer (Chicago: HAU Books, 2016).

⁵⁸ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969); Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

specific meaningful functions,” and it was practiced parallel with verbal and written communication, although in practice these three types were mixed.⁵⁹ Saints, their visual and textual representations and commemoration in various dedications, are approached as possible signs in various communicative acts. In relation to this, the term “image” is often employed throughout the work as a shortcut for defining the way in which saints were perceived and portrayed in various communicative situations. As a “narrative” does not necessarily refer to texts but also to visual experiences, in the same way, an “image” is used here as a basic cultural element, not pertaining exclusively to visual media.

The cult of a saint, in a strict sense, is the institutionalized repetitive liturgical veneration of a person endowed with *potentia*, but a saint can be present and exercise influence in other spheres as well—for example, in political symbolism.⁶⁰ The adoption of the communication framework allows one to perceive a saint not only as a “devotional locus,” but as a message, a sign of a status, or an identity marker. The concept of **performance** is intrinsically related to understanding sainthood through acts of communication as the images of saints were used not only to represent but to create new meanings.⁶¹ Acts of communal and individual devotion to a saint—within and out of a liturgical context—is a performative act par excellence, and objects of material culture, visual images, and texts (sung, read, or remembered) played towards such a multidimensional performance.⁶² Therefore, it is vital to analyze through which artistic forms and performative practices individuals established a cult and remained connected to it, namely, whether specific forms of communication between social actors and their environment on an everyday basis or during solemn processions contributed to the saintly images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde.

At the same time, sanctity can be understood as a retrospective recollection of a person’s exceptional status and relation to the divine and therefore is approached as a form of **memory**. Strictly speaking, memory is an art of a mental performance, and as such, it is studied, among others, by Mary

⁵⁹ Gerd Althoff, “Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, no. 31 (1997): 370–89, here 373: “Unter symbolischer Kommunikation summiert werden im folgenden alle die kommunikativen Aktivitäten, bei denen Zeichen mit bestimmten Bedeutungsfunktionen benutzt wurden.”

⁶⁰ On political symbolism see Mikhail A. Boytsov, *Velichiye i smireniye: ocherki politicheskogo simvolizma v srednevekovoy Evrope [Majesty and humility: Studies in medieval European political symbolism]* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Jan Dumolyn, “Political Communication and Political Power in the Middle Ages: A Conceptual Journey,” *Edad Media*, no. 13 (2012): 33–55.

⁶¹ On the influence of the performative turn on medieval studies see Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold, eds., *Geschichtswissenschaft und “performative turn”: Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, Norm und Struktur 19 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003) as well as numerous works by Gerd Althoff, Geoffrey Koziol, Philippe Buc, Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, and others. An approach to religion—and especially to the veneration of saints—as a “performative space” is also used as a guiding framework in a recent collective volume: Raisa Maria Toivo and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, eds., *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017).

⁶² For example, this framework has been especially fruitful for analyzing medieval processions, see Introduction to Kathleen M. Ashley and Wim Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam; Atlanta: Rodopi, 2011), 6–34. On the images and their performativity also see a collective volume by Christoph Wulf and Jörg Zirfas, *Ikonomie des Performativen* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2005).

Carruthers.⁶³ In the context of the present study, memory is approached as a social and cultural institution of remembering and commemorating, responsible for the “transmission and redefinition” of communal and individual pasts, in which collective self-consciousness and imagination should be recognized alongside the influences of “power and authority,” to paraphrase Patrick Geary.⁶⁴ In medieval societies, memory was especially dynamic with respect to commemorative practices (*memoria*) for the deceased, performed by lay individuals, clerics, and particularly in monastic circles. Liturgical practices can also be approached as an act of commemoration, foremost used for invoking (and reliving) biblical events and honoring saints.⁶⁵ Therefore, commemoration and remembrance rely on a variety of acts, including ritual practices, liturgy, images, spaces, texts, and oral communication, thus constituting a social phenomenon that exceeds strictly liturgical and religious domains.⁶⁶

Since the memory of a saint is also a phenomenon often bound to a certain locality, community, and its identity, the connection between place and group remembrance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde is to be reviewed.⁶⁷ In order to analyze the process of construction of local collective identities, in which the veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde played an important part as markers of belonging, some approaches from identity studies are applied.⁶⁸ It mostly pertains to the self-

⁶³ Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); on various approaches to memory, commemoration, and remembrance see Meredith Cohen, Elma Brenner, and Mary Franklin-Brown, eds., *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

⁶⁴ Patrick Geary, “Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick Joseph Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 111, and *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 7. In general, every study of memory and remembrance is indebted to the works by Jan and Aleida Assmann, see Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Assmann’s approach of “communal memory” has been applied to the studies of sanctity, for example, by Nils Holger Petersen, “St. Canute Lavard around the Baltic Sea,” in *Saints and Sainthood around the Baltic Sea*, ed. Carsten Selch Jensen et al. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), 175–200.

⁶⁵ On these aspects of medieval memory, see Gerd Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung: Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen* (Munich: W. Fink, 1984); Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, eds., *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Munich: W. Fink, 1984); Otto Gerhard Oexle, ed., *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

⁶⁶ Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria als Kultur,” in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 39.

⁶⁷ Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, trans. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 1–20. Bernd Schneidmüller has noted the benefits of this approach for the study of saints’ cults: Schneidmüller, “Kaiserin Kunigunde,” esp. 31–2. A similar approach to memory is also exemplified by Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Johannes Fried and Olaf B. Rader, *Die Welt des Mittelalters: Erinnerungsorte eines Jahrtausends* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2011).

⁶⁸ Practical introduction into the research on collective identities: Noah Eisenstadt Schmucl and Bernhard Giesen, “The Construction of Collective Identity,” *European Journal of Sociology*, no. 36 (1995): 72–102. For an exemplary analysis of saints’ cults from this perspective, see the research project “Symbols that Bind and Break Communities. Saints’ Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities,” <http://cultsymbols.net> (accessed August 5, 2020).

consciousness and self-representation of local, urban, regional, and professional groups, while questions of ethnic and national identities are not elaborated upon.⁶⁹

A saint acquires relevance and meanings only in connection with human experiences, and as such can never be present as an entity on its own. Utilizing the concepts of communication and performance for the study of sanctity allows, first, to account for the centrality of human experiences in expressions of piety (or negligence) towards saints.⁷⁰ Secondly, this approach, when accompanied by the traditional scope and methods of the *Landesgeschichte*, acknowledges the various communitive situations in which saints were employed as well as the different functions they could perform as recipients and signs in these acts of communication.⁷¹ At the same time, the inclusion of “memory” into the critical framework helps recognize the various commemorative scenarios developed to remember a saintly person and the various roles the saints could play in the transmission and alterations of communal and individual pasts. This integrative, interdisciplinary method to the social functioning of saints’ cults used for the current study brings along insights into the dynamics of sainthood that could have been overlooked in a more narrow, traditional approach.

Dissertation Design

The dissertation has a three-fold structure, with each part being further divided into two or three chapters. While the first part outlines the early developments of the cults and analyzes various literary and devotional forms associated with SS. Henry and Cunigunde, the other two parts explore the functions and impact of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the milieu of private and communal devotion and imperial symbolism.

The first part—“**Becoming Saints**”—provides an introduction into the early history of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s sanctity, from the first narratives hinting at their holiness to the unfolding of the canonization procedures, and overviews the development of their commemoration traditions in hagiography, history writing, and liturgy. The first chapter observes the change in Henry and Cunigunde’s commemoration from that of rulers and founders to saints as well as discusses their

⁶⁹ On the problem of medieval ethnic and national identities see, among others, Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003); Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁷⁰ Klaus Schreiner, “Soziale, visuelle und körperliche Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit,” in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter: politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Marc Müntz (Munich: Fink, 2002).

⁷¹ Sigrid Hirbodian has recently reviewed the methods of the *Landesgeschichte*, characterized by being focused “on a defined space but also interdisciplinary,” and showed its value, especially when applied in conjunction with comparative perspectives or “overarching theorizing,” for the history of religious women, among other fields: Sigrid Hirbodian, “Research on Monasticism in the German Tradition,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, trans. Alison I. Beach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1140–53.

Introduction

Latin hagiographies and their most important legends. Moreover, the role of the Bamberg ecclesiastical elite and German rulers in promoting their canonizations is reviewed as well as the place of these newly canonized saints in the existing patterns of holiness. This part does not entirely fit the proposed temporal framework, but it is essential to review the early beginnings of the cults and the saints' major hagiographic themes before proceeding with the analysis into the late Middle Ages. Chapter 2 further follows the development of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographic traditions, attending to their representation as virgins. Shaping the couple as a pair united by virginal marriage contributed to their joint remembrance, and such a commemorative scenario was later exploited by Bamberg clerics as one of Bamberg's urban and episcopal symbols and was also used for several familial dedications as well as lauded in monastic milieu. Further, the introduction of Henry and Cunigunde's saintly images in the thirteenth-century historiography is discussed, together with the liturgical and devotional practices surrounding their late medieval cults and the cults' geographical dissemination and imprint in material culture.

“The Cults in Action”—the second part of the dissertation—explores SS. Henry and Cunigunde's functions as communal and private patrons in urban, clerical, and monastic environments among various groups, giving special attention to female individual devotees and religious communities. Chapter 3 investigates the late medieval urban and diocesan cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, bringing forward new textual and visual forms of devotion that witness the holy couple's framing as the sign of Bamberg bishops and clerics, while monastic communities mostly furthered the local trinity of saints that also included St. Bishop Otto. Later, these practices are contrasted with the use of the saints as auxiliary patrons and their roles in the “imagined pasts” of other localities. Chapter 4 is devoted to the functions of the saints in the monastic environment, in which Benedictine devotion was the most evident. The modes of engagement with SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults are explored in three female monastic communities as case studies for memory creation and maintenance in spaces and texts. Monastic communities also appear as crucial outposts for upkeep and enriching the textual cult-related production through their literary networks, through which the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were introduced into a new cultural milieu in Brabant. Chapter 5 investigates various contexts in which either of the saints functioned as a private patron, also attending to the saints' thaumaturgical role.

The final part of the dissertation—**“Imperial Saints”**—concerns the reception of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in political discourses of the Empire: namely, in medieval historiography, genealogy, and devotional acts of individual rulers and their families. Chapter 6 provides a historiographic introduction to the scholarly trend of studying “holy rulers” and presents the image of St. Henry in imperial chronicles, connected to the concepts of the college of electors and the *beata stirps* of the Empire. Emperor Charles IV's pioneering activities in deploying saints—including SS. Henry and

Cunigunde—for imperial representation are introduced as well. Chapter 7 scrutinizes Frederick III of Habsburg utilizing the saints’ imagery—especially their royal and imperial implications—for his political representation, correlated with his private devotion and the politics of “returning” to the core Imperial lands from his Austrian domains in the 1470s. Moreover, Frederician devotion continued on a familial, or dynastic, level, as shown in Chapter 8: the veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was later preserved by his daughter Kunigunde of Austria and also had its repercussions in extensive genealogical and hagiographic projects of Maximilian I. Moreover, SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s imperial status proved to be attractive for several members of the imperial nobility.

The dissertation ends with the transition to the early modern period, signified by the outburst of the Reformation and the end of Maximilian I’s rule when the social and religious landscape of the Holy Roman Empire changed drastically, and, therefore, the saints received novel functions and different audiences. On the other hand, some of the late medieval patterns of devotion and commemoration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde continued in the modern period and beyond—though this would form a subject for a different project.

PART I. BECOMING SAINTS

Chapter 1. From Worldly Kings to Canonized Saints

More than a century had passed between Henry II and Cunigunde's deaths and their official canonization spurred by the clergy of Bamberg in 1146 and 1200, respectively. During this period of their transformation from worldly kings to canonized saints, there was no strictly liturgical veneration of either Henry or Cunigunde, no hagiographic production, testified pilgrimages, or other necessary attributes of a saint's cult. Nevertheless, Henry II and his spouse Cunigunde did not sink into oblivion: they were remembered in several communities (especially in Bamberg and Merseburg) and in historiographic production as worthy rulers and pious donors or, on the contrary, scolded in polemical treatises. It is primarily due to Henry and Cunigunde's political and devotional actions that the ruling couple obtained an impressive *Erinnerungspotenzial* (commemorative potential) after their deaths.⁷² Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, many ecclesiastic and monastic communities considered Emperor Henry and Cunigunde their founders and benefactors and incorporated these imperial figures into their foundation legends. Later, these endowments readily adopted SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults, combining liturgical veneration with the saints' local historical importance.⁷³

A period lasting roughly from the 1030s to the 1140s—formative for a subsequent developing of Henry and Cunigunde's veneration—has been explored, among others, by Renate Klauser, Klaus Guth, and Bernd Schneidmüller, who have carefully examined the interrelation between first clues of Henry and Cunigunde's holiness and their canonization procedures.⁷⁴ Their views differ, however, concerning the formation of the cults, namely what powers and underlying processes were crucial for producing a belief in Henry and Cunigunde's sanctity and establishing of their cults. Klauser argued that the campaign for Henry's canonization in 1146 rested on a profound local belief (*Volksfrömmigkeit*) in the emperor's holiness that had been developing from the eleventh century onward, forming an "illegal" cult of St. Henry in Bamberg prior to 1146. Veneration of St. Cunigunde developed as an aftermath of St. Henry's canonization, which swiftly culminated in the papal confirmation of her cult in 1200; by the fourteenth century, St. Cunigunde's cult became more popular

⁷² This term is used by Schneidmüller, "Heinrich II. und Kunigunde," 40.

⁷³ The same dynamics uncovered by Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legend in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

⁷⁴ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*; Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigund*; Schneidmüller, "Heinrich II. und Kunigunde."

than St. Henry's as it successfully combined the Marian leitmotifs with new devotional ideals.⁷⁵ Guth further developed Klauser's scheme by accentuating the importance of Henry II's *Stiftungsfrömmigkeit* for his subsequent sanctity.⁷⁶ Indeed, some of the worldly activities of this regnal couple were crucial for their subsequent framing as saints, as were Henry's postmortem commemoration in Bamberg and Merseburg. However, this framework does not go as far as the one adopted in Jacques Le Goff's study on St. Louis: unlike the French holy ruler, Emperor Henry did not deliberately shape his devotional actions in likening of existing models of imperial sanctity.⁷⁷ On the other hand, Schneidmüller has challenged the thesis of St. Henry's popular veneration in Bamberg spurring on his cult: he views the emperor's canonization predominantly as a result of political ambitions of the Bamberg clergy as well as a product of the spiritual and political environment in the Empire and the papal see in the Staufien period.⁷⁸

The present chapter reviews Henry II and Cunigunde's representations before and during their canonization, addressing contemporary scholarly outlooks upon these cults and medieval canonizations in general. Such an overview is instrumental for discussing the late medieval veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde since the cults' early hagiographic formation and their social reception influenced subsequent late medieval devotional and cultural forms connected to them. Moreover, this chapter provides a necessary introduction to the cults' early developments for readers who are less familiar with these imperial saints, especially considering that most of the existing studies on either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde are in German.

The Memory of Henry and Cunigunde Before Their Canonizations

The worldly lives of Henry II and Cunigunde, largely reimagined in their hagiographic tradition, became the canvas to which their memories as saintly rulers, pious donors, and virgins were added. The following outline sketches the landmarks of Henry and Cunigunde's lives that are necessary to grasp before proceeding to discuss their afterlives; for a scrutinized biography of Henry II, one should turn to the studies by Stefan Weinfurter and Manfred Höfer, while the most recent analysis of Cunigunde's queenship has been undertaken by Sven Pflfka and Simon MacLean.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 170.

⁷⁶ Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*.

⁷⁷ Le Goff, *Saint Louis*.

⁷⁸ Schneidmüller, "Neues über einen alten Kaiser?", esp. 16.

⁷⁹ Weinfurter, *Heinrich II., 1002–1024*; Höfer, *Heinrich II.*; Sven Pflfka, "Kunigunde und Heinrich II: Politische Wirkungsmöglichkeiten einer Kaiserin an der Schwelle eines neuen Jahrtausends," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 135 (1999): 199–290; MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, 180–206. For further studies on Cunigunde in the context of the Ottonian queenship see Amalie Föbel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2000). Foundational studies on the tenth-eleventh-century political history of the kingdom are Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000); Hagen Keller and Gerd Althoff, *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und Ottonen: Krisen und*

Born in 973 to the Duke of Bavaria Henry II the Quarrelsome (951–995), Henry was educated in Hildesheim and Regensburg to succeed his father, and from 995, he was known as Henry III, the Duke of Bavaria. Before 1000, Duke Henry married Cunigunde, the daughter of Siegfried I of Luxemburg. Due to the premature death of childless Otto III in 1002, Henry inherited the German throne. He rested his claims for the kingdom in part upon his relation to the Ottonian house—he was a great-grandson of King Henry I (r.919–936). Later in his rule, Henry II promoted these relations by augmenting the sanctity of his great-grandmother St. Mathilda (d. 968) and creating a genealogy that highlighted his and Cunigunde’s connections not only to Henry I and Otto I but also to Charlemagne and St. Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.⁸⁰ Although struggling against the rival candidates Hermann of Swabia and Ekkehard of Meissen, on June 7, 1002, Duke Henry was crowned as king in Mainz by Archbishop Willigis (omitting the established tradition of holding royal coronations in Aachen).⁸¹ Later, Henry’s spouse Cunigunde was crowned in Paderborn on the feast of St. Lawrence (August 10, 1002)—an exceptional ceremony of a solely queen’s coronation.⁸²

This series of legitimating ceremonial events did not conclude the lasting conflicts between Henry II and his rivals on both sides of the Alps. The internal crisis, which was suppressed at the cost of nobles’ independence, was followed by a protracted military conflict with Boleslaw I of Poland over the eastern territories, ending only in 1018.⁸³ Amidst this discord with Boleslaw, Henry II integrated Flemish territories (Imperial Flanders) into the Empire and laid the foundations for the acquisition of Burgundy. In 1014, he was crowned as Roman Emperor by Pope Benedict VIII.⁸⁴ Henry’s reign, however, was marked not only by political conflicts and military clashes but also by his vast support of ecclesiastical foundations that played towards investing in his and Cunigunde’s commemorative potential.

In this respect, Henry II is most famous for the foundation of the diocese of Bamberg in 1007.⁸⁵ However, changing the ecclesiastical map was not an easy venture, and a synod was gathered

Konsolidierungen, 888–1024 (Stuttgart: J. Thorbecke, 2008); Egon Boshof, *Königtum und Königsherrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2010).

⁸⁰ On the second version of Mathilda’s *Life* see Gilsdorf, ed., *Queenship and Sanctity*, esp. 47–55.

⁸¹ In the end, Henry II came to Aachen on September 8, 1002 to fulfil the ceremonial obligations.

⁸² For more about this ceremony, see Wemhoff, ed., *Kunigunde – empfangt die Krone*, esp. 49–52. The choice of St. Lawrence’s day for the coronation was not accidental: St. Lawrence, together with St. Maurice, were among the favorite saints of Otto I, see Helmut Beumann, “Laurentius und Mauritius: zu den missionspolitischen Folgen des Ungarnsieges Ottos des Großen,” in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Cologne: Böhlau, 1974), 238–75; David A. Warner, “Saints and Politics in Ottonian Germany,” in *Medieval Germany: Associations and Delineations*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2000), 7–28.

⁸³ Henry II was criticized by Bruno of Querfurt for his alliance with pagan Lutici: Wojciech Falkowski, “The Letter of Bruno of Querfurt to King Henry II,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 43 (2009): 417–38; in St. Henry’s hagiography, this narrative was completely remastered as Henry’s fight against the heathens, see Andreas Hammer, “Interferences Between Hagiography and Historiography: Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg and Emperor Henry II,” in *Sovereigns and Saints: Narrative Modes of Constructing Rulership and Sainthood*, ed. Uta Goerlitz (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2013), 179–94.

⁸⁴ The first Italian campaign against Arduin of Ivrea in 1004 led to Henry II being crowned King of Italy in Pavia.

⁸⁵ The charter of Henry II from November 1, 1007, Frankfurt (143): MGH DH II, 169–72. On this synod and the foundation of the Bamberg diocese, see Weinfurter, *Heinrich II.*, 30–51, and “Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action: The Case of Henry II,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, Publications of

in Frankfurt in 1007 to discuss this royal wish which was against the interests of the Bishop of Würzburg. On this occasion, Henry II apparently revealed that he chose God as “his heir”—hinting at his lack of children—and prostrated in penance in front of the presiding clerics.⁸⁶ In the end, the Frankfurt synod allowed for the establishment of an episcopal see in Bamberg; the newly-constructed cathedral became Henry’s final resting place in 1024. This new foundation, subordinate directly to Rome, benefited primarily from royal sponsorship and became the region’s new cultural center and a missionary outpost.

Alongside Bamberg, the bishopric of Merseburg benefited from Henry’s patronage. After its dissolution in 981 by Otto II, Henry II restored its episcopal status in 1004 and became known as the bishopric’s second founder, though his predecessor Otto III had also prompted to restore the diocese.⁸⁷ Moreover, Henry II donated the territories around Bled to the bishopric of Brixen and sponsored the construction of Basel Cathedral (these territories were integrated into the Empire as a part of the Burgundian heritage of King Rudolf III). In 1014, while in Rome for his imperial coronation, Henry II gained the status of a diocese for Bobbio in Northern Italy.⁸⁸ This list can be continued with Henry and Cunigunde’s innumerable donations of relics, liturgical garments, and codices (also containing contemporary representations of the ruling couple) to various religious communities.⁸⁹ After the couple’s canonization, many of these items became their contact relics. Although Bamberg functioned as the main creative center of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults, the commemorative impulse was present in other places due to their historical connection to the couple and the desire of these localities to highlight their embeddedness into the imperial memorial culture.

Henry II and Cunigunde’s marriage did not produce any offspring, and in 1024, Henry died without an heir to the throne. The lack of scions was commonly viewed as a potential political crisis. Several Henry II’s contemporary political and devotional actions were in place to, potentially, refute negative connotations of his childlessness, and these were subsequently used to construct and

the German Historical Institute (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19–37; Bernd Schneidmüller, “„Tausend Jahre sind für dich wie der Tag, der gestern vergangen ist“: Die Gründung des Bistums Bamberg 1007,” in *1000 Jahre Bistum Bamberg 1007–2007: Unterm Sternenmantel*, ed. Christine van Eickels and Klaus van Eickels (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2007), 13–25.

⁸⁶ As narrated later by Thietmar of Merseburg: Thietmar of Merseburg, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. Robert Holzmann, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 310: “Ob recompensationem futuram Christum heredem elegi, quia in sobole acquirenda nulla spes remanet michi.” The same idea also in the foundation charter cited above.

⁸⁷ See the charters of Henry II from March 4 and 5, 1004 and November 23, 1004 (64, 65, 89): MGH DH II, 78–82, 112–3. See also Bernd Schneidmüller, “„Eifer für Gott“?—Heinrich II. und Merseburg,” in *Zwischen Kathedrale und Welt: 1000 Jahre Domkapitel Merseburg*, ed. Holger Kunde and Uwe John (Petersberg: Imhof, 2005), 19–34.

⁸⁸ Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 69–78 (the map on p. 77 is especially useful as it shows Henry II’s presence on 14 occasions for church and cathedral consecrations).

⁸⁹ On contemporary visual representations of Henry II see Stefan Weinfurter, “Sakralkönigtum und Herrschaftsbegründung um die Jahrtausendwende. Die Kaiser Otto III. und Heinrich II. in ihren Bildern,” in *Bilder erzählen Geschichte*, ed. Helmut Altrichter (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1995), 47–104. On Henry’s contemporary representational acts and his personal and familial *memoria* in Merseburg see Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung*, 194–200.

advocate for the couple's chastity.⁹⁰ These were the investment in ecclesiastical foundations as a means of substituting for the lack of an heir (especially with the foundation of Bamberg)⁹¹ and the framing of their marital union as constant and amiable—"we, who are two in one flesh," as stated in several charters of Henry II.⁹² Contemporary visual representations of the couple also contributed to such a perception of their union.⁹³ After Henry II's death, Cunigunde became a regent for a short period; when Conrad II ascended the throne, she withdrew to a nunnery in Kaufungen, founded in 1017, where she dwelled as a nun until her death in 1033.⁹⁴ At some point in the twelfth century, probably not long before St. Henry's canonization, her body was transferred from Kaufungen to Bamberg—and there, next to her husband, the saintly potential of the queen developed at its best.⁹⁵

Henry II's rule and foundations were praised in contemporary chronicles and annals (for example, in the *Chronicle* by Thietmar of Merseburg) as well as in his "secular" biography—the *Life of Emperor Henry*—that was written a decade after the ruler's death, probably by Bishop Adalbold of Utrecht (r. 1010–1026).⁹⁶ Bamberg and Merseburg—two communities that benefited from the imperial donations the most—paid back the emperor by providing memorial services for his soul as was common for commemorating benefactors.⁹⁷ Klauser analyzed a funerary *nenia*, several early eulogies, and historiographic accounts that designated Henry II as *pious* and the most Christian emperor and concluded that these accounts might have been the first evidence of his cult, active already in the middle of the eleventh century in Bamberg.⁹⁸ Although such an interpretation of these sources is plausible, one should be careful when differentiating rhetorical devices from a belief in the

⁹⁰ The issue of Henry's childlessness triggered one more historiographical debate—whether his inability to produce posteriors had already been known at the point of his coronation: see Johannes Fried, *Der Weg in die Geschichte: die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1994), 603–10; the opposite view is expressed by MacLean, *Ottoman Queenship*, 185–6. Further issues of the imperial childlessness and its negative interpretations are discussed in Iliana Kandzha, "Virgins on the Throne: The Chaste Marriage of Emperor Henry II and Empress Cunigunde in Medieval Narrative Traditions," *Royal Studies Journal* 6, no. 2 (2019): 104–26.

⁹¹ Bernd Schneidmüller, "Die einzigartig geliebte Stadt: Heinrich II. und Bamberg," in *Kaiser Heinrich II, 1002–1024: Begleitband zur Bayerischen Landesausstellung 2002*, ed. Josef Kirmeier and Bernd Schneidmüller (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2002), 30–51.

⁹² "Duo sumus in carne una," used in the charters 368, 375, 376, 394, 406, 407, 409 in: MGH DH II, 470, 479–81, 506, 521–2, 524. For more on this phrase see Schneidmüller, "Kaiserin Kunigunde," 23–24.

⁹³ Namely, an illumination from the Pericopes of Henry II (BSB, Clm. 4452, f. 2r) and the Basler antependium.

⁹⁴ On Cunigunde's functions as a queen, regent, and widow see further Pflafka, "Kunigunde und Heinrich II;" Baumgärtner, "Fürsprache, Rat und Tat, Erinnerung."

⁹⁵ Schneidmüller, "Kaiserin Kunigunde," 24–30.

⁹⁶ The work was based on Thietmar's chronicle and did not survive in full: Adalbold of Utrecht, "Vita Heinrici II. imperatoris," in *MGH SS 4*, ed. Georg Waitz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 679–95; Hans van Rij, *De Vita Heinrici II imperatoris van bisschop Adelbold van Utrecht* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1983). The latest edition based on the three extant codices in Markus Schütz, "Adalbold von Utrecht: Vita Heinrici II. imperatoris — Übersetzung und Einleitung," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 135 (1999): 136–98 (BHL 3811).

⁹⁷ For Bamberg, this is an eleventh-century *Missa specialis Heinrici imperatoris* (later followed by a one for Cunigunde), see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 36–38, 181; for Merseburg, see "Chronica episcoporum ecclesiae Merseburgensis," ed. Roger Wilms, in *MGH SS 10*, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1852), 185. For the early veneration in Merseburg see Siewert, "Die Verehrung Heinrichs II. in Merseburg," 145–51.

⁹⁸ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 29–35. Further instances of pre-canonizations laudations for Henry II are recounted by Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 46–7, footnote 128.

emperor's intercessory powers, and such a belief was first evidenced only around the mid-twelfth century.⁹⁹

Moreover, these praiseworthy evaluations of Henry II's rule were not univocal. As Bernd Schneidmüller has pointed out, concurrently with these laudations, the emperor's perception was less favorable in polemical writings of the Investiture Contest: some authors hinted to Henry II's simony and unlawful interference into the ecclesiastical politics.¹⁰⁰ Although these critical voices were not many, they indicate that Henry II's canonization was not a self-evident commemorative scenario, and the powers standing behind Henry's canonization had to overwrite these concerns in the emperor's uprightness and morals.

Around the end of the eleventh century, a series of new narratives surfaced in the different corners of Europe—Italy, Bohemia, and Franconia—that alluded to the emperor's outstanding virtues and chastity as well as his interactions with popular saints. Frutolf of Michelsberg (d. 1103), a native of Bamberg who was a monk and chronicler from Michelsberg Monastery, expressed his thoughts about Henry and Cunigunde's sexual abstinence, whom he portrayed as brother and sister.¹⁰¹ In the *Chronicle of Montecassino*, Leo of Ostia (1045/6–1115/7) indicated that in her marriage with Henry II, Cunigunde remained an intact virgin: "Apart from other good qualities and virtues which this exceptionally pious emperor was known for, he indeed conducted a life of utmost chastity, so that, when he reached the moment of death, in the presence of bishops he called upon relatives of his spouse Cunigunde and returned her to them, stating: 'Take back your virgin as you have given her to me.'"¹⁰² Both authors used the chaste marriage as an explanatory framework for the dynastic disruption, thus avoiding harming a childless ruler's reputation—comparable mechanisms were in use after St. Edward the Confessor's death.¹⁰³

Leo of Ostia also portrayed how St. Benedict himself relieved the emperor from a stone-illness during his visit to Montecassino Abbey in 1022. Returning the celestial favor, Henry II showered the

⁹⁹ Hartmut Hoffmann also concluded that in the commemorative masses for Henry and later Cunigunde (produced a few years after their death), they were not perceived as saints but as local founders and rulers, see Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und "rex idiota,"* 200–1.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., by Humbert of Silva Candida, "Libri tres adversus simoniacos," ed. Friedrich Thaner, in *MGH Libelli de lite* 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1891), 217. For further examples see Schneidmüller, "Neues über einen alten Kaiser?," 18–21; Schneidmüller, "Heinrich II. und Kunigunde," 37–38.

¹⁰¹ Frutolf of Michelsberg, "Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Chronica," ed. Georg Waitz in *MGH SS* 6, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover, 1844), 192: "considerans se filios non habiturum, quippe qui, ut multi testantur, consortem regni Cunigundam nunquam cognovit sed ut sororem dilexit, Dominum bonorum omnium datorem habere delegit heredem."

¹⁰² Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *MGH SS* 34 (Hannover: Hahn, 1980), 254: "Super ceteras autem bonitates seu virtutes quas hic imperator religiosissimus habuisse narratur, adeo fertur vixisse castissimus, ut ad mortis articulum veniens, coram presentibus episcopis, vocatis Cunigunde coniugis sue propinquis, eaque illis reddita feratur dixisse: Recipite quam michi tradidistis virginem vestram." A similar wording is used in an episode told by Gregory of Tours in the *Historia Francorum* about a chaste couple Injuriosus and Scholastica (c. 550) that might have influenced Leo's portrayal of Henry II, see Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 71–2.

¹⁰³ Joanna Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint: Virginity in the Construction of Edward the Confessor," in *Medieval Virginites*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 119–39.

famous abbey with luxurious gifts.¹⁰⁴ As Guth persuasively argued, this episode was instrumental for Leo of Ostia in proving the presence of St. Benedict's miracle-working relics in Montecassino Abbey—a possession contested by Fleury Abbey—and portraying the Benedictine foundation as flourishing under the imperial patronage.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Leo of Ostia told a story of an anchorite who learned from devils about Henry II's soul-weighing when the emperor's good and bad deeds were weighed during his final judgment.¹⁰⁶ As the emperor's bad deeds outweighed the good ones, Henry's soul was about to be sentenced to damnation—to devils' rejoicing. However, St. Lawrence interceded for Emperor Henry by putting a golden chalice, which the emperor had previously donated to St. Lawrence's church,¹⁰⁷ on the pan with the good deeds, and this action turned the tide—Emperor Henry's soul was saved.¹⁰⁸ Another version of Henry's soul-weighing can be found in Cosmas of Prague's (c. 1045–1125) *Chronicle of the Czechs*.¹⁰⁹ In Cosmas' chronicle, those were the Virgin Mary and St. George—the patron saints of Bamberg Cathedral—who saved Henry's soul, and the chalice was given to an anchorite so that he could dip it in the waters of Jordan. Although differing in some details, both versions follow the same underlining motifs of the chalice donation and the saints interceding for the ruler's soul. A similar soul-weighing motif can also be found in the legendary traditions associated with other rulers—King Dagobert, Charlemagne, and Prince Emeric of Hungary—that could have influenced the two versions of Henry's soul-weighing legend.¹¹⁰ Most of these instructive tales hinted at the human (and, therefore, sinful) nature of a person invested with worldly powers and, at the same time, exemplified a clear-cut strategy for diminishing an individual's mundane sins—by donating to religious institutions.

All in all, some of these various narratives and commemoration practices reveal Henry II's extraordinary status as a donor for certain foundations and regions. However, the emperor was not yet considered holy as his intercessory and healing powers were not mentioned, albeit he operated

¹⁰⁴ Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, 247–251. Henry II indeed issued a donation for the abbey: MGH DH II, 603–4 (474).

¹⁰⁵ Guth, “Die frühe lateinische und deutsche Überlieferung der ‘Legende’ von Kaiser Heinrichs II. Heilung im Kloster Montecassino.”

¹⁰⁶ Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, 254–6. Virginia Brilliant suggests that a “particular judgement” is a more appropriate term (instead of the final judgement) for defining this soul-weighing process: Virginia Brilliant, “Envisaging the Particular Judgment in Late-Medieval Italy,” *Speculum* 84, no. 2 (2009): 314–346. To avoid the complication, I refer to this narrative as the soul-weighing.

¹⁰⁷ In later traditions, this church is identified either with the one in Merseburg or in Eichstätt.

¹⁰⁸ On Henry's soul-weighing in textual and visual representations: Robert W. Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1997); Kandzha, “Migrating Legend of Saint Emperor Henry II.” On the soul-weighing as a cultural motif: Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage: zur religiösen Idee vom Jenseitsgericht auf der Schicksalswaage in Hochreligion, Bildkunst und Volksglaube* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Landesmuseums für Kärnten, 1958).

¹⁰⁹ Cosmas of Prague, *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, SS rer. Germ. N. S. 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1923), 65–8; translated in Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 92–5.

¹¹⁰ Baudouin de Gaiffier, “La légende de Charlemagne: le péché de l'empereur et son pardon,” in *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, by Baudouin de Gaiffier, Subsidia hagiographica 43 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1955), 260–76.

among well-known saints like SS. Benedict, Lawrence, and the Virgin Mary and exercised laudable Christian virtues, such as generosity and chastity. These narratives of Henry II from the high medieval chronicles, together with the persistent memory about Henry's religious foundations, played towards the couple's canonization: in a few decades, these legends (except for Cosmas of Prague's version of the soul-weighing) were recrafted and integrated into a report on Henry's deeds and miracles that was sent to Rome and then his *vita*.¹¹¹ However, those narratives alone would not have secured Henry a place in the *communio sanctorum*—not without conscious “campaigning” of the interested clerics for establishing the cult. Before turning to the canonization procedures, it is worth noticing that in this overview of the memory-accumulation processes, only the image of Emperor Henry is visible, while Cunigunde rarely appears as an independent actor. Only later, with the empress's canonization in 1200, the tide turned, and Cunigunde appeared as an equal counterpart to her husband.

Henry's Canonization and Hagiography

In the history of medieval canonization procedures and saints' cults, it was common to take more than a century for an idea about someone's holiness to develop into a well-established cult. However, for some of Henry II's contemporaries, such as King Stephen of Hungary (d. 1038, can. 1083), only fifty years passed between the death and the canonization, while the cult of Bishop Adalbert of Prague (d. 997, can. 999) was confirmed by Sylvester II within two years after Adalbert's martyrdom.¹¹² The success of papal canonization was conditioned both by the circumstances of the saint's worldly life (and how skillfully it was recrafted in its retrospective remembrance) and by the immediate political and religious climates, affected by broader societal perceptions of sanctity and the intricacies of the curial procedures. Therefore, the roots of St. Henry and Cunigunde's canonization success lay also in the views on the sanctity and political circumstances of the mid-twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Since the image of Henry II as a founder and donor played a strong role in the communal memory of Bamberg, it is not surprising that the call for his canonization originated from there. The main “pressure group” behind the process were the clerics of Bamberg, presided by Bishop Egilbert (r.1139–1146). An attempt to canonize an emperor brings this process into the realm of imperial political affairs and the contested balance between papal and imperial powers. Indeed, King Conrad III (r.1138–1152) supported with his word the canonization plea of the Bamberg clerics,¹¹³ and it is debatable whether his advocacy had something to do with the crusading movement—the existence of

¹¹¹ On the sources for St. Henry's hagiography see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 49–61, 124–32.

¹¹² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 123–47; Johannes Fried, “Gnesen – Aachen – Rom: Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert: Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben,” in *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren: die Berliner Tagung über den “Akt von Gnesen,”* ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 235–79.

¹¹³ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 319: “... Babenbergensis ecclesie prelati crebrescentibus signis cum mandatis et literis [Chunradi] regis ac principum Romam abierunt et, quam magna mirabilia deus per confessorem suum operaretur, domno pape [Eugenio] et Romane curie nunciaverunt.”

a holy confessor-emperor could have backed up Conrad's claim for the Empire's missionary leadership.¹¹⁴

In the early medieval period, episcopal confirmation was sufficient for elevating a person to the rank of a saint. St. Ulrich of Augsburg's canonization in 993 became the first precedent for papal confirmation of a cult, and towards the mid-thirteenth century, the papal prerogative and the witness-based procedure for canonization became fully formalized.¹¹⁵ However, many medieval cults were effectively maintained without any papal confirmation; the papal authorization was especially sought after when the proponents of the cult desired to gain prestige and wider recognition for a new saint. Therefore, around 1145, complying with yet developing procedure of seeking papal confirmation of a cult, a dossier (the so-called *relatio*) was sent to Rome from Bamberg, which should have included an account of Henry's worldly deeds and his postmortem miracles.¹¹⁶ After these claims for his holiness had been confirmed, Emperor Henry was proclaimed a saint and confessor by Eugene III on March 12, 1146.¹¹⁷

The receipt of the canonization bull in 1146 was followed by a celebratory *elevatio* of St. Henry's relics in Bamberg Cathedral, celebrated on July 13, 1147 (on Henry's *obitus*) already by Bishop Eberhard II (r.1146–1172), also in the presence of Archbishop Eberhard I of Salzburg and the Bishop of Brixen.¹¹⁸ Due to the opening of St. Henry's grave, the saint's relics flocked throughout Europe: from Bamberg, those were strategically sent not only to local churches of the diocese and its territories in Carinthia but also to Merseburg (that already had a commemorative tradition of the emperor) and Aachen (possibly in attempts to augment the imperial prestige of the cult).¹¹⁹ A series of amendments were introduced into the liturgical calendar of Bamberg Cathedral: St. Henry's main feast was celebrated on July 13 with an additional celebration on March 12 (the day of his

¹¹⁴ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 51–52, 55; Jonathan P. Phillips, "Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan P. Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 15–31. Although Conrad III found his final rest in Bamberg Cathedral, it might not have been his own wish but a concurrence of circumstances, see Schneidmüller, "Neues über einen alten Kaiser?" 15.

¹¹⁵ Gunther G. Wolf, "Die Kanonisationsbulle von 993 für den Hl. Oudalrich von Augsburg und Vergleichbares," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 91 (2005): 742–57. On the canonization procedures see Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 11–104; Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung* (for St. Ulrich esp. 19–25).

¹¹⁶ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 55–6.

¹¹⁷ The bull published in Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, ed. Jacques P. Migne (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1902), *Patrologia Latina* 180: cols. 1118–9; a short recounting of the canonization process is in the *vita* and in an additional narrative, Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 319–21, 327–8; also see Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 90–7.

¹¹⁸ Known from an excerpt in the first edition, Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 327–8.

¹¹⁹ The relics that reached Aachen were later given to a Polish bishop, see Gerd Zimmermann, "Karlskanonisation und Heinrichsmirakulum: ein Reliquienzug der Barbarossazeit von Aachen über Doberlug/Lausitz nach Plozk," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 102 (1966): 127–48. The receipt of relics in Merseburg was followed by a series of miracles recorded on the spot in a separate corpus: "Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrici," ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS* 4, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 814–6. On Henry's postmortem miracles also see Chapter 5.

canonization).¹²⁰ For celebrating St. Henry's feast, first, the common for confessors was used, while in the thirteenth century, an individualized office that relied on the saint's hagiography was developed in Bamberg and subsequently spread to other churches that held services for St. Henry.¹²¹ Within the first three decades after the canonization, devotional stations for St. Henry appeared not only in Bamberg but also in Würzburg, Rossbach in Saxony, and Doberlug in Lower Lusatia.

A saint's hagiography, recounting his or her deeds and posthumous miracles, was needed for the effective functioning of a cult.¹²² Among other purposes, such a narrative—oral, visual, or textual—provided potential devotees with a model for emulation, ensured the spreading of the *fama sanctitatis*, and created the foundation for a liturgical service for a saint. St. Henry's first Latin hagiography was written in Bamberg (probably in Michelsberg Monastery) shortly after his canonization.¹²³ The reception of this version of the *vita Heinrichi* was limited in light of a new edition prepared in Bamberg not long afterward.

A decade later,¹²⁴ Deacon Adalbert prepared a new version of the *vita Heinrichi* in Michelsberg Monastery. This version—now known as the *vita*'s second edition—included, apart from limited rewritings and additions, several charters related to the history of Bamberg since this version was meant as high praise for the city as well as for its patron saint.¹²⁵ The earliest evidence of this second edition is a codex of a Bambergian origin, composed and written down by Deacon Adalbert himself, now preserved in Klagenfurt.¹²⁶ This codex opens with a dedicatory miniature: in the upper register, it portrays Christ in Majesty flanked by Archangel Michael and St. Peter, while its lower part depicts three Bamberg saints: St. Henry, offering a cathedral model to Christ, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, and Cunigunde. The miniature predates the canonizations of the latter two, and the nimbi over Cunigunde's and Otto's heads are considered to be later modifications. Most probably, Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg gifted this codex to Bishop Roman (1131–1167), who brought it to his see in Gurk, where further additional letters from the bishop of Bamberg and the archbishop of Salzburg to

¹²⁰ The course of celebrations is reconstructed from available sources in Edmund Karl Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris: die mittelalterliche Gottesdienstordnung des Domes zu Bamberg, mit einer historischen Einleitung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969).

¹²¹ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 142–69. The liturgies are covered in the next chapter in more detail.

¹²² Friedrich Prinz, "Hagiographie als Kultpropaganda: Die Rolle der Auftraggeber und Autoren hagiographischer Texte des Frühmittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 103 (1992): 174–94.

¹²³ This first edition (also edited by Stumpf) is transmitted in four codices, originating from the late-twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, found in Franconia, Saxony, and Rhine-Westphalia: see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 19–32.

¹²⁴ The dating is between 1159 and 1167, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 122–3 (BHL 3812).

¹²⁵ The concept codex of the second edition intermitted with charters is in Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, GV 1/29, while the earliest manuscript with the full second redaction is SBB, R.B. Msc. 120; on the transmission see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi* 3–19, 148–59. These codices were produced in the same scriptorium of Michelsberg Abbey; not only the miniatures are similar, but the same hand was responsible for writing down the Gurk codex and adding dedicatory inscriptions and other elements to the Bamberg manuscript (the hand to be identified with Deacon Adalbert).

¹²⁶ Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Hs. 1/29; not mentioned by Waitz in his MGH edition as this codex had not been yet discovered; see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 3–12, who proved that the manuscript is a *Redaktionsexemplar* for the second edition of the *vita*.

Bishop Roman were attached to the codex (before 1172).¹²⁷ These texts relate miraculous events that happened during the *translatio* of St. Henry and mention that his relics were going to be sent to Carinthia,¹²⁸ which, together with the illuminated codex of the *vita*, is a testimony to the attempts of the Bamberg bishops to create a properly maintained cult of St. Henry in Gurk and, apparently, in Carinthia in general.¹²⁹ This codex was in continuous use for liturgical purposes, and in the fifteenth century, a *vita* of a local saint—Hemma of Gurk—was attached to it.¹³⁰

Another codex containing the complete second edition was compiled in c. 1170, also at Michelsberg with the involvement of Deacon Adalbert to be used in Bamberg Cathedral.¹³¹ This representative manuscript includes two full-page illuminations and inscriptions: the opening folio presents the Virgin Mary on a throne with the Christ as a child, and the verso side is designed similarly to the Klagenfurt manuscript (the upper part represents Christ in Majesty with SS. Peter and George—both patrons of Bamberg Cathedral; and the lower part depicts St. Henry and Cunigunde dedicating a church model to Christ).¹³² After 1200, St. Cunigunde's *vita* was attached to this codex together with a miniature portraying the empress's ordeal of burning ploughshares as well as a sermon for St. Cunigunde, a presbyter's vision, and the *officia* for SS. Henry and Cunigunde; as later marginalia reveal, this codex was in use at Bamberg Cathedral until the late seventeenth century.

Although relying on Frutolf of Michelsberg's and Leo of Ostia's writings as well as other texts, the anonymous author of the *vita Heinrici*, and later its later editor Deacon Adalbert, created an original hagiography, reshaping known events from Henry's biography and legends to fit the confessor-saint profile.¹³³ The *vita* does not include a customary prolog and starts in medias res:¹³⁴ with St. Henry's royal election and a prophetic vision, in which he learned that he would be crowned the next German emperor.¹³⁵ The prophecy-legend was adopted almost verbatim from the *Life of St.*

¹²⁷ Some charters from the codex were used for local forgeries, dated before 1172.

¹²⁸ Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Hs. 1/29, fol. 16r; published in August von Jaksch, ed., *Monumenta historica Ducatus Carinthiae: Die Gurker Geschichtsquellen 864–1232* (Klagenfurt: Kleinmayer, 1896), 143–45 (160, 161).

¹²⁹ Several other codices of the *vita Heinrici* in the Austrian lands (namely in Heligenstadt, Lilienfeld, Melk, Salzburg) are related to the Klagenfurt codex, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 134–7.

¹³⁰ On Hemma of Gurk and her subsequent cult see Peter Tropper, ed., *Hemma von Gurk: Katalog* (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1988).

¹³¹ Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, R.B. Msc. 120. Stumpf argumentatively proved that Adalbert could be the commissioner of this codex (which explains the dedication image) but not its scribe, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 16–18.

¹³² Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, R.B. Msc. 120, f. 1r–1v. On the f. 1r, there are two verses written down later in the early thirteenth century (also on f. 30v), praising St. Henry as an exemplar ruler for Frederick (to be identified with Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) and not Frederick I, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 15).

¹³³ More on this process of reshaping: Marcus Stumpf, “Zur Funktion der Wunder in der Bamberger ‘Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris,’” in *Mirakel im Mittelalter: Konzeptionen, Erscheinungsformen, Deutungen*, ed. Martin Heinzelmann, Klaus Herbers, and Dieter R. Bauer (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2002), 252–70; Hammer, “Interferences between Hagiography and Historiography.” The major source was Frutolf's *Chronicle*, a copy of which was available in at Michelsberg, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 49–50.

¹³⁴ In the following centuries, various prologues were attached to St. Henry's *vita*: one of those is published in Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 329–30 (this prolog is based on the *vita* and Martin of Opava's chronicle); others are discussed in Chapter 4 as they are remnants of the Brabantine transmission of St. Henry's hagiography.

¹³⁵ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 225–8.

Wolfgang, written in St. Emmeram's Abbey (Regensburg) in the eleventh century.¹³⁶ According to the legend, St. Henry receives a vision during his stay in Regensburg, in which St. Wolfgang revealed to him the prophetic words "after six." At first, St. Henry considered that he would die in six days and then in six months, but as six years went by and St. Henry was about to be crowned in Rome, he realized that St. Wolfgang prophesied his imperial coronation.¹³⁷

The next episode of the *vita* hagiographically reshapes the notoriously known campaign against Poland and Bohemia. This decade-long warfare is presented as St. Henry's single victorious battle against the pagans that happened in the vicinity of Merseburg, heavily spiced with biblical citations compared to other parts of the *vita*. "Blessed Lawrence, the martyr of Christ, if with your intervention I make these barbarians, whom I march against, subjects to the Roman Empire and the Christian faith, I will restore this abandoned place [Merseburg] in your name with the divine grace into its former sacred state of greatness"—summoned St. Henry before the battle.¹³⁸ In the end, St. Henry miraculously won the battle thanks to St. Lawrence, St. George, and St. Adrian's intercession, whose appearance compelled the enemies to run away, and the bishopric was restored. This narrative resembles a traditional motive of saints as *Schlachtenhelfer*, used, for example, to describe the Lechfeld battle in 955 between Otto I and the Magyars—with St. Lawrence's help, Otto I won the battle and founded the bishopric of Merseburg to perpetuate the victory.¹³⁹ As noticed by Andreas Hammer, in the *vita Heinrici*, the Poles are intentionally represented as heathens, thus adding missionary activities to the list of St. Henry's holy deeds.¹⁴⁰

The *vita Heinrici* introduces another story that becomes instrumental in securing a status of a confessor for St. Henry—that of a betrothal of his sister Gisela (d. c. 1060) and Stephen of Hungary organized by St. Henry. This motif is also taken up from Frutolf of Michelsberg's *Chronicle* that mentioned that King Stephen became a devout Christian only in order to marry Gisela.¹⁴¹ However, it was in St. Henry's hagiography that an ahistorical link was made between the imperial Christianization mission and the emperor's saintly charisma, on the one hand, and Hungary's

¹³⁶ Otloh von St Emmeram, "Vita Wolfkangi," ed. Georg Waitz in *MGH SS* 4, 542 (BHL 8990).

¹³⁷ Subsequent hagiographers connected this episode with St. Henry's vow of chastity, see Chapter 2.

¹³⁸ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 236–7: "Beate Laurenti, martyr Christi, si tuo interventu has barbaras nationes, ad quas pergo, Romano imperio et christiane religioni subiugavero, hunc locum desolatum tuo nomini consecratum divina favente gratia in pristina dignitatis statum reformabo." On Henry II's restoration of Merseburg: Schneidmüller, "'Eifer für Gott'? - Heinrich II. und Merseburg."

¹³⁹ František Graus, "Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer: Zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik," in *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann*, ed. Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke and Reinhard Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1977), 330–31; Klaus Schreiner, *Märtyrer, Schlachtenhelfer, Friedensstifter: Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Heiligenverehrung* (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 2000).

¹⁴⁰ Hammer, "Interferences between Hagiography and Historiography."

¹⁴¹ The role of Gisela is reviewed in Gábor Bradács, "Gisela von Bayern – Friedensstifterin und 'Apostelin' Ungarns," in *Konfliktbewältigung und Friedensstiftung im Mittelalter*, ed. Roman Czaja, Eduard Mühle, and Andrzej Radziminski (Torun: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012), 315–30.

Christianization and Gisela's betrothal, on the other. In this way, Gisela became an agent of her brother Henry's Christianization mission so that he could be praised as an *apostolus Ungariorum*.

The hagiographer recrafts further events from Henry's worldly life to align with the model of an ideal Christian ruler: the foundation of Bamberg, his Italian campaigns and the imperial coronation, Henry's support for the Cluniac monasticism, other religious foundations, the acquisition of Burgundy, and Pope Sylvester's visit to Bamberg in 1020. In the *vita Heinrici*'s second edition, the narrative chapters are intermitted by several charters issued by Henry II and by other rulers and prelates that are related to the foundation of Bamberg.¹⁴² These intermissions are meant to augment the prestige of Bamberg as the saintly emperor's favorite foundation and as an independent ecclesiastical and political unit subjugated only to the Pope. According to Stumpf, the second redaction was much more common as it was intentionally spread by Bamberg clerics and later found its adaptations in vernacular literature.¹⁴³

The *vita* picks up the theme of Henry's chastity that had already surfaced in Leo of Ostia's and Frutolf of Michelsberg's chronicles. First, this motif developed as a response to the imperial couple lacking offspring, thus transforming the dynastic crisis into Henry's personal virtue of chastity. For Bamberg's impresarios of the cult, the notion of the emperor's chastity resonated with the bishopric's foundation legend: Henry II founded Bamberg and donated the riches to it as a substitute for the lack of offspring—as he stated in 1007.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, Bamberg becomes a spiritual heir of the German king.

St. Henry's hagiographer adds a new detail that dwells upon the couple's chaste lifestyle—that of Cunigunde's ordeal. The legend from the *vita Heinrici*, probably adopting an orally circulating story, goes as follows: due to the devil's plotting, false charges of infidelity are pressed against Cunigunde, and to prove her innocence, she goes through the ordeal of walking upon burning ploughshares. As Cunigunde remains unharmed by the hot iron, she is deemed innocent. During this trial, Cunigunde also confesses that she knew neither her husband St. Henry nor any other man carnally.¹⁴⁵

Such a trial by fire was indeed present in medieval juridical practice for settling claims of adultery and was condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁴⁶ The narrative of falsely

¹⁴² Stumpf offers an exhaustive comparison of the two versions: Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 61–5; more on the nature of the interpolated charters see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 115–32, one of which was a forgery.

¹⁴³ According to Stumpf, the second redaction is preserved in 35 manuscripts (not including the codices in Klagenfurt and Bamberg) as well as taken up as a source in other hagiographic and historiographic works, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 71–111; in some cases of transmission, the charters were left out as they did not add to the image of St. Henry and were not relevant to the localities outside Bamberg.

¹⁴⁴ MGH DH II, 169–17 (143); Thietmar of Merseburg, *Die Chronik*, 310.

¹⁴⁵ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 275–7.

¹⁴⁶ Meyer mentions two historical ordeals that occurred in Bamberg and might have influenced the narrative: Meyer, “Die konstruierte Heilige,” 51–2. On the practice see John Wesley Baldwin, “The Crisis of the Ordeal: Literature, Law, and

accused queens and wives had already been present in the hagiographic, literary, and historiographic repertoire that could have been familiar to the *vita Heinrici*'s author, not to mention a biblical story about Susanna with whom Cunigunde was compared in the *Annales Palidenses*.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, a Carolingian queen St. Richardis (c.840–895) was accused of being unfaithful to her husband Charles the Fat (839–888) and was ready to confirm her innocence and virginity (*integritas virginitatis*) by the ordeal by fire.¹⁴⁸ Vickie Ziegler has shown that St. Cunigunde's trial, especially in its later vernacular rendering, is closely related to that of St. Richardis from the *Kaiserchronik* (c. 1150).¹⁴⁹ Therefore, there were certain cultural prototypes for the ordeal legend—both in juridical practice and in written and oral traditions. Later, a similar motif also appears in Gottfried of Strasburg's *Tristan* (c. 1210)—Isolde undergoes an ordeal, although in this case, she was actually guilty of adultery, which inspired John Baldwin to call St. Cunigunde “anti-Queen Iseult.”¹⁵⁰

St. Henry's hagiographer paid much more attention to the religious foundations of the saint than to the saint's chastity; therefore, the ordeal legend is told in broad brushstrokes.¹⁵¹ It is half a century later, after St. Cunigunde's canonization in 1200, that the legend of the ordeal developed into a detailed engaging narrative, and the imperial chastity became one of the cornerstones of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults, which is discussed in the next section.

Furthermore, the *vita* makes use of the already known deathbed scene when the emperor revealed Cunigunde's virginity to her parents and the story of his soul-weighing. The author based the soul-weighing story upon Leo of Ostia's *Chronicle* (though avoiding direct borrowings) and supplemented it with a “flashback” about the chalice that St. Lawrence put on the pan with St. Henry's good deeds to save the emperor's soul: when visiting Merseburg, St. Henry was supposed to take an ablution from this chalice, and the water miraculously turned to blood (later, a certain chalice kept in Bamberg was believed to be related to this legend).¹⁵² The legend of St. Henry's soul-weighing had

Religion around 1200,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 24 (1994): 327–53; Vickie L. Ziegler, *Trial by Fire and Battle in Medieval German Literature* (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2004).

¹⁴⁷ “Annales Palidenses,” in *MGH SS* 16, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1859), 66; Book of Daniel 13; on some of these medieval narratives see Nancy B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003). Although Black has mentioned the general similarity between Cunigunde's story and those of legendary accused queens (e.g., the legends of Constance and empress of Rome), she does not suppose any direct influence, see Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens*, 17.

¹⁴⁸ Regino of Prüm, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, *MGH SS* rer. Germ. 50 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchandlung, 1989), 127.

¹⁴⁹ Henry Allen Myers, trans., *The Book of Emperors: A Translation of the Middle High German Kaiserchronik* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2013), esp. 360 (vers. 15443–15445). Close parallels between the profiles of the saintly queens are apparent, though textual influences of the *Kaiserchronik* upon the *vita Heinrici*, the *additamentum*, or Ebernand of Erfurt's poem can only be speculated about: see Meyer, “Die konstruierte Heilige,” 51–5; Ziegler, *Trial by Fire and Battle in Medieval German Literature*, 146–60.

¹⁵⁰ Wesley Baldwin, “The Crisis of the Ordeal,” 347.

¹⁵¹ On this point, I disagree with Stumpf, who perceived this ploughshare episode a “culminating point” of the *vita*, Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 37–8. It is only with the Cunigunde's canonization and the appearance of the *additamentum* (apparently, preceded by oral traditions) that the ploughshare episode gained importance for shaping the cults.

¹⁵² *Die weysung vnnd auszuruffung des Hochwirdigen heylthumbs zu Bamberg*. Bamberg: Johann Pfeil, 1509, f. 13v.

a successful career as a visual representation also within the miracle-cycle of St. Lawrence: it was represented in the portico murals of San Lorenzo fuori le mura as well as on the predella of two fourteenth-century Florentine altarpieces.¹⁵³ Additionally, the chalice-legend was depicted in the thirteenth-century Hours of William de Braies, and it also figured repeatedly in church decorations on Gotland.¹⁵⁴

The final eleven chapters of St. Henry's hagiography recount posthumous manifestations of his holiness, namely St. Henry appearing in a dream to his brother Bruno of Augsburg (d. 1029) and several postmortem miracles. St. Henry's appearance to Bruno, taken verbatim from Frutolf of Michelsberg, reflected the antagonism between the two brothers: Bishop Bruno of Augsburg conspired with King Conrad II's wife Gisela to dissolve the Bamberg bishopric, although Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg tried to admonish Bruno.¹⁵⁵ Afterwards, Bruno of Augsburg receives a vision, in which his brother Henry instructs him not to dismiss the diocese, and Bruno obeys.¹⁵⁶ Even before St. Henry's canonization, the emperor functioned as a spiritual protector of the bishopric, and this existing perception of Henry II was only amplified with his canonization. All in all, St. Henry, viewed through the prism of his Latin hagiography, appears as a profoundly religious ruler, who *non imperialiter, sed spiritualiter vixit* as echoed in the papal bull.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, he is still an active emperor who is involved in worldly political and military disputes and continuously advocates both for the Church and the Empire.

In the postmortem miracle collection, St. Henry is presented as a powerful intercessor of local dwellers who flocked to his tomb in Bamberg Cathedral.¹⁵⁸ A dozen of miraculous stories tell how devotees were healed from sensory and motor impairments (blindness, deafness, paralysis) thanks to St. Henry's assistance, proving the effectiveness of his cult, while others were punished for their improper behavior or skepticism towards the emperor's cult.¹⁵⁹ Later, another series of miracle stories from Merseburg was added to the *vita* shortly after St. Henry's relics were translated to the local cathedral in 1165.¹⁶⁰ The earliest codex with these miracles comes from the early thirteenth century, and this tradition later also reached Bamberg.¹⁶¹ Although the claim for St. Henry's canonization and

¹⁵³ The frescoes are discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁴ London, British Library, Add.49999, f. 97v–101v. About Henry II in Gotland murals see Kandzha, "Migrating Legend of Saint Emperor Henry II."

¹⁵⁵ Subsequent hagiographies often mistaked Conrad II's spouse Gisela for Henry's sister of the same name, e.g., in *Der Heiligen Leben*, 243: "vnd sein swester fraw Geysel die waz kuniginn zu Vngern..."

¹⁵⁶ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 308–11.

¹⁵⁷ Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, cols. 1118–9.

¹⁵⁸ Discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹⁵⁹ The punishment miracle of cardinal Johannes, Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 319–21, and of one other cleric Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 321–3.

¹⁶⁰ "Adalberti vita Heinrichi II. Imperatoris," 814–16 (BHL 3815).

¹⁶¹ The earliest codex with these miracles is from Heilsbronn Abbey (Franconia); for a Bambergian codex, see, for example, Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Theol. 121 (c. 1475–84), owned by the Franciscans; Nonnosus Stettfelder adds Merseburg miracles to his translation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies, Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend und leben des Heyligen sandt Keyser Heinrichs* (Bamberg: Pfeyll, 1511), 70–80.

hagiographic production was centered in Bamberg, Merseburg was also engaged in these ventures as is testified by several crucial episodes that are directly linked to the community (the battlefield and St. Henry's soul-weighing), the solemn acquisition of relics, and these miracle stories.

Stumpf has identified more than 106 exemplars of the *vita Heinrici*'s medieval textual transmission both in full and in fragments, though not including fragments incorporated in historiographic works and Henry's vernacular hagiographies.¹⁶² Such a vibrant textual transmission does not always correlate with the saint's liturgical veneration but clearly reflects an ongoing interest in Henry's figure as a saint—for some audiences, it could be an edifying reading, while other individuals and communities used St. Henry to amplify their own symbolic and political status.

Why then, among all German rulers, Henry II had enough potential to become a saint? Although there cannot be a straightforward recipe for becoming holy, Henry II's commemorative capacity was partially conditioned by some circumstances of his life—his multiple donations and ecclesiastical foundations, together with the alleged chastity and personal devotedness—and, possibly, general adaptivity of the concept of holiness to rulers. His commemoration in Bamberg and other places that received imperial protection and lavish gifts was motivated by the need to create a foundation myth—a story defining the community's identity and the endowment's alleged importance for imperial history.

However, the creation of St. Henry's cult was largely motivated by Bamberg clerics who strived to advertise and recuperate the city's and the bishopric's weighing status.¹⁶³ After the dynastic change following Henry II's death, the bishopric of Bamberg started to lose its status as a political and spiritual center of the Empire. Bamberg was also an exempt bishopric directly subordinated to Rome, to the discomfort of neighboring dioceses (mostly Würzburg and Mainz). The papal confirmation of the bishopric's founder—an event of a vast symbolic capacity—functioned as an additional tie binding Rome and Bamberg, reinforcing the latter's independence and political status in the Empire and Christendom.¹⁶⁴ At the same time, the news of the recently established local Franconian cults directed a significant number of pilgrimages to Bamberg, contributing to the economic prosperity of the city. Moreover, St. Henry's canonization, and especially the shaping of his sanctity in the *vita*, occurred crafted in the aftermath of the Investiture Controversy, and Eberhard II of Bamberg (during whose reign the *elevatio* and the writing of the *vita Heinrici* took place) actively partook as a mediator between the imperial and ecclesiastical sides. Therefore, one can judge Henry's

¹⁶² Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 159.

¹⁶³ Sven Pflfka, *Das Bistum Bamberg, Franken und das Reich in der Stauferzeit: der Bamberger Bischof im Elitengefüge des Reiches 1138–1245* (Würzburg: Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte, 2005).

¹⁶⁴ Bamberg's exempt status was mentioned in the canonization bull, see Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, cols. 1118–9: “Ecclesiae Bambergensis, quae sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae soli subesse dignoscitur...”

saintly profile, formed in large by its *vita*, as an ideal Christian king who ensured the union between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium*.¹⁶⁵

Cunigunde's Canonization and Hagiography

In St. Henry's *vita*, Cunigunde is a marginal person, an auxiliary companion of the emperor. In mere fifty years since St. Henry's canonization, Cunigunde achieved the fame of a popular healing saint, a saintly counterpart of Emperor Henry, and one of the first local female cults of the Franconian region.¹⁶⁶ At some point in the twelfth century, Cunigunde's remains were transferred from the nunnery of Kaufungen. Although the exact date and circumstances of Cunigunde's translation from Kaufungen to Bamberg are obscure, this event occurred as a response to the forming claim for Henry's sanctity and the raising interest in the empress in Bamberg, while Kaufungen witnessed an apparent disinterest in the foundress's *memoria*.¹⁶⁷ Metaphorically, St. Henry indeed enabled the canonization of Cunigunde, and one legend from the early thirteenth century reveals how dependent Cunigunde's sanctity was on that of her husband at her cult's onset. According to this legend, often transmitted together with St. Cunigunde's hagiography, St. Henry appeared in a vision to a Bamberg presbyter, demanding the canonization of his spouse.¹⁶⁸

The persona of the empress became appealing for the local clerical community and dwellers around the 1190s. The plea composed in Bamberg for Cunigunde's canonization first reached the papal see in 1192. Although an investigative commission of the bishops of Augsburg, Eichstätt, and Würzburg with three Cistercian abbots of Ebrach, Heilsbronn, and Langheim was set up,¹⁶⁹ bureaucratic circumstances followed by the death of Celestine III (r. 1191–1198) protracted the examination of this case.¹⁷⁰ Since 1198, the faith of Cunigunde was in the hands of Pope Innocent III,

¹⁶⁵ First argued by Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 43–8.

¹⁶⁶ According to the study of miracle stories from Franconia, St. Cunigunde was the first female saint in the region whose miracles were recorded, see Dieter Harmening, "Fränkische Mirakelbücher: Quellen und Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde und Geschichte der Volksfrömmigkeit," *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 28 (1966), 28.

¹⁶⁷ On the translation see a detailed discussion by Schneidmüller, "Kaiserin Kunigunde," 24–31.

¹⁶⁸ "Visio cuisudam presbyteri," ed. Renate Klauser, in Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 183–84. First discovered by George Madison Priest, "Drei ungedruckte Bruchstücke der Legenden des Hlg. Heinrich und der Hlg. Kunigunde," *Jahrbücher der königlichen Akademie der gemeinnützigen Wissenschaften zu Erfurt* 34 (1908): 197–214. A similar story is presented a few decades later by Ebernand of Erfurt, telling how Reimbote had the same vision, in which St. Henry pointed to the holiness of his not yet venerated spouse: Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 150–53 (vers. 4095–4182); see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 61–4.

¹⁶⁹ In the bull from 1200, it is mentioned that the first plea was administered by "bishops Udalschalk of Augsburg and Hartwich of Eichstätt and Henry of Berg, bishop of Würzburg, of a good memory, and beloved sons abbot Hermann of Ebrach, abbot Rabotho of Langheim and abbot Arnold of Heilsbronn," see Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III. zur Heiligsprechung der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1200)," 22–3. The three bishops were chosen as they oversee the dioceses neighboring Bamberg; Cistercians monk were connected to Bamberg, especially through the figure of sainted Bishop Otto I (who founded both Heilsbronn and Langheim; later, all three abbeys had altars consecrated to either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde).

¹⁷⁰ On Cunigunde's canonization: Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 60–1; Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III."

who, after examining the case, confirmed the cult on April 3, 1200, marveling at the queen's worldly life as well as many miracles witnessed at her tomb in Bamberg.¹⁷¹ The festive *elevatio* took place in Bamberg Cathedral on September 9, 1201—the day after the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. This synchrony of feasts was opted to increase the similarity between St. Cunigunde—venerated as a virgin—and the main virgin of the *communio sanctorum*.

In two versions of the canonization bull—one for all the Christian community and another for the cathedral chapter in Bamberg—Innocent III confirmed Cunigunde's holiness and established her feast day (March 3), supplying *oratio*, *secretata*, and *complenda* to be used for the service.¹⁷² With St. Cunigunde's canonization, preceded by that of St. Homobonus in 1199, Innocent III used a chance to exercise his authority over controlling canonizations by imposing a strict investigation with an emphasis on postmortem miracles.¹⁷³ After 1200, St. Cunigunde's name and feast swiftly appeared in local calendars as well in the canon of virgins; for example, by the 1220s, St. Cunigunde was listed among other virgins in the *Civiale Psalter* that belonged to Elisabeth of Hungary (1207–1231, can. 1235).¹⁷⁴

As Jürgen Petersohn pointed out, during the Staufen reign, the imperial rule and ritual acts (including canonizations, *elevatio*, and *translatio*) were closely related.¹⁷⁵ St. Cunigunde's canonization indeed became an important event in the context of the contemporary political struggles, namely a rivalry for the German throne between Otto IV of the Welf dynasty and Philip of Swabia of the Staufen dynasty, happening from 1198 up to 1208 and ending with the assassination of the Staufen king. Philip of Swabia's support came mainly from Southern Germany, including Bamberg, and the king himself became a supporter of St. Cunigunde's cult.¹⁷⁶ The celebration of the empress's *elevatio*, held on September 9, 1201, collated with the *Hoftag* arranged by Philip of Swabia in Bamberg on September 8, during which the archbishops of Bremen and Salzburg and numerous bishops, abbots, and secular lords were present.¹⁷⁷ Most probably, these lords were also present during the *elevatio*,

¹⁷¹ Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III.," 24–5.

¹⁷² Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III.," 8–11. Krafft has shown that such a duplication of canonization bulls for different addressees became a precedent for subsequent canonization documents, see Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 229–31.

¹⁷³ Michael Goodich, "Vision, Dream and Canonization Policy under Pope Innocent III," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John Moore and Brenda Bolton (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 151–63. A famous framing from this bull that was later persistent in further procedures: "ut ipse sanctus apud homines habeatur in ecclesia militante, duo sunt necessaria: uirtus morum et uirtus signorum, merita uidelicet et miracula, ut hec et illa sibi inuicem contestentur," see Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III.," 22; Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung*, 237.

¹⁷⁴ *St. Elizabeth's Psalter*, National Archaeological Museum, Cividale del Friuli, MS CXXXVIII, f. 170r. Mentioned by Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 211.

¹⁷⁵ Jürgen Petersohn, "Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 106.

¹⁷⁶ A year before, a similar act of political veneration of saints performed Philip's rival Otto IV, namely donating the crowns for the magi's relics, see Petersohn, "Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit," 113–4.

¹⁷⁷ On this *Hoftag* also see Karin Dengler-Schreiber, "Bischof Ekbert von Andechs-Meranien (1203–1237) — Opfer einer Intrige?: ein Reichsfürst in der Zeit des deutschen Thronstreits," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der*

which was a prominent symbolic and political event capable of augmenting Philip's prestige.¹⁷⁸ While there is no evidence of Philip's participation, his spouse Irene Angeline partook in the ceremony.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, to further strengthen the link between the holy empress and himself, Philip of Swabia named his daughter, born in 1202, after St. Cunigunde.¹⁸⁰ However, with the murder of Philip of Swabia in 1208, the cult of St. Cunigunde lost its immediate political reference but remained a strong urban cult in Bamberg, which quickly spread in the Austrian and Bohemian lands. This deep intermingling of cults and political powers is to be discussed in the last part of the current study that analyzes SS. Henry and Cunigunde reintroduction in the symbolism of political representation of the late medieval period.

The canonization of St. Cunigunde triggered the production of cult-related texts and practices pertaining to the holy empress and the imperial couple as a whole. A certain report of Cunigunde's life and miracles should have been prepared in support of the canonization claim since Innocent III's bull betrays the curia's familiarity with St. Cunigunde's worldly deeds and posthumous miracles. Around 1201, St. Cunigunde's *vita* was written that mostly praised the empress's life in the nunnery in Kaufungen after St. Henry's death.¹⁸¹ The *vita*'s second part, devoted to St. Cunigunde's postmortem miracles witnessed in Bamberg Cathedral, relates healings and other miraculous events occurring between 1199 and the empress's canonization.¹⁸² The earliest codices with St. Cunigunde's hagiography that are now in the libraries in Bamberg and Leipzig account for the two phases of her *vita*'s production: the first codex reflects the miracles that occurred before the official canonization, while the Leipzig codex (of the Franconian origin) accounts for additional miracles and the *elevatio* in Bamberg Cathedral in 1201.¹⁸³ In some cases, a prologue and hexametrical verses were attached to the *vita*, and this version is evident primarily in the Austrian lands.¹⁸⁴ Unlike the *vita Heinrichi*, the Latin hagiography of St. Cunigunde has not yet been meticulously studied in the entirety of its textual traditions and their transmission; although a critical edition (or an in-depth overview) of all variants

Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg 153 (2017): 59–99; the major study on Philipp: Bernd Schütte, *König Philipp von Schwaben: Itinerar, Urkundenvergabe, Hof* (Hannover: Hahn, 2002).

¹⁷⁸ While episcopal participation in the *elevatio* is mentioned by several sources, e.g., *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. Hermann Bloch, MGH SS rer. Germ. 9 (Hanover: Hahn, 1907), 74–5, the presence of secular lords can only be assumed.

¹⁷⁹ The presence of Irene Angeline is attested in Cunigunde's miracle collection: "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," ed. Georg Waitz, in MGH SS 4, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 827; Klauser, 67–68.

¹⁸⁰ Further implications of this ceremony on the cult of St. Cunigunde in the Moravian and Bohemian lands are discussed in Chapter 6.

¹⁸¹ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 92–6. Published in "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," in MGH SS 4, ed. by Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 821–828; "De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice," in *AS Martii* 1, ed. Godfried Henschen and Daniel van Papenbroeck (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1865), 265–80 (BHL 2001, 2005).

¹⁸² Although there are no protocols, it is probable that these miracles (more than 100 testimonies) were collected in support of the canonization as was demanded by the papal procedures.

¹⁸³ The two redactions are preserved in SBB, R.B. Msc. 120, fol. 37v–46r and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 64, fol. 39v–55r.

¹⁸⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 596 (13th c., Salzburg provenance) is related to a fifteenth-century codex from St. Florian, ÖNB, Cod. 4174. The elements published in MGH edition as variants, see "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis."

of St. Cunigunde's Latin hagiographies is beyond the scope of this work, some of these are discussed in the coming chapters.¹⁸⁵

The first chapter of the *vita* briefly recounts St. Cunigunde's lineage, mentions the ordeal and the saint's partaking in the foundation of churches, foremost the St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg.¹⁸⁶ The anonymous author also marvels at the chaste imperial union: "Oh marriage, united not for pleasures but out of the good will! Oh, holy matrimony, where the pledge of unviolated chastity and the spirit of compassion and verity [are preserved]."¹⁸⁷ However, the main emphasis of St. Cunigunde's *vita* is on her dwelling in the nunnery at Kaufungen, where she excelled in her devotion and performed several miracles: she put down fire with a sign of a cross, and once her glove was held in the air by a sunbeam while the widow was praying—exactly this glove, together with the saint's ring, was believed to be preserved and was venerated as a relic in late medieval Bamberg.¹⁸⁸ St. Cunigunde was also deeply concerned with the strict observance of monastic lifestyle: her niece Uta, who continuously disobeyed and showed up late for masses, was vigorously instructed by St. Cunigunde, who slapped Uta on her cheek; a mark remained on Uta's face as an admonition to other nuns. The final paragraphs are devoted to St. Cunigunde's death and her last wish of being buried next to St. Henry.¹⁸⁹

Afterward follows an account of the empress's postmortem miracles that reveals how the saint provided healing and assistance to more than one hundred devotees, coming not only from the diocese of Bamberg but also from the neighboring territories of Würzburg, Eichstätt, and Regensburg.¹⁹⁰ The first miracle to be recorded happened on August 1, 1199, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (also known as Petri Kettenfeier): a mentally impaired man was healed at St. Cunigunde's tomb in Bamberg Cathedral.¹⁹¹ As was also highlighted in Pope Innocent III's bull, St. Cunigunde's cult introduced a new "healing" method of contacting the saint's shrine, namely by applying the dust from Cunigunde's tomb (*pulvis*) was applied onto the body of a suppliant.¹⁹² The fame of a new healing cult spread rapidly, and, as St. Cunigunde's miracle collection narrates, many people were reportedly have healed

¹⁸⁵ The MGH edition does not recount all the miracles in full (unlike the edition in the *Acta Sanctorum*). Distinct version of St. Cunigunde's *vita* circulated in mostly the Austrian lands and in Brabant (e.g., in KBR, MS 3391–99 (BHL 2003) and, in Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Cod. 1066 (BHL 2002)).

¹⁸⁶ "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 821. Following the principle established by Deacon Adalbert for the *vita Heinrichi*, St. Cunigunde's hagiography also includes the empress's letter (probably, fictional) to the monastic community at Kaufungen, dated around August 1024, "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 822, also published in Hermann von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, vol. 1, *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen* (Kassel: Drewfs & Schönhoven, 1900), 21–2.

¹⁸⁷ "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 822: "O coniugium non voluptate, sed bona voluntate copulatum! O sanctum matrimonium, ubi una fides inviolate castitatis, ubi unus spiritus misericordie et veritatis."

¹⁸⁸ *Die weysung vnnnd auszuruffung des Hochwirdigen heylthumbs zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: Johann Pfeil, 1509), f. 14v.

¹⁸⁹ Cunigunde was first buried in Kaufungen and later transferred to Bamberg, as discussed before. The hagiographer changed the events retrospectively.

¹⁹⁰ Wenz-Haubfleisch, "Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde an der Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jahrhundert im Spiegel ihrer Mirakelsammlung," 162–70.

¹⁹¹ "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 825.

¹⁹² "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 825, 827.

at her tomb and were assisted in various misfortunes.¹⁹³ However, St. Cunigunde's cult was propagated not only by the help of various literary and liturgical forms—the Bamberg impresarios of the cult ensured that the relics of St. Cunigunde were spread throughout the diocese and beyond, where several altar and churches were consecrated to the saint within the first decades after the canonization,¹⁹⁴ and one place was named after the saint (Kunigundenreuth in 1231), reflecting her accelerating popularity.

In the end, the canonization of an imperial couple, initiated by the Bamberg clergy and supported by local ecclesiastical elite and secular lords, was a success: Henry and Cunigunde's holiness was confirmed by the papal see, the cults were integrated into the liturgical year and landscape of Bamberg and several other dioceses, and devotees learned about and recognized the cults' efficacy. Moreover, Bamberg gained a powerful foundation legend—the diocese was founded not just by a wishful emperor but a holy ruler. One should also note that in 1181, Bishop Otto of Bamberg was canonized, whose devotional center was not in the cathedral but in Michelsberg Monastery.¹⁹⁵ This overview can be concluded with praise for the efficacy of Bamberg canonization campaigns articulated by Schneidmüller: “Throughout the whole twelfth century, the bishopric of Bamberg, with its three *sancti*, remained the victor in the fight over the most advantageous cultic locations. Between 1100 and 1200, 11,11% of all the successful canonization procedures of the whole Christendom were carried out on the river Regnitz [i.e., Bamberg].”¹⁹⁶ These canonizations confirmed the papal protection and imperial-wide prestige of the bishopric, while Franconia obtained three local cults that enhanced a local network of pilgrimage destinations. Moreover, in the following centuries, other dioceses and smaller foundations willingly incorporated these saints in their own liturgical and memorial practices.

Henry and Cunigunde in the *Communio Sanctorum*

What was the significance of these canonizations for imperial politics and ideology as well as the trends in Christian sanctity in general? The canonizations of two imperial figures and the proliferation of their cult in Upper Franconia, Thuringia, and further German-speaking areas are unique for medieval commemoration practices. The Christian community was knowledgeable of other cults of

¹⁹³ St. Cunigunde's miraculous aid is further analyzed in Chapter 5.

¹⁹⁴ An altar was established in Bamberg Cathedral already in 1200, while subsequent foundation followed in 1202 (the so-called Leechkirche in Graz) and 1208 (Hlina), amounting to more than 80 devotional stations by the end of the medieval period.

¹⁹⁵ On St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg see Felix Biermann and Fred Ruchhöft, eds., *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern: historische und archäologische Forschungen zu Mission und Kulturverhältnissen des 12. Jahrhunderts im Südwesten der Ostsee* (Bonn: Habelt, 2017).

¹⁹⁶ Schneidmüller, “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde,” 41: “Im ganzen 12. Jahrhundert blieb das Bistum Bamberg mit seinen drei *sancti* der Sieger im Kampf um kultische Standortvorteile. Zwischen 1100 und 1200 konnte man an der Regnitz 11,11% aller geglückten Kanonisationsverfahren in der ganzen Christenheit für sich verbuchen.”

European holy kings (St. Sigismund, the Hungarian holy kings, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon saintly rulers), and, taken broadly, St. Henry shares many features with these holy rulers: the ecclesiastical patronage was a common theme, while chastity is a motif found in St. Edward the Confessor's and St. Emeric's cults.¹⁹⁷ However, for the Empire, the canonization of a male ruler was unique—Henry II was the first holy emperor followed only by Charlemagne, whose canonization in 1165 by Paschal III, later contested, was promulgated by Frederick I (1122–1190).¹⁹⁸

St. Henry follows the model of a confessor-ruler that became especially popular during the Christianization age, while Klauser highlighted that one of the cultural prototypes fueling St. Henry's perception was that of an idealized Christian ruler.¹⁹⁹ One of the appealing examples of St. Henry being constructed and appreciated through the prism of other royal cults is a late twelfth-century Hildesheim reliquary, now in Louvre (fig. 1.1). One side depicts Christ in Majesty next to three holy kings—Oswald, Sigismund, and Eugenius (probably, a legendary Scottish ruler)—while the enamel on the other side represents enthroned St. Henry with Cunigunde and monk Welandus (the donor) at his sides.²⁰⁰ This perception of St. Henry as a holy ruler, together with the historiography on the sacralization of power and the saints' role in the imperial ideology, is observed in more detail in the following chapters.



Fig. 1.1. Reliquary of St. Henry, c. 1170, enamel on gilded copper and rock crystal, 23x60 cm, for the church of St. Michael in Hildesheim; now in Paris, Louvre. Photo courtesy of RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Stéphane Maréchal, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010111471#> (accessed June 2, 2021).

¹⁹⁷ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 94–131.

¹⁹⁸ Knut Görich, “Kanonisation als Mittel der Politik? Der heilige Karl und Friedrich Barbarossa,” in *Karlsbilder in Kunst, Literatur und Wissenschaft: Akten eines interdisziplinären Symposions anlässlich des 1200. Todestages Kaiser Karls des Großen*, ed. Franz Fuchs and Dorothea Klein (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2015), 95–114; Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne: dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950).

¹⁹⁹ Renate Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 43–8.

²⁰⁰ Jung and Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 78–80.

St. Cunigunde, on the other hand, had saintly predecessors among German female rulers: three Ottonian queens—Mathilda (c.892–968), Edith (910–946), and Adelheid (931–999, canonized by Urban II in 1097)—were venerated as saints, whose cults were supported by their direct descendants,²⁰¹ not to mention several Merovingian and Carolingian saintly queens. However, three saintly Ottonian queens did not achieve any wide recognition beyond several monastic communities historically connected to them (for example, Seltz Abbey for St. Adelheid), unlike the cult of St. Cunigunde that had supra-regional appeal.

To a certain extent, St. Cunigunde forestalls the appearance of new forms of female spirituality, based upon practicing charity, caregiving, voluntary poverty, and abstinence, often combined with monastic enclosure and mystical experiences later epitomized in the images of SS. Elisabeth of Hungary, Hedwig of Silesia, and Birgitta of Sweden, as well as the “heavenly courts” of Central European holy queens and princesses.²⁰² The canonized empress who led a sober monastic lifestyle could have functioned as a model for the spiritual formation of Elisabeth of Hungary and Hedwig of Silesia—both women, who were promptly perceived as holy after their deaths, grew up and developed their affective piety in a milieu familiar with the cult of St. Cunigunde.²⁰³ St. Cunigunde’s legends could also influence a Polish queen Cunigunde, or Kinga, (c.1234–1292, canonized 1999), who, like her namesake St. Cunigunde, strived to preserve virginity in a marriage with Bolesław V and withdrew to a convent after her husband’s death.²⁰⁴ Although there is no decisive evidence that the Polish queen knew St. Cunigunde’s hagiography, Kinga was probably at least knowledgeable of her namesake’s saintly career; moreover, the name “Cunigunde” appeared several times among the members of the Piast dynasty.

The successful canonization of both SS. Henry and Cunigunde became political events on their own rights, utilized by the papal see to confirm its monopoly on canonizations, especially those

²⁰¹ Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens*; Klaus Schreiner, “Hildegard, Adelheid, Kunigunde: Leben und Verehrung heiliger Herrscherinnen im Spiegel ihrer deutschsprachigen Lebensbeschreibungen aus der Zeit des späten Mittelalters,” in *Spannungen und Widersprüche: Gedenkschrift für Frantisek Graus*, ed. Susanna Burghartz and Hans-Jörg Gilomen (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1992), 37–50; Gilsdorf, *Queenship and Sanctity*. For the Ottonian contemporary hagiographic production see Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter: Ottonische Biographie, das hohe Mittelalter 920–1220* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1999).

²⁰² Folz, *Les saintes reines du moyen âge en Occident*; Gábor Klaniczay, “Pouvoir et idéologie dans l’hagiographie des saintes reines et princesses,” in *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident: Actes du colloque international du Centre d’Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale de Poitiers, 11–14 septembre 2008*, ed. Edina Bozóky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 434–42.

²⁰³ During Elisabeth’s lifetime, the cult of St. Cunigunde spreads in Thuringia (e.g., the inclusion of St. Cunigunde in the mentioned Elisabeth’s psalter (National Archaeological Museum, Cividale del Friuli, MS CXXXVIII, f. 170r), while Eberhard of Erfurt writes his poem *Keisir unde Keisirin* devoted to the saints in c. 1220s in the same region). As for St. Hedwig, her brother Eckbert (also a maternal uncle to Elisabeth of Hungary) became Bishop of Bamberg right after Cunigunde’s canonization (he is portrayed together with the holy couple and other saints on the triumphal portal of Bamberg Cathedral).

²⁰⁴ “Vita et miracula sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis,” ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 4 (Lwów: Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, 1884), 682–744 (BHL 4666–4667); also see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 206–7, 231, 242–3.

of rulers; by the Bamberg community—to amplify its waning importance and independence by creating a figure of a holy founder; by German rulers—for their immediate political aims. Although the papal confirmation marked only the beginning in the development of these cults, Klauser and other researchers following her footsteps analyzed SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults primarily up to the mid-thirteenth century, and a rare study would consider these cults in the fullness of their geographic, societal, textual, and ritual variations in the late medieval period. Further chapters will show that the late medieval cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, although deriving from their immediate reception within the period between the 1150s and the 1250s, were continually transformed and reframed by their devotees. All in all, these cults are viewed as a mirror reflecting the individuals and communities engaging with these saintly figures and, by bringing in and analyzing new evidence of the late medieval veneration of the holy imperial couple, the dissertation aims to contribute to a more nuanced picture of the medieval society and culture.

Chapter 2. The Holy Couple in Devotional and Literary Traditions

The celebrations held in Bamberg in 1147 and 1201 in honor of its new saints gave an impulse for spreading the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde groups across Upper Franconia and beyond. The cults were mainly propagated by the Bamberg stakeholders, while simultaneously, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics were sought by communities eager to maintain or recreate a connection to the holy imperial couple for their political and spiritual needs. The devotional forms—namely liturgy, hagiography, and visual depictions of the saints developed in Bamberg in support and right after their canonization—did not remain unchanged and unchallenged throughout the centuries-long veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde. For example, a popular motif of a virginal marriage uniting SS. Henry and Cunigunde fully developed only after the canonization of 1200 in a series of additions to the *vita Heinrici*, which turned the idealized confessor and ruler St. Henry and the devoted widow St. Cunigunde into laudable virgins.

While SS. Henry and Cunigunde were commonly encountered in devotional settings, the saints were known beyond the domain of exclusively religious observance. Due to their historical and political role as rulers, the knowledge of their holiness was widely recognized and spread through textual and visual forms that did not necessarily trigger religious devotion—for example, in high and late medieval historiographies. The current chapter reviews an abundance of these devotional and commemorative forms—literary, hagiographic, liturgical, visual, and historiographic—through which the knowledge and veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were maintained and spread. The chapter's last part offers a statistical and spatial glimpse into the distribution of devotional stations and visual representations of the saints up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. This overview, combining the existing research stances with new insights about certain sources, on the one hand, continues the discussion about the cults' developments started in the previous chapter, while, on the other, it also contributes to the subsequent analysis of the functions that these saints fulfilled in the late medieval Empire.

Creating the Chaste Imperial Couple

“They were both chaste and became saints,”—with these words, a Swabian humanist, author, and translator Heinrich Steinhöwel (1412–1482) summarizes the earthly and heavenly careers of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, arguing for a linear dependency between the couple's chaste marriage and

their subsequent sanctity.²⁰⁵ Indeed, chastity (*castitas*) and virginity (*virginitas*)—either of the words could imply moral integrity and sexual abstinence—were among the most laudable Christian virtues practiced already by the first ascetics in the desire of the *imitatio Christi*.²⁰⁶ At the same time, virginity, especially female, functioned as “an instrument for the transference and securing social and political legacies.”²⁰⁷ Therefore, any attempt to violate the economy of virginity—by refusing to get married or consummate a union—was a threat to existing social and political bonds.²⁰⁸

What makes SS. Henry and Cunigunde stand out among other virgin saints is that they were believed to pursue total sexual abstinence within the framework of a rightful marriage, neglecting the question of ensuring royal succession. Dyan Elliot has shown in her extensive study on spiritual marriages that although “chaste cohabitation in the context of licit marriage” was practiced throughout the medieval period, also among noble couples, it was often considered contradictory to social expectations of getting married and providing heirs.²⁰⁹ A compelling example of another noble couple who were believed to maintain virginity throughout their marriage is that of Delphine of Glandèves (1284–1358/1360) and Elzéar, Count of Sabran (1285–1323), the nobles from the Provence region.²¹⁰ Elliot has highlighted that these two canonized couples “are the only instances in the entire Christian tradition in which both husband and wife are officially recognized objects of veneration.”²¹¹ Delphine and Elzéar’s protracted canonization processes were commenced a few years after their death, backed up by their families and the Franciscans under whose instruction they had lived their worldly lives. Testimonies collected for Delphine’s process reveal a high level of suspicion and disbelief in their virginal marriage among clerics and laypeople alike.²¹² This example reveals that the task of assigning the quality of virginity to a married couple and of explaining how the spouses lived in ultimate virginity despite their marriage (which had to be nevertheless deemed

²⁰⁵ Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Ein tütsche Cronica von anfang der welt vncz vff keiser fridrich* (Ulm: Johannes Zainer, 1473), f. 19r: “Sie bleiben beide keusch und wurden heilig.”

²⁰⁶ On the medieval terminology and understanding of virginity and chastity see, among others, John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); Clarissa W. Atkinson, “‘Precious Balsam in a Fragile Glass’: The Ideology of Virginity in the Later Middle Ages,” *Journal of Family History* 8, no. 2 (June 1, 1983): 131–43; Sarah Salih, *Versions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 16–31; Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, eds., *Medieval Virginites* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

²⁰⁷ Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie, “Introduction: The Epistemology of Virginity,” in *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Marina Leslie (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 17.

²⁰⁸ This aspect has recently been discussed by Marita Weissenberg, “Generations of Men and Masculinity in Two Late-Medieval Biographies of Saints,” *Gender & History* 27, no. 3 (2015): 669–83.

²⁰⁹ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 4.

²¹⁰ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 281–96; André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Age: Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1987), 83–92, 211–24; Rosalynn Voaden, “A Marriage Made for Heaven: The Vies Occitanes of Elzéar of Sabran and Delphine of Puimichel,” in *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*, ed. Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 101–16.

²¹¹ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 301.

²¹² Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Age*, 211–24; Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 293–4.

legal) was not straightforwardly easy. Hagiographers of SS. Henry and Cunigunde faced similar challenges when striving to reconcile their regnal status with a laudable notion of virginity.

The first clues about Henry II and Cunigunde's innocent matrimony surfaced within a century of their death, spurred on by the fact that the imperial couple had been childless.²¹³ Although St. Henry's chastity and St. Cunigunde's virginity were mentioned as their laudable virtues in the canonization bulls, their virginal marriage was not central for either hagiography. The hagiographic understanding of how their virginal marriage could have functioned gradually took shape over time, adapting to contemporary concepts of sanctity, chaste marriages, and sexual abstinence.

In the first decades of the thirteenth century, an addition to St. Henry's Latin hagiography (known as *vitae Heinrici additamentum*) was written, most probably in Bamberg, that complemented the *vita* with three narratives: St. Henry's bridal quest and his and Cunigunde's betrothal, St. Henry's lameness, and St. Cunigunde's ordeal of burning ploughshares.²¹⁴ Two of these supplementary narratives clearly dwell upon the theme of chaste matrimony, one of which—St. Cunigunde's ordeal—expands a motif that had already been present in their hagiographies. However, the story of St. Henry's lameness—a newly introduced narrative—could also be viewed in connection to the saints' chaste marriage, as argued below. This group of texts has not yet been a subject to scrupulous analysis, though certain valuable clues were given by Priest, Klauser, Kohlschein, Stumpf, and Ziegler.²¹⁵

The three narratives first appeared together in an early-thirteenth-century codex, probably of the Franconian origin, now in Leipzig.²¹⁶ Only two other manuscripts contain all three *additamentum* narratives as a cohesive sequence of legends.²¹⁷ There are also instances of an autonomous transmission of the first and the third parts (those that dwell upon the betrothal and the ordeal), found under the title of the *vita sancte Kunigundis*.²¹⁸ Due to the differences in style between the three

²¹³ The formation of the belief in SS. Henry and Cunigunde's chaste matrimony is discussed in detail in another publication, see Kandzha, "Virgins on the Throne." Some arguments outlined in this subchapter have previously appeared in the same publication.

²¹⁴ Published as "Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum," ed. Georg Waitz in *MGH SS* 4, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), 816–20 (BHL 3814).

²¹⁵ George Priest, "Die Handschriften der 'Vita Heinrici' und 'Vita Cunegundis,'" *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 40 (1916): 249–63; Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 108–12; Franz Kohlschein, "'Clausus Henricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich': Kaiser Heinrich II. als Visionär im Michaelsheiligtum des Monte Gargano in Apulien," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 138 (2002): 77–122; Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 82–4; 99–101; Ziegler, *Trial by Fire and Battle*, 193–4.

²¹⁶ Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 64. This codex is notable as it contains the earliest collection of all the holy couple's hagiographic texts under one cover, except for St. Henry's miracles that occurred in Merseburg. The *MGH* edition of the *vitae Heinrici additamentum* was based only on the Leipzig manuscript, and multiple variations, transmission patterns, and ways of integrating these three stories into Latin and vernacular textual traditions were not covered. Marcus Stumpf did not include the *additamentum* in his edition of the *vita Heinrici*.

²¹⁷ Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 69 (Dominican convent in Nuremberg, fifteenth century); Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. st. 700 (Plankstetten Abbey, 1608)

²¹⁸ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára [Central Library of the Trans-Tiszanian Calvinist Church District], MS R 450, f. 77v–82r. This codex contains several philosophical treatises together with hagiographical and liturgical excerpts devoted to SS. Henry, Cunigunde, and Bishop Otto I (discussed also in Chapter 3). A fifteenth-

narratives, it is unlikely that all parts of the *additamentum* were authored by the same person, although these texts might have taken shape and assembled together under one creative impulse, probably based on Franconian and Saxon oral traditions.²¹⁹ Here, these texts are treated as a cohesive group since they were conceived within the same period—between 1200 and c. 1220—and they all dwell on the couple’s sexuality and chaste marriage.²²⁰

Although these legends were rarely transmitted as a separate corpus of legends, they became widely known because they were often incorporated within St. Henry and St. Cunigunde’s hagiographies and historiographies. For example, several late medieval chronicles contained some or all of the *additamentum* narratives arranged chronologically.²²¹ All three narratives were integrated into the vernacular poem by Ebernand of Erfurt in the first decades of the thirteenth century (c. 1220), and through Ebernand’s poem, these stories proliferated in the legendary *Der Heiligen Leben*, transmitted in hundreds of manuscripts and prints.²²² These stories were included in local Bamberg chronicles (with a varying degree of elaboration),²²³ and in 1511, all three narratives were included in a vernacular printed edition of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s legends prepared by Nonnosus Stettfelder.²²⁴

The *additamentum* narratives were often deemed insignificant for SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s hagiographic traditions because, firstly, the stories do not bring any entirely new material (the statement is only valid for St. Cunigunde’s ordeal) and, secondly, they were rarely transmitted as a separate corpus.²²⁵ However, these qualities did not render these legends unimportant for their medieval audiences; even this incomplete glimpse into the transmission and reuse of these narratives reveals that the stories of the couple’s virginal marriage were much more popular than has been

century codex—either from Nuremberg or from Michelsberg Monastery—also transmits together the betrothal and the ordeal legends under the title *de sancte Kunegunde historia*, followed by St. Cunigunde’s initial Latin hagiography: SBB, Msc. Theol. 113, f. 370r–374v; several first sentences are omitted (those devoted to St. Henry’s regnal circumstances) in order to start directly with the presentation of St. Cunigunde.

²¹⁹ The *Annales Palidenses* contain several legends about SS. Henry and Cunigunde (including an extended version of St. Cunigunde’s ordeal if compared to the one in the *vita Heinrichi*), although there are no textual overlaps with the *vita* itself: “*Annales Palidenses*,” 65–8. While one might assume an intermediary source, it is equally possible that the annalist relied on oral traditions: Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 53–6. Later, the author of the *Saxon World Chronicle* used the *Annales Palidenses* for depicting Henry II’s rule: “*Sächsische Weltchronik*,” ed. Ludwig Weiland, in *MGH Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 2* (Hanover: Hahn, 1877), 167–8. Also see Julius Voigt, “*Die Pöhlde Chronik und die in ihr enthaltenen Kaisersagen*” (Doctoral dissertation, Halle a. d. Saale, Halle-Wittenberg, 1879).

²²⁰ Ebernand of Erfurt used the *additamentum* narratives for his vernacular poem, which is dated no later than c. 1220; together with the paleographic evidence from the earliest codex (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 64), this provides an approximate dating.

²²¹ For example, Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik des Johann Rothe*. ed. Rochus von Liliencron (Jena: Friedrich Frommann, 1859), 187–93; Veit Arnpeck, *Sämtliche chroiken*, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich: Rieger, 1915), 140–1.

²²² *Der Heiligen Leben*, 233–50.

²²³ *Chronica episcoporum Babenbergensium*, SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 1r–67v, here f. 15r–21v; a later version is also SBB R.B. Msc. 49, f. 64r–84v. This chronicle is discussed in Chapter 3.

²²⁴ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 13–4, 41–4, 92–8.

²²⁵ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 182–3.

considered. Moreover, these narratives revealed and popularized one of the essential virtues of the saints—virginity.

The bridal-quest and chaste marriage

“If anyone wants to know how the blessed confessor of Christ and blessed Cunigunde, before they met, had offered vows of virginal continence to God...”—starts the first part of the *additamentum*.²²⁶ Already this line makes it clear that both saints had decided upon sexual abstinence early in their lives—a piece of information crucial for understanding SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s economy of virginity but lacking in the initial hagiographies. The first scene sets up the so-called bridal-quest motif: St. Henry’s court insists that the emperor has to find a suitable spouse so that “after the virtuous emperor had died, [his] nonetheless virtuous offspring would take by the hereditary right the governing of the realm and would virtuously govern, emulating the fatherly virtues.”²²⁷ St. Henry, who has already decided upon pursuing virginity, opposes this advice; only when the nobles threaten to deprive him of the crown, he agrees to marry someone worthy of his royal majesty, though still hoping that God could help him keep the vow of continence.²²⁸ Thus, the quest for St. Henry’s bride has begun, and through divine foreknowledge, St. Cunigunde is chosen as a suitable spouse. As she “had already chosen the king of angels as her spouse,” St. Cunigunde wishes to refuse the marriage.²²⁹ In their desire to avoid marriage for the sake of a chaste life, SS. Henry and Cunigunde could be regarded as similar to the famous proponents of virginity in popular hagiographic literature—St. Alexius, who ran away on his wedding night, and St. Cecilia, who convinced her husband also to take a vow of chastity.²³⁰ It is not surprising that St. Cunigunde is compared to St. Cecilia and the Virgin Mary in two thirteenth-century sermons,²³¹ while on late medieval altarpieces, the empress is commonly joined by well-known Late Antique virgin martyrs.²³²

²²⁶ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 816–18: “Si quis scire desiderat, cum beatus Christi confessor et beata Cunegundis antequam convenirent votum continentie virginalis Deo in odorem suavitatis (Ezekiel 20:41–42) optulissent, quare postmodum coniugale matrimonium contraxerint, hanc sciant esse causam.”

²²⁷ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 816: “virtuoso imperatore viam universe carnis ingresso, virtuosa nichilominus proles hereditario iure gubernacula regni susciperet et paternam emulans virtutem virtuose gubernaret.”

²²⁸ Voaden claims that saints’ families acquired a role of hostile forces (similar to those of pagans in the earliest hagiographies), thus giving saints a chance to exercise their virtues: Voaden, “A Marriage Made for Heaven,” 107–9.

²²⁹ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 817: “Enimvero pudicissima, cui longe mens erat alia, audiens de nuptiis secum tractari, cepit inestimabiliter contristari et toto nisu reluctari, atque pre tristitia exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi eius, quia, que regem angelorum iam sibi sponsum elegerat, regi Romanorum licet inclito nubere recusabat.”

²³⁰ Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 64–70, 104–8.

²³¹ “Sermo de sancta Chunigunda,” ed. Renate Klauser in: *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 194;

“Sermo magistri Conradi,” ed. Renate Klauser in: *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 186–91. A fifteenth century hymn further elaborates on St. Cunigunde’s similarity with Mary, while St. Henry is compared to Joseph (not by chance the chaste marriage is often referred to as Josephite marriage): Clemens Blume, eds., *Die Hymnen des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts aus den ältesten Quellen*, Analecta hymnica Medii Aevi 52 (Leipzig: Reiland, 1909), 236–7 (№259): “Kunegundis eximia benedicta et Maria parili castissimo veroque conubio conectuntur: haec Heinricho illa Ioseph inclito.”

²³² The visual representations of St. Cunigunde’s virginity are explored in Iliana Kandzha, “Visualising the Invisible: Various Understandings of Female Virginity in Late Medieval Images of St Cunigunde,” *IKON* 14 (2021): 189–200.

As the espousal of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was eventually settled, “there was great exultation among all princes about the marriage of the king and the queen, but in vain. In fact, they did not marry in a carnal way but remained virgins.”²³³ After their union was blessed by the bishops, on the wedding night, they have revealed their vows of chastity in an engaging dialogue and conclude that they would lead a celibate life together.²³⁴ In their abstinence and ability to withstand the desires of the flesh, the newlywed couple is compared to martyrs.²³⁵ The described bridal-quest, the negotiation process between the spouses, the blessing, and the lavish celebration constitute the necessary elements of a lawful marriage. The only missing detail of a lawful union is the consummation, which in this narrative is substituted by mutual consent to live chastely. Elizabeth Makowski has argued that from the standpoint of canon law, the conjugal debt could be abrogated only by the mutual consent of spouses.²³⁶ The *additamentum*, therefore, positions the saints’ marriage within this legal framework, presenting this remarkable case of an abstinent saintly couple as a lawful union.

Marianne Kalinke and Claudia Bornholdt have noted that the bridal-quest narrative in the *additamentum* resembles a similar motif from two vernacular German epics.²³⁷ Christiane Then-Westphal has recently contributed to the discussion by analyzing the representations of chaste marriage in several vernacular German epics, including the chaste marriage of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde.²³⁸ While marital chastity is not a popular motif in medieval literature, St. Henry shares this virtue with Oswald and Orendel. These chaste protagonists were depicted in *Das Münchner Oswald* and *Orendel*, respectively—two vernacular epics from the second half of the twelfth century. Both Oswald (whose prototype is St. Oswald of Northumbria) and Orendel are nobles looking for a suitable bride, driven by the necessity to have heirs. They succeed in their adventurous bridal quests, but at the very last moment, the heroes receive a divine call for keeping sexual abstinence, which

²³³ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 817: “Universis itaque principibus facta est inestimabilis exultatio de regis et regine coniugio; sed frustra. Non enim, sicut speraverunt, more carnalium nupserunt, sed virgins permanserunt.”

²³⁴ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 817: “Unanimi consensus iam ipsi nos ipsos offeramus pollicentes, quod propter eius amorem omnibus diebus vite nostre celibem vitam ducamus.”

²³⁵ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 818: “et cum preter sanguinis effusionem duo sint genera martirum, scilicet castitas in iuventute et abstinencia in habundantia, beatos coniuges, quorum preconia non tacemus, gemina martirii corona coronatos esse confidimus, qui et castitatem omni vite sue tempore et abstinenciam summopere studebant conservare.”

²³⁶ Elizabeth M. Makowski, “The Conjugal Debt and Medieval Canon Law,” *Journal of Medieval History* 3, no. 2 (1977): 99–114.

²³⁷ Claudia Bornholdt, “What Makes a Marriage: Consent or Consummation in Twelfth-Century German Literature,” in *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 140–45; Marianne Kalinke, “Lost German Literature in Icelandic Translation: The Legends of King Oswald and Emperor Henry II,” in *Kulturen Des Manuskriptzeitalters*, ed. Arthur Groos and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2004), 155–80. Also see Ingrid Bennewitz, “Kaiserin und Braut Gottes: Literarische Entwürfe weiblicher Heiligkeit,” *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 137 (2001): 144–5.

²³⁸ Christiane Then-Westphal, *Königs Wege zum Heil Ehe und Enthaltensamkeit in deutschen Texten des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2020), esp. 215–309.

contradicts the logic of a customary bridal-quest.²³⁹ In the end, the marriages of both Orendel and Oswald are chaste, resembling the case of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, with the only difference of the imperial couple giving individual vows of chastity before the quest had begun. The mutual influence of these two German epics and the *additamentum* is evident with regard to certain details of the plot and the ideal of marital chastity. However, given the parallel oral transmission of these legends, it is impossible to establish which of these three narratives could have functioned as a prototype (or an inspiration) for the other legends. It is nevertheless important to highlight that the hagiographic legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were developed and transmitted in a literary landscape where the stories about not only virgin saints but also chaste rulers were known.²⁴⁰

Heinricus claudus

The story of St. Henry's claudication, as one finds it in the second part of the *additamentum*, does not directly treat the saint's sexuality.²⁴¹ Although the image of St. Henry's lameness, which appeared in several texts and visual representations from the late twelfth century onwards, has been analyzed by Franz Kohlschein and noted by other scholars, the physical impairment of St. Henry was rarely viewed in relation to his sexual abstinence and the chaste marriage.²⁴² Nevertheless, this legend presented St. Henry's lameness as a heavenly sign, and by doing so, it overwrote other—more profane and unfavorable—interpretations of his physical injury, namely of having moral flaws and of being impotent.

The legend unfolds as follows: while in Apulia, St. Henry goes on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, to the church of St. Michael. There he gets a chance to witness a heavenly mass orchestrated by angels, Archangel Michael, and God himself. After the service, when an angel brings the Evangeliary to the emperor, he touches St. Henry's thigh—this touch results in his lameness.²⁴³ The emperor's lameness becomes “a proof and an illustration of spiritual contact with the divine.”²⁴⁴ This version of St. Henry's divine claudication became an intrinsic part of his historiographic and

²³⁹ For a detailed analysis of this motif see Claudia Bornholdt, *Engaging Moments: The Origins of Medieval Bridal-Quest Narrative* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 140–59.

²⁴⁰ Elliot mentions a number of sainted rulers who were also believed to be chaste, Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 94–131; while there are no correlations with, for example, St. Edward the Confessor, the cult of St. Emeric of Hungary reveals certain similarities to that of St. Henry's (e.g., a similar motif of the soul-weighing), see Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 117–9.

²⁴¹ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 818.

²⁴² Kohlschein, “Claudus Heinricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich.” This interpretation has been implied by Schnedimüller but not problematized: Schneidmüller, “Kaiserin Kunigunde,” 20–21, n. 27. There was a wave of “medical” interest in SS. Henry and Cunigunde's childlessness also in the 1900–1910s, see, for example, Schöppler, “Die Krankheiten Kaisers Heinrich II. und seine ‘Josefsehe.’”

²⁴³ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 818: “Extemplo femur eius emarcuit, et exinde omni tempore vite claudicavit. Similis per omnia eventus de beato Iacob legitur, cuius femur ad tactum angeli secum luctantis emarcuit.” The narrator compares St. Henry's claudication to that of Jacob, see Gen. 32:32.

²⁴⁴ Kohlschein, “Claudus Heinricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich,” 96.

hagiographic images and achieved a wide reception: it was sometimes attached to the *vita Heinrici*,²⁴⁵ included in Ebernand of Erfurt's poem,²⁴⁶ vernacular hagiographic collections,²⁴⁷ the legend printed in Bamberg in 1511,²⁴⁸ and several historiographic works. Moreover, a famous statue of St. Henry on the portal of Bamberg Cathedral from the mid-thirteenth century was interpreted by a local dweller—Andreas Lang, the abbot of Michelsberg Monastery in Bamberg—as depicting the saint's lameness.²⁴⁹

This legend was not the first explanation of St. Henry's impairment. Henry II was known by a cognomen *claudus* around the time of his canonization, though Kohlschein suggests that this nickname appeared already during Henry's rule.²⁵⁰ However, the earliest written description of Henry II's lameness comes from the *Annales Palidenses*, composed in Lower Saxony at the end of the twelfth century. Its author recalls that Henry injured his thigh in a campaign in 1004 when escaping from captivity. Because of this incident, he lost the ligaments in his thigh and therefore was called "Henry the thigh-lame."²⁵¹ This story offers profane reasoning for St. Henry's lameness, which could originate from earlier oral and written traditions that the annalist used for his writings.²⁵² Another author of the same period—Gottfried of Viterbo (c.1120–c.1196), who was educated in Bamberg and personally familiar with the local cult of St. Henry—also described him as *claudus* along with noting his saintly character and postmortem miracles.²⁵³ Interestingly, in a late medieval adaptation of these verses, *Heinrici Claudii* was substituted by *Heinrici Sancti*, being a more appropriate cognomen for a

²⁴⁵ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 108–13. The claudication legend is included in Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 663; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 207; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. I, 70; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III, 69; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. IV, 17; also in the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg*, SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 17r; BSB, Clm. 46; Clm. 18660 (in a different version, see below); Clm. 23846; also included in the now-lost *Apographum Bambergense* used for Gretser, *Divi Bambergenses*; see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 75.

²⁴⁶ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 103–9 (vers. 2693–2894).

²⁴⁷ *Der Heiligen Leben*, 240–1. This version is close to the *additamentum* though shortened and without the introduction; the events take place in Apulia, though Monte Gargano is also not mentioned.

²⁴⁸ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 41–4. Here the story forms a separate chapter—"warumb er der hinckey keyser heinrich heyset"—and is placed within the chronology, before the Roman coronation and after St. Henry's healing by St. Benedict; "zu dysen zeiten der heylig Keyser Heinrich sey hincket worden der vor nicht gehuncken hath wann er ist nicht hincket geporn das woll wisent ist."

²⁴⁹ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 17r: "Autem preterea huius miraculi testimonio ymaginem sancti regis ante fores cathedralis monasterii posuit esse lapillo sinistro pedi in signum claudicationis supposito quodadhuc exentibus ad dexteram patet." Kohlschein discusses other visual representations where the image of Henry could be interpreted as that of a lame man, e.g., on the imperial tombstone in Bamberg: Kohlschein, "Claudus Heinricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich," 80–1.

²⁵⁰ On the margins of a charter from 1015, Henry II is mentioned as *Husfehalz*; the same note relates that Henry hurt his thigh on a hunt (see Kohlschein, "Claudus Heinricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich," 77–8). However, the text of the charter is found in a codex from 1160 from Fulda (known as the *Codex Eberhardi*) and could have been modified by the scribe—as suggested by Schneidmüller, "Kaiserin Kunigunde," 20–21, n. 27.

²⁵¹ "Annales Palidenses," 66: "Heinricus femore claudus." There is an interlinear gloss above this phrase reading "huffealz," also in the original codex in a hand closely resembling the main text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 633, f. 73av); however, Schneider considers this gloss to be a later addition, see Reinhard Schneider, "Die Königerhebung Heinrichs II. im Jahre 1002," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 28 (1972), 84.

²⁵² This interpretation of Henry II's lameness was also used in a sixteenth-century chronicle by Johann Carion (see Kohlschein, "Claudus Heinricus—der hincket keyser Heinrich," 105–6), who in part based his writings on the *Annales Palidenses*.

²⁵³ Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 22*, ed. Georg Pertz (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), 241: "Henrici Claudii meritum sollempniter audi, cui decet applaudi cuius metra porrigo laudi."

holy ruler.²⁵⁴ Whether Henry's lameness was "historical" or a later attribution, a cognomen *claudus* was certainly accompanying him from the end of the twelfth century onwards, known in commemorative traditions beyond the Bamberg diocese, and the *additamentum* legend offered yet another explanation of his impairment.

Moreover, another variation of St. Henry's divine claudication existed, the earliest evidence of which comes from the fifteenth century. It resembles the events at Monte Gargano, though in this version, St. Henry participates in the heavenly mass in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Another distinct feature is that not only the angels with Archangel Michal are present but also Christ with SS. Laurence, Vincent, Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Stephen, Martin, and other saints. Such a change of location might reflect the centrality of the Marian cult for the late medieval spirituality; at the same time, it could convey strong symbolic associations between the Empire and Rome since, at that time, the eternal city still functioned as a desirable place of the imperial coronation. So far, only three texts (two in Latin and one in German) from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are known to contain the Maria Maggiore-version: a hagiographic collection from Tegernsee abbey, Veit Arnpeck's *Bayerische Chronik* from 1493, and a chronicle written by a humanist Johannes Nauclerus.²⁵⁵ While Veit Arnpeck narrates the Santa Maria Maggiore-version in vernacular, in his Latin version of the same chronicle, St. Henry's claudication is given in its Monte Gargano variation.²⁵⁶ Therefore, both versions had equal authoritative allure (although the Maria Maggiore-version was not widespread), and they were transmitted in the same geographic and literary milieu of the southeastern German lands.

In this version, not only the location and the participants are different but also the interpretation of St. Henry's claudication: it is given to him as "a sign of God's love for your [Henry's] chastity and righteousness."²⁵⁷ Therefore, here his lameness is understood as directly related to his chastity. Moreover, the Virgin Mary becomes an important actor in the scene: she is the titular saint of Santa Maria Maggiore where the heavenly mass takes place, and she orders an angel to bring the Evangeliary to St. Henry, which resulted in his thigh getting hurt. In a way, she transfers her chastity, understood both as moral and bodily purity, onto St. Henry.

²⁵⁴ The earliest manuscript with these verses partially transmitted is from the 1430s: Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 82r. These verses later surface in a late-fifteenth century Brabantine literary traditions (the earliest in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 3391-99, f. 179r), and subsequently in Nuremberg (BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v).

²⁵⁵ BSB, Clm. 18660, f. 216v; Arnpeck, *Sämtliche chroiken*, 487; Johannes Nauclerus, *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii* (Tubingae: Anshelm, 1516), f. 149. This textual tradition is currently unexplored and has only been mentioned by Kohlschein with regard to Nauclerus's chronicle. Stumpf has also taken notice of this version though attributed it exclusively to the vernacular tradition, Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 193-5; however, the Santa Maria Maggiore version was also present in Latin.

²⁵⁶ Arnpeck, *Sämtliche chroiken*, 148.

²⁵⁷ BSB, Clm. 18660, f. 216v: "hoc tibi erit signum dilectionis dei propter tuam castitatem et tuam iustitiam." The similar wording also in Nauclerus, *Memorabilium omnis*, f. 149. In Arnpeck, *Sämtliche chroiken*, 487: "das dich got lieb hat umb dein keuschhait und gerechtigkeit."

It is not by accident that it is St. Henry's thigh that was hurt by the angel in both versions—this narrative clearly developed as a response to Henry's nickname “thigh-lame.” Crediting St. Henry with a cognomen *claudus* might have put a shadow over his reputation by implying moral flaws or impotence.²⁵⁸ First, according to Irina Merzler's research on disability, a common medieval perception of a “body as a vessel of spiritual meaning” allowed for interpreting physical impairments as moral flaws.²⁵⁹ Therefore, proposing a divine source for St. Henry's lameness would rebut possible hints to the holy emperor's sins that were also alluded to in the soul-weighing legend. Secondly, a thigh wound can be viewed as an impairment disrupting the male reproductive system, although St. Henry's impotence was hinted at only in one fifteenth-century chronicle.²⁶⁰ Such interpretation of a thigh-wound is present in an antique belief of a male thigh as the equivalent to a womb (e.g., Dionysus birth from Zeus's thigh)²⁶¹ and in medieval epics, especially in the Arthurian cycles.²⁶² Thus, in the story of the Fisher King (in the version from Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, c. 1210), the Fisher King was wounded in his thigh, which prevented him from producing heirs and consequently thrust his kingdom in decline.²⁶³ The story demonstrates an interdependency between the king's sexual vitality and the prosperity of the kingdom.

Taking into consideration these connections between male thigh wounds, on the one hand, and moral impurity or infertility and political decline, on the other, the story of St. Henry's divine claudication could have aimed for changing the interpretation of the wound—from a dubious impairment to a divine remuneration for his “chastity and righteousness.” Possibly, this legend took shape and was intentionally spread in Bamberg since the anonymous author of the *additamentum* testified that he or she first heard the legend in a sermon at Bamberg Cathedral given by Conrad of

²⁵⁸ Müller goes as far as viewing St. Henry's claudication as a metaphorical castration or a punishment for his sins, but this interpretation is mentioned in passing without sufficient grounding: Maria E. Müller, *Jungfräulichkeit in Versepen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur 17 (München: Fink, 1995), 182–3.

²⁵⁹ Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment in the High Middle Ages, c.1100–1400* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 38–48.

²⁶⁰ Thomas Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, ed. Harald Zimmermann, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S. 18 (Hannover: Hahn, 2003), 1:546

²⁶¹ For more details see D. Felton, “Thigh Wounds in Homer and Vergil: Cultural Reality and Literary Metaphor,” in *Resemblance and Reality in Greek Thought: Essays in Honor of Peter M. Smith*, ed. Arum Park (New York: Routledge, 2016), 239–58; David D. Leita, *The Pregnant Male as Myth and Metaphor in Classical Greek Literature* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 58–99.

²⁶² Karen Cherevatuk, “Malory's Thighs and Lancelot's Buttock: Ignoble Wounds and Moral Transgression in the Morte Darthur,” *Arthurian Literature* 31 (2014): 35–60; Anna Roberts, “Queer Fisher King: Castration as a Site of Queer Representation (Perceval, Stabat Mater, The City of God),” *Arthuriana* 11 (2001): 49–88; Daniel F. Pigg, “Caught in the Act: Malory's ‘Sir Gareth’ and the Construction of Sexual Performance,” in *Sexuality in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times: New Approaches to a Fundamental Cultural-Historical and Literary-Anthropological Theme*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 633–48, esp. 643. Joanna Phillips has noticed the theme of thigh-wounds in Crusading historiographies with a similar connotations, see Joanna Phillips, “Crusader Masculinities in Bodily Crises: Incapacity and the Crusader Leader, 1095–1274,” in *Crusading and Masculinities*, ed. Natasha R. Hodgson, Katherine J. Lewis, and Matthew M. Mesley (London: Routledge, 2019), 149–64.

²⁶³ Bernhard Dietrich Haage, “Krankheit und Erlösung im ‘Parzival’ Wolframs von Eschenbach: Anfortas' Leiden,” in: *Krankheit und Sterben: Ein interprofessioneller Dialog*, ed. Michael Fieger, Marcel Weder (Bern: Lang, 2012), 167–85.

Querfurt, Bishop of Würzburg (c.1160–1202).²⁶⁴ Altogether, this legend was known to local clerical elite and parishioners who were present at sermons in Bamberg in the early thirteenth century or those who looked at St. Henry's statue on the cathedral's portal and wondered about the strange positioning of his leg. Furthermore, devotees beyond Bamberg could learn about this legend from numerous printed editions of *Der Heiligen Leben*. The divine interpretation of *Heinricus claudus* became, therefore, broadly known and actively recited, while other interpretations of St. Henry's lameness were cast out.

The ordeal

The third and final episode of the *additamentum* takes up the legend of St. Cunigunde undergoing an ordeal of burning ploughshares.²⁶⁵ The legend's narrative form resembles the first part of the *additamentum*: starting with a laudation for the chaste marriage that is laden with biblical allusions, the story unfolds through the use of direct speech, engaging descriptions, and several versified lines. This similarity does not necessarily point to the same authorship of the two parts but at least to the attempt to use a similar form.

While in the first hagiographies, the ordeal was mentioned in passing,²⁶⁶ this additional narrative, deemed by Stumpf as an “enlarged and trivialized edition of Cunigunde's ploughshare ordeal,”²⁶⁷ amplifies the story with multiple details and engaging dialogues. The author tells how the devil managed to raise suspicion of St. Cunigunde's infidelity: in disguise of a courtier, he made himself seen when leaving the empress's chamber on three mornings in a row. The author also introduces a dialogue between St. Henry and St. Cunigunde that occurred after the emperor had heard the rumors; one learns that it was St. Cunigunde herself who opted for the ordeal to reveal her innocence.²⁶⁸

The public ordeal took place in Bamberg in the presence of ecclesiastical and secular nobility: after St. Cunigunde walked over twelve hot ploughshares, her feet miraculously remained unharmed as if these were “like flowers.” The climax of the story is shaped as a series of St. Cunigunde's invocations, in which she presents herself in front of the noble public, opts for God's intercession, and, repeating the statement already present in the *vita Heinrici*, claims that neither her spouse Henry nor any other man knew her carnally.²⁶⁹ St. Henry, infuriated because the secret of their virginal

²⁶⁴ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 818; also in Eberhard of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 107–9.

²⁶⁵ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 819–20.

²⁶⁶ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 274–277; “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 821.

²⁶⁷ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 183.

²⁶⁸ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 819: “Honor quidem totius imperii per me videtur imminutus, sed volente Deo quantocius per me reformabitur; quod qualiter fieri possit, si sit cum beneplacito vestro, breviter insinuo.”

²⁶⁹ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 820: “nec hunc presentem Heinricum, nec quemquam virum alium carnali commercio cognovi”. In this part the author uses the wording from the *vita Heinrici*, cf. Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 276.

marriage had been disclosed, slaps her on her cheek so hard that it starts bleeding. Late medieval artists rarely skipped this dramatic detail when depicting St. Cunigunde's ordeal—the accused empress presses a veil against her cheek, on which drops of blood are visible.²⁷⁰ However, St. Henry immediately repents and asks her to forgive his wrongdoings. Although the empress's ordeal did not have any historical prototype in the couple's earthly lives per se, some speculations on the empress's infidelity might have been spurred by the lack of offspring in the imperial marriage.²⁷¹ In this way, the ordeal legend—especially in its extended version—functions as a persuasive narrative confirming not only fidelity but also the virginity of both spouses, articulated through St. Cunigunde's bodily impeccability.

In the end, the appearance of three narratives of the *additamentum* could be a reaction to popular interest in the couple and their virtue of virginity. These stories were conceived to elaborate upon the sexual abstinence of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, revealing their motivations behind being chaste as well as the process of achieving and defending virginity. These narratives would also help to frame the saints together in one cult—or two interdependent cults. Exactly this framing of SS. Henry and Cunigunde proliferated in Bamberg: one can think of double-dedications of altars and chapels, double-imagery, and liturgical intertwining of their feasts—the feast of St. Henry would not go without orations for St. Cunigunde and the vice versa.²⁷² The interlacement between St. Henry and St. Cunigunde is also evidenced in the patterns of textual transmission: their hagiographies often appeared together as a corpus, and in the legendary *Der Heiligen Leben*, their legends were placed one after another, violating the liturgical order for arranging saints' *vitae*.²⁷³

Reinterpreting the chaste couple

Subsequently, other authors dealing with SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies altered these narratives and provided new details about the imperial marriage. For example, in his vernacular poem, Eberhard of Erfurt introduced a novel reason for St. Henry's desire for sexual abstinence, later also used in the fifteenth-century *Der Heiligen Leben*. While in the *vita* and *additamentum*, St. Henry's virginal ambitions are not externally motivated (and are implicitly explained by his sanctity and piety), Eberhard concluded that St. Henry took a vow of chastity as an act of penitence preparing for his seemingly approaching death.²⁷⁴ This interpretation is based on one of the first narratives in the

²⁷⁰ Especially on Wolfgang Katzheimer's painting of the ordeal and woodcuts derived from it.

²⁷¹ In the *vita Heinrichi*, the ordeal legend is mentioned exactly in the context of explaining the couple's lack of offspring: Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 274–7; the same interpretation also in Klaniczay, “Pouvoir et idéologie dans l'hagiographie des saintes reines et princesses,” 433.

²⁷² Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris*, 123 (St. Cunigunde's feast), 153 (St. Henry's feast). On the cults in Bamberg see Chapter 3.

²⁷³ *Der Heiligen Leben*, 233–50.

²⁷⁴ Eberhard of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 12–15 (vers. 203–282, here vers. 281–282): “Sine kusscheit her gode irgab, / De wolde her brengin wan in sin grab;” *Der Heiligen Leben*, 234: “vnd hilt sich aber zu got vnd gelobt got sein

vita Heinrichi, in which St. Wolfgang prophesies St. Henry's imperial coronation, while Henry is erroneously convinced the prophecy concerned his death.²⁷⁵ The *vita*'s author did not include the vow of chastity among St. Henry's "preparations" since, in the mid-twelfth century, a clear-cut formulation of the king taking a vow of chastity had not yet existed. Only after St. Cunigunde's canonization and the popularization of the chaste imperial marriage, such a consequential dependence became conceivable.

Johannes Rothe (c. 1355/60–1434), a cleric from Thuringia born near Eisenach,²⁷⁶ further strengthens the image of the chaste imperial couple in his *Thuringian World Chronicle* (finished in 1421). This work, dedicated to the Thuringian landgravine Anna von Schwarzburg (d. 1431), was Johannes Rothe's last historiographical oeuvre that he created at the end of his successful clerical and administrative career.²⁷⁷ Johannes Rothe gave a new interpretation to St. Henry's devotion to St. Lawrence: the emperor donated a golden chalice in the name of St. Lawrence to express his gratitude for St. Cunigunde remaining unharmed by the ploughshares.²⁷⁸ This interpretation is based on a similitude between St. Lawrence's martyrdom by being burned on a grid and St. Cunigunde's ordeal by hot ploughshares. Moreover, the chronicler was apparently puzzled by St. Henry slapping St. Cunigunde, which could be seen as an unsaintly behavior. To solve this contradiction, Johannes Rothe introduced a new character who was not previously mentioned in any of SS. Henry or Cunigunde's hagiographies—Cunigunde's brother Henry (who was a Duke of Bavaria). In Johannes Rothe's retelling, it is St. Cunigunde's brother Henry who hit her; thus, St. Henry's reputation remained unchallenged.²⁷⁹ At the end of the episode, St. Henry admits that "her brother had slapped her unjustly."²⁸⁰ Johannes Rothe is a vivid example of active authorial engagement with the legends, achieved by altering and reinterpreting the hagiographic knowledge of SS. Henry and Cunigunde.

Furthermore, Marianne Kalinke has discovered that the narrative of the betrothal and St. Cunigunde's ordeal received a novel interpretation in the Icelandic saga tradition—in the sixteenth-

kevschigkait zu behalten vncz an seinen tot." See also Andrea Schindler, "Waz mochte uff erdin herschir sin / Danne keiser vnde keyserin? Kaiser Heinrich II. zwischen weltlicher und himmlischer Krone bei Ebernand von Erfurt," in *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel: Das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich II. und Kunigunde*, ed. Norbert Jung and Holger Kempkens (Bamberg: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 2014), 51–2.

²⁷⁵ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 227–29; Otloh von St Emmeram, *Vita Wolkangi*, 542.

²⁷⁶ Pamela Kalning, "Rothe, Johannes," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu (accessed December 19, 2019). http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_02222.

²⁷⁷ Volker Honemann, "Johannes Rothe und seine 'Thüringische Weltchronik,'" in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1987), 497–99.

²⁷⁸ Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik*, 189–90: "Nu hatte keiser Heynrich sente Laurencien geloubet eyynn gulden opphir, das her ir hulffe vor gote, das sie das fuer der gluenden shar nicht brente. der gab do eyne grossen gulden kelch zu Merseburgk ynn den stiftt unde eyne patene emit edelem gesteyne."

²⁷⁹ Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik*, 189 (Italics added): "Do sprach sie, das sie des mannes unde aller manne unschuldigk were, also muste it got helfen, das sie die gluenden schar unvorletzet trete. *Do stundt er bruder bey unde slugk sie dorumbe an yren backen*, das sie keiser Heynriche nicht ufgenommen hatte." Cf. to "Vitae Sancti Heinrichi Additamentum," 820 (Italics added): "Quo audito, *rex infremuit*, et secretum suum celari cupiens et ideo loquentis os oppilare satagens, *atrociter compressit*, ex quo linea copiosi sanguinis effluxit."

²⁸⁰ Johannes Rothe, *Düringische Chronik*, 189: "ir bruder hat sie zu unrechte geslagen."

century *Reykjahólabók*; this transmission was mediated by a now lost Low-German legendary containing these and other saints' hagiographies.²⁸¹ The saga's author—or, possibly, the author of a non-extant Low German legendary that was used as a prototype—gave even more agency to St. Cunigunde as well as added a faint note of pragmatism to the saints' marriage legend by accentuating the drawbacks of imperial celibacy and stressing the importance of mutual consent in a marriage.

New Hagiographic and Devotional Texts

In Bamberg, the beginning of the thirteenth century was a period of prolific literary activities aimed at praising SS. Cunigunde and Henry. Apart from the discussed *vitae*, miracles, and additions to the *vita Heinrici*, other independent narratives were written, some of which were afterward transmitted with either of the *vitae*. Among those is the mentioned vision of the presbyter, whom St. Henry demanded to recognize Cunigunde's sanctity, as well as two sermons, known as *Sermo magistri Conradi* and *Sermo de sancta Chunigunda*; these attachments were first discovered by Priest and then analyzed by Klauser.²⁸² Klauser revealed that these sermons promoted the holy empress's affinity with the Virgin Mary and other praised virgins, heavily relying on apocalyptic imagery. These publicly performed laudations of St. Cunigunde, who was put in the same rank with other famous female virgin saints, contributed to the cult's rooting in the local sacral landscape as well as the universal *communio sanctorum*. From the addition to the *vita Heinrici*, there is evidence that St. Henry was also a subject to sermons, although these were not transmitted in a written form.²⁸³

Around the same period, a pseudo-Joachimist author from Bamberg wrote a treatise called *De semine scripturarum* that presented SS. Henry and Cunigunde as major actors of salvation.²⁸⁴ The author divided the world history, starting from the foundation of Rome, into twenty three centuries according to the letters of the Latin alphabet.²⁸⁵ The reign of much-praised virgin rulers SS. Henry and Cunigunde corresponds to the letter "S," which signifies salvation. The extraordinary status of SS. Henry and Cunigunde rested, first, on their rule seen as an ideal union of the Church and the Empire—the motif already present in St. Henry's hagiography—and, secondly, on their absolute

²⁸¹ Kalinke, "Hendreks Saga og Kunegundis."

²⁸² Published as "Sermo magistri Conradi" and "Sermo de sancta Chunigunda," ed. Renate Klauser in *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 186–96; discussed in Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 100–3. First discussed in Priest, "Drei ungedruckte Bruchstücke der Legenden des Hlg. Heinrich und der Hlg. Kunigunde."

²⁸³ "Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum," 818.

²⁸⁴ This treatise is also discussed in relation to its later influence on Alexander von Roes, Roger Bacon, Arnold of Villanova, Hugo de Novocastro, Henry of Harclay, and other medieval and early modern intellectuals: Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 58, 83; E. Randolph Daniel, "Roger Bacon and the De Seminibus Scripturarum," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (January 1972): 462–67; Josep Perarnau, *Arnaldi de Villanova Introductio in librum (Joachim) De semine Scripturarum; Allocutio super significatione nominis Tetragrammaton* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004).

²⁸⁵ Pelster, "Ein Elogium Joachims von Fiore," 329–54. This treatise is not attributed to Joachim of Fiore anymore but to a Bamberger anonymous author: Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 103–8.

chastity. In many ways, this treatise mirrors the motifs of the two sermons for St. Cunigunde as well as their hagiographies. Moreover, the anonymous author supplied the text with acrostics of the saints' names, and these verses were sometimes transmitted independently from the treatise.²⁸⁶ Apart from these acrostics, other versified dedications and epitaphs in Latin and invocations were in use for lauding these saints.²⁸⁷

Keisir unde Keisirin by Ebernand of Erfurt

The legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde also appeared in vernacular literature. Not long after St. Cunigunde's canonization, a Thuringian author Ebernand of Erfurt wrote a poem in Middle High German *Keisir unde Keisirin* that was devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde.²⁸⁸ Not much is known about Ebernand's life; he is often identified with a certain dweller of Erfurt Ebernand, who appeared in local documents in the 1190s and 1210s. However, the poem itself betrays the author's close familiarity with monastic traditions; therefore, Ebernand of Erfurt could have been a monk of a late call.²⁸⁹ According to Ebernand's own testimony, the poem was commissioned by his friend Reimbote, a monk from a Cistercian monastery at Georgenthal (close to Gotha and Erfurt), who previously served at Bamberger Cathedral.²⁹⁰ The poem survives only in one fifteenth-century manuscript from Mühlhausen,²⁹¹ edited by Reinhold Bechstein in 1860, and further corrections to the edition were supplied by Hans-Jürgen Schröpfer and James W. Scott.²⁹² *Keisir unde Keisirin* was certainly used as one of the sources for *Der Heiligen Leben*, known to its author through the so-called Bamberger Legendary that transmits an impartial prose rendering of Ebernand's poem.²⁹³

Ebernand of Erfurt composed a continuous narrative in 4752 lines about SS. Henry and Cunigunde, relying on the Latin *vitae*, the *additamentum*, the canonization bulls, and further oral and

²⁸⁶ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 184–6.

²⁸⁷ SBB, R.B. Msc. 120, f. 1v–1r, 30v, 32v; Jürgen Petersohn, "Ein bisher unveröffentlichter Zyklus Bamberger Heiligendichtung des Spätmittelalters; herausgegeben aus Clm 23 582," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 102 (1966): 191–208. Further epigrams and invocations are assembled in *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis* (Brussels: Fratres vitae communis, 1484), discussed in Chapter 4.

²⁸⁸ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*; the key study on this poem is by Schröpfer, "*Heinrich und Kunigunde*;" also see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 113–7. Manfred Lemmer provided a prose translation in modern German, edited and finalized by Kurt Gärtner, supplied with the most up-to-date introduction about this poem: Ebernand of Erfurt, *Die Kaiserlegende von Heinrich und Kunigunde*. The title *Keisir unde Keisirin* is given by Ebernand of Erfurt himself in an acrostic at the end of the poem.

²⁸⁹ See an introduction by Kurt Gärtner in Ebernand of Erfurt, *Die Kaiserlegende von Heinrich und Kunigunde*, 7–19.

²⁹⁰ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 164–5 (vers. 4515–4542); it is possible that it is this Reimbote who is depicted on the margins of the Bamberg manuscripts with the *vitae*: SBB, R.B. Msc. 120, f. 32.

²⁹¹ Princeton University, Garrett MS. 133, see Schröpfer, "*Heinrich und Kunigunde*," 44–59; Michael Curschmann, "An Unusual Medieval Manuscript and Its History at Princeton (Garrett MS. 133)," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 67, no. 1 (2005): 39–43.

²⁹² Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*; Schröpfer, "*Heinrich und Kunigunde*," 206–10; James Walker Scott, "*Keisir unde Keisirin by Ebernand von Erfurt*" (Doctoral dissertation, Princeton, University of Princeton, 1971).

²⁹³ Werner Williams-Krapp, "Das 'Bamberger Legendar': Eine Vorarbeit zu 'Der Heiligen Leben,'" *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 123, no. 1 (1994): 45–54.

written tradition. Ebernand is commonly regarded as a “slavish” follower of the original *vitae*,²⁹⁴ although it contains certain digressions and interpretations that became decisive for the reception of the saints’ legends in the late medieval culture. The poem offers a novel blending of the two hagiographies and the *additamentum* in a single work: Ebernand integrates the saints’ betrothal after the story of Merseburg’s restoration and also offers the extended version of the ordeal.²⁹⁵ As Andrea Schindler has shown, this arrangement allowed Ebernand of Erfurt to amplify the tension between worldly and celestial crowns found in St. Henry’s hagiography by putting the desire for a virginal life in the center of the plot.²⁹⁶

The story of St. Henry’s claudication is also included in the poem, following the description of the emperor’s death. Although Ebernand showed respect for Bishop Conrad, whose sermon was recounted as the source of this legend, he revealed certain tints of skepticism in the story’s plausibility, also by not integrating it in the otherwise chronological outline of the poem.²⁹⁷ Priest found several further diversions from the *vita Heinrici*’s second edition: for example, according to Ebernand, St. Henry wishes to be buried in Merseburg, although later the poet renders Bamberg as St. Henry’s desired place for eternal rest.²⁹⁸ This seeming mistake does not testify exclusively to the author’s carelessness; it could also reveal that not only Bamberg claimed the memory of the holy emperor but that other ecclesiastical provinces and groups wanted (and were perceived to have the right) to “assimilate” St. Henry into their local landscape.

The primary audience for the poem were probably the dwellers of Bamberg since the commissioning of the poem was connected to the local propagating activities in the aftermath of St. Cunigunde’s canonization. The poem’s language made it approachable for a wider public that could include listeners beyond the predominantly male educated elite. Furthermore, the commissioner’s figure of the monk Reimbote links this poem—and St. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults—to the Cistercian milieu, where these saintly figures were known and venerated.²⁹⁹ Whether due to Ebernand’s poem or concurrently with its conception, the saintly legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde entered the Thuringian local historiographical tradition—for example, in the *Chronica minor* (c. 1261) and the already mentioned writings of Johannes Rothe.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁴ According to Stumpf, Ebernand relied on a now lost manuscript containing both *vitae* and the *additamentum*, similar in its composition to Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 64, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 184–6.

²⁹⁵ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 32–43 (vers. 697–988, the betrothal); 49–66 (vers. 1163–1626, the ordeal with the concluding paragraphs of the *additamentum*’s first part).

²⁹⁶ Schindler, “Waz mochte uff erdin herschir sin / Danne keiser vnde keyserin?,” 45–56.

²⁹⁷ Ebernand of Erfurt, *Heinrich und Kunegunde*, 103–9 (vers. 2693–2894).

²⁹⁸ George Madison Priest, “Ebernand von Erfurt and the Vita Heinrici,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* VIII, no. 2 (1909): 198–216.

²⁹⁹ Three Cistercian monks from Ebrach, Heilsbronn, and Langheim were a part of the first investigation committee for St. Cunigunde’s canonization; there is also evidence on the altars for either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde established in Doberlug (1165, St. Henry), Ebrach (1287, St. Henry), Langheim (1307, St. Cunigunde), Heilsbronn (1350, SS. Henry and Cunigunde), Bebenhausen (1397, SS. Henry and Cunigunde).

³⁰⁰ Johannes Rother, *Düringische Chronik*, 187–93.

Dye legend und leben by Nonnosus Stettfelder

Three centuries after Eberhard had written his poem, an incentive to narrate SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies together in the vernacular was taken up again—this time in Bamberg's Michelsberg Monastery. Nonnosus Stettfelder—a monk at Michelsberg and a secretary to the abbot Andreas Lang (r. 1483–1502)—rendered available legends of the saints in a print entitled *Dye legend und leben des heiligen sandt Keyser Heinrichs... Das leben und legend der heylich junckfrawen und Keyserin sandt Kungunden*.³⁰¹ In his capacity as Andreas Lang's secretary, Nonnosus also partook as a scribe in the creation of local chronicles and catalogs—the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg*, the *Catalog of the Abbots of Michelsberg Monastery*, and the *Catalog of the saints of the Benedictine Order*—before embarking on his own project.³⁰² A few decades earlier, his superior Andreas Lang had written a hagiography of St. Otto of Bamberg, another crucial saint for the monastery, the city, and the bishopric.³⁰³ With this hagiographic project devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, Nonnosus Stettfelder continued literary traditions of Michelsberg Monastery of revising the hagiographies of the local patrons, though this time in the vernacular and by employing a new form of transmission—print.

Nonnosus Stettfelder relied on the Latin hagiographies, diplomatic material, three parts of the *additamentum* that he integrated into the overall plot (though differently than Eberhard of Erfurt),³⁰⁴ all the postmortem miracles (including the Merseburg miracles of St. Henry),³⁰⁵ and several new and less known narratives regarding St. Cunigunde's cult. These are a miraculous healing of Gertrud von Weichenfeld's by St. Cunigunde's relics,³⁰⁶ her healing aid for parturient women,³⁰⁷ and the miracle of the just wages.³⁰⁸ This last miracle story tells about St. Cunigunde patronizing the construction of St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg: she gives out the wages to the workers, of whom one has taken more than he deserved. When that worker returns home, he only has the due amount in his pocket. Nonnosus Stettfelder offers the first complete textual rendering of the miracle (however, it was first mentioned in passing in the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg*);³⁰⁹ the miracle of the just wages

³⁰¹ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*. The only study on this print: Max Müller, "P. Nonnosus Stettfelders Heinrichs- und Kunigundenlegende," *Heimatblätter des Historischen Vereins von Bamberg* 4 (1924): 66–70.

³⁰² The chronicles are discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁰³ BHL 6404–6405; for the context see Franz Machilek, "Ottogedächtnis und Ottoverehrung auf dem Bamberger Michelsberg," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 125 (1989): 9–34; David J. Collins, *Reforming Saints: Saints' Lives and Their Authors in Germany, 1470–1530* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), 26–7.

³⁰⁴ Nonnosus Stettfelder positions the betrothal after the restoration of Merseburg while the ordeal is described in the part devoted to St. Cunigunde; St. Henry's claudication follows St. Benedict's healing.

³⁰⁵ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 73–9.

³⁰⁶ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 117–21; about its Latin version see by Priest, "Drei ungedruckte Bruchstücke."

³⁰⁷ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 139; discussed in Chapter 5.

³⁰⁸ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 88–9.

³⁰⁹ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 19r.

had been attributed to St. Cunigunde several times in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but only in visual representations. Those featured on several late-medieval woodcuts and artworks, including a representation in the church of St. Stephen in Bamberg that was mentioned both by Andreas Lang and Nonnosus Stettfelder.³¹⁰ Roth has argued that the legend was created in Michelsberg Monastery since there was kept a crystal bowl that was identified with the one held by St. Cunigunde in the miracle.³¹¹ On the contrary, Michalsky has noted that this miracle functioned as a foundational legend of St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg and probably was developed there.³¹² Later, a similar miracle appeared in the arsenal of St. Hemma of Gurk—a Carinthian saint whose cult was constructed in close relation to those of SS. Cunigunde and Henry since she was believed to be the holy emperor's relative.³¹³

This printed edition, produced in a local Bamberg printing house managed by Johann Pfeyl, was supplied with 16 good-quality woodcuts by Wolfgang Katzheimer and Wolf Traut that are colored in one of the extant copies.³¹⁴ In these images, most of the famous legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were epitomized, while the opening woodcut represents the holy couple side by side with the coat of arms of the bishop of Bamberg Georg Schenk von Limpurg (r. 1505–1522).³¹⁵ Based on the extant copies and their provenance, the prints were available in Franconia and Bavaria: they are found in Bamberg, Nuremberg, and Munich. Overall, Nonnosus Stettfelder provided local devotees with an approachable text about SS. Henry and Cunigunde that was easy to acquire (due to its printed form) and engage with (as it was in the vernacular supplied with multiple woodcuts).

The vernacular renderings by Ebernand of Erfurt and Nonnosus Stettfelder undoubtedly contributed to spreading the knowledge about these SS. Henry and Cunigunde. However, the impact of Latin hagiographies, especially in the ecclesiastical milieu, should not be disregarded as they continued to proliferate alongside vernacular texts. According to Stumpf's calculations, there are 21 manuscripts with the *vita Heinrici* (in its first and second editions, not including the cases of partial

³¹⁰ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 19r; Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 88–9. The representation from St. Stephen's has not survived.

³¹¹ Roth, "Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildaussage," 40–55. Roth also identifies other artworks with the same legend, for example a lesser known altarpiece from Dietenhofen bei Neustadt. One could also add the representation of St. Cunigunde on the *Albrechtsaltar*, where a widowed holy queen, most probably identified with St. Cunigunde, stands with a bowl full of coins. Since the altar dates to 1440, this could be the earliest representation of the saint with the bowl, hinting to the miracle of the just wages.

³¹² Michalsky, "Imperatrix gloriosa," 85–88; also in Meyer, "Die konstruierte Heilige," 84–8.

³¹³ Leopold Kretzenbacher, "'Der gerechte Lohn'. Zur Motiv- und Bildgeschichte der Hemma-Legende von den streikenden Bauarbeitern zu Gurk und in der Weststeiermark," in *Geheiligttes Recht: Aufsätze zu einer vergleichenden rechtlichen Volkskunde in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*, ed. Leopold Kretzenbacher and Berthold Sutter (Vienna; Cologne; Graz: Böhlau, 1988), 135–50.

³¹⁴ Ferdinand Geldner, *Die Buchdruckerkunst im alten Bamberg 1458/59 bis 1519* (Bamberg: Meisenbach, 1964), 67–86, esp. 73–8. The colored copy is BSB, Rar. 1706, discussed in Chapter 8.

³¹⁵ On the use of this woodcut for episcopal self-representation see Chapter 3.

transmission) from the fifteenth century against only five in the fourteenth and eight in the thirteenth centuries.³¹⁶

Hagiographic collections

However, the most significant vehicle for transmitting SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends were vernacular hagiographic collections, whose accessibility was aided by the introduction of printing. For example, the Latin legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were transmitted in the Austrian region through the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, whose content was influenced in part by Cistercian supra-regional connections.³¹⁷ The overwhelming popularity of such hagiographic collections is marked by the famous late-thirteenth century *Legenda Aurea* (or the *Golden Legend*), composed by a Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine, that earned the title of a medieval best-seller.³¹⁸ SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not present as individual saints in Jacobus de Voragine's collection but only mentioned in passing in St. Lawrence's *passio et miracula*.³¹⁹

In the early fourteenth century, the *Legenda Aurea* received a popular vernacular prose adaptation—the *Alsatian Golden Legend* from Strasbourg—that included the hagiographies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in some of its versions.³²⁰ According to the studies on this legendary by Kunze and Williams-Krapp, the hagiography of St. Cunigunde appeared more often in the extant versions of the *Alsatian Golden Legend* than St. Henry, whose *vita* was only sometimes attached at the end of the corpus.³²¹ However, in vernacular legendaries from the southeastern regions, where SS. Henry and Cunigunde were often considered as “local” saints, their literary appearance was more cohesive.

The imperial couple's hagiographies became an integral part of *Der Heiligen Leben*, whose author used an adaptation of Ebernand of Erfurt's poem.³²² In this legendary, the narratives of SS.

³¹⁶ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 159; due to the lack of a critical edition of the *vita Cunegundis*, such calculations with regard to St. Cunigunde's hagiography are not yet possible.

³¹⁷ St. Henry's hagiography is included in three codices, St. Cunigunde's—only as an addition to Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 25; see Diarmuid Ó Riain, “The ‘Magnum Legendarium Austriacum’: A New Investigation of One of Medieval Europe's Richest Hagiographical Collections,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 133 (2015): 87–165.

³¹⁸ Sherry Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Barbara Fleith, *Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen Legenda aurea* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1991); Jacques Le Goff, *In Search of Sacred Time: Jacobus de Voragine and the Golden Legend* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

³¹⁹ SS. Henry and Cunigunde are only mentioned in the context of St. Lawrence's legend, though it reveals a certain level of author's familiarity with their legends: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, ed. Eamon Duffy, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012), 455.

³²⁰ Konrad Kunze, “Überlieferung und Bestand der elsässischen Legenda Aurea: ein Beitrag zur deutschsprachigen Hagiographie des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 99 (1970): 265–309; Konrad Kunze, “Alemannische Legendare (I),” in *Alemannisches Jahrbuch 1971/72* (Bühl; Baden: Konkordia AG, 1973), 20–45; Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 33–52.

³²¹ For example, BSB, Cgm. 6—the earliest codex—does not contain St. Henry's hagiography; an illuminated codex of Strasbourg provenance from 1419 contains both hagiographies: Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 144, f. 105v–107r (St. Cunigunde); 408r–410r (St. Henry). For the list of codices see Kunze, “Überlieferung und Bestand der elsässischen Legenda Aurea,” Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 418, 431.

³²² Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 188–314, and “Das ‘Bamberger Legendar’: Eine Vorarbeit zu ‘Der Heiligen Leben’.”

Henry and Cunigunde were placed one after the other (despite the liturgical order governing the arrangement of hagiographies in this collection) and formed a cohesive unit that dwells on St. Henry's life and religious foundations, his chaste marriage, and St. Cunigunde's widowhood at the nunnery. *Der Heiligen Leben* was written around 1400, presumably by the Dominicans in Nuremberg, and became the most popular legendary in the German-speaking area (especially in the southeastern regions) before the Reformation; the extant manuscripts mostly come from the monastic milieu, though many were also owned by lay individuals, especially in Nuremberg and Augsburg.³²³ The availability of this legendary in print expanded the number of potential users, especially among laity: this legendary, commonly supplied with simple woodcuts depicting the saints, was reprinted 41 times between c. 1471 and 1521, which amounts to a vast readership.³²⁴

Collections of saints' lives became one of the most prominent vehicles of medieval vernacular literature, prone to integrate local and innovative ideas of sanctity. The act of translating sacred lives from Latin into German, French, or Icelandic vernaculars also signified a change in the function of these texts, making them applicable for private devotion and edifying reading for a wider number of potential users. The conception of many legendaries is connected with the monastic reform, and the initial milieu of consumption was clearly monastic, although later, the readership also included laity. In the words of Werner Williams-Krapp, "the importance of legendaries—especially in the age of printing—can barely be overestimated since they were almost the only literary source that mediated the images of saints for pious laypeople."³²⁵ Through these accessible readings, SS. Henry and Cunigunde, as well as many other saints, were familiar to their medieval audiences as powerful intercessors, pious rulers, and virgin saints, though this knowledge did not necessarily correspond to or trigger an institutionalized veneration and personal attachment.

Historicizing the Sainthood of Henry and Cunigunde

Hagiographic and liturgical texts glorified St. Henry's twofold image—that of a saint and an ideal ruler—as these traditions took shape from the mid-twelfth century onwards.³²⁶ Simultaneously, since structuring of the world history according to reigns of emperors and kings was an overwhelmingly widespread model in medieval historiography, the figure of Henry II inevitably appeared in most of the universal and imperial chronicles, some of which regarded Henry and Cunigunde as saints. For example, the author of the *Kaiserchronik* (second half of the twelfth century), after recounting Henry

³²³ Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 300–3.

³²⁴ For the full list of editions see Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 235–38, 304–14.

³²⁵ Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 355.

³²⁶ The title of this subchapter used a term coined by Tamar Drukker: Tamar S. Drukker, "Historicising Sainthood: The Case of Edward the Confessor in Vernacular Narratives," in *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, ed. Erik S. Kooper (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2006), 53–80.

II's reign, does not forget to add that the emperor was proclaimed a saint, and many sick were healed at his tomb.³²⁷ "Henry, save us in body and soul!"—adds the author, who with this remark repositions Henry II's rule from exclusively worldly realm to a celestial one.³²⁸ This and other historiographic narratives reveal how their authors and intended audiences—be it imperial courts or monastic houses—remembered and understood the sainted rulers Henry and Cunigunde.

A ruler's memory could undergo extraordinary changes in centuries-long historiographic traditions, influenced by local memories, oral histories, and contemporary expectations. The example of Emperor Otto III (r. 996–1002), Henry II's predecessor on the imperial throne, is persuasive in this respect.³²⁹ A corpus of high and late medieval texts portrays this unmarried emperor who died young of natural causes as a blood-thirsty married ruler.³³⁰ According to a popular thirteenth-century chronicle *Flores temporum*, Otto III had a wife whom he then destined to be burned for plotting against an innocent man, who had been previously mistakenly sentenced to death by Otto III.³³¹ Although this narrative is ahistorical and refuted as a myth, exactly these stories—whether considered trustworthy, fictional, or simply amusing for their audiences—informed medieval collective knowledge about a ruler and a dynasty.

The "intercession of rulership and sainthood" in the commemorative practices of medieval history-writing has already been a subject of several collective volumes and individual studies—among others, *Sovereigns and Saints* edited by Uta Goerlitz and the fourth issue of *The Medieval Chronicle*.³³² Some of these scholars approached the question of how memories were preserved, constructed, chosen, modified, or forgotten when it came to describing an idealized saintly ruler. Tamar Drukker has analyzed the case of Edward the Confessor depicted in the vernacular chronicle *Brut*—the scholar suggests that Edward's "hagiographical materials" (that is, narratives depicting St. Edward's visions, miracles, and chastity) were employed in the chronicle as an explanatory tool for justifying Edward's rule.³³³ This analysis suggests that the hagiographic narratives were not blindly inserted in the historical canvas, neither were they intentionally "secularized."

³²⁷ *Deutsche Kaiserchronik*, ed. Edward Schröder, MGH Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1895), 374 (vers. 16246–16253).

³²⁸ Myers, trans., *The Book of Emperors*, 362. *Deutsche Kaiserchronik*, 374: "sante Hainrîch wege uns an dem lîbe unt an der sêle!"

³²⁹ On "historical" Otto III see, among others, Gerd Althoff, *Otto III*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996).

³³⁰ The example is drawn from Rudolf Schieffer's analysis on the origins of Otto III's peculiar metamorphosis: Rudolf Schieffer, "Über die Ehe, die Kinder und die Ermordung Kaiser Ottos III.: ein Beispiel für die Dynamik historischer Phantasie," in *Von Sachsen bis Jerusalem: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel der Zeit. Festschrift für Wolfgang Giese zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hubertus Seibert and Gertrud Thoma (Munich: Utz, 2004), 111–22.

³³¹ *Flores temporum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879), 226–50; here 236.

³³² Erik Kooper, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle IV* (Kenilworth: Rodopi, 2006); János M. Bak, "Hagiography and Chronicles," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, and Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 51–8; Uta Goerlitz, ed., *Sovereigns and Saints: Narrative Modes of Constructing Rulership and Sainthood* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2013).

³³³ Drukker, "Historicising Sainthood."

With regard to Henry II, the same problematics was touched upon by scholars working with St. Henry's Latin hagiography, foremost by Stumpf.³³⁴ These studies listed chronicles and annals that influenced St. Henry's hagiographies as well as historiographic texts that subsequently included bits and pieces from SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae*. The metamorphosis of these hagiographic stories in later history-writing was also problematized by Andreas Hammer.³³⁵ Hammer has reviewed the transition of a narrative about Henry's military campaign against the Poles that in the hagiographic recrafting was styled as a Christianization mission; this reinterpretation, in its turn, was often adopted by late medieval chronicles. The current subchapter contributes to this research strand by further investigating—on a number of imperial and world chronicles that were foundational for medieval historiography as well as influential for further receptions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in late medieval history-writing tradition—how hagiographic narratives about Henry II and his spouse are reshaped, transformed, or forgotten when they cross the border of the hagiographic genre and enter historiographic narratives of the later period.³³⁶

Gottfried of Viterbo

One of the first *literati* to respond to St. Henry's canonization was Gottfried of Viterbo (1125–1202), who could have personally encountered St. Henry's newly-developed cult during his years at the cathedral school in Bamberg.³³⁷ The *Pantheon*, which is the latest revision of his influential historical writings, contains a chapter devoted to the rule of Henry II and the foundation of Bamberg.³³⁸ In a brief prose introduction about Henry II's reign, Gottfried almost wordily followed the chronicle by Otto of Freising.³³⁹ He briefly recounted Henry's ascent to the throne, his origins, multiple waged wars (which the emperor had to conduct in the fulfillment of the Sibylline prophecy included in the *Pantheon*),³⁴⁰ the foundation of Bamberg, and the arranged marriage between his sister Gisela and King Stephen of Hungary. The introduction is concluded with a report on multiple miracles that happened at the tomb of Henry in Bamberg. The subsequent verses are written in praise of Bamberg, followed by a shorter invocation to St. Henry, his personal qualities, miracles, indubitable faith, and chaste marriage with Cunigunde. Gottfried of Viterbo was certainly knowledgeable of Henry's holiness and its major attributes, his hagiographic image was not yet fully integrated into the historical one: Henry's sanctity was viewed by Gottfried as a post mortem phenomenon that pertained to the

³³⁴ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 159–98.

³³⁵ Hammer, "Interferences between Hagiography and Historiography."

³³⁶ This aspect is also touched upon in Chapter 6 where certain late medieval chronicles are discussed.

³³⁷ Friedrich Hausmann, "Gottfried von Viterbo: Kapellan und Notar, Magister, Geschichtsschreiber und Dichter," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 603–21.

³³⁸ Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 240–2 (c. 23).

³³⁹ Otto of Freising, *Otonis episcopi Frisingensis Chronica: sive, Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. 45 (Hanover: Hahn, 1912), 290.

³⁴⁰ Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 145: "Et post eum surget rex per H nomine, et in diebus eius pugne multe erunt."

history of Bamberg and the community venerating the saint; Henry's holiness did not impact the image of his reign or its placement in imperial history.

Later, these verses in praise of St. Henry instigated a late-medieval series of poetic invocations to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, relating to their sanctity and posthumous miracles.³⁴¹ Moreover, the *Pantheon* was used as a framework for the late fifteenth-century *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg*, in which Henry's sanctity was viewed as the golden age of the diocese, portrayed with the help of a unique combination of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies.³⁴² Therefore, Gottfried of Viterbo's historiography provided a creative impetus for several late medieval novel poetic and historiographic works praising the saintly imperial couple, although the *Pantheon* itself did not yet fully integrate the saintly image of Henry.

Chronica minor

The narratives of a saintly emperor and his spouse Cunigunde were incorporated in the so-called *Chronica minor* written by a Franciscan from Erfurt around 1261. This world chronicle was intended as a collection for facilitating preaching, and henceforth the author was prone to include materials of "hagiographic" nature, placing saints' legends and miracles against the backdrop of the papal and imperial history. The anonymous author, clearly familiar with the cults of the holy couple, adopts the legends from SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae* and the *additmentum*.³⁴³ These texts should have been known and available in Thuringia since a few decades earlier, Ebernand of Erfurt relied on the same corpus for his vernacular poem about SS. Henry and Cunigunde.³⁴⁴ The chronicler from Erfurt started with recounting St. Henry's religious foundations, his chastity, and the hagiographic version of St. Henry's fight against the Poles shaped as a Christianizing mission and then proceeds with St. Henry being healed by St. Benedict, Pope Benedict's visit to Bamberg, and Henry's soul-weighing. The chronicler repeated the outline of the *vita Henrici*, although condensing full-fledged chapters with dialogues and invocations to one or two sentences.

The Franciscan author drove his reader's attention to the figure of St. Cunigunde—presumably, it was her first appearance as an individual saint in a historiographic work. First, St. Cunigunde is described as means for St. Henry to achieve his chastity: "[Henry] was fond of chastity. For he, with his dear spouse virgin St. Cunigunde, himself remained a virgin, and [they did so] by mutual agreement and a mutually voluntary vow; and to keep this in secret from people, they slept

³⁴¹ These verses are discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

³⁴² Discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁴³ *Chronica Minor minoritae Erphordensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Erphesfurtensia*, MGH SS rer. Germ. 42 (Hanover: Hahn, 1899), 624–9.

³⁴⁴ Stumpf, *Vita Henrici*, 187–8.

together in one bed in a closed chamber.”³⁴⁵ The author also told about St. Cunigunde’s life in a nunnery and her death.³⁴⁶ Although the chronicle generally maintains the chronological order, the narration of St. Cunigunde’s widowhood and death contains a short digression to her earlier married days taken from the *additamentum*—about the ordeal of burning ploughshares.³⁴⁷

The image of Henry and Cunigunde as saints is further strengthened by the mention of their canonization that was related chronologically to the deeds of the Popes. While for St. Cunigunde only the mere fact of the canonization is told,³⁴⁸ additional details are provided about St. Henry. It is recounted that Eugene III canonized Henry “by the request of Emperor Conrad and the prelates,” and a punishment miracle about Cardinal Johannes from Henry’s miracle collection is added. The prelate was turned blind for impeding St. Henry’s canonization and was cured after he had sufficiently lauded the saint.³⁴⁹

To sum up, these narratives about SS. Henry and Cunigunde testify to their active hagiographic and historical memory in Thuringia that continued in the fifteenth century, for example, in Johannes Rothe’s writings. In the *Chronica minor*’s portrayal, the saintly status is not simply thrust upon Henry II after his death (as was the case for the *Kaiserchronik* and the *Pantheon*), but it permeates his and St. Cunigunde’s worldly deeds and morals. Such a blending of royal and saintly imagery was realized on the pages of the *Chronica minor* as a response to the importance of these saints for the region. Moreover, a general pragmatic function of this text as a collection of *exempla* for preaching should be considered, which makes the author eager to adopt narratives of healing miracles or chaste lives to his or her work. This chronicle enjoyed relative popularity and was used as one of the sources, for example, for the *Flores Temporum* discussed below. However, the *Chronica minor* is unique in its complete integration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s hagiographic narratives into an established historical outline.

Flores temporum

Another influential late-thirteenth century papal-imperial chronicle *Flores temporum* (c. 1290) also included multiple deeds of saints and their miracles placed upon the chronological unfolding of the universal history. The *Flores temporum* was written by an anonymous Swabian Minorite, building

³⁴⁵ “Chronica Minor minoritae Erphordensis,” 625: “Hic amator fuit castitatis. Nam cum sponsa sua sibi dilectissima, sancta Kunegunde virgine, ipse virgo permansit, sed hoc de pari consensu et voto communi et voluntario; et quod hominibus occultum foret, in lectulo uno in clauso thalamo pariter dormierunt.”

³⁴⁶ “Chronica Minor minoritae Erphordensis,” 628–9.

³⁴⁷ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 819–20.

³⁴⁸ “Chronica Minor minoritae Erphordensis,” 648.

³⁴⁹ “Chronica Minor minoritae Erphordensis,” 638–9: “Hic Eugenius papa canonizavit sanctum Heinricum imperatorem de Babenberg rogatu Conradi imperatoris et prelatorum.”

not only on the tradition of Martin of Opava but also the *Chronica minor*, among other sources.³⁵⁰ The author was not a blind follower of the previous historiographers—multiple alternations were introduced to the narratives and its structure: for example, the *Flores temporum* starts with the Creation and not the traditional Nativity. The chronicle, devised in part as a helping hand for preachers, is also distinguished by the introduction of historical anecdotes, hagiographic legends, and *exempla*, for which chronological successions of rulers and popes provide a mere background—similarly to the concept of the *Chronica minor* and Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*. For example, the *Flores temporum* depicts Henry II's reign as marked with multiple manifestations of holiness: apart from Henry's own sanctity, the author mentions SS. Adalbert and Edward the Confessor.³⁵¹ First, the virginal marriage of SS. Henry and Cunigunde is introduced, which is followed by Henry's battle against the "pagans." St. Henry's other miraculous events are also recounted: his healing by St. Benedict at Montecassino and the soul-weighing—these wide-spanned narratives are trimmed down to a few sentences. While the author of the *Flores temporum* recounted St. Henry's saintly deeds and praised the imperial chastity, he, surprisingly enough, refused to tell the story about St. Cunigunde's ordeal by burning ploughshares, although it was included in the *Chronica minor*: "It will take long to tell how St. Cunigunde cleared herself from infamy."³⁵² The *Flores temporum*-author might have indeed cared about brevity, but there could have been other reasons for omitting the story since it cast a negative light on St. Henry for disbelieving and then hitting his saintly spouse. The *Flores temporum* became a popular universal chronicle in the German-speaking lands and remained relevant also for the later period—it was a source of countless continuations and several translations in vernacular. In 1473, a vernacular translation and continuation by Heinrich Steinhöwel was printed—he slightly reworked the *Flores temporum* narratives and continued the chronicle until the reign of Frederick III.³⁵³

In short, several influential thirteenth-century chroniclers resorted to various means when presenting the reign of Henry II. Mendicant authors, whose historical narrations were intertwined with the legends of saints to provide material for preaching and to reveal "in what times what saint lived on earth,"³⁵⁴ eagerly included the reports on Henry's sanctity, sometimes with those of his spouse Cunigunde. However, the authors' level of engagement with these saintly figures depended on the religious and cultural landscape in which the chronicle was conceived—if the cult was known in the area (as was the case for Thuringia), the hagiographies were eagerly consulted, and many

³⁵⁰ "Flores temporum," 226–50. On the chronicle and its influences see Heike Johanna Mierau, "Die lateinischen Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken des Spätmittelalters," in *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. Gerhard Wolf and Norbert H. Ott (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 112–4.

³⁵¹ "Flores temporum," 237. St. Henry's canonization is mentioned under the papacy of Eugene III: "Flores temporum," 247.

³⁵² "Flores temporum," 237: "Qualiter sancta Kunegundis de infamia se purgavit, dicere longum foret."

³⁵³ Steinhöwel, *Ein tütsche Cronica*, f. 19r–19v.

³⁵⁴ "Flores temporum," 230: "... quibus temporibus quilibet sanctus vixerit super terram."

manifestations of the ruler's sanctity were included in the historical scheme. Therefore, St. Henry's hagiographical narratives are slinking into universal chronicles, forming a new tradition of recounting his deeds, also perceived as an instructive story, which, for example, the soul-weighing legend clearly was. However, many historiographers mentioned neither Henry nor Cunigunde's sanctity—one can only speculate if it was a conscious negation of imperial holiness or the lack of knowledge and sources about their sanctity. However, the chronicles discussed above—and their multiple followers—reveal that the sanctity of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was a widely acknowledged phenomenon beyond the constraints of their liturgical veneration. Even if not actively engaging with SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults in devotional settings, prospective audiences of these chronicles would often be familiar with this unique amalgam of imperial dignity and holiness.

Liturgical Observance

The liturgy, with course of chants and readings used for a communal celebration of a saint, was yet another channel through which not only the ecclesiastical elite but also ordinary devotees got acquainted with individual saints. On the one hand, liturgy tended towards uniformity, especially promoted with the appearance of printed editions of diocesan missals and breviaries. On the other, the composite nature of saints' offices and their ability to reflect local devotional preferences welcomed multiple alterations in its components and forms—these adaptations provide room for investigating individual and local appreciation of a saint.³⁵⁵

The course of development of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's liturgies in Bamberg has been summarized by Klauser and Hankeln,³⁵⁶ though the reception of these chants and local adaptations has rarely been discussed.³⁵⁷ Together, these studies indicate that in the second half of the twelfth century in Bamberg, the generalized chants from the common for confessors were used for St. Henry's feast, supplemented by the readings from his *vita* (the canonization was celebrated on March 12 and the *obitus* and translation on July 13, though a subject to variation). Celebrations on July 13 created a conflation with the feast of St. Margaret, and in the calendar of Bamberg Cathedral, for example, the feast of the virgin was moved to a different date to give the full performative capacity for praising the patron saint. However, it was not always the case and observing how a community of devotees treated this collision of feasts reveals the status of St. Henry. In some other locations—for

³⁵⁵ Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 113–36.

³⁵⁶ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 142–69; Roman Hankeln, "'Properization' and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices: The Offices for Saints Henry and Kunigunde of Bamberg," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 10 (2001): 3–21.

³⁵⁷ Except for a study by Dorothea Walz, "Konrad von Gelnhausen und die Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde: mit Edition des Sequenzenzyklus in Vat. Pal. lat. 991," in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 5, ed. Leonard Boyle and Walter Berschin (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 329–58.

example, Merseburg, Basel, and Neuburg an der Donau—local *translatio* feasts were introduced, celebrating the receipt of St. Henry's relics. For St. Cunigunde's feast, the first services at Bamberg Cathedral used the common for virgins when honoring her *obitus* on March 3, the canonization on March 29, and the translation on September 9.³⁵⁸

In the mid-thirteenth century, two *novae historiae* offices were created to fit SS. Henry and Cunigunde's saintly profiles—a process called “properization.”³⁵⁹ The chants of the new offices relied on the *vitae* and miracles and produced signature images of these saints—that of St. Henry as a powerful ruler and donor as well as an intercessor, while St. Cunigunde's chants mostly elaborated upon her chastity, continuously evoking scenes from her ordeal.³⁶⁰ On the contrary, the older common office for St. Henry from the middle-twelfth century “imbued with the indisputable quality of *auctoritas* provided by centuries of use” and rarely evoked any circumstances of the saint's life—the same observation is valid for the common for virgins, used for venerating St. Cunigunde.³⁶¹ Nevertheless, the common offices were not neglected in the light of the newly created offices and continued to be used for celebrating SS. Henry and Cunigunde—mostly for their lesser feasts or in the communities that did not have *novae historiae*. The chants and hymns were intermittent with appropriate readings (in most cases—the saints' *vitae*), though the choice of texts varied depending on the local preferences and availability of texts. These offices, ritually replicated every year, reveal how a saint “was remembered and sanctified” and “contributed to the creation of institutional values and to social memory.”³⁶²

³⁵⁸ The earliest evidence of these feasts is in Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris*, 125–7, 129, 153–5, 159, 173–6. Later, the order and the rank of the feast was a subject to diocesan and local calendars.

³⁵⁹ The order is reconstructed by Hankeln, “‘Properization’ and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices.” The office for St. Henry was also studied by Robert Folz, “La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur,” in *Clio est son regard: Mélanges d'histoire, d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie offerts à Jacques Stiennon à l'occasion de ses vingt-cinq ans d'enseignement à l'Université de Liège*, ed. Rita Lejeune and Joseph Deckers (Liege: Mardaga, 1982), 245–58. For the analysis of the offices, Folz used a thirteenth-century antiphonary from Bamberg (SBB, Cod. lit. 22, f. 147r–148v); Hankeln—a bigger corpus of manuscripts from the thirteenth till the seventeenth centuries, mostly from Bamberg Cathedral and Michelsberg Monastery. Some of the chants are published in *Analecta Hymnica* and are available in the Cantus database: for St. Henry see Guido Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, eds., *Sequentiae ineditae: liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi* 40 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902), 204–5; for St. Cunigunde see Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Historiae rhythmicae: liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters*, vol. 6, *Analecta Hymnica medii aevi* 26 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1897), 224–7; *Die Hymnen des 12.–16. Jahrhunderts aus den ältesten Quellen*, 236–7.

³⁶⁰ Studies by Gaposchkin and Hess are exemplary in revealing multiple forces at play behind constructing and using various saints' offices, see Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Steffen Hope, “Constructing Institutional Identity through the Cult of Royal Saints, c.1050–c.1200” (Doctoral dissertation, Odense, Syddansk Universitet, 2017); such an in-depth investigation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's liturgical offices would not be feasible within the constraints of the current study, though valuable observations are made throughout the analysis.

³⁶¹ Hankeln, “‘Properization’ and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices,” 20.

³⁶² Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, “Louis IX and Liturgical Memory,” in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture*, ed. Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen, and Mary Franklin-Brown (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 264.

While initially these offices were used in canonical and monastic settings for the liturgy of the hours,³⁶³ in the late Middle Ages, this cyclical veneration was imitated in individual devotional settings, and therefore these offices entered private devotional books.³⁶⁴ Moreover, a number of orations for SS. Henry and Cunigunde developed in the fifteenth century and circulated in codices and in prints independently from strictly liturgical context. These compact texts, transmitted orally, attached to a codex, or printed on a broadsheet, were used to perform intimate devotion to saints.³⁶⁵ Especially these printed formats had a broader distribution due to the lesser costs of serial production as compared to codices and illuminations. If until the late fifteenth century, a saint's physical habitat would be public religious and secular spheres, cheap booklets and woodcuts introduced saints' images and texts used for invoking them into many private homes and collections.

The Material Culture and Geographic Distribution of the Cults

The anonymous author of the Marbach annals remarks that on the festive elevation of St. Cunigunde in Bamberg in 1201, "a multitude of people flocked there [to Bamberg] from various provinces, and their [SS. Henry and Cunigunde's] relics were taken to various places."³⁶⁶ Indeed, over the course of the medieval period, the relics of the canonized couple appeared in multiple places around the Empire, especially in its southern parts.³⁶⁷ Saints' relics—including their bodily remains and so-called contact relics (often piece of their clothing or insignia)—were considered a powerful physical manifestation of sanctity and were available in multiple sacral locations, placed inside altars and encased in reliquaries. Relics were a locus of presence and power of a cult as well as a precious commodity that was often bought, stolen, and forged.³⁶⁸

So far, the discussion has been centered around texts as the main channel for accumulating, transmitting, and shaping the hagiographic knowledge about saints, as well as for inciting religious

³⁶³ Hankeln assumes that the new offices for SS. Henry and Cunigunde were designed for the secular cursus, though there is also evidence of monastic adaptations.

³⁶⁴ This process is discussed on the example of Frederick III in Chapter 7.

³⁶⁵ There is one known broadsheet devoted to St. Cunigunde: *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* (Nuremberg: Hieronimus Höltzel, 1509), published both in Latin and in the vernacular.

³⁶⁶ *Annales Marbacenses*, 74–5 "...et magnus concursus populi de diversis provinciis illuc ipsa die confluerat, et reliquie eorum ad diversa loca partite." The author mistakenly conflates the canonizations of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde.

³⁶⁷ On the development and function of *patrocinia* see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 444–54. About the history of the research on *patrocinia* and its challenges see Helmut Flachenecker, "Patrozinienforschung in Deutschland," *Concilium medii aevi* 2 (1999): 145–63. A mention of a *patrocinium* in a source is often governed by the text's aims and the social circumstances of its production, and thus not replicating the exact *patrocinium* of an altar or a church, see Peter Moraw, "Ein Gedanke zur Patrozinienforschung," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 17 (1965): 9–26. Although there is no direct correlation between the chosen patron of a dedication and the existence of relics, this was a common pattern; however, *patrocinia* often changed over time. There is also fragmented information about several altars where SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics were deposited although not reflected in the altars' *patrocinia*; such cases are not included in the calculations.

³⁶⁸ For example, see Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 239–332; Cynthia J Hahn, *The Reliquary Effect: Enshrining the Sacred Object* (London: Reaktion Books, 2017).

devotion to holy men and women. Material objects and visual representations were no less (if not more) crucial for communicating about and with saints. A devotee was surrounded by multiple images of saints in liturgical spaces and beyond them—for example, on carved and painted altarpieces, on liturgical vestments, in inner and outer decorum of churches, on urban architectural elements, and on coinage. Visual depictions of saints were rendered recognizable thanks to a system of attributes and signs that referred to their status (for example, a crown can be a marker of royal descent but also an “exceptional award” reserved for virgins, martyrs, and doctors)³⁶⁹ and circumstances of their life and death. Consistent use of these attributes evolved into saints’ iconographic types that developed in dialogue with hagiographies and other saints’ iconographies. Therefore, any study on a saint’s cult should opt for a multidisciplinary approach that would account for these textual, visual, tactile, and audial manifestations of sanctity.

Specific elements of visual and material culture related to the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as well as their patronage of churches and altars are contextualized in further chapters, while here only broader trends are mentioned. Although not only a quantitative but also a spatial overview of the cult-related objects (including relics as well as manuscripts and incunabula) would be desirable, it is challenging to assemble such data for each item due to their portability. The place of creation, medieval use, modern provenance, and contemporary exhibit can vary greatly. An elaborated fourteenth-century monstrance hosting the relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde and bearing their representations is a telling example of such mobility that we can reconstruct (while the provenance of many other objects is not known). In 1347 in Basel, upon the festive receipt of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s relics from Bamberg, they were encased in a luxurious monstrance (simultaneously, an altar devoted to the imperial couple was founded in Basel Cathedral). The monstrance was used in Basel throughout the medieval period, and, after changing many art dealers’ collections, in 1885, it was acquired by Alexander III for the Hermitage collection in St Petersburg, and, in 1932, Basel History Museum purchased it from the Bolsheviks (fig. 2.1).³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ Edwin Hall and Horst Uhr, “Aureola Super Auream: Crowns and Related Symbols of Special Distinction for Saints in Late Gothic and Renaissance Iconography,” *The Art Bulletin* 67, no. 4 (1985), 568.

³⁷⁰ Timothy Husband, ed., *The Treasury of Basel Cathedral* (New York: Yale University Press, 2001), 156–57.



Fig. 2.1. Reliquary monstrance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, height 67 cm., Basel, 1347–1356, for Basel Cathedral, now in Basel History Museum. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Basle_Munster_treasury_Imperial_Couple_Monstrance_1933-158_HMB_c3239.jpg?uselang=de (accessed May 10, 2021). Reproduced according to CC BY 4.0.

While studies by Roth, Meyer, and Michalsky analyzed certain aspects of St. Cunigunde's visual representations,³⁷¹ the same problematics were not discussed with regard to the images of St. Henry or a double image of the imperial couple. This scholarly inattention does not correspond to the popularity of these images in high and late medieval visual culture, as revealed below (fig. 2.2).

³⁷¹ Roth, "Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildaussage;" Michalsky, "Imperatrix gloriosa;" Meyer, "Die konstruierte Heilige."

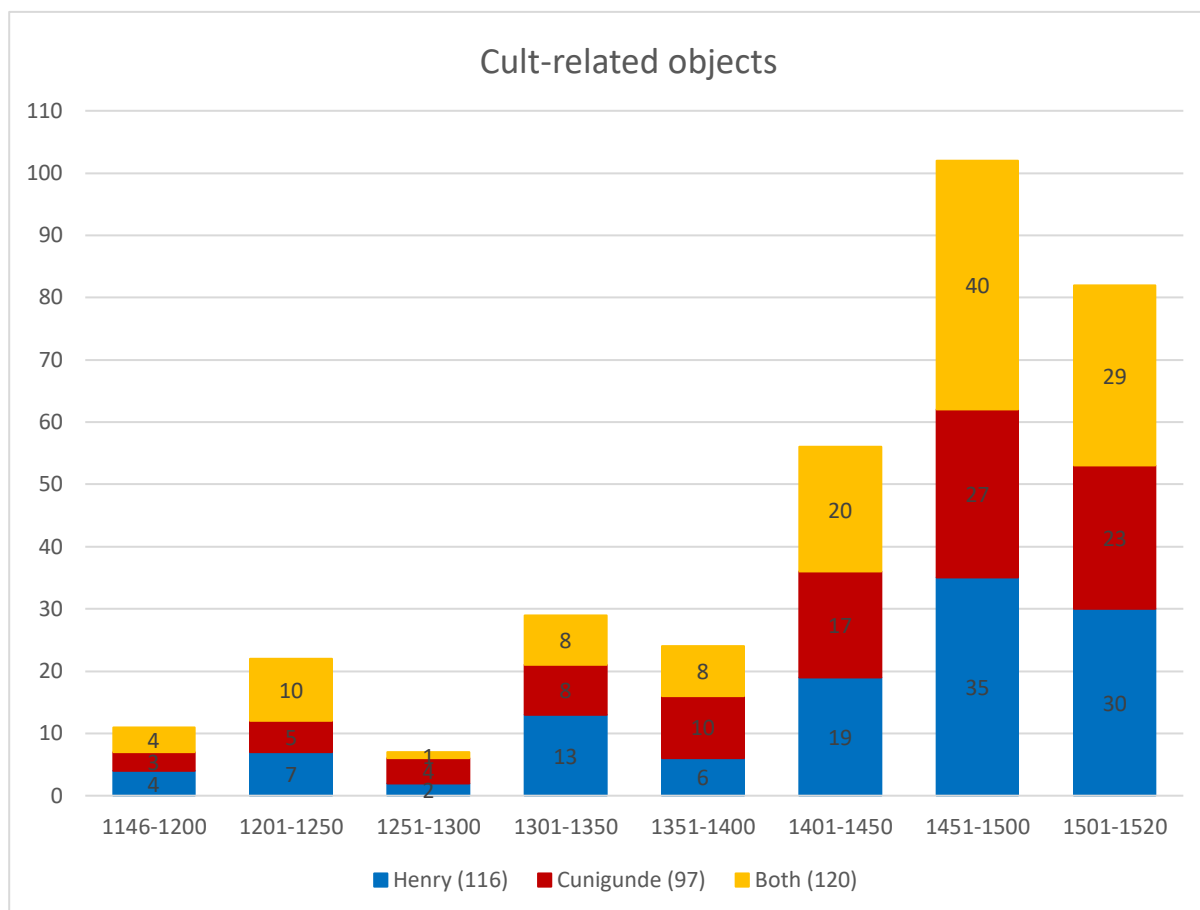


Fig. 2.2. Chart showing the distribution of the cult-related object between 1146 and 1520. Data based on Heinrich Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie des Hl. Kaiserpaares Heinrich und Kunigunde: anlässlich des 1000-jährigen Bestehens für das Erzbistum Bamberg zusammengestellt* (Bamberg, 2007).

The distribution of the extant cult-related objects (including frescoes, altarpieces, statues, reliquaries with saints' depictions, textiles, stained glass but omitting images found in manuscripts and prints) reveals that the majority of these representations (73%) within the analyzed period were produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Moreover, the depictions representing SS. Henry and Cunigunde together outnumber their individual representations, and St. Cunigunde is represented on a slightly lesser number of objects than St. Henry (although her cult is traditionally viewed as more popular based on the available *patrocinia* reviewed below). One should reckon the “survival bias” as older objects could have a lesser chance of enduring until the current day. However, certain aspects of the late medieval culture could account for such an increase in the saints' representations. As the strata of well-off people enlarged while the means of production made certain objects more accessible, saints—in images and words—became more accessible as well. At the same time, the augmentation of lay devotedness corroborated this demand for engaging with representations of sanctity.

Available information about medieval dedications of altars, chapels, and churches allows us to estimate the impact of these cults on regional devotional landscapes as well as investigate the

creation of a sacral space in specific localities when analyzed together with other sources (fig. 2.3–4).³⁷²

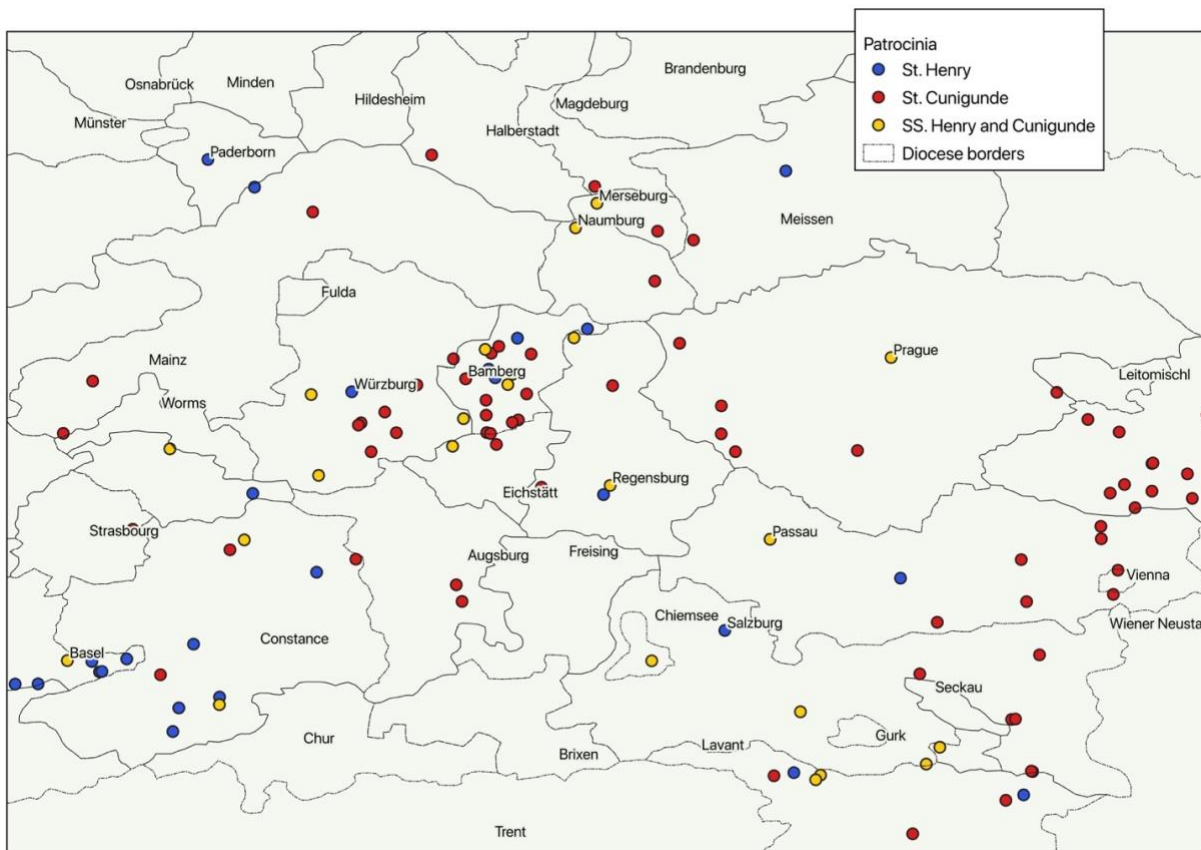


Fig. 2.3. Map showing medieval *patrocina* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde (1146–1521). Map by the author.

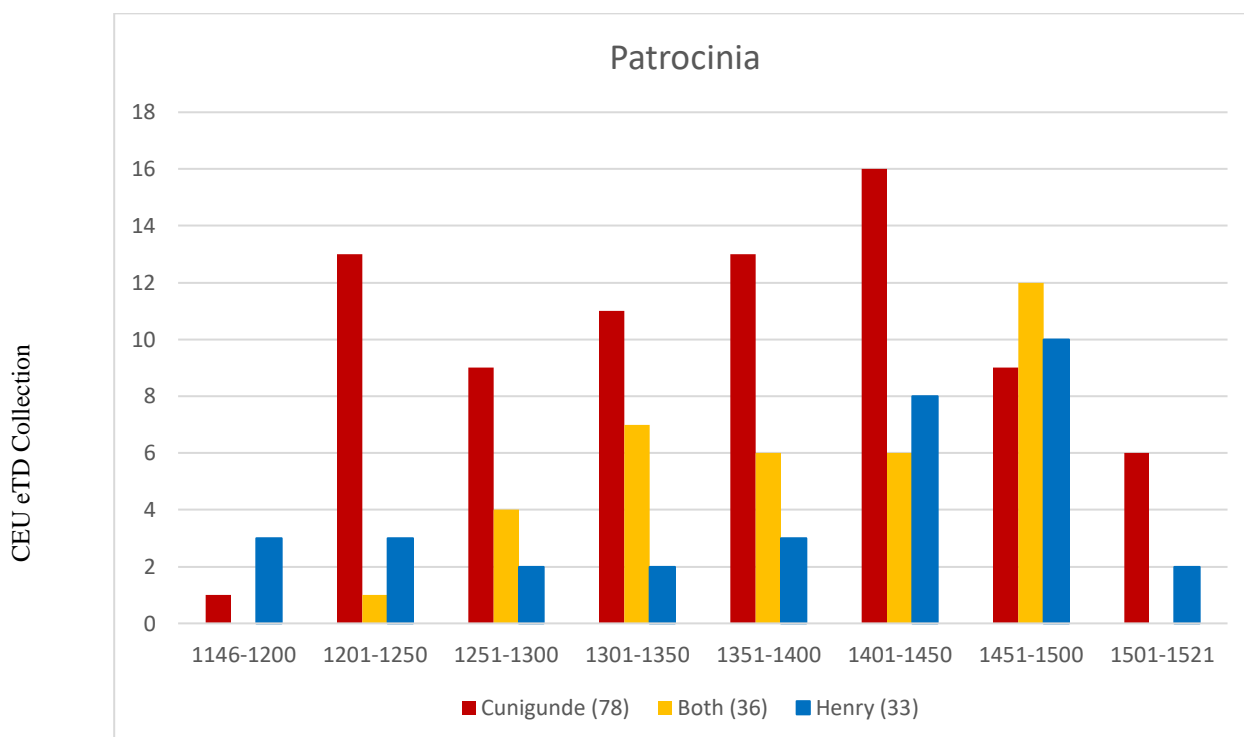


Fig. 2.4. Number of dedications for SS. Henry and Cunigunde (1146–1521).

³⁷² The data is mostly taken from Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie*; further *patrocina* are added based on archival findings, while some dubious instances are removed.

While the dating of each dedication is often approximate, based on the first mention (when there is no information about a church or an altar's consecration), the number of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *patrocinia*—individual and combined—clearly increased by the end of the medieval period.³⁷³ Based on this data, St. Cunigunde emerges as a more popular saint—there are twice as many dedications for her than for St. Henry (especially for churches and chapels)—mostly appreciated in the diocese of Bamberg and in Moravia. St. Henry's dedications are prevailing only in the bishopric of Basel, otherwise being evenly distributed across a dozen of dioceses; the double-dedications are mostly connected with the Bamberg bishopric. Nevertheless, this data does not necessitate St. Henry's unimportance or the lack of knowledge of his sanctity: as has been observed above, St. Henry appears on multiple representations, and further chapters reveal that St. Henry's patronage was essential for several communities and individuals.

Altogether, the increasing affectionate devotion, expressed in various media and forms, provided multiple options for individuals and groups to perform a connection to a specific saint, recognized as a potential intercessor or as a sign of a community or an idea. Thus, the availability and popularity of saints' legends found in manuscripts, prints, and woodcuts worked towards the wider reception of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults. At the same time, historiographic writings that deployed the images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde also contributed to the increasing recognition and hagiographic knowledge of these personae, not always triggering an institutionalized veneration. Extensive literary networks as well as transregional connections contributed to SS. Henry and Cunigunde being known as saintly intercessors and as canonized rulers in multiple cultural areas even beyond the areas with established *patrocinia*.

These various liturgical formats suitable for communal services and private prayers, Latin and vernacular hagiographic traditions, varied visual representations and material objects, and universal or local historiographies, observed in this chapter, were building blocks with which a devotee could assemble a saint and adapt him or her to serve a particular set of functions needed in a particular moment—such as seeking for intercession, healing, maintaining identity, connecting to the imperial history, or increasing political prestige—all discussed in the next chapters.

³⁷³ There are 91 dedication in 1351–1521 and 56 dedications in 1146–1350.

PART II. THE CULTS IN ACTION

Chapter 3. Performing Urban and Ecclesiastical Patronage

From outlining the framing of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults through the most influential media—hagiography, liturgy, material culture, and historiography—the discussion proceeds to the functions the cults held for different sections of society, when either of these saints became a symbol of an ecclesiastical community, or was invested with patronage over a defined group, or attracted an individual's attention and inspired emulation. These communication acts with the saints, used either as intercessory figures or as signs for something “other than a saint itself,”³⁷⁴ are to be analyzed within the dynamics of their temporal, geographic, and social aspects, also paying attention to certain actors that have not yet been studied in their relation to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults, including gendered groups and lay individuals. However, the saints' representations in texts and images, on the one hand, and their functions, on the other, were deeply intertwined and had been conditioning each other, and the subsequent discussion aims at highlighting such interplays.

Existing research already hints at the variability of commemorative scenarios for St. Henry and St. Cunigunde (as single cults or as a combination) in several locations, especially with regard to the biggest commemorative centers—Bamberg and Basel. The cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were known in many ecclesiastical regions of the Empire: at least 17 dioceses had two or more medieval dedications to either of the saint. While most of the dedications were situated within the Bamberg bishopric, the saints held multiple *patrocinia* over churches and altars in the dioceses of Basel, Olomouc, Merseburg, and Würzburg (fig. 3.1). Thus, SS. Henry and Cunigunde could have played a role in establishing an “institutional identity” of their cultic centers, as has been argued for several other royal saints' cults.³⁷⁵ The current chapter summates some of these patronage trends and scrutinizes several ecclesiastical as well as urban communities that turned to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults for promoting their own ends.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ Jürgensen, “The Elusive Quality of Saints,” 18.

³⁷⁵ Explored by Hope, “Constructing Institutional Identity through the Cult of Royal Saints.”

³⁷⁶ The popularity of St. Cunigunde in the diocese of Olomouc is discussed in Chapter 6.

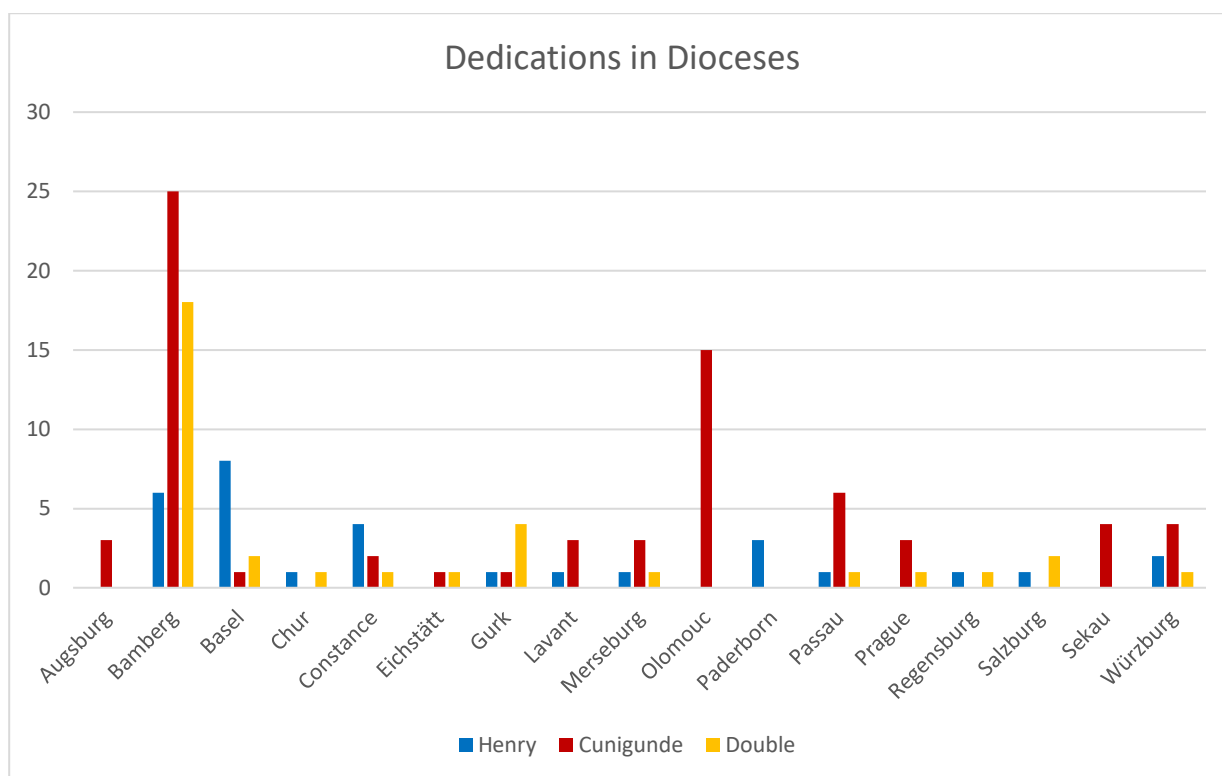


Fig. 3.1. Number of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *patrocinia* in dioceses with two or more dedications.

It is impossible to omit Bamberg as the core actor in the cults' development and meaning-formation, although this strain of research has been the most prominent one in the existing historiography. However, the chapter highlights so far rarely discussed functions of the late medieval cults as well as complements the common analytical scope of studying the city of Bamberg with the analysis of the principality as a whole, including its Carinthian territories. In these distanced territories of the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg and its vicinity, the Bamberg patron saints were venerated in the places of episcopal presence but constantly challenged by local veneration preferences. Other cases of diocesan patronage, such as Merseburg and Regensburg, are discussed as they show a palette of dynamics—when the veneration was grounded in historical circumstances, or forged, or reinvented. The devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde performed in a monastic environment, although often similar to the patterns of diocesan and urban patronage, is analyzed in Chapter 4. Following Augustine Thompson's prompt, the overarching aim is to "present bishops, cathedrals, clergy, and parish organizations as the context for the religious world of the citizens," adding saints and patronage systems to this list.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷ Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 6.

The Saints of Bamberg

In the late-medieval city of Bamberg, St. Henry and Cunigunde were ubiquitously present: in the cathedral, in the city's history, its liturgy, topography, and visual appearance. Apart from the cathedral, there were many other churches and congregations eager to establish connections to these saints or even level up with the cathedral by claiming their ties to the saintly patrons (as the church of St. Stephen) or by creating its own saints (Michelsberg Monastery promoted the cult of St. Otto). The everyday life and festive times of the urban community were also infused with the memories and images of its patron saints: in liturgy, in festive processions on their days, in the city's soundscape, in multiple legends inhabiting the cityscape of Bamberg, on coins and seals, or, for example, through collecting *servitium* on SS. Henry and Cunigunde's feast days.³⁷⁸

Previous research has been set on contrasting and comparing St. Cunigunde's cult with that of St. Henry's by counting the number of altars and dedications for each saint present in Bamberg.³⁷⁹ Based on these calculations, St. Cunigunde emerges as a more attractive saint, possibly also due to her vibrant local healing cult (discussed later in Chapter 5), while St. Henry is reduced only to his commemoration as a deceased founder.³⁸⁰ The current chapter argues that on the level of the urban and episcopal symbolic representation, the holy couple repeatedly appears as a single entity as a meaningful symbol of the diocese and the city, mostly employed by its bishops, taken up as means of self-representation by local clergy and monastic circles, and accessible to local devotees in various contexts. Not only a famous iconographic type of St. Henry and Cunigunde with a model of Bamberg Cathedral was established to promote the holy couple, but also the combination of the two saints in multiple double-dedications of altars, their intertwinement in the liturgy, spaces, and in the local literary traditions.

Liturgies and urban processions

Throughout the late medieval period in Bamberg, the number of *patrocinia* and altars for SS. Henry and Cunigunde had increased together with the number of private dedications for them. Ecclesiastical patronages and altars of Bamberg have been listed in the *Germania Sacra* respective volume as well as in Klauser's and Linke's studies; therefore, these dedications are not scrupulously enumerated here.³⁸¹ Renate Kroos's study that enriched our understanding of the cathedral's liturgy revealed that the feasts of St. Henry and Cunigunde, by the end of the fifteenth century, occupied more sacred time

³⁷⁸ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 134.

³⁷⁹ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*; Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie*.

³⁸⁰ For example, Kalden, "Beiträge zu Tilman Riemenschneiders Kaisergrab im Bamberger Dom," 81–7.

³⁸¹ Erich von Guttenberg and Alfred Wendehorst, eds., *Das Bistum Bamberg. Teil 2, Die Pfarreiorganisation*, *Germania Sacra* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966), 45–102; also summarized by Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 113–5.

as they did in the thirteenth century as their feasts climbed on top of the hierarchy of celebrations.³⁸² According to the late fifteenth-century cathedral's *directorium*, their shrines were used in Easter processions, while St. Henry's feast was celebrated with two masses, a lavish procession, nine lections (six of which came from his *vita*), and an octave, while the office was infused with chants and orations for St Cunigunde. In the end, St. Henry's feast overweighed in importance the feast of St. Margaret—the celebrations for this influential virgin martyr were shifted to the next day to give room for celebrating the patron saint.³⁸³

The liturgy of monastic houses within the town of Bamberg, as a rule, included the feasts of both SS. Henry and Cunigunde—as Klauser pointed out—though at a different level of engagement.³⁸⁴ The Benedictines at Michelsberg almost equaled with the cathedral in their veneration of the couple: they possessed a variety of the saints' relics, the holy couple was grounded in their communal memory, and the liturgy was reminiscent of that in the cathedral in its grandeur and elaborateness.³⁸⁵ Moreover, the early sixteenth-century project of translating and printing the vernacular legends of Henry and Cunigunde was exercised by Nonnosus Stettfelder, a monk from Michelsberg. The monastic houses that appeared in Bamberg after the couple's canonizations, namely Carmelites, Cistercians, and Dominicans, also incorporated local patterns in their calendars.³⁸⁶ For example, the liturgical books from a local Carmelite convent containing the offices for both St. Henry and Cunigunde reveal how their cults were gradually incorporated throughout the fourteenth century.³⁸⁷ As for the Poor Clares, whose house appeared in Bamberg in the mid-fourteenth century, only in 1425 a choir of its church was dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde.³⁸⁸ In these monastic houses, the saints were adopted in their Bambergian version—as an indissoluble couple—though this form was not so common beyond the diocese of Bamberg.

The images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde percolated the Bamberg urban life also during public processions and the *Heiltumsweisung*—a festive display of the city's relics arranged once in seven

³⁸² Renate Kroos, "Liturgische Quellen zum Bamberger Dom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976): 105–46, esp. 123–4, 127–35.

³⁸³ SBB, Msc. Lit. 117, f. 2r, f. 47r–50v; the translation of Cunigunde in the same codex: f. 68r–70r. On the collision with St. Margaret's feast see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 147–8.

³⁸⁴ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 167–9; Klauser highlighted our fragmentary knowledge of liturgy from these houses since the liturgical manuscripts are not preserved in their full variety that would have allowed to evaluate the temporal developments of liturgical calendars and ceremonies. General patterns of monastic devotion to Henry and Cunigunde are discussed in Chapter 4, though Bamberg monastic houses are discussed in this part since their veneration patterns were mostly influenced by the analyzed diocesan traditions.

³⁸⁵ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 167–8 briefly compares the two liturgical practices.

³⁸⁶ On the intercession of local identities and universal veneration patterns see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 129–32.

³⁸⁷ A breviary from the convent: SBB, Msc. Lit. 81, f. 187 (the offices of SS. Henry and Cunigunde); a fourteenth-century ordinal from the same monastery: SBB Msc. Lit. 120, f. 3r (the translation of St. Cunigunde added to the calendar) and f. 104v (the order of the mess for SS. Henry and Cunigunde added at the end of the codex).

³⁸⁸ The dedication note in Wilhelm Deinhardt, *Dedicationes Bambergenses: Weiheiten und -urkunden aus dem mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg mit einer geschichtlichen Einleitung* (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1936), 65–6 (no. 102). The feasts of St. Cunigunde and St. Henry appeared in the mid-fourteenth century necrology's calendar (in use at least until 1549) from the same convent: Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 57, f. 5r, 14 r.

years on the day of the cathedral's consecration (June 6), presumably since 1444.³⁸⁹ This *Heiltumsweisung* was advertised through printed brochures with depictions of the relics and reliquaries hosted in the town. According to these brochures, the relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were plenty, and most of them were kept in the cathedral, though several precious items and sachets with relics were scattered around the city's churches, mostly at St. Stephen's Church and Michelsberg Monastery. Moreover, these prints often replicated a woodcut with a procession with St. Henry's shrine, in which a bishop, clergy, nobles, and ordinary laypeople flock to the cathedral or the neighboring chapterhouse, depending on the version (fig. 3.2).³⁹⁰ While the woodcut might not trustworthily represent the actual procession, it is nevertheless a schematic depiction of all the town dwellers of various social standing banded together by and for the sake of their commonly venerated saint.

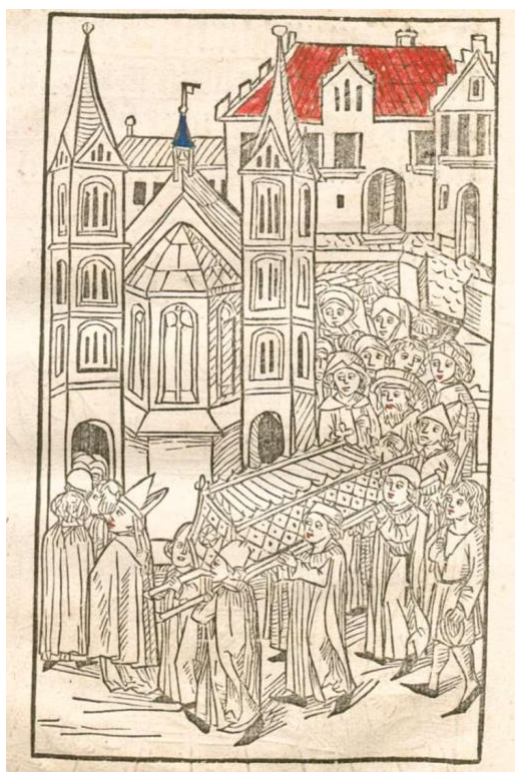


Fig. 3.2. Woodcut depicting a procession with St. Henry's shrine, from *In disem puchlein stet verzeichnet das hochwirdig heiltum das man do pfligt alle mal vber siben Jare ein mal zu Bamberg zu weisen* (Nuremberg: Hans Mair, 1493), f. 1v; copy from BSB, Ink. H-28. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

³⁸⁹ For more about this practice that was popular also in other towns see Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), esp. 275–92, and Livia Cárdenas, *Die Textur des Bildes: das Heiltumsbuch im Kontext religiöser Medialität des Spätmittelalters* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).

³⁹⁰ For example, *In disem puchlein stet verzeichnet das hochwirdig heiltum das man do pfligt alle mal vber siben Jare ein mal zu Bamberg zu weisen* (Nuremberg: Hans Mair, 1493), f. 1v (here, the procession enters the cathedral through the so-called *Adamsporte*); *Die weysung vnnnd auszuruffung des Hochwirdigen heylthumbs zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: Johann Pfeil, 1509), f. 1v (the procession enters the chapterhouse). A codex with drawings made for the 1509 edition (possibly by Wolfgang Katzheimer) also features an enhanced representation of this procession, British Library, Add MS 15689, 36r (see Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, ed., *Das Bamberger Heiltum: das Bamberger Heiltumsbuch von 1508/09 in der British Library London (Add Ms 15689)* (Bamberg: Historischer Verein, 1998)). On this procession, see Kroos, "Liturgische Quellen zum Bamberger Dom," 113–4, 134.

Intercessory powers of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were available for devotees, the knowledge of which efficacy was grounded in the stories of miraculous healings and wonders related in saints' hagiographies, some of which were also repeated in their liturgical offices.³⁹¹ These texts also explained possible ways of connecting with the cults, for example, by touching the saints' contact relics, by collecting dust from the tomb, or ex-voto. One could also approach their relics during the saints' feast days and the *Heiltumsweisung* or, alternatively, ask for private access to the saints' relics. The imperial relics were often viewed by the members of the Brandenburg family (36 times between 1464 and 1500)—foremost by Albert III Achilles (1414–1486)—and of the Habsburgs, in return for a generous donation as the cathedral custodian's account book revealed.³⁹² In part, the access to the cults was controlled by the clerics and was often reserved for the devotees of a higher standing; nevertheless, an array of other devotional practices—such as private invocations or the mentioned relic books—circumvented the clergy's intermediary role.

Therefore, the couple's relics—together with other holy particles hosted in the city—were devotional objects attracting local dwellers and pilgrims as well as tools used for enhancing group cohesion through communal ritual practices organized around their veneration. Moreover, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics acquired a diplomatic value since the cathedral chapter possessed a semi-monopoly on the saints' bodily remains, while other devotional centers could only dream of a share of this symbolic capital. Each opening of the couple's tombstone resulted in the influx of their relics being sent to Gurk, Speyer, Prague, Basel, or Merseburg. The latter foundation, for example, festively celebrated the arrival of its second founder's shoulder blade to the cathedral in 1517.³⁹³

The constant flow of devotees, together with the ducal and imperial patronage of Bamberg, became a huge investment into the episcopal self-fashioning activities. Thus, in the early sixteenth century, a new tomb for Henry and Cunigunde was carved by a famous Franconian sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider (d. 1531). It was commissioned during the episcopacy of Bishop Heinrich III Gross von Trockau (r. 1487–1501), presumably for celebrating the 300-year anniversary of St. Cunigunde's canonization, and finished only in the times of Georg III Schenk von Limpurg (r. 1505–1522)—the work lasted for fourteen years, between 1499 and 1513.³⁹⁴ The tomb's upper plate is embellished with the saints' effigies under a baldachin, standing upon two lions with the rulers' anachronistic coat of arms (of Bavaria and Luxemburg). Five carved side panels depict scenes from SS. Henry and

³⁹¹ Some of St. Henry's postmortem miracles were recounted in his office during the Lauds: Hankeln, "Properization and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices," 12.

³⁹² Christian Haeutle, "Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464–1500: ein Kleiner Beitrag zur Geschichte der Stadt Bamberg," *Bericht über das Wirken des Historischen Vereines zu Bamberg* 37 (1875): 13–72.

³⁹³ Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*, 55; Peter Ramm, *Der Merseburger Dom: Seine Baugeschichte nach den Quellen* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1977), 177.

³⁹⁴ Bier analyzed the costs of such a commission based on available receipts: Bier, "Riemenschneider's Tomb of Emperor Henry and Empress Cunegund." Also see Neundorfer, *Leben und Legende*; Kalden, "Beiträge zu Tilman Riemenschneiders Kaisergrab im Bamberger Dom." A recent publication on the imperial tombstone: Jung and Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 95–107.

Cunigunde's hagiographies; in their style, these carvings were most probably influenced by the works of a local master Wolfgang Katzheimer.³⁹⁵ These panels would appear on an eye-level only if a supplicant kneels in front of the tomb to invoke the two saints, and his or her interaction with the saint would be guided by the representations of their most famous miracles—St. Henry's healing by St. Benedict, his soul-weighing, and St. Cunigunde's miracle of the just wages—and their virginal marriage, epitomized in the representations of the ordeal and the scene at St. Henry's deathbed. Such an exquisitely manufactured and costly project could be afforded only by affluent commissioners—which the Bamberg bishops apparently were—in the hope of attracting even more devotees and resources to this sacral space.

The “three lilies” of the Bamberg diocese

While the veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as a couple was generally accepted by most of the monastic houses in Bamberg, Michelsberg Monastery differed from the cathedral on a crucial point. The monastery adapted the couple's cult to its own spirituality and opted instead for the promotion of its saintly “trinity” that included the royal couple and St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg (1060–1139, can. 1189), whose cult was largely administered by the monastery that was also his burial place. In 1331, a side-chapel of the abbey's church was concentrated to SS. Bishop Otto, Benedict, Henry, and Cunigunde, framing the Bambergian trinity within the monastic devotion, while SS. Henry and Cunigunde's representation appear on St. Otto's tomb at Michelsberg.³⁹⁶ This group of saints was also promoted among several Cistercian houses founded by St. Otto of Bamberg within the diocese.³⁹⁷ The same would be true for the monastery of Langheim, also founded by Bishop Otto, which cultivated the memory of the imperial saints due to the monastery's affiliation with Michelsberg.³⁹⁸

A fourteenth-century hagiographic codex written at or for the Augustinian Canons of Neunkirchen am Brand stands in close relation to the kind of spirituality promoted in Michelsberg Monastery. The manuscript starts with the salutations to the Michelsberg monastery and three unique poems devoted to the Bambergian “trinity”—SS. Otto, Henry, and Cunigunde—which are followed by their hagiographies and offices.³⁹⁹ Jürgen Petersohn argues that this poetic cycle, consisting of six

³⁹⁵ Kalden, “Beiträge zu Tilman Riemenschneiders Kaisergrab im Bamberger Dom,” 73–80.

³⁹⁶ Deinhardt, *Dedicationes Bambergenses*, 34–5 (no. 51): “... consecrata est capella sub paradiso ad dextrum latus ecclesiam intransibis... in honore s. Ottonis et s. Benedicti, Heinrici et s. Kunegundis.” This altar held, among others, also the relics of its patron saints. The first altar devoted to St. Henry appeared in Michelsberg in 1160, swiftly following his canonization process.

³⁹⁷ Egon Boshof, “Otto I. von Bamberg (1102–1139): ein Reichsbischof im Spannungsfeld von Königtum und Papsttum,” *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 80 (2017): 351–421; Biermann and Ruchhöft, eds., *Bischof Otto von Bamberg in Pommern*.

³⁹⁸ SBB, Msc. Lit. 30 (a late fifteenth-century antiphonary), f. 37v–46v (the translation of St. Cunigunde); f. 38v has an illuminated initial with an image of the couple.

³⁹⁹ BSB, Clm. 23582, f. 2r (the oration for St. Otto), f. 3r (the oration for St. Henry), f. 3v (the oration for St. Cunigunde). These verses are edited in Petersohn, “Ein bisher unveröffentlichter Zyklus Bamberger Heiligendichtung des

poems written mostly in verse, although surviving only in one copy from Neunkirchen, was created in Michelsberg.⁴⁰⁰ These poems stand for a devotional pilgrimage within the Bambergian religious landscape, which focal points are the shrines of these three saints. The eulogies to SS. Henry and Cunigunde are built upon the imagery present in their liturgies—as of a confessor-king (*triumphator victoriosus... Beatissime Christi confessor, rex Heinricus*)⁴⁰¹ and as of a queen praised for her virginity (*virtus virginalis*).⁴⁰² The monastery was successful in its propagation of the side-by-side placement of all three Bamberg saints since this imagery was later employed by Bamberg bishops, for example, in a laudatory program created by a Carthusian monk.

A Bambergian codex dated 1438, now in Debrecen, contains a series of texts devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde as well as St. Otto.⁴⁰³ Numerous theological treatises (for example, *Tractatus de confessione* by Matthew of Cracow, *Tractatus de sapientia et aliis virtutibus*) are intermitted with hagiographical materials, among which is the *additamentum* to the *vita Heinrici*—two chapters on the chaste marriage and the ordeal—and several invocations to SS. Henry, Otto, and Cunigunde as well as praise for Bamberg.⁴⁰⁴ The manuscript contains a note revealing that “a certain Carthusian monk put together these three lilies of Bamberg in the year 1438 in honor of God and St. Emperor Henry and Bishop Otto and Blessed Cunigunde” under the auspices of Bishop Anton von Rotenhan (r. 1434–1459).⁴⁰⁵ Therefore, the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were closely associated with that of St. Otto, often taken together as a Bambergian trinity not only by Michelsberg Monastery but also by the bishops.

A desire to salute the saints triggered more creative activity from their devotees in Bamberg. In the first half of the fifteenth century, a corpus of verse epitaphs, similar to those in the Neunkirchen am Brand codex, were written in Bamberg. In its entirety, the corpus appears in the Brabantine literary milieu, namely in the legend printed in 1484 in Brussels, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. It consists of two epitaphs devoted to St. Henry and St. Cunigunde (the former one is based on verses from Gottfried of Viterbo’s *Pantheon*), anagrams for the saints, and a further series of invocations—

Spätmittelalters.” The codex includes the excerpts on the history of Michelsberg that are followed by several hagiographies, including that of SS. Otto, Henry, and Cunigunde, followed by Augustine, Monika, and Anne.

⁴⁰⁰ Petersohn, “Ein bisher unveröffentlichter Zyklus,” 192–3.

⁴⁰¹ Petersohn, “Ein bisher unveröffentlichter Zyklus,” 205.

⁴⁰² Petersohn, “Ein bisher unveröffentlichter Zyklus,” 206.

⁴⁰³ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 77v–82r. A full description of this codex and an edition of the new elements related to SS. Henry and Cunigunde should be undertaken as a separate project. Some of the theological texts are mentioned in Richard Newhauser, *A Catalogue of Latin Texts with Material on the Vices and Virtues in Manuscripts in Hungary* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 45–48.

⁴⁰⁴ This is a rare case of transmitting exclusively the *additamentum* chapters (“Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 816–820), without relating them to either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde’s *vitae*, which might stand in connection to SBB, Msc. Theol. 113, f. 370r–374v, also see Chapter 2.

⁴⁰⁵ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 57v: “Hec tria lilia Babenbergensis diocesi compilavit quidam devotus Cartusiensium Anno domini 1438 in fine ad honorem dei et sanctorum Henrici cesaris et ottonis episcopi et beate kunegundis et misit ea reverendo in christo patri et domino domino Anthonio pro tunc episcopo bambergensi dedit.”

all of these texts have not been noticed by the scholarship on these imperial saints. While the printed legend is dated to the end of the fifteenth century, some incomplete traces of these verses devoted to St. Henry are evident in two manuscripts of South German provenance—the mentioned codex from c. 1438 from Bamberg (now in Debrecen)⁴⁰⁶ and a manuscript owned and partially written by Hartmann Schedel.⁴⁰⁷ The appearance of these various verses testifies to the fact that these saints continued to trigger new literary production beyond the known *vitae* and that there was a certain demand to personally communicate with the saints through these orations.

Local history writing

Bamberg was the birthplace of multiple hagiographies and liturgical elements praising SS. Henry and Cunigunde, spanning from the first redaction of the *vita Heinrici* up to the printed edition of the saints' vernacular legends in 1511. However, their appearance in local historiography is rarely discussed, although in these writings, the memories of the diocese foundation were intertwined with the “hagiographic” knowledge of these saints. The *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg* is a vivid example of this blending.⁴⁰⁸ Andreas Lang (r. 1483–1502), the abbot at Michelsberg, dictated this chronicle to his secretary Nonnosus Stettfelder around 1487–1494.⁴⁰⁹ At that time, the abbey had recently gone through the Bursfelde reform, popular among German Benedictine monasteries generally aimed at maintaining observance, which accelerated its literary production.⁴¹⁰ Not only this ecclesiastical history was created, but also illuminated catalogs of the abbots, the bishops, and the Benedictine saints.⁴¹¹ The subsequent translation and printing of St. Henry and Cunigunde's legends was also a partial result of this literary revival, though this time aimed at a wider audience given the choice of the vernacular language and the printed form.

The imperial status of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was used by the abbot as an entry ticket to the universal history, in which the bishopric's history was to be situated, as evident in the opening words of the chronicle: “Everyone strives to know the most meritorious beginnings of the holiest spouses Emperor Henry and Cunigunde. It is necessary to recount the lineage of Charlemagne, for,

⁴⁰⁶ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 82v.

⁴⁰⁷ BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v. Schedel's relation to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, and this codex specifically, are discussed further in Chapter 5.

⁴⁰⁸ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 1r–67v; a later version is also SBB, R.B. Msc. 49, f. 64r–84v.

⁴⁰⁹ For a concise biography of Andreas Lang see Günter Dippold, “Andreas Lang: († 1502): Abt des Benediktinerklosters St. Michael in Bamberg,” in *Staffelsteiner Lebensbilder*, ed. Günter Dippold and Alfred Meixner (Staffelstein: Verlag für Staffelsteiner Schriften, 2000), 31–36.

⁴¹⁰ On the reform and the Michelsberg monastery see Elke-Ursel Hammer, “Ost und West im benediktinischen Mönchtum am Vorabend der Neuzeit: Provinzialkapitel und Bursfelder Kongregation zwischen 1450 und 1550,” *Jahrbuch für mitteldeutsche Kirchen- und Ordensgeschichte* 1 (2005): 51–65. On the early history of the Michelsberg scriptorium: Karin Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979).

⁴¹¹ The first redaction is in the SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 72r–333r; the abridged version with the abbot's portraits and a later sixteenth-century addition SBB, R.B. Msc. 49, f. 1r–54r; the catalogue of Benedictine saints in SBB, Msc.Hist.141.

in fact, these most chaste spouses were of the imperial descent.”⁴¹² Recounting Charlemagne’s ancestry is a hard toil, which brought Andreas Lang into discussing the Trojans origins of the Merovingian and Carolingian rulers. The abbot also turned to discuss the *translatio imperii* from the Greeks all the way to the Germans, providing historical arguments that the true *imperium* was in Henry II and Germany as a whole.⁴¹³ Although conveying the features of universal history to local historiographies was not uncommon, the reimagined descent of SS. Henry and Cunigunde legitimately placed the history of the Bamberg episcopal see (and the Michelsberg abbey as well) in the imperial context.

Andreas Lang tediously recounts the events of the Frankish rule and then the translation of the *imperium* to the Saxon dynasty (in line with the Ottonian historiography). The prose narration, partially based on Gottfried of Viterbo’s *Pantheon*, is complemented with the verses taken from the same source. From the foundation of the bishopric in 1007, the list of emperors is intermitted with brief episcopal biographies and royal privileges (for example, Henry II’s foundational charters), if extant. The rule of Henry II is a starting point for episcopal history, but it is also its pinnacle, as are the times of St. Otto of Bamberg. A section entitled “On Saint Henry, that is the limping, Roman Emperor” is a mixture of stories taken from Gottfried of Viterbo’s *Pantheon* and St. Henry’s hagiographies.⁴¹⁴ In the context of Henry’s claudication legend, Andreas Lang also shared that one could see a statue representing Henry’s lameness on one of the cathedral’s portals (now known as the *Adamspforte*): a stone placed under the emperor’s foot was considered a sign of his disability (*in signum claudicationis*).⁴¹⁵ It is rare that we can obtain a medieval eye-witness account interpreting an artwork: the thirteenth-century representation of the saint was analyzed by an onlooker against his hagiographic knowledge about him.

The *vita Cunegundis* is recounted in brief, only outlining the queen’s ordeal by burning ploughshares, her life at Kaufungen that was distant from the Bamberg bishopric’s sphere of influence, and the canonization bull.⁴¹⁶ However, the abbot praises St. Cunigunde’s involvement in local dedications, namely her foundation of the church of St. Stephen. Again, the author provides a glimpse into the visual presence of the saint—St. Cunigunde’s miracle of just wages was represented in St. Stephen’s Church.⁴¹⁷ This excerpt from Andreas Lang is the first textual reference to this miracle (explained only in a few lines) before it was written down in full by Nonnosus Stettfelder a

⁴¹² SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 3r: “Sanctissimorum coniugum heinrici imperatoris et kunegundis ortum dignissimum quicumque scire laborat. magni karoli stirpem clarissimam repetat necesse est ambo enim castissimi illi coniuges ex augustorum sanguine procreati sunt.”

⁴¹³ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 3r.

⁴¹⁴ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 15r–18v.

⁴¹⁵ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 17r: “Autem preterea huius miraculi testimonio ymaginem sancti regis ante fores cathedralis monasterii posuit esse lapillo sinistro pedi in signum claudicationis supposito quodadhuc exentibus ad dexteram patet.”

⁴¹⁶ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 18v–21r.

⁴¹⁷ SBB, R.B. Msc. 48, f. 19r.

decade later in the printed legend from 1511.⁴¹⁸ Therefore, the abbot highlighted the significance of St. Cunigunde from the local perspective, portraying her not only as St. Henry's spouse and the famous saint but also as a patroness of a local church, the memory of which was reinforced by her visual representation. In the end, this imperial couple, their patronage activities, and their subsequent hagiographic narratives were incorporated into the history and collective memory of Bamberg. At the same time, the regality and sanctity of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were used to interlace the universal (that is, imperial) history with the history of the Bamberg diocese.

Visual and audial presence

The visual presence of the diocese's founders was also integrated into the outer appearance of the city, both in its liturgical and civil spaces (for example, in frescoes and sculptures of the Old Court).⁴¹⁹ At the same time, the legends of the saints were intertwined with the urban topography: in a late-fifteenth-century interpretation of a local master (identified with Wolfgang Katzheimer), St. Cunigunde's ploughshare ordeal was taking place exactly on the Cathedral square, easily recognizable to a local onlooker (fig. 3.3). This iconographic type became widely used in various woodcuts, thus promoting not only the empress's holiness but also the role of Bamberg in its formation and maintenance.



Fig. 3.3. Wolfgang Katzheimer, *St. Cunigunde's ordeal*, c. 1500, 121.3x117.3 cm, Bamberg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen — Staatsgalerie in der Neuen Residenz, <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/jWLpXdaLKY>. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

⁴¹⁸ Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 88–9. See the discussion in Chapter 2 on this miracle.

⁴¹⁹ A recent exhibition catalogue reviews SS. Henry and Cunigunde's depictions in Bamberg: Jung and Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 108–23.

An already mentioned iconographic type of SS. Henry and Cunigunde holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral became a symbol of the city and the diocese, resorted to by bishops, cathedral canons, and other power players in the city, especially after the dispute over the immunities in the 1430s.⁴²⁰ Bishops of Bamberg repeatedly employed this representation as symbols of their office. The episcopal seals were traditional representational means, where the images of the imperial donors were consistently employed.⁴²¹ In the late fifteenth century, Bamberg bishops also used the latest technologies to promote their connection to the episcopal see as well as to SS. Henry and Cunigunde. Bishop Philipp von Henneberg (r. 1475–1487) was the first to use the iconographic type of the couple as the donors paired with his coat of arms in a woodcut, in this way creating a visual epitome of his familial identity and the office, accessible to the users of the *Breviarium Bambergense*.⁴²² Bishop Heinrich III Groß von Trockau, who gave the impetus for creating the new imperial tombstone in the cathedral, also used the same device. (fig. 3.4).



Fig. 3.4. Woodcut with SS. Henry and Cunigunde and their imaginary coat of arms holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral, later modified for multiple Bambergian prints, 130x115mm, from *Missale Bambergense* (Bamberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, 1490), f. VII-v; copy from BSB, Ink M-417. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Similarly, this image was used as an emblem of Bishop Georg III von Limpurg (r. 1505–1522) in a woodcut accompanying a printed missal, where the couple appears next to the bishop's coat of

⁴²⁰ More on this conflict: Karin Dengler-Schreiber, "Städtehaß und Kunstsinn: Das Bamberger Domkapitel im 15. Jahrhundert und Georg von Löwenstein," in *1000 Jahre Bistum Bamberg 1007–2007: Unterm Sternenmantel*, ed. Wolfgang F. Reddig and Luitgar Göller (Bamberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007), 188–97. The employment of various urban saints for articulating a prerogative of one of the sides in this conflict is yet to be explored.

⁴²¹ Erich von Guttenberg, *Das Bistum Bamberg. Teil I*, Germania Sacra (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1937), 200.

⁴²² *Breviarium Bambergense*. Johann Sensenschmidt, 1484

arms.⁴²³ From 1484 to 1519, four bishops chose to be associated with the couple, and the same type of representation was used regardless of the change of the printer in Bamberg (namely from Johann Sensenschmidt to Johann Pfeyl).⁴²⁴ The woodcut of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was replicated (with slight modifications) on 14 different prints associated with the bishopric of Bamberg, especially in widely used liturgical prints such as breviaries and missals (table 3.1).

Table 3.1. The list of titles printed in Bamberg (1484–1519) that included the woodcut representing SS. Henry and Cunigunde holding a cathedral model.⁴²⁵

Title	Printer and date	Woodcut description
<i>Breviarium Bambergense</i>	Johann Sensenschmidt, 1484	The woodcut with Philipp von Henneberg's coat of arms, 138x190 mm
<i>Reformatio iudicii decanatus ecclesiae Bambergensis</i>	Johann Sensenschmidt, 1488	The woodcut with Henry and Cunigunde's own coat of arms, 130x115mm
<i>Missale Bambergense</i>	Johann Sensenschmidt, 1490	The woodcut with Heinrich III Gross von Trockau's coat of arms, 137x191mm
<i>Statuta synodalia Bambergensia</i>	Johann Sensenschmidt, 1491	The woodcut with Henry and Cunigunde's own coat of arms, 130x115mm
<i>Agenda Bambergensis</i>	Petzensteiner, Laurentius Sensenschmidt, Johann Pfeyl, 1491	The woodcut without any coat of arms, 130x115 mm
<i>Breviarium Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1498–1499	The woodcut with Heinrich III Gross von Trockau's coat of arms, 121x78mm
<i>Missale Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1499	The woodcut with Heinrich III Gross von Trockau's coat of arms
<i>Breviarium Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1501	The woodcut with Veit Truschsess von Pommersfelden's coat of arms, 130x190mm
<i>Missale speciale Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1506	The woodcut with Georg III Schenk von Limpurg's coat of arms, 135x188mm
<i>Missale Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1507	The woodcut with Georg III Schenk von Limpurg's coat of arms, 135x188mm
<i>Statuta synodalia Bambergensia</i> (from 20 June 1507)	Johann Pfeyl, 1509	The woodcut without any coat of arms
Nonnosus Stettfelder, <i>Dye legend und leben des Heyligen sandt Keyser Heinrichs</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1511	The woodcut without any coat of arms

⁴²³ SBB, R.B. Inc. typ. V.11, f. 8v.

⁴²⁴ Geldner, *Die Buchdruckerkunst im alten Bamberg*, 67–86.

⁴²⁵ The list is based on Geldner, *Die Buchdruckerkunst im alten Bamberg*, 89–100.

<i>Agenda sive obsequiale sec. imperialem ecclesiam et dyocesim Babenbergensem</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1514	The woodcut with Georg III Schenk von Limpurg's coat of arms, 120x75mm
<i>Breviarium Bambergense</i>	Johann Pfeyl, 1519	The woodcut with Georg III Schenk von Limpurg's coat of arms, 125x85mm

It might have been that this woodcut was also available on the market as an individual print since Hartmann Schedel included it twice in his collection,⁴²⁶ and a similar image was used for portraying St. Henry and Cunigunde in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.⁴²⁷ This woodcut could have also influenced the appearance of the couple on the Hertnid Altar and on the panel painting now in Brno.⁴²⁸ Therefore, the intensive use of this woodcut in Bamberg and Nuremberg established a “canonical” image of the couple, deeply associated with the diocese of Bamberg and its bishops, not only within the city walls but also throughout the diocese.

Such an iconography was employed not only in printed media for materials of diocesan importance but also in the stained glass project sponsored by Bamberg bishops for the church of St. Sebald in Nuremberg (known as the *Bamberger Fenster*). SS. Henry and Cunigunde are represented with the cathedral model, surrounded by four saints (SS. Kilian, Peter, Paul, and George) and four bishops with their coat of arms, among whom was the commissioner Veit I Truchseß von Pommersfelden (r. 1501–1503).⁴²⁹ This stained glass cycle—placed in the choir to the north from the so-called imperial window (sponsored by King Wenceslas in 1379; replaced with the new window by Maximilian I in 1514)⁴³⁰—represented the episcopal influence over Nuremberg, albeit a Free City, also adding to the imperial representational schemes exercised in Nuremberg.⁴³¹ These stained glass windows functions, after all, as “as political statements; as advertisements of power, wealth and status; as instruments of manipulation and control.”⁴³²

Apart from the extensive visual and liturgical presence, one can assume that SS. Henry and Cunigunde also appeared in the soundscape of Bamberg, although the medieval acoustic environment is hardly permeable for research. In the northeast tower of Bamberg Cathedral, two church bells have

⁴²⁶ See Chapter 5 and Beatrice Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel, 1990), 200–201.

⁴²⁷ Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger), f. 186r.

⁴²⁸ Kaliopi Chamonikola, ed., *Od gotiky k renesanci: výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550* (Brno: Moravská galerie, 1999), 445–51.

⁴²⁹ Hartmut Scholz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Nürnberg: Sebalder Stadtseite*, vol. 2, *Corpus Vitrearum medii Aevi Deutschland 10* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2013), 213–25. This donation replaced an older window from 1379, also sponsored by a bishop of Bamberg. This window is reminiscent of the Knorr-window from the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg from 1476 that was also a commission of a Bamberg bishop.

⁴³⁰ Scholz, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Nürnberg*, 198–213.

⁴³¹ On this topic see Daniela Kah, *Die wahrhaft königliche Stadt: Das Reich in den Reichsstädten Augsburg, Nürnberg und Lübeck im Späten Mittelalter* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017).

⁴³² Anne Simon, “Illuminating Allegiance: The Politics of Fenestration,” in *The Window: Motif and Topos in Austrian, German and Swiss Art and Literature*, ed. Heide Kunzelmann and Anne Simon (Munich: Iudicium, 2016), 40.

been associated with St. Henry and St. Cunigunde. According to Claus Peter's study, St. Cunigunde's bell was manufactured in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and Henry's—in 1311.⁴³³ The distinct sounds of these bells should have been clearly recognizable by the locals as these sounds structured their daily lives. Whether local dwellers also associated the sounds they heard with the saints ascribed to each of the bells, although probable, is impossible to reckon for sure.

The presence of the patron saints obviously stretched beyond the city walls and embraced the whole diocese—Linke's study of the patronage shows that either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde were chosen as patron saints in twenty foundations during the Middle Ages within the diocese of Bamberg, not including the city itself.⁴³⁴ The liturgical patterns from the Bamberg cathedral were commonly adapted in other localities using the same calendar (though with certain local divergencies). In the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, for example, all the feast days of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were celebrated.⁴³⁵ The image of the holy couple with the cathedral model would be known to the parishioners of St. Sebald and St. Lawrence, who would inspect the local stained glass windows as well several epitaphs preserved in these churches; moreover, two altars were dedicated to the holy couple in the Imperial Chapel, following the same iconographic type.⁴³⁶

The connection between a locality or an individual and a saint could also be established semantically: two places in the Bamberg diocese were named after St. Cunigunde (that is Kunigundenreuth in 1231 and Sankt Kunigunda near Lauf an der Pegnitz in 1503).⁴³⁷ According to Steven Sargent's study on personal naming patterns in late medieval Bavaria, both Cunigunde and Henry were among the most popular first names in the late fifteenth–early sixteenth centuries, sharing the top of the list with biblical names and other locally venerated saints, such as St. Wolfgang and St. Ulrich.⁴³⁸

⁴³³ Claus Peter, "Die Kaiserglocken des Bamberger Domes," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 123 (1987): 121–59. St. Cunigunde's bell, also sometimes named St. George's bell after the principal patron of the cathedral, had an inscription: "Hostis vim pello laudes cieo dare claras clerum cum populo sancte kungundis ad aras ano dni m cccclviii iar" (Cit. according to Peter, "Die Kaiserglocken des Bamberger Domes," 125).

⁴³⁴ Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie*, 118. Based on Linke's data, the distribution of patronage in the diocese for the high and late medieval period is as follows: Cunigunde 47%, Henry 11%, and Henry and Cunigunde 42%. Also see Deinhardt, *Dedicaciones Bambergenses*.

⁴³⁵ See, for example, the Gradual from the Church of St. Lawrence from 1510: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M905, f. 30v–31v (St. Cunigunde), f. 31 v (Canonization of St. Henry), f. 59v–61v (St. Henry) and f. 104v–107v (Translation of St. Cunigunde).

⁴³⁶ The epitaphs are discussed in Chapter 5, while the altars from the Imperial Chapel are studied in relation to Emperor Frederick III's veneration of the holy couple in Chapter 7.

⁴³⁷ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 131. On the influence of saints' names on topography: Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 454–8. The Slovene lands were especially receptive to Saint Cunigunde in local toponyms (e.g., Spodnja sv Kunigunda, Sv Kunigunda ma Pohorju, Zgornja Kungota).

⁴³⁸ Steven D. Sargent, "Saints' Cults and Naming Patterns in Bavaria, 1400–1600," *The Catholic Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (1990): 673–696, esp. 682. Although the study has its limitations (based on names from several miracle books), it is fruitful to evaluate the level of appreciation of the saints against other devotional patterns.

The cults of the imperial couple constituted a long-lasting devotional tradition of the Bamberg diocese and, especially, its episcopal center. At the same time, the saints' names and images became a symbol of the bishopric, which established and confirmed its cultural, political, and religious presence in multiple locations, especially through the use of printing. The saints treated together as a couple indeed were perceived as a vantage point of Bamberg dwellers and were a crucial element in the urban and ecclesiastical self-fashioning, with St. Cunigunde being a *flos Bambergensis* and Henry—the diocesan *vindex* and *patronus*.⁴³⁹

The Cults in Carinthia

As a prince-bishopric, Bamberg held several territorial possessions in Carinthia, becoming one of the most influential territorial lords in that region. These territories were located around Villach, Wolfsberg, Griffen, and St. Leonhard and belonged to the bishopric until 1759.⁴⁴⁰ While there are no donation charters that would confirm the exact time when some of these territories came into Bamberg's possessions, one can only assume that most of these lands were allocated by Henry II himself in 1007 when the bishopric was founded, while some of the territories were clearly acquired later.⁴⁴¹ These lands were quite often contested by the dukes of Carinthia and other local authorities (especially because of their advantageous position on the main trade routes to Italy) until the bishops of Bamberg concluded a peace agreement with the Habsburgs, by which Bamberg was obliged to provide accommodation and other facilities for the dukes but maintained the control over its territories.⁴⁴² In terms of ecclesiastical networks, these areas, although belonging to Bamberg, were nonetheless parts of the dioceses of Aquileia and Salzburg, who imposed their preferences in terms of liturgical services and dedications. In these circumstances, the bishopric of Bamberg had to develop a valid political and representational strategy to secure these often-contested properties, quite loosely connected with its center in Franconia, positioned 500 km away. Did the cults of St. Henry and Cunigunde retain their function of a symbolic identification of the bishopric? An analysis of the known *patrocinia* and artistic production suggests that these cults were used to promote the bishops of Bamberg as territorial lords in the region, although the saints' representation was often adjusted to

⁴³⁹ From the *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis*, f. 61v; a part of this epitaph also in BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v.

⁴⁴⁰ Guttenberg and Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Bamberg. Teil 2, Die Pfarreiorganisation*, 333–6; Claudia Fräss-Ehrfeld, *Geschichte Kärntens 1: Das Mittelalter* (Klagenfurt: Heyn, 1984), 139–42. The most recent publication: Heinz Dopsch, “An der Grenze des Reiches: Herrschaften, Hoheitsrechte und Verwaltungspraxis des Bistums Bamberg in Kärnten,” in *Das Bistum Bamberg in der Welt des Mittelalters: Vorträge der Ringvorlesung*, ed. Christine van Eickels and Klaus van Eickels (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2007), 189–210.9/27/2021 7:41:00 AM

⁴⁴¹ The formation of the Bamberg possessions in Carinthia discussed by August von Jaksch, “Die Entstehung des bambergischen Besitzes in Kärnten,” *Carinthia* 197 (1907): 109–31; Ernst Klebel, “Bamberger Besitz in Österreich und Bayern,” *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 11/12 (1953): 207–20; Gotbert Moro, “Zur Entstehung und Ausdehnung bambergischen Besitzes in Kärnten,” *Carinthia* 1147 (1957): 242–60.

⁴⁴² Dopsch, “An der Grenze des Reiches,” 205–8.

local veneration patterns; additionally, these cults could have contributed to maintaining the memory of the royal donation by which these lands were believed to be acquired.

The bishops of Bamberg were concerned with proliferating the cult of St. Henry in Carinthia already since his canonization in 1146. The provenance of the earliest codex of the *vita Heinrichi*, preserved in Klagenfurt, is a testimony to these concerns.⁴⁴³ The codex, prepared in Michelsberg Monastery in Bamberg before 1167, was brought by Bishop Roman (r.1131–1167) to Gurk—an episcopal see in Carinthia, subordinate to the Archbishopric of Salzburg. Two letters addressed to Bishop Roman from the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Bamberg, attached to the codex already in Gurk, mention miraculous events that happened during the *translatio* of St. Henry in Bamberg as well as the preparations for sending St. Henry’s relics to Carinthia.⁴⁴⁴ These are clear attempts of the bishops of Bamberg to create a properly maintained cult of St Henry in Gurk and, apparently, in the whole region as the bishops willed to augment their presence by supplying the relics and the hagiographic materials.

Not long after the codex came to Gurk, Bishop Roman used two charters from the *Life of St. Henry* to create forgeries in the name of the eleventh-century local noblewoman Hemma. In these forged charters, Hemma was presented as the main founder of the Gurk diocese (though Hemma was only responsible for founding a nunnery) as well as a relative of Henry II and a saint herself. Later, the first sentence of Hemma’s *vita* stated that “there was a certain utmost noble duchess by the name of Hemma, a relative of the most serene and saint King Henry.”⁴⁴⁵ Presenting Hemma as the diocesan founder was used for grounding the independence of Gurk from Salzburg. This argument for Gurk’s autonomy was augmented by the attempts of elevating Hemma to the rank of a saint, in which she would completely imitate St. Henry and his function as a saintly founder of a bishopric.⁴⁴⁶ In this way, the commemoration of royal donors, whose regnal principles and decisions were affected and thus retrospectively legitimated by their holiness, was used in religious and political landscapes to construct and maintain various communities. These events can be interpreted as the beginning of St. Henry’s cult in Carinthia—at least, the hagiographic knowledge of his deeds influenced the local saintly landscape through the figure of St. Hemma. However, SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s late medieval presence and functions on the Bamberg territories and in Carinthia in general have rarely been discussed.

⁴⁴³ Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Hs. 1/29; Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 3–12. The codex and its relation to the first and second editions of the *vita Heinrichi* is reviewed in Chapter 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Hs. 1/29, f. 16r; published in Jaksch and Wiessner, eds., *Monumenta historica Ducatus Carinthiae*, 143–5 (n. 160, 161).

⁴⁴⁵ “Acta Sanctae Hemmae,” in *Acta Sanctorum, June VII*, ed. Godfried Henschen et al. (Paris; Rome, Victor Palme, 1867), 456–485, here 458 (BHL 3803): “Erat quaedam valde nobilis Comitissa, Hemma nomine, serenissimi ac sancti Regis Henrici consanguinea.” On the forgeries and their importance see also Jaksch and Wiessner, *Monumenta historica Ducatus Carinthiae*, 50–52, (no. 12, 13). Also discussed in Fräss-Ehrfeld, *Geschichte Kärntens 1: Das Mittelalter*, 121.

⁴⁴⁶ Tropper, *Hemma von Gurk*, 173–88.

The earliest dedications to St. Cunigunde in the Carinthian lands was a free-standing chapel in Ossiach near Villach, close to the territorial possessions of Bamberg in the region, built at the beginning of the thirteenth century, not long after St. Cunigunde's canonization.⁴⁴⁷ Before that, in the second half of the twelfth century, the territories around Feldkirchen were acquired by the prince-bishopric of Bamberg, and the local family of Dietrichstein became responsible for upkeeping these possessions.⁴⁴⁸ In one of the charters issued by Albert von Dietrichstein, this chapel of St. Cunigunde figured as a place of familial commemoration, to which the family remained connected for several generations.⁴⁴⁹ Albert mentioned that his grandfather Poppo von Dietrichstein had founded the chapel, where now the grateful grandson established weekly commemorative masses.⁴⁵⁰ In this context, St. Cunigunde figures as a point of connection between the Dietrichstein family and the prince-bishopric of Bamberg—it is due to the territorial expansion of the bishopric that the cult of St. Cunigunde appeared in Carinthia. Against this backdrop of institutionalized veneration of St. Cunigunde, the saint stood for the history and social standing of the family intertwined with the bishopric while the space of St. Cunigunde's worship became a space for familial memories and devotion. The association of St. Cunigunde with Bamberg was reciprocal—not only was it imposed as a sign of an affiliation with the bishopric, but the individuals themselves perceived the saint as such.

Heinrich Linke's study on the *patrocinia* shows that at least eight churches and chapels were dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Carinthia, some from the second half of the thirteenth century, others from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most of which were situated upon the Bamberg possessions.⁴⁵¹ When the dedication to St. Henry and St. Cunigunde appeared on the Bambergian territories, the saints could possibly function as the markers of its rule, aligning with the discussed actions of the bishops to supply the region with St. Henry's hagiography and relics swiftly after his canonization. Unfortunately, with the lack of primary data on some of the foundations (for example, there are few churches whose dedication to either of the saints is confirmed for the sixteenth century, but the existence of the medieval dedication is not clear) and insufficient research on the management of these possessions by Bamberg, the investigations on SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults

⁴⁴⁷ On these possessions see Dopsch, "An der Grenze des Reiches."

⁴⁴⁸ On the history of this family see Helmuth Größing, "Zur ältesten Genealogie der Fürsten und Grafen Dietrichstein," *Carinthia I* 173 (1983): 149–69. By the fifteenth century, the primary line died out and another familial branch got the name von Dietrichstein.

⁴⁴⁹ Hermann Wießner, ed., *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae. Geschichtliche Denkmäler des Herzogthumes Kärnten: Die Kärntner Geschichtsquellen 1286–1300*, vol. 6 (Klagenfurt: Kleinmayer, 1958), 31–2 (no. 41).

⁴⁵⁰ Wießner, *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae* 6, 31–32 (no. 41): "Hinc est, quod ego Albertus de Dietrichstein constare volo universis presentem paginam inspecturis, quod pie memorie dominus Poppo de Dietrichstein avus meus ad cappellam, quam in honore beate Chvnygndis Ozzyaci noscitur construxisse..." Poppo is mentioned in a charter from 1191: Jaksch, ed., *Monumenta historica ducatus Carinthiae*, 528–9 (no. 1384).

⁴⁵¹ Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie*. Guth provides a map of *patrocinia* and objects devoted to St. Henry and Cunigunde in the Austrian lands, though this material is not engaged with in his study itself, see Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 203.

in the region are quite fragmented.⁴⁵² The table and map below show the churches or altars that were dedicated to either of the saints (table 3.2 and fig. 3.5). Not only Linke's study is used, but also the evidence from Paolo Santonino's accounts about the consecration of altars is included, who, in his travel reports from 1485–1487 about his visits to the Carinthian and Slovene lands, described the religious landscape of the regions.⁴⁵³ In most cases, it is not possible to identify a commissioner or a connection between a single foundation and the Vizedom or other Bamberg officials in Carinthia or in Franconia.

Table 3.2. *Patrocinia* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Carinthia (those on the territories of Bamberg are marked by an asterisk).

Place	Type	Date	Patronage
Bleiberg-Kreuth*	Parish Church	b.1498	H/HC
Federaun*	Castle Chapel	1350	HC
Görtschach	Church	1478	H
Griffen*	Church	1296	HC
Nampolach*	Church	1521	K
Ossiach	Chapel	a. 1202	K
St. Martin oberhalb Rosegg	Altar	b. 1486	K
Villach*	Castle Chapel	b. 1347	HC
Wolfsberg*	Castle Chapel	1459	HC

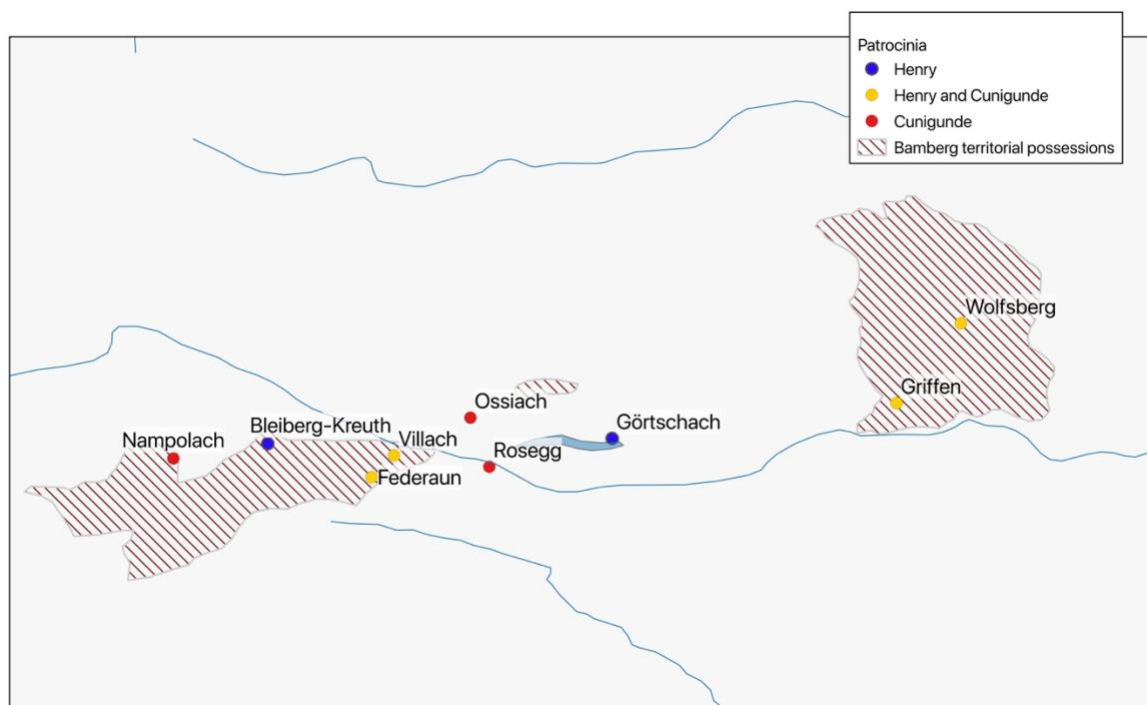


Fig. 3.5. *Patrocinia* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Carinthia. Map by the author.

⁴⁵² The article by Dopsch is the only attempt to investigate the management of these territorial complex throughout the medieval period, see Dopsch, "An der Grenze des Reiches."

⁴⁵³ Paolo Santonino, *Die Reisetagebücher des Paolo Santonino: 1485–1487*, trans. Rudolf Egger (Klagenfurt: Kärntner Antiquariat, 1988), 63–4, 117.

SS. Henry and Cunigunde were known in Carinthia, mostly within the Bamberg possessions but also outside those, which can partially be explained by the presence of the bishopric of Bamberg, which also channeled Franconian artistic influences to the region.⁴⁵⁴ However, both saints were celebrated in the calendar of Salzburg, which was practiced mostly in the northern parts of Carinthia. Therefore, each and every dedication to SS. Henry and Cunigunde was not always connected to Bamberg and its representatives in Carinthia since the parishes belonged to a different diocese. For example, the saints associated with Salzburg were also present in the area (SS. Rupert, Peter, and Thomas), while the commission from Aquileia, in which Paolo Santonino partook, was concerned with distributing the Aquilean saints (SS. Hilarius and Hermagoras).

Nevertheless, the castles built as the residences of Bamberg officials (in Federaun—on an important trade route, in Villach—the first episcopal residency, in Wolfsberg—the residency after the fourteenth century) had their chapels dedicated to both saints.⁴⁵⁵ These residences also functioned as improvised court spaces when royals were traveling to Italy.⁴⁵⁶ Despite the remoteness of Villach, Wolfsberg, and Griffen from Bamberg, at least in the thirteenth century, the bishops took care of enlarging this complex and often visited their Carinthian residences: Bishops Ekbert (r.1203–1237) and Heinrich I (r.1242–1257) visited these residences at least seven times, while the latter was even buried in Wolfsberg.⁴⁵⁷ Though bishops rarely appeared in Carinthia as local territorial lords after the thirteenth century, the connection was symbolically maintained by the choice of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as patrons of the residences. This patronage corresponded to the proliferation of their double representations in Bamberg and the usage of this imagery as a sign of the Bamberg bishops discussed above.

Judging by the existing artworks from this region, St. Cunigunde became an appealing saint for local devotees, while St. Henry rarely appears in visual representations, especially on his own. An early-sixteenth-century fresco from the church of St. Laurence in Oberwollanig near Villach testifies that local artist was familiar with the legend of the ordeal. The iconographic type does not conform to the one widespread in Bamberg—here, elongated ploughshares are placed in front of St. Cunigunde, while St. Henry is not depicted; it might be an interpretation of a local master who learned about the legend as it was mentioned in the hagiographies and liturgies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde. St. Cunigunde also appears on two early-sixteenth-century altarpieces from the same region (Althofen and Bad Sankt Leonhard in Lavanttal),⁴⁵⁸ depicted as holding a ploughshare in similitude to other

⁴⁵⁴ Otto Demus, “Zur mittelalterlichen Kunst Kärntens,” in Peter Anthony Newton, ed., *Kärntner Kunst des Mittelalters aus dem Diözesanmuseum Klagenfurt* (Wien: Selbstverlag der Österreichischen Galerie, 1970), 12–14.

⁴⁵⁵ The evidence was collected in *Dehio* and is not entirely verifiable for Federaun and Wolfsberg.

⁴⁵⁶ Dieter Neumann, “Maximilian und Kunigunde, des Kaisers Kinder in Kärnten 1469–1470,” in *Neues aus Alt-Villach*, vol. 49 (Villach: Museum der Stadt Villach, 2012), 148.

⁴⁵⁷ Wilhelm Neumann, “Bamberg und Kärnten,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 10 (1967), 56.

⁴⁵⁸ SS. Henry and Cunigunde are also represented on a fourteenth-century stained glass from Bad Sankt Leonhard in Lavanttal—this depiction is discussed below in Chapter 5.

renowned virgins holding the instruments of their torture, together with whom she was placed on the painting.⁴⁵⁹ These representations betray that St. Cunigunde was a meaningful saint, chosen to adorn the interior of local churches (the church in Sankt Leonhard was a parish church) and guide the devotional practices alongside other renowned saints. St. Cunigunde's iconographic type used for these depictions—that of a noblewoman with a ploughshare—resembles typical representations of virgin martyrs, and thus the saint does not necessarily mediate her connection to Bamberg, although these representations were executed on or in close vicinity to the Bamberg territories.

However, on an altarpiece by Thomas of Villach (1435/1440–1523)—a master of local origin famous for his frescoes and panel paintings influenced in part by Italian aesthetics—St. Cunigunde appears as a patroness of Bamberg. She is surrounded by SS. Lucia, Leonard, Nicolaus, Bartholomeus, and Brice (fig. 3.6); the empress holds a clearly recognizable model of Bamberg Cathedral in her hands. This Bambergian iconographic type signifies the agency of the bishopric and its representatives in the panel's commissioning, also hinted to by the representations of two saintly bishops in this panel. Its provenance is not known, though it might have belonged to the chapel in Villach castle, which was kept by Bamberg representatives.⁴⁶⁰



Fig. 3.6. Thomas of Villach, Altarpiece depicting SS Lucia, Leonhard, Cunigunde, Nicolaus, Bartholomeus, Briccus, 99.3x152 cm, c. 1470/80. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_von_Villach_-_Sechsheiligentafel.jpeg (accessed April 10, 2020). Reproduced according to CC BY 4.0.

The sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde was also known beyond the immediate possessions of Bamberg. The fresco in the parish church of Zweinitz (near Gurk) was commissioned by the dean of Gurk—Wilhelm von Pregrad—and his extended family in 1421: it depicts SS. Egidius, Hemma,

⁴⁵⁹ The Althofen-altarpiece is discussed in Otto Demus, *Die spätgotischen Altäre Kärntens* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 1991), 310–17.

⁴⁶⁰ Newton, *Kärntner Kunst des Mittelalters aus dem Diözesanmuseum Klagenfurt*, 106–7.

Cunigunde, and Georg, together with a donor's family around the Virgin Mary.⁴⁶¹ Wilhelm, a member of the local elite, chose to pair the saint of his own diocese and an alleged foundress of the church—Hemma of Gurk—with a female saint identified as St. Cunigunde. If the attribution is correct, this depiction of two noble female saints is proof of St. Cunigunde's high status in Carinthia as well as of the donor's desire to highlight the imperial progeny of St. Hemma as she was believed to be a relative of Henry II.⁴⁶² Symptomatically, St. Hemma's hagiographies (the fourteenth-century office and the fifteenth-century legend) were bound together with the codex of the *Life of Henry* from Klagenfurt, mentioned above, at some point before the sixteenth century.⁴⁶³ The hagiography of Hemma contains a miniature depicting her as a founder of Gurk Cathedral in the name of the Virgin Mary, quite similar in its idea (though not artistic execution) to St. Henry's miniature from the same codex.⁴⁶⁴ This intentional conflation of memories on St. Hemma and St. Henry, as well as the typological resemblance between St. Hemma and St. Cunigunde, influenced their close positioning within liturgical spaces. In this respect, not only this fresco from Zweinitz should be mentioned, but also St. Henry's representation in a fresco from c. 1390 in Gurk Cathedral—the cradle of Hemma's commemoration.⁴⁶⁵

There are also two late medieval altarpieces with representations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde from the workshop in Möllbrücke (probably by Nikolaus von Bruneck): one in Seltschach (though the provenance is not clear) and another in Möllbrücke.⁴⁶⁶ The Möllbrücke-altarpiece represents both SS. Henry and Cunigunde, and the Seltschach—only the empress. Interestingly, the position of St. Cunigunde is similar on both altarpieces, namely on the back of the side panels, hence seen on the workdays when the altarpiece is closed. It might be a standard visual program of the workshop to depict St. Cunigunde on a side panel—which corresponds to the suggestion that by the fifteenth century, St. Cunigunde's cult was widespread in Carinthia, and she was expected to be seen on devotional images. On the other hand, the choice of the saints could be influenced by its commissioners. The altarpiece from Möllbrücke was probably commissioned in c. 1512 by Apollonia Lang von Wellenburg (and her second husband Christoph Frangipani), sister of Matthaus Lang—one of the most powerful advisors to emperors Frederick III and Maximilian I, who later became the

⁴⁶¹ Image available at <https://www.zi.fotothek.org/objekte/19004346> (accessed May 10, 2020). The fresco is accompanied by an inscription, stating who are the donors and the date of the commission, see Friedrich Wilhelm Leitner, ed., *Inschriften des Politischen Bezirks St. Veit an der Glan*, Die Deutschen Inschriften 65, Wiener Reihe Vol. 2., Part 2 (Wien 2008), Kat. Nr. 87, hw.oeaw.ac.at/inschriften/kaernten-2/teil1/kaernten-2-obj87.xml (accessed September 15, 2020). Also see Christine Tropper, "Die Stifter des Hemma-Freskos in Zweinitz," *Carinthia. I, Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Landeskunde von Kärnten. I.*, 1990, 285–302. Other donations of this family are mentioned in Archiv der Diözese Gurk, DKA Urkundenreihe, J-21. However, not much else is known on the donor and his family.

⁴⁶² Tropper, *Hemma von Gurk*, 257–67.

⁴⁶³ Tropper, *Hemma von Gurk*, 82–91.

⁴⁶⁴ Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv, Hs. 1/29, f. 1, f. 20.

⁴⁶⁵ Image available at <https://www.zi.fotothek.org/objekte/19070324> (accessed May 10, 2020).

⁴⁶⁶ Demus, *Die spätgotischen Altäre Kärntens*, 151–169, 397.

archbishop of Salzburg.⁴⁶⁷ The depiction of the imperial couple (St. Henry is represented as the Holy Roman Emperor with all necessary insignia) might allude to the proximity of the commissioners to the imperial court. At the same time, it clearly corresponds to the Bambergian iconographic type since the holy couple is represented together holding a cathedral model, although Möllbrücke was not included in the Bamberg territories. The Seltschach-altarpiece, which depicts St. Cunigunde as a noble lady and a donor (with a model resembling Bamberg Cathedral) among many other female saints, was probably commissioned c.1517 by Sigismund von Dietrichstein and Barbara von Rottal. This family of a high social standing were well connected to the imperial throne—Maximilian I himself organized their betrothal.⁴⁶⁸ Sigismund belongs to the branch of the same Dietrichstein family who founded the chapel in Ossiach in the thirteenth century, devoted to St. Cunigunde.⁴⁶⁹ If the attribution of the commissioner is correct, then the family maintained their connection to the patron saint and embedded St. Cunigunde in their familial devotion; at the same time, the imperial saint hints to family's closeness to the imperial family.

Therefore, the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were used for the representational strategies of Bamberg bishops as territorial lords in the area through the distribution of relics, dedications of their representational spaces, namely the palace chapels, and the use of a specific iconographic type that represents the saints with the cathedral model.⁴⁷⁰ These actions aimed at creating a Bambergian sacral landscape aided territorial lords and their representatives in communicating this region's belonging to the diocese. However, this was not the only way in which the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were embedded in the local devotional and cultural environment. Both saints appeared to be closely connected to a local holy noblewoman St. Hemma and appeared in the same sacred space together—within Gurk Cathedral and on the pages of the hagiographic codex. St. Henry and St. Cunigunde as well appeared on several altarpieces commissioned by the regional and imperial elite, and in this way, their imperial status, augmented by the use of imperial insignia in the saints' representations, could have hinted at the donors' status. Finally, St. Cunigunde became a relatively well-known saint of Carinthia—for ordinary devotees in a tiny distant church and for the regional elite, who commissioned altarpieces to the best local masters—surpassing her husband in the number of dedications and representations; this pattern can be observed in other Austrian lands as well as in Bohemia and Moravia. In some of these visualizations, St. Cunigunde appeared devoid of any signs

⁴⁶⁷ Demus, *Die spätgotischen Altäre Kärntens*, 151–169.

⁴⁶⁸ Karin Bachschweller, “Barbara von Rottal. Der Versuch einer Biographie” (Master Thesis, Vienna, University of Vienna, 2012), 17–31.

⁴⁶⁹ Demus, *Die spätgotischen Altäre Kärntens*, 397–403.

⁴⁷⁰ In 2021, The State Library of Bamberg has acquired a fifteenth-century psalter whose provenance is provisionally linked (due to its stylistic features) to Northern Italy or the Austrian lands: SBB, Msc. Add.370. As one of the pages is illuminated with a depiction of the holy couple with a model of Bamberg Cathedral (f. 14r), it might be linked to the Carinthian territories and thus add to the visual and devotional presence of these saints in the region; however, further research will elucidate the psalter's provenance.

connecting her to Bamberg—she was mostly communicating her virtues of chastity achieved through bodily mutilations, much like virgin martyrs with whom she was often paired on this kind of visualizations.

The Saints in Urban and Diocesan Devotional Landscapes

For Bamberg—as a city, an ecclesiastical see, and a territorial lordship—the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde became crucial sites of memory. There, the symbolic and political importance of the imperial foundation was further interlaced with their efficacy as holy intercessors. Similar beginnings can be traced in other ecclesiastical centers, such as Merseburg and Basel. There, St. Henry and Cunigunde were also perceived both as influential saints and historical donors, whose relics were preserved and regularly engaged with, while their representations became a part of the visual embellishment of the cathedral, churches, and civic buildings, and their feast days often interfered the urban life.

Ecclesiastical centers: disruptions and continuities

Carl Pfaff and Stefan Hess traced the history of these cults in Basel up until the sixteenth century: in the city and the whole region, St. Henry was viewed as one of the crucial patrons.⁴⁷¹ The late medieval popularity of his cult was not as much fueled by the steady commemoration of his historical role for the bishopric but should be credited to the “efforts of revitalizing” of the late fourteenth century.⁴⁷² Famously, St. Henry’s importance for the local community was manifested when Basel joined the Swiss confederation in 1501—it happened on the feast day of St. Henry. Interestingly, the required attributes for his and Cunigunde’s commemoration—liturgical texts and relics—were mostly adopted from Bamberg, though reformulated to fit the local context. In the Basel milieu, St. Cunigunde also acquired a prominent position, although she was mostly supplementary to her husband’s cult—the extant dedications, liturgical evidence, and visual representations testify to St. Henry’s popularity among various groups (and not only the cathedral chapter), while St. Cunigunde rarely appears on her own. This pattern of absorption and use of the cults stands in contrast to an often generalized statement that St. Cunigunde was perceived as an efficacious saint while St. Henry’s role was reduced to that of a nominal founder.

While the reception of the cults in Basel is well-researched, the details of the cults’ functions in Regensburg are yet to be discovered.⁴⁷³ Emperor Henry II and Cunigunde were present in the local

⁴⁷¹ Pfaff, “Kaiser Heinrich II;” Hess, “Zwischen Verehrung und Versenkung.”

⁴⁷² Hess, “Zwischen Verehrung und Versenkung,” 83.

⁴⁷³ Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 126–7.

hagiographic memory already from the eleventh century onwards since young Henry was educated there by Bishop Wolfgang (r. 972–994)—a subsequently canonized local saint, whose hagiography mentions the bishop’s influence upon the future emperor. The miracle of St. Wolfgang prophesying Henry II’s imperial coronation first occurred in St. Wolfgang’s *vita* and was later included in the *vita Heinrici* and his liturgy; thus, St. Henry’s upbringing and imperial dignity were tightly connected to Regensburg (both the cathedral and St. Emmeram’s Abbey).⁴⁷⁴ Through St. Wolfgang, the monastic community of St. Emmeram could boast their connection to the imperial history (further intensified by the fact that Henry II’s father, Duke Henry the Quarrelsome, was buried in St. Emmeram’s Abbey), as in this drawing from the codex mainly containing hagiographical and liturgical texts about St. Emmeram and St. Dionisius (fig. 3.7). The presence of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was further reinforced through artworks and liturgical spaces—the altar of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Regensburg Cathedral is discussed in the subsequent chapter.



Fig. 3.7. Drawing depicting young St. Henry, Duke Henry of Bavaria, and St. Wolfgang, 26x21 cm, second half of the 15th century; from BSB, Clm. 14870, f. 1r. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

⁴⁷⁴ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 227–8, cf. Otloh of St. Emmeram, *Vita Wolfkangi*, 542. St. Wolfgang is mentioned in the first nocturne, see Folz, “La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur,” 248. In St. Emmeram’s Abbey, a twelfth-century codex with *vita Heinrici* was kept (BSB, Clm. 14419, f. 55r–64r) as well as his and St. Cunigunde’s fifteenth-century vernacular legends (BSB, Cgm. 4879, f. 104r–113v (St. Henry), f. 114r–118v (St. Cunigunde)).

Dorothea Walz, in her turn, has analyzed the gradual—and not entirely reciprocal—introduction of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults in Worms at the end of the fourteenth century, facilitated by Konrad of Gelnhausen (d. 1390), a local cleric, theologian, and a dean of Worms Cathedral.⁴⁷⁵ Not long before his death, Konrad of Gelnhausen wrote a series of liturgical sequences and prayers devoted to the imperial couple. While centers such as Regensburg and Basel relied mostly on Bambergian liturgical texts, Konrad devised entirely new sequences, probably for the masses to be served in Worms Cathedral, using his good knowledge of the saints’ hagiographies.⁴⁷⁶ However, these sequences never had any liturgical application, as Konrad died before completing this draft. Simultaneously, from the early fifteenth century onwards, there is evidence concerning the observance of St. Henry’s feast in the diocese of Worms (St. Cunigunde appears only sporadically), while there is almost no trace of the holy couple in the local devotional milieu before c. 1400.⁴⁷⁷ Walz argues that Konrad of Gelnhausen partook in the conscious introduction of the imperial couple’s feasts in the diocese of Worms. These cults might have become relevant in light of the ongoing schism because they manifested an idealized unity and peace between the Church and the Empire.⁴⁷⁸ However, this adoption was not ubiquitously successful since, apart from the inclusion in several calendars and breviaries, there is no evidence of further individuals or groups engaging with the cults.

SS. Henry and Cunigunde were also promoted by several archbishops of Salzburg, although these dedications were not numerous, and they neither constituted a long-lasting representational strategy, comparable to those of Bamberg or Merseburg bishops (the latter discussed below) nor affected the choice of *patrocinia* within the archbishopric in the *longue durée*. The chapel in the Mauterndorf Castle—a residence of the archbishops of Salzburg—was consecrated in 1339 to SS. Henry, Cunigunde, and Vergilius (one of the patron saints of the archbishopric), though it received its own chaplain only in 1458.⁴⁷⁹ SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s legends were known from the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, and St. Cunigunde prominently features in local calendars, while the archbishops of Salzburg showed an active interest in St. Henry’s canonization.⁴⁸⁰ However, the

⁴⁷⁵ Dorothea Walz, “Konrad von Gelnhausen und die Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde: mit Edition des Sequenzenzyklus in Vat. Pal. lat. 991,” in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 5, ed. Leonard Boyle and Walter Berschin (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 329–58. The only manuscript with this work (Konrad’s autograph) is in Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 991, f. 45v–74v.

⁴⁷⁶ Konrad of Gelnhausen refers to multiple episodes from the *vitae* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as well as uses metaphors and allusions found in these texts (e.g., the “double” martyrdom of the saints, a comparison of St. Cunigunde with the Virgin Mary and Martha); see Walz’s edition of the sequence: Walz, “Konrad von Gelnhausen und die Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde,” 348–58.

⁴⁷⁷ Walz, “Konrad von Gelnhausen und die Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde,” 341–5.

⁴⁷⁸ Walz, “Konrad von Gelnhausen und die Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde,” 342–3.

⁴⁷⁹ Friedrich Hermann, *Erläuterungen zum Historischen Atlas der österreichischen Alpenländer. 2. Abteilung: Die Kirchen- und Grafschaftskarte; 9 Teil: Salzburg* (Salzburg: Verlag Otto Müller, 1957), 134; Sonja Pucher, “Die gotischen Wandmalereien der Burgkapelle von Mauterndorf in Salzburg und ihre Vorbilder,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 144 (2004): 283–320.

⁴⁸⁰ On St. Henry’s canonization see Chapter 1; on the legendary see Ó Riain, “The ‘Magnum Legendarium Austriacum.’” The office for St. Cunigunde is included in Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 253, Cod. 159, Cod. 287; also see Franz Karl

patrocinia of the chapel might have reflected the agency of the archbishop at the time—Heinrich von Pirnbrunn (1338–1343). The archbishop would have been likely involved in the consecration of the residence chapel and, therefore, could have promoted the cult of his namesake St. Henry. Subsequently, an altarpiece, commissioned for the same chapel by Archbishop Burkhard von Weißpriach (1461–1466), reflected on the dedication by depicting St. Cunigunde on the predella among other holy women.

Later in 1519, Archbishop Leonhard von Keutschach (r. 1495–1519) commissioned a chasuble embroidered with figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde together with local patrons—SS. Rupert and Vergilius.⁴⁸¹ Taking into account a performative function of this chasuble during the mass celebration, the appearance of both imperial saints should have been of some importance for the commissioner and for the devotees. Leonhard von Keutschach was one of the crucial supporters of Maximilian I (especially financially), and this combination of the imperial couple with local patrons might have manifested this alliance. From the late sixteenth century, there is evidence of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics and visual representations in Salzburg Cathedral, although these might not have originated in the medieval period.⁴⁸² While at this point, there is only evidence of the imperial saints being evoked in single representational projects of two archbishops, further research might yield more results regarding the role of these saints—and their interlacement with local patrons—in religious spaces and symbolic communication of the diocese of Salzburg.

The reinvention of memories in Merseburg and Rochlitz

The cathedral of Merseburg—an episcopal see on the eastern frontier of the Empire—was another center of Emperor Henry's commemoration as a donor and a glorified saint.⁴⁸³ Henry II was responsible for restoring the bishopric in 1004, for which he was considered the second founder.⁴⁸⁴ The discussion below, following Schneidmüller's prompt, reveals how the late-fifteenth-century reconstruction of the cathedral emphasized the figure of St. Henry in an attempt to secure the bishopric's place in the imperial history and provide "the historical guarantee of the 'imperial

Praßl, "Der Salzburger Liber Ordinarius (1198) und seine Bearbeitungen als Hinweise auf theologische, liturgische (und musikalische) Veränderungen," *Editio* 31, no. 1 (2017), 44.

⁴⁸¹ Harry Kühnel, ed., *Ausstellung Gotik in Österreich* (Krems an der Donau: Stadt Krems an der Donau, Kulturverwaltung, 1967), 260–1.

⁴⁸² For example, marble figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde together with Adam, Eve, SS. Rupert, and Vergilius that might originate from the times of Archbishop Burkhard von Weißpriach as well as silver head-reliquaries of the imperial couple and SS. Rupert and Vergilius, see Georg Stadler, "Was hat sich vom alten Salzburger Dom und dessen Einrichtung erhalten?: ein Rückblick auf das Wolf-Dietrich-Gedenkjahr 1987," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* (1988), 159, 162.

⁴⁸³ Recently discussed by Siewert, "Die Verehrung Heinrichs II. in Merseburg;" Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*.

⁴⁸⁴ Otto II dissolved the bishopric of Merseburg in 981; see Gerd Althoff, "Magdeburg—Halberstadt—Merseburg: Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Gerd Althoff and Ernst Schubert (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1998), 267–93. Schneidmüller, "Eifer für Gott?"

immediacy' and imperial protection."⁴⁸⁵ St. Henry's commemoration in Merseburg, as it was manifested in the cathedral's spaces and beyond, represents a unique interconnection between the celebration of the original patron St. Lawrence and the secondary patron St. Henry as well as St. Cunigunde, rooted in their historical connections and later hagiographic traditions, that insured successful adaption of the cults to the local milieu.

This connection between Henry II and Merseburg, grounded upon Henry's restoration of the diocese and his imperial patronage over it, only intensified when the emperor's canonization. The role of Merseburg in St. Henry's path to sanctity is emphasized in the *vita*: not only the saint restored the bishopric, but his fight against the "heathens," which brought St. Henry the fame of the confessor, unfolds near Merseburg.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, this legend is connected to Merseburg's patron St. Lawrence, who, among other saints, ensured St. Henry's victory in this battle.⁴⁸⁷ On the last pages of the *vita*, St. Lawrence again appears as St. Henry's personal patron, this time interceding for St. Henry's soul during his soul-weighing.⁴⁸⁸ Several versions of this legend circulated around the time of St. Henry's canonization, and, according to one version, St. Henry presented the chalice to Eichstätt, in others — to Bamberg (and therefore the Virgin Mary and St. George interceded for him). However, according to the legend's most common version from the *vita Heinrichi*, the golden chalice that St. Lawrence put on a pan with St. Henry's honorable deeds—so that they outweighed the bad ones—was identified with the emperor's gift to Merseburg. This Merseburg chalice is further related to another miracle of St. Henry, namely when the water in the same chalice turned into blood.⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, Merseburg is promoted as the space benefiting from the imperial donations while the spiritual connection between St. Lawrence—the patron of Merseburg—and St. Henry is additionally emphasized. The story about the battle over the heathens and the saint's soul-weighing are scattered across the *vita Heinrichi*, and therefore might not always be placed in consequential dependency. For this reason, for a specifically Saxonian audience, a recomposed version of the *vita*'s first edition was developed in St. Jacob's Abbey in Pegau, where all the legends related to Merseburg were arranged one after another.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, the connection between the saint and Merseburg was strengthened through the specific chapter sequence of the hagiography.

The connection between St. Henry and Merseburg, often personified by its patron St. Lawrence, was manifested also through devotional practices introduced in Merseburg Cathedral. The

⁴⁸⁵ Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*, 51.

⁴⁸⁶ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 235–40.

⁴⁸⁷ On the cult of St. Lawrence in early-medieval German lands see Lorenz Weinrich, "Laurentius-Verehrung in ottonischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 21 (1972): 45–66; Beumann, "Laurentius und Mauritius."

⁴⁸⁸ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 303–5. On St. Henry's soul-weighing see Chapter 1.

⁴⁸⁹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 306–7.

⁴⁹⁰ Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 844 and a later fifteenth-century copy in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MS 838; for details see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 26–31, 172; Klauser, 89–90.

cults of St. Lawrence and St. Henry were peculiarly intertwined in the sacral space of the cathedral—a place which was from the very beginning conceived for the commemoration of the martyr. As already has been mentioned, there is evidence for a pre-canonization commemoration of Emperor Henry in Merseburg Cathedral as its donor and second founder—his name was mentioned during the mass on the day of his death, July 13, as was also done in Bamberg Cathedral.⁴⁹¹ After the cult of St. Henry was introduced in Merseburg, its parishioners, according to the miracle stories in the *vita Heinrici*, lined up to ask for miraculous healing and the help of the recently canonized emperor.⁴⁹²

The first mention of an altar devoted to St. Henry in the Merseburg cathedral is from a document dated 1240.⁴⁹³ However, this altar on the northern wall could have been founded already in the late twelfth century, following the canonization of the emperor and the receipt of his relics. Since then, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the number of donations for St. Henry multiplied in the cathedral, while the imperial saint also received the status of the cathedral's patron, alongside St. Lawrence and St. John the Baptist.⁴⁹⁴ However, at the turn of the fifteenth century, continuous donations ceased to be made.⁴⁹⁵ It is though erroneous to assume that the cult of St. Henry lost its importance for the next generations of clergymen and commoners; it is rather that the means and reasons for expressing piety altered. In the late medieval period, multiple devotional artworks for St. Henry were made for embellishing Merseburg Cathedral, which testifies to “a living *memoria* [of St. Henry], which was deliberately actualized by conscious bishops in the threats of the turn of the modern period.”⁴⁹⁶ For example, in 1515, the patron saints of the cathedral were installed on the entrance portal, featuring St. Lawrence and St. John the Baptist together with St. Henry.⁴⁹⁷ After the reopening of the imperial tomb in Bamberg, a shoulder blade of St. Henry was translated to Merseburg in 1517, the event thereafter yearly commemorated in the community.⁴⁹⁸ Moreover, during the cathedral restoration in the early sixteenth century, Bishop Sigismund of Lindenau (1535–1544) founded a chapel for St. Henry and commissioned an expensive altarpiece from the workshop of Lucas Cranach (fig. 3.8).⁴⁹⁹ The altarpiece summarized the devotional preferences and political

⁴⁹¹ On Henry's pre-canonization commemoration in Merseburg see Siewert, “Die Verehrung Heinrichs II. in Merseburg,” 145–51.

⁴⁹² The Merseburg miracles of St. Henry are published in “Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrici.” The earliest text of these miracles in Erlandgen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 316, f. 178v–182r.

⁴⁹³ Paul Kehr, *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Merseburg: Teil 1 (962–1357)* (Halle: Otto Hendel, 1899), 195 (n. 242).

⁴⁹⁴ Otto Rademacher, “Über die Ehemaligen Altäre des Doms zu Merseburg,” *Neue Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen* 23 (1908): 1–3; Rudolf Irmisch, “Beiträge zur Patrozinienforschung im Bistum Merseburg,” *Sachsen und Anhalt* 6 (1930): 91–2.

⁴⁹⁵ Rademacher, “Über die Ehemaligen Altäre des Doms zu Merseburg,” 15–6.

⁴⁹⁶ Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*, 54.

⁴⁹⁷ Ramm, *Der Merseburger Dom*, 173–7.

⁴⁹⁸ Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*, 55; Ramm, *Der Merseburger Dom*, 177.

⁴⁹⁹ More on the Heinrichskapelle and the altar by Ramm, “Bischof Sigismunds Heinrichskapelle;” Ingo Sandner, “Der Heinrichsaltar im Dom zu Merseburg: neue Erkenntnisse,” in *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg*, 176–82.

aspirations of Merseburg: it presented all three patrons—SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, and Henry (holding a model Merseburg Cathedral)—among other Roman and universal saints.⁵⁰⁰



Fig. 3.8. Lucas Cranach the Elder and workshop, *Heinrichsaltar*. Side panel representing St. Lawrence (recto) and St. Henry (verso), 1537, 167.5x67 cm, Merseburg Cathedral. Photo courtesy of Gunnar Heydenreich, Cranach Digital Archive, https://www.lucascranach.org/DE_DSM_NONE-DSM001c (accessed May 15, 2020).

All these actions, not to mention the liturgical feasts of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde celebrated yearly, made the figure of St. Henry visible and distinctive among other saints, cherished in the cathedral and its neighborhood. He was remembered both as a historical figure—the second founder of the diocese—and as a potent saint. St. Lawrence, the first patron of the bishopric, remained prominent in the religious landscape of the area and acted as a saintly personification of Merseburg. St. Cunigunde, although by no means forgotten in Merseburg’s devotional expressions, was of secondary importance as she did not hold any historical or symbolical prominence compared to that of her husband.⁵⁰¹

The unique combination of these two saints, of St. Henry and St. Lawrence, paid homage to the self-fashioning of the Merseburg clergy, who nurtured the memory of Merseburg being once an important imperial foundation. An apparent intensification of the veneration of the imperial patron of Merseburg in the early sixteenth century reflects not only personal devotion of the bishops Thilo of

⁵⁰⁰ On the Roman topography of Merseburg evoked through the figure of St. Lawrence and other Roman martyrs see Philipp Jahn, “Laurentius und andere Römer an der Saale: Bemerkungen zu den Patrozinien in Merseburg,” in *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg*, 139–43.

⁵⁰¹ The altar of St. Cunigunde is mentioned in the document from 1317: Rademacher, “Über die Ehemaligen Altäre des Doms zu Merseburg,” 4–5. St. Cunigunde was also represented on the early-sixteenth-century stalls together with St. Henry.

Trotha (1466–1514), Adolf of Anhalt (1514–1526), Vinzenz of Schleinitz (1526–1535) or mentioned Sigismund of Lindenau. The employment of the image of St. Henry was apparently an attempt to opt for imperial patronage and to highlight the forgotten importance of the diocese for imperial history and the Christian mission.⁵⁰² Whether successful in its attempts or not, the territorial bishopric was ceased with the unfolding Reformation in 1544. All in all, Merseburg gives an example of a peculiar combination of the Roman sacred topography, personified by St. Lawrence and other martyrs, with the veneration of St. Henry, who represented the imperial patronage that the diocese of Merseburg once enjoyed. This symbolic devotional construction was grounded in the historical circumstances of its foundation, self-representation, and promotional efforts of the clergy.

The cults of the imperial couple appeared in the devotional landscape of the bishopric also outside the episcopal center of Merseburg: for example, a church in the town of Rochlitz was dedicated to St. Cunigunde. Although there was no historical connection between either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde and this urban community, their cults were successfully adopted and adapted for local needs. The foundation of the church traces back to the first decades of the thirteenth century, and this *patrocinium* was chosen in light of the recent canonization of the saint. Dietrich I, Margrave of Meissen (r. 1198–1221)—who possibly stands behind securing the city-rights for Rochlitz and sponsoring the building of a second church (an older church of St. Peter remained the town's parish church)—was an ardent supporter of Philip of Swabia, referred to as Philip's *consanguineus* and *familiares*.⁵⁰³ Although Margrave Dietrich is not mentioned among Philip's supporters present on the *Hoftag* in Bamberg in 1201,⁵⁰⁴ he could have been knowledgeable about the festive *translatio* of St. Cunigunde. Therefore, the choice of the newly canonized empress as a patron of a local church might have been used as a means of expressing Margrave Dietrich's loyalty through partaking in the cult promoted by Philipp of Swabia.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the church of St. Cunigunde was rebuilt (the conventional dates are 1417–1476), and SS. Henry and Cunigunde figured prominently in its refurbished outer and inner spaces.⁵⁰⁵ Its south portal is crowned with the statues under baldachins—St. Henry in armor and St. Cunigunde with a church model.⁵⁰⁶ The high altar, devoted to St. Cunigunde, was commissioned by the city council in 1513. Its main shrine is embellished with carved figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde holding a church model, St. Anna Selbdritt (with the Virgin and Christ), and Apostle Thomas (fig. 3.9). Painted panels of the outer wings represent a series of St.

⁵⁰² This agenda is explored also by Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*.

⁵⁰³ Schütte, *König Philipp von Schwaben*, 213–16, 440–2.

⁵⁰⁴ Nevertheless, he participated on 12 other occasions, see Schütte, *König Philipp von Schwaben*, 441.

⁵⁰⁵ The most up-to-date study on the rebuilding of the church in the mid-fifteenth century: Robert Hofmann, "Steinmetzzeichen zur Baugeschichte Unser lieben Frauen in Mittweida und St. Kunigunden in Rochlitz," *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 512005 (2005): 144–55; also see Rrichard Steche, *Amtshauptmannschaft Rochlitz* (Dresden: Meinhold, 1890), 61–74.

⁵⁰⁶ Steche, *Amtshauptmannschaft Rochlitz*, 62–3.

Cunigunde's legends,⁵⁰⁷ while the carved depictions on the inner wings portray the passion scenes and Jesus with the Apostles. The carvings are attributed to Philipp Koch from Freiberg in Saxony, while the artist behind the panel paintings is not known. The repetition of the patron saint's images would allow visitors to engage with SS. Henry and Cunigunde both on festive occasions when the altarpiece would be open, and on workdays, with its wings closed. Moreover, even without entering the inner space, a passerby would apprehend the importance of the two saints as it was manifested on the church's south portal.



Fig. 3.9. Philipp Koch, Altarpiece with the figures of SS. Henry, Cunigunde, Anne with Mary and Jesus, and Apostle Thomas and the passion scenes, 1513, Church of St. Cunigunde, Rochlitz. Photo by Martin Geisler, Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Kunigundenkirche_\(Rochlitz\)#/media/File:Rochlitz_Kunigunde_Altarschrein.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Kunigundenkirche_(Rochlitz)#/media/File:Rochlitz_Kunigunde_Altarschrein.jpg) (accessed June 1, 2021). Reproduced according to CC BY-SA 3.0.

Three of the outer wings depict the betrothal and the ordeal legend of St. Cunigunde in the following scenes: the betrothal of SS. Henry and Cunigunde (a rarely represented motif), the devil leaving St. Cunigunde's chamber, and the ordeal itself. The fourth panel represents the miracle of the just wages that, although not belonging to the saint's initial hagiographies, was gaining popularity at

⁵⁰⁷ See a catalog entry at Cranach Digital Archive, https://lucascranach.org/DE_KKR_NONE-KKR002F (accessed June 1, 2021).

the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰⁸ While a broadsheet with legends and prayer to St. Cunigunde printed in Nuremberg in 1509 might have been a prototype for the depictions in Rochlitz, the altarpiece does not entirely correspond to the iconographic types used in the woodcuts.⁵⁰⁹ In this church space, St. Cunigunde is deliberately portrayed not only in her capacity of a virgin empress but also of a religious benefactor and donor: it is in the miracle of the just wages where St. Cunigunde appears as a patroness of a building project of St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg. Moreover, the figures of St. Cunigunde on the portal and in the altar represent St. Cunigunde with a church model. It is not clear if the model actually stands for St. Cunigunde's Church in Rochlitz (though a two-tower model might be similar to the church's outlook before the damages of the Thirty Years' War). However, St. Cunigunde was believed—"according to an old legend," as stated by a local historian back in 1829—to found the church together with her spouse Emperor Henry in 1016.⁵¹⁰ There are no contemporary medieval testimonies that would confirm or refute a suggestion that the belief in St. Cunigunde being a founder of the church was shared by local dwellers. However, her representations as a donor, adapted to a local landscape, speak for such a possibility.

Therefore, the cult of St. Cunigunde, although "imported" from Bamberg to Rochlitz at the beginning of the thirteenth century, remained relevant for the urban community and was promulgated in the embellishment of the church. Possibly, St. Cunigunde became a part of the urban imagined past as a town's founder, which amplified her status as a local patron saint. Moreover, her and St. Henry's relevance for a local devotional landscape was strengthened by their veneration in Merseburg—the ecclesiastical center of the region.

The veneration of the imperial couple in Bamberg, Merseburg, Regensburg, and Basel, although having "comparable starting points," had followed distinct scenarios.⁵¹¹ In these diocesan centers, the impetus for commemorating the imperial couple partially originated from Emperor Henry's (and often Cunigunde's) own investments in their eternal *memoria* by actively exercising religious patronage that was characterized by Guth as *Stiftungsfrömmigkeit*.⁵¹² However, in the pre-canonization period and throughout the following centuries, their cults obtained rather distinct functions for and impacts on the local self-understanding and historical perception. In Bamberg, the unity of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was celebrated, which became the urban and episcopal symbol. In Merseburg, the memory and the veneration of St. Henry condensed into a peculiar mixture with the cult of the local patron St. Lawrence, while St. Cunigunde was of secondary importance. However,

⁵⁰⁸ The miracle is discussed in Chapter 2.

⁵⁰⁹ *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* (Nuremberg: Hieronmus Hölzel, 1509).

⁵¹⁰ Christian Ludwig Stuglitz, *Über die Kirche der heiligen Kunigunde zu Rochlitz und die Steinmetz-Hütte daselbst* (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1829), 4.

⁵¹¹ Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung*, 28.

⁵¹² Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde*, 69–78.

certain similarities in SS. Henry and Cunigunde's veneration and representation in these and other episcopal centers can be drawn: bishops themselves nurtured the sanctity of the imperial couple, often to enhance the historical prestige of their diocese. Moreover, although the pre-canonization *memoria* for the deceased emperor in these dioceses did not linearly develop into their cults, the veneration of especially St. Henry was linked to the memory of his historical donations and foundations. If such historical connections lacked, they could have been reimagined by local dwellers—as was, potentially, the case with St. Cunigunde's cult and an urban community of Rochlitz. In the episcopal sees where SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not known as local benefactors, their cults often did not find any rooting (for example, in Worms or Cologne) unless promoted by imperial or regional rulers—the pattern discussed in the third part of this study.

Chapter 4. Henry and Cunigunde in Monastic Devotional Culture and Literary Networks

Throughout the medieval period, monastic houses functioned as key centers of literacy and *memoria*, owing to the developed literary culture, elaborated liturgy, and networks within a congregation as well as with local nobility. Hagiographies of saints were commonly transmitted and enhanced through these connections, often compound into legends that enjoyed wide dissemination, especially in the late medieval period. When the memories and liturgical commemoration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are concerned, the monastic environment emerges as a crucial space responsible for the preservation and transmission of their hagiographies. A vivid example is a library of Tegernsee Abbey that held at least five codices with the legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde (in several distinct versions), while excerpts from the *vita Heinrichi* were used for the *Chronicle of The Abbots of Tegernsee* in the late fifteenth century.⁵¹³ Although SS. Henry and Cunigunde might not have been significant for the liturgical observance and historical self-perception of some monastic communities (thus, mendicant orders rarely engaged with these two saints), it was nevertheless through these monastic connections that the hagiographic knowledge of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was transmitted in new cultural areas.

The choice of *patrocinia*, especially monastic, was not directly dependent upon the patterns of a bishopric and its cathedral where the house was situated.⁵¹⁴ As shown above, within the bishopric of Bamberg, the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were gradually incorporated in local monastic houses, merging with devotional patterns characteristic for a specific order or a single foundation.⁵¹⁵ Beyond the city walls of Bamberg, altars and chapels were dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde only in eleven other monasteries (fig. 4.1).⁵¹⁶ Clearly, neither St. Henry nor St. Cunigunde was a popular monastic saint, although analyzing *patrocinia* alone does not account for a variety of literary, visual, and material forms in which SS. Henry and Cunigunde were present in monastic spaces. This chapter investigates various factors behind the inclusion of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in monastic

⁵¹³ BSB, Clm. 1072, f. 17r–17v; also see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 192–3, 338.

⁵¹⁴ Flachenecker, “Patrozinienforschung in Deutschland.”

⁵¹⁵ In the city of Bamberg, altars for these saints were consecrated in the Benedictine, Cistercian, Carmelite, Augustinian, and Poor Clares houses, see Chapter 3.

⁵¹⁶ Doberlug (Cistercians) 1165 for St. Henry; Bruderhartmannszell in Haus am Bach (Premonstratensians), 1214 for St. Cunigunde; Ebrach (Cistercians) 1287 for St. Henry; Klosterneuburg (Dominicans?), c. 1300 for St. Cunigunde, later abolished; Langheim (Cistercians) 1307 for St. Cunigunde; Bebenhausen (Cistercians), 1397 for SS. Henry and Cunigunde; St. Ursanne (Augustinians), 1347 for St. Henry; Heilsbronn (Cistercians), 1350 for SS. Henry and Cunigunde; Neuburg an der Donau (Benedictines), 1372 for St. Henry; Kaufungen (Benedictines), 1382 for St. Henry, 1433 for St. Cunigunde; Niedernburg (Benedictines), 1467 altar for SS. Henry and Cunigunde, 1478 chapel dedicated to St. Henry.

literary culture, calendars, and liturgical spaces, among which are a foundation's historical connectedness to the imperial couple, the desire to promote specific lifestyle associated with the saints, and literary activities. First, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies are explored as a literary space for a specific Benedictine attachment to these legends, in which the saints emerge as famous donors of the monastic order and as icons of lay chastity. The investigation of female monastic houses reveals that the saintly couple could symbolize the imperial agency in the historical foundation of a given house; or they were viewed as powerful saints integrated in the liturgical year and everyday devotional spaces; or they were lauded as ideals for virginal lifestyle. In the final part, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's presence in late medieval Brabantine monastic literary networks is studied—this presence triggered a publication of a unique incunabulum containing the texts and images devoted to the couple. Overall, this chapter studies a palette of various contexts in which members of various monastic houses turned to SS. Henry and Cunigunde as well as how their signature virtues—imperial dignity, patronage, and chastity—were engaged within a monastic milieu.

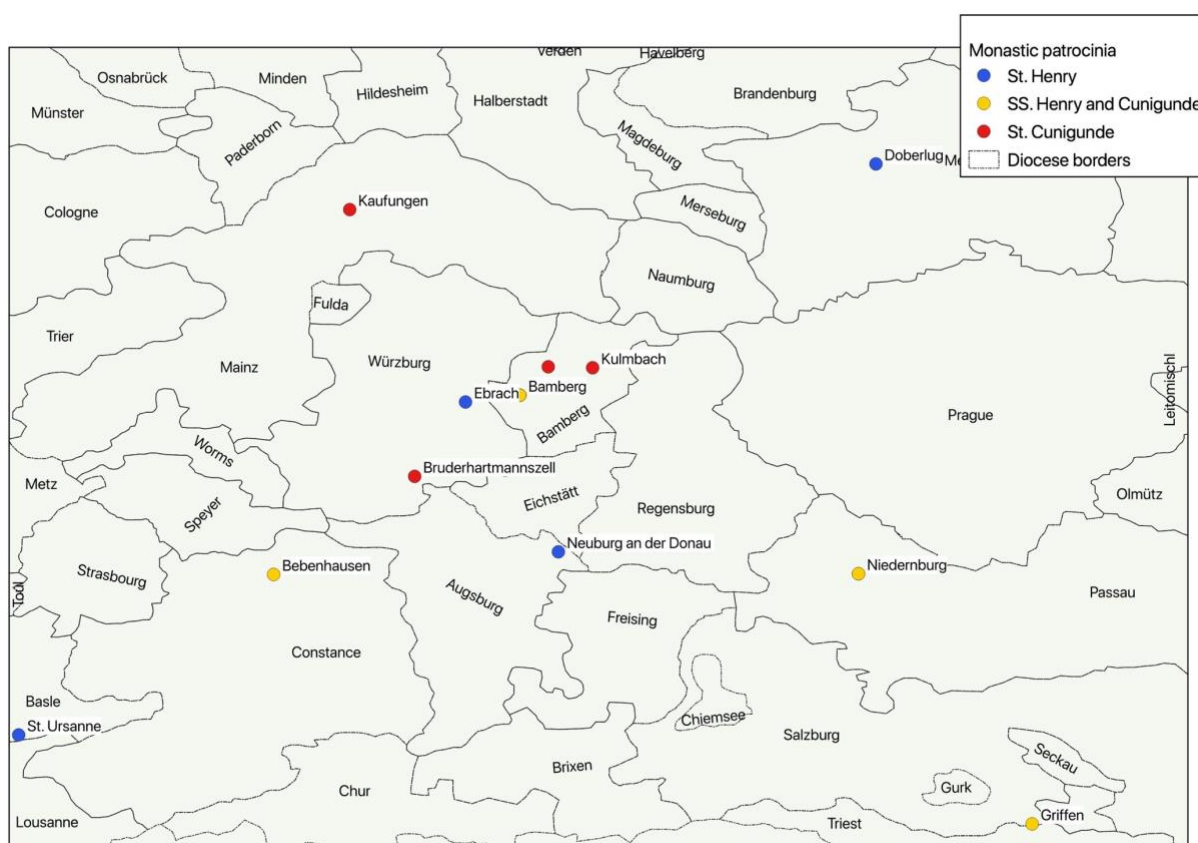


Fig. 4.1. Map showing medieval *patrocina* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in monastic houses. Map by the author.

Benedictine Readings of Henry and Cunigunde's legends

Benedictine monasteries were the primary monastic environment in which the legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were preserved, and their feasts celebrated. Essentially, Henry II's patronage activities over multiple foundations, including Michelsberg Monastery in Bamberg, as well as his historical

connections to places such as St. Emmeram's Abbey in Regensburg mentioned above, ensured his and St. Cunigunde's later commemoration in these localities. Moreover, the connection between Henry II and the Benedictines was also promoted in several narratives of his and St. Cunigunde's *vitae*, namely in the legend about St. Benedict healing St. Henry and St. Cunigunde insisting on observance in the nunnery of Kaufungen.⁵¹⁷ These legends portray a close relationship between the order, its signature saint, and its ideals, on the one hand, and SS. Henry and Cunigunde, on the other, rendering them as exempla for community members and donors.

The narrative of St. Benedict healing the emperor is set during Henry's visit to Montecassino Abbey south of Rome—the first Benedictine house established by Benedict of Nursia himself.⁵¹⁸ The episode initially appeared in the local Montecassino context, namely in the late eleventh-century chronicle by Leo of Ostia.⁵¹⁹ In the context of St. Henry's *vita*, the legend was recrafted to promote St. Benedict's direct involvement in St. Henry's healing and was later a subject of a late medieval collect for St. Henry.⁵²⁰ While in Leo of Ostia's chronicle, Emperor Henry was “naturally” relieved from the stones, in the *vita*, St. Benedict performed an operation on St. Henry's body and left the stone in his patient's hand.⁵²¹ In visual depictions, the bodily contact between the saints was further developed: on the side panel of the imperial couple's tombstone, St. Benedict is depicted next to the emperor with a knife with which he makes the cut (fig. 4.2). This episode solidified the connection between the emperor—now a saint—and St. Benedict, who was viewed as a metonymy for the whole order he had founded.

⁵¹⁷ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 278–83; “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 823.

⁵¹⁸ The narrative is based on a historical visit from 1022.

⁵¹⁹ Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, 247–51.

⁵²⁰ Guth, “Die frühe lateinische und deutsche Überlieferung der ‘Legende’ von Kaiser Heinrichs II. Heilung im Kloster Montecassino,” The healing miracle is mentioned in one of the collects among SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legend and invocations printed in Brussels (the print is discussed further in the chapter), see *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis*, f. 63r.

⁵²¹ E.g., Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 280: “In quo obdormiens vidit sanctum Benedictum sibi assistere et ferrum sectorium ad medicinales sectiones aptatum manu tenere.”



Fig. 4.2. Tilman Riemenschneider, St. Benedict healing St. Henry, a side panel on the imperial tombstone, 1499–1513, Bamberg Cathedral. Photo by the author.

In her hagiography, St. Cunigunde is portrayed primarily in her relation to the monastic, and not imperial, lifestyle. More than a half of the *vita* dwells upon St. Cunigunde's widowhood spent in the Benedictine nunnery at Kaufungen, which she had founded herself. A series of edifying episodes portray St. Cunigunde's religious zeal as well as her attempts to implicate observance among other nuns and novices. Therefore, the connection between SS. Henry and Cunigunde, on the one hand, and the Benedictine order and a monastic lifestyle, on the other, was present in their hagiographies, alongside their roles as founders and benefactors of several houses. Were these links taken up and reflected upon in the monastic, specifically Benedictine environment?

SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae* often appeared in monastic libraries in hagiographic collections, in composite codices, and in the liturgical context—their legends could have been recited and listened to. A mid-fifteenth-century codex from the Benedictine monastery of Mondsee (now in Upper Austria) exemplifies a monastic “reading” of these saints' legends.⁵²² SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies, copied onto a separate quire with a different ruling, were bound together with other hagiographic and theological works, mainly by Hieronymus de Mondsee.⁵²³ The scribe or reader of the *Life of St. Henry*, transmitted in its abridged second edition, highlighted the legend of St. Henry's healing at Montecassino: a pointing hand is marking this episode while St. Benedict's name is underlined throughout the chapter.⁵²⁴ The other episode, marked by a pointing hand, is the papal visit to Bamberg, signifying a long-lost unity of papal and imperial interests.⁵²⁵ In St.

⁵²² ÖNB, Cod. 3604. On the version of the *vita Heinrichi* in this codex see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 108; St. Cunigunde's *vita* is related in its Bamberg version, though the final invocation to Bamberg is cut out and the miracles are abridged.

⁵²³ ÖNB, Cod. 3604, f. 82r–93r (*vita Heinrichi*); f. 93v–102r (*vita Cunegundis*).

⁵²⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 3604, f. 85v.

⁵²⁵ ÖNB, Cod. 3604, f. 87r.

Cunigunde's hagiography, a drawn hand is pointing from the margins to the story about the saint instructing her niece Uta.⁵²⁶ St. Cunigunde was concerned about Uta's disobedience, who was known to be "the last in the choir and the first at the table;" in the end, St. Cunigunde slapped the niece, and the mark was left on Uta's cheek as a warning sign for other nuns.⁵²⁷ Potentially, it was the instructive power of this episode that engaged its listeners and readers and inspired them to highlight this story. These episodes are not by chance accentuated in this Benedictine codex since they highlighted the connection between the imperial saints and the Benedictine traditions (including St. Benedict himself). Such a connection made the Benedictine devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde more likely to emerge as compared to other orders since this devotion was codified in their hagiographies and was partially grounded in the memory of Emperor Henry's patronage over certain monastic houses. For some monastic foundations discussed in the next part, the images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were equaled to that of SS. Benedict and Scholastica—both holy couples shared the same altar space.⁵²⁸ Therefore, the connection was not only highlighted when engaging with their hagiographies but also through other types of communication acts.

Interestingly, Benedictine interest in St. Henry's legend developed not only in the Empire but also in Rome, vividly exemplified by the late thirteenth-century frescoes in San Lorenzo fuori le mura. A brief summary of this representation is in order as this case facilitates a better understanding of the Benedictine engagement with the figure of St. Henry. The visual cycle in question is one of the earliest depictions of the soul-weighing, and it appeared in San Lorenzo due to St. Henry's connection to St. Lawrence, the titular saint of the basilica. The narrative of Henry's soul-weighing was familiar to the Italian milieu through the *Legenda Aurea*,⁵²⁹ though these murals in San Lorenzo are much more detailed than Jacobus de Voragine's account and could have been based on the *vita Heinrichi* itself (or its unknown close derivative). It is worth pondering how and why this narrative was visualized in this Roman basilica even before St. Henry's soul-weighing legend became a popular image in the areas "native" to SS. Henry and Cunigunde. In answering this question, Benedictine agency—implied in St. Henry's *vita* and then visually promoted in the frescoes of San Lorenzo—plays a key role.

These murals are framed within the thirteenth-century cycle of the martyrdom and miracles of the two patrons of the basilica, SS. Lawrence and Stephen. The basilica was constructed presumably by Pope Pelagius II (579–590).⁵³⁰ Its portico was built as a part of a major renovation

⁵²⁶ ÖNB, Cod. 3604, f. 98v.

⁵²⁷ "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 823.

⁵²⁸ Namely in the nunnery at Niedernburg, analyzed below.

⁵²⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 455.

⁵³⁰ For general studies on San Lorenzo, among others, see Antonio Muñoz, *La Basilica di S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*. (Roma: Fratelli Palombi, 1944); Peter Cornelius Claussen, Daniela Mondini, and Darko Senekovic, eds., *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050 - 1300; S. Giacomo alla Lungara bis S. Lucia della Tinta*, vol. 22, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie 3* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 317–528.

project of Honorius III (1216–1227), while the narrative cycles about SS. Stephen and Lawrence were added onto the portico's inner walls presumably at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵³¹ To the right from the entrance, the murals depict the martyrdom of SS. Lawrence and the first mass celebrated over his relics, concluding with eight scenes devoted to St. Henry on the right wall, according to the current state of the portico frescoes.

In the surviving frescoes, several legends are merged together, namely St. Henry's victorious battle against the heathens, his donation of a chalice to the church of St. Lawrence in the upper row, and St. Henry's soul-weighing in the lower row. The drawing of Antonio Eclissi, which depicts the state of frescoes before the restorations of the 1860s and the severe wartime damages, shows that there was also a third row of images on the sidewall that apparently depicted how a broken handle of the chalice was discovered and the second meeting between the anchorite and the devils.⁵³²

There is no evidence of liturgical veneration of St. Henry in San Lorenzo, and, moreover, Henry is depicted as a secular prince and not a canonized saint. Most probably, it was the didactic power of these narratives that made the commissioners, together with the artists, choose them for this grandiose visual program aimed, among others, at pilgrims visiting the basilica. The intercession of St. Lawrence for Emperor Henry could prove to pilgrims the omnipresence of the martyr, whose miraculous potency was evident long after his martyrdom.

However, there is one detail in these frescoes that could hint at another reason behind depicting these legends in San Lorenzo. There, new actors are included who were not mentioned in any written versions of the legend, namely the Benedictine monks. These Benedictines, recognized by their black habits, are apparently representing the monastic community of San Lorenzo, traceable since Pope Agapetus II (r. 946–955).⁵³³ The monks are present in three depictions: they receive the chalice donated by Henry II to the church of St. Lawrence, administer St. Henry's soul-weighing (fig. 4.3) and discover the broken chalice. Therefore, the monks function as the intermediaries between a donor (Henry) and a saint (St. Lawrence).

⁵³¹ On the execution of the murals see Renate L. Colella, "Hagiographie und Kirchenpolitik Stephanus und Laurentius in Rom," in *Pratum romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella (Wiesbaden: Dr. L. Reichert, 1997), 81–82; Hermann Fillitz, "Bemerkungen zum Freskenzyklus im Porticus von S. Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rom," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 46–47, no. 1 (1994): 165–172.

⁵³² Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna: Schroll, 1964), no. 367–390, fig. 205–216; the original is in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4404.

⁵³³ Claussen et al., *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom*, 475.



Fig. 4.3. Henry II on the deathbed from the right portico wall of San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome, end of the 13th century. Available from Gli Scritti Centro Culturale with the permission of the owner, http://www.gliscripti.it/gallery3/index.php/album_074/San-Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura-Roma-116 (accessed July 1, 2019).

Claiming that these frescoes go “far beyond an actualization of the *vitae* of certain saints,” Wollesen has suggested that the monks’ depictions were executed to highlight their universal importance for Christianity, represented through the histories of martyrs and their miracles.⁵³⁴ At the same time, these depictions highlighted the importance of material donations that bring postmortem intercession of saints and of the Benedictine monks, who were the gate-keepers of access to St. Lawrence and his relics. While in St. Henry’s *vita*, the chalice is donated to Merseburg Cathedral dedicated to St. Lawrence, it did not prevent the local community of San Lorenzo from perceiving themselves as equally possible recipients of the imperial donation. Although St. Henry lost his saintly status on the other side of the Alps, his legends presented the local Benedictine community with a tool to promote its status.

All in all, in several contexts, the legends from SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s hagiographies, known in monastic literary cultures, were seen as powerful narratives for textual and visual promotion of certain practices and ideas, especially valued in the Benedictine monastic culture—that of chastity, observance, generosity—as well as the crucial intercessory role of the monks.

Virginity and Imperial Patronage in Female Religious Communities

One of St. Cunigunde’s miracles tells a story about three nuns from Kitzingen who came to the tomb of St. Cunigunde seeking her help.⁵³⁵ When in Bamberg Cathedral, one of the nuns realized in terror

⁵³⁴ Jens T. Wollesen, *Pictures and Reality: Monumental Frescoes and Mosaics in Rome Around 1300* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 84.

⁵³⁵ “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 826; Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 124.

that St. Henry was not venerated at Kitzingen, despite him being the benefactor of the community. This instructive tale reveals that female communities, although often attached to St. Cunigunde, who shared their monastic lifestyle and promoted the ideal of virginity, equally looked for the patronage of the holy emperor, who was shaped as a primary founder.⁵³⁶

Indeed, female monastic spirituality did not necessitate a stronger attachment to St. Cunigunde than to St. Henry. Surprisingly, the nunnery (later, a house of canonesses) at Kaufungen—a community founded by Empress Cunigunde in 1017, where she spent her widowed years taking care of her husband's *memoria*—did not swiftly take up the cult of its benefactress and later promoted St. Henry as its main founder. Although Cunigunde was originally buried in the nunnery in 1033, in the twelfth century, the nuns handed her remains—not yet perceived as holy—over to Bamberg.⁵³⁷ At the same time, the nunnery forged its past in a way to emphasize Henry II's involvement in the foundation and confirm its imperial immediacy—his figure would undoubtedly signify the highest attainable imperial patronage—since the deceased emperor might have been commemorated in the community even after Cunigunde's death.⁵³⁸ In the extant sources, the earliest altar devoted to St. Henry dates to 1382 and to St. Cunigunde—1433, although the altars could have originated from an earlier period.⁵³⁹ In one of the charters that grants 40-day indulgence for St. Henry's feast day, St. Henry is called “the first founder of the nunnery of the Holy Cross at Kaufungen,”⁵⁴⁰ while St. Cunigunde was not mentioned in any similar way. Moreover, the feast of St. Henry coincided with the day of St. Margaret, which was also the day of the church concentration; this concurrence of the

⁵³⁶ Amy Remensnyder provides a comparative example of French abbeys sanctifying the memory of their founders (who were often of royal dynasty), which shows that a belief in sanctity did not originate from the royal status of the donor but from the act of foundation itself, see Amy Remensnyder, “Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193–214. There is also a certain correlation between a practice among the tenth-century Bavarian dukes of establishing female monastic houses and the liturgical veneration of St. Henry in the named nunneries. On the tenth-century foundation practices see an article by Gabriele Schlütter-Schindler, “Die bayerischen Herzöge als Gründer von Frauenkonventen,” in *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen: Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland*, ed. Eva Schlotheuber, Helmut Flachenecker, and Ingrid Gardill (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 105–22.

⁵³⁷ On the transfer of St. Cunigunde's remains from Kaufungen to Bamberg see Schneidmüller, “Kaiserin Kunigunde,” 24–31.

⁵³⁸ A foundation charter was forged in the mid-twelfth century, in which Henry II confirms the imperial immediacy of Kaufungen, see Petra Brödner, “‘Eck kan mek nyct toffrede geven, eck mot to Koffungen’: Kloster und Damenstift Kaufungen im Mittelalter,” in *Kunigunde — eine Kaiserin an der Jahrtausendwende*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner (Kassel: Furore-Verlag, 1997), ft. 28; von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, 10–2 (No. 8). On the history of the convent see Ingrid Baumgärtner, “Das Stift Kaufungen: Von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation,” in *Die Althessische Ritterschaft und das Ritterschaftliche Stift Kaufungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Udo Schlitzberger (Kassel: Hess: euregioverlag, 2018), 10–36. Although there are no obituaries or other sources that would allow for an evaluation of commemorative practices in Kaufungen, existing research about commemoration of donors and benefactors in female monastic communities testify to longevity of these practices, see Hedwig Röckelein, “Founders, Donors, and Saints: Patrons of Nuns' Convents,” in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 207–24, esp. 212–214.

⁵³⁹ von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, 252–5 (No. 259), 424–5 (No. 393). Also see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 171–5.

⁵⁴⁰ Hermann von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Drewfs & Schönhoven, 1902), 6 (No. 428): “... festum beati Henrici imperatoris primi fundatoris monasterii sancte crucis in Cophungen...”

feasts augmented the connection of St. Henry with the foundation of the nunnery.⁵⁴¹ A relic of the Holy Cross—the primary sacred particle that gave the name to the nunnery—was later known as St. Henry’s cross (*heilige crutze keyser Heinrich*) and was given to Landgrave Henry III of Hessen-Marburg as a relic securing his victory in a battle.⁵⁴² This could have been a relic that widowed Cunigunde was believed to have given to the nunnery before taking her vows, although, by the late medieval period, it was devoid of the association with the holy empress.⁵⁴³ St. Cunigunde was not neglected at Kaufungen: in another indulgence from 1473, her feast is mentioned alongside St. Henry’s, while processions were held on both saints’ feasts, and stained glass windows represented the holy couple.⁵⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it was St. Henry and not St. Cunigunde who was shaped as the primary founder and promoted as such in the house’s communal memory. Here, other diverse patterns of female devotion and engagement with SS. Henry and Cunigunde are further analyzed on the examples of communities in Passau-Niedernburg, Neuburg an der Donau, and Lichtental. These female monastic houses have not yet been analyzed in their relation to the cult of the holy couple; moreover, the presented analysis contributes to the vibrant field of late medieval female religiosity and monasticism by elucidating the houses’ adaptations—in remembered pasts, liturgies, spaces, and art—of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults.

Passau-Niedernburg

Niedernburg—once a nunnery in Passau—traces its beginnings to the eighth century, yet Henry II and Cunigunde were also perceived as its founders and benefactors. At the beginning of the eleventh century, this convent was granted imperial immediacy from Henry II and was richly endowed by the couple.⁵⁴⁵ Taking these activities into account, scholars speculated whether this nunnery was prepared as a possible place for Cunigunde to take the veil.⁵⁴⁶ However, the nunnery became a withdrawal space for Gisela of Hungary—sister of Henry II and spouse of Stephen I of Hungary—where she was apparently an abbess after 1038.⁵⁴⁷ In 1161 the house lost its status of an imperial abbey and became

⁵⁴¹ St. Henry’s feast was moved on the day after St. Margaret’s, see von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, vol. 2, 6–7 (No. 428).

⁵⁴² First mentioned by Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 174; see von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, vol. 2, 115–17 (No. 518).

⁵⁴³ “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 821.

⁵⁴⁴ von Roquet, ed., *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Kaufungen in Hessen*, vol. 2, 109–10 (No. 512).

⁵⁴⁵ MGH DH II, 251–4 (No. 214, 215, 216); also see Ludwig Veit, “Das Diplom König Heinrichs II. über die Schenkung der ‘Portio Silvae, quae vocatur Nortwalt’ an die Abtei Niedernburg in Passau,” *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1965), 7–32. A recent study by Eva Weiler discussed the early history of the convent and its building activities: Eva Elisabeth Weiler, “Die religiöse Frauengemeinschaft Niedernburg in Passau: Rekonstruktion der Bautätigkeit im Hochmittelalter” (Master Thesis, Vienna, University of Vienna, 2012).

⁵⁴⁶ See Weiler, “Die religiöse Frauengemeinschaft Niedernburg in Passau,” 46, with the corresponding literature in the footnotes.

⁵⁴⁷ The first written testimonies of Gisela of Hungary being buried in Niedernburg originate from the early fifteenth century, see Egon Boshof, “Gisela - eine bayerische Prinzessin auf dem ungarischen Königsthron,” *Passauer Jahrbuch* 52 (2010): 91–103. The claims are grounded on the fact that in the convent’s Church of the Holy Cross there is an eleventh-century burial of Abbess Gisela.

dependent upon the bishops of Passau until the reestablishment of the imperial immediacy in 1500.⁵⁴⁸ In this briefly outlined historical context, the veneration of the SS. Henry and Cunigunde added to the promotion of the nunnery's past status and imperial glory, backing up its independence from the bishopric and supporting their claims for the imperial immediacy.

There is no evidence of late medieval historiographic writings or liturgical materials from Niedernburg that would allow us to estimate whether the nunnery cultivated a strong communal memory of its once imperial status and its connection to the historical patronage of Emperor Henry II.⁵⁴⁹ However, the liturgical space and decorations of the nunnery betray some of the features of the communal memory and how the sanctity of the imperial donors was incorporated in it. The earliest example is a fresco depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde, from the nunnery's secondary church of the Virgin Mary (partially destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century), dated to the early thirteenth century. The existence of this fresco hints at a swift adoption of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults in Niedernburg, short after the canonization of Cunigunde in 1200.⁵⁵⁰ The mural on the south wall depicts SS. Henry and Cunigunde with halos standing next to the enthroned Virgin Mary; St. Henry is represented as a donor with a church model in his hand (fig. 4.4).⁵⁵¹ Since the appearance of saints on frescos could correspond to the acquisition of their relics or their inclusion in the liturgy, it is likely that from the thirteenth century onwards, the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were included in the liturgical celebrations at Niedernburg, where their sanctity contributed to an existing motif of them being the main donors of the foundation.

⁵⁴⁸ On the history of the convent see Weiler, "Die religiöse Frauengemeinschaft Niedernburg in Passau," 16–46; Anton Schuberl, *Der Wiederaufstieg des Klosters Niedernburg zur Abtei: die Klosterreformen des 15. Jahrhunderts an einem Passauer Frauenkloster erforscht mit Hilfe des Urkundenportals monasterium.net* (Oberhaching: Geschichts- und Kulturverein Eging am See, 2016).

⁵⁴⁹ There is a handwritten eighteenth-century chronicle from the convent: Carl Ludwig Steyffert, *Chronik des Klosters Niedernburg in Passau* (1775), BSB, Cgm. 5620. Pages 85–110 are devoted to the patronage of Emperor Henry II; according to the chronicle, the first abbess of Niedernburg was Heilika—Henry II's paternal aunt; this local tradition was active already in the fifteenth century, see below.

⁵⁵⁰ On the dating and positioning in the church see Weiler, "Die religiöse Frauengemeinschaft Niedernburg in Passau," 78.

⁵⁵¹ Other survived frescoes from this cycle depict the miracle of Cana and fragments of zodiac signs, and geometric ornaments.



Fig. 4.4. Fresco depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde next to the Virgin Mary, c.1200–1250, Church of the Virgin Mary at the Benedictine nunnery in Passau-Niedernburg. Photo courtesy of Fresco Museum Niedernburg, reproduced with the permission of the owner, https://tourism.passau.de/media/2269/fresken2_stadt-2.jpg?anchor=center&mode=max&width=1500&height=1500 (accessed May 20, 2021).

The fifteenth century witnessed an intensified promotion of the holy imperial couple, partially intertwined the establishment of Gisela's commemoration in Niedernburg. In 1467, two altars were re-consecrated in the choir of the Church of the Holy Cross: one—in honor of SS. Benedict and Scholastica, the other—SS. Henry and Cunigunde.⁵⁵² The consecration, administered by the auxiliary bishop of Salona by the request of the deaconess Margreth Mauttner von Katzenberg, was also aimed at attracting visitors since the forty-day indulgence for the visits on certain days (including the feast days of the altars' patrons) was offered. The choice of the patron saints reflects the spiritual and political profile of the nunnery as that of a Benedictine endowment and once an imperial abbey promoted by St. Henry.⁵⁵³ Such a positioning of the altars in the choir—of SS. Benedict and Scholastica juxtaposed with SS. Henry and Cunigunde—could also highlight the imperial saints' virginity. Their relationship was described as between brother and sister,⁵⁵⁴ which makes them similar to another canonized “couple”—SS. Benedict and Scholastica.

⁵⁵² BHSA, Kloster Passau-Niedernburg Urkunden (Benediktinerinnen 1010–1801), 544: “altariam in choro duo in ecclesia monialium Sancte Crucis pataviensis situate unum in latere dextro in honorem Sancti Benedicti et Sancte Scolastice alterum in latere sinistro in honorem Sancti Hainrici imperatoris et Sancte Kunegunde conthoralis...”

⁵⁵³ As Schuberl has noticed, there general Benedictine profile in the choice of patrons was combined with local preferences, see Schuberl, *Der Wiederaufstieg des Klosters Niedernburg zur Abtei*, 29. The plurality of possible interpretations and functions held by saints for these communities only supports the general thesis of the efficacy and multivalent importance of the saints for various groups and individuals.

⁵⁵⁴ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 274–5: “... nunquam cognivisse sed quasi sororem dilexisse.” The phrasing is taken from Frutolf of Michelsberg, “Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Chronica,” 192.

Another project initiated by the same deaconess was a re-consecration of a free-standing chapel devoted to St. Henry in 1479.⁵⁵⁵ It is though not clear if the chapel had the *patrocinium* of St. Henry before 1479.⁵⁵⁶ This newly consecrated chapel had three altars: central was dedicated to St. Henry, the right—to St. Oswald, and the left—to St. Giles (Aegidius).⁵⁵⁷ The pairing of St. Henry with St. Oswald was probably not accidental: for example, a mid-twelfth century reliquary from Hildesheim was embellished with the image of St. Henry together with SS. Oswald, Sigismund, and King Eugenius—obviously all united by the theme of royal sanctity, mirrored in the depiction of Christ in Majesty.⁵⁵⁸ St. Giles, the third patron of the chapel, is not a royal saint; in the consecration document, he is mentioned as a confessor—the same liturgical type as St. Henry. Therefore, the auxiliary patrons of St. Henry's Chapel were chosen to reflect the type of holiness carried by the primary saint. The note also mentions a customary indulgence for visiting the chapel, which would work not only towards the economic prosperity of the nunnery but also for encouraging the devotion to the saints.

Several visual representations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are known from the church of the Holy Cross: these are a fourteenth-century painting of St. Cunigunde on the northern wall, wooden sculptures of both saints from the first decades of the fifteenth century, and St. Henry's sculpture from the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁵⁹ The first two were apparently displayed in the so-called Parz-chapel, placed to the right from the high altar. The burial of Gisela of Hungary was in the same chapel, and in the 1430s, a new vaulted cenotaph was constructed to visually mark it in the space.⁵⁶⁰ The inscription on its top slab connects the memory of Gisela with that of her brother St. Henry: "...Gisela, the sister of St. Henry the emperor, the wife of King Stephen of Hungary, the abbes of this monastery is buried here."⁵⁶¹ The statues and frescoes of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, appearing in the same enclosed space, could be a part of the same decorative impetus. The visual program, therefore, accelerated the connections between the nunnery and its founders St. Cunigunde and St. Henry as well as the abbess Gisela. Moreover, another high tomb was erected around the 1430s, this time for

⁵⁵⁵ BHSA, Kloster Passau-Niedernburg Urkunden (Benediktinerinnen 1010–1801), 581, <https://www.monasterium.net/mom/DE-BayHStA/KUPassauNiedernburg/581/charter> (accessed March 2, 2020).

⁵⁵⁶ Weiler claims that some of the chapel's remaining elements could be traced back to the twelfth century, though the dedication is not known: Weiler, "Die religiöse Frauengemeinschaft Niedernburg in Passau," 84–86. Other chapels of the convent were devoted to SS. Wolfgang, Erasmus, Catherine, and Jacob.

⁵⁵⁷ BHSA, Kloster Passau-Niedernburg Urkunden (Benediktinerinnen 1010–1801), 581: "capellam sancti Hainrici Imperatoris sit in civitate pataviensis una cum tribus altaribus qoirum primum et principale in honorem prefati sancti hainrici imperatore, secundum in dextro in honorem sancti Oswaldi tertii vero in sinistro lateribus capell eiusdem situat in honore sancti Egidii confessore."

⁵⁵⁸ Jung and Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 78–80 (see fig. 1.1).

⁵⁵⁹ Felix Mader, ed., *Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern: Bezirksamt Passau* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1920), 237–66, esp. 247.

⁵⁶⁰ Jennifer Vanessa Dobschenzki, "Königin Gisela von Ungarn: Eine bayerisch-ungarische Biographie," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 147 (2007), 19–27.

⁵⁶¹ Mader, *Kunstdenkmäler von Niederbayern*, 250–1: "...Gisula soror sancti Hainrici Imperatoris uxor Stephi Regis Ungarie abbatisa huius monasterii hic sepulta." Also see Christine Steininger, Deutsche Inschriften Online 67, Stadt Passau, Nr. 3, <http://www.inschriften.net/stadt-passau/inschrift/nr/di067-0003.html#content> (accessed July 10, 2020).

the first abbess of Niedernburg—Heilika—who was believed to be St. Henry’s paternal aunt. This relation of another abbess to the holy emperor was promoted in the inscription of her new tombstone’s slab, similarly to that of Gisela.⁵⁶²

The heyday of the convent was associated with these eleventh-century figures, who promoted Niedernburg’s status as an imperial abbey. Reviving their memories in the mid-fifteenth century allowed the nunnery to recreate the golden era in its own space and time. This view is also graspable in Pope Alexander VI’s charter that confirmed the nunnery’s reestablishment to the status of an abbey (in 1500): “the named nunnery was founded more than 400 years ago by Cunigunde for the honorable memory of her spouse the Roman Emperor Henry II, and it was gifted with abundant possessions, towns and villages, tolls and revenues, and also by Henry himself, and similarly it received privileges and graces from many other Roman kings and emperors.”⁵⁶³ Although in the papal bull, the sanctity of the imperial couple does not play any decisive role, the memory of the foundation act was used as a constructive argument towards reinstating Niedernburg in its status of an abbey.

The cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were visible in the liturgical and artistic landscape of Niedernburg, including two churches and a separate chapel. The earlier fresco exemplifies the junction between the memories of donors and their saintly status, which was promoted later in the fifteenth century, especially by the deaconess Margreth Mauttner von Katzenberg. The cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were also reinforced by the resurgence of memories about Henry’s sister Gisela and his aunt Heilika, which tied the imperial couple to the local historical traditions.

Neuburg an der Donau

A Benedictine nunnery in Neuburg an der Donau, largely promoted by Henry II, is another example of a location where the memory of Henry transformed from that of a secular donor to a holy patron of a female foundation.⁵⁶⁴ Neuburg itself was a renowned town that apparently once functioned as a see for Augsburg bishops and was a frequent residential space for Wittelsbach dukes, becoming a capital of Palatinate-Neuburg in 1505.⁵⁶⁵ Not much is left of the nunnery after its destruction in the seventeenth century, though its written legacy can give a glimpse into their liturgical practices,

⁵⁶² Christine Steininger, *Deutsche Inschriften Online* 67, Stadt Passau, Nr. 1, <http://www.inschriften.net/stadt-passau/inschrift/nr/di067-0001.html#content> (accessed July 10, 2020).

⁵⁶³ BHSA, *Kloster Passau-Niedernburg Urkunden* (Benediktinerinnen 1010–1801), 672: “quod quadringentis annis iam elapsis per quondam Kunigundam clare memorie Henrici secundi Romanorum regis coniugem fundatum, et amplissimis possessionibus, opidis, videlicet, villagiis, theoloneis, et redditibus dotatum, ac tam per ipsum Henricum, quam diversos alios Romanorum reges, et imperatores, quam plurimis privilegiis, et gratiis decoratum fuit...” Also published by Schuberl, *Der Wiederaufstieg des Klosters Niedernburg zur Abtei*, 156–61.

⁵⁶⁴ MGH DH II, 193 (No. 163).

⁵⁶⁵ The historical overview as well as a range of textual materials in the possession of local nuns was gathered and sorted by the project *Schriftlichkeit in süddeutschen Frauenklöstern*, <https://www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/en/forschung/schriftlichkeit-in-sueddeutschen-frauenkloestern/> (accessed March 20, 2020), while the charters are available at monasterium.net.

historical consciousness, and the collection of relics, testifying to a special type of commemoration for SS. Henry and Cunigunde developed there.

In 1551, the nunnery's history was written down by Caspar (Gaspar) Bruschius, also known as Kaspar Brusch (1518–1559), as a chapter in his monumental work on German monasteries *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum*.⁵⁶⁶ The humanist scholar personally visited multiple foundations to record their histories that formed the core of his work complemented with the list of abbots or abbesses. When Bruschius was at the nunnery, the current abbess Magdalena showed him a foundation charter by Henry II, believed to be an original, which Bruschius later included in the *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum*. This charter granted possessions to the nunnery and is dated to May 17, 1007 in Regensburg. Although it is not present among known Henry II's diplomas, its text confirms with the usual formulary of other foundation charters and could have been the original or, if a forgery, closely related to some other charters.⁵⁶⁷ Henry II's charter was preserved for centuries in the convent, kept not only for legal purposes but also as memorabilia related to SS. Henry and Cunigunde who were venerated in the nunnery. Caspar Bruschius also recounts that the nunnery was a resting place for St. Hilarius, a local saint who was believed to be a bishop of Pannonia and Henry II's chancellor.⁵⁶⁸ He also notes that Abbess Anna wrote an account of Bishop Hilarius's life and miracles for Duke Ludwig VIII in 1444, who was apparently considering Hilarius's canonization.⁵⁶⁹ Interestingly, this excerpt from Bruschius's work was carefully written down at the nunnery (apparently from the printed edition of 1551) supplied with a German translation of the foundation charter—this bundle was preserved in the convent's archive.⁵⁷⁰ This report defines the self-perception of the nunnery as Henry II's foundation as well reveals its local devotional profile—SS, Henry, Cunigunde, and Hilarius.

The earliest evidence of the imperial couple being commemorated in the Neuburg nunnery comes from a thirteenth-century vernacular relic book (*Verzeugnis was fur Heilighumb*) that lists all the treasures of the nunnery's sacristy.⁵⁷¹ The collection had a variety of relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, which could have been supplied by Bamberg, and were considered among the most prestigious pieces. The first and most precious relic on the list is a piece of the Holy Cross, not only

⁵⁶⁶ Caspar Bruschius, *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum ac maxime illustrium centuria prima* (Ingolstadt: Weissenhorn, 1551); reprinted in the seventeenth century: Caspar Bruschius, *Chronologia monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum* (Salzburg: Scheurer, 1682). On this endeavor see Walther Ludwig, *Gaspar Bruschius als Historiograph deutscher Klöster und seine Rezeption: Paul Gerhard Schmidt zum 25 März gewidmet*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002).

⁵⁶⁷ Henry II issued a charter on May 13, 1007 from Bamberg (MGH DH II, 164–165), therefore it would have been possible for him, timewise, to be present in Regensburg on May 17.

⁵⁶⁸ Bruschius, *Monasteriorum Germaniae praecipuorum*, 95r–96r.

⁵⁶⁹ This account about “den lieben Erwuerdigen Bischof Hylarium, der des heyligen Kayser Hainrichs vnsers Stiffers Canzler gewesen” is in Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, Urkunden (1259–1584), 209.

⁵⁷⁰ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, 20.

⁵⁷¹ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, 16.

because of its importance for Christianity but also because of its connection to the foundation of the house and the memory of Emperor Henry—the relic was believed to be a gift by Henry II (here referred to as a saint).⁵⁷² After a dozen relics belonging to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist (such as a piece of a chair Christ sat upon or of a table he and Mary ate at) are described, the relics of the imperial couple are listed. The nunnery claimed to own a piece of St. Henry's mantel together with eight other relics of him and eight relics of St. Cunigunde.⁵⁷³ The book listed other relics of the foundational importance for the nunnery, such as that of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, and then of other more than fifty saints.

The high altar of the main church was dedicated to St. Henry and had a chaplain. This *Sand Kayser Heinrich's* altar was first mentioned in a charter from 1372 in the context of the quarrel around its prebendaries.⁵⁷⁴ In 1517, however, the same altar was referred to as devoted to both saints—*der heiligen kayser henrichs und kunigunden altar*.⁵⁷⁵ As mentioned earlier, in some localities, either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde was more important for the devotees; nevertheless, their images were tightly conflated with each other, especially in dedications made under the influence of Bamberg.

Such an abundance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics and their presence in the space was mirrored in the liturgical year of the nunnery in Neuburg. According to the calendars in several late medieval breviaries, both composed and used in the nunnery, the days of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde were observed among the nuns on March 3, July 13, and September 9 as major feasts.⁵⁷⁶ The performance of public veneration of the founder and his spouse was enhanced through indulgences, promising remission of a devotee's time in purgatory. One indulgence issued for the nunnery in 1353 urged a reader to visit the nunnery also on the feasts of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde, thus reserving for them a prominent place in the local hierarchy of feasts.⁵⁷⁷

Moreover, a new celebration for St. Henry was introduced exclusively in this foundation—*translatio Heinrici* (August 11), which probably referred to a translation of St. Henry's relics to Neuburg.⁵⁷⁸ For this feast, a special series of readings was chosen related to the emperor's

⁵⁷² BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, 16, f. 2r: "Am anfang ain gros namhaftigs stuck des heiligen hochwirdigen Kreutz unsers lieben herren Ihesu Christi das da herpracht hat der heilig herr Sand Kaiser hainrich Stiffter des wirdigen goczhaus."

⁵⁷³ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, 16, f. 2v.

⁵⁷⁴ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, Urkunden (1259–1584), 109: "praebende per sancte memorie Hainricum imperatorem dotate ac fundate." also in 192, 198, 234, 326 and other charters.

⁵⁷⁵ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, Urkunden (1259–1584) 367; 368; 369.

⁵⁷⁶ A breviary from Neuburg an der Donau, 1491, BSB, Clm. 28331, f. 1r–6v (a calendar); a breviary from Neuburg an der Donau (winter part), 1500, BSB, Clm. 28227, f. 2r–7v (a calendar); a breviary (summer part), 1500, BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 2r–7v (a calendar). On the feasts of SS. Henry and Cunigunde see Renate Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 143–45. Other feasts include St. Henry's canonization on March 11 and St. Cunigunde's canonization on March 29; these were rare and most probably not celebrated in the Neuburg nunnery.

⁵⁷⁷ BHSA, Benediktinerinnenkloster Neuburg, Urkunden (1259–1584) 75: "qui ad dictum monasterium in festo sancti Henrici imperatoris quondam et sancte Kunegundis uxoris sue humiliter et devote accesserint..."

⁵⁷⁸ BSB, Clm. 28227, f. 5v (*translatio hainrici*); BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 5v (*translatio S Hainrici*).

claudication, accompanied by chants from the common for confessors.⁵⁷⁹ The text, here divided into eight lections, adheres to the *additamentum* to the *vita Heinrici*, from which only the last part was cut out. It is unusual for this text from the *additamentum* to be used among liturgical readings, because chapters from the *vita* were usually selected for the service.

St. Henry's main feast on July 13 was celebrated with the *historia nova* office (with some antiphons from the common for martyrs),⁵⁸⁰ intertwined with the readings related to his death and the soul-weighing.⁵⁸¹ Surprisingly, the lectures do not come from the *vita Heinrici*, whose last chapters depict exactly these two episodes. The texts for this office in Neuburg were taken verbatim (with minor changes in word order) from Leo of Ostia's *Chronicle*, on which the episodes from the *vita* were based.⁵⁸² Nevertheless, the use of this text in a liturgical context is unusual, especially when the nunnery in Neuburg had access to several hagiographic texts about SS. Henry and Cunigunde, which were used for other readings. Such a choice of source is unlikely to be instigated by the *ad fontes* idea but by local interest in the figure of St. Henry.⁵⁸³ It also testifies to a wide reading horizon of the local nuns and the nonexistence of generic textual boundaries: a chronicle could be used as a liturgical reading as well as a *vita*.

St. Cunigunde's main feast was celebrated on March 3 with her *historia nova* office accompanied by the readings from the last chapter of the *vita Cunegundis*, namely about her death.⁵⁸⁴ The chants for the *translatio Cunegundis* (September 9) were taken from the common for virgins with eight lections arranged as a mosaic of two sources: the *Life of St. Henry* and the *Life of St. Cunigunde*.⁵⁸⁵ The readings begin with the first chapter of the *vita Cunegundis*, though in between an excerpt from the *vita Heinrici* is inserted, elaborating about St. Cunigunde's ordeal. From the sixth lection onwards, the *vita Cunegundis* is again the source of the readings, although none of the legends about her dwelling at Kaufungen were included.

⁵⁷⁹ BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 290r–291v (“Si quis vero scire desiderat quare gloriosus iste imperator claudicaverit...et exinde omni tempore vite sue claudicavit”); the reading is based on the *additamentum*, see “Vitae S. Heinrici Additamentum,” in MGH SS4, 818.

⁵⁸⁰ BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 227v: the antiphons according to the Cantus index are 003430, 001660, 003552.

⁵⁸¹ BSB, Clm. 28228, 225v–232r.

⁵⁸² Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino*, 254–6. The lections from the chronicle are arranged as follows: 1. “super ceteras bonitates... virginem vestram”; 2. “libet hoc in loco dignam... voluit demonstrare”; 3. “Hic itaque cum nocte ... turbam esse demonum”; 4. “Territus primo vir dei dehinc resumpta... plausibus talique tripudio”; 5. “Ait hainricus noster amicissimus... individuus socius cum autem”; 6. “Ad hec vir dei... confusione vos remittet”; 7. “Veruntamen impero tibi... solebat orationi incubuit”; 8. “Post biduum malignus... tenerer astrictus”.

⁵⁸³ The office might have been entirely copied from another source but, firstly, this Breviary was written at the convent for the nun Agnes Trugenhofer and, secondly, such a combination of the chosen lections does not occur in other offices, known to me.

⁵⁸⁴ BSB, Clm. 28227, f. 264r–267v. On the offices see Hankeln, “‘Properization’ and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints’ Offices.” The readings correspond to “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 824 (ch. 9). The collect is taken from St. Cunigunde's canonization bull, see Petersohn, “Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III.”

⁵⁸⁵ BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 329r–331r. The first excerpt is inserted between “procedere dedit” and “in fascibus itaque constituta.”

The general principle behind compiling the office readings in the nunnery was semantic—the fragments were not just copied from multiple sources (including Leo of Ostia's *Chronicle*) but also arranged in a logical structure, corresponding to the nature of the feast. Therefore, the episodes on St. Cunigunde's and St. Henry's last days were chosen to celebrate the anniversary of their deaths, even though it resulted in the discordance between the chants from their offices and the readings. Their *translatio* offices were used as a chance to explicate on their chastity and piety, represented by St. Cunigunde's ploughshare ordeal and St. Henry's divine claudication. Therefore, the nuns in Neuburg an der Donau had an abundant collection not only of the holy couple's relics but also of the cult-related texts, which were adjusted and reused for the local celebration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's feasts.⁵⁸⁶ The memory of Henry II as the historical founder, conflated with his and Cunigunde's status as saints, shaped the liturgical space and time of the nunnery—to the extent it can be reconstructed from the surviving materials.

The discussed examples of two female convents in Neuburg an der Donau and Niedernburg in Passau should be reviewed side by side as they reveal the transformations of local memories of Henry II and Cunigunde—from founders to celebrated saints. The image of Henry II as a founder and benefactor was kept on in legal documents and local memories alongside the advent of his and St. Cunigunde's cults in the early thirteenth century. The introduction of their feasts also affected the spatial and temporal aspects of life in these nunneries, providing more points of connection to the foundation's imperial past and imperial protection.

The memories of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, inhabiting the physical space and the communal memories, intertwined with other holy personae whose locus of sanctity was placed exactly in these nunneries. Since Gisela of Hungary was buried in Niedernburg, where she was considered almost as a blessed, her image was also shaped in relation to her holy brother St. Henry, highlighted by the inscription on the tomb, spatial arrangement, and décor of the chapel. In Neuburg an der Donau, on the other hand, an imaginary saint was unearthed at some point before the fifteenth century—St. Hilarius—who was claimed to be the chancellor of Henry II and was buried in the nunnery's church, where several miracles occurred at his tomb. St. Hilarius could have emerged in view of St. Henry's cult, confirming the link between St. Henry and a given location. Unfortunately, there are no documents on St Hilarius apart from that letter of Abbess Anna that could shed light on the origins of his brief (and unsuccessful) veneration.

⁵⁸⁶ E.g., in the introductory note of the same breviary (BSB, Clm. 28228, f. 11r). Henry II is mentioned as a "stifter" of the convent.

Lichtental

Veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was not spurred on only by the couple's historical connections with the Benedictine order or certain monastic spaces—although it was a powerful commemorative scenario. For a Cistercian nunnery in Lichtental, founded in 1245 near Baden-Baden under the patronage of the margraves of Baden, St. Cunigunde and St. Henry's virginity was of crucial importance, and this quality made them visible in this cloister's textual and visual environment.⁵⁸⁷

The nunnery was reformed in c. 1440, and this newly embraced observance triggered an outburst in local literary activities, especially thanks to a nun Regula (active 1445–1478).⁵⁸⁸ Astrid Breith devoted a monograph to Regula's literary activities, which comprised not only of copying but also of collecting, translating, and editing hagiographic and other texts. Regula also compiled the *Book of the Holy Virgins*—a vernacular thematic collection comprising of fifty-seven vernacular lives of female saints.⁵⁸⁹ Apparently, an initial corpus consisted of four thematic hagiographic collections, each devoted to apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, from which only the one devoted to the virgins is extant.⁵⁹⁰ No direct prototype of *das buch von den heiligen megden und frowen* is known; only some of the legends are based on the Latin *Legenda Aurea*.⁵⁹¹ Moreover, it is not a homogenous codex—other readings, following the *Book of the Holy Virgins*, include medical excerpts, letters of Pseudo-Eusebius and Pseudo-Hieronymus, and a dialog called *die schule der tugenden*.

As this kind of hagiographic material served as an edifying reading in monastic spaces, it is possible that local nuns would be especially eager to engage with legends about female saints, whose chastity, devotion, worldly renunciation, and penitence they strived to imitate in their daily religious experiences. However, *das buch von den heiligen megden und frowen* included along with the life of St. Cunigunde also the hagiography of St. Henry—the only male saint in this otherwise female assemblage of saints.⁵⁹² Regula was explicit about the reason for distorting the book of *den heiligen megden und frowen* with a hagiography of a male ruler: “Cunigunde was a Roman empress and was the spouse of Emperor Henry, who founded the dioceses of Basel and Bamberg. The same emperor desired to remain a virgin (*hett wille kusche maget zu bliben*) and promised it to God,” and then “since

⁵⁸⁷ Karen Evers and Annika Stello, *Lucida vallis: das Kloster Lichtental als Zentrum kultureller Überlieferung* (Bretten: INFO Verlag, 2018).

⁵⁸⁸ Evers and Stello, *Lucida vallis*, 74–5; Astrid Breith, *Textaneignung das Frauenlegendar der Lichtenthaler Schreibmeisterin Schwester Regula* (Münster: Waxmann, 2010).

⁵⁸⁹ *Das Buch von den heiligen megden und frowen*, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Licht. 69.

⁵⁹⁰ Kunze, “Alemannische Legendare (I),” 29–38. On the *liber virginum* in vernacular tradition see Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters*, 29–30. On the organization of legendaries see François Dolbeau, “Notes sur l'organisation interne des légendiers latins,” in *Hagiographie cultures et sociétés: IVe-XIIe siècles: actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris, 2-5 mai 1979* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1981), 11–31, esp. 16–7.

⁵⁹¹ Konrad Kunze, “Regulas Bearbeitung der Legenda aurea für die Tischlesung in Kloster Lichtental: Werk- und wortgeschichtliche Beobachtungen,” in *Ze hove und an der strâzen: die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters und ihr “Sitz im Leben”*; *Festschrift für Volker Schupp zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Keck, Theodor Nolte, and Volker Schupp (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999), 84–94. For the possible sources of each legend see the register in Breith, *Textaneignung das Frauenlegendar der Lichtenthaler Schreibmeisterin Schwester Regula*, 165–270.

⁵⁹² Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Licht. 69, f. 204v–211r.

Emperor Henry and his spouse were virgins, we also want to tell something about him.”⁵⁹³ Although virginity is a virtue and liturgical designation predominantly associated with female saints,⁵⁹⁴ St. Henry’s virginity was nevertheless perceived as equally instructive.

Regula assembles a unique version of the *Life of St. Cunigunde* that contains translated and edited excerpts arranged chronologically in a concise narrative from both *vita Heinrici* and *vita Cunegundis* as well as the *additamentum*. The legend starts with St. Henry’s quest for a bride and the marriage of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, when they gave a secret vow of chastity, proceeding then with St. Cunigunde’s ordeal by burning ploughshares.⁵⁹⁵ Then Regula describes St. Henry’s death, followed by St. Cunigunde’s withdrawal to a nunnery, where her dwelling was marked by several miracles.⁵⁹⁶ St. Henry’s legend in this codex consists of a brief recounting of the saint’s major foundation as well as his battle against the pagan (aided by SS. Lawrence, George, and Adrian), St. Benedict’s healing of the emperor, Pope Benedict VIII’s visit to Bamberg, and the conversion of Hungary. The legend ends with St. Henry’s soul-weighing and his posthumous appearance in a vision to Bruno of Augsburg.⁵⁹⁷ While St. Henry’s legend corresponds to the saint’s image of a confessor in the Latin hagiography, St. Cunigunde’s legend is rearranged in a way to highlight her life-long pursue of virginity and piety, making the saint’s experiences at the court and in the nunnery relatable to the local nuns of Lichtental, who were often connected with the margraves of Baden. This compilation of narratives also allowed its audience to perceive marriage as a vehicle but not an obstacle in pursue of a pious lifestyle.

Moreover, St. Cunigunde is represented on an altarpiece from the nunnery’s church (now in Fürstenkapelle) from 1496, probably commissioned by the abbess Margareta von Baden. The visual program of this extensive altarpiece is built around female sanctity: two panels represent the legends of St. Ursula and her following and St. Mary of Egypt, all highly revered at Lichtental. Other panels and predella depict figures of 6 male saints and 15 female, among whom is also St. Cunigunde, recognized not only by the inscription on her nimbus but also by a church model in her hands that resembles Bamberg Cathedral.⁵⁹⁸ St. Cunigunde is depicted together with a virgin martyr St. Apollonia

⁵⁹³ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Licht. 69, f. 204v: “Kunigundis was ein Romische keiserin und was keiser heinrichs fraw der die stifte zu Basel und zu Babenburg machte. der selb keiser hett wille kusche maget zu bliben und hett das auch got heimlichen gelopt;” f. 209v: “Syt nu keiser Heinrich ir sponse kusche maget starp, so mogen wir auch zimlich von im sagen.”

⁵⁹⁴ Felice Lifshitz, “Gender Trouble in Paradise: The Problem of the Liturgical Virgo,” in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland and Garry Dickson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 25–39.

⁵⁹⁵ These two episodes correspond to the first and the third parts of the *additamentum* that were often transmitted together attached to or instead of the *vita Cunegundis*, “*Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum*.” Also see Chapter 2.

⁵⁹⁶ St. Henry’s death scene is taken from Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 302–3; the subsequent legends are based on the “*Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis*,” 821–4.

⁵⁹⁷ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Licht. 69, f. 209v–211r; the narrative corresponds to the respective chapters of the *vita Heinrici*.

⁵⁹⁸ Ilas Bartusch, Deutsche Inschriften Online 78, Stadt Baden-Baden und Landkreis Rastatt, Nr. 127, <http://www.inschriften.net/baden-baden-und-landkreis-rastatt/inschrift/nr/di078-0127.html#content> (accessed July 1, 2021).

and St. Helen; both empresses are dressed in similar garments and wear crowns that distinguish their status. Here, St. Cunigunde once more appears as a signification—one among many others present in the same space—of female sanctity.

Altogether, although there is no evidence of liturgical commemoration of either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde in the extant liturgical manuscripts, these saints were still rendered as valuable role models and edifying examples within a female monastic environment. In Regula's writings, their hagiographies were filtered through the prism of experiences relevant to the female community.

The Imperial Couple in the Monastic Literary Networks of Brabant

The legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were introduced to the Brabantine literary milieu in the 1480s: their hagiographies can be found in two local hagiographic collections and an incunabulum published in Brussels in 1484, the latter devoted solely to the holy couple.⁵⁹⁹ Until the end of the fifteenth century, however, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not known in the local religious landscape. As the following discussion shows, their legends appeared in Brabant due to transregional monastic networks, especially of the Windesheim congregation, and intensified cultural connections between the Empire and Brabant established due to the presence of the Habsburg court in the region.

Moreover, these Brabantine hagiographic and liturgical texts devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared in unique visual forms and textual variations, also including previously unknown epitaphs and fragments. Klaus Schreiner was the first to point our attention to the presence of these two saints in the Brabantine and Flemish milieu, though mostly with respect to the panel painting known as *Heinrichstafel* discussed later.⁶⁰⁰ The print and the hagiographic collections were mentioned in passing and remained unattended in the subsequent scholarship, and these texts were never discussed in relation to the saints' cults as well as cultural and political contexts of their production.⁶⁰¹ This chapter plunges these codices and the print in the context of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's late medieval cults, analyzing them against the backdrop of the literary practices of the Brabantine monastic houses and the *Devotio Moderna*. Although the new elements and textual variations in these codices and the early print are taken into account, this chapter does not offer a scrutinized textual analysis but rather presents these hagiographies in their cultural milieu of production and use.

⁵⁹⁹ KBR, MS 219–221, f. 108v–114r; and KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172r–180v. The early print: *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis* (Brussels: Fratres vitae communis, 1484).

⁶⁰⁰ Klaus Schreiner, *“Sakrale Herrschaft” und “Heiliger Krieg”: Kaisertum, Kirche und Kreuzzug im Spiegel der spätmittelalterlichen Heinrichstafel* (Münster: Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe, 1985). On the discussion of this painting see Chapter 8.

⁶⁰¹ Some excerpts from these codices are included in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition, while Stumpf noted the two codices in his edition of the *vita Henrici* (B₅ and B₆), see “De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice,” 280; Stumpf, *Vita Henrici*, 76–8.

The Bethlehem priory

The earliest collection from the Brabant region that included the hagiographic material about St. Henry and St. Cunigunde is a manuscript dated 1480 from an Augustinian priory of Bethlehem (also Bethlehem)—in Herent near Leuven.⁶⁰² This Augustinian house was founded in 1407, and soon after it joined the Windesheim congregation in 1412. Despite adopting strict enclosure, the priory maintained intensive contacts not only with neighboring Augustinian houses (such as the priory of Groenendael) but also with the University of Leuven (established in 1425) and multiple *literati*. Therefore, Bethlehem developed into an important space for religious reform movements and the region's intellectual culture, which was characterized by Champion as a culture “founded in devotion to book learning and manufacture,” in line with the practices of the *Devotio Moderna*.⁶⁰³ Moreover, the priory had generous lay donors, and in the congregation's historical compendium, Petrus Impens (c. 1451–1523) “mentioned with satisfaction at several points the role of the ducal family as patrons.”⁶⁰⁴

The Bethlehem codex was comprised originally of 242 folios (today, the first fifteen folios are missing), and various hagiographic texts are arranged in two tightly written columns navigated by rubrics, unembellished capitals, and rare decorated initials that are the only illuminations. The process of selecting and arranging hagiographic materials devoted to various saints reshaped their meaning in a way that reflected the identity of the monastic community from the vantage point of their position

⁶⁰² KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172r–180v. On the manuscript see: Société des Bollandistes, ed., *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis. Pars I: Codices Latini Membranei* (Brussels: Typis Polleunis, Ceuterick et Lefébure, 1886), 381–395; Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 77–8. KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172r (the note about the manuscript—or its part—being completed in 1480); a note on f. 1r (before the first 15 pages were lost, it was f. 16r) reads as “Beth. Lov.” that is identified with the priory in Bethlehem. Champion also described these marks of ownership used in Bethlehem: Matthew S. Champion, *The Fullness of Time: Temporalities of the Fifteenth-Century Low Countries* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 134–35. However, the note might not refer to the place of production but to the place of its later use or even early modern provenance (the text clearly predates the remark). Nevertheless, scribal features and comparative analysis with another manuscript produced by Windesheim congregation and the incunabulum allows to assume that this codex was native to the literary environment of Brabantine priories. With this ownership mark at hand (“Beth. Lov.”), one can clearly connect the codex with the Augustinian priory in Leuven, while Stumpf, for example, claimed that this codex comes from the community of Augustinian canonesses Béllian near Mons, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 77–8. Unfortunately, I have inherited this misinterpretation in the article “Female Saints as Agents of Female Healing: Gendered Practices and Patronage in the Cult of St. Cunigunde”, in *Gender, Health, and Healing, 1250–1550*, ed. by Sara Ritchey and Sharon Strocchia (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 67–90; however, the hagiographic collection indeed puts an emphasis on female sanctity and spirituality as discussed below.

⁶⁰³ On the priory see: Johannes G. R. Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed: 3* (Utrecht: Van der Post, 1880), 56–58 (here the priory is mistakenly defined as Carthusian). On the Windesheim congregation in Brabant see: Thomas Kock, “Selbstvergewisserung und Memoria in der *Devotio moderna*: Die Traditionscodices der brabantischen Augustiner-Chorherrenstifte,” in *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind*, ed. Werner Verbeke, Ludo Milis, and Jean Goossens (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 181–204. Much of the Bethlehem priory's history is derived from a historiographic account written in Bethlehem by Petrus Impens in the first decades of the sixteenth century (the autograph is now in ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12816); on this chronicle see: John H. van Engen, “A Brabantine Perspective on the Origins of the Modern Devotion: The First Book of Petrus Impens's *Compendium Decursus Temporum Monasterii Christefere Bethleemite Puerpere*,” in *Serta Devota Guillelmi Lourdaux: Devotio Windeshemensis*, ed. Werner Verbeke and Willem Lourdaux (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992), 3–78.

⁶⁰⁴ Champion, *The Fullness of Time*, 136. Also see studies by Ernest Persoons, e.g. “Het intellectuele leven in het klooster Bethlehem in de 15de eeuw,” *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique* 43 (1972): 47–84.

⁶⁰⁴ Van Engen, “A Brabantine Perspective,” 36.

in Brabant.⁶⁰⁵ Thus, several local saints are included, with additional information provided about their relics located in the vicinity.⁶⁰⁶ Other hagiographies are of universally venerated saints, such as SS. Sebastian, Barbara, and Ursula. Therefore, the appearance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in this collection—and in the religious and literary landscape of the region as a whole—might be striking.

SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies are present in this collection in a distinct form—with a new prologue, a different version of St. Cunigunde's life, epitaphs, a passage adapted from Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*,⁶⁰⁷ and further textual variations. The same elements are also used in the other hagiographic collection from Groenendaal and the incunabulum discussed below. The *vita Heinrici* conforms to the shortened second edition that was widespread in medieval Europe.⁶⁰⁸ This abridged version eliminated the charters related to Bamberg's history and therefore became less bonded to the Bamberg area, more compact, and better suited for liturgical readings. As a new prologue, it is hardly possible to establish their provenance—either they were devised in Bethlehem or other Brabantine scriptoria or copied from a codex of a distant provenance that already contained these texts. Except for the epitaph about St. Henry, to the best of my knowledge, there are no texts outside of Brabant that contain any of the mentioned elements.

The nature of these additions and interpolations is twofold: to provide religious instructions (especially in the prologue) and to elaborate upon specific features of the saintly couple. Although St. Henry is liturgically perceived as a confessor, in the prologue, he is also represented as a pious donor and a virgin.⁶⁰⁹ Unlike the other two prologues circulating mostly in Central Europe, which elaborate on St. Henry's place in imperial succession and plainly summarize the saint's life,⁶¹⁰ the Bethlehem prologue functions as a reader's key for comprehending the *vita*. Its first part sets up a spiritual tone and triggers a desire to emulate the saint, while the latter, devoted to St. Henry's holiness, accentuates his most important saintly deeds. The theme of saint's virginity was enlarged in the current version of the *vita Heinrici*: the chapter describing St. Cunigunde's ordeal, originally narrated in brief, is

⁶⁰⁵ On the production of Dutch devotional books and their customization see Kathryn M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized Their Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016).

⁶⁰⁶ For example, the collection recounts the *vitae* of SS. Ragenufle and Ermeline, early medieval Brabantine saints, known for their refusal to live a married life and their subsequent hermitage; the legends of a seventh-century "holy family" from Mons are also included, those of St. Waltrude, her husband Madelgaire and their children.

⁶⁰⁷ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 177–8.

⁶⁰⁸ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172v–179r. The composition of episodes from the *vita Heinrici* in this codex is following: a new prologue for both SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies ("Si beatorum tantummodo spirituum... ad ipsius utique laudem et gloriam qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula"), 1–6, 17–21 (in 18 an original interpolation about Cunigunde: "Habuit autem imperator Henricus uxorem..."), 22, 25, 26–28, a new episode adopted from the *Speculum Historiale* ("Iste sanctus vir Henricus monasterium sancti Adalberti... qui postmodum prophetico spiritu claruit"), 29–34, 35 (from the second sentence), 36–40 (shortened), 41–42 (43 omitted, no Merseburg miracles), an additional description of St. Henry ("Anno domini 1003 Henricus, dux Bavariae... a se fundata venerabiliter tumultus") and a verse epigram ("Henrici sancti meritum... pravis mala facta rependam.") The text of the prologue, the epilogue, and the epigram are available in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum*, 182–4; 386–8; other interpolations are in Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 177, footnotes 537 and 538.

⁶⁰⁹ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172r–172v: "maxime tamen in divini cultus ampliacione, episcopatum constructione, denique in castitatis virginalis cum sanctissima uxore Cunigunde, immo spirituali sorore conservatione."

⁶¹⁰ These two prologues published by Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 329–34.

supplied here with additional details.⁶¹¹ For example, one of the passages highlights a similitude between St. Cunigunde and the Virgin (initially present in the *vita Cunegundis*)—the likeness often noticed by authors and devotees of St. Cunigunde.⁶¹²

The epilogue consists of temporal concordances of Henry II's reign with other secular and ecclesiastical rulers at the point of his ascension to the royal throne, the imperial coronation, the foundation of Bamberg, and his death. This idea of temporal concordances is crucial for medieval historiography and is used as a structural element for a multitude of chronicles, though it never appeared in other Brabantine codices with Henry's hagiography and remains unique for Bethlehem. The *vita* in this codex is concluded with an epitaph praising St. Henry, which text is arranged continuously without breaking the lines according to the verses. The epitaph was incompletely copied from another codex since four years later it appeared in the printed legend of SS. Henry and Cunigunde and was two lines longer.⁶¹³ In part, this epitaph is based on Gottfried of Viterbo's *Pantheon*, though much more elaborated in praises of St. Henry's sanctity.⁶¹⁴ An abridged version of this epitaph figures in a codex of Bamberg provenance as well as in Hartmann Schedel's collection.⁶¹⁵ In these verses, St. Henry's merits are praised and his miracle-working relics as well; the last three lines are conceived as St. Henry's direct speech as the patron (*patronus*) and protector (*vindex*) of Bamberg. This imagined "self-presentation" of St. Henry and the mentioning of his relics' *elevatio* points to Bamberg as a place of origin—an epitaph from Upper Franconia reached the Brabantine literary milieu.

This collection continues with St. Cunigunde's hagiography; noteworthy, in Brabant, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends were always copied together as a single complex. The Bethlehem codex contains a peculiar—and previously unknown—shortened version of the *vita Konegundis*, which is also transmitted in MS 219–221 and the printed legend.⁶¹⁶ Apart from evident contractions, an extensive list of almost a hundred of St. Cunigunde's postmortem miracles is cut down to three, while a narrative describing St. Cunigunde as a patroness of parturient ladies is added, which is discussed in the next chapter.⁶¹⁷ Although this version covers the same topics in a similar sequence as the first *vita* written in Bamberg around 1200, the wording is often different while some passages

⁶¹¹ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 174r–174v; additional remarks do not correspond to the extended narratives of the *additamentum* or its vernacular versions; this chapter in the *vita*: Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 274–77.

⁶¹² KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 174v; Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 106–8, 166–7; Meyer, "Die konstruierte Heilige," 74–7.

⁶¹³ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 61r: "Henrici sancti meritum sollemniter audi..."

⁶¹⁴ See Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 240–1.

⁶¹⁵ See Chapter 3 and 5.

⁶¹⁶ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179r–180r; KBR, MS 219–221, f. f. 114r–115r; *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 51r–53r.

⁶¹⁷ For more on this function of St. Cunigunde's cult in Bamberg see Chapter 5.

are cut out.⁶¹⁸ Stumpf has suggested that this version can be a translation from vernacular based on an erroneous belief that this was the case for all text in the Brussels print; however, this version corresponds neither to Ebernand of Erfurts's poem nor *Der Heiligen Leben*.⁶¹⁹ A comparison between the versions suggests that the Brabantine version was based on the Bamberg *vita* from the early thirteenth century, though extensively reworked to make it shorter (table 4.1).

Table 4.1. A comparison of the beginning of the first chapter from the *vita Cunegundis* in its Bamberg and Brabant redactions. Italics in the second column mark the phrases that were reused in the Bethlehem codex.

KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179r (BHL 2003)	“Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 821 (BHL 2001)
<p>Nobilissimis augustorum konegundis orta natalibus, romanorum imperatori heinrico iuncta matriomonio, celesti regi virginitatem suam consensu coniugis consecravit. ac usque ad finem deo teste consummavit. Sicut post accusata de adulterio super ignitos vomeres incedens illesa conprobavit.</p> <p>Sub terreni tamen imperii clamide continent[i]s gloriam abscondere satagebat ut eo efficacius promoveret quod instigante deo perficere cogitabat.</p>	<p>Ex <i>nobilissimo</i> parentum, magnorum videlicet <i>augustorum</i>, sanguine, duo inmarcessibilis glorie flores enituerunt, secundus videlicet <i>Heinricus, Romani inperii</i> gloriosissimum decus, eiusque dignissima contectalis pie memorie Cunegundis inperatrix. Eadem vero beata et Deo dilecta Cunegundis terreno inperatori copulariter, non carnaliter coniuncta, <i>celesti regi virginitatem suam consercravit</i>, quam usque <i>in finem</i> casti coniugis consensu, <i>Deo teste</i>, conservavit.</p> <p>Quod <i>postmodum</i> divinitas, ne lumen in tenebris lateret, ostendit; dum eam, ad confundendum virginitatis hostem et obstuendum os mendacium contra virginem Christi loquentium, <i>super ignitos vomeres incedere et illesam</i> procedere dedit. In fascibus itaque constituta, <i>continentie sue gloriam sub terreni clamide inperii satagebat abscondere</i>, ut tanto propensius, quanto <i>efficacius</i> poterat, <i>promoveret</i>, que <i>Deo instigante</i>, illo quoque adiuvante, ad laudem ipsius <i>cogitabat perficere</i>.</p>

The printed legend from 1484 also contains this text and hints at a possible function of this shortened version, namely as six lections from St. Cunigunde's secular office.⁶²⁰ Although in the

⁶¹⁸ The chapter sequence for KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179r–180r is following (numbering provided according to “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis”): 1 (“Nobilissimus augustorum kunegundis... mirari non cesset”): shortened and slightly rewritten, the ending verbatim; 2 (“O coniugium non voluptate... nunquam deficit”): only two sentences; 3 (“Christianissimo itaque imperatore... cum Maria”): only one sentence; 5 (“Denique in ipso anniversario... decubantium visitatio et consolation”): shortened; 6 (“Miraculorum eius... conservavit illaesas”): shortened and rewritten; 7 (“Dum filia sororis sue... vite sue non caruit”): shortened and rewritten; 8 (“Cum solempni suo more... eam suscepit”): only one sentence verbatim; 9 (“Quindesim in sancto proposito... repositum est”): shortened; Miracle 1 (“Anno domini millesimo... laudes declamaret”): prologue missing, the miracle shortened; Miracle 2 (“Igitur dum hec... precabatur obtinuit”): verbatim; Miracle 3 (“Item cum fama signorum... optatam invenit”): almost verbatim; a report about Cunigunde's tunic and its healing powers (“Porro mirabile quoddam... exhibetur postulata”); a concluding statement (“Item multi alii... in secula seculorum. Amen”).

⁶¹⁹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 77, footnote 211.

⁶²⁰ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 51r–53r.

Bethleem codex the lectures are not explicitly marked as liturgical readings and the repeated invocation “Tu autem domine miserere nobis” is omitted, the fragments are structured according to the division of lections in the printed legend. Therefore, this text represents a liturgical reading for St. Cunigunde’s feast, recrafted from her original *vita*.

St. Cunigunde’s legend, similarly to Henry’s, is concluded with an epitaph that is also written as a continuous text.⁶²¹ The epitaph lauds the empresses’ virginity, proven by the ordeal of ploughshares and her later withdrawal to the nunnery. The final two lines relate that her remains are hosted by Bamberg and produce multiple miracles. Since the metrical structure of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s epitaphs are similar, and they both emphasize the power of saints’ miracle-working relics, they were, most probably, composed by the same author, closely related to Bamberg.

The epitaph for St. Cunigunde is followed by a practical note about the order of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s celebrations and how to resolve a collision between the feasts—a frequent problem for medieval liturgical calendars. As St. Henry’s feast falls on the same day as St. Margaret’s (July 13), a community of celebrants should decide which feast to move on the next day, and the chosen strategies varied.⁶²² The note tells how differently St. Henry’s feast was managed in Basel and in Bamberg, without associating the author or a reader with any of these communities. The aim of the note was not to provide instruction for celebrants (as often occurred in breviaries) but to simply inform about various practices and the feast days. The feast of St. Cunigunde is also mentioned, though its characteristics were related incorrectly—her feast does not fall on the day after St. Henry’s feast but after the Nativity of the Virgin.⁶²³

The concluding excerpt tells about worrisome astrological signs such as a red moon and a comet that occurred during Henry II’s reign, as well as notes about the Christianization of Hungary and the ascension of Pope Benedict VIII.⁶²⁴ This note clearly originates from a historiographic text as it was common for chronicles and annals to relate to astrological phenomena. Similar events concurrent to the reign of Henry II are described, for example, in *Fasciculus temporum*: one of its prints was prepared in Leuven in 1475.⁶²⁵ These last two notes—on liturgical celebrations and on astrological and other events—differ in their narrative style and function from previously described hagiographic legends and epitaphs of the holy imperial couple that could be used as edifying readings or the lections for their offices. These notes were included in the Bethleem manuscript (or its source, from which the texts were copied) out of an encyclopedic mindset prone to gathering hagiographic

⁶²¹ It is also included in the Brussels print: *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 63v: “Cognoscant laudes Konegundis... fiunt miranda frequenter.”

⁶²² Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 147–8.

⁶²³ This note with the correct timing for St. Cunigunde’s feast is found in the print: *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 45v–46r.

⁶²⁴ Also printed in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum*, 389: “Huius temporis... pontifex creatur.”

⁶²⁵ Werner Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum* (Leuven: Jan Veldener, 1475), f. 53r.

and historiographical knowledge about St. Henry and his spouse. It also reveals that although saints generally represented transpersonal Christian values, in some instances, they retained their “historical” personae.⁶²⁶ All in all, even a brief analysis of the texts from the Bethlehem codex and their relation to other SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s legends suggests that by the end of the fifteenth century, the Brabantine region witnessed an influx of the imperial couple’s hagiographies and related texts in versions different from those known in Bamberg or in other parts of the Holy Roman Empire.

The type of sanctity promoted in the hagiographies of the imperial couple does not correspond directly with the values of an enclosed lifestyle practiced by the community of Bethlehem, although, as argued before, these saints were sometimes reshaped to fit the “monastic” profile and the example of the Cistercian nunnery of Lichtental is the most telling in this respect. Augustinian canons could have also sympathized with the virginal conduct of the holy couple. However, the alterations and additions to SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s hagiographies promoted them as religious founders and donors—an image that could have been used as an example for local secular donors. St. Cunigunde’s widowhood in a nunnery might echo the pathway of female members of neighboring convents.

Noteworthy, more than half of the hagiographies in this codex are devoted to female saints: the collection includes the lives, martyrdoms, and miracles of twenty four saintly women against fourteen male saints.⁶²⁷ The list of female saints includes not only widely recognized virgin martyrs but also Merovingian, Carolingian, and more recent female saints from Central Europe, such as SS. Elizabeth, Hedwig, and Cunigunde. Since the accent of feminine sanctity is evident in this hagiographic collection, this codex could have been developed in connection to the neighboring female houses of Windesheim congregation, such as St. Ursula in Leuven, Barberendal in Tienen, or Jericho in Brussels. Any female convent was entrusted to the care of two priors and a rector from the same Windesheim congregation, who would need instructional material—however, most often written in vernacular. As Patricia Stoop has shown, the priory of Bethlehem was responsible for *cura monialium* over the convent of Jericho in Brussels, which, in its turn, was also involved in literary exchanges in the region.⁶²⁸ Therefore, an establishment of personal and literary networks between

⁶²⁶ For more on the combination of historiographic and hagiographic knowledge on the imperial couple see Chapter 2.

⁶²⁷ The difference in numbers between male and female saints included in this hagiographic collection is especially striking when considering the overall majority of male saints. According to Schulenburg, only fifteen per cent of the medieval *communio sanctorum* were women. See Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 12.

⁶²⁸ Patricia Stoop, “The Convent of Jericho in Brussels and Its Literary Network,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 44 (2014): 381–412; on female spirituality within the *devotio moderna* movement see Wybren Scheepsma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The ‘Modern Devotion,’ the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings* (Woodbridge; Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2004).

male and female congregations of Brabant is highly possible, as well as the compilation of this hagiographic collection in Bethlehem for the needs of overseeing local female congregations.⁶²⁹

The Groenendaal priory

The other late-fifteenth century codex from the Brabant region with the hagiographies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde is MS 219–221 was used (and probably compiled after 1482) in the priory of Augustinian canons regular in Groenendaal (also Groenendael) in Zoniën (Soignes) forest near Brussels.⁶³⁰ Since its foundation around the 1340s, the Groenendaal priory was central to mystical teaching and the *Devotio Moderna*, especially due to the figure of John of Ruysbroeck (d. 1381), its first prior. In 1413, the monastic community entered the Windesheim congregation, as was the case a year earlier for the Bethlehem priory; subsequently, the two priories had regular connections, enabled by the fact that they were situated close to each other.⁶³¹ The collection in question includes mostly the legends of universally venerated saints (such as SS. Peter and Paul, Benedict, Margaret) as well as homilies and sermons, not arranged in a liturgical order. Therefore, in this codex, the imperial couple appeared not in a context of predominantly female local saints, as was for the Bethlehem codex, but among widely known holy men and women.

The outline and laconic visual appearance of the manuscript are similar to the Bethlehem codex. Two illuminations embellishing the *vitae* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are the only exception: St. Henry's legend is opened with a half-page miniature and ornamental borders, while Cunigunde's *vita* is marked with a similar ornamental border of only half a page.⁶³² The incorporation of this visual program in the otherwise modestly decorated manuscript immediately brings attention to these saints and highlights their status for the community or its patrons.

The miniature portrays SS. Henry and Cunigunde together on a throne dressed in imperial attire.⁶³³ Bearded St. Henry holds an orb and a scepter; his imperial and saintly status is highlighted by a crown, above which one can recognize an almost transparent nimbus. St. Cunigunde has a veil under her crown; she also holds a book in her hand—an element unusual for her representations, although common in for depicting noble ladies and certain other saints. The saints are placed in a courtly environment: they are surrounded by male and female retinue; the architectural background is reminiscent of a ceremony hall. An angel with bright blue wings floats above the throne, carrying

⁶²⁹ On the life in female Windesheim convents see Ernest Persoons, "Lebensverhältnisse in den Frauenklöstern der Windesheimer Kongregation in Beglien und in den Niederlanden," in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Heinrich Appelt (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 73–112, esp. 75, 89–90.

⁶³⁰ KBR, MS 219–221, f. 108r–115r. The description of the codex is provided in *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum*, 181–6 and Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 76–7.

⁶³¹ Acquoy, *Het klooster te Windesheim en zijn invloed*, 14 mentions that Emperor Charles V, among other rulers, often visited the priory. However, it is reflected neither in primary sources nor later secondary literature.

⁶³² KBR, MS 219–221, f. 108r, f. 114r.

⁶³³ The miniature mentioned by Schreiner, "Sakrale Herrschaft" und "Heiliger Krieg," 31–3.

an empty scroll. From the left side, the golden strays of light shine towards SS. Henry and Cunigunde. Two monks are also present in the scene: they are kneeling in front of the throne, each presenting a scroll to the couple (these scrolls are also left empty). Their habits reveal them as canons regular—they wear white habits with black capes hanging over their arms. Taking into account their affiliation and position in the image as supplicants, these canons can be identified with the monks of Groenendael. The text starts below the miniature and is arranged in two columns, marked by golden and blue borders and an ornamental initial “S.” As the text is smoothly integrated into the illumination, the visual program was a part of the initial concept to embellish this specific hagiography with an image.⁶³⁴ This iconographic type used in the miniature is not common for SS. Henry and Cunigunde—in the German-speaking lands, they were depicted as pair of donors, holding a church model in their hands. As Klaus Schreiner has pointed out, this miniature is similar to a woodcut from the legend of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, printed in Brussels in 1484.⁶³⁵

The woodcut, placed at the beginning of the print, is a simplified version of the same iconographic type used in Groenendaal, depicting the imperial couple on the throne. Here, however, the saints receive the second crowns, which could be a distinction given for their virginity.⁶³⁶ The woodcut from the printed *Legendae* could have been a prototype for an elaborated miniature in the codex. In this case, the Groenendael codex would have been compiled after 1484. However, it is also possible that this manuscript became one of the several sources used for the print made in Brussels—the details of the print production and its connection to the manuscripts are to be discussed in the next section.

The legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde from the Groenendael hagiographic collection are similar to the ones from the Bethlehem codex.⁶³⁷ The version of the *vita Heinrichi* from Groenendael is closer to the second edition from Bamberg as it is transmitted almost in full and with no additions apart from the prologue. St. Cunigunde’s *vita* is transmitted in a version similar to the one found in Bethlehem: it contains shortened chapters with changed wording and does not narrate all the miracles.⁶³⁸ The report about St. Cunigunde’s tunic and the epitaph are though missing. It is likely that prior to 1480, there existed one or several prototypes for Groenendaal and Bethlehem, which included the second edition of the *vita* and the prologue, and that was also one of the sources for the printed legends. Taken together, these Brabantine codices represent a new practice in transmitting

⁶³⁴ On the top of each folio, there is consecutive numbering contemporary to the codex production, which confirms that the hagiographies were not attached at a later point.

⁶³⁵ Schreiner, “*Sakrale Herrschaft*” und “*Heiliger Krieg*”, 31–3.

⁶³⁶ On the symbolism of a crown in saints’ iconographies see Hall and Uhr, “Aureola Super Auream.”

⁶³⁷ KBR, MS 219–221, f. 108r–114r; the sequence of episodes is as follows: the prologue (“Si beatorum tantummodo spirituum... ad ipsius utique laudem et gloriam qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in secula”), 1–6, 17–22 (ch. 22 endet with “plantationem visitaret”), 25–43.

⁶³⁸ KBR, MS 219–221, f. 114r–115r.

SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends, which included previously unknown texts and also inspired new iconographic forms.

The interconnectedness of the two codices, namely the versions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends transmitted in them, stems from the shared book culture of the Windesheim congregations in the Brabant region, to which the priories in Bethlehem and Groenendaal belonged. Their location in the vicinity of each other furthered religious, cultural, and intellectual ties among the congregation's male and, as Stoop has argued, female priories.⁶³⁹ The printing of the *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis* by the Brothers of the Common Life in Brussels appeared to be a related phenomenon—a part of the same Brabantine literary network.

The Brothers of the Common Life

The first printed legend that was devoted solely to SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared not in their native milieu of the Bamberg diocese and its vicinity, but in Brussels. It was printed in 1484 by the Brothers of the Common Life (*Fratres vitae communis in Nazareth*): this print contained their hagiographies, liturgical hymns and readings, invocations, verse epitaphs, and three woodcuts. Some of these elements correspond to the earlier known hagiographic forms, those originating from Bamberg and popular in Southern Germany, as well as the texts from the Bethlehem and Groenendaal codices, while some texts are not traceable in earlier sources.⁶⁴⁰

The Brethren of the Common Life was a secular congregation widespread in the German lands and the Low Countries that belonged to the Devotio Moderna movement and followed some of the monastic rules.⁶⁴¹ This type of lay religious communal living (popular among both men and women) was instigated by Gerard Groote, who was also related to the foundation of the Windesheim congregation. Therefore, the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life absorbed a devotional and book-oriented spirituality similar to that of Windesheim, which also emphasized the instructional benefits of reading and copying activities. For example, the Brothers in Brussels were tightly connected to the houses of the Windesheim congregation in Brabant, foremost to Bethlehem (as revealed in the contemporary priory's chronicle).⁶⁴²

Clerical and monastic communities eagerly took part in the new market of printed books not only as buyers or facilitators but also as producers. The establishment of printing presses in monastic or semi-monastic houses was not an uncommon phenomenon: Falk Eisermann has discussed how

⁶³⁹ Stoop, "The Convent of Jericho in Brussels and Its Literary Network."

⁶⁴⁰ This print has been taken into account in the *Acta Sanctorum*, though only for one narrative ("De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice," 280) and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (BHL 2001, 2004, 2005, 2009, 3816). However, it has been constantly omitted in the subsequent studies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults.

⁶⁴¹ About the movement see John H. van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

⁶⁴² Engen, "A Brabantine Perspective on the Origins of the Modern Devotion," 34–5.

monks, friars, and brethren “employed for their purposes the new technology of printing.”⁶⁴³ However, not much is known about the organization of the printing process in monastic establishments. Specialized craftsmen were often invited for assistance while some activities, such as producing woodcuts, could have been outsourced to other workshops. Monastic communities were able to offer enough human and financial resources for running such an enterprise, but the results were not encouraging enough to keep up with printing for a longer period. The “tumult” of printing affected the alleged deathbed words of the librarian of Zwolle: “I regret and I am sorry to have involved myself so deeply in the matter of printed books.”⁶⁴⁴

Brethren houses participated in printing activities: according to Koen Goudriaan, printing presses were established in six Brethren communities in the German lands and in the Low Countries, which resulted in the production of c. 200 prints between 1475 and 1540.⁶⁴⁵ The lay brothers largely saw printing as a continuation of their practices of book copying and reading: they did not approach it as a commercial enterprise and “continued locally embedded patterns of writing into printing.”⁶⁴⁶

The Brethren of the Common Life organized a printing house in Brussels in 1475 and were active there for a decade. Eisermann suggests that the printing workshop was moved in 1486 to Gouda and then in 1495 in Den Hem-Schoonhoven.⁶⁴⁷ During their activities in Brussels, the Brethren released 37 editions of mostly theological works, liturgical texts, and indulgences.⁶⁴⁸ For example, their first publication was Johannes Gerson’s *Opuscula*.⁶⁴⁹ Since there are no sources on the Brethren’s printing activities apart from the prints themselves, it is hard to estimate the print run. According to the ISTC catalog, on average, around 15 copies of each Brethren’s print are preserved, though sometimes as little as three, especially for liturgical materials, or as many as 37 copies (of Aegidius Carlerius’ works).⁶⁵⁰ The legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, one of the last prints produced in Brussels, is preserved in sixteen copies, though the one in Tournai has been destroyed.⁶⁵¹ Nothing is known about the provenance of any of the exemplars; there are three copies kept in Belgian libraries, three in French and one in Germany (these are the possible cultural areas of the prints’ initial circulation), while other copies are scattered around the globe.

⁶⁴³ Falk Eisermann, “A Golden Age? Monastic Printing Houses in the Fifteenth Century,” in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Benito Rial Costas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 39.

⁶⁴⁴ Cited according to Koen Goudriaan, “The Devotio Moderna and the Printing Press (ca. 1475–1540),” *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013), 590.

⁶⁴⁵ Goudriaan, “The Devotio Moderna and the Printing Press.”

⁶⁴⁶ Goudriaan, “The Devotio Moderna and the Printing Press,” 605.

⁶⁴⁷ Eisermann, “A Golden Age?,” 54.

⁶⁴⁸ Gerard Van Thienen and John. Goldfinch, eds., *Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries: Census* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1999), 464–5.

⁶⁴⁹ Johannes Gerson, *Opuscula* (Brussels, Fratres vitae communis, 1475).

⁶⁵⁰ Aegidius Carlerii, *Sporta fragmentorum* (Brussels: Fratres Vitae Communis, 1478–1479).

⁶⁵¹ Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC), <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ih00018000> (accessed January 20, 2020). From the sixteen copies of the *Legendae*, I have worked with the exemplar now in the Göttingen State and University Library: Göttingen State and University Library, 8 H E SANCT 115/25 INC. This exact copy does not have any marks that would point to its active reading (e.g., no woodcut coloring or marginal notes) or its provenance.

According to Goudriaan, the Brussels printing house was the only one among other five Brethren houses' presses that produced hagiographic materials.⁶⁵² Although in their manuscript production, the Brethren houses tended to use vernacular texts as facilitators of lay devotion and education, in line with the *Devotio Moderna*, the Brethren in Brussels printed mostly in Latin: 35 Latin works against only two in vernacular. Goudriaan suggests that the Brethren tried to achieve with these prints not the education of the laity but the unification of liturgies and other devotional practices.⁶⁵³ Moreover, when considering the publication strategies of the house, one should note that scribal and printing activities were not the major source of income for the Brethren but rather a work for replenishing their own literary environment.

Eisermann connected this vivid turn to Latinity, to foundational exegetical texts, and to some historical works, recognized among several printing houses of the Brethren, with the idea of the *Herkommen* (a return to the past)—a retrospective glimpse into local religious and historical heritage.⁶⁵⁴ The printing of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends could be a part of this strategy of collecting antiquities and, at the same time, acknowledging the imperial past as their own, respective of Brabant's incorporation in the Empire since the alliance of 1477.

The analysis of these visual elements reveals that the Brethren did not make the woodcuts themselves but outsourced this assignment to another workshop. As Ina Kok in her study on Low Countries incunabula suggests, the woodcuts were made by Johan Veldener—a printer of German origin who eventually ran a printing workshop in Leuven and helped the Brethren to install the press.⁶⁵⁵ Noteworthy, these images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are the only woodcuts that are found in all 37 prints made by the Brethren in Brussels.

The opening woodcut has already been described—it depicts the imperial couple on the throne, in a way similar to the miniature from the Grienendaal priory. The other woodcut, placed at the end of the print, shows a crowned eagle holding the armorial shield tightened over its neck. The coat of arms belongs to Anton von Rotenhan, Bishop of Bamberg (1431–1459), though in the woodcut, it is used instead of the shield of St. Henry.⁶⁵⁶ A quatrain in Dutch, included in the woodcut, tells: “Oh eagle flying high,/ Crowned with the arms/ Of Emperor Henry,/ Which you here show.”⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵² Goudriaan, “The *Devotio Moderna* and the Printing Press,” 594, 596–7.

⁶⁵³ For all six presses in the *Devotio Moderna* houses, two thirds of books were published in Latin: Goudriaan, “The *Devotio Moderna* and the Printing Press,” 592–3.

⁶⁵⁴ Eisermann, “A Golden Age?,” 48.

⁶⁵⁵ On Veldener see Ina Kok and Cis van Heertum, *Woodcuts in Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, vol. 1 (Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2013), 36–7.

⁶⁵⁶ Kok and Heertum, eds. *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, 442–3. The coats of arms attributed to Henry II and Cunigunde varied (e.g., on their tombstone and in the genealogical projects of Maximilian I), though it usually included the Bavarian shield and the imperial eagle.

⁶⁵⁷ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 66r: “O vlieghende aer zeer hoeghelike/ Metter wapenen die ghi hier toent/ Van sinte henric keyserlike/ Daer ghi nu met sijt ghecroent.” Translation according to Kok and Heertum, eds., *Woodcuts in Incunabula*, 442–3.

Kok supposes that an earlier print of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legend in Dutch existed, for which this woodcut was initially used; however, no traces of such an incunabulum exist, neither this woodcut with the verses appear in any other print. The woodcut with Dutch verses, if produced for this *Legendae* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, testifies then to a multilingual reading environment expected for the incunabulum.

Anton von Rotenhan's coat of arms could have appeared in print in connection to the reception process of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends when they were transmitted from Bamberg to Brabant in the fifteenth century. For example, the Debrecen codex that contains hagiographies and verses devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde (and St. Otto of Bamberg) was devoted to Anton von Rotenhan, who apparently instigated literary production in his diocese.⁶⁵⁸

The third visual element appears within the text of Henry's *vita* and schematizes the genealogy of St. Henry.⁶⁵⁹ This element, called *figura consanguinitatis* in the printed legend, presents familial connections between nine male heirs of the Saxonian dynasty, from Duke Otto of Saxony to St. Henry, "so that everything that is told above of St. Henry's genealogy would be easier to grasp and clearer to understand, the following figure is harmoniously subjoined, in which the lines of his blood-relationships are depicted."⁶⁶⁰ This simple diagram is not a woodcut in a strict sense: it is made with a movable type using the same print types of a smaller scale as in the main text, probably at the Brethren workshop. The diagram is integrated into the text of *vita Heinrichi*: the first chapter, traditionally devoted to St. Henry's acceptance of the royal throne after Otto III's death, is extended through narratives of his dynastic origins from the Ottonian house, which are then illustrated in the diagram to make them "easier to grasp and clearer to understand." These short biographic notes, as well as the extended description of St. Henry's genealogy preceding the diagram, are taken from the *Fasciculus temporum*—a popular universal chronicle by Werner Rolevinck printed for the first time in Cologne in 1473, which was then reprinted several times and was translated in German and Dutch.⁶⁶¹

The visual program from the *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici Imperatoris et Kunegundis Imperatricis*—unique for the Brethren's production, who otherwise never included woodcuts or other graphic elements in their prints—could betray their special attention towards this particular edition as it highlighted the imperial status of the saints and aimed at promoting this print among more well-off consumers. The two illustrations are supplied with verses in Latin and Dutch that enlighten the subject of the image, mostly highlighting the imperial status of the saints. The coronation image is

⁶⁵⁸ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 57v.

⁶⁵⁹ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 6v.

⁶⁶⁰ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici Imperatoris*, f. 6r: "Ut autem singula de genealogia sancti henrici superius dicta / facilius capiantur et lucidius intelligantur / figura sequens in qua linea consanguinitatis eius exprimitur / congrue subinferitur."

⁶⁶¹ Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum*, f. 52r–53r.

related to the miniature from the Groenendael codex (though it is not clear if this iconographic type was adopted for the print or the vice versa), while the use of a crowned eagle for representing the Empire is conventional. All in all, the discussed woodcuts and the diagram were designed to conform with the target hagiographies, although it is not always clear when and how the woodcuts and the verses came into being.

The 66-folio print consists of diverse texts devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde: there are their hagiographies, chants and readings for liturgical celebrations, and epigrams (table 4.2.). The choice and arrangement of texts are of an encyclopedic character—one can find both edifying and liturgical readings, a sort of a historical treatise, and entertaining verses in the same corpus. The primary goal of such a collection could have been its comprehensiveness so that the reader had all the texts laid out for his or her devotion, arranged by “genres,” that is, first—hagiographies, then—liturgical sequences for both saints and, finally, epitaphs and invocations.

Table 4.2. The composition of the *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris et Kunigundis imperatricis* (Brussels: Fratres vitae communis, 1484).

Title	Folios	Content ⁶⁶²
The first prologue for the two legends	2r–3r	Written by the Brethren in praise of the two saints; providing content and testifying to collecting their legends from different sources
The second prologue	3r–3v	Similar to the Brabantine codices with some alterations
<i>Vita Henrici</i>	4r–34r	
De genealogia eiusdem (capitulum 1)	4r–6r	From <i>Fasciculus Temporum</i>
Diagram with a note	6r–6v	A part (10r) verbatim from the vita 2
De electione (capitulum 2)	7r–11r	
Quo multos... (capitulum 3)	11r–13r	New first sentence; from the vita 3–4
De reparatione (c. 4)	13r	Vita 5; a story about the restoration Merseburg; vita 31 (the chalice in Merseburg, without ending)
De fundatione (c. 5)	14r	Beginning of the vita 18; vita 6; a new text about bishop Theodoricus
Quo sancta Cunegundis (c. 6)	15v	Based on the vita 18
De quibusdam cunctibus (c. 7)	17r	An interpolation about other events (King Robert, Willigis, Adalbert, Adelbold, Odilo of Cluny, Stephen, and Emeric)
De apuliam recuperavit (c. 8)	20v	Vita 19–21 verbatim

⁶⁶² Chapter numbers according to Stumpf, *Vita Henrici* and “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis.”

Quod papa benedictus (c. 9)	22r	Vita 22 (slightly changed), vita 23 (altered)
De pia peregrina (c. 10)	23v–24v	Vita 25, 26 (with an addition in between), 28 (a sentence about the holy lance left out, added “Multa igitur in diebus suis bella atque rebelles in infedele iuste gessit et prospere”)
De felici transitu (c. 11)	25r	Vita 29 (with an addition about Conrad from <i>Speculum historiale</i>), vita 30, 32 (with changes and additions)
Quod post obitum (c. 12)	26v	Vita 33 (slightly changed) with a large addition
De miraculis (c. 13)	28v	Vita 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 (only the first sentence)
De canonizatione (c. 14)	31v–34r	Vita 41 (continuation), 42, 43 (without the last sentence); an addition about the sequence of the feasts (from the Bethleem codex); a note on St. Henry’s title
<i>Vita sancte Cunegundis</i>	35r–46r	
De mirabilia eius (c. 1)	35r–36v	Vita 1, 2
Qualiter in viduitate (c. 2)	37r	Vita 3, 4 (St. Cunigunde’s letter)
Qualiter religionis statum (c. 3)	38v	Vita 5, 6
Adhuc de aliis miraculis (c. 4)	40r	Vita 7, 8, 9 (only the first sentence)
De felici transit (c. 5)	41v	Vita 9 (continuing) with an addition about her relics before the last sentence
De quibusdam miraculis (c. 6)	43v–46r	A prologue to the miracles, m1, m2, m3, m4 (ending changed); the tunic miracle in full; note on St. Cunigunde’s feast in Basel and Bamberg
<i>Readings for the feast of St. Henry</i>	47v–50v	
Lectio prima	47v	Vita 1 (first sentence); 2 (wording changed), 3 (shortened), 4 (shortened)
Lectio secunda	47v	4 (wording changed), 5, 6
Lectio tertia	48v	18 (shortened), 20 (shortened)
Lectio quarta	49r	Based on the vita 26 and the addition from capitulum 6
Lectio quinta	50r	29, 30 (changed)
Lectio sexta	50r	30 (changed), 31, note on Henry’s death
<i>Readings for the feast of St. Cunigunde</i>	51r–53r	As in KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179r–180r
<i>Chants for the offices</i>		
In festo s Henrici	54r	Nova historia
Sequitur officium misse de s henrico	57r	Introitus, collecta, sequential, secreta, complenda
In festo s Kunegundis	58v	Nova historia

<i>Epigrams and invocations</i>		
Epytaphium henrici	61v	As in KBR, MS 3391–99 (2 lines longer)
Epygramma super literis nominimis s henrici	61v	
Epygramma de patrocínio s henrici	62r	
Suffragium and collecta	62r–63r	
Epytaphium kunegundis	63v	As in KBR, MS 3391–99
Epygramma super literis nominimis s kunegundis	63v	
Epygramma de patrocínio s kunegundis	64r	
Ordo de insigni imperatrici...	64r–65r	
Epygramma super fraternitate sanctorum	65v	

It is extraordinary that the Brethren accumulated this amount of different texts related to SS. Henry and his spouse, which had limited circulation in the Brabantine region. Some of the texts (as the prologue, two epitaphs, and the readings for St. Cunigunde's office) correspond to the previously discussed manuscripts, while other texts (for example, the offices) were conforming to the celebratory forms common to Bamberg.⁶⁶³

The *vita Heinrici* is preceded by a new prologue written by a Brethren member, in which some of the features of the edition are explained to the reader. The author claims to be trustworthy when reproducing the legends (*stilo veraci*), though it reveals to a reader that some excerpts from *diversis cronicis* are inserted in the texts if found necessary. Indeed, throughout the legend's text, *Speculum historiale* and Adalbold of Utrecht's *Life of Henry* are mentioned as additional sources. The *Flores temporum* (or a chronicle derived from it) and the *Fasciculus temporum* are also used as supplementary sources, though a thorough analysis should yield more results.⁶⁶⁴ The *vita Heinrici* is treated as a historical canvas onto which other events occurring in the Empire and in the neighboring regions were added. St. Cunigunde's hagiography, on the other hand, is transmitted in its "standard" version without any interpolations or contractions. The emperor's hagiography is treated as a

⁶⁶³ For the texts see Dreves, ed., *Historiae rhythmicae*, 224–7; Folz, "La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur." The chants in the print correspond to the *historiae novae* chants used from the thirteenth century, see Hankeln, "Properization" and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices."

⁶⁶⁴ E.g., "Flores temporum," 237.

chronicle-like account, contributing to the previously discussed question of complementarity of historiographic and hagiographic discourses.

The six lections of St. Cunigunde's office are composed of her *vita*, which was shortened and reworked, though keeping the main themes—this version of Cunigunde's hagiography is discussed above with respect to the Brabantine codices. The six lections of St. Henry's office are not known from any other source: they do not correspond verbatim to *vita Heinrici* though are semantically close to its text. However, the applied technique of reworking the source-hagiography into six lectures suitable for secular office is similar to the readings for St. Cunigunde's feasts. It is thus possible that the two series of lections could come from the same corpus, initially containing liturgical readings for SS. Henry and Cunigunde.

A series of seven verse epitaphs and epigrams, together with several invocations, forms the last section of the print. The verses are arranged according to the subject: first, those related to St. Henry, then all the texts devoted to St. Cunigunde, and lastly, an epigram devoted to both. The verse epigrams collected by the Brethren are unique—only two of them are also recounted in the Bethlehem codex, though not in full, as well the epitaph for St. Henry is partially present in two other codices of Bamberg provenance. This corpus includes two acrostics—*epygramma super litteris nominis*—which first letters form HENRICUS and KUNEGUNDIS.⁶⁶⁵ There exist another two acrostics for SS. Henry and Cunigunde that were composed for a pseudo-Joachimist treatise *De semine scripturarum* and were included in the thirteenth-century hagiographic collections.⁶⁶⁶ However, these two epigrams, to my knowledge, did not appear in any other corpus before or after 1484. The penultimate page, which also has the Brethren's colophon, contains an epigram *super fraternitate sanctorum Henrici et Kunigundis virginum et coniugum* that dwells upon contradictory qualities of the saints—being married and yet preserving their virginity. The author refers to the saints as *fratres*, which could create a semantic interplay between the saints and the community of the Brethren. This analogy might suggest that the Brothers of the Common Life in Brussels authored this epigram as well as the prologue, though its members rarely played the role of authors and were mostly engaged in copying and printing.

This incunabulum is a testimony to a vibrant literary production devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, some parts of which are linked to Bamberg but through an intricate transmission chain were adopted in the Brabantine milieu. The textual similarities between these three discussed collections can be outlined as follows: all three collections contain a new prologue to the *vita Heinrici* (which is though slightly shortened in the printed legend) and use the shortened second redaction of the *vita Heinrici* without referring to the *additamentum*. With regard to St. Cunigunde's

⁶⁶⁵ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici Imperatoris*, f. 61v–62r; f. 63v–64r.

⁶⁶⁶ Pelster, "Ein Elogium Joachims von Fiore;" Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 184–5.

hagiographies, the *vita Kunegundis* from Bethlehem and Groenendael corresponds to the readings for St. Cunigunde's feast from the print. In all three collections, only the first three miracles of St. Cunigunde are recounted, but the tunic miracle of St. Cunigunde is added to the Bethlehem codex and the incunabulum. Therefore, one can assume that the print and the Bethlehem codex had a closely related (or the same) source. The miniature from the Groenendael codex and the woodcut in the incunabulum are also iconographically related to each other. The Brethren of the Common Life introduced multiple other elements to the collection, including an additional prologue, epitaphs, and acrostics, while the *vita Heinrichi* was expanded with excerpts from other chronicles; it is, however, not clear if the Brethren authored some of these texts or adopted from yet unknown sources.

In the end, a simple question stays unanswered—why were SS. Henry and Cunigunde chosen by the Brothers as the subjects of their printmaking? There are several factors that could have made such a production conceivable. A pious approach to collecting texts and copying, practiced by followers of the *Devotio Moderna* influenced the printing activities of the Brothers of the Common Life.⁶⁶⁷ The circulation of these legends in the last decades of the fifteenth century in Brabant provided the Brethren with a textual basis for their edition, to which they attached further texts suitable for edifying reading, liturgical services, and private devotion. The encyclopedic urge of collecting texts in part shaped this print, in which the texts of diverse aims could be found under one cover. At the same time, the interest in the regional and imperial past could have made the persona of Emperor Henry II relevant for the community and its printers. Nevertheless, a scrutinizing analysis of the content of the collection is called for since this task lies outside of the manageable scope of this dissertation. More research on the short-lived practices of monastic publishing in Brabant and Flanders will certainly unveil more details around the print's production and the cultural milieu of its circulation.

Between the Brabantine Literary Networks and Imperial Interests

The three collections analyzed in this part—the codex from Bethlehem from 1480, the legends printed in 1484, and the collection from the priory of Groenendael compiled tentatively after 1482—proved to be a part of the same literary network, through which the legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were spread in Brabant. These networks were formed by the Augustinian priories of the Windesheim congregation, who also maintained a close connection to the Brothers of the Common Life. There was a space for a learned exchange between the community members and their scriptoria, female Augustinian convents, and lay congregations.⁶⁶⁸ The shared interest in book collection and copying,

⁶⁶⁷ Eisermann, "A Golden Age?"

⁶⁶⁸ Patricia Stoop, "'Dits Scrifte Dat Nu in Der Handen Es': Writing for Third Parties in the Brussels Convent of Jericho," *Quaerendo* 42 (2012): 114–33. The article reveals literary networks among female and male Augustinian convents in and around Brussels (on the example of the convent of Jericho in Brussels).

so characteristic for the Windesheim congregation and the Devotio Moderna movement, prepared ground for the distribution of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies. The Brabantine literary milieu accumulated an assortment of their various hagiographic texts (for edifying readings as well as celebratory purposes), many of which were unknown before, although some might have originated in Bamberg. It is possible that the legends were brought to Brabant through Windesheim networks stretching throughout the German principalities and the Low Countries. However, the texts about a "foreign" holy couple would not have been read, copied, illustrated with each illuminations, and printed unless these saints were able to communicate certain ideas and values.

Interestingly, one would not find a trace of the saints in an ambitious Brabantine hagiographic project of the last decades of the fifteenth century. Jean Gielemans (1427–1487) was an Augustinian canon from Rookloster near Brussels—also a part of the Windesheim congregation—who undertook this venture. In the first book of the *Hagiologium Brabantinorum*, he assembled the lives of saints related to Charlemagne;⁶⁶⁹ however, in a similar project of the Habsburg courtly intellectuals discussed later, SS. Henry and Cunigunde proudly took their place among Charlemagne's holy descendants.⁶⁷⁰ The second book of the *Hagiologium Brabantinorum* was devoted to non-royal Brabantine saints. Jean Gielemans compiled two more hagiographic collections—*Sanctilogium* and *Novale Sanctorum*—from which SS. Henry and Cunigunde, although known in other houses of the same congregation, were also missing.⁶⁷¹ While similar hagiographic projects were sponsored since the thirteenth century by the Dukes of Brabant, the ambition of Jean Gieleman's oeuvre was to construct saintly archeology of the Duchy of Brabant—often described as a "patriotic" project—in which two German imperial saints did not find their place.⁶⁷² Therefore, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not a part of this ideology, and their hagiographies surfaced in Brabant in connection to some other regional trends.

The engagement with the saintly couple could have been necessitated by political changes in Brabant. The appearance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the Low Countries since the 1480s corresponds to the intensified cultural and political influence of the Habsburgs in Brabant, facilitated by the marriage alliance in 1477 between Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482). After Mary of Burgundy—the only heir to Charles the Bold (1433–1477)—died, the Habsburg presence was much contested in Brabant and Flanders.⁶⁷³ These circumstances led to intensified attempts of the Habsburg family to establish their authority, not only through armed conflicts but also through

⁶⁶⁹ ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12706, 12707.

⁶⁷⁰ The place of SS. Henry and Cunigunde among the so-called "Habsburg saints" is discussed in Chapter 8.

⁶⁷¹ *Sanctilogium*: ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12811, 12812, 12813, 12814; *Novale Sanctorum*: ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 12708, 12709.

⁶⁷² Véronique Souche-Hazebrouck, "Patriotic Saints or Patriotic Hagiography in Brabant at the End of the Middle Ages?," in *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Gabriela Signori (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007), 113–22.

⁶⁷³ Thomas Just, "Burgund und das Haus Österreich im 15. Jahrhundert," in *Schätze burgundischer Hofkunst in Wien*, ed. Sabine Haag, Franz Kirchweyer, and Katja Schmitz-von-Ledebur (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2009), 14–35.

“soft power”—by establishing and patronizing ecclesiastical foundations and art.⁶⁷⁴ One can also ponder the extent to which the legends’ import was “organic” or, on the other hand, was facilitated on purpose: SS. Henry and Cunigunde might represent the times when the Low Countries and the disputed Burgundian heritage became a part of the Empire. Therefore, these two saints stand for a shared past of these two, at times conflicting, political zones. The propagation of the imperial couple’s legends in Brabant might have had a partisan character of promoting this shared past of Brabant (and the Low Counties in general) and the Holy Roman Empire, especially taking into account the perpetual accent on the saints’ imperial dignity, highlighted both in texts and images. The texts devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, who were well-established saints in the imperial court of Frederick III, might have appeared in Brabant alongside these political conflicts and alliances. The texts were then incorporated into the local monastic culture and then reproduced, with a truly encyclopedic vigor, by the Brethren of the Common Life. Additionally, through including and reproducing the legends within the confines of the monastic space, the members of these communities might have strived for the attention of the new territorial lords and for the inclusion in the network of the imperial patronage.

⁶⁷⁴ Arthur Saliger, “Zur kulturellen Bedeutung Burgunds für die ehemals habsburgischen Länder – Malerei und Plastik,” in *Schätze burgundischer Hofkunst in Wien*, ed. Sabine Haag, Franz Kirchweyer, and Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2009), 131–57. Damen and Stein’s article gives a later example of such an ecclesiastical and artistic patronage of Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Maximilian I: Mario J. M. Damen and Robert Stein, “Collective Memory and Personal Memoria: The Carthusian Monastery of Scheut as a Crossroads of Urban and Princely Patronage in Fifteenth-Century Brabant,” in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays Bourguignons*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Centre Européen d’Études Bourguignonnes, 2012), 29–48.

Chapter 5. The Saints as Private Patrons and Healers

Saints were meaningful patrons and symbols not only for bigger or lesser communities—when they were used to evoke the favorable past or signify one’s belonging and power relations—but also for individuals. The saints were entangled with individuals’ familial traditions, personal devotional preferences, or occupational affiliations, such as belonging to a guild or a cathedral chapter.⁶⁷⁵ Moreover, saints often provided means for religious healing and solace. At the same time, saints could become powerful examples of piety and devotion as well as a tool for moral edification or simply entertainment. This chapter investigates these aspects of the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde by asking the following questions: why and how did individuals or families perform their attachment to these saints? Which media and practices were used to communicate their devotion to the saints? What would SS. Henry and Cunigunde signify to a commissioner and subsequent audiences?

St. Henry, for example, could indeed occupy a prominent place in an individual’s imagination. During the Council of Basil, Nikolaus von Buldesdorf (d. 1446) was sentenced to death as a false prophet. When interrogated, this layman declared that he had been summoned to the city by God, St. Emmeram, and St. Henry—*missus, ut inquit, a deo sanctisque eius Emerano et Henrico*.⁶⁷⁶ This mention of St. Henry could be a testimony to Nikolaus’s origin from the area of Regensburg (hence the mention of St. Emmeram) or to St. Henry’s status as a patron of Basel, where the false prophet was headed for. Alternatively, Patschovsky suggests that Nikolaus von Buldersdorf could have been familiar with the pseudo-Joachimist treatise *De semine scripturarum*, written in the thirteenth century in Bamberg, that also praised the holy emperor. All and none of these interpretations could be accurate, but what is evident is that the imagery of St. Henry was not exclusively used in the context of shaping urban or ecclesiastical pasts and patronage systems but also guided personal decisions.

However, this investigative framework does not impose a binary opposition between private piety and communal devotional practices discussed above. These phenomena should be considered in dialogue with each other: diocesan veneration patterns were commonly promoted by cathedral chapters and local clergy, and these patterns, in many ways, conditioned and influenced personal devotional choices of individuals, both lay and cleric. Especially in the late medieval religious traditions, communal veneration of saints coexisted with private contemplations even within the same liturgical spaces, while the division between private and public, or individual and communal, is

⁶⁷⁵ On the ways of choosing an individual patron-saint see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 233–8.

⁶⁷⁶ Alexander Patschovsky, “Nikolaus von Buldesdorf: zu einer Ketzerverbrennung auf dem Basler Konzil im Jahre 1446,” in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, ed. Johannes Helmrath and Heribert Müller, vol. 1 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 269–90, cit. 284.

inherently problematic.⁶⁷⁷ Some of the practices discussed here are nevertheless treated as private in their origin, based on personal, intimate communication between a devotee and a saint, though the performance of such a connection was often public, such as founding chapels, commissioning art objects for liturgical spaces, or visiting a shrine.

Cunigunde as Female Healer in Late Medieval Bamberg

Cults of saints created and successfully maintained a powerful economy of miraculous healing throughout the medieval period.⁶⁷⁸ This economy rested on a profound belief in the efficacy of saints' powers, accessed by a devotee through an invocation or contact with a relic, which attracted immense financial and human resources to veneration sites. This subchapter reviews the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde from this standpoint—as healing resources available to individuals in need—through the prism of their miracle collections. Special attention is given to the late medieval developments in St. Cunigunde's cult in Bamberg, where the saint developed patronage over parturient women. Such a healing capacity of St. Cunigunde was already mentioned by Klauser and Meyer, though their claims were mostly based on a note from a Bamberg city plan made in 1602, which tells that a set of St. Cunigunde's relic could protect pregnant women.⁶⁷⁹ Here, however, the earliest testimonies of parturient mothers turning to St. Cunigunde for help are analyzed, pointing at a number of her relics helpful in these obstetric matters. This analysis might not only contribute to the social history of medicine in the Middle Ages but also to our understanding of gendered healing practices, especially in Upper Franconia.

The miracle-working shrines of Henry and Cunigunde

The shrines and relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde became a popular destination for pilgrims of all social standings from the Bamberg diocese and neighboring regions, as evidenced in their miracle collections, created around the time of their canonization procedures, as well as from a fifteenth-

⁶⁷⁷ On this distinction pertaining to medieval liturgical practices see Barbara H. Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety: Endowments for Music," in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 60–68.

⁶⁷⁸ Ronald Finucane and Pierre-André Sigal analyzed corpora of medieval miracles from modern-day England and France, respectively, and showed that around 90 percent of the miracles were healings: Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977); Pierre-André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale: (XIe-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1985). A modified part of this subchapter was published as Kandzha, "Female Saints as Agents of Female Healing."

⁶⁷⁹ Meyer, "Die konstruierte Heilige," 77–9; Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 114. A reproduction of the city plan with the explanatory text, known as the *Gründtlichen abriß der Statt Bamberg* by Petrus Zweidler and Dietrich Bang from Teuschnitz, is kept in Stockholm, Royal Library, KoB DelaG 109: "... die Guertel aber auff S. Michaels oder Muenchsberg/ gar heiliglich verwart und auffgehalten/ und sonderlich schwangern Weibern/ so sich vor schweren gefaehrlichen Geburten besorgen/ angethan und umbguertet/ und ihnen dadurch wunderbarer weiß mit grosser frolockung offtermals geholffen wirdt/ und andere mehr unnd manigfaeltige Miracula und Wunderwerck geschehen."

century list of donations made by noblemen and women for viewing the cathedral's treasury.⁶⁸⁰ As for St. Henry's miraculous, his postmortem miracles appeared in the last chapters of his *vita* as well as were mentioned in the canonization bull.⁶⁸¹ Moreover, after the translation of St. Henry's relics to Merseburg Cathedral, a collection of thirteen miracle stories from the diocese of Merseburg appeared, praising the efficacy of the newly adopted cult.

The numerous miracles of St. Cunigunde reflected the first phase of the cult taking shape around the canonization in 1200.⁶⁸² One hundred and fifty stories tell about people flocking to St. Cunigunde's tombstone within a span of one year, starting from August 1, 1199—the date of her first alleged miracle that corresponded to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. Since then, its celebration in Bamberg Cathedral included the mention of St. Cunigunde's first miracle, reminding the devotees of their patron saint's miracle-working powers.⁶⁸³ A larger number of St. Cunigunde's miraculous stories as compared to St. Henry's does not reflect the contemporary appeal of the cults. St. Cunigunde's canonization occurred in the times of Pope Innocent III when a record of postmortem miracles developed into a necessary proof of the saint's powers.⁶⁸⁴ Therefore, one of the incentives behind the miracle collection of St. Cunigunde was to present her as a universally acceptable and applicable saint, cascading with miracles attesting to her sanctity.

The miracles of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde were, first of all, available as stories—these narratives circulated together with their hagiographies and were also voiced in the liturgies.⁶⁸⁵ These miraculous stories received broader audiences with the vernacular *Der Heiligen Leben* (though only several of St. Cunigunde's post mortem miracles were included there) and especially in Nonnosus Stettfelder's vernacular publication of the legends, who translated the whole corpus of the saints' miracles from the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (including St. Henry's miracles from Merseburg) and supplied additional stories about St. Cunigunde's powers.⁶⁸⁶ Any written or visualized miracle story is not a straightforward recounting of personal encounters with a cult but contains a palette of voices and personal stories behind it. Michael Goodich has expressed this concern as follows: "Many, sometimes conflicting, voices may be heard through these narratives. These speakers include the recipient of the miracle (the *miracule*), the onlookers, those who heard secondhand about the event,

⁶⁸⁰ Haeutle, "Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464–1500."

⁶⁸¹ St. Henry's miracles in Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 311–24; the Merseburg part in "Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrichi," 814–816. Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, cols 1118–1119: "de glorioso etiam ipsius obitu, pluribusque miraculis post ejus obitum ad ipsius corporis praesentiam divinitus ostensis, multa cognovimus."

⁶⁸² St. Cunigunde's miracles are published in "De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice," 265–80 and "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 821–28. The two redactions are preserved in SBB, R.B. Msc. 120, fol. 37v–46r and Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. II 64, fol. 39v–55r.

⁶⁸³ On the commemoration *propter primum miraculum eius* and Cunigunde's liturgy in Bamberg, see Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 154–6; Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris*, 159.

⁶⁸⁴ Discussed in Chapter 1.

⁶⁸⁵ The lauds were based on St. Henry's miracles: Folz, "La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur," 254–6.

⁶⁸⁶ *Der Heiligen Leben*, 248–50; Stettfelder, *Dye Legend*, 64–80, 114–31.

<...> the local authorities, court personnel who recorded the testimony of the participants, papal and other officials who judged its authenticity, the preacher, visual artist or composer of liturgy who publicized the event, and the wider audience of believers who accepted (or doubted) these reports.”⁶⁸⁷

Who were the recipients of the holy couple’s miraculous aid, and how could one access their cults, according to the discussed miracle collections? The devotees strived for bodily contact with their tombstone or contact relics. For example, the dust (*pulvis*) from St. Cunigunde’s tomb was applied to the body of a suppliant,⁶⁸⁸ while in the fifteenth century, one could access the kept relics in Bamberg Cathedral (including a great collection related to the imperial couple) for one gulden.⁶⁸⁹ Although by the fourteenth century, spiritual invocations to saints and imaginary pilgrimages became another popular strategy for communicating with a saint,⁶⁹⁰ the custodian’s accounts from Bamberg Cathedral as well as the relic processions in the city reveal that devotees still desired for a miraculous touch—or at least a glimpse—of relics.

According to the last chapters of the *vita*, the first nine recipients of St. Henry’s miracles came from Bamberg, though the author habitually mentioned that many more miracles had occurred at his tomb.⁶⁹¹ The second miracle collection describes the concurrent development of St. Henry’s healing capacities in the diocese of Merseburg: fifteen pilgrims flocked from Merseburg, neighboring Halle, and other parts of the bishopric. The holy emperor aided in paralysis, blindness, or muteness, both among Germans and Slavs.⁶⁹²

St. Cunigunde’s miracle collection was analyzed extensively by Annegret Wenz-Haubfleisch.⁶⁹³ This collection of more than one hundred cases reveal much wider geography as compared to St. Henry’s miracle collection: pilgrims came from as far as Würzburg and Regensburg—neighboring ecclesiastical centers, distanced more than 90 kilometers away from Bamberg.⁶⁹⁴ Wenz-Haubfleisch’s quantitative analysis provided insights about St. Cunigunde’s clientele: among the 153 people who sought her assistance, 144 had health problems or disabilities.⁶⁹⁵ The list of illnesses tackled by St. Cunigunde included paralysis, blindness, deafness and muteness, mental illnesses, or wounds.⁶⁹⁶ These sensorimotor disorders are also widespread in miracle

⁶⁸⁷ Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 4.

⁶⁸⁸ “Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis,” 825, 827 (No. 20, 76).

⁶⁸⁹ Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Die Kaisermäntel im Bamberger Domschatz,” *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 133 (1997), 110–1.

⁶⁹⁰ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 444–62.

⁶⁹¹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 319: “Preter hec multa alia sanctitatis argumenta et experimenta frequenter in eodem loco visa sunt;” one punishment-miracle though happened to a cardinal in Rome, 319–321.

⁶⁹² Bartlett has noted the latter capacity (Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 227) regarding “Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrici,” 816.

⁶⁹³ Wenz-Haubfleisch, “Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde.”

⁶⁹⁴ Wenz-Haubfleisch, “Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde,” 162–7.

⁶⁹⁵ The number of *miraculée* at Cunigunde’s tomb and exact percentage of impairments cured can vary due to the differing readings of the two redactions and different quantifying methods.

⁶⁹⁶ Wenz-Haubfleisch, “Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde,” 174.

collections of other saints: for example, a vast corpus of twelfth-century miracle books (recording over 3500 individual miracles) from one region of France revealed similar, if not identical, healing patterns to those of the cult of St. Cunigunde.⁶⁹⁷ This similitude can be explained by the foundational thaumaturgical function of saints in the societies, aimed at providing cure or consolation for ailments not perceived as treatable for contemporary medical practice. Moreover, many miracles aim at replicating the ones from the New Testament as another sign of the cult's verity and efficiency.⁶⁹⁸

Viewed through the prism of her miracle collection, St. Cunigunde had a reputation as a healing saint in thirteenth-century Franconia. Her status of a healer is also further accentuated in two late medieval woodcuts, one accompanying an Augsburg edition of *Der Heiligen Leben* from 1472 (fig. 5.1), and the other—Nonnosus Stettfelder's print (fig. 5.2), both depicting an impaired devotee at St. Cunigunde's tomb, while nothing similar exists among St. Henry's representations.⁶⁹⁹ Although being generic, the inclusion of these visual elements within the context of St. Cunigunde's hagiography testify to an active belief in the efficacy of the saint's cult.



Fig. 5.1. Woodcut presenting an impaired person in front of a shrine with votive gifts, from *Der heiligen leben* (Augsburg: Günter Zainer, 1472), f. 80r; copy from BSB, Rar. 733–2. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. Fig. 5.2. Woodcut depicting an impaired devotee reaching towards St. Cunigunde's shrine, from Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend und leben des Heyligen sandt Keyser Heinrichs* (Bamberg: Pfeyll, 1511), 112; copy from BSB, Rar. 1706. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Cunigunde's patronage of expectant mothers

Although there are no meticulously collected miracles of St. Henry or St. Cunigunde from the late medieval period, a group of evidence depicts the miraculous functions of St. Cunigunde's cult in the fifteenth-century Bamberg, among which the patronage of parturient ladies features as the most

⁶⁹⁷ The numbers from Sigal's *L'homme et le miracle* are presented in Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 342–3.

⁶⁹⁸ About the imitation of Biblical miracles see: Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, 4–7.

⁶⁹⁹ *Der Heiligen Leben* (Augsburg: Günter Zainer, 1472), f. 80v; Stettfelder, *Dye Legend*, 112.

prominent quality. These sources—catalogs of relics, late medieval additions to St. Cunigunde's hagiography, and invocations—reveal some changes in the healing economy and gender dynamics of St. Cunigunde's cult in the urban environment.

In the miracles of St. Cunigunde, narrated in two hagiographic collections from late medieval Brabant,⁷⁰⁰ one finds a passage that for the first time describes a specific devotion to St. Cunigunde among pregnant women in Bamberg:

The mentioned church of Bamberg respectfully preserves concealed the tunic of Saint Empress Cunigunde. And this [tunic] is said to be of such capacity that to any pregnant woman and those in difficulties of childbearing, who confidently invoke the patronage of the same virgin and respectfully touches or puts on [the tunic], in an instant, it easily brings good health in labor; and, moreover, it most perfectly releases and protects from the dangers of this sort. And then a practice is established in that community that pregnant women, soon approaching the time of delivery, according to the custom, go to the church. After the confession of sins, they protect themselves with the sacred body, and at last, approaching the sacred relics of the virgin, they touch or dress in the aforesaid tunic with all respect and devotion. The tunic, surely because of devotion to the virgin adorned with marvelous gems and embellished with innumerable pearls, is not denied to anybody; and, in fact, is presented upon demand to any women in need.⁷⁰¹

It is extraordinary that this passage first surfaced in a textual tradition geographically distant from Bamberg while similar hagiographic evidence of local origin on the same healing practice appears several decades later, namely in the saint's printed legend from 1511.⁷⁰² The practice of parturient mothers pilgrimaging to St. Cunigunde's tunic (and her other relics, as is discussed below) might have been well known in Bamberg and its vicinity so that it did not need any additional textual propagation. This excerpt appears in the Brabantine hagiographies out of the wholistic desire to

⁷⁰⁰ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 172r–180v; *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 45r–46r. This excerpt from the Brussels print is also given in “De S. Cunigunde Imperatrice,” 279 (BHL 2009). The Brabantine legends of St. Henry and Cunigunde are a subject of Chapter 4.

⁷⁰¹ *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 45r–45v: “Tunicam namque eiusdem sancte kunegundis imperatricis reverenter reconditam predicta babenbergensis servat ecclesia. Hec autem tunica tante fertur esse virtutis, ut cuilibet mulieri praegnanti et in partus difficultate virginis eiusdem patrocinium confiderenter imploranti reverenter applicita vel induta, confestim conferat leniter pariendi prosperitatem et ab huiusmodi periculo perfectissime liberet atque tueatur. Unde habet consuetudo civitati illius quod mulieres praegnantantes instante iam partus sui tempore sicuti moris est ecclesiam adeuntes, post peccatorum confessionem, sacro se Christi corpore se muniant, et demum ad virginis sacre reliquias accedentes, praedictam tunicam cum omni reverentia devotioneque contingant vel induant. Quae quidem tunica nimirum ob reverentiam virginis, gemmis micantibus et perlis innumeris ornatissime constipata, nemini negatur, sed absque ulla personarum acceptione, cunctis idigentibus exhibetur postulate.” The same print mentions St. Cunigunde's patronage of pregnant women in an epitaph, f. 64r: “Tollit tormenta pregnantibus atque pericla...” A shortened passage about the tunic is also found in KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179v.

⁷⁰² Stettfelder, *Dye Legend*, 139.

collect all the texts about St. Henry and St. Cunigunde, which especially valid for the printed collection of their legends from 1484. It is hardly possible to unveil if this excerpt was written in Brabant or originated in Bamberg, though it is relevant that this healing practice surrounding St. Cunigunde's cult was deemed worthy of being included in the miracle collection,⁷⁰³ while more than eighty episodes from the thirteenth century that illuminate the virgin's miraculous powers were omitted. Clearly, St. Cunigunde became—or was represented as such—a prominent intercessor in the field of female health experiences.

Before analyzing the religious practice, the tunic in question, and other evidence of St. Cunigunde's patronage over parturient women of Bamberg, the gender aspect of the saint's healing cult should be noted. According to Wenz-Haubfleisch, slightly less than half of the pilgrims recorded in St. Cunigunde's extended miracle collection from around 1200 were women, namely 56 women out of 130 devotees whose gender is told.⁷⁰⁴ Yet, in this miracle collection, St. Cunigunde is never mentioned as a helper in any exclusively gendered experiences, such as pregnancy, child care, or issues related to infertility.⁷⁰⁵ Following these numbers, one concludes that the cult of St. Cunigunde was not gender-oriented at its inception at the turn of the thirteenth century, nor were female pilgrims attracted explicitly by the image of a virgin empress.⁷⁰⁶

However, Vauchez explained the generally low number of childbirth miracles (between 1.2 and 3.3 percent) found in medieval collections by noting that parturient women could not travel to a distant cult or spend a night at the tomb.⁷⁰⁷ Similar conclusions can be reached from the analysis of the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, based on her canonization protocols and miracle collection. While hosting a slightly larger percentage of female *miraculées* (48 percent) than St. Cunigunde, the cult of St. Elizabeth did not seem to specialize in female healings either, at least as seen through the prism of her miracle collection.⁷⁰⁸ However, these data stand in striking contrast to the active patronage of St. Elizabeth, whose intercession was sought by expectant and parturient women of different social standing. Some of St. Elizabeth's relics were well-known for their soothing powers

⁷⁰³ KBR, MS 3391–99, f. 179v: “presenti pagini breviter inseri aptissime congruit.”

⁷⁰⁴ According to Wenz-Haubfleisch, 43 per cent of devotees (56 women out of 130 pilgrims whose gender is told) were female; Wenz-Haubfleisch, “Der Kult der hl. Kunigunde,” 170–2.

⁷⁰⁵ In a few cases involving drowned and lost children, petitioners included not only their mothers but both parents and onlookers.

⁷⁰⁶ On the contrary, Goetz has argued for such a correlation between the gender of a saint and a devotee based on his analysis of early-medieval miracle stories, see Hans-Werner Goetz, “Heiligenkult und Geschlecht: Geschlechtsspezifisches Wunderwirken in frühmittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten?,” *Das Mittelalter* 1 (1996): 89–111.

⁷⁰⁷ Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 466–77. On the other hand, Powell in her analysis of the cult of St. Thomas Becket suggests that pregnant women did come to shrines to seek relief, though their stories were deliberately not recounted, and only with a change in the status of a lay testimony did stories of successful childbirths enter miracle collections: Hilary Powell, “The ‘Miracle of Childbirth’: The Portrayal of Parturient Women in Medieval Miracle Narratives,” *Social History of Medicine* 25, no. 4 (October 1, 2012): 795–811.

⁷⁰⁸ Jürgen Jansen, *Medizinische Kasuistik in den “Miracula sancte Elyzabet”: Medizinhistorische Analyse und Übersetzung der Wunderprotokolle am Grab der Elisabeth von Thüringen (1207–1231)*, Marburger Schriften zur Medizingeschichte 15 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1985), esp. 99–100.

during pregnancy and childbirth, used similarly to those of St. Cunigunde.⁷⁰⁹ These considerations raise questions about whether the gender specialization of a cult can be analyzed primarily through a miracle collection prepared for the canonization procedure. When viewed in temporal dynamics, the cults of St. Elizabeth and St. Cunigunde reveal that a miraculous aid, initially presented as *utrisque sexus*, developed a distinct following among women. Since the childbirth was generally not considered as an event requiring medical intervention and the delivery pain was normalized also through the theological framework of the original sin, women's only resort for soothing pain and ensuring child's health was the cults of saints and the local economy of healing relics.

Cunigunde's healing relics

The critical element in the described practice of parturient mothers asking for St. Cunigunde's intercession is her tunic (*tunica*), reverently reserved by the *ecclesia* of Bamberg, which most probably refers to the cathedral. The cathedral, with its shrines for the saints and numerous other relics, became a healing space where bodily contact with the tunic—that is, St. Cunigunde herself—was desired. The text states that no fee for access to these relics was charged, though archival evidence reveals that payment was usually required to see the relics kept in the cathedral, not to say about votive gifts that would add to the cathedral's prosperity.⁷¹⁰

In the cathedral treasury of Bamberg, there is indeed a garment that Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann identified as the tunic of St. Cunigunde.⁷¹¹ In total, the cathedral can boast of owning six textiles attributed to either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde—one can see their depictions in the late medieval catalogs of relics.⁷¹² The tunic of St. Cunigunde is known to have undergone many repairs in the last decades of the fifteenth century, which might testify to its frequent use when taking into account that pregnant ladies opted for touching and wearing the vestment.⁷¹³ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann has also discovered that in 1452, the tunic was given to the wife of Albert III of Brandenburg to ease the delivery of her child.⁷¹⁴ Though not clarifying the practice itself, this note refers to the same healing capacity of St. Cunigunde's cult and dates its appearance to the mid-fifteenth century.

The city of Bamberg hosted other empress's relics that were believed to be efficacious for female healthcare. On the very last page of the holy couple's vernacular legends published in

⁷⁰⁹ Klaus Krüger, "Elisabeth von Thüringen und Maria Magdalena: Reliquien als Geburtshelfer im späten Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte* 54 (2000): 75–108.

⁷¹⁰ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, "Die Kaisermäntel im Bamberger Domschatz," 110–111.

⁷¹¹ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, 97–100.

⁷¹² The mantels, the belt and the tunic of Cunigunde are already mentioned in the earliest printed catalogue of relics: *Die auszruffunge des hochwirdigen heilighums des loblichenn stifts zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: Hans Sporer, 1493), f. 3r. SBB, H.V. Rar. 100.

⁷¹³ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, 98, footnote 28.

⁷¹⁴ Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, 98, footnote 27. The mentioned document: Bamberg, Stadtarchiv, Rep. B7, Nr. 61, f. 199r.

Bamberg in 1511, one can find evidence of other relics involved in St. Cunigunde's female patronage. Nonnosus Stettfelder mentions St. Cunigunde's belt (*gürtel*) and the mantle (*mantel*) as two objects that facilitated easy childbearing for those who put them on: "For [their] consolation, pregnant women would gird themselves with the belt and put on the mantle so that they, when giving birth, receive special alleviation [of pain]." ⁷¹⁵ However, a woman in need of intercession would look in vain for these two relics in the cathedral—the belt and this mantle were kept in Michelsberg Monastery in Bamberg. ⁷¹⁶ Since Nonnosus Stettfelder was the abbot's secretary and the local of Bamberg, he should have been knowledgeable about the contents of the cathedral and monastic treasuries. ⁷¹⁷ Nonnosus also mentioned that one could see the named relics, together with the tunic (*rock*) from the cathedral—probably, the tunic is the one implied in the Brabantine account—every seventh year during the *Heiltumsweisung*. ⁷¹⁸ Indeed, the mantle, the belt, and the tunic were listed in the catalogs of relics (fig. 5.3), and one can still see some of these objects, including the belt, in the Diocesan Museum in Bamberg. Though the healing spaces and the relics described in these two accounts—in the Brabantine hagiographic collection and by Nonnosus Stettfelder—were different, the practice of obtaining relief in childbearing through physical contact and even wearing the relics of St. Cunigunde was the same. The body of the saint becomes a healing remedy, while the body of a devotee (here—of an expectant mother) became the "place of religious experience." ⁷¹⁹



Fig. 5.3. Three contact relics of St Cunigunde—mantle (*mantel*), tunic (*rock*), and belt (*gürtel*)—presented in the catalogue of relics of Bamberg Cathedral; from *Die weysung vnnnd auszuruffung des Hochwirdigen heylthums zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: Johann Pfeil, 1509), f. 4r; copy from SBB, R.B. Msc. 3. Photo courtesy of the SBB.

⁷¹⁵ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 139: "Zu trost schwangern weybern den solche gürtel umb gegürt und mantel angelegt wirt da von sy dan in geperung sunderliche leicterung entpfahen."

⁷¹⁶ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 139: "dy noch zu Bamberg in sant Michels closter auff dem Monchperg bey yren mantel den sy auch getragen hat mit andern heiltumb erlich behaltten wirt." However, there are at least two more mantels attributed to St Cunigunde, according to the catalogue of relics: *Die weysung vnnnd auszuruffung des Hochwirdigen heylthums zu Bamberg* (Bamberg: Johann Pfeil, 1509), f. 3v–4r.

⁷¹⁷ This attribution of the belt to Michelsberg Abbey and the tunic to the cathedral is in line with the description from the *Gründtlichen abriß der Statt Bamberg*, mentioned above.

⁷¹⁸ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 139: "Solche gürtel und mantel mit sampt yrem rock der in den dumbstiefft zu Bamberg fur heiltumb behaltten wirt/ werden auch in sybenjaren mit andern heilgumb dosebst gewyesen."

⁷¹⁹ Schreiner, "Soziale, visuelle und körperliche Dimensionen mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit," 9.

Indeed, these three relics were strongly associated with the body of St. Cunigunde—as she was claimed to either make or wear them herself. Another passage from the mentioned Brabantine hagiographic collection tells about a common belief that St. Cunigunde made the tunic herself: “It is said in fact the same tunic itself had been the work of her [St. Cunigunde’s] hands after the death of her husband and that it was preserved by the apostolic blessing at the time when widowed, she fled to the place of piety and perfection where this virgin humbly had put a veil upon her head.”⁷²⁰ The tunic, embellished with gems and pearls, was promoted as a contact relic of St. Cunigunde that preserved the saint’s *potentia*. Nonnosus Stettfelder also argued for the authenticity of these relics by testifying to St. Cunigunde making or wearing them herself: “the belt that she made with her own hands” and “her mantel that she also wore.”⁷²¹ However, the empress could not possibly have worn these items: the belt and the mantle were originally liturgical objects (a stole and an altar cover) from the eleventh century that by the fourteenth century had acquired a connection to St. Cunigunde.⁷²² Possibly, the discussed practice of dressing into these garments for miraculous aid developed during the same period when these garments became connected to St. Cunigunde.

Furthermore, on the last page of the printed legend, Nonnosus Stettfelder tried to imagine how Cunigunde would look like—it is in this context that the brief note about her relics helpful for parturient mothers appeared.⁷²³ The reader is also provided with an ad hoc method to recreate the body measurements of the saint: if one multiplies the vertical and horizontal lines on the page margins by a given number, the result is the exact height and waist span of the saint. These calculations carried through, Cunigunde’s waist would have been 48 cm and her height 140 cm, and Nonnosus remarks himself that Cunigunde was “very subtle in her body and small.”⁷²⁴ These measurements could have been derived from St. Cunigunde’s healing belt—the given height of St. Cunigunde corresponds to its length, which is 142 cm.⁷²⁵ Although Nonnosus did not recount why these measurements would be useful to readers, this detailed interest in the physical body of the saint could have been sparked by another popular healing practice.

These parameters might have been essential for healing by “measuring to a saint”—a widespread curing practice in the late Middle Ages, used not only by parturient women but also applied, for example, to sick children.⁷²⁶ A belt or some other material was crafted to a supposed

⁷²⁰ KBR, MS 3391–99, fol. 179v: “Fertur enim eadem tunica quam ipsam sibi post viri obitum propter iis manibus operam fuerat et quam sacerdotali benedictionem conservatam eo tempore quo suo viduam marito statum religionis atque perfectionis eripuit capiti suo velo ipso sito humiliter virgo induerat.” This fragment appears only in the manuscript and not in the print.

⁷²¹ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 139: “gürttel den sy mit yrer hant gemacht... yren mantel den sy auch getragen.”

⁷²² Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, “Die Kaisermäntel im Bamberger Domschatz.”

⁷²³ Stettfelder, *Dye Legend*, 139.

⁷²⁴ Stettfelder, *Dye Legend*, 139: “gar subtils leibs gewesen und klein.”

⁷²⁵ Jung and Kempkens, eds., *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel*, 86 (Catalogue number III-11).

⁷²⁶ Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents*, 11. The practice of putting belts on parturient women originated from older customs of “measuring, binding and loosing” surrounding childbirth, based on the principles of sympathetic medicine.

height of Christ, the Virgin Mary, or any other saint; the reproduction of the saint's measurements transmitted the healing powers of the saint's body, even when there was no relic at hand.⁷²⁷ The text and the print layout of the last page made it possible for anybody to replicate the measurements of St. Cunigunde; notably, the body of St. Henry is not mentioned at all. The print would provide any devotee with a tool to "reproduce" St. Cunigunde's body for their own needs, multiplying their access to sacred healing resources.

However, it was not the only belt accredited to St. Cunigunde. A certain belt is mentioned with regard to a meditative prayer practice devoted to St. Cunigunde, in which it would be used in similarity to a rosary. According to a vernacular excerpt attached to a fifteenth-century codex from St. Catherine's Dominican female convent in Nuremberg, this belt of St. Cunigunde was embellished with multiple clasps (*spangen*) that functioned as meditative points for certain prayers and chants.⁷²⁸ This description does not correspond to the type of belt from Michelsberg Monastery that has only two fourteenth-century clasps. This excerpt, not extant in full and not known from any other manuscript, describes the praying practice related to the belt from first person singular (*do für hab ich gepett zu ieder i credo*)—it could be a personal note made for devotional exercises in the Dominican community.⁷²⁹ Therefore, there could have been a belt in possession of Dominicans in Nuremberg connected to the cult of St. Cunigunde used for private religious meditation (there is no evidence of its healing powers) in addition to the belt kept in Michelsberg Monastery.

Touching another garment of St. Cunigunde was also highly esteemed as an effective healing aid, though not in pregnancy but for other calamities. When translating St. Cunigunde's postmortem miracles, Nonnosus Stettfelder included one of the stories that received its elaboration after the initial corpus of miracles was set, namely a miracle healing of a noble lady from Weischenfelt (Wikenfeld) Gertrud.⁷³⁰ Hit by paralysis, the lady opted for several days to obtain cure from the relics of either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde kept in the cathedral, such as St. Henry's head reliquary, though they gave only momentary relief. Then Gertrud asked if she could have "something from the clothing of St.

Another common practice was to attach a charm for a safe delivery, such as the *peperit* charm, to a belt. See Marianne Elsackers, "In Pain You Shall Bear Children (Gen 3:16): Medieval Prayers for a Safe Delivery," in *Women and Miracle Stories: A Multidisciplinary Exploration*, ed. Anne-Marie Korte (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 179–209, esp. 195–197; Peter Murray Jones and Lea T. Olsan, "Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900–1500," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 89, no. 3 (2015): 406–33.

⁷²⁷ On the Christ's body and wound measurements accessible through several woodcuts popular in the German lands see David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 243–7.

⁷²⁸ Heidelberg, Privatsammlung Eis, Cod. 136, f. 82r–84v. On this belt: Gerhard Eis, "Kunigundengürtel," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1960), 263–5.

⁷²⁹ Eis, "Kunigundengürtel," 264.

⁷³⁰ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 117–21. The first version of this miracle is partially reproduced in "Vita et miracula S. Cunegundis," 825 (in this miracle, the lady from Wikenfeld was not named). Nonnosus Stettfelder recounts this version earlier in his work, on 114–5. There are six known codices that contain the extended Latin version of Gertrud's miraculous healing, all recounted in Priest, "Drei ungedruckte Bruchstücke." One of these codices could have been known to Nonnosus Stettfelder.

Cunigunde, or at least something that she had had or worn on her body, which she [Gertrud] could touch and put on herself so that she could receive relief from these severe pains.”⁷³¹ A custodian then brought her a chasuble that was made from St. Cunigunde’s mantle,⁷³² and a single touch of this chasuble cured Gertrud. At the same time, a child with eye problems was brought to the cathedral; he too was quickly cured of his calamities by a miracle-working chasuble. This episode reveals the same miracle-working principle of contact relics—something that had intimate contact with saint’s *leib*, in Gertrud’s words—as when pregnant women “touch or dress in the aforesaid tunic with all respect and devotion.” While this chasuble cured all kinds of diseases (and the mentioned head-reliquary of St. Henry was also sought for in certain calamities), the tunic from the cathedral and the mantel with the belt from the monastery functioned predominantly as “obstetric tools” aiding pregnant women in their specific needs.

However, it is still unclear when and why a virgin, childless empress appealed to a female audience, and especially expectant mothers, in Bamberg. Commonly, holy mothers such as the Virgin Mary or St. Elisabeth (the mother of John the Baptist) were considered as prominent intercessors for pregnant women. Landgravines of Thuringia often resorted to the relics of St. Elisabeth of Hungary for facilitating the childbirth (those included St. Elisabeth’s head reliquary, belt, and spoon).⁷³³ Their high social standing provided them swift access to this healing resource, as was probably the case with St. Cunigunde’s relics and the female part of the Brandenburg house, who were known for their frequent visits to Bamberg.⁷³⁴ Moreover, contact relics, similar to those of St. Cunigunde, were known in abundance in cults of both male and female saints, and some of them also were used to facilitate delivery and ensure the health of a child: for example, a tunic of St. Margaret of Scotland functions in the same way.⁷³⁵ Often, the relics were placed over the body of a pregnant woman; if no relics were at hand, a charm or a prayer was sewn into the girdle.⁷³⁶

Additionally, female saints like St. Cunigunde, who were not identified with motherhood, were perceived as patrons of female medicine. Thus, St. Margaret of Antioch, a widely venerated virgin, was also invoked during difficult childbirths, and her relics were used if accessible for a parturient woman. This association presumably was stimulated by a famous legend of St. Margaret

⁷³¹ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 121: “Do fraget sy ob icht etwas do were von der kleidung sant Kungunden, oder sunst etwas das sy an yrem leib gehabt het oder getragen, das sy moecht anrüren und auff sich legen, do mit sy linderung moecht entpfahen des grossen schmerzzen.”

⁷³² Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 121: “ein Casel dye auß eim köstlichen sant Kungunden mantel gemacht was.”

⁷³³ Krüger, “Elisabeth von Thüringen und Maria Magdalena.”

⁷³⁴ Haeutle, “Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464-1500.” Though there is only documented evidence of Albert III’s wife using the tunic of St Cunigunde, mentioned above.

⁷³⁵ Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots*, 133. For more examples see Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 228–33; Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 246–47, 354.

⁷³⁶ Don C. Skemer, “Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages,” *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 197–227; Morse, “Thys Moche More Ys Oure Lady Mary Longe.”

coming out of a dragon's belly intact, which was perceived as analogous to a painless delivery.⁷³⁷ There are also examples of male saints being effective in soothing pregnant women—the belt of St. Foillan (kept in a monastery at Fosses-la-Ville) and the head of St. Sebaldus in Nuremberg were all brought to parturient women in need.⁷³⁸ Therefore, the identification of a “medical specialization” of saints based on their legends and gender was a recurring pattern, though not a rule.

Further processes in the late medieval understanding of St. Cunigunde's cult could form it as a desirable healing recourse for its female following. Consistent associations between St. Cunigunde and the Virgin Mary, strengthened by liturgical synchrony of their feasts in September, could be used as a possible explanatory framework for a virgin saint becoming a patron of parturient mothers.⁷³⁹ Another factor contributing to female pilgrims seeking St. Cunigunde's help could have been the spatial accessibility and good preservation of her relics in the form of intact pieces suitable for touching, wearing, and, tentatively, binding. These relics—the belt, the tunic, and the mantle—also resembled those of other saints already petitioned for similar purposes.

The healing function of St. Cunigunde's cult appealing to expectant mothers should also be viewed in terms of the economy of religious healing. As Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg pointed out, giving birth was “one of the major areas of medieval life in which saints were seen to be especially beneficial and assumed prominent, indispensable roles.”⁷⁴⁰ Religious help was almost the only resort for women, especially considering that childbirth was not perceived as an event requiring medical assistance. The relief provided by a saint's intercession could have been viewed as both a miracle and medicine. However, it was not only an apparent lack of appropriate medical assistance that created a demand for medicine of celestial origin but also the belief in an intricate connection between bodily functions and religious practices. St. Cunigunde's cult was one of the most prominent ones within the city walls of Bamberg as well as in the respective diocese and the Franconian region—both among male and female saints. Such a prominent cult filled in the void of locally accessible healing resources, especially for women. Alongside these developments, including the accessibility of the saint's relics and strong Marian associations, the late medieval cult of St. Cunigunde functioned as a healing resource for pregnant women.

However, this shift in the functions of St. Cunigunde's cult does not downplay the importance of St. Cunigunde and St. Henry for a more general clientele. While the obstetric specialization of St.

⁷³⁷ Wendy R. Larson, “Who Is the Master of This Narrative? Maternal Patronage and the Cult of St. Margaret,” in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Woman and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 94–104; Helen Rodnite Lemay, “Women and the Literature of Obstetrics and Gynecology,” in *Medieval Women and the Sources*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 189–209.

⁷³⁸ Hillinus, “Miracula sancti Foillani,” in *Acta Sanctorum Octobris* 13, ed. Joseph van Hecke et al. (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1883), 420; the other examples mentioned in Harmening, “Fränkische Mirakelbücher,” 109–111.

⁷³⁹ Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult*, 100–3, 138–40.

⁷⁴⁰ Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex*, 233.

Cunigunde intensified, pilgrims and local dwellers continued to use the couple's garments and other relics for various reasons, including healing. These objects continued to be exhibited regularly during the *Heiltumsweisung* and liturgical celebrations and were accessible on demand. Under these circumstances, the practice of seeking the saintly aid of St. Cunigunde when facing obstetric problems remained embedded within a broader healing purview in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Bamberg.

The Saints as Markers of Institutional Belonging

St. Henry and St. Cunigunde regularly figured in commissioned artworks, whose artistic qualities depended largely on fashion, local craftsmen's mastery, and patterns of conspicuous consumption. The choice of saints could have reflected the intrinsic devotion of the commissioner, though these personal preferences were also influenced by the local devotional environment and the circumstances of the intended display. Moreover, the saints chosen for an artwork could communicate to an onlooker some details about its commissioner, such as their career or institutional affiliation. In the two late-medieval artworks discussed here, commissioned by clerics from the Franconian region, St. Henry and St. Cunigunde retained their function as the patrons and symbols of Bamberg by simultaneously acquiring a more personal meaning in the context of the commissioner's ecclesiastical career.

One of the examples is an epitaph of Johannes von Ehenheim (d.1438), a vicar of the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. The epitaph, which might have been commissioned by Johannes himself, represents SS. Henry and Cunigunde standing between St. Lawrence and Christ as the Man of Sorrows (fig. 5.4).⁷⁴¹ Against the shiny golden background, SS. Lawrence, Cunigunde, and Henry, gazing towards the Man of Sorrows, present him a small figure of vicar Johannes von Ehenheim, who is identified by his coat of arms. Judged by their gestures, the three saints are asking Christ for mercy on behalf of their protégé Johannes. This relationship between the donor and his patron saints is emphasized by a physical contact sustained within the group: SS. Cunigunde and Lawrence extend their hands towards Johannes, patting him on his head, while St. Henry holds him by hand. This composition was common for the epitaphs of other vicars: Corine Schleif has established direct compositional similarities with the epitaph paintings of Krell, Haller, and Spengler, placed in the same church of St. Lawrence.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴¹ Corine Schleif discussed this epitaph in her several studies: Corine Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990), 155–67, and “Introduction or Conclusion: Are We Still Being Historical?; Exposing the Ehenheim Epitaph Using History and Theory,” *Different Visions* 1 (2008): 1–46.

⁷⁴² Schleif, *Donatio et Memoria*, 156.



Fig. 5.4. Epitaph of Johannes von Ehenheim, 1438, Church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. Photo courtesy of Theo Noll, 2017, available from the Virtuelles Museum, <https://museum-nuernberger-kunst.de/projects/show/785-epitaph-johannes-ehenheim> (accessed February 10, 2021).

Any of these saints would be easily recognizable for an onlooker from Nuremberg or Franconia in general. SS. Henry and Cunigunde are dressed in luxurious garments with golden crowns, holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral—an iconography well-known in the diocese of Bamberg. St. Lawrence is depicted holding a gridiron, which is a metonymy for his martyrdom and a popular symbol of this saint. Although the heyday of St. Lawrence’s veneration in the German lands fell on the tenth and early eleventh centuries, when his cult was promoted by the Ottonian rulers, including Emperor Henry II himself, the martyr’s cult had several devotional stations in Franconian towns (including the church in Nuremberg) as well as in Saxonian Merseburg.⁷⁴³ Although the cults of St. Lawrence and St. Henry were entangled in the latter’s hagiographic traditions, such as St. Henry’s soul-weighing, Johannes’s epitaph does not refer to any of these narrative elements.⁷⁴⁴

Instead, these three saints are represented as personal patrons of the commissioner as well as metaphors for his individual experience. St. Lawrence appears on the epitaph since Johannes served as the vicar at the church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. Johannes von Ehenheim was also a canon at Bamberg Cathedral and a protégé of the bishop of Bamberg Anton von Rotenhan, who aided him in becoming the vicar against a candidate promoted by the council of Nuremberg.⁷⁴⁵ Thus, the saints

⁷⁴³ Weinrich, “Laurentius-Verehrung in ottonischer Zeit;” Jahn, “Laurentius und andere Römer an der Saale.”

⁷⁴⁴ These interrelations between the saints are discussed in Chapter 3.

⁷⁴⁵ Schleif, “Introduction or Conclusion,” 19–20.

on the epitaph not only highlight the commissioner's general reverence towards the diocese patrons and the titular saint of the church but also signify his affiliation with both the bishopric in Bamberg and St. Lawrence's Church in Nuremberg and, possibly, highlight the antagonism with the city council.⁷⁴⁶ However, Johannes did not enjoy his latter appointment in Nuremberg for too long since he died soon after accepting the position. Nevertheless, Johannes himself or his posthumous representatives took care to adopt the fashion of other vicars of the same church in order to ensure his posthumous memory through the epitaph placed within the liturgical space of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg.

While for some onlookers, the epitaph could tell the story of the deceased Johannes von Ehenheim, at the same time, the choice of saints from whom Johannes von Ehenheim sought the divine assistance reflected common veneration patterns of the region and Nuremberg with St. Lawrence's Church in particular. For those, who could not grasp this private meaning of the painting, the combination of St. Lawrence with the holy imperial couple represented the place of the church in the religious topography of Franconia and the bishopric of Bamberg.

In a comparable way, another private commission brought SS. Henry, Cunigunde, and Lawrence together. Hertnid von Stein (c.1427–1491) enjoyed a career desired by any Franconian cleric: a jurist, a canon at Bamberg Cathedral, a provost of St. Jacob's Church in Bamberg, and a prominent diplomat.⁷⁴⁷ In the 1480s, he supervised the rebuilding of the church of St. Michael in Hof, where he had his benefice as a chief pastor. For the same church, he commissioned an altarpiece depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the central panel with Hertnid kneeling in front of them (fig. 5.5). The work was commissioned from a local artist (or a workshop), originating either from Nuremberg or Bamberg, working under the influence of Wolfgang Katzheimer's style.⁷⁴⁸ The central quadrat panel of Hertnid's altarpiece bears some compositional and stylistic similarities with the already mentioned Ehenheim epitaph and with a panel painting from St. Jacob's Church in Bamberg, where Hertnid himself was a provost. The latter painting was made by Wolfgang Katzheimer in 1478, representing the imperial couple with St. Jacob (fig. 5.6). Although it is not known if the panel from St. Jacob's Church was also commissioned by Hertnid (as there are no coat of arms or any other identifiable features pointing at its commissioner), both paintings originate from the same social and cultural milieu.

⁷⁴⁶ For more details see Rainer Wohlfeil and Trudl Wohlfeil, "Nürnberger Bildepitaphien: Versuch einer zur historischen Bildkunde," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 12, no. 2 (1985), 167–73.

⁷⁴⁷ Matthias Thumser, *Hertnidt vom Stein (ca. 1421–1491): Bamberger Domdekan und markgräfllich-brandenburgischer Rat: Karriere zwischen Kirche und Fürstendienst*, vol. 38, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte 9 (Neustadt a. d. Aisch: Degener, 1989).

⁷⁴⁸ See Matthias Weniger, *Fränkische Galerie Kronach* (Petersberg, Kr Fulda: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014), 138–41.



Fig. 5.5. Altarpiece of Hertnid von Stein, c. 1480–1486, originally from the church of St. Michael, now in the church of St Lawrence, Hof. Photo courtesy of Lorenzkirche-Hof, reproduced with the permission of the owner.



Fig. 5.6. Wolfgang Katzheimer, Panel painting with SS. Henry, Jacob, and Cunigunde, 1478, 133.6x125.3 cm; from the Church of St. Jacob in Bamberg. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fränkische_Galerie_31.JPG (accessed May 20, 2020). Reproduced according to CC BY-SA 4.0.

The outer panels of Hertnid's altarpiece depict the Annunciation, while the inner side panels represent St. Cunigunde's ordeal by ploughshares, St. Henry's soul-weighing that features Archangel Michael holding the weighs as well as St. Lawrence and St. Nicolas. The Roman Protomartyr and the Archangel received a prominent position in the scheme of the altarpiece since they were protagonists in the legend about St. Henry's judgment. The two saints, however, also symbolized the sacral topography of Hof—the church of St. Michael, for which the altarpiece was mean, and another church in Hof, devoted to St. Lawrence. St. Nicolas could have been chosen for this altarpiece as an epitome of pastoral care. Foremost, in this altarpiece, the combination of the imperial holy couple with SS. Lawrence, Michael, and Nicolas reflected the self-identification of the commissioner—the saints

represented the religious communities to which Hertnid von Stein belonged as a canon of Bamberg Cathedral and as a chief pastor of Hof.

The imagery of SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared to be a relevant tool for local clerics with which they communicated their connection to Bamberg Cathedral and the diocese. Both Johannes Ehenheim and Hertnid von Stein sought the imperial couple's intercession and viewed them as their key patrons. The commissioned artworks could communicate, however, multiple layers of meaning. One of those pertains to the general devotional preferences of the region, with SS. Henry and Cunigunde as the signature saints of the bishopric. Moreover, the holy couple was linked to the universal saints like St. Lawrence and St. Michael, who also featured prominently in the local sacred topography. At the same time, the imagery reveals the commissioners' personal devotional choices and ecclesiastical career. Therefore, for these two late medieval clerics associated with Bamberg, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were used as a sign of their institutional belonging—a symbolic identification probably spurred on by the bishops and taken up by lower clergy—as well as of their personal devotional choices.

The Holy Couple and Family Ideals

Expressing devotion to a saintly namesake is a common Christian practice, invested with cultural, political, and psychological meanings.⁷⁴⁹ By looking at common naming patterns in a specific region, one can analyze local devotional preferences, cultural exchanges between localities, and transformations of kinship and familial traditions, especially for ruling dynasties and noble houses.⁷⁵⁰ As mentioned earlier, both Henry and Cunigunde were quite popular baptismal names in Southern Germany.⁷⁵¹

Individual devotion to a saint was often communicated in artistic forms, especially in the case of affluent devotees. Among the artworks bearing images of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde, there are several that are known to have been commissioned by individuals with “Henry” or “Cunigunde” as their baptismal names.⁷⁵² For example, Kunigunde of Austria (1465–1520), the daughter of Emperor

⁷⁴⁹ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 459–70; Stefan Sonderegger, “Personennamen des Mittelalters: vom Sinn ihrer Erforschung,” in *“Memoria”: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: W. Fink, 1984), 255–84.

⁷⁵⁰ On naming patterns see, among other studies: Pascal Chareille, George Beech, and Monique Bourin, eds., *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Structures* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University, 2002); Rachel Butter, “Saints in Names in Late Medieval Argyll: A Preliminary Enquiry,” in *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, ed. Matthew Hammond (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 221–44.

⁷⁵¹ Sargent, “Saints’ Cults and Naming Patterns in Bavaria, 1400–1600,” esp. 682.

⁷⁵² In the database of artworks devoted to St. Henry and St. Cunigunde (c. 1150–c.1550), sixteen are linked to the commissioners who were namesakes of Henry and Cunigunde. Overall, commissioners are identifiable for less than a quarter of the total objects.

Frederick III, stands behind two impressive commissions devoted to St. Cunigunde—they are analyzed in the final chapter in the context of the Habsburg's dynastic and individual devotion.⁷⁵³

Among a handful of artworks and dedications made to SS. Henry and Cunigunde from their terrestrial namesakes, two examples stand out. These dedications to the holy imperial couple were made by married couples with personal names Henry and Cunigunde. Such dedications highlight, first, the importance of the union of the emperor and the empress and their inseparability in the eyes of lay devotees. Second, they indicate the level of devotional self-identification: not only the names but also the marital status of the commissioners was communicated through their holy patrons.

The first example of a married couple sponsoring an artwork representing SS. Henry and Cunigunde comes from Regensburg. As has been indicated above, Regensburg—with its St. Peter's Cathedral, the Ancient Chapel (Alte Kapelle), and St. Emmeram's Abbey—was a place of a lasting commemoration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde. Around 1320, a side-altar in the northern aisle of Regensburg Cathedral was dedicated to SS. Henry and Cunigunde (now known as *Rupertusaltar*).⁷⁵⁴ The altar has a ciborium structure, with the top of its pillars decorated with the figures of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde, represented with the crowns and insignia. The figures are placed upon the coat of arms of the commissioners. While the shield beneath St. Henry's figure is attributed to the Hohenfels family, the coat of arms under St. Cunigunde's figure belongs to the Bolanden family. Therefore, it is likely that the donors belonged to the Bolanden-Hohenfels branch of the Hohenfels house (this branch separated from the family in 1241, with its first representative being Philip I of Bolanden-Hohenfels).⁷⁵⁵ The donors could be identified with Heinrich and Kunigunde Hohenfels—a noble couple from the neighborhoods of Regensburg, prominent in the fourteenth century and connected to the bishops of Regensburg.⁷⁵⁶ If the attribution is correct, with this public expression of their devotion to their holy namesakes, the couple augmented their own prestige and established their presence in a crucial symbolic and political space of the region—Regensburg Cathedral.

A similar principle was used for a mid-fourteenth-century decorative program in Carinthia, where SS. Henry and Cunigunde were known in the territories belonging to the Bamberg prince-bishopric as well as in the diocese of Gurk.⁷⁵⁷ The church in question—St. Leonhard's Church in Bad Sankt Leonhard im Lavanttal—is known for a series of stained glass windows that were initially

⁷⁵³ See Chapter 8.

⁷⁵⁴ Achim Hubel and Manfred Schuller, *Der Regensburger Dom* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2008), 53–54.

⁷⁵⁵ Winfried Dotzauer, *Geschichte des Nahe-Hunsrück-Raumes von den Anfängen bis zur Französischen Revolution* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001), 180.

⁷⁵⁶ Wilhelm Brenner-Schäffer, "Das Geschlecht der Hohenfelser," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 9 (1845): 335–56; Manfred Jehle, *Parsberg: Pflegämter Hemau, Laaber, Beratzhausen (Ehrenfels), Lupburg, Velburg, Mannritterlehengut Lutzmannstein, Ämter Hohenfels, Helfenberg, Reichsherrschaften Breitenegg, Parsberg, Amt Hohenburg*, vol. 51, *Historischer Atlas von Bayern; Altbayern 1* (Munich: Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte, 1981), 48–53.

⁷⁵⁷ Discussed above in Chapter 3, also see a recent study by Dopsch, "An der Grenze des Reiches."

installed in the choir and naves by 1350.⁷⁵⁸ These cycles, characterized by floral ornaments and intense colors—the features common for the glasswork from southern territories of the Holy Roman Empire—depict several Christological scenes, the twelve apostles, and a handful of saints.⁷⁵⁹ All the windows are attributed to the same workshop, probably originating from the neighboring town Judenburg.⁷⁶⁰ In 1965, in the aftermath of the Second World War, some of these stained glass windows were sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in order to finance the required renovations. Therefore, two fragments representing St. Henry and St. Cunigunde from what used to be the choir windows appeared in New York, where they are now displayed in “The Cloisters” permanent exhibition. These fragments depict veiled St. Cunigunde and beardless St. Henry, both wearing crowns and holding scepters (fig. 5.7). The medallions around their figures feature inscriptions that identify the saints: “S CHAISER HAINRICH” and “S CHVNIGVNDIS.” Although their appearance in the program can be explained by the regional affiliation with the Bamberg Prince-Bishopric—hence the acquaintance with the cults of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde—these images have a more intimate origin since they are connected to a family of donors.



Fig. 5.7. Stained glass windows with St. Henry and St. Cunigunde, c. 1350, the church of St. Leonhard in Bad Sankt Leonhard im Lavanttal (Austria); now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced according to CC0.

⁷⁵⁸ Jane Hayward, “Medieval Stained Glass from St. Leonhard in Lavanttal at The Cloisters,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 28, no. 6 (February 1970), 292–293.

⁷⁵⁹ Charles T. Little and Timothy Husband, eds., *Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York, N.Y.: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 122. Among the saints are Henry and Cunigunde, Ursula, Barbara, Erasmus, Ulrich, Lawrence, and Protomartyr Stephen. In St Leonhard, there are also several windows that were executed later, c. 1400, that are not discussed here.

⁷⁶⁰ Hayward, “Medieval Stained Glass from St. Leonhard in Lavanttal at The Cloisters,” 292–293.

The sponsors of these stained glass windows were Heinrich and Kunigunde Kropf (or Croph) from the neighboring Judenburg. It is probable that the Kropf couple did not sponsor the whole expensive cycle of glasswork but at least contributed to its execution as well as secured their own representations in the church. Their figures are represented in the stained glass embellishing the window that is now in the northern aisle of St. Leonhard's Church, though originally, their representations were placed behind the main altar. Heinrich and Kunigunde are positioned in the lower row, kneeling in a prayer gesture in front of St. Anna, holding little Mary. The names of both donors are engraved on the curved medallions above their heads: "HAINRICH CROPH" and "HAVSFRAV CHVNIGONT." The upper rows of the stained glass represent the scenes from St. Leonhard's and St. Martin's legends. In the middle, above the donors, there are representations of two saints—a bearded male ruler and a crowned female ruler—with royal attributes flanking the Virgin Mary. Although there are no inscriptions, these saints are also identified with the name-patrons of the donors—SS. Henry and Cunigunde. This attribution is supported by a publication from 1839 that describes the church's interior before it was damaged during World War.⁷⁶¹

Therefore, the church space had two almost identical representations of the holy couple.⁷⁶² The images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared within the same decorative program of St Leonhard's Church, first, in their capacity of locally venerated saints, and, secondly, in the context of a familial dedication. The holy couple function as the celestial intercessors of the "worldly" Heinrich and Kunigunde Kropf—a dedication built upon the semantic analogy between the donors and the saints as well as the similitude of their marital status.⁷⁶³

The sponsors of the altar and the stained glass are attributed to a married couple, commissioning an artwork in honor of their name-patrons SS. Henry and Cunigunde, with similar mechanics of patronage. The donors promoted the synchrony of their names and familial bonds between themselves and the holy patrons. Such identification was possible in the regions where St. Henry and St. Cunigunde were well-known saints, which made them appealing to married couples. Local parishioners, in their turn, actively embraced the cults and probably perceived them as role

⁷⁶¹ This prewar publication mentioned that the donor portraits were behind the main altar together with SS. Henry and Cunigunde: M. A. Gessert, *Geschichte der Glasmalerei in Deutschland und den Niederlanden, Frankreich, England, der Schweiz, Italien und Spanien, von ihrem Ursprung bis auf die neueste Zeit* (Stuttgart; Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1839), 76.

⁷⁶² Another tentative explanation for this duplicated appearance could be that the stained glasses in the Metropolitan Museum of Art do not represent SS. Henry and Cunigunde. Since the medieval stained glass windows in St. Leonhard's Church were affected by multiple renovations and destructions, the inscriptions for SS. Henry and Cunigunde could have been erroneously attached to the windows that might represent two martyred saints. Originally, the inscriptions could have belonged to the medallions in the imperial couple's depiction above the windows representing the Kropf family that have similarly inscribed curved medallions.

⁷⁶³ The Kropf family is represented on the stained glass without their children, although it was common to include offspring on this kind of familial dedications. While we do not know anything about the Kropf family, the following suggestion is highly speculative: the donors could have also chosen a chaste marriage (which would explain the absence of children on the stained glass windows), thus making the analogy between this pair and their saintly patrons would be indeed overwhelming.

models for marital chastity that did not necessarily entail virginity but marital fidelity. This created the devotional reciprocity between the saints (and their ecclesiastical impresarios managing the cults), on the one hand, and the devotees, eagerly promoting semantic links and familial analogies with the holy couple.

These examples are exceptional since such a full complementarity of the donor's names with the saintly couple's names is rare. St. Henry and St. Cunigunde were much more often employed as name-patrons individually. The example of the Lehenmaier epitaph from 1497 reveals the same namesake principle behind choosing St. Cunigunde for the dedication as well as betrays the symbolic importance of St. Cunigunde as a virgin and widow for her female devotees (fig. 5.8). This epitaph was made for the church of St. John the Baptist in Neumarkt—a community in the vicinity of Nuremberg.⁷⁶⁴ This town stood under the devotional and cultural influence of Nuremberg, and the commissioning of this epitaph could have been spurred by local fashion among well-off dwellers of Nuremberg as well as reflected the general rise of private spirituality. Hans and Kunigunde Lehenmaier were representatives of a local family from Neumarkt,⁷⁶⁵ though not much known is known about their lives beyond the inscription on the epitaph that provides the dates of their deaths and their names.



Fig. 5.8. Lehenmaier-epitaph, 1497, the Church of St. John the Baptist in Neumarkt. Photo courtesy of Theo Noll, 2015, available from the Virtuelles Museum, <https://www.nuremberg.museum/projects/show/514-lehenmaier-epitaph> (accessed February 10, 2021).

⁷⁶⁴ The painting is still preserved in the church on one of pillars of the central nave. It's curved canvas and frame suggest that it was initially displayed in a similar manner on a pillar.

⁷⁶⁵ Ludwig Gernhardt, "Familien aus Neumarkt i. O.," *Blätter des Bayerischen Landesvereins für Familienkunde* 9 (1931): 61–3.

Since Hans died five years earlier than his spouse, Kunigunde Lehenmaier was most probably the main commissioner, or it was done by their children (who are also represented kneeling next to Kunigunde). Her agency and specific female devotion are channeled through the careful choice of saints. In the upper register of the epitaph, the Virgin Mary is represented together with SS. Elisabeth of Hungary, Katherine, Barbara, and Cunigunde. These saints are depicted with their signature attributes, which for St. Cunigunde is a church model and her lavish imperial attire. The empress was represented on the epitaph because she was the namesake of the deceased Kunigunde Lehenmaier. The holy namesake of her husband (who would be either of the saints bearing the name John) is not depicted; however, the saint would have been all-present in the church that was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Therefore, the epitaph communicates only the ideas of femininity, motherhood, and pious widowhood through the exclusive choice of the saints that were well-known as holy virgins and widows (St. Cunigunde, rather uniquely, can be considered both). Such a choice reflects the gendered agency of the commissioner and her desire to be identified and commemorated as a pious wife, mother, and widow conveyed through the saints representing the mentioned values.

A personal name was a powerful trigger of devotion directed to a namesake-saint, though in the discussed cases, it goes beyond a simple semantic analogy. The commissioners of these works of art looked for self-identification and posthumous commemoration through the qualities of these saints (that is, a chaste marriage in case of the couple-dedication and a pious widowhood for Kunigunde Lehenmaier) as well as spiritual guidance from their saintly patrons. These intrinsic values and spiritual needs received, however, outward public representations that, in their turn, added to the visibility and attractivity of the represented saints.

Hartmann Schedel Collecting Saints

Visual representations of saints and their legends were ubiquitous, and these images were used for stimulating devotional exercises and, simultaneously, for edifying and entertaining. Such imagery became even more accessible with the appearance of woodcut blocks and printing. Cheap and easily accessible prints and broadsheets with images of saints, sometimes supplied with short texts or orations, were a medium that invited a variety of potential uses and displays, both secular and sacred.⁷⁶⁶ In spite of being suitable for easy and fast replication, David Areford has argued that these representations—standing at the “beginnings of mass visual culture”—did not “damage the image’s

⁷⁶⁶ Falk Eisermann, Marcus Ostermann, Volker Honemann, and Sabine Griese, eds., *Einblattdrucke des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts: Probleme, Perspektiven, Fallstudien* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000); Peter W. Parshall, ed., *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2009); Andrew Pettegree, ed., *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

auratic efficacy” but were of high devotional and edifying value.⁷⁶⁷ Unfortunately, these popular printed images were fragile and quickly disposable, making it hard to reconstruct the contexts of their potential use. Nevertheless, scholars have recently paid attention to various interactions possible between a viewer and a printed image beyond simply viewing—such as cutting, collaging, coloring, or adding inscriptions.⁷⁶⁸ Some pious and instructive images with saints were attached to codices as a part of a private collection—a practice that Areford has defined as “cut-and-paste” devotion.⁷⁶⁹ These instances of use and reuse are examples of an individual reception of a saint’s image and a cult standing behind it, occurring outside of liturgical settings.

In this subchapter, the individual reception of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde is analyzed on the example of a collection of graphics and texts assembled by Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514).⁷⁷⁰ This humanist and physician from Nuremberg, universally known for his authorship of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (*Liber Chronicarum*), gathered an impressive manuscript collection that also included a variety of woodcuts, often cut, colored, and glued into these codices. His graphic collection—comprising of miniatures, drawings, prints, woodcuts, and copperplates that are now scattered across several libraries (often disjunct from their initial context)—has been reconstructed and researched by Beatrice Hernad.⁷⁷¹ She has also highlighted the unique “Schedelian” contexts in which these images had appeared, constructed by an intricate correspondence of an image with the surrounding texts and its relation to the owner’s piety.⁷⁷² This collection is comparable to the one assembled by Jacopo Rubieri that comprised of mostly saints’ images glued in his juridical records. Schedel’s collection—and the appearance of the holy couple in it—gives a rare glimpse into personal choices and devotional preferences as well as into the Nuremberg woodcut market of the late fifteenth century.⁷⁷³

Beatrice Hernad has noticed that woodcuts depicting saints formed a considerable part of Schedel’s graphic collection. Among those, SS. Henry and Cunigunde figure thrice—as prominently as the widely popular SS. Jerome, Sebastian, and Veronica.⁷⁷⁴ On the one hand, the Bamberg diocesan couple frequently appeared in Hartmann Schedel’s collection for these saints were popular in

⁷⁶⁷ Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 16. For example, several prints were worshiped as icons, see Lisa Pon, *A Printed Icon: Forlì’s Madonna of the Fire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). On the use of printed images in handwritten monastic devotional codices see Peter Schmidt, *Gedruckte Bilder in handgeschriebenen Büchern: zum Gebrauch von Druckgraphik im 15. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003).

⁷⁶⁸ Parshall et al., eds., *Origins of European Printmaking*; Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*.

⁷⁶⁹ Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image*, 122.

⁷⁷⁰ On Hartmann Schedel see a recent volume Franz Fuchs and Gudrun Litz, eds., *Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514): Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

⁷⁷¹ Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*.

⁷⁷² Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, esp. 66–73.

⁷⁷³ Areford has analyzed several other woodcuts in Schedel’s possession, highlighting the specific context created by the collector, see David S. Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation,” in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter W. Parshall (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 119–53.

⁷⁷⁴ Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, 57–60.

Nuremberg and, apparently, similar images flooded the local woodcut market.⁷⁷⁵ On the other, these images could signify his personal attachment to the saints, that of a secular intellectual who did not hold any strong ties to a court or ecclesiastical officials. Unlike previously discussed Johannes von Ehenheim and Hertnid von Stein, Hartmann Schedel's choice of saints was not guided by his clerical affiliation. His favor for SS. Henry and Cunigunde was probably conditioned by his profound interest in history—both imperial and Franconian—as he was clearly knowledgeable of Henry II and Cunigunde's political affairs due to his work on the *Liber Chronicarum*.

One of the earliest woodcuts of SS. Henry and Cunigunde to appear in Schedel's collection was an image depicting the holy couple holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral with their retrospectively attributed coats of arms (similar to fig. 3.4).⁷⁷⁶ This and other similar woodcuts came from the printing workshop of Johann Sensenschmidt between 1484 and 1519 and were included in multiple prints from Bamberg, as discussed above.⁷⁷⁷ Around 1499, Hartmann Schedel attached this woodcut to the codex containing the writings by Leonhard von Egloffstein (d. 1514), a canon of Bamberg (this codex includes several letters of his, a panegyric, and the *Liber Elegiarum*).⁷⁷⁸ Therefore, in this context, the saints' image was an illustration of the Bambergian content of the codex. If this woodcut remained in its context created by the collector himself, another similar image from Schedel's collection was detached from its setting and preserved in the Graphic Collection in Munich.⁷⁷⁹

The woodcut, colored by the owner, marks the beginning of the *Liber Elegiarum*; moreover, Hartmann Schedel provided the woodcut with a Latin quatrain praising the couple.⁷⁸⁰ This verse originally appeared in one of the earliest Bamberg codex with the *vita Heinrici* and figured once more in the Schedelian collection (discussed later).⁷⁸¹ In this context, the miniature was acquired, altered, and attached to the codex in accordance with its content—namely, as a sign of Bamberg. At the same time, the laudatory verses add a devotional trait to this image but also betray Schedel's antiquarian interest in collecting writings about these saints.

⁷⁷⁵ Hernad has noted that Schedel mostly acquired the image of local produce—Nuremberg and its vicinity.

⁷⁷⁶ Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, 200–1 (No. 44).

⁷⁷⁷ These works are enumerated in Chapter 3; on Johann Sensenschmidt and other printers from Bamberg see Geldner, *Die Buchdruckerkunst im alten Bamberg*. A similar iconographic type was used in an image representing Henry II and Cunigunde in the *Liber Chronicarum*: Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 186r.

⁷⁷⁸ BSB, Clm. 28123, f. 167v. The original codex combined an incunabulum and several hand-written parts with the writings of Leonhard von Egloffstein, which are edited in Franz Bittner, "Leonhard von Egloffstein, ein Bamberger Domherr und Humanist," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg* 107 (1971): 53–160.

⁷⁷⁹ Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr. 171549 (Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, 201).

⁷⁸⁰ BSB, Clm. 28123, f. 167v: "Obsequium presens Rex regum suscipe clemens / Quod Rex Heinricus divini iuris amicus / Mente tibi munda fert cum coniuge Kunegunda / Reddens heredem rerum quam condidit urbem."

⁷⁸¹ Namely the *vita Heinrici* in SBB, R.B. Msc. 120, f. 1v.

In another codex, which also has a strong Bambergian connection, Hartmann Schedel himself drew an image of SS. Henry and Cunigunde with his own coats of arms preceded by the verses, including those mentioned above (fig. 5.9).⁷⁸² The codex, first compiled in 1412, contained several privileges of Bamberg noble families and belonged to Anton Haller. Around 1497, Hartmann Schedel inherited the manuscript through Haller's widow Katharina Ebner and greatly modified it.⁷⁸³ Building upon its Bamberg-related topic, Schedel made use of many empty spaces in the initial codex — whether of *horror vacui* or not—and transformed this manuscript into almost a historical and devotional encyclopedia of Bamberg.⁷⁸⁴



Fig. 5.9. Illustration depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde by Hartmann Schedel, after 1497; from BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

To this codex, Hartmann Schedel added St. Henry's hagiography, several historical narratives from the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg*, an excerpt on the history of Bamberg, a list of relics from Bamberg, an epitaph on Emperor Henry II's father (Henry the Quarrelsome), and *varia epigrammata* attached here and there throughout the manuscript.⁷⁸⁵ These textual elements were accompanied by several images: this painting of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, a woodcut of Bamberg,

⁷⁸² BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v.

⁷⁸³ Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freising: Datterer, 1906), 91.

⁷⁸⁴ BSB, Clm. 46, f. 32v: "Cum in eo codice folia pleraque sine scriptura essent, ne liber in nihilum redigeretur, propria manu hec de Babenbergensi historia perfecti, Nuremberga quoque de Babenbergensi diocese existit. Ut ob vicinitatem loci gesta in ea civitate prosteris manifestentur pro oblectamento succedentium ut fructum inde capere possint perscripta sunt; et ut codex iste diutius perseueret."

⁷⁸⁵ From Schedel's handwritten table of contents: BSB, Clm. 46, f. 2v.

and a drawing of St. Michael, the patron of Michelsberg Monastery.⁷⁸⁶ The verses next to the holy couple's drawing are as follows:

Bamberg heinricus Cesar sum atque patronus
 Predones feram vindex ego mihi fiam
 Hec loca defendam malis malefacta rependam.
 Obsequium presens Rex regum suscipe clemens
 Quod Rex Heinricus divini iuris amicus
 Mente tibi munda fert cum coniuge Kunegunda
 Reddens heredem rerum quam condidit urbem.⁷⁸⁷

The last four lines are the verses from the late-twelfth century codex *vita Heinrici* (the same lines appeared as a quatrain in the previously discussed codex) and were sometimes copied together with the *vita Heinrici*.⁷⁸⁸ The first three lines, presenting St. Henry as the defender and the patron of Bamberg, are a part of an epitaph devoted to the saint, partially based on the *Pantheon* by Gottfried of Viterbo,⁷⁸⁹ earliest mention of which is in the codex from 1438,⁷⁹⁰ while the entire epitaph appears in SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends printed in Brussels in 1484.⁷⁹¹

Apparently, Schedel planned to create several more drawings devoted to St. Henry: the first folio has an empty frame with verses for the saint below it that are not known from any other source.⁷⁹² The back flyleaf of the codex also has an empty frame that was drawn, potentially, to accommodate an image. The verses below the frame also refer to St. Henry, this time taken directly from Gottfried of Viterbo's *Pantheon*.⁷⁹³ Schedel had the *Pantheon* in his collection, though the codex was acquired only in 1512, a decade after the presumed completion of this codex;⁷⁹⁴ however, the humanist copies other fragments from the same work, so he must have had a copy of *Pantheon* in his possession before 1512. These images and verses, viewed together with invocations to SS. Henry and Cunigunde,⁷⁹⁵ amount to a unique collection of various epigrams and laudations for the saints that were not copied mechanically from an existing source but collected and arranged by Hartmann Schedel.

The hagiographies of St. Henry and St. Cunigunde that Schedel included in this codex come from the *Chronica Babenbergensis*, where these legends are inserted within the succession of the

⁷⁸⁶ The miniature of St Michael is on BSB, Clm. 46, f. 62v.

⁷⁸⁷ BSB, Clm. 46, f. 12v.

⁷⁸⁸ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 14.

⁷⁸⁹ See Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 240–241.

⁷⁹⁰ Debrecen, Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, MS R 450, f. 82v.

⁷⁹¹ These verses in full in *Legendae Sanctorum Henrici imperatoris*, f. 61v.

⁷⁹² BSB, Clm. 46, f. 1r: "O Rex Heinricus Christi specialis amice..."

⁷⁹³ Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 241: "Heinricus claudi meritum solemniter audi..."

⁷⁹⁴ Schedel's copy is BSB, Clm. 43; see Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*, 92.

⁷⁹⁵ BSB, Clm. 46, f. 59r.

Frankish and Ottonian rulers.⁷⁹⁶ Few pages further, Schedel copied a fragment from Gottfried of Viterbo, namely a small prose text presenting the rule of Henry II.⁷⁹⁷ Indeed, the humanist was captivated by the figure of Henry II and his key role in the history of Bamberg that he reconstructed from various sources available to him. This codex, compiled by Schedel for his private use, highlights the status of St. Henry (and less of St. Cunigunde) as local patrons and crucial historical figures. Overall, the compilation of this codex betrays Schedel's intellectual interest in the history of Bamberg and its vicinity and, probably, his devotional attachment to these imperial saints.

A decade after the composition of this codex, another image pertaining to SS. Henry and Cunigunde made its way to Schedel's collection. His authorial exemplar of the *Liber Chronicarum* contains a printed broadsheet with St. Cunigunde's legends and an oration prepared by a printer Hieronymus Hölzel and an artist Wolt Traut in 1509 in Nuremberg (fig. 5.10).⁷⁹⁸ This large print is almost a graphic novel in which St. Cunigunde's life unfolds in ten scenes supplied by short explanatory subscripts.



Fig. 5.10. One-side print with the illustrated St. Cunigunde's hagiography and *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1509), 404x595 mm; from BSB, Rar. 287, f. 332a–332b. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The central woodcut presents St. Cunigunde's most dramatic and well-known legend of the ordeal, depicting the empress right after St. Henry slapped her cheek. This scene is based directly on

⁷⁹⁶ The *vitae* of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in BSB, Clm. 46, f. 19r–32v are taken from an abridged version of the *Chronicle of the Bishops of Bamberg* (SBB, R.B. Msc. 48), discussed in Chapter 3. Stumpf did not know about the origins of this version of the saints' *vitae*, see Stumpf, *Vita Henrici*, 170, footnote 511.

⁷⁹⁷ BSB, Clm. 46, f. 30r; Gottfried of Viterbo, "Pantheon," 240 ("Anno ab incarnatione...").

⁷⁹⁸ *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1509), BSB, Rar. 287, f. 332a–332b; Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, 226–7 (No. 61).

Wolfgang Katzheimer's painting from a few decades earlier. There are nine smaller adjacent images with short captions, visualizing St. Henry's and St. Cunigunde's deaths, the widow's entrance to the nunnery, as well as the miracle of the just wages that refers to St. Cunigunde supervising the construction of St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg. While Schedel was clearly not taken aback by Latin inscriptions and orations in this broadsheet, some of its other potential users might have been. For this reason, a vernacular version of the same *oratio* was printed at the same time, marketed at the dwellers of Nuremberg and its vicinity who were not skilled in Latin but, nevertheless, interested in learning about St. Cunigunde and expressing their devotion to the saint.⁷⁹⁹

Below the images, there is an *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* that praises Cunigunde's virginity and her sufferings of unjust accusations. The invocation, therefore, complements the main element of the visual cycle. The images in the woodcut provided a meditative focus for a devotee, inviting for further contemplations beyond the printed text—the print functioned “as an instrument of prayer.”⁸⁰⁰

The copy of this single-sheet print in Schedel's collection, brightly colored, was posted onto a double-page among other drawings and woodcuts attached at the end of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.⁸⁰¹ When working with prints, attention should be paid to “the disposition of images within the book and the mode of assembly are important indicators of use,”⁸⁰² and how the print's function was modified by the authorial interventions. On the preceding folio, there are hand-drawn genealogical trees. One is of the Frankish kings, with Cunigunde at the end of the succession line, while on the reverse side, there is a succession line of the Saxonian rulers, with Henry II, “whose wife Cunigunde died without children.”⁸⁰³ Among other attachments to the codex, there is a woodcut with the versified *Life of St. Sebaldus* (a saint crucial for Nuremberg) and a xylographic print of the *titulus crucis*—a plaque believed to have been attached to the cross.⁸⁰⁴ Therefore, the print with St. Cunigunde's legends complemented, on the one hand, other devotional texts and, on the other, can be viewed as a complementary element of the royal lineages drawn by Schedel. In the latter context, the print not only glorifies the couple's virginity but also justifies the breakage of the imperial dynasty, evident from the genealogical trees on the previous folios.

Hartmann Schedel's treatment of SS. Henry and Cunigunde reveals how inseparable “historical” and “hagiographical” understandings of the saints were as well as shows various

⁷⁹⁹ One such copy in the vernacular is located in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS1764, <https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wisski/navigate/101937/view> (accessed April 2, 2021).

⁸⁰⁰ Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred,” 120.

⁸⁰¹ The codex had many empty pages with ready-made ruling and foliation, and some of these pages were later filled in by Schedel.

⁸⁰² Nigel F. Palmer, “Woodcuts for Reading: The Codicology of Fifteenth-Century Blockbooks and Woodcut Cycle,” in *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Peter W. Parshall (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 94.

⁸⁰³ BSB, Rar. 287, f. 332r–332v: “cuius uxor Cunigunt absque filiis obit.”

⁸⁰⁴ BSB, Rar. 287, f. 335a, 334r–334v.

dynamics of engagement with saintly images. First, the devotional one stands out. In Schedel's private prayer book dated 1463, the feasts of St. Cunigunde and St. Henry are listed in the calendar.⁸⁰⁵ It reflects the liturgical calendar of Nuremberg; nevertheless, Schedel embraced their feasts for his devotional purposes.⁸⁰⁶ Therefore, the subsequent images and texts related to SS. Henry and Cunigunde could appear in his codices due to his personal devotional reverence. Secondly, the images were included out of his intellectual interest in local and imperial history. Lastly, the saints retained their status as the "signs" of the bishopric and the city of Bamberg. While the images of SS. Cosmas and Damian were attached to medical texts and of St. Sebastian—to a text related to the plague,⁸⁰⁷ the images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde marked the texts related to the history of the bishopric. Therefore, within the Schedelian context created in his library, the sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde was tightly bound with dynastic, imperial, and regional dimensions as well as his devotional and intellectual pursuits as a native of Nuremberg.

One could maintain a connection to a saint not only through liturgical practices within a consecrated space but also through imagery and commemorative practices, as well as by seeking their assistance by contacting their relics or performing invocations. These private attachments to saints were grounded in naming patterns and personal engagement with their legends as well as in communal identifications since saints were employed as signs of a place of origin and of service. As the analysis has shown, St. Henry and St. Cunigunde were chosen as personal patrons in the areas where their cults were already institutionalized and appreciated (for example, Nuremberg or Regensburg). Thus, the saint's spiritual marriage embodying the celestial ideal of marriage inspired married couples to seek their patronage. At the same time, SS. Henry and Cunigunde, especially when depicted in a specific "Bambergian" iconographic type, represented the diocese of Bamberg and referred to personal affiliation with the see or the cathedral chapter. In the eyes of Hartmann Schedel, acute with his knowledge of the regional and imperial history, SS. Henry and Cunigunde, though clearly entangled with Bamberg and his personal devotion, were indispensable for the broader context of imperial succession.

⁸⁰⁵ BSB, Clm, 692, f. 6r, 10r, 12r.

⁸⁰⁶ In the same codex, an invocation to St Cunigunde ("orate pro me sancta Kunegund") is found on an attached page, though not written in Schedel's hand: BSB, Clm. 692, f. 102a.

⁸⁰⁷ Hernad, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel*, 68.

PART III. IMPERIAL SAINTS

Chapter 6. Henry and Cunigunde and the Idea of the Empire

In a vernacular sermon by a famous Franciscan preacher Berthold of Regensburg (c. 1210–1272), St. Henry is mentioned as an example of lay and princely virtues, in a cohort with other holy kings and emperors:

And in the previous times, rulers founded God's houses and monasteries, and then they became also saints, as King Constantine, and Emperor Henry, and King Charles (his day is celebrated in France), and the king from England Saint Oswald, and King Stephen from Hungary, and Saint Wenceslaus from Bohemia, Duke Saint Maurice, and many other saints—these were worldly princes who enhanced and also protected their holy goods when back in the days they owned the named lands.⁸⁰⁸

This model-sermon, to be given on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, is devoted to the forty-two virtues (*Von zwein unde vierzic tugenden*) of Mary and her genealogy.⁸⁰⁹ According to Alessia Francone, this sermon is derived from a Latin one—*Rusticanus de Sanctis* 118; although the two texts are thematically close, the vernacular version does not pay that much attention to the Virgin Mary in comparison to its possible Latin prototype.⁸¹⁰ The vernacular sermon aimed at directly addressing laity and their practices; therefore, Berthold of Regensburg included a code of conduct for any Christian. These are six rules of behavior in holy places, on holy days, with holy goods, towards holy people (namely, ordained personae), towards faith and Holy Communion. It is with respect to the holy goods when the preacher draws the examples of the holy rulers since they make up a praiseworthy practice of benefiting the Church.

⁸⁰⁸ Berthold von Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten mit Anmerkungen*, ed. Kurt Ruh, Franz Pfeiffer, and Joseph Strobl, vol. 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), 449–50: “Etewenne dô stifen die herren goteshiuser unde klöster, dô wurden ouch sie heilig, als der künic Constantinus unde der keiser Heinrcih unde künic Karle (des tac vîgert man in Frankrîche) unde der künic von Engelant sant Ôswalt unde künic Stephân von Ungern unde sant Wenzeslaus von Bêheim, ein herzoge sant Mauricius unde manic ander heilige, die werltliche ritter wâren, die den heiligen ir guot mêrten und ouch also beschirnten, daz sie nû das geheizene lant besezzten habent.”

⁸⁰⁹ Berthold von Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten* 1:442–61 (Sermon 28).

⁸¹⁰ Alessia Francone, “The Virgin Mary in Latin and German Sermons of Berthold of Regensburg,” in *Medieval Franciscan Approaches to the Virgin Mary: Mater Sanctissima, Misericordia, et Dolorosa*, ed. Steven McMichael and Katherine Wrisley Shelby (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 363–5.

While so far, St. Henry mostly appeared as a locally venerated saint, in this excerpt from the sermon, St. Henry's imperial agenda becomes tangible when compared to other holy rulers on Berthold's list. Apart from St. Henry, neither of the emperors is called *keiser* by Berthold—Constantine and Charlemagne are withdrawn from the imperial glory and are called kings. While Charlemagne, as well as SS. Oswald, Wenceslas, and Stephen, are represented with respect to their lands (specific kingdoms) and their cults there, St. Henry does not require such a clarification since he is probably known to the respective audience. Despite having different “liturgical statuses”—as confessors or as martyrs, while Constantine did not even have an official cult in the Latin Church—these royal personae formed a specific holy ensemble recognized by Berthold and his audience.⁸¹¹ Although the immediate recipients of these writings were other preachers, who in turn would modify these model-sermons for their audience, Berthold of Regensburg should have still aligned with the knowledge and expectation horizon of his future audience.

Whether Berthold achieved impressive imagery in the minds of the devotees (or other preachers) or not, he operated within a scheme where St. Henry, as a holy emperor, belonged together with other canonized rulers. Was it, however, a marginal example, or did this understanding of St. Henry in light of his imperial status also prevail in other contexts, also in the later centuries? A thorough look at visual representations of saints, imperial topography, ceremonies, and historiographic narratives can reveal some instances when SS. Henry and Cunigunde were utilized to convey certain aspects of the imperial history and tenets within the political communication. This part of the dissertation further explores these questions, prompted by Berthold of Regensburg's sermon.

The current chapter starts with overviewing a scholarly discussion concerning the interrelation of medieval politics and royal saints. The next section deals with the roles ascribed to St. Henry in the late medieval imperial chronicles. Grounded in the historiographic traditions discussed back in the second chapter, St. Henry's late medieval image acquired a novel, almost constitutional importance related to the electoral college. Finally, the analysis turns to individual rulers and dynasties who exercised programmatic appeal towards holy rulers, starting with Emperor Charles IV. To a certain extent, the new imperial significance that SS. Henry and Cunigunde acquired under Charles IV's auspices became a harbinger of the later Habsburgian devotion to the imperial couple, discussed in the last two chapters.

⁸¹¹ St. Henry was venerated in medieval Regensburg (see Chapter 3), and therefore Berthold could have been familiar with the cult from this local practice. However, Berthold's later fame and preaching activities surpassed the diocesan borders.

Holy Rulers as a Medieval Phenomenon and Historiographic Trend

When discussing the political veneration of saints, we enter a diversified historiographic field that deals with the questions of sacred kingship, dynastic sacrality, “national” saints and symbols, and medieval mechanisms of establishing saintly cults in general. There is hardly any doubt that during the sixth and seventh and then eleventh and twelfth centuries, multiple rulers gained the status of holy personae (one should also be mindful of geographical patterns), while in the coming centuries, sanctity was mostly invested upon female representatives of royal houses.⁸¹² The cults of holy rulers were abundant in the Anglo-Saxon milieu, in the Hungarian, Polish, and Bohemian kingdoms, and the Scandinavian lands. Neither is this phenomenon of holy rulers restricted to Latin Christianity: similar cults of holy kings and princes appeared in Ancient Rus and Medieval Serbia, and mutual influences between these cultural spheres on formations of political cults of holy rulers should not be excluded.⁸¹³

One of the immediate questions—only signaled here and not analyzed in detail—is related to the origins of the “holy ruler”-phenomenon. It is held that this type of ruler’s sanctity developed under specific medieval Christian understandings of the sacredness of power, manifested in the cults of holy kings, ideas of dynastic sanctity, and as a famous “royal touch.”⁸¹⁴ Or, on the contrary, one can draw a continuity between the archaic phenomenon of sacral power (especially known due to Frazer’s *The Golden Bough* or Germanic *Geblütsheiligkeit*) and the cults of medieval rulers.⁸¹⁵ There are indeed some underlying social constructions of power and charisma as well as religious expectations that made it possible for a cult of a ruler to develop within a Christian context.⁸¹⁶ At the same time, many

⁸¹² The development of the canonization procedures is discussed in more details in Chapter 1.

⁸¹³ On Serbian saints see, for example, Danica Popović, “A National ‘Pantheon’: Saintly Cults at the Foundation of Serbian Medieval State and Church,” in *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, ed. Dragan Vojvodić and Danica Popović, Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art, II (Belgrade: Serbian National Committee of Byzantine Studies, 2016), 119–31. On the discussion of mutual influences between the cults of SS. Boris and Gleb and St. Wenceslas (the author suggests a more nuanced picture than the direct adoption and imitation), see Marina Paramonova, “The Formation of the Cult of Boris and Gleb and the Problem of External Influences,” in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c.1000-1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 259–82.

⁸¹⁴ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson, 1st ed. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1973), first as *Rois et Thaumaturges* in 1924; František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965); Janet L. Nelson, “Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship,” *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 39–44. For a recent overview of sacral kingship (but not holy kings per se), conducted with a broad temporal and geographical framework see Francis Oakley, *Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008). Also see a polemical article by Alain Boureau, “How Christian Was the Sacralization of Monarchy in Western Europe (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries)?,” in *Mystifying the Monarch*, ed. Jeroen Deploige and Gita Deneckere, *Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 25–34.

⁸¹⁵ James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London: Penguin, 1996); first published in 1890, in this version — in 1922; Karl Hauck, “Geblütsheiligkeit,” in *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1950), 187–240.

⁸¹⁶ Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Herrschaftsakralität im Mittelalter: von den Anfängen bis zum Investiturstreit* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2006). Martin Bauch employs the Weberian concept of charisma and Bourdieu’s habitus for framing

holy kings were invested with this sacral status almost despite their royal powers.⁸¹⁷ The wording of St. Henry's canonization bull is telling in this respect—the newly canonized ruler led “not an imperial but a spiritual lifestyle” that gained him the saintly status.⁸¹⁸ For this study, however, the relevant problematic is of the immediate political and cultural value of these holy rulers' cults together with their application for dynastic and political means and for shaping a mythologized past of a certain political entity.

Multiple studies paved the way for investigating the roles of saints in the political discourse, both medieval and contemporary. The medieval cults of rulers—to which SS. Henry and Cunigunde typologically belong—were first systematically analyzed by Robert Folz in two studies, devoted to holy kings and then to holy queens accordingly.⁸¹⁹ In his study of 28 cults of male ruling personae, Folz developed an influential (though not impeccable) two-fold system: while at first, holy rulers were framed as martyrs for the faith (*rois martyrs*, for example, St. Olaf), starting from the eleventh century, holy kings were viewed as confessors, responsible for the Christianization of their lands (*rois confesseurs*, and St. Henry falls into this category).⁸²⁰ With regard to holy queens, Folz chose only twelve examples of sainted women of royal descent, and this study loses in breadth and comprehensibility to its male counterpart. These female cults are approached strictly chronologically (before and after the millennium), without proposing any analytical framework, similar to the *rois martyrs* and *rois confesseurs*.⁸²¹ Although the beginnings and typology of these cults can indeed be organized in bigger groups due to their dependencies on papal and broader perceptions of sanctity,⁸²² the later use of these cults varied greatly—and this aspect was outside of Folz' framework. It is worth noticing that while some holy kings, queens, and princesses had a broader appeal, used by other ruling dynasties for grounding their claims or as national icons, other sainted rulers remained locked in the initial environments of their cults' formation.

political devotion of Charles IV: Martin Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia: Auserwählung, Frömmigkeit und Heilsvermittlung in der Herrschaftspraxis Kaiser Karls IV.* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), 28–41.

⁸¹⁷ Gábor Klaniczay, “The Power of the Saints and the Authority of the Popes: The History of Sainthood and Late Medieval Canonization Processes,” in *Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints, and Crusaders*, ed. Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), 117–40.

⁸¹⁸ Eugenius III, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, cols 1118–1119: “non imperialiter, sed spiritualiter vixit...”

⁸¹⁹ Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Age en Occident*, and *Les saintes reines du moyen age en Occident*. His interest in this topic was spurred by his earlier research on the cult of Charlemagne, see Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*.

⁸²⁰ As Bartlett has noticed, if one includes in the group of holy rulers also royal scions and aristocratic saints (including Eastern Europe), the cults of martyred rulers continued to appear in high and late middle ages, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 215.

⁸²¹ In a review, Patricia Healy Wasyliv suggested that Folz's volume on holy queens should be complemented by a study that came out the same year: Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg, eds., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992). Also see Klaniczay, “Pouvoir et idéologie dans l'hagiographie des saintes reines et princesses;” Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, 211–21. Multiple studies on individual cases of female royal sanctity are not mentioned here for the sake of brevity.

⁸²² One should also note that many royal and aristocratic saints shared similar legends: St. Henry's soul-weighing is reminiscent of the legends of Dagobert, Charlemagne, and Emeric; St. Cunigunde's ordeal by ploughshares adheres to a narrative in St. Richardis' legends, see Chapter 1.

Gábor Klaniczay has further elaborated upon this type of sanctity by viewing male and female holy rulers as one group, plunging these cults into the bigger contexts of the development of canonization procedures, papal authority, and medieval ideals of sanctity, as well as the immediate political circumstances of the cults' formations.⁸²³ A visible seizure in the appearance of holy rulers after the twelfth century is explained by the papal ambitions of controlling the emerging cults, especially of lay rulers.⁸²⁴ The idea of a "holy ruler" did not cease to exist but was transferred onwards to female scions of royal and ducal houses, not without the support of the mendicant orders. While the criteria of sanctity were tightened up by the papacy starting with the Gregorian reform and throughout the thirteenth century, queens and princesses could still opt for devoting their lives to extreme piety, charity, and sexual renunciation. The sanctity of St. Louis, one of the few male rulers proclaimed holy after 1200, was already shaped against these novel expectations of holiness.⁸²⁵

While some lands were marked by one or few holy rulers, other areas were distinguished by the existence of holy dynasties, where the sacral prestige was transmitted onto several representatives of the same family. André Vauchez referred to this phenomenon, mostly tangible in the Arpad dynasty, as *beata stirps*.⁸²⁶ Such a case of *prestige sacral* of a single dynasty was often of political profit for medieval rulers, who shaped themselves as belonging to this dynasty coruscating with saints and often advocated for canonizing their family members. SS. Henry and Cunigunde are naturally excluded from this network of a holy dynasty—since they did not have any posteriors (and another dynasty inherited the royal throne), there were no relatives who could advocate for and swank this saintly connection.⁸²⁷ Therefore, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *memoria* was in the hands of religious foundations they had promoted and not their descendants as was the case, for example, for St. Louis. Nevertheless, several noble families produced claims for having St. Henry in their descend, while his and Cunigunde's sanctity was instrumental for constructing a saintly dynasty of holy rulers, as discussed later in the chapter.

With regard to *beata stirps*, Vauchez noted a repetitive link made between the sanctity and the status of power: when the familial origins of a saint were not known, a royal or aristocratic descend was invented.⁸²⁸ While Vauchez exemplified this attribution of aristocratic descend with the case of St. Sebald from Nuremberg, similar thinking connected St. Achahildis of Wendelstein and St. Irmengard of Rosstal with St. Cunigunde. These saints, whose cults were attested near Nuremberg no

⁸²³ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, first published in Hungarian in 2000.

⁸²⁴ This idea is especially accentuated in Klaniczay, "The Power of the Saints and the Authority of the Popes."

⁸²⁵ On St. Louis: Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, first published in French in 1996; Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*.

⁸²⁶ André Vauchez, "'Beata Stirps': sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," *Publications de l'École française de Rome* 30, no. 1 (1977): 397–406.

⁸²⁷ However, Henry II himself had several saints in his lineage, and he especially promoted his connection to St. Mathilda, see Corbet, *Les saints ottoniens*.

⁸²⁸ Vauchez, "Beata stirps," 398.

earlier than the fourteenth century, were believed to be St. Cunigunde's sisters.⁸²⁹ For St. Achahildis, this is clearly an ahistorical attribution, which nevertheless advanced the status of the saint through a royal aura and a blood relation to St. Cunigunde, a popular local saint. Moreover, St. Achahildis's legends adopted the virtues and miracles of St. Cunigunde (a chaste marriage and a glove-miracle) and St. Elisabeth of Hungary (giving alms to the poor) that enhanced her belonging to a cohort of aristocratic female saints.

A cult of a holy ruler is a political phenomenon that idealizes terrestrial rulership and Christian values as well as establishes a correlation between the idea of sacral power and sacral office.⁸³⁰ Therefore, another area of research that spins around holy rulers concerns the political aspects of their veneration and their occasional status of "national" patrons, when personal and collective devotion to a saint could reflect and add to the formation of national identities.⁸³¹ As the medieval practice shows, the prestige of being a dynastic or a national patron was not exclusively reserved for holy rulers—many biblical saints or canonized ecclesiastical figures also received such a status. However, the idea of a holy ruler standing for a public, transcendental body of a king and, consequently, his land was persistent throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, both in *Privatfrömmigkeit* and *Staatsfrömmigkeit* of several dynasties.⁸³² This type of devotion is prominent in artistic means: the Wilton diptych can be one among many examples of a ruler (here Richard II of England) imagining saints—two holy rulers SS. Edmund and Edward the Confessor, together with St. John the Baptist—as his divine intercessors and predecessors.⁸³³

⁸²⁹ Ernst Wiedemann, *Die Legende der heiligen Achahildis, der Lokalheiligen Wendelsteins bei Nürnberg* (Erlangen: Junge, 1921). The only source on St. Achahildis' cult is a description of her tomb—*Instrumentum S Achahildis* from 1448—composed probably as a petition to the Holy See to affirm her cult. The text also appears in a German translation in a legendary owned by an Augustinian nun Anna Eybin (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 2261, 205v–208v), see Sara S. Poor, "'Life' Lessons in Anna Eybin's Book of Saints (ca. 1465-1482)," in *Taxonomies of Knowledge: Information and Order in Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Emily Steiner and Lynn Ransom (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 136–54.

⁸³⁰ The formation of the Christo-mimetic (sacral) kingship under the Ottonians is analyzed by Lothar Bornscheuer, *Miseriae Regum: Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in den herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-salischen Zeit* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968); Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001).

⁸³¹ Petersohn, ed., *Politik und Heiligenverehrung*; Stefan Samerski and Krista Zach, eds., *Die Renaissance der Nationalpatrone: Erinnerungskulturen in Ostmitteleuropa im 20./21. Jahrhundert* (Böhlau Verlag Köln Weimar, 2007). Some case studies, with a strong Scandinavian perspective, also discussed in John Bergsagel, Thomas Riis, and David Hiley, eds., *Of Chronicles and Kings: National Saints and the Emergence of Nation States in the High Middle Ages* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2015).

⁸³² For example, Antonín applied Ernst Kantorowicz' model of the two bodies in his study on St. Wenceslas, see Robert Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bohemia*, trans. Sean Mark Miller, vol. 44, *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), esp. 111. A recent study by Robert Bartlett on medieval dynasties reflects upon this the role of saints for a single ruler and for a whole dynasty in a chapter "Saints, images, heraldry, family trees:" Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal: Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 311–39.

⁸³³ Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline M. Barron, eds., *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (Coventry: Harvey Miller, 1997).

In the scholarship devoted to the holy rulers and political saints in the Holy Roman Empire, the majority of research, starting from another influential study by Robert Folz from 1950, has been done on the figure of Charlemagne, his cultural and political importance for the Imperial ideology, liturgical veneration in Aachen together with the questionable canonization catalyzed by Friedrich Barbarossa in 1165.⁸³⁴ Although Charlemagne as a historical and mythologized figure was omnipresent in medieval political and eschatological discourses, his medieval cult in the German lands was restricted mostly to Aachen, although Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–1378) reinvented his sanctity at a later date.⁸³⁵ A significant contribution to this field was a collective volume *Politik und Heiligenverehrungen in Hochmittelalter* from the 1990s that did not review the holy ruler phenomenon per se but paid attention to a genuine connection between the politics and the saints within a European-wide framework, coining a term “political veneration of saints.” Several studies tackled the political veneration of saints in the Holy Roman Empire: while there was no deficiency of local regional and urban patrons, the Empire lacked a patron-saint (*Landespatron*) who would be connected with the later nation-building processes, in contrast to the neighboring kingdoms of Hungary or Denmark, for example. Jürgen Petersohn explained the suggested lack of political propagation of saints in the Holy Roman Empire by the impossibility of creating an imperial-wide cult that would bridge over the political and ethnic disjunction of the imperial territories as well as over influential local cults, and no *Reichspatron* could possibly encompass the universal claims of the Empire.⁸³⁶ Although multiple rulers repeatedly utilized saints for their political means—the Ottonian kings with St. Maurice’s cult and Frederick II with the cult of St. Elisabeth of Hungary are just two of many examples—a continuous tradition of ceremonious veneration of a certain saint representing the Empire was never in place, neither these attempts found any reflection among other devotees.⁸³⁷

Although the Staufer rulers benefited from supporting the canonizations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde (which developed as regional initiatives), the saints did not enter the immediate political culture and were not used as objects of a ruler’s representative piety. Clearly, Conrad III supported the canonization of the German emperor, which suited his own crusading plans well, while Philip of Swabia shaped St. Cunigunde’s elevation as a ceremony enhancing his political prestige. However, neither of these traits formed a long-lasting tradition, and no immediate link was created between the

⁸³⁴ Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*. For recent studies see Jace Andrew Stuckey, “Charlemagne: The Making of an Image, 1100–1300” (Doctoral dissertation, Gainesville, University of Florida, 2006); Anne A. Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013); Görich, “Kanonisation als Mittel der Politik?”

⁸³⁵ František Kavka, “Karl IV. (1349–1378) und Aachen,” in *Krönungen. Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, vol. 2 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), 477–84.

⁸³⁶ Petersohn, “Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit.”

⁸³⁷ For the synopsis early and high medieval royal expressions of devotion to saints (pilgrimages, veneration of relics, etc.) see Ursula Swinarski, *Herrschen mit den Heiligen: Kirchenbesuche, Pilgerfahrten und Heiligenverehrung früh- und hochmittelalterlicher Herrscher (ca. 500–1200)* (Bern: Lang, 1991).

sacrum imperium with its claims for imperial universalisms, on the one hand,⁸³⁸ and the cult of St. Henry on the other (and neither was it the case for a more popular cult of Charlemagne, as argued by Knut Görich).⁸³⁹ This conceptual impossibility of a central axis of imperial devotion shifted the research to the study of local (urban, monastic, and diocesan) manifestations of sanctity.

The current investigation of late medieval political veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde lies at the crossroads of these historiographic trends. Did SS. Henry and Cunigunde receive a place in a ruler's pragmatic piety, projected on the empire-wide representational level, beyond the immediate circumstances of their canonizations? Or on the contrary, was their sanctity exclusively preserved through institutional networks, relying on mythologized historical connections between the saint and the place, and through private piety, all discussed in the second part of the dissertation? Despite the lack of a *Reichspatron* or continuous reverence towards holy rulers on the imperial level, we should not neglect the attempts of several rulers for adopting royal cults in an empire-wide political communication: Charles IV, Friedrich III, and Maximilian I all showed their devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde and also used them for their political promotion and self-fashioning, though not always consistently and successfully.

Henry's Regality and Sanctity in Imperial Histories

As Henry II's reign was an intrinsic part of any chronicle covering imperial history, so was the case for his sanctity. As the analysis of several high medieval chronicles has shown, a reference to the imperial couple's holiness became an integral part of several influential narrative traditions within a century after their canonizations;⁸⁴⁰ subsequent chronicles adopted, reimagined, and enhanced these narratives of imperial holiness, plunging them into the unfolding of universal, imperial, or local histories.

Multiple hagiographic legends from SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae* were incorporated into historical works of the late medieval period, especially those that followed the traditions of Godfried of Viterbo, the martiniana, and the *Chronica minor* or directly adopted them from hagiographic

⁸³⁸ This problematic term is viewed here as an accumulative idea of imperial sacredness—of a ruler and a state—developed against the backdrop of the Investiture Contest, though firmly established in the imperial chancery and other discourses only in the late thirteenth century. The founding work on *sacrum imperium* is Alois Dempf, *Sacrum imperium: Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1973). See also Petersohn's study on the Roman provenance and ideology of *sacrum Romanum imperium*: Jürgen Petersohn, *Kaisertum und Rom in spätsalischer und staufischer Zeit. Romidee und Rompolitik von Heinrich V. bis Friedrich II.* (Hannover: Hahn, 2010). A recent handy reevaluation of the term by Vedran Sulovsky, "The Concept of Sacrum Imperium in Historical Scholarship," *History Compass* 17, no. 8 (August 1, 2019).

⁸³⁹ Knut Görich, "Karl der Große — ein 'politischer Heiliger' im 12. Jahrhundert?," in *Religion und Politik im Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 117–55. However, Thomas Renna argues that the image of Charlemagne in the late medieval Empire, at least in historiographic writings, was "trans-German" and "universalist," see Thomas Renna, "Saint Louis IX and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III," *Expositions* 9, no. 2 (2015): 35–79.

⁸⁴⁰ See Chapter 2.

texts.⁸⁴¹ Although meant to explicate the “timeless” Christian virtues of the protagonists, these legends became easily adaptable into the canvas of imperial histories. St. Henry’s fight against the “pagan” Wends, his healing by St. Benedict, the betrothal of Gisela to Stephen of Hungary, although remastered for hagiographic purposes (that is, to provide a fundament for canonizations and later liturgies), simultaneously retained clear-cut ties to the chronology and imperial Christianizing ideals.

Already a number of high-medieval chronicles portray St. Henry’s involvement in the foundational myth surrounding the college of the electors. The current subchapter reviews these narratives and their rendering in various traditions, including visual, since these perceptions altogether added to the contemporary understanding of St. Henry’s role in the Empire. The *Nuremberg Chronicle* can be viewed as the pinnacle to all these traditions, viewing the saint as the first elected ruler and at the same time intensively engaging with his hagiographic traditions. Through compiling, rewriting, and visualizing, the chronicle highlighted not only St. Henry’s connection to the electoral college and his and St. Cunigunde’s individual sanctities but also created a *beata stirps* of the Empire. Nevertheless, these laudable perceptions of Henry II’s historical role in view of his sanctity did not constitute the only possible commemorative scenario. Alexander Patschovsky has discovered that Henry II was used as an anti-example of a German ruler within the Joachimite tradition, portrayed as one of the heads of the apocalyptic dragon. However, this portrayal appeared sporadically and did not influence the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸⁴²

Establishing the college of electors

The college of the seven electors—comprised of the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier together with four secular rulers Count Palatine, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Saxony, and King of Bohemia—has become a “trademark” of the late medieval Empire, despite the questions of its effectiveness and practical employment. The college of electors was gradually shaped throughout the thirteenth century, although the practice of royal elections was known in the German lands in the earlier period. Subsequently, it was brought to a rank of a constitutional affair in the Golden Bull in 1356.⁸⁴³ On the contrary, in medieval historiography from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, the establishment of the college of the seven electors was perceived as “a single act of foundation” (also called a *Kurfürstenfabel*). In his seminal study, Franz-Reiner Erkens mentions that this foundation

⁸⁴¹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 179–98. Not only the Latin *vitae* were used in historiographical works; for example, the alleged author of a universal chronicle Heinrich of Munich (after 1375) based his narrative about Henry II’s rule on *das Passional*, see Frank Shaw, Johannes Fournier, and Kurt Gärtner, eds., *Die Weltchronik Heinrichs von München: neue Ee*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 88 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), 528–35.

⁸⁴² Alexander Patschovsky, “The Holy Emperor Henry ‘the First’ as One of the Dragon’s Heads of the Apocalypse: On the Image of the Roman Empire under German Rule in the Tradition of Joachim of Fiore,” *Viator* 29 (1998): 291–322.

⁸⁴³ On the formation of the electoral college see, for example, Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Kurfürsten und Königswahl: zu neuen Theorien über den Königswahlparagraphen im Sachsenspiegel und die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegiums*, MGH Studien und Texte 30 (Hanover: Hahn, 2002).

act was often accredited to Otto III, Henry II, and Charlemagne or to Pope Gregory I or Pope Silvester I.⁸⁴⁴ Schneidmüller has also pointed to the existence of Henry II's image as the college's founder in medieval historical and political thought.⁸⁴⁵ Evolving from these two prompts, the analysis revolves around the late medieval notions of Henry II's role in the formation of the college of electors, the origins of this tradition, and its use by late medieval historiographers. His role, in the end, was not of the founder of the electoral college but the first elected king, and in this respect, Henry's sanctity, acknowledged by the authors, could play a legitimizing and sacralizing role.

In the second half of the past century, Egon Boschof, Armin Wolf, and Erkens, among other scholars, proposed multiple theories of how the college of electors came into being, analyzing its institutional, theological, and ideological foundations as well as political and social circumstances of its appearance.⁸⁴⁶ However, the question of medieval historicized perceptions of the origins of the electoral college was often omitted within these scholarly discussions, with the exception of Max Buchner's study on the *Kurfürstenfabel* from 1912.⁸⁴⁷ Buchner concluded that the initiative of establishing royal elections was ascribed either to the papal see or to one of the German rulers, depending on the political outlooks of the authors in question and the historiographic tradition they used. In the secularly-oriented histories, consequently, a ruler was more often seen as the founder of the *Kurfürstenkollegium*—in this respect, the figures of Charlemagne and Otto III were the most prominent.

In the influential *Flores temporum*, the foundation act was attributed to the times of Charlemagne, which created a historicized aura around the practice's legitimacy. Martin of Opava (d. 1278)—who is known as “the most popular papal and imperial chronicle of the Middle Ages” and whose medieval imitations constitute a wholesome historiographic tradition of “martiniana”—was the first to connect the succession crisis following the sudden death of childless Otto III with the establishment of the electoral college.⁸⁴⁸ Henry II, before the year 1002 known as the Duke of Bavaria, indeed ascended to the throne not by the right of direct succession but through an agreement among secular and religious leaders. However, in Martin of Opava's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum*, Henry II was elected already according to the principle of the seven electors that was introduced in an attempt to ensure a rightful succession of the royal power since Otto III did not have

⁸⁴⁴ Erkens, *Kurfürsten und Königswahl*, 2.

⁸⁴⁵ Schneidmüller, “Die einzigartig geliebte Stadt,” 49–50; Schneidmüller, “Heinrich II. und Kunigunde,” 41.

⁸⁴⁶ Armin Wolf, *Die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegs 1198–1298: zur 700-jährigen Wiederkehr der ersten Vereinigung der sieben Kurfürsten* (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1998); Erkens, *Kurfürsten und Königswahl*.

⁸⁴⁷ Max Buchner, “Die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kurfürstenfabel: eine historiographische Studie,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1912): 54–100, 255–322.

⁸⁴⁸ Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, “Martin of Opava,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_000112 (accessed November 19, 2019).

any offspring.⁸⁴⁹ According to Buchner, the legend about Otto III instituting the royal elections was later adopted by multiple chronicles to provide historicized authenticity for the contemporary use of the college of electors.⁸⁵⁰ “The electors elected Duke Henry of Bavaria as the Roman king and future emperor, and he was also the first one to be elected by the electors,” as stated in a popular late fourteenth-century *Gmünder Chronik* built upon Martin of Opava’s work.⁸⁵¹ Subsequently, exactly this narrative was adopted in a great number of late medieval chronicles and political treatises, such as the *Austrian Chronicle of the 95 Rulers* and the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

The *Austrian Chronicle of the 95 Rulers* was commissioned by Albert III, Duke of Austria from the house of Habsburg (1365–1395) and subsequently became highly influential in subsequent Austrian historical writings as well as affected Frederick III’s historical understanding—the famous *Wappenwand* in Wiener Neustadt was partially inspired by the *Austrian Chronicle*.⁸⁵² The authorship is traditionally ascribed to Leopold of Vienna, a member of the Augustinian Hermits, who might have been a chaplain of Albert III, though this attribution is still debatable.⁸⁵³ Among fifty surviving codices, three illustrated manuscripts originate from Königsfelden in Aargau—a Franciscan convent founded and patronized by the Habsburgs located in their native region. The chronicle’s five books fluctuate between chronological narrations of the history of popes, emperors, and Austrian rulers. In this design, the story of Henry II’s reign received an individual heading—*von kayser Hainreichen*—instead of the usual depersonalized *von den kaisern*. Similarly, a personalized heading preceded the description of Charlemagne’s rule (*von künig Karel*) and Staufener rulers.⁸⁵⁴ These headings—as other paratextual elements—structured the material, guided the reader, and allowed for a non-linear reading of the chronicle. Therefore, this personalized heading for Henry II’s reign would imply to the reader its importance for the historical outline. Henry’s reign is pictured through a conventional number of episodes that the author briefly renders in one chapter. Later, already in the parts devoted to papal history, the author mentions the visit of Pope Benedict to Bamberg and the canonizations of SS. Henry

⁸⁴⁹ Martin of Opava, “Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum,” ed. Ludwig Weiland in *MGH SS 22* (Hanover: Hahn, 1872), 466. On the chronicle’s political ideology, see Heike Johanna Mierau, “Das Reich, politische Theorien und die Heilsgeschichte: zur Ausbildung eines Reichsbewusstseins durch die Papst-Kaiser-Chroniken des Spätmittelalters,” *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 32, no. 4 (2005): 543–73.

⁸⁵⁰ Buchner, “Die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kurfürstenfabel,” 68–71.

⁸⁵¹ *Gmünder Chronik* (Ulm: Konrad Dinckmut, 1486), f. 56r–56v: “erwelten die kurfürsten hertzog Hainrich von Baiern zu Romischem künig und künftigem kaiser und ward auch der erst den die kurfürsten ye erwelen.” In this incunabulum, this text is printed as the second part of the *Swabian Chronicle*; there are also around 20 manuscripts with the *Gmünder Chronik*.

⁸⁵² Christoph J. Hagemann, *Geschichtsfiktion im Dienste territorialer Macht: die Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften des Leopold von Wien* (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2017), 248–50. The edition of the chronicle: *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, ed. Joseph Seemüller, *MGH Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters* 6 (Hanover: Hahn, 1906).

⁸⁵³ Alastair Matthews, “Leopold von Wien,” in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_01680 (accessed November 12, 2019).

⁸⁵⁴ *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, 87. For example, in one codex (c. 1400), the headings are additionally given in red ink: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. fol. 122, f. 45r.

and Cunigunde.⁸⁵⁵ Moreover, Leopold of Vienna follows Martin's narrative of Otto III establishing the college of electors, and again, St. Henry II is represented as the first elected king.⁸⁵⁶ As this work was popular in the Habsburg milieu, Henry's image transmitted in the *Chronicle*—of a sainted ruler and the first elected king—could have also influenced their devotional patterns. For example, a “hagiographic” image of St. Henry was shaped like that of an elected ruler in the saint's *officium* developed for Frederick III—this office and its characteristics are discussed in the next chapter.⁸⁵⁷

Therefore, in some of the *Kurfürstenfabeln* that were popular in late medieval chronicles from various parts of the Empire, Henry II acquired not the status of a founder per se, as suggested by the previous scholarship, but that of the first-elected king, who was chosen according to the order introduced in a single foundation act during the rule of Otto III by the king himself or Pope Gregory V. In this way, the beginnings of Henry II's rule became crucial for legitimizing the constitutional form of the late medieval Empire.

One can question whether Henry's saintly status added to the legitimacy of the electoral college, though neither of the texts provides a direct implication of that. Nevertheless, the introduction of elective kingship (in theory, not in practice) removed from rulers a political responsibility to provide scions for ensuring a smooth dynastic succession, something that Henry II did not achieve anyway.⁸⁵⁸ Nevertheless, St. Henry's chastity—although a saintly virtue—could have been judged as having negative political implications, at least in an anecdote told by Thomas Ebendorfer (1388–1464).⁸⁵⁹ In his *History of the Roman Emperors (Chronica regum Romanorum)*, meant as a historical and moral *directorium* for future emperors, Thomas Ebendorfer ridiculed St. Henry's chastity and showcased it as a negative dynastic policy that led to the cessation of the royal family. It is also mentioned that Henry II abstained from carnal relations with Cunigunde not out of piety but because of his impotence.⁸⁶⁰ Even though the author defines this belief as vulgar, there was evidently still a place for similar sentiments or anecdotes in public discourse at the imperial court. However, within the discussed historiographic tradition, the introduction of the elective succession released St. Henry

⁸⁵⁵ *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, 98, 103.

⁸⁵⁶ *Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften*, 87: “Sand Kaiser Hainreich der ander waz herczog in Sachsen, ist der erst chaiser, der erwelt ist von den churfürsten nach Christi gepürd tausent und ainlef jar.” In a fifteenth-century codex, the words “ist der erst chaiser der erwelt ist von churfürsten” are underlined; however, the intervention might be as well from a later date: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. fol. 568, f. 40.

⁸⁵⁷ Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 193rb: “finitis autem sex annis nichilque actum quod timebat sed ad imperii regium eligitur”.

⁸⁵⁸ Karl Ubl, “Der kinderlose König: ein Testfall für die Ausdifferenzierung des Politischen im 11. Jahrhundert,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 292 (2011): 323–63.

⁸⁵⁹ Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, 546. The chronicle was not in wide circulation and its known through its autograph, now in Vienna, and a dedication copy in London: ÖNB, Cod. 3423 and London, British Library, Add. 22273.

⁸⁶⁰ Ebendorfer, *Chronica regum Romanorum*, 546: “Quibusdam dicentibus, hoc Karolo permissum a Deo de merito pro eo, quia in sanctum Dei Hainricum imperatorem verbis ludicris, dum Bamberge deguisset, impingere non erubuit, quia sanctam Kunigundem uxorem in suo virginali pudore custodivit affirmans hoc non devocione sed impotencia actum, quia ipsam violare nequivit.” Though *impotentia* can also refer to general weakness, it was frequently used as a descriptive for sexual impotence, especially in juridical contexts, see Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Niort: Favre, 1885), 4: col. 311b.

and Cunigunde's sexual conduct from a sphere of imperial politics. Therefore, their chastity was shaped as a personal virtue, not damaging the kingdom's wellbeing. Moreover, the fact that the first elected king was a saint could have implicitly augmented the legitimacy of the electoral college.

The tradition that recognized Henry II as the first elected king also surfaced in writings produced outside of the Empire. For example, Giovanni Colonna (1298–1343/44), a Dominican friar active in Rome and in Avignon, compiled *Mare historiarum*—a universal chronicle covering the events up until the year 1250 based upon the chronicles by Martin of Opava, Vincent of Beauvais, and Gottfried of Viterbo, among others.⁸⁶¹ The author pays much attention to the French kingdom as well as the history of the papacy, though not disregarding the Empire's history, and the presentation of Henry II's reign and his ascension to the throne has therefore been included in the chronicle. First, the chronicle reveals that, in line with the practice established during the reign of Otto III, Henry II was the first elected king.⁸⁶² Giovanni Colonna follows Martin of Opava's narration, though the chronicler notes that the throne was vacant for a year and the royal election was not as smooth. Later, the chronicler recounts Henry's multiple military campaigns, praises his devotedness and chaste marriage, and reports that many miracles happened after the emperor's death.

Giovanni's text generally adheres to the martiniana narrative tradition, and one of its codices reveals the visual representation of this election-motif. A richly illuminated copy of the *Mare historiarum* from the mid-fifteenth century was commissioned by Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins (1400–1472), the chancellor of the French kings Charles VII and Louis XI.⁸⁶³ The illuminations are accredited to the Master of Jouvenel des Ursins, who worked on this cycle consisting of 730 illuminations together with at least eleven artists.⁸⁶⁴ The chapter devoted to Henry II's election is opened with a miniature depicting the process of elections: in the left section there is a coffin, in the middle—three archbishops and four secular electors converse with each other; to the right—a king wearing a crown sits on the throne, surrounded by two archbishops (fig. 6.1).⁸⁶⁵ The next chapter, explicating Henry's devotion and chastity, is again illuminated with a depiction of a king being crowned, with seven electors surrounding him (fig. 6.2).⁸⁶⁶ Although coronations images appear multiple times in the manuscript, only starting from Henry II's reign, the miniatures represent the ceremony as orchestrated by seven electors, of which three are clearly distinguished by the episcopal

⁸⁶¹ Rino Modonutti, "Colonna, Giovanni", in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00746 (accessed December 2, 2019).

⁸⁶² Giovanni Colonna, "Ex Iohannis de Columpna Mari Historiarum," ed. Georg Waitz, in *MGH SS 24*, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hahn, 1879), 271–72.

⁸⁶³ P. S. Lewis, "The Chancellor's Two Bodies: Note on a Miniature in BNP Lat. 4915," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 263–65.

⁸⁶⁴ Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300–1500*, vol. 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque des arts, 1987), 76; Colum Hourihane, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 536–38.

⁸⁶⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 4915, f. 336v.

⁸⁶⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 4915, f. 337r.

attire and others are dressed in secular clothing (compare to fig. 6.3). Therefore, the illumination program was clearly sensitive to the political changes reflected in the text and the position of Emperor Henry in it.



Fig. 6.1–3. Illuminations depicting Henry II's election and coronation and the coronation of Louis the Pious, from a fifteenth-century codex of Giovanni Colonna's *Mare historiarum*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 4915, f. 331v, f. 334v, and f. 337r. Courtesy of gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Although the illuminations are not always direct visual quotations from Colonna's text, they reflect major themes narrated in each chapter. The illuminations have not only a decorative function but also a pragmatic one—they guide the reader's attention and visually mark the chapters, also anticipating the content to follow. The iconographic change in the depiction of coronations reflects the narrative. When treated in ensemble with the narrative of Henry II being the first elected king, these miniatures emphasize the importance of the *Kurfürstenfabel* for the contemporary perception of the Empire's constitution and functions.

Imperial and Saintly Genealogies in the Nuremberg Chronicle

Various historiographic and hagiographic images of St. Henry were intricately combined in Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (in Latin referred to as *Liber Cronicarum*). This best-selling medieval chronicle was published in Latin in 1493; the German translation by Georg Alt with the identical outline and woodcuts was released a few months later by the same printing house of Anton Koberger in Nuremberg.⁸⁶⁷ In this encyclopedic work, Hartmann Schedel followed a common division of the world history in seven ages—the sixth period started with the Nativity and lasted to the contemporary times, while the last period referred to the apocalyptic expectations. Encompassing such a narrative with multiple digressions, the author had to rely on multiple available chronicles and treatises, and his compilatory strategies were much more elaborated than a simple “copy-and-paste” technique.⁸⁶⁸ The sixth period followed a traditional form of a papal-imperial chronicle, though

⁸⁶⁷ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*; Hartmann Schedel, *Das Buch der Croniken* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493).

⁸⁶⁸ The latest comprehensive study on the *Liber Chronicarum* is by Bernd Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation der Schedelschen Weltchronik*, MGH Schriften 71 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015). Posselt has moved from focusing mostly on pictures to analyzing the text that received little attention before, also identifying Schedel's sources and editorial strategies.

intermitted with saints' legends, notes on cosmological signs, and urban descriptions, all supplied with woodcuts, each closely related to a theme elaborated in a corresponding text.⁸⁶⁹

The concise descriptions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's lives in the *Chronicle* indirectly embraced multiple narrative traditions of remembering Henry's regality and sanctity, resulting in a composition where these qualities are fully integrated. Following Gottfried of Viterbo and SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae*, Schedel presents Henry II as a militant and pious ruler ready to enrich and protect the Church. Although Schedel's chronicle has been justifiably seen as a literary enterprise based on compilations and adoptions from existing sources, the combination of these different narratives produced an original representation of Henry II and his spouse Cunigunde, who lived "chastely and saintly."⁸⁷⁰

Since the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were well-known to Nuremberg citizens and to Schedel in particular, he was prone to including additional hagiographic legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, arranging them chronologically amidst his other sources.⁸⁷¹ For example, Schedel includes St. Wolfgang's prophecy about St. Henry's royal coronation, never included in papal-imperial chronicles before. The prophecy, which originally opens the *vita Heinrici*,⁸⁷² is then followed by the description of Otto III's death, the foundation of the college of electors, and the papal history of the same period.⁸⁷³ Hartmann Schedel also replicates the tradition of attributing the foundation of the electoral college to the papal initiative at the times of Otto III;⁸⁷⁴ consequently, Henry II is the first king to be elected.⁸⁷⁵ The latter phrase is though word-by-word taken from the *Supplementum chronicarum* by Giacomo Foresi—this adoption testifies to the idea that Henry II was the first elected German king was prevalent and well-absorbed by authors and their audiences. However, as noticed before, Henry II was never treated as the founder of the college of electors; instead, his election and coronation marked the new constitutional order of the Empire. Hartmann Schedel also notes that St.

⁸⁶⁹ The workshop of Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (where, most probably, worked young Albrecht Dürer) was responsible for making the woodcuts for the *Chronicle*.

⁸⁷⁰ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 186r: "Ita autem caste ac sancte cum uxore vixit ut uterque in morte miraculis claruerit". In the German edition, Schedel, *Das Buch der Croniken*, f. 186r: "Nw lebet er also kewschlich vnd heilliglich mit seiner gemahel das ir yedes in dem tod an wunderzaichen leuchtet." Since the foliation of the German edition corresponds to the Latin one, I omit references to the German edition unless a direct quotation is given.

⁸⁷¹ Hartmann Schedel's engagement with SS. Henry and Cunigunde is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁸⁷² Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 227–28.

⁸⁷³ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 183r.

⁸⁷⁴ Buchner, "Die Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kurfürstenfabel," esp. 267–70.

⁸⁷⁵ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 186r "Heinricus eius nominis secundus imperator ... ottone mortuo germani electores concesso iuri tunc primum initentes heinricum ducem bauarie cesarem declararunt. qui non per successionem sed ab electoribus predictis cesar et augustus electus;" cf. to Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Supplementum chronicarum* (Venice: Bernardino Benali, 1483), f. 177v: "Heinricus eius nominis primus quartus germanorum imperator hoc anno Othone mortuo non per successionem sed ab electoribus predictis Cesar et Augustus electus." In German translation: Schedel, *Das Buch der Croniken*, f. 186r: "Heinrich der ander ein hertzog zu bayern ist in dem iar der menschwerdung christi tausent vnd drey nach absterben kaysers otten des dritten durch die teutschen churfürsten sich erstlich irs verlihenen rechtens der chur geprauchende zu kaiser erkorn worden."

Henry “was the most Christian ruler and the most saintly man,”⁸⁷⁶ and later explicates these qualities through well-known narratives: the ruler preserved a virginal marriage with Cunigunde, betrothed his sister Gisela to Stephen of Hungary, founded Bamberg, saved Merseburg from the Wends, and waged wars, while after his death, many miracles happened at his grave. At a later point, Schedel also includes the legend of St. Henry’s soul-weighing. Cunigunde is not left out of the chronicle: not only her marriage with St. Henry and her origins are recited, but also the ploughshare ordeal, her widowhood in the nunnery, and her canonization.

Further on, Schedel gives the dates of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s liturgical feasts (the information that had not appeared in previous chronicles); in this case, probably, the mention of their feast dates reflects the saints’ strong presence in regional liturgical calendars and historical consciousness. For Hartmann Schedel, the native of Nuremberg, the liturgical commemoration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were inseparable from their “historical” personae. As the previous chapter has shown, Hartmann Schedel also developed a certain fondness for the holy pair and the history of Bamberg that made him more prone to merge the sanctity of both SS. Henry and Cunigunde with their regnal histories.

The reign of Henry II is illustrated with a woodcut of him and St. Cunigunde holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral as well as SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s genealogical trees—*Genealogia divi Heinrici imperatoris* and *Genealogia sancte Kunegundis imperatricis* (fig. 6.4–5).⁸⁷⁷ There are other genealogies in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*—*linea Christi* is visualized in the same way, based on the common visual type of the Tree of Jesse that influenced the arboreal representations of dynasties and monastic spiritual families.⁸⁷⁸ Apart from the Tree of Jesse, there are several smaller genealogies (for example, of St. Anne on f. 99v)—these are executed exactly in the same form as SS. Henry’ and Cunigunde’s lineages: as branches of a tree, where consanguinity is narrated from the bottom to the top. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the chronicle (for example, *linea regum Grecorum* and *linea regum Italie*), though those rows of succession are not presented as an arboreal genealogy. In the whole *Chronicle*, no other non-biblical ruler or dynasty, apart from SS. Henry and Cunigunde, is represented with a family tree. In this way, the genealogies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are exceptional in the context of the *Chronicle*. These lineages respond to the interdependence of kingship

⁸⁷⁶ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, 186r: “fuit autem christianissimus princeps et vir sanctissimus”; Schedel, *Das Buch der Croniken*, f. 186r: “Diser kaiser Heinrich wz ein fast cristenlicher furst vnd heilliger man.”

⁸⁷⁷ Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 186v, 187r.

⁸⁷⁸ For example, see Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 9v (starting from Adam), f. 14r (a lineage of Noah), 16r (Japhet). On the visual genealogies of spiritual families see Christian Nikolaus Opitz, “Genealogical Representations of Monastic Communities in Late Medieval Art,” in *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia*, ed. Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter, and Walter Pohl (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 183–202.

and sanctity and imply a certain idea of the “accumulation” of holy charisma (and its heredity) in a way similar to the Tree of Jesse, though with different temporal and eschatological foci.⁸⁷⁹



Fig. 6.4–5. Genealogies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*; Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), in BSB, Rar. 287, f. 186v, f. 187r. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The first genealogical tree starts with Duke Liudolf of Saxony, the progenitor of the Saxonian dynasty, and ends with St. Henry. A similar genealogical composition of the Ottonian dynasty was created already during the reign of Henry II (the famous *Bamberger Tafel*); other narrative or visual versions of Henry II’s genealogy regularly appeared in medieval chronicles.⁸⁸⁰ The version from the *Nuremberg Chronicle* differs in one significant character from other depictions: the tree is assembled in such a way that it ends up with four saints—SS. Henry, Stephen of Hungary, his spouse Gisela,

⁸⁷⁹ Both these constructions represent a belief “that within certain families, natural or artificial, accumulated merits and virtues are passed on to all their members, but some families know better than others how to ‘bear fruit’,” see Vauchez, “Beata stirps,” 406.

⁸⁸⁰ *Bamberger Tafel*, BSB, Clm. 29093, f. 1v. On these earlier schematic forms of genealogical representation and on the arboreal forms see Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The Genesis of the Family Tree,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 4 (1991): 105–29.

and their son Emeric.⁸⁸¹ These four figures, placed at the estimable upper branches of the tree (thus corresponding to Christ's position in the Tree of Jesse), are marked with halos and coats of arms, retrospectively attributed to these eleventh-century rulers. The four saints, although not being from the same generation, are visually forming a distinct group. In the verbal description of the lineages, the author also calls the reader's attention to the rare sanctity of SS. Henry and Cunigunde among other German kings.⁸⁸² These saints crowned the Ottonian family and spread holiness onto the whole dynasty.

St. Cunigunde does not appear in St. Henry's genealogical tree but has one of her own—on the right side of the same double-page. The holy empress's origin is traced back to Charlemagne, here depicted as a saint, who is placed on the lower-left corner of the tree, below St. Cunigunde.⁸⁸³ The narrative description of St. Cunigunde's origins follows her lineage from Charlemagne to King Henry I, thus uniting the two visually separated trees of SS. Henry and Cunigunde into one interdependent genealogical construction. The visual and narrative genealogies of SS. Henry and Cunigunde support the idea of the transition of the imperial power onto the German rulers (from Charlemagne's ancestors to King Henry I). As Spiegel noted, both narrative and visual "genealogies were expressions of social memory and, as such, could be expected to have a particular affinity with historical thought,"⁸⁸⁴ and two imperial lineages indeed reflect both the memory of the rulers' holiness, also maintained through liturgical commemorations and the key historical myth of the Empire—*translatio imperii*.

At the same time, the genealogies transmit an idea of imperial sanctity (*beata stirps*), spreading from Charlemagne to St. Henry and the Hungarian holy kings.⁸⁸⁵ The ideas of dynastic sanctity were commonly used by the Hungarian and French rulers as a political claim.⁸⁸⁶ However, the current example of an alleged imperial hereditary sanctity is incomparable with these cases: the *beata stirps* was usually recognized within the dynasty (one can think of a charismatic example of St.

⁸⁸¹ Gisela was not beatified until 1975, and there are no certain proofs regarding the belief in her sanctity during the Middle Ages, although her commemoration at Niedernburg, mentioned above, had cultic glimpses. Hartmann Schedel did not mention Gisela's sanctity at any other place in the *Chronicle*, and in this context, Gisela was attributed holiness to emphasize its hereditary element. Further on Gisela see Dobschenszki, "Königin Gisela von Ungarn."

⁸⁸² Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, 187r: "Gloriosi atque sanctissimi imperatoris heinrici qui inter ceteros reges germanie cum sua conthorali diua kunegundis virgine sancta vite sanctitate ac virtutibus precellebat." In the German translation: "Diser pawm zaigt an das geschlecht der allerdurchleuchtigsten vnd heilligsten kaiser Heinrichs vnd seiner heilligen gemaheln vnd iunckfrawen kunegundis. die dann vor andern teutschen konigen vnd konigin an heiligkeit des lebens vnd in tugenten geschinen."

⁸⁸³ Cunigunde's genealogy was traced to Charlemagne in the Bamberger Tafel (BSB, Clm. 29093). At the end of his personal edition of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, Schedel drew a genealogical scheme of the Saxon family, similar to the Bamberger Tafel: BSB, Rar. 287, f. 332r–332v.

⁸⁸⁴ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22, no. 1 (1983): 47.

⁸⁸⁵ Vauchez, "Beata stirps."

⁸⁸⁶ In more details discussed by Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 209–43, 298–331. Artistic representations of the dynastic sanctity discussed by Adrian S. Hoch, "Beata Stirps, Royal Patronage and the Identification of the Sainted Rulers in the St Elizabeth Chapel at Assisi," *Art History* 15 (1992): 279–95; Tanja Michalsky, "Die Repräsentation einer 'Beata Stirps': Darstellung und Ausdruck an den Grabmonumenten der Anjous," in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 187–224.

Margaret's devotion to her aunt St. Elisabeth and the Hungarian holy kings),⁸⁸⁷ while Schedel's genealogical construction is retrospective and external.

The only comparable attribution of dynastic sanctity within the imperial succession, to the best of my knowledge, was made by Leopold von Bebenburg (c. 1297–1363, Bishop of Bamberg since 1353) in his *Libellus de zelo Christiane religionis veterum principum Germanorum* (c.1342). The thirteenth chapter of this admonition is devoted to the religious zeal and miracles of “several German queens and empresses.”⁸⁸⁸ Leopold recounts the lives of SS. Mathilda (the spouse of King Henry I), Edith (Otto I's first spouse), Adelheid (the second spouse of Otto I), and Cunigunde and exemplifies their sanctity through recounting their extreme piety and generosity that earned them posthumous holiness.⁸⁸⁹ Although Leopold von Bebenburg did not emphasize these queens belonging to the same dynasty, it is clear that he marvels at this extraordinary constellation of saintly queens and shapes them as representatives of the same “type” of sanctity, and therefore groups them in one exemplum. Again, this construction of a dynastic female sanctity is retrospective, revealed mostly out of the encyclopedic character of Leopold's treatise. In the same way, Hartmann Schedel created the first example of exclusively retrospective, and mostly encyclopedic, attestation of a dynastic and imperial sanctity in words and images that was grounded upon the sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde.

Charles IV Promoting Holy Rulership

When looking for an example of a medieval ruler exercising devotion to saints for political self-fashioning, there is no other figure than Charles IV (1316–1378), King of Bohemia since 1346 and Emperor from 1355, who could meet the criteria better. His grandiose accumulation of relics, splendid building projects, and artistic commissions in the Bohemian kingdom and beyond have been continuously in foci of multiple studies, centered around the questions of the origins of his spirituality (often explained by Charles's French education), specific building projects in Prague, and the meaning of these dedications in a broader context of his politics and dynastic spirituality.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁷ This excerpt from St. Margaret's *vita* is cited in 9/27/2021 7:41:00 AM

⁸⁸⁸ Leopold von Bebenburg, “*Libellus de zelo veterorum Regum Galliae et Germaniae Principum*,” in *Politische Schriften des Leopold von Bebenburg*, ed. Jürgen Miethke and Christoph Flüeler, MGH Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 2004), 482–88.

⁸⁸⁹ The accounts of the first three queens is based on the *Annalista Saxo*, while for St. Cunigunde, Leopold von Bebenburg cites her and St. Henry's *vitae*. Since the author was a native of Bamberg, he was clearly familiar with their cults (St. Henry is mentioned several times with regard to his role as a confessor and a religious donor: Leopold von Bebenburg, “*Libellus de zelo veterorum Regum Galliae et Germaniae Principum*,” 481, 495–7). At the end of the “holy queens” chapter, Leopold also mentions St. Radegund (d. 587), the spouse of Clothar I, but refuses to discuss her life for the sake of brevity.

⁸⁹⁰ For example, Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt, eds., *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005). One should also keep in mind that scholars were often unconsciously guided by most-medieval realities of the cults of saints and their modern relevance for a specific cultural landscape, see Samerski and Zach, *Die Renaissance der Nationalpatrone*, 1–9.

Charles IV's political implementation of various, often royal, cults was performed indeed on a grand scale, with extreme devotional vigor and high artistic value. Charles IV orchestrated a revival of the cult of Charlemagne beyond Aachen,⁸⁹¹ unearthed the cult of St. Sigismund and implanted it in Prague,⁸⁹² as well as promoted the cults of Bohemian patron saints—SS. Vitus, Adalbert, and Wenceslas.⁸⁹³ The emperor promoted his signature devotion in Prague, Aachen, and Nuremberg, though similar visual and liturgical forms were often employed in other parts of the Empire, for example, in Upper Palatinate.⁸⁹⁴

Below, the role of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Charles IV's projects is analyzed, especially in view of the newly built church in the New Town of Prague dedicated to the holy couple and the Holy Cross Chapel at the Karlštejn Castle. The considerations presented here do not bring up extensive new materials and largely rely on existing scholarship about Charles IV's dedications. Nevertheless, for the present study, it is crucial not only that Charles IV's devotion employed the images of these and other holy rulers but also that his practices established an example for the members of the Luxemburg dynasty and as well as for other rulers and dynasties.⁸⁹⁵

First, however, it is vital to consider the presence of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults in the Bohemian kingdom before Charles IV. Did their saintly image used in Charles IV's project correlate with the existing local patterns of devotion? Or, on the contrary, did Charles IV's veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde have more similarities with his reverence for other royal saints, such as St. Wenceslas and Charlemagne? The subchapter below shows that although St. Cunigunde's cult was known chiefly in Moravia and was partially promoted by the Přemyslid ruling family due to their relation to the Staufen dynasty, SS. Henry and Cunigunde achieved a distinct signification in Charles IV's projects.

⁸⁹¹ On the cult in Aachen see Kavka, "Karl IV. (1349–1378) und Aachen."

⁸⁹² David Charles Mengel, "A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-Century Prague," in *Evropa a Čechy Na Konci Středověku: Sborník Příspěvků Věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi*, ed. Eva Doležalová (Prague: Centrum Mediévistických Studií, 2004), 145–58.

⁸⁹³ It has also been noted that Charles IV promoted a semantic connection to the local Bohemian royal saint by naming his first-born Wenceslas, see Iva Rosario, *Power, Politics and Portraits: Art and Propaganda in the Fourteenth-Century Court of Charles IV of Bohemia* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2000), 47–52. On the promotion of the cult of St Wenceslas during the Přemyslid and the reign of Charles IV: Antonín, *The Ideal Ruler in Medieval Bohemia*, 44:109–34.

⁸⁹⁴ Len Scales, "Wenceslas Looks Out: Monarchy, Locality, and the Symbolism of Power in Fourteenth-Century Bavaria," *Central European History* 52, no. 02 (2019): 179–210.

⁸⁹⁵ On replicating "Charles IV-style veneration of relics" during King Sigismund's reign see: Katerina Hornicková, "Memory, Politics and Holy Relics: Catholic Tactics amidst the Hussite Reformation," in *Materializing Memory: Archaeological Material Culture and the Semantics of the Past*, ed. Irene Barbiera, Alice Mathea Choyke, and Judith Rasson (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 97–104; Rupert Feuchtmüller and Ferdinand Seibt, "Die 'Imitatio' Karls IV in den Stiftungen der Habsburger," in *Kaiser Karl IV.: Staatsmann und Mäzen*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 378–86.

Connections between St. Cunigunde and the Přemyslid dynasty

King Philip of Swabia was one of the key supporters of St. Cunigunde's canonization in 1200 as this act backed up his claim to the German throne.⁸⁹⁶ Moreover, Philip's daughter (Kunigunde of Swabia, 1202–1248) was named after the newly celebrated saint. With this act, Philip established a semantic link between his family and the holy empress, whose saintly patronage was sought after. Later, Princess Kunigunde of Swabia was wed to Wenceslas (c. 1205–1253, r.1228), the son of Philip's supporter Ottokar I of Bohemia (c. 1155–1230). In 1208, following the assassination of Philip of Swabia, the orphaned princess moved to the court of her fiancé in Prague, and their wedding ceremony was held in 1224. With this dynastic alliance, the hagiographic knowledge of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was transferred to the Bohemian lands—in an early-thirteenth-century illuminated book of hours that the princess brought from Bamberg, one of the images depicts SS. Henry and Cunigunde together with St. Wenceslas, symbolizing the two families (fig. 6.6).



Fig. 6.6. A miniature depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde (the ordeal) with St. Wenceslas, c. 1204–1219, from New York, Morgan Library, M.739, f. 24v. Photo courtesy of the Morgan Library.

After Philip's assassination in 1208, the name Cunigunde was not in use among German royal dynasties until Frederick III of Habsburg. However, this name, keeping an intrinsic connection to the saint, survived in the Přemyslid family for several generations. This name was carried by the second spouse (Kunigunde, 1245–1285) and the daughter (Kunigunde of Bohemia, 1265–1321) of Ottokar II (r. 1253–1278), the son of Wenceslas I and Kunigunde of Swabia. A mid-thirteenth-century church dedicated to St. Cunigunde in Dürnstein, Lower Austria, can be connected to Ottokar II's preoccupation with St. Cunigunde as well as his rule over the Austrian lands in the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁹⁷ Alberio V of Kuenring, whose familial possessions centered around Dürnstein, supported

⁸⁹⁶ See Chapter 1; Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III," and "Kaisertum und Kultakt in der Stauferzeit," esp. 114–15.

⁸⁹⁷ On the church and its dating: Gottfried Thiery, ed., *Burg, Stadt, Kloster: Dürnstein im Mittelalter* (Dürnstein: Stadt Dürnstein, 2005). In a document from 1239, the deacon of Dürnstein is mentioned, but this reference cannot be used as a

the rule of Ottokar, and this church dedication could be related to articulating this alliance—in case the cult of St. Cunigunde indeed maintained strong associations with the Přemyslid family due to the name's reoccurrence.⁸⁹⁸ Considering also manifold connections between Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria in this period, this potential influence of Ottokar II on this *patrocinium* should not be totally disregarded.

Therefore, Kunigunde, often rendered in vernacular as Kunhuta, became, at least for a short time, a dynastic name of the Přemyslids, which linked them to the imperial heritage of St. Cunigunde and highlighted their connection to the Staufen dynasty. This thirteenth-century alliance between the Staufen princess and the Přemyslid dynasty gave an additional impetus for spreading St. Cunigunde's cult in the high and late medieval Bohemian and Moravian lands.

Václav Bok has explored the existing evidence on medieval Bohemian dedications and hagiographic traditions devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, mostly for the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.⁸⁹⁹ According to his data, during the rule of Wenceslas I and Ottokar II, six churches with the patronage of St. Cunigunde were founded, predominantly in Moravia. The cult of St. Cunigunde entered Bohemian and Moravian lands in the middle of the thirteenth century not without the help of the local ruling dynasty, who had a clear reason to promote the cult that highlighted their familial bonds to the German imperial dynasty. The occurrence of St. Henry is minimal: the relics of both SS. Henry and Cunigunde are mentioned in the churches of Olomouc in 1268 (a city founded by Wenceslas I) and in Zderaz (now a district of Prague) in 1276.⁹⁰⁰ Overall, from 1208 to 1500, there are 19 churches devoted to St. Cunigunde in the Bohemian kingdom, while there is also evidence of St. Cunigunde's visual representations (fig. 6.7).⁹⁰¹

terminus ante quem. There are no documents related to the church earlier than 1289, though according to archeological investigations, its simple late Romanesque construction dates back to the 1220–1260s.

⁸⁹⁸ On Durnstein see Otto Friedrich Winter, "Besitz- und Herrschaftsstrukturen in der Wachau auf der Basis von Königsschenkungen an bayerische Stifte und Klöster," in *Die bayerischen Hochstifte und Klöster in der Geschichte Niederösterreichs*, ed. Helmuth Feigl (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde, 1989), 157–72; Markus Gneiß, "Kloster und Klientel: Fallstudien zum Verhältnis des rittermäßigen Gefolges der Kuenringer zum Klarissenkloster Dürnstein mit einigen Bemerkungen zur Herrschaftsentwicklung in der Wachau," *Mitteilungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Landesarchiv* 18 (2018): 187–245.

⁸⁹⁹ Bok, "Zum Kult der Bamberger Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde in den böhmischen Ländern." Petr Jokeš, who has recently studied medieval Moravian *patrocinia* up to 1500, reports about seven churches and chapels dedicated to St. Cunigunde and none to St. Henry: Petr Jokeš, "Medieval South Moravian Patron Saints—a Survey," *Prace Historyczne* 143 (2016): 481–99.

⁹⁰⁰ Churches dedicated to St. Cunigunde were built between 1210s and 1270s in the following towns: Královské Poričí (Köniswerth), Kostelec u Jihlavy, Nové Mesto na Morave, Brno-Zábřovice (not clear if the dedication was from the thirteenth century), Hlína, Čejkovice; see Bok, "Zum Kult der Bamberger Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde in den böhmischen Ländern," 92. The church of St. Cunigunde in Stanetice (South Bohemia) dates back to the mid-fourteenth century.

⁹⁰¹ These are a statue from the church of St. Cunigunde in Stanetice (Boehm and Fajt, *Prague*, 158–9); a retable now in Brno; and a fourteenth-century embroidered antependium from Cheb, which portrays St. Cunigunde among other female saints. The literary presence discussed by Bok, "Zum Kult der Bamberger Heiligen Heinrich und Kunigunde in den böhmischen Ländern."

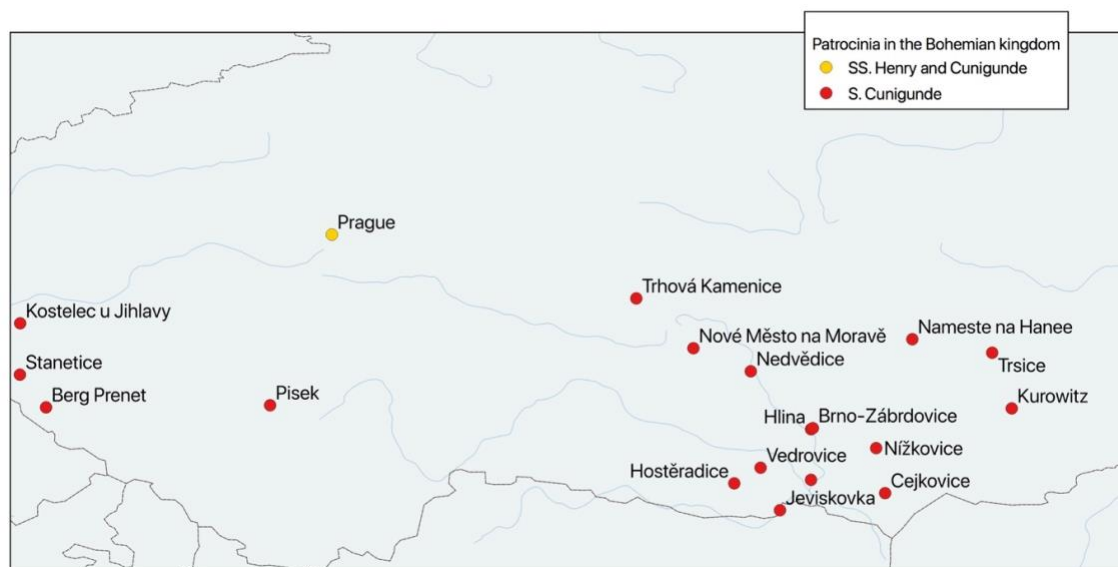


Fig. 6.7. Map of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *patrocina* in the Kingdom of Bohemia by 1500. Map by the author.

However, the introduction of St. Cunigunde's cult in a new political region should not be explained solely by political alliances and agendas of a single ruler; strong cultural and economic bonds were established between the Bohemian lands and south-eastern Germany, where Bamberg, together with Regensburg and Nuremberg—known for their veneration of the imperial couple—were at the same time key educational, cultural, and religious centers. However, St. Henry was not sought after in the local devotional milieu, unlike St. Cunigunde. Therefore, the evident presence of St. Cunigunde in the Bohemian kingdom should be accredited both to the influence of South German veneration patterns (in Bohemia) and the dynastic importance of St. Cunigunde (mostly in Moravia).

The Church of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the New Town of Prague

In 1348, Charles IV commenced an urban project unprecedented for medieval Europe at the time—the foundation of the New Town (Nové Město) in Prague.⁹⁰² With this foundation, finished within several years, Prague became one of the most populated and splendid capitals in Europe. The foundation of the New Town was one in a series of prestigious endowments made by Charles IV after his royal coronation in 1346 in Bonn (the ceremony in Aachen took place in 1349), such as the foundation of the University of Prague and the building of the Karlštejn Castle.⁹⁰³ The ambition behind the New Town was to recreate Prague as “a new Jerusalem and a new Rome,” replicating the sacred topography and devotional status of these two centers of Christianity.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰² Charles IV signed a founding charter of the New Town on April 3, 1347 at Křivoklát, see Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 358–84.

⁹⁰³ On Charles's patronage of art and learning see contributions by Jiri Fajt, Paul Crossley, and Zoë Opačić in Boehm and Fajt, *Prague*, 3–22, 59–74.

⁹⁰⁴ Paul Crossley and Zoë Opačić, “Prague as a New Capital,” in *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437*, ed. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiri Fajt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005), 63.

As a part of this urban venture, a parish church of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was founded.⁹⁰⁵ This *patrocinium* affected not only the liturgical order but also urban topography and mythology, as well as the self-identification of local dwellers and parishioners. The church of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was also complemented by a cemetery, a bell tower built in 1472–1476 (the tower and the street were later called Jindřišská—a local version for “Henry”), and a parish school, also bearing the name of St. Henry. The foundation of the church stands in connection to the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, who later received the parishes of SS. Henry and Cunigunde and of St. Stephen as compensation—it was their territory used for the building of these churches.⁹⁰⁶ In 1351, the Archbishop of Prague Ernest of Pardubice—a close ally of Charles IV—consecrated the church and promoted this church, together with St. Stephen’s Church, to the status of parishes of the developing New Town.⁹⁰⁷ Although the interior of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s Church is mostly from the eighteenth century, the provenance of one St. Henry’s bust is traced back to the church in the New Town.

The choice of the patron saints might seem unusual: as shown above, only the cult of St. Cunigunde was known in Bohemia but never enjoyed overwhelming popularity that would earn both saints *patrocinia* of the capital’s parish church. Clearly, the patron saints for such a prestigious foundation were chosen if not by Charles IV himself but at least with his consent, and the imperial nature of the couple could have been decisive. Miroslav Šmied interpreted this foundation as a sign of Charles IV’s interest in Bamberg as it was one of the religious and intellectual centers of the region.⁹⁰⁸ It is indeed possible since dedication to both SS. Henry and Cunigunde confirmed with a specific Bambergian type of veneration, discussed in Chapter 3. Moreover, the sacred topography of Bamberg is replicated in another dedication of the New Town—the parish church of St. Stephen since one of the churches in Bamberg was also dedicated to the protomartyr.

However, Šmied’s suggestion that the king nourished an idea of including Bamberg in the archbishopric of Prague does not have any grounds or reflections in other endeavors by Charles IV or Ernest of Pardubice. Still, a connection to Bamberg could be possible since the bishop of Bamberg at the time—Friedrich of Hohenlohe (1344–1452)—was an ardent supporter of Charles IV in his dispute against Louis IV. Moreover, the connections between Upper Franconia and Bohemia had been strong before and during Charles IV’s reign and also manifested in the adoption of Bohemian

⁹⁰⁵ The foundation document: Ladislaus Klicman, ed., *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. 1 — Acta Clementis VI (Prague, 1903), 741–44. (no. 1440). In the earliest study on the church, the agency of Charles IV in its foundation is denied, see Karel Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního Kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha a Sv. Kunhuty v Novém Městě Pražském* (Prague: Nákl. spisovatelovým, 1869).

⁹⁰⁶ During the times of the master of the order Oldrich and his successor Jindrich, see David Charles Mengel, “Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)” (Doctoral Dissertation, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 2003), 53–4.

⁹⁰⁷ Navrátil, *Paměti hlavního Kostela farního, fary a školy Sv. Jindřicha a Sv. Kunhuty v Novém Městě Pražském*, 247–9.

⁹⁰⁸ Šmied, “Svatý Jindřich a Svatá Kunhuta.”

saints within the diocese of Bamberg, foremost the cult of St. Wenceslas.⁹⁰⁹ For example, in the chapel of St. Andrew (c. 1414) of Bamberg Cathedral founded by Bishop Albrecht von Wertheim (1398–1421), a stained glass depicts the patron Andreas together with diocesan saints SS. Henry and Cunigunde, flanked by SS. Wenceslas and Sigismund.⁹¹⁰

SS. Henry and Cunigunde also appeared in another foundation by Charles IV, keeping up with a similar ambiguity of their identification as Bamberg saints and as imperial rulers. The statues of SS. Henry and Cunigunde on the northern portal of Frauenkirche in Nuremberg (built c. 1352–1362) reflect, on the one hand, Charles IV's devotion to the holy rulers, and, on the other, the homage to the bishopric of Bamberg.⁹¹¹ To sum up, the sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde maintained its strong ties to Bamberg, facilitated by cultural and political connections of Charles IV's court as well as between Bohemia and Upper Franconia. Simultaneously, the choice of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as the patrons of the New Town's parish church could be viewed in line with Charles IV's enchantment with the subject of holy rulership, reaching its summit in the sacred spaces of Karlštejn Castle, discussed later.

The semantic and liturgical presence of the imperial holy couple in the New Town created an interplay with Charles IV's new status after the coronation in Aachen. Other royal foundations in the New Town of Prague were invested with deep symbolic meaning—for example, the Emmaus monastery. This Benedictine house, founded in 1348, was devoted to a cohort of saints related to the creation of the Slavonic liturgy—SS. Cyril and Methodius, Jerome, Adalbert, and Procopius, acting as “a symbolic reminder of the ancient roots of Bohemia's Christianity.”⁹¹² Another church was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and St. Charlemagne (founded 1351, consecrated 1377), adding to the motif of imperial sanctity in the town's *patrocinia*. Neither St. Henry nor St. Cunigunde reached the rank of popularity and devotedness that was reserved for local patrons such as St. Wenceslas and St. Vitus and for other two holy kings—SS. Sigismund and Charlemagne (and therefore, SS. Henry and Cunigunde have rarely figured in research on Charles IV's saintly politics).⁹¹³ Nevertheless, the holy imperial couple was still introduced to the capital's sacred topography and liturgy. When viewed against the backdrop of other symbolic dedications in the New

⁹⁰⁹ Marco Bogade, “Der hl. Wenzel an der Goldenen Straße vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert: Ikonografie und Kunsthistoriografie,” in *Wenzel: Protagonist der böhmischen Erinnerungskultur*, ed. Stefan Samerski (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2018), 269–300.

⁹¹⁰ Bogade, “Der hl. Wenzel an der Goldenen Straße,” 287–8.

⁹¹¹ Kah, *Die wahrhaft königliche Stadt*, 198–204.

⁹¹² Zoë Opačić, “Bohemia after 1300: Reduktionsgotik, the Hall Church, and the Creation of a New Style,” in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski and Zoë Opačić (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 167.

⁹¹³ For an overview of Charles IV's devotional practices and favorite saints see Barbara Drake Boehm, “Charles IV: The Realm of Faith,” in *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347–1437*, ed. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiří Fajt (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005), 23–34.

Town, the saints surpass their common affiliation with Bamberg and appear foremost as saints connected to the idea of the Empire.

Charles IV and the relics of the holy couple

The remains of SS. Henry and Cunigunde also took part in the intensive “relic traffic” from all over Europe to Prague—Charles IV gathered an unprecedented collection of relics that testifies to his intrinsic devotion and political ambitions of framing Prague as one of the key religious centers of the Empire. Bauch has recently analyzed this relic collection, and his study made it possible to trace the relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the sacred spaces of Prague.⁹¹⁴

Two translations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s relics to Prague are known: in 1357 and in 1372. In 1357, two fingers of St. Cunigunde from the church of St. Stephen in Bamberg appeared in Prague—one was housed in the church of Our Lady in Karlštejn, and the other in the church of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the New Town.⁹¹⁵ Charles IV was himself present at the consecration of the Church of Our Lady when the relics of SS. Cunigunde and Palmatus of Trier, together with a piece of Mary’s veil, were deposited in the altar.⁹¹⁶ This acquisition of St. Cunigunde’s relics is in line with Charles IV’s attempts to supply the churches of Prague with relics of their titular saints: apparently, Charles IV donated the head-reliquary St. Stephen the Protomartyr to the church of St. Stephen.⁹¹⁷ This particular transfer of St. Cunigunde’s remains was facilitated by “nomenclature circumstances”: Johannes Zustraß, who used to be a notary at the imperial chapter, became a canon in Bamberg in 1357, and Bauch suggests that the acquisition of relics was enabled by Johannes’s connections.⁹¹⁸ In 1372, the relics of St. Henry appeared in Prague, though neither the origin nor the destination place is known.⁹¹⁹

In addition, the relics of St. Henry were housed in St. Vitus’ Cathedral, joining the sacred space devoted to primary Bohemian and other royal saints.⁹²⁰ In another artistic project, also closely related to the private and political piety of Charles IV—in the chapel of the Holy Cross in Karlštejn—the figure of St. Henry is far more evident. The holy emperor is represented on a wall painting, distinguished by the imperial coat of arms and insignia, next to Charlemagne and St. Louis. Potentially, St. Cunigunde can also be recognized in one of the other frescoes among holy widows and virgins, though this identification is hard to prove.⁹²¹ These paintings with the images of many

⁹¹⁴ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*.

⁹¹⁵ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 642, no. 207.

⁹¹⁶ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 389.

⁹¹⁷ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 310–11, 354.

⁹¹⁸ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 215–6.

⁹¹⁹ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 628, no. 220.

⁹²⁰ Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 345, no. 364.

⁹²¹ Jiří Fajt and Jan Royt, *Magister Theodoricus, Hofmaler Kaiser Karls IV.: die künstlerische Ausstattung der Sakralräume auf Burg Karlstein* (Prag: Nationalgalerie, 1997), 35 (St. Cunigunde); 46 (St. Henry); Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 394.

saints (129 in total), some executed by Master Theodoric and others by local masters before 1365, did not have only decorative and representative aims but functioned as reliquaries, safekeeping the relics in the niche of the wall and in the frames. These images ensured that the venerated saints were visually present in this devotional space of consecrated imperial symbolism since.

St. Henry could be attractive for Charles IV not only because of the aura of imperial holiness but also because of Henry's own zeal for political patronage and collecting relics that were later safeguarded in Bamberg Cathedral.⁹²² St. Henry's perception as his role model appears in relation to the veneration of the Holy Cross: this relic was crucial for the imperial ceremonies, infused with imagery of Constantine and Helen, and it was especially venerated by Henry II and then by Charles IV. Thus, the Bohemian Reliquary Cross, kept in the treasury of St. Vitus' Cathedral, was ordered c. 1357 by Charles IV to enclose passion relics, among others three particles of the Holy Cross of different provenance: one was supposedly given by the French king, one by the Greek King, and the third piece belonged to Henry II.⁹²³ A similar symbolic construction, echoing the ubiquitous *translation imperii* motive, is visualized in the frescoes of the church of Our Lady in Karlštejn. In this triptych, Charles first receives a particle of the Holy Cross and two thorns from Charles V, the dauphin of France, and then another relic from a person presumably identified with Aloysius Gonzaga of Mantua; finally, Charles places the passion relics in the reliquary.⁹²⁴ The veneration of this reliquary cross is also performed in Charles IV's another portrait from the oratory of the Karlstejn Castle (St. Catherine's Chapel), in which he is depicted together with his spouse Anna of Schweidnitz holding the relic.⁹²⁵ Although the visual image of St. Henry does not figure on these frescoes, the memory of his devotion to the cross and his relation to the provenance of one of the particles was symbolically preserved in the venerated relic itself. Moreover, there is evidence that Charles IV's last son, who died within a year after birth, was called Henry. This name-giving is in line with Charles' major pattern of choosing the names of royal saints for his male offspring—Charles, Wenceslaus, Sigismund.⁹²⁶ Finally, In Heinrich von Wildenstein's sermon on the death of Charles IV performed in Prague and Litomyšl, the deceased emperor is called a descendant of SS. Henry and Charlemagne.⁹²⁷ While this might be Heinrich von Wildenstein's rhetorical construction, it might reflect Charles IV's own ambition of establishing genealogical connection with two imperial saints.

⁹²² Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 189–90.

⁹²³ Rosario, *Power, Politics and Portraits*, 41–2, no. 126. The piece of Henry II's cross was probably received from Bamberg.

⁹²⁴ Rosario, *Power, Politics and Portraits*, 35–6.

⁹²⁵ On this portrait and its iconography, which is traced back to the depictions of Constantine and Helena, see Rosario, *Power, Politics and Portraits*, 40–6.

⁹²⁶ For example, see Charles IV's genealogical tree in Ferdinand Seibt, ed., *Kaiser Karl IV., Staatsmann und Mäzen* (Munich: Prestel, 1978), 433.

⁹²⁷ Edited in Helmut Bansa, "Heinrich von Wildenstein und seine Leichenpredigten auf Kaiser Karl IV.," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 24 (1968), 217: "... nepos divorum Heinrichi et Karoli."

This brief review has shown that the cult of St. Cunigunde (and, to a lesser extent, St. Henry's) appeared in the Bohemian kingdom partially due to the intensive cultural and religious regional connections between these lands and major urban centers of the south-eastern German lands. At the same time, this transmission was facilitated by the dynastic connections between King Philip of Swabia and the Přemyslid family. However, the veneration of these two saints employed continuously by Charles IV's throughout his royal and imperial rule suggests an additional interpretation attached to SS. Henry and Cunigunde beyond replicating local veneration patterns or those imported from Bamberg. In Charles IV's devotional scheme, SS. Henry and Cunigunde—possibly, for the first time on such a scale—lost their primary association with institutional memories of their foundations and patronages. All in all, the holy images of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were present within Charles IV's political piety transmitted through liturgical celebrations and dedications, art, and relic collections. This suggests a new function of SS. Henry and Cunigunde—of promoting holy rulership, utilized by Charles IV also with regards to the cults of SS. Charlemagne, Wenceslas, and Sigismund. Concurrently, St. Henry also received a role in the major concept of the imperial ideology—the establishment of the college of electors. However, the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not employed for enhancing dynastic prestige, pursuing specific policies, or forming a cohort of “national saints.” The successors of Charles IV—his sons Wenceslas IV (r. 1376–1400) and Sigismund of Luxemburg (r. 1411–1437)—did not practice any ostensible piety towards the imperial couple. This practice, however, was picked up by Frederick III of Habsburg.

Chapter 7. The Holy Couple in the Symbolic Communication of Frederick III

This chapter examines a tangible revival of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults in the symbolic communication of Frederick III of Habsburg (r. 1440–1493). SS. Henry and Cunigunde's appeal for Frederick III is studied within a web of meanings produced by various practices—such as devotional acts, imperial itinerary, ceremonies, and artistic patronage—as well as immediate politics and devotional traditions of previous rulers.⁹²⁸ Although Frederick III is perceived here as the main actor performing and instigating the mentioned “revival” of the cults, the role of his councilors, court, family and household members, political allies, and rivals in the studied acts of piety is to be emphasized as well.

The analysis below arguments that the appearance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the imperial symbolic language at the end of the fifteenth century corresponds not only with Emperor Frederick III's devotion to saints but also with his political quest for authority in the German territories from 1471 onwards, especially in the face of the calamities and changes that the 1480s brought to the Empire. Consequently, the appeal to the canonized emperors and the assertion of a symbolic continuity with them ensured a relatively prominent place for SS. Henry and Cunigunde within the visual ideology of the late-fifteenth-century Holy Roman Empire.

Frederick III and his Sainly Politics

Frederick III (1415–1493, crowned 1440, emperor from 1452) from the house of Habsburg has notoriously been known as a *Reichserzschlafmütze* (roughly “imperial arch-nightcap”) due to a seeming lack of political agency during his half-a-century long reign. However, a new strand of research reevaluating highlighted Frederick III's involvement in different levels of the imperial administration as well as his successful international and domestic policies.⁹²⁹

Frederick III's involvement in “political veneration of saints” has been only tackled concerning two canonization processes—most famously, of Leopold III of Babenberg but also of

⁹²⁸ While here the emphasis is on a group of practices roughly defined as “symbolic communication,” in which the use of certain imagery is investigated, there are other ways of studying rulers devotion to saints, for example, a “liturgical footprint” methodology exemplified by Penman in his study on King Robert Bruce, see Michael Penman, “‘Sacred Food for the Soul’: In Search of the Devotions to Saints of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, 1306-1329,” *Speculum* 88 (2013): 1035–62.

⁹²⁹ For example, see Bernd Rill, *Friedrich III.: Habsburgs europäischer Durchbruch* (Graz: Verl. Styria, 1987), 110–26; further studies reevaluated Frederick's reign and personality, especially by Alphons Lhotsky, Heinrich Koller, Paul-Joachim Heinig, Alois Niederstätter, Jörg Schwarz; for the key study on Frederick III, see Paul-Joachim Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440–1493): Hof, Regierung und Politik*, vol. 1–3 (Köln: Böhlau, 1997).

Hemma of Gurk. Hemma was an eleventh-century duchess who, already before attracting Frederick's attention, had been venerated for several centuries in Gurk in Carinthia without papal confirmation.⁹³⁰ A call for Hemma's canonization, initiated by the Bishop of Gurk Ulrich III (d. 1469) in 1465, subsequently gained the support of Frederick III. Maria Wakounig has suggested viewing Frederick III's interest in St. Hemma in the context of the newly founded bishopric of Ljubljana (1461) that was supported by Pope Pious II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1405–1464), a close associate of Emperor Frederick.⁹³¹ However, the request was declined by Pope Paul II (r. 1464–1471) as it was ill-timed amidst the anxieties about the Turkish threat.

Leopold III of Babenberg—one of the “last medieval saints”—was canonized in 1485, and his case is indicative of the Habsburgs' instrumentalizations of sanctity.⁹³² Margrave Leopold, who united Austrian territories during his rule from 1095 to 1136 and secured a stable dynastic succession, was initially commemorated in Klosterneuburg Abbey and several other foundations connected to his figure.⁹³³ The first attempt to canonize Leopold III came from Duke Rudolf IV of Habsburg in 1358. In the 1460s, Emperor Frederick supported the canonization and interfered in the protracted curial decision-making process by writing to Pope Paul II in 1466, although Leopold III was proclaimed a saint only two decades later. With this canonization, Frederick III and subsequently Maximilian I (whose desire to be present in person on St. Leopold's *elevatio* protracted the ceremony way into 1506) desired to establish a continuity between the house of Habsburg with its hereditary lands in Austria, on the one hand, and Margrave Leopold, a holy ruler and patron of the Austrian lands, on the other. Later, this continuity was performed in political ceremonies and dynastic devotion even into the modern period (though not without disruptions and only in some parts of the Austrian lands).⁹³⁴ These two procedures, aimed at canonizing two Austrian rulers, testify to Frederick III's attempts to instrumentalize saints' cults for his self-fashioning and for establishing connectedness with specific parts of the Empire, namely with his hereditary Austrian lands in this case.

⁹³⁰ Christine Tropper, “Das Verfahren zur Heiligsprechung Hemmas von Gurk in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Hemma von Gurk: Katalog*, ed. Peter Tropper (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag Carinthia, 1988), 189–202; Josef Till, *Hemmas Welt: Hemma von Gurk—ein Frauenschicksal im Mittelalter* (Klagenfurt: Hermagoras Mohorjeva, 1999). St. Hemma's cult and its relation to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's veneration in Carinthia is mentioned in Chapter 3.

⁹³¹ Marija Wakounig, “Hemma von Gurk—Ema Krška: Das Werden einer Heiligen,” in *Heilig: Transkulturelle Verehrungskulte vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Dietlind Hüchtker and Kerstin Jobst (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2017), 141–60.

⁹³² Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 71–116; also see Floridus Röhrig, *Leopold III. der Heilige, Markgraf von Österreich* (Wien: Herold, 1985).

⁹³³ For a study on “historical” Leopold see Karl Brunner, *Leopold, der Heilige: ein Portrait aus dem Frühling des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009).

⁹³⁴ Elisabeth Kovács, “Der heilige Leopold und die Staatsmystik der Habsburger,” in *Der heilige Leopold: Landesfürst und Staatssymbol*, ed. Floridus Röhrig and Gottfried Stangler (Vienna: Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, 1985), 69–83.

Other acts of Frederick III's devotion have also been sporadically viewed either as a reflection of the overall Habsburg piety (later transformed into *Pietas Austriaca*) or as his sensibility to mysticism and devotedness. Elisabeth Kovács questions the medieval roots of the dynastic spirituality of Habsburgs, of which the devotion to holy kings was among the cornerstones, also evident during the reign of Frederick III.⁹³⁵ Kurt Zisler's unpublished dissertation helps to identify Frederick's religious foundations—the only available overview of the emperor's representative pious acts; however, the study fails to embed these acts in contemporary politics or similar devotional practices.⁹³⁶ Partially, Frederick's involvement in “political veneration of saints” might have been overshadowed by his son and successor Maximilian I (1459–1519), whose grand-scale self-fashioning through establishing affinity with saints of royal descent is studied in the next chapter.

The previously identified connections between Frederick III and SS. Henry and Cunigunde were only limited to a note in Frederick's private book and the couple's depiction in the *Friedrichsaltar*.⁹³⁷ Indeed, one of the pages of Frederick's notebook, full of various statements written in his own hand ranging from familial histories to superstitions, is filled in with a lengthy list of saints and feasts, among whom SS. Henry and Cunigunde are mentioned.⁹³⁸ As Lhotsky noticed, it is hard to make sense of this inventory—it could list feasts relevant for the fraternity of Innsbruck from 1429. As the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were known in the medieval Austrian lands, their sole inclusion in a list of saints does not betray a specific type of piety exercised by Frederick III. The so-called *Friedrichsaltar* was commissioned at the beginning of his reign in 1447 for Wiener Neustadt, Frederick III's favorite foundation (the altarpiece is now in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna), and the ruler himself might be depicted as one of the magi on the carved main part of the altarpiece, which was a recurrent practice among rulers from the Luxemburg dynasty.⁹³⁹ The iconographic program of this winged altarpiece is subordinated to the litany of all saints: the side-wings are covered with depictions of saints, placed in groups of three, 72 altogether. In the panels viewed on the workdays, among other virgins, one can recognize St. Cunigunde, holding a

⁹³⁵ Elisabeth Kovács, “Die Heiligen und heiligen Könige der frühen Habsburger (1273–1519),” in *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1992), 93–126. Although such a review of more than two centuries of ducal and royal activities in a mere ten pages is inevitably sketchy, Kovács's contribution in bringing this topic up is, to my knowledge, unique. On the *Pietas Austriaca* see Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca: Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1959); Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, “Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories: Multiple Versions of the Pietas Austriaca?,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 97, no. 2 (2011): 276–304.

⁹³⁶ Kurt Zisler, “Die geistlichen Stiftungen Kaiser Friedrichs III.” (Doctoral dissertation, Graz, University of Graz, 1972).

⁹³⁷ Only in one (to the best of my knowledge) of his multiple studies on Frederick III has Paul-Joachim Heinig pointed to the “rarely noticed” emperor's devotion to St. Henry, connecting it to the name-giving of Frederick's daughter and the frescoes in Aachen, discussed later; see Paul-Joachim Heinig, “Friedrich III. (1440–1493),” in *Die deutschen Herrscher des Mittelalters: Historische Portraits von Heinrich I. bis Maximilian I. (919–1519)*, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Munich: Beck, 2003), 510.

⁹³⁸ Alphons Lhotsky, “AEIOV. Die ‘Devisen’ Kaiser Friedrichs III. und sein Notizbuch,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952), 188.

⁹³⁹ Olga Pujmanová, “Portraits of Kings Depicted as Magi in Bohemian Painting,” in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), 247.

ploughshare as a symbol of her ordeal and virginity. On the side panels viewed on Sundays, there are groups of saints distinguished by their royal status, among whom are SS. Henry, Oswald, Sigismund, Charlemagne, and Louis. Although SS. Henry and Cunigunde are referenced in this program only as a part of visualized all saints' litany, this object bears witness to Frederick's devotion and reverence for holy rulers as a liturgical type—which is later demonstrated on the example of his prayer books.

Frederick's devotion to certain saints is also reflected in the names given to his children. The act of name-giving reflects the devotional preferences of parents as well as regional traditions and liturgy. However, in a context of a ruling family, this act is also dictated by an attempt to establish a semantic connection between contemporary rulers and their holy patrons and saintly predecessors and translate the saintly charisma to the ruling dynasty. Frederick's first-born, who died the next year, was called after St. Christopher—the saint that often figures in art pieces commissioned by the emperor.⁹⁴⁰ Maximilian is named after a less-known Austrian saint who was believed to assist Frederick III during the Cilli campaign—St. Maximilian of Lorsch.⁹⁴¹ Maximilian I, in a fictional episode from his biography commissioned to Joseph Grünpeck, emphasized the importance and symbolism of name-giving of imperial children.⁹⁴² In this retrospective, Frederick III and his wife Eleanor of Portugal (1434–1467, empress from 1452) initially hesitated between the names George and Constantine for their newborn son—both St. George and Emperor Constantine had a huge importance in Frederick's and Maximilian's visual ideologies and self-fashioning—although eventually, they opted for Maximilian. Frederick's first daughter (Kunigunde of Habsburg, 1465–1520) was named after St. Cunigunde, which undoubtedly revealed the imperial devotion to the holy empress, which was later continued by Kunigunde herself.⁹⁴³ However, SS. Henry and his spouse Cunigunde were further employed as objects of imperial attachment and devotion, as argued in the current chapter. These practices shed light on the symbolic relationship between Frederick III and cultural memories of the *Binnenreich* (the Empire excluding Habsburg hereditary lands).

⁹⁴⁰ BSB Cgm. 68, f. 1v; other examples Zisler, "Die geistlichen Stiftungen Kaiser Friedrichs III.," 80–2. A popular superstition connected to St. Christopher—namely that one shall not die on the day when he or she saw the saint's image—also appears in Frederick's notebook, see Lhotsky, "AEIOV. Die 'Devise' Kaiser Friedrichs III. und sein Notizbuch," 192.

⁹⁴¹ Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I: das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit: Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und Römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinherrschaft*, vol. 1: Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und Römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinherrschaft, 1459–1493 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1971), 66.

⁹⁴² "Historia Friderici et Maximiliani," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 6 (1888): 423 (f. 7a): "Federicus tertius, imperator coniunctus imperatrici Leonore genuerunt natum Maximilianum, tunc vicerex Bosne ac archiepiscopus Saltzburgensis insimul racionabant de tribus prefatis nominibus unum nomen eligendum. Dictus vicerex Bosne tenuit propositum nominandi eum Maximilianum, viso eo quod sanctus Maximilianus, nam imperator ex devotione, quam habebat, eum Georgium nominare et e converso imperatrix, eum Constantinum, tamquam recuperatorem regni Constantinopolitani, quod illis [tunc?] diebus ab Turcis occupatum fuerat atque abstractum Christianis, animum et cor ad hoc sibi novit."

⁹⁴³ See Chapter 8.

St. Henry in the Royal Liturgy

Personal devotion to a saint is revealed also through participation in recurring liturgical practices that included a recital of saints' offices with appropriated hagiographic readings. These offices—a selection of readings, chants, psalms, and prayers organized along the canonical hours for daily prayers—constitute a major source for a devotee about an individual saint and other liturgical feasts, enhanced by visual representations abundant in sacred spaces. Although previously perceived as stagnant and conservative, medieval liturgy has been vindicated as a flexible practice, sensitive to immediate contexts and able to offer multiple modifications.⁹⁴⁴ Exemplary is the creation of new liturgical forms designed for daily prayers of laypeople, found in books of hours, increasingly popular in the late medieval period.⁹⁴⁵ Adopted from existing repertories or designed anew, these offices provided a point of a private connection to a saint, often encompassing personal meanings for a devotee or a group. Thus, the investigation of several liturgical manuscripts—mainly prayer books and breviaries in Latin and vernacular that belonged to Frederick III—reveals his devotional preferences and recurrent themes, facilitated through the content of offices and prayers.⁹⁴⁶

Frederick III possessed a huge collection of codices—some were tailored for his use and for his family members, while others were inherited from the Luxemburg dynastic collection and received as gifts.⁹⁴⁷ A hefty part of this collection comprised of devotional books—from illuminated scriptures and lengthy two-volume breviaries designed for service readings to compact collections of individual offices and thin portable codices containing just several prayers. Despite the extraordinary amount of sources on Frederick III's devotional practices, there are almost no studies on this part of royal and imperial courtly culture.⁹⁴⁸ On the contrary, while there are almost no prayer books left

⁹⁴⁴ This study of English offices is helpful, especially for grasping the recent approaches to the study of late medieval liturgical practices: Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Brepols Publishers, 2015).

⁹⁴⁵ On the book of hours see Gerard Achten, ed., *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter: Andachts- und Stundenbücher in Handschrift und Frühdruck: Ausstellung 29. Mai–14. August 1980*, Ausstellungskataloge / Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz 13 (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1980); Rudy, *Piety in Pieces*. An exemplary analysis of a royal book of hours is by Anne F. Sutton and Livia. Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud: Alan Sutton for Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1990).

⁹⁴⁶ The term “prayer book” is used here not as a strict genre designation but more as a reference to the manifold forms of devotional literature containing readings for the canonical hours, various prayers, psalms, and sometimes a calendar. These books can be made for individual readings or for communal performance (with an imperial choir, in this case). For recent discussions about this term see Ruth Wiederkehr, *Das Hermetschwiler Gebetbuch: Studien zu deutschsprachiger Gebetbuchliteratur der Nord- und Zentralschweiz im Spätmittelalter. Mit einer Edition* (Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), esp. 79–122.

⁹⁴⁷ Alphons Lhotsky, “Die Bibliothek Kaiser Friedrichs III.,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 58 (1950): 124–35; Andreas Fingernagel, “Die Buchkunst zur Zeit Kaiser Friedrichs III. (1440–1493),” in *Goldene Zeiten: Meisterwerke der Buchkunst von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance*, ed. Andreas Fingernagel and Ute Schmidthaler (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2015), 27–31.

⁹⁴⁸ The rare exception is a recent collection of essays made for an exhibition at the Austrian National Library, although most of the studies analyze illumination programs of these codices and prints, see Andreas Fingernagel and Ute Schmidthaler, eds., *Goldene Zeiten: Meisterwerke der Buchkunst von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance* (Vienna:

from Charles IV, the scholarly discussion of his spirituality and devotion is incredibly vibrant.⁹⁴⁹ This devotional collection was briefly touched upon in the studies by Lhotsky and Haimerl from the 1950s and recently problematized by Haidinger, who is mostly driven by the interest in codicological and visual features of these manuscripts.⁹⁵⁰ Haidinger puts forward a crucial question of the pragmatics behind commissioning such a high number of almost identical prayer books, and, at the current state of research, he makes only preliminary suggestions: Frederick III commissioned these devotional books to be used in his different residencies, for his family members to share the same spiritual practices, and for the members of St. George's Order.⁹⁵¹

This corpus of devotional codices of a dozen items possessed by Frederick III still awaits a thorough analysis, and here the collection is analyzed only with regard to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's presence in prayer books made for and owned by Frederick III.⁹⁵² Interestingly, St. Cunigunde does not figure prominently in this corpus, while St. Henry's sanctity was a recurring motif that contributed to the emperor's perception of sacred rulership, facilitated by the structure of St. Henry's office, and prayers. The design of several prayer books testifies to Frederick's engagement with holy rulers, which was communicated also in two visual programs discussed in the subsequent subchapter.

The prayer book of King Frederick III

Few years after Frederick III's election as a king, a luxurious prayer book was commissioned for him to Viennese masters around 1445–1448.⁹⁵³ This 300-folios codex is a liturgical compendium embellished with ornaments, initials, and several full-page miniatures. It is assumed that some of the miniatures were executed by two Viennese artists, Martinus and Michael, whose work also figures in another Frederick's grand manuscript, namely the *Golden Legend*; these two codices might have been a part of the same commissioning.⁹⁵⁴ This prayer book was most probably designed as a representative

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2015). These studies also highlight the continuity between the Frederician book culture and that of his predecessors (earlier Habsburg and Luxemburg rulers) and his son Maximilian I.

⁹⁴⁹ Boehm, "Charles IV: The Realm of Faith;" Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*; also see Chapter 6.

⁹⁵⁰ Lhotsky, "Die Bibliothek Kaiser Friedrichs III.;" Franz Xaver Haimerl, *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands* (Munich: Karl Zink, 1952), 110–14; Alois Haidinger, "Gebetbücher für Kaiser Friedrich III. und Eleonore," in *Goldene Zeiten: Meisterwerke der Buchkunst von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance*, ed. Andreas Fingernagel and Ute Schmidthaler (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2015), 59–73. Haidinger has identified 11 prayer books in Frederick's possession, though if one takes into account the codices he had inherited and other devotional literature (such as the *Golden Legend*), the number is closer to 20.

⁹⁵¹ Haidinger, "Gebetbücher für Kaiser Friedrich III. und Eleonore," 66.

⁹⁵² Haidinger discusses two big clusters of Frederick's prayer books based on their content and iconographic similarities: ÖNB, Cod. 1767, BSB, Cgm. 67 and 68 follow the Breviary structure, though differ in language and the circumstances of their production (both discussed below); a second group of codices is related to ÖNB, Cod. 1764 that does not follow any known devotional book but is comprised of penitential psalms, litanies, and a set of prayers; there are other codices that do not fit this distinction, for example, ÖNB, Cod. 4494 that provides notation. There are also manuscripts specifically made for the members of Frederick's family, see Haidinger, "Gebetbücher für Kaiser Friedrich III. und Eleonore."

⁹⁵³ ÖNB, Cod. 1767.

⁹⁵⁴ Gerhard Schmidt, "Die Buchmalerei," in *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich: Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte eines Landes im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Fritz Dworschak and Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1963), 93–114. This

object linked to Frederick III and his court, based mostly in Wiener Neustadt in the late 1440s.⁹⁵⁵ As it is one of the earliest and the most lavish of Frederick's numerous prayer books, it provides a glimpse into a devotional system designed for the king early in his reign, in which Frederician programmatic veneration of holy rulers is already present. However, this codex does not have any signs of hefty use, unlike other smaller codices with similar content.

The codex begins with a full-page illumination representing an enthroned young king surrounded by seven electors, among whom the King of Bohemia also wears a crown. Previously, it was generally accepted that the miniature depicts Sigismund of Luxemburg (*r.* 1411–1437) and his consort Barbara von Cilli (1392–1451), who were considered the primary commissioners for the manuscript.⁹⁵⁶ However, the prayer book was clearly intended for Frederick III since Frederick's personal emblem AEIOV is entangled in floral border decorations on several pages, and further codicological and iconographical evidence supports this attribution.⁹⁵⁷ The mystical anagram, the exact meaning of which has been impossible to establish (Lhotsky gathered more than 80 possible interpretations of this device), presupposes Frederick's personal involvement in the commissioning and shaping of the object.⁹⁵⁸

The prayer book contains a calendar, a selection of canonical hours, psalms, a litany of saints, and prayers, in a way similar to the structure of a breviary of the Passau use. Although liturgical calendars depended largely on diocesan calendars and local traditions, here, the chosen dates show a certain adaptation to the devotional preferences of Frederick III.⁹⁵⁹ For example, the calendar includes a feast a local patron St. Coloman, marked as a duplex,⁹⁶⁰ as well as a Habsburg family patron St. Florian.⁹⁶¹ The feasts of other royal saints are also mentioned in the calendar (SS. Wenceslas, Cunigunde, Henry, Elisabeth of Hungary, Hedwig of Silesia, Oswald, Stephen of Hungary, and Louis IX)—prayers for these saints feature in other smaller prayer books of Frederick. The feast of

codex reproduces Latin legends by Jacobus de Voragine in a liturgical order, therefore SS. Henry and Cunigunde are mentioned only as a part of St. Lawrence's legend ÖNB, Cod. 326, f. 159v.

⁹⁵⁵ On Frederick's court see Paul-Joachim Heinig, "How Large Was the Court of Emperor Frederick III?," in *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 139–56.

⁹⁵⁶ For example, in Lhotsky, "AEIOV. Die 'Devise' Kaiser Friedrichs III. und sein Notizbuch," 126. One can though notice that the illumination was not completed—the coats of arms are missing.

⁹⁵⁷ On the bottom of ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 10r stands "FRIDRICO 1445 AEIOV" as well as on f. 25r. On the interpretation of the title miniature see Eva Irlich, "Herrschaftsauffassung und persönliche Andacht Kaiser Friedrichs III., Maximilians I. und Karls V. im Spiegel ihrer Gebetbücher," *Codices manuscripti* 14 (1988): 13–4.

⁹⁵⁸ Lhotsky, "AEIOV. Die 'Devise' Kaiser Friedrichs III. und sein Notizbuch," 176: "Pei belhem pau oder auff welchem silbergeschir oder kirengbant oder andern klainaten AEIOV der strich und die funff puestaben stend, das is mein, herczog Fridreis des jungern, gebessen, ich hab das selbig paun oder machen lassen;" "Whichever building or whichever silver plate or liturgical garment or other precious objects that bears the device AEIOV, consisting of the line and the five letters, either belongs to me, Duke Friedrich the Younger, or I have myself built or commissioned it."

⁹⁵⁹ ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 2r–7r. In her analysis of this prayer book (mostly of its visual traits), Eva Irlich has argued that it lacks any personal devotional traits of Frederick III (unlike prayer books of Maximilian I and Charles V), see Irlich, "Herrschaftsauffassung und persönliche Andacht," esp. 14; the present study claims the opposite.

⁹⁶⁰ ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 6v.

⁹⁶¹ ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 4r.

Charlemagne is marked with red ink and is additionally celebrated with an octave,⁹⁶² although his cult was mostly present in Aachen and would not usually receive a high celebratory status in other provinces, unless for a specific wish of a commissioner. Frederick III was probably not responsible for the selection of each and every item included in the calendar and in the following offices, though his preferences undoubtedly influenced the content of the manuscript prepared for his use. Moreover, this and other codices from Frederick's collection, which contain mostly prayers and a small selection of invocations to saints, repetitively include orations for the saints of royal descent, and this testifies to Frederick's recurrent interest in the topic of royal sanctity and his close familiarity with these cults.⁹⁶³

Among the offices for Christological and Mariological feasts (such as the Epiphany and the Annunciation), there are canonical hours for twenty saints, not structured in a liturgical order: among them are universal saints, such as SS. John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, George, and Catherine, as well as those of more local importance—SS. Henry, Florian, and Leonhard. The offices reflect upon Frederick III's devotional preferences: there are Habsburg family patrons and those saints who later became name-patrons for his children—Helen and Christopher. Florian and Christopher also figure together in another Frederick's prayer book, which includes a special prayer dedicated to both saints.⁹⁶⁴ Notably, the codex is not designed as a part of a bigger liturgical or hagiographic corpus: all readings are self-contained without any references to additional materials or extensive background knowledge of psalms, elaborated prayers, or other texts, which altogether indicates a possibility of individual lay use. Judging by its rather large format—especially when compared to smaller 40-folio prayer books in Frederick's possession—this codex might have been used not only for private readings but mainly for liturgical performance together with the royal choir in Wiener Neustadt.⁹⁶⁵

In ensemble with other royal liturgical codices, this prayer book presents rich material for examining Frederick III's private devotion and public piety, though, for the purpose of the current study, the most relevant is the office of St. Henry. It begins with an inhabited initial schematically depicting the holy emperor as a bearded ruler dressed in royal attire.⁹⁶⁶ The present office is a variation of a secular version of St. Henry's *nova historia* liturgy, which originated from thirteenth-century Bamberg and substituted the previously used commune office.⁹⁶⁷ The repertory of the *nova historia*, existing both in monastic and secular versions, was based on the *vita Heinrichi*, namely the nocturne

⁹⁶² January 28 and February 4: ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 2r, 2v.

⁹⁶³ ÖNB, Cod. 1104 (see below); also Cod. 4494, f. 87 as well as in a related group of prayer books ÖNB, Cod. 1762, 1764, 1766, 1788.

⁹⁶⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 1764, f. 31r.

⁹⁶⁵ About Frederick III's choir (though for a later period) see Paweł Gancarczyk, "Johannes Tourout and the Imperial Hofkantorei ca. 1460," *Hudební Věda* 50, no. 1–2 (2013): 239–258.

⁹⁶⁶ Cod. 1767, f. 191va–196rb; the initial with St. Henry on f. 191v.

⁹⁶⁷ Hankeln, "'Properization' and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices." On the development of the liturgies for the two saints also see an overview in Chapter 2.

responsories and the lauds antiphons either directly adopted the text of St. Henry's hagiography or referred to its motifs.⁹⁶⁸

The prose office from Frederick's prayer book contains some discrepancies from the "standardized" version of the *nova historia* from Bamberg and its vicinity. This office contains all major parts of the canonical hours, though the matins were shortened, and the office accommodated only three readings—this brevity was expected from the office for private reciting. However, the order of responses is changed while an additional prayer is supplied—some of these changes are constructive for the saint's image grasped from the office, which resulted from its tailoring for royal use. Moreover, unlike most of the cathedral and monastic codices with Henry's *nova historia*, which supply only parts or first lines of the sung verses and readings relying on other sources and the knowledge of an experienced user, this one is an example of an entire office, with psalms, scripture, and hagiographic readings written down in full, thus allowing to reconstruct a private recitation of the office and prayers in its textual integrity.⁹⁶⁹ The table below demonstrates the structure of the office, providing the incipits of the readings, their genre, and sources (table 7.1).

Table 7.1. St. Henry's office from ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 191va–196rb.

Genre ⁹⁷⁰	Incipit	Type or Code/ Cantus ID ⁹⁷¹	Comments
<i>I. Vespers</i>			
	Deus in adiutorium	Ps 69	An introductory prayer
A	Festa pii imperatoris Heinrici	1VA1/201824	
Ps	Laudate	Ps 112; 116; 145; 146; 147	Standard for the vespers of all major feasts
A	Festa pii imperatoris	1VA1	
Cap	Qui parce seminat parce et metet	II Cor. 9: 6	
R	Iam sacri principis fama	1VR1 or MR6 / 601267	Although Hankeln attributes it to matins, this response was often used in conjunction with 1VA1
V	Ubi et calicis ablucio	MV6/ 601267a	
H	Iste confessor domini	Hymn/ 008323	Standard for confessors
W	Gloria et honore	Versicle/ 008081	Based on Ps 8, from the common for martyrs

⁹⁶⁸ The antiphons and other chants identified by Folz, "La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur."

⁹⁶⁹ Although the musical aspect of any liturgy is as important as its content, this aspect is not discussed in the present study, partially because this codex does not provide any notation.

⁹⁷⁰ Given according to the terminology and abbreviations used in the Cantus database, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/genre> (accessed February 17, 2020).

⁹⁷¹ The antiphons and responsories taken from the *nova historia* are marked with a number as in the publication by Hankeln and its reference in the Cantus database (if such exists), see Hankeln, "'Properization' and Formal Changes in High Medieval Saints' Offices," 12. Conventional readings from the little hours and second vespers are omitted for the sake of brevity.

A	Chorus novae Ierusalem	1VAm/ 200758	
W	Gloria et honore	Versicle/ 008081	
C	Deus qui beatum heinricum	Collect	From the <i>nova historia</i>
	Domine exaudi orationem meam		Closing salutations
<i>Compline</i>			
Ps	Cum invocarem exaudivit	Ps 4/ 920004	
V	Tu in nobis es domine	V / 007419a	
R	In manus tuas domine	R / 601142	
V	Redemisti me domine	V / 601142a	
H	Te lucis ante	Hymn / 008399	
W	Custodi nos domine	Versicle / 008001	
A	Pacem tuam	A/ 004206	
R	Posuisti domine super caput	R/ 004344	
C	Omnipotens sempiterne deus	C	New (based on a common model)
<i>Matins</i>			
Ps	Domine labia mea... Deus in adiuto me	Ps 50; 69	
Inv	Venite iubilemus gratie	Invitatorium	
H	Iste confessor domini	Hymn/ 008323	
Ps	Beatus vir qui non abiit (Isti tres psalmi ut de S. Geo[rgio])	Ps 1; 2; 3	These three psalms were used in the common for confessors; Folz noticed that they introduced the language and ideas used in the subsequent antiphons. ⁹⁷²
A	Secus fluentia divinatorum	MA1	Source Ps 1:3
A	Rex sacer iste	MA2	Source Ps 2:10–11
A	Salus altissima sancti	MA3	Source Ps 3: 2
W	Gloria et honore	Versicle/ 008081	
C	Exaudi quaesumus domine		
L	Fuit namque per idem tempus dux bauuariorum	ML1	The readings are based on the <i>vita</i> 1–2 (royal coronation, St. Wolfgang's prophecy)
R	Illustrem virum gemine nobili	MR1	
V	Preventus spiritus sancti	MV1	

⁹⁷² Folz, “La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur,” 247.

L	Cum autem sex dierum numerus	ML2	Based on the <i>vita</i> 2, 18(30) (the prophecy continues, St. Henry's soul-weighing)
R	Cultor Cristi non fictus	MR2	
V	Vidit enim contra se post	MV2	
L	Assistentibus enim hinc inde nobis	ML3	Based on the <i>vita</i> 18(30) (St. Henry's soul-weighing, the chalice legend)
R	Exaratus sed signatos apices	MR3	
V	Sexto anno presagium resolvi	MV3	
<i>Lauds</i>			
A	Spectate clerum discipline	LA1	
A	Diffidentes quidam de beati	LA2	
A	Furtis reus multiplici custos	LA3	
A	Clauda femina a mensa regis	LA4	
A	Hac vita sancto decente	LA5	
Cap	Qui enim bene ministraverint	1 Tim. 3:13–16	
H	Hic est versus chisticola	H	
W	Iustus ut palma florebit sicut	W/ 007062	Source Ps 91:13
A	Benedictus dei filius	LA6	
C	Deus qui beatum	C	
<i>Little hours</i>			
C	Deus qui beatum	C	
A	Diffidentes quidam de beati	LA2	
Cap	Qui parce seminat parce	2 Cor. 9:6	
W	Gloria et honore	Versicle/ 008081	
C	Omnipotens sempiterne	C	
A	Furtis reus multiplici custos	LA3	
Cap	Unusquisque prout destinavit	2 Cor. 9:7	
C	Deus qui beatum	C	
A	Hac vita sancto decente	LA5	
Cap	Qui autem administrat semen	2 Cor. 9:10	
A	Spectate clerum discipline	LA1	
A	Diffidentes quidam de beati	LA2	
A	Furtis reus multiplici custos	LA3	
A	Clauda femina a mensa regis	LA4	
A	Hac vita sancto decente	LA5	
R	Conversus ad summum	MR9	
V	Cursum tandem consummato	MV9	
<i>2 Vespers</i>			
Am	Hodie felici cursu regni et vite	Am	
C	Omnipotens sempiterne	C	

The main adjustment made to the *nova historia* office is the shortening of the matins readings, which led to omitting several nocturnal responsories and reciting only three lectures from Henry's *vita* against six readings prescribed for Henry's feast day for a service in Bamberg Cathedral.⁹⁷³ Although it is not always possible to know which readings were chosen for the office in the locations where the office was used, it is possible to reconstruct the expected chapters from the subsequent responsories that echo the main theme from each hagiographic excerpt. Those would be St. Henry's election, St. Wolfgang's prophecy, St. Benedict's healing, the fight against the Poles, the restoration of Merseburg, the Christianization of Hungary, the trial against St. Cunigunde, and the foundation of Bamberg; some of the post mortem miracle stories were reflected upon in the lauds antiphons.⁹⁷⁴ The present royal breviary includes only the first two chapters from the *vita* and St. Henry's soulweighing, which leads to a mismatch between the chosen lections and standard responsories that were designed for a linear reading from St. Henry's hagiography. The readings for Frederick's office were written almost verbatim from the *vita* with minor grammatical and orthographical discrepancies (therefore, the composer of the office most probably had the *vita*'s text at hand), though one episode was significantly rewritten. Although it might have been that St. Henry's office was copied in its entirety from another unknown codex, it is plausible that these selections and changes presuppose the office's design for royal use.

The chosen readings emphasize the royal status of the saint, while one episode is altered in a way to match the regal circumstances of Frederick III. The first reading starts with an excerpt from the *vita*'s opening chapter: it describes St. Henry's election as a king due to his exceptional virtues and piety, though omits the exposition concerning the death of Otto III,⁹⁷⁵ and continues with the story of St. Wolfgang's prophecy about St. Henry's coronation that was modified for the office.⁹⁷⁶ While the *vita Heinrici* reads as "as the six years have passed and the first day of the seventh year has revolved, on this day [St. Henry] received the imperial dignity by the apostolic consecration,"⁹⁷⁷ the prayer book clearly refers to St. Henry's royal election.⁹⁷⁸ This rewriting substitutes, above all, St. Henry's imperial coronation for the royal election, which would be in line with Frederick III's position and the contemporary constitutional fiction of the Golden Bull. Additionally, the final clause highlights that St. Henry deserved his sanctity for his virtuous reign, which substitutes in a way the entire gallery of his virtues related in his *vita* though omitted in the office.

⁹⁷³ Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris*, 153.

⁹⁷⁴ Folz, "La légende liturgique de saint Henri II empereur et confesseur."

⁹⁷⁵ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 225–7.

⁹⁷⁶ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 227–8.

⁹⁷⁷ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 228: "Cumque sex annorum numerus integer pertransisset et septimi anni dies revolutus venisset, ipso die caesaris dignitatem per apostolicam suscepit consecrationem."

⁹⁷⁸ ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 193rb: "...finitis autem sex annis nichilque actum quod timebat sed ad imperii regium eligitur. In quo sic virtuose vixit ut meretur ad celestium consortium feliciter sublimari." To the best of my knowledge, there is no *vita*'s version with a similar wording in its second chapter.

The third narrative chosen for the nocturnal readings deals with St. Henry's soul-weighing, taken from one of the concluding chapters of his *vita*.⁹⁷⁹ Although the legend of St. Henry's soul-weighing reflected upon popular Christian expectations of the Last Judgement, this narrative had a strong cultural association with the idea of rulership—similar soul-weighing legends are also attributed to King Dagobert, Charlemagne, and St. Emeric of Hungary.⁹⁸⁰ Judging by the existent matins responsories, this episode was not intended to be among the standard readings but was intentionally chosen for the current office.

This redaction of the *nova historia* does not highlight St. Henry's virtues, such as his conversion activities, donations, piety, and chastity, all of which were elaborated upon in the chants that were left out. Only two responsories, meant originally for the matins, were used for the first and second vespers (MR6 and MR9)—these refer to St. Henry's religious foundations in Merseburg and Bamberg. Noteworthy, the office does not make a mention of St. Henry's supposedly virginal marriage to St. Cunigunde. For celebrations at Bamberg Cathedral, on the other hand, it was prescribed to include antiphons for St. Cunigunde on the St. Henry's feast in addition to the nocturnal responsory (would be MR8) that mentions St. Cunigunde's ploughshare ordeal miracle.⁹⁸¹ Possibly, the motif of marital chastity was irrelevant for the yet bachelor king.

The royal office for St. Henry does not include directly the expected language of "didactic kingship" that would reflect upon themes popular in the mirror for princes—namely the topics of "humility and justice as classic virtues of the good king" (for example, the royal office of Louis IX is vividly marked with these didactic topics).⁹⁸² None of St. Henry's regnal activities are exemplified in the office (with the exclusion of his ecclesiastical foundations)—his glory and sanctity are deposited in his royal status and not in the ad hoc practices of either humility or justice. However, the prescribed readings from Corinthians for the Little Hours elaborate on the theme of generosity, and the used psalms also evoke ideas related to humility, wisdom, and modesty. Since St. Henry is the only royal saint whose office is included in Frederick's prayer book (with the exclusion of St. Helen and a prayer for St. Sigismund), it can be assumed that this image could have been a guiding representation of holy (and ideal) rulership for the Habsburg ruler.⁹⁸³

⁹⁷⁹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 303–5; the legend is discussed in Chapter 1.

⁹⁸⁰ Gaiffier, "La légende de Charlemagne;" Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage*.

⁹⁸¹ Farrenkopf, *Breviarium Eberhardi cantoris*, 153, version C.

⁹⁸² Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 106. On the genre of a mirror for princes see a classic work by Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1938). Also see a recent study by Johannes von Müller, *Herrscherbild und Fürstenspiegel: das lange Mittelalter des politischen Bildes*, Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus 25 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

⁹⁸³ The codex includes offices for the following saints (listed in the order of appearance in the manuscript): SS. George, Florian, Helena, Erasmus, John the Baptist, Vitus, Peter and Paul, Henry, Christopher, Sigismund (only a prayer), Bartolomeo, Egidius, Mathew, Michael, Leonhard, Barbara, Apollonia, Martin, Catherine, Andrew the Apostle.

The office is also supplied with two collects repeated continuously throughout the hours (of a traditional structure consisting of an invocation, acknowledgment, petition, and pleading). While one of these collects had wide use in Bamberg liturgies (*Deus qui beatum*), the second one seems to be newly designed for the office, adhering to the composition of other collects in the same prayer book (starting with *Omnipotens sempiterne*) and does not reflect on any specific Henry's saintly capacities.⁹⁸⁴ In other smaller prayer books of Frederick III, another collect for St. Henry based on the same model appears.

In her analysis of various offices for Louis IX, Gaposchkin has shown the political and theological processes that occurred behind the production of these liturgical texts, often used among specific groups, such as different monastic orders and members of the royal family.⁹⁸⁵ These offices, mostly developed at the end of the thirteenth century, often consisted of newly written parts or “creatively” used the existing chants from previous offices. Unlike the services for St. Louis, the *nova historia* office for St. Henry, existing in its secular and monastic versions written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was the only used office alongside the common for confessors. The compositional structure of the office allowed though for assembling its “royal” variation in the middle of the fifteenth century for the use of Frederick III. All in all, this office channels a universally applicable image of St. Henry, devoid of his famous legends, the chaste marriage theme, or signature virtues. This is achieved not by creating new elements for the office but by choosing from an existing repertory of the *nova historia* and St. Henry's hagiography. The created image of St. Henry is that of a universal saintly ruler, whose holiness rests not on his glorified deeds or virtues but primarily on his ascension to the throne.

The small prayer book

Frederick's collection of devotional manuscripts also consisted of codices of smaller sizes (around 30–60 folios) from the second half of the fifteenth century, which were designed for personal recitation and prayer.⁹⁸⁶ Although dated to different decades, these codices contain identic devotional texts and follow a similar structure—a calendar, penitential psalms, litanies, and prayers. One of the repetitive elements is a block of collects to a dozen of saints, with which Frederick III had strong symbolic ties. Here, only one of these smaller prayer books is introduced as a showcase for literary

⁹⁸⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 1767, f. 192rb; 195ra; 196rb: “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui servire regnare est da nobis in beati heinrici imperatoris et confessoris tui pia sollempnitate letari et eius suffragantibus meritis in regno glorie tue beatorum cetibus aggregari. Per dominum nostrum.” Based on the items identified by Hankeln and Folz and those manuscripts I am knowledgeable of, this collect appears to be a new one.

⁹⁸⁵ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*.

⁹⁸⁶ Apart from ÖNB, Cod. 1104 analyzed here, those are ÖNB, Cod. 1762; Cod. 1764; Cod. 1766; Cod. 1788; Cod. 4298; Cod. 4494, and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 276. See Haidinger, “Gebetbücher für Kaiser Friedrich III. und Eleonore,” 59–60.

and devotional trends of Frederick III's court (mirrored in other similar devotional codices). One of these trends was the devotion to the holy rulers—Charlemagne, Henry, and three Hungarian kings.⁹⁸⁷

This smaller prayer book was probably commissioned in Augsburg in the 1470s, as concluded by Haidinger, and, unlike other Frederician codices with similar content, has a distinct visual program. Although the codex does not bear Frederick's device AEIOV, the similarities between this codex and others from the royal collection, as well as its visual program, point at the emperor as an addressee and a user.⁹⁸⁸ The twenty eight illuminated folios contain a liturgical calendar, the litany of all saints, and several invocations to the saints: among others, for St. Morandus (the patron of the Habsburg family),⁹⁸⁹ Blessed Leopold (not yet canonized, see above), SS. George, Florian, Helen, and Maximilian, as well as holy rulers St. Henry, Stephen of Hungary, and Charlemagne.

The illumination program was executed after the codex was completed: a leaf glued to the cover depicts SS. Victor, Quirinus, Eucharius, and George, and on the next folio, St. Christopher appears together with St. Gereon and an invocation to St. Quirinus and the Theban Legion (of which St. Gereon was a soldier).⁹⁹⁰ St. Gereon was a renowned saint of Cologne while St. Quirinus—of Neuss, and Haidinger justifiably connects this illumination program with the siege of Neuss (1474/75) and Frederick's protracted stays in Cologne, all of which were parts of the conflict with Charles the Bold over the Burgundian heritage. On the verso side of the same folio, there is a miniature depicting Emperor Valentinian with the coat of arms of the Empire and Hungary, with a caption running *imperator Romanorum rex Ungarorum*.⁹⁹¹ On the one hand, a depiction of Emperor Valentinian, which appears as an awkward addition to the saintly group, could represent the imperial ambition over the Hungarian kingdom (hence the title and the coat of arms) pronounced through the *translatio imperii* motif because, since 1470, Frederick III broke with Matthias Corvinus (the king of Hungary, r. 1458–1490). On the other, Valentinian might appear in connection with the same Burgundian agenda behind other depictions in the codex. According to Ian Wood, Valentinian I's reign was seen as “a crucial moment in Burgundian history” when, according to various traditions, the Burgundians reached the Rhine and partially conquered Gaul.⁹⁹²

The calendar is similar to the one found in Cod. 1767, and it also mentions SS. Cunigunde and Henry's feast days.⁹⁹³ The second part of the book consists of short prayers for several saints, among whom the group of the holy rulers clearly stands out. The collect for St. Henry is a modified

⁹⁸⁷ Although here ÖNB, Cod. 1104 is chosen to stand for the whole group of manuscripts, one should not neglect existing differences in content, composition, embellishment, and usage of each codex.

⁹⁸⁸ Haidinger, “Gebetbücher für Kaiser Friedrich III. und Eleonore,” 61–63.

⁹⁸⁹ The officium for St. Morandus comprised a separate codex made for Frederick III in 1482 by Paul von Stockerau—ÖNB, Cod. 1946. In this devotion to St. Morandus, Frederick followed his Habsburg predecessors, foremost Rudolf IV.

⁹⁹⁰ ÖNB, Cod. 1104, f. 1r.

⁹⁹¹ ÖNB, Cod. 1104, f. 1v.

⁹⁹² Ian N. Wood, “Defining the Franks: Frankish Origins in Early Medieval Historiography,” in *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms*, ed. Thomas X. Noble (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 95.

⁹⁹³ ÖNB, Cod. 1104, f. 2v; 3v.

prayer used in the *nova historia*,⁹⁹⁴ preceded by the one to St. Wenceslas and followed by prayers to SS. Charlemagne, Stephen, Ladislav (there is no special collect for him, the one for St Stephen should be repeated), and Emeric.⁹⁹⁵ The same group of prayers is present in Frederick's other prayer books.⁹⁹⁶

Hence, the group of the holy rulers referred to in this prayer book consists of both imperial saints (Henry and Charlemagne) and of canonized rulers of Bohemian and Hungarian origin. On the one hand, it can correspond to the political aspirations of Frederick III of including Hungarian lands in the imperial dominion, as was the case under his predecessor Emperor Sigismund. On the other hand, this devotion could also be viewed as an inheritance of Luxemburg spirituality—Frederick III is known, for example, to own splendid codices from the collections of Wenceslas and Sigismund (such as *Wenceslas' Bible*, *The Golden Bull*, and *Troppauer Evangeliary* that are marked as Frederick's possessions with the AEIOV device). Although quite similar, these prayer books reflected the immediate political and spiritual context in which they were written—as did the small prayer book analyzed above through including St. Gereon and St. Quirinus (and possibly Emperor Valentine) in imperial spirituality reflected upon the Burgundian agenda. The devotion to a group of imperial and Hungarian holy rulers, on the contrary, was a stable part of Frederician piety that enhanced his own understanding of a ruler's mission and helped him to communicate his own role through the images of his saintly predecessors on the throne.

The German breviary

At some point after 1466, a luxury breviary in German vernacular was ordered for Frederick III or the members of his family.⁹⁹⁷ The opening miniatures of the breviary's summer part depict an imperial couple of Frederick and Eleanor of Portugal and their five children below the images of the saints (fig. 7.1–2). To the left, Emperor Frederick is kneeling together with his sons Christopher (1455–1456), Maximilian, and Johannes (1466–1467)⁹⁹⁸ in front of Christ and St. Christopher; the borders are richly illuminated with golden ornaments and the coat of arms of the Empire and Austria. To the right, Eleanor is depicted together with the two daughters—Kunigunde (1465–1520) and Helen

⁹⁹⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 1104, f. 14v: "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatum Henricum imperatorem et confessorem terrene potestatis gloria et honore coronasti et sanctorum tuorum societate sublimasti presta quis ut quem hic in terris meruimus habere divine religionis doctorem eodem modo ecclesia mereatur habere defensorem in celis. Per christum dominum nostrum. Amen."

⁹⁹⁵ ÖNB, Cod. 1104, f. 14v–15r. The collects for these rulers are followed by a one to St. Coloman the Martyr. However, he was believed to be of a royal Irish descent, therefore his appearance together with other kings is logical.

⁹⁹⁶ ÖNB, Cod. 1764, f. 28r; ÖNB, Cod. 1766, f. 18r; ÖNB, Cod. 1788, f. 34v–35r; ÖNB, Cod. 4298, f. 21v–22r (SS. Charlemagne, Stephen, Henry, Ladislav, Emeric, Coloman); ÖNB, Cod. 4494, f. 83v–84r (SS. Stephen, Ladislav, Charlemagne, Henry). Interestingly, St. Henry's collect is missing from ÖNB, Cod. 1762, although other prayers for the rulers are present on f. 41r–41v.

⁹⁹⁷ BSB, Cgm. 67 and BSB, Cgm. 68.

⁹⁹⁸ The birthdate of their last son Johannes provides a *terminus post quem* for composing this breviary.

(1460–1462)—looking up towards the Virgin Mary and St. Augustine. The composition is symmetrical to the miniature with Frederick III and his sons, though the coat of arms is that of the Empire and Portugal. The names of the Habsburg family members are inscribed below their images which makes them easily identifiable; moreover, Frederick and Eleanor are dressed in imperial gowns wearing the crowns, while three little princes wear the archduke crowns. This is an idealized depiction of the imperial family gathered together in the act of worship: from these five children, only two of them made it to adulthood (namely Maximilian and Kunigunde), for others died within a year of their birth; Eleanor of Portugal died in September 1467, so it might as well be a postmortem depiction of her.



Fig. 7.1–2. Full-page miniatures depicting Frederick III, Eleanor of Portugal, and their five children among the saints in the German Breviary (summer part) of Frederick III, Vienna, after 1465, 18.8x13.7 cm; BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 1v–2r. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Unlike the prayer books discussed above, two hefty volumes of the breviary consist of both sanctorale and temporale parts, including movable feasts, and give rather complicated instructions regarding the elements and their order. The winter part starts with the advent cycle until Easter, though it does not include any readings for the saints' feasts.⁹⁹⁹ The summer part of the breviary contains the chants, hymns, and readings for the Easter period and for the saints whose feasts fall between June

⁹⁹⁹ BSB, Cgm. 67.

and the end of November.¹⁰⁰⁰ The sanctorale part includes chants and readings for the canonical hours of around seventy saints (some have several feast days), all of which are recounted in vernacular.

The office for St. Henry appears in the summer part of the breviary following the feast of St. Margaret while readings from St. Cunigunde's feasts are missing.¹⁰⁰¹ Her major feast on March 3 does not fall within the timeframe of the breviary, while her *translatio* in September was rarely celebrated outside the diocese of Bamberg (though included in some calendars of Frederick's prayer books). Unlike St. Henry's Latin office from Cod. 1767, the German office is rather short and supplies neither additional readings nor proper antiphons or responsories. The suggested chants are those from the common for confessors.¹⁰⁰² Further directions for matins prescribe responses from the common for martyrs, which would not fit St. Henry's saintly profile. The three lectures for the office are supplied in full—these are abridged translations of the first two chapters from St. Henry's Latin *vita*, namely his election as a king and St. Wolfgang's prophecy. The latter legend is abridged so that the meaning of the "after six" inscription is immediately revealed, signifying St. Henry's election as a king (though the Latin version speaks about the imperial coronation).¹⁰⁰³ Again, this version highlights the election of St. Henry to the throne, as was the case for the Latin royal office.

While the choice of the first two chapters from the hagiography seems rather obvious and almost mechanical, it was not always the case for all saints; for example, the readings for St. Elisabeth, although also being brief, recount most of the events of her life (namely marriage, motherhood, widowhood, charity, care for the sick), hence a more or less complete image of the saint was communicated in the office.¹⁰⁰⁴ Here, St. Henry's virtue again solely lies in his royal status, devoid of almost any personal traits or even chronological markers. For Frederick III, who clearly venerated St. Henry, appreciated the saint mostly for his royal and imperial status—as his saintly predecessor on the throne, alongside other European holy rulers. These manuscripts testify to the private nature of Frederick's veneration of St. Henry; nevertheless, these devotional exercises were often performed in courtly circumstances and, therefore, were part of the symbolic language of Frederician power.

Imperial Pilgrimages to Bamberg

After an Imperial Diet in Regensburg, held during the summer of 1471 and devoted mostly to the question of the Turkish threat, Frederick III was expected in Nuremberg for a two-week stay, carefully

¹⁰⁰⁰ BSB, Cgm. 68; the sanctorale part is from f. 159v until the end (f. 346r).

¹⁰⁰¹ BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 221v–228v.

¹⁰⁰² BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 227r: "darnach von sand hainrich antiffen als von ayne peichtinger" and then "in der metten und tagzeit als von aynem flechten peichtinger."

¹⁰⁰³ BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 228v: "noch sechs. das pedeutt im endlich sein erwellung."

¹⁰⁰⁴ BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 332v–335v.

and felicitously planned.¹⁰⁰⁵ On August 28, however, Frederick III escaped from the celebrations and headed with a small retinue to Bamberg and to the chapel of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, from Baiersdorf onwards accompanied by Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg, a local lord and Frederick's counselor.¹⁰⁰⁶ These two locations were important religious spaces of the region: the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a recently established chapel for a commonly venerated group of fourteen popular saints administered by the Cistercians in Langheim, and Bamberg—an episcopal see, famous for its saints Henry, Cunigunde, and Bishop Otto I.¹⁰⁰⁷ The circumstances of this visit are briefly described in a contemporary chronicle from Nuremberg and a more detailed report by a legate's secretary Agostino Patrizi.¹⁰⁰⁸ In both reports, the event is understood as nothing else but a spontaneous pilgrimage, aimed predominantly for viewing SS. Henry's relics.

An anonymous chronicler, who recounts the imperial visit from his or her own memories and rumors, shortly relates: "Afterward he [Frederick III] rode to Bamberg to visit Saint Emperor Henry; then he went to the Fourteen Holy Helpers."¹⁰⁰⁹ Agostino Patrizi, who was a part of the retinue that followed Frederick to Bamberg, also highlights the devotional character of this trip and presents Frederick's desire to access St. Henry's relics as the main aim of the visit.¹⁰¹⁰ A registry book from Bamberg cathedral keeps reports of multiple visits and donations made to the shrine; Frederick III is reported to donate five florins for viewing the cathedral's relics in 1471.¹⁰¹¹ Therefore, whatever was the reason behind this sudden change of the itinerary, the events were commemorated as an imperial pilgrimage to Bamberg and the Holy Helpers, highlighting the special attention of Frederick III to St. Henry, and, most probably, consciously shaped and performed as such by its participants.

This imperial pilgrimage in Franconia became a recurrent event; the cathedral registry book relates about Frederick's visit not only in 1471 but also in 1474 and 1485.¹⁰¹² In 1474, the presence of the imperial court in this region was triggered by the need to collect support and funds for the

¹⁰⁰⁵ Helmut Wolff, "'Und er was frolich und wolgemut ...' Zum Aufenthalt Kaiser Friedrichs III. 1471 in Nürnberg," in *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert: Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, ed. Helmut Wolff, Johannes Helmrath, and Heribert Müller, vol. 2 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1994), 805–20.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Christian Heinemeyer, *Zwischen Reich und Region im Spätmittelalter: Governance und politische Netzwerke um Kaiser Friedrich III. und Kurfürst Albrecht Achilles von Brandenburg*, Historische Forschungen ; Band 108 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2016).

¹⁰⁰⁷ The cults of the Bamberg three saints were also venerated in Langheim since it held close connections to Bamberg and cherished the memory of Bishop Otto I, who promoted the Cistercians in the region.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Helmut Wolf, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III.: 1471*, vol. 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1999), 929–46.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Wolf, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III.*, 2:931.: "dornoch reit er gen Pobenperck (Bamberg) zu sant keiser Heinrich zu besehen. dornoch reit er zu den virczehen nothelfer."

¹⁰¹⁰ Wolf, ed., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Friedrich III.*, 2: 941: "cum caesar religionis gratia Bambergam petere statuisset <...> in Bambergensi templo divi Henrici secundi, quem inter sanctos relatum putant, corpus venerator, quod plurimus etiam miraculis claret; cuius praecipue cause Caesar nunc Bambergam venit <...> Bambergae primo die quievimus, in quo Caesar divi Henrici venerandas reliquias et aliorum sanctorum devotissime invasit."

¹⁰¹¹ Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. A232.2, Nr. 13.571, f. 1r: "5 fl ab Imperatore ad reliquias sibi ostensas."

¹⁰¹² Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. A232.2, Nr. 13.574, f. 2r; Nr. 13.585, f. 2r. The registry book is discussed by Haeutle, "Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464–1500." Later, these documents are used by Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, "Die Kaisermäntel im Bamberger Domschatz," 110–11.

Burgundian war and the campaign against the Turks. The emperor visited the shrine together with his son Maximilian and their retinue, giving a donation of two ducats to the cathedral.¹⁰¹³ The circumstances of the last visit were rather disturbing for Frederick: Matthias Corvinus captured most of the Austrian territories; hence the emperor was driven out of his hereditary lands and his usual residences in Linz, Graz, Vienna, and Wiener Neustadt. Amidst these critical events, the emperor went on a pilgrimage to Bamberg and to the Fourteen Holy Helpers from October 17 to October 28 in 1485, donating two florins to the cathedral.¹⁰¹⁴ It can be assumed that a visit to Bamberg and the chapel of the Fourteen Holy Helpers became a traditional part of Frederick's itinerary in Franconia, combined with his "politically-motivated" visits to Nuremberg, Regensburg, and Würzburg.

The first visit from 1471 was a part of an evident change in Frederick III's politics when the emperor, for the first time after his imperial coronation of 1452, left his hereditary lands of Austria and moved through the territories of the *Binnenreich*.¹⁰¹⁵ In this light, Frederick's pilgrimage to Bamberg and the Holy Helpers is modeled as a part of his imperial image constructed anew in the German principalities that had been devoid of the emperor's physical presence for several decades. The royal itinerary is traditionally viewed as a constitutional element of early medieval kingship (of Ottonian or Salian rules)—a practical and symbolic way of establishing and practicing regality.¹⁰¹⁶ However, the same practice of later periods has not triggered as much scholarly attention and has often been perceived as a purely practical action, although a ruler's movement throughout the dominion remained a means of constructing political communication and establishing symbolic connections with different parts of the realm.

Although the evidence of these repetitive visits (especially of the last two) is scattered and does not reveal any additional circumstances, Frederick was apparently drawn to Bamberg and the chapel, first of all, out of his devotional zeal and religious curiosity that became clear from the analysis of his devotional books. Exactly this aspect was recognized by Frederick III's contemporaries—in the accounts of these visits, he was perceived as a reverent ruler acknowledging the sanctity of his predecessor St. Henry and the vibrant cult of the Holy Helpers. On the other hand, on these itineraries, Frederick III was usually accompanied by Adalbert Achilles of Brandenburg,

¹⁰¹³ Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. A232.2, Nr. 13.574, f. 2r: "2 ducaten dedit dominus imperator qui hic fuit cum filio suo Maximiliano et duce Ludwico de Feldencz." The visit to Bamberg and the Fourteen Holy Helpers is also mentioned in Ludwig zum Paradisz' report to the council of Frankfurt, see Johannes Janssen, ed., *Frankfurts Reichsrespondenz nebst anderen verwandten Aktenstücken von 1376 - 1519*, vol. 2, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1863), 354–6 (no. 497), here 354.

¹⁰¹⁴ Bamberg, Staatsarchiv, Rep. A232.2, Nr. 13.585, f. 2r: "2 fl ad reliquias a domino Imperatore et licet plus dederit fuit tamen illud distributum ad certas personas." Apart from the cathedral registry book, this visit is also mentioned in a letter of Nuremberg council: Janssen, ed., *Frankfurts Reichsrespondenz* 2, 1:411–12 (no. 591).

¹⁰¹⁵ See Peter Moraw, "Die deutschen Könige des späten Mittelalters und das Oberrheingebiet—personengeschichtlich betrachtet," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 141 (1993): 1–20.

¹⁰¹⁶ Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Grossen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980); John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

who, together with his family members, was the main patron of Bamberg Cathedral.¹⁰¹⁷ These imperial visits would simultaneously increase Adalbert's prestige as a local territorial lord and deepen the connections between Frederick III and his councilor and territorial lord Adalbert of Brandenburg.

These imperial pilgrimages were obviously not the same as those of ordinary devotees who traveled mostly on foot to a chosen shrine of local or universal prominence—the imperial itinerary, including pilgrimages, was usually a subject of conscious planning and ritualization. The performance of royal devotion to relics, especially for saints of royal descent and universal importance, has long been noted by researchers as a representational strategy aimed at legitimizing rulership and incorporating his or her agenda in imperial history. The landmarks for this recurrent imperial strategy are, for example, Otto III's pilgrimage to Gniezno for the martyred bishop Adalbert in 1000 and Frederick II's participation in the elevation of St. Elisabeth's relics in 1235. Edina Bozóky has analyzed the utilization of relics in political ceremonies and ruling ideologies on the example of several dynasties of early and high medieval Europe, concluding that the “politics of relics” were employed largely for augmenting imperial prestige and establishing sacral legitimacy.¹⁰¹⁸

Importantly, these pilgrimages were often recognized by onlookers and contemporaries as key events of royal self-representation channeling the devotional connectedness of a ruler to certain saints, who stand for specific values and cultural memories. In the case of Frederick's pilgrimages, it was his connectedness with St. Henry as his holy predecessor. This is proved by the fact that, on his visits to Bamberg, Frederick III always chose to access the cathedral treasury, mostly to venerate the relics of St. Henry as described by the Italian legate. At the end of the fifteenth century, the ecclesiastical see of Bamberg was strongly associated with its imperial founder and patron St. Henry and St. Cunigunde in its communal memory, in urban liturgical processions, in multiple historiographic narratives, and in the legends.¹⁰¹⁹ The appearance of the city-space and outer and inner decorations of the cathedral, the Benedictine monastery, administrative buildings, and other churches would also reveal the same idea of the city's imperial past and patronage. Within the events of Frederick III's visits to Bamberg and his devotion to St. Henry's relics, the imperial memory of the city synchronized with the actual presence of the emperor.

The fifteenth-century catalogs of relics kept in Bamberg provide a glimpse into the content of the treasury and what were the relics accessed by Frederick III.¹⁰²⁰ The cathedral of Bamberg was safeguarding the bodily remains of the imperial couple, at that time placed in two sarcophagi in St. Cunigunde's altar next to St. George's choir. Apart from these bodily remains, supposedly attracting

¹⁰¹⁷ Haeutle, “Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464–1500.”

¹⁰¹⁸ Edina Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis: protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2006).

¹⁰¹⁹ See Chapter 3.

¹⁰²⁰ The earliest printed catalog for Bamberg is *Die auszruffunge des hochwirdigen heilighums des loblichenn stifts zu bamberg* (Bamberg: Hans Sporer, 1493), in SBB, H.V. Rar. 100. Also see Chapter 3 and 5.

pilgrims due to their miracle-working powers, the cathedral kept several tactile relics of the couple, including textile garments and their head-reliquaries with the imperial crowns.¹⁰²¹ Whether Frederick III was initially attracted by the imperial status of Bamberg saintly couple or the pilgrimage in 1471 was a diplomatic reverence to the local duke Adalbert Achilles, this imperial odor surrounding St. Henry could not have been left unseen by Frederick III, who exercised veneration of this saint and recited prayers to him, as well as by his retinue and local dwellers. Moreover, the imperial allure of St. Henry might have instigated Frederick III to include these pilgrimages in the imperial itinerary on subsequent occasions and publicly perform the devotion to the saint and other holy rulers.

Visualizing Imperial Sanctity

From the 1480s, Frederick III harnessed a new dimension for communicating his devotion to the holy rulers and establishing his image in relation to them—namely, through visual representations.¹⁰²² The murals and the altarpiece in question are found in the places intrinsically connected with the idea of the Empire: Aachen and Nuremberg. One of the Empire's notoriously known features is the lack of a single capital; instead, as argued by Moraw, its functions were taken by “hauptstadtähnliche Zentren” and, additionally, localities that were personally favored by individual rulers or dynasties.¹⁰²³ However, these two spaces—Aachen and Nuremberg—were central for imperial ceremonies and indeed can be referred to as “sites of concentrated imperial memory.”¹⁰²⁴ The discussed iconographic cycles are dated after the 1480s; hence they are analyzed in the light of contemporary events and the challenges of Frederick's reign. These include his “return” to the *Binnenreich* in 1471 and his renewed active engagement with local politics, the Turkish threat, the election and coronation of his successor Maximilian I, and the takeover of the Austrian territories by the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490).

Murals in the choir of Aachen Cathedral

One of the central places of the Empire is Aachen Cathedral—a traditional coronation place for the “King of the Romans,” a memorial space for Emperor Charlemagne, and a well-established Marian

¹⁰²¹ *Die auszuffunge des hochwirdigen heilighums*, f. 9v: “das ist s. keiser Heinrich haubt mit seiner krone dy er gebrauchet hat in seiner maiestat.”

¹⁰²² A modified part of this subchapter was published as an article in Iliana Kandzha, “Images of St Henry II, St Cunigunde, and Imperial Holiness used in the Political Communication of Emperor Frederick III (1440–1493),” *Il capitale culturale: Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, 21 (2020): 145–75.

¹⁰²³ Peter Moraw, “Kaiser Karl IV. im deutschen Spätmittelalter,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 229 (1979): 1–24.

¹⁰²⁴ Len Scales, “The Illuminated ‘Reich’: Memory, Crisis, and the Visibility of Monarchy in Late Medieval Germany,” in *The Holy Roman Empire, Reconsidered*, ed. Jason Philip Coy, Benjamin Marschke, and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 74.

devotional center.¹⁰²⁵ At the beginning of the fifteenth century, a choir was added to the Carolingian octagon of Aachen Cathedral at its eastern end—a tremendous, though fragile, Gothic polygonal construction which was aimed at preserving the cathedral’s relics and built in the similitude of Sainte-Chapelle.¹⁰²⁶ The five-meter-high walls below the stained glass windows are decorated with murals, which have been painted and repainted several times since their construction. Some of the depictions are barely preserved or present in their baroque forms, and others have been discovered only due to the recent restoration; hence the reconstruction of the initial visual forms and their distinction from the later images have been a challenging problem.¹⁰²⁷ The first cycle to appear around 1430 was devoted to the Virgin, the patroness of the cathedral: however, it only covered the northern and southern walls connected to the polygon. In 1486, another pictorial cycle was added to the glass choir, apparently in order to function as a visual decoration for the ceremonial coronation of Maximilian I, the son and co-ruler of Frederick III. In adorning Aachen Cathedral, Frederick III continued an established tradition of rulers—and not only of the German kingdom—contributing to its interior and embellishment, among whom Charles IV and Louis I of Hungary could be crucial examples for Frederick.¹⁰²⁸

In this new pictorial program, the twelve wall sections of the choir’s nave visualized the legends of the cathedral’s patroness, from the Annunciation to the Coronation of the Virgin.¹⁰²⁹ The northern polygonal wall hosted the images of five saints and depictions of the Aachen chapter’s coat of arms—these saints are SS. Heribert of Cologne, Henry and Cunigunde (fig. 7.3), and Charlemagne with St. Helen (fig. 7.4). The frescoes of the eastern end of the polygon, however, are only extant in their sixteenth-century form and are thus not relevant for the current analysis. Altogether, the choice of saints on these frescoes evoked the idea of sacral kingship, already omnipresent in the cathedral through the memory of Charlemagne, although here novel visual forms were used to create a pantheon of imperial holy rulers.

¹⁰²⁵ The most recent series on Aachen Cathedral: Harald Müller, Clemens M. Bayer, and Max Kerner, eds., *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, Aachener Dom in seiner Geschichte 1 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014); Kathrin Steinhauer-Tepütt, ed., *Die Altäre der Aachener Marienkirche: Standorte, Funktionen und Ausstattung*, Aachener Dom in seiner Geschichte 2 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2019). On coronations in Aachen Cathedral see Mario Kramp, ed., *Kronungen: Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, 2 vols. (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000). The designation of the church of the Virgin Mary (*Marienkirche*) in Aachen as a cathedral is anachronistic though commonly used and is applied here as well.

¹⁰²⁶ The building started probably in 1355 and finished before 1414: Gisbert Knopp, ed., *Die gotische Chorrhale des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte, Bauforschung, Sanierung* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002).

¹⁰²⁷ Sigrun Heinen et al., “Die Restaurierung der Wandmalereien in der Aachener Chorrhale,” in *Die gotische Chorrhale des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte – Bauforschung – Sanierung*, ed. Udo Mainzer (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002), 229–56.

¹⁰²⁸ Kavka, “Karl IV. (1349–1378) und Aachen,” Edith von Tömöry, “Die Geschichte der Ungarischen Kapelle zu Aachen,” *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 12 (1932): 189–204.

¹⁰²⁹ The Marian cycle on the southern nave wall is not preserved, except from the Coronation, though the content is known from later descriptions, see Heinen et al., “Die Restaurierung der Wandmalereien in der Aachener Chorrhale,” 232.



Fig. 7.3. SS. Henry and Cunigunde in the mural on the northern wall of the choir, 1486, Aachen Cathedral. Photo by the author.



Fig. 7.4. Charlemagne and St. Helen in the mural on the northern wall of the choir, 1486, Aachen Cathedral. Photo by the author.

The cycle opens on the northern wall with the depiction of St. Heribert, an archbishop of Cologne from the early eleventh century. St. Heribert was venerated locally in his diocese, which means that his appearance in this cycle could certainly reflect local veneration preferences.¹⁰³⁰

¹⁰³⁰ On Archbishop Heribert and his later cult see, among others, Heribert Müller, "Heribert, Kanzler Ottos III. und Erzbischof von Köln.," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 60 (1996): 16–64; Carolyn M. Carty, "Dream Images, Memoria, and the Heribert Shrine.," in *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, ed. Elisabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 227–47.

Simultaneously, this depiction can indicate the leading role that the Cologne archbishop had in the royal coronation ceremony traditionally held in Aachen for six centuries: the archbishop of Cologne was the one administering the ceremony, assisted by the archbishops of Mainz and Trier.¹⁰³¹ Moreover, St. Heribert's red attire presents him as a *Kurfürst*, which anachronistically reflects on the role of Cologne archbishops as imperial electors.

Next to St. Heribert, SS. Henry and Cunigunde are depicted together as a pair of donors standing against an architectural background. They are dressed in imperial vestments, each holding a church model. St. Cunigunde's model resembles the new choir of Aachen Cathedral, while St. Henry holds a model of a local church of St. Adalbert that he founded in 1005. While in Upper Franconia, the imperial couple was visualized holding a model of Bamberg Cathedral, though this depiction was apparently adapted to the local scenery of Aachen. In her other hand, St. Cunigunde holds an elongated red ploughshare as a sign of her ordeal. To a contemporary spectator, these elements signify the identities of the saints—at least, they convey the imperial status of the depicted pair and their role as donors. The figure of Henry had already been familiar to clerics and parishioners of Aachen: first, Henry II's lavish donation—a richly embellished ambo from the first decade of the eleventh century mentions Henry II in the dedicatory inscription. There is evidence of St. Henry's relics being sent to Aachen from Bamberg at the dawn of St. Henry's cult, triggered by Charlemagne's canonization.¹⁰³² Moreover, in 1414 the newly built choir and its altars were consecrated to a number of renowned saints, including Emperors Charlemagne and St. Henry.¹⁰³³ Therefore, the link between the two holy emperors had already been established by the end of the fifteenth century.

The other imperial couple, occupying the third unit between the columns, is an ahistorical one—Charlemagne is depicted together with St. Helen, the mother of Emperor Constantine, holding the holy cross. They are both depicted as crowned rulers and donors with church models in their hands, similar to the representation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde; Charlemagne is holding an octagonal model of Aachen Cathedral while the prototype for Helen's model is hard to discern. The appearance of Charlemagne's image in Aachen is conventional, while his grouping together with St. Helen is not—the same iconographic type appears only in artworks commissioned by Frederick III. In the case of Aachen murals, the combination of Charlemagne and St. Helen can reflect an attempt to make the depiction of Charlemagne symmetrical to the one of Henry II and Cunigunde and, due to

¹⁰³¹ Klaus Militzer, "Der Erzbischof of Köln und die Krönungen der deutschen Könige (936–1531)," in *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen—Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, vol. 1 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000), 105–11.

¹⁰³² "Ex aliis miraculis S. Heinrichi," 815; about this relic see Zimmermann, "Karlskanonisation und Heinrichsmirakulum."

¹⁰³³ Cited according to Knopp, *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung*, 10: "Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quarto decimo dominica proxima post festum conversionis beati Pauli apostoli [January 28, 1414] consecratus est chorus iste cum suo altari summo a Reverendissimo Domino in Christo Patre Hendrico Dei Gratia episcopo Sindoniensi, vicario in pontificalibus Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini Domini, Johannis de Bavaria eadem gratia Apostolica confirmati Leodiensis in honorem omnipotentis Dei et in memoriam sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum, sancti Adalberti episcopi et martyris, et sanctorum imperatorum Caroli et Henrici." The consecration document was found in 1803 when breaking the altar of St. Peter.

the lack of a canonized pair to Charlemagne, St. Helen was chosen as an appropriate consort. However, the combination of St. Helen with Charlemagne brings another row of associations, and, therefore, their pairing might not have been a result of an exclusively iconographic need.

One of the cultural associations that bound St. Helen with Charlemagne, which might have inspired this iconography, is the Holy Cross. Charlemagne and St. Helen appeared together in a stained glass window of St. Lawrence's Church in Nuremberg, commissioned by Frederick III in 1476/77 (known as a *Kaiserfenster*—a Nuremberg tradition of the ruler donating a stained glass window to its church that goes back to Charles IV).¹⁰³⁴ The image of Frederick III and his wife Eleanor are surrounded with representations of Constantine's gift, Constantine's Baptism, his victory over Maxentius, the exaltation of the Holy Cross featuring St. Helen, King Heraclius, and Charlemagne's campaign against the Huns.¹⁰³⁵ As Anne Simon has put it, the *Kaiserfenster* "depicts the incorporation of the mythology of the Cross into the mythology of the Holy Roman Empire, advertising the mutual dependence of the two, since Emperor and Empire were defined and legitimized by worship and defense of the Cross."¹⁰³⁶ Indeed, the veneration of the Holy Cross is connected with several imperial traditions: for example, Charles IV emphasized his devotion to this relic, visualized in the mural cycle of the Holy Cross chapel in Karlštejn.¹⁰³⁷ In the sacred space of St. Lawrence's Church, the imagery of St. Helen and Charlemagne was also combined with SS. Henry and Cunigunde, represented on a stained glass window to the north from the *Kaiserfenster*, sponsored by Peter Knorr, the vicar of St. Lawrence's Church, around 1476.

Furthermore, as St. Helen is closely associated with her famous son Emperor Constantine, this iconographic type used in Aachen might be interpreted as the visualization of an existing association of Charlemagne with Emperor Constantine, originating already in the eighth century from a letter by Pope Hadrian I and appearing concurrently in the eschatological discourses of the "Last World Emperor."¹⁰³⁸ Another tradition, manifested in several narratives, discusses Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Constantinople and Jerusalem, where he received the passion relics from the Greek ruler Constantine and brought them to Aachen (from where the relics were brought to Saint-Denis by Charles the Bold).¹⁰³⁹ Therefore, the figure of Charlemagne appears to be intertwined with the

¹⁰³⁴ Simon, "Illuminating Allegiance," Kah, *Die wahrhaft königliche Stadt*, 218–23.

¹⁰³⁵ The latter episode is known from a local legend that later appeared in print: *Das ist die loblich legend von des grossen Kayser Karls streyt vor der stat Regenspurg geschehen* (Nuremberg: Stuchs, 1509).

¹⁰³⁶ Simon, "Illuminating Allegiance: The Politics of Fenestration," 33.

¹⁰³⁷ Rosario, *Power, Politics and Portraits*, 19–26; Boehm and Fajt, eds., *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia*, 12–6; Bauch, *Divina favente clemencia*, 384–96.

¹⁰³⁸ Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages*, 293–392; Judson Emerick, "Charlemagne, A New Constantine?," in *The Life and Legacy of Constantine: Traditions through the Ages*, ed. Shane M. Bjornlie (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 133–61.

¹⁰³⁹ On these legends (the major source for which is *Descriptio qualiter*) see Anne Latowsky, "Charlemagne as Pilgrim?: Request for Relics in the 'Descriptio Qualiter' and the 'Voyage of Charlemagne,'" in *The Legend of Charlemagne in the Middle Ages: Power, Faith, and Crusade*, ed. Matthew Gabriele and Jace Stuckey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

memory of Emperor Constantine and the relics of the Holy Cross in multilayered cultural associations, some of which could have been familiar to immediate onlookers and Frederick III. The actualization of memories of St. Helen and Constantine, cultivated in this mural and in the stained glass in the Church of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, can also be interpreted in the vein of a general “historicizing urge” of the Holy Roman Empire, establishing its continuity with the antique Roman past.¹⁰⁴⁰

In Aachen, the representations of SS. Cunigunde, Henry, Helen, and Charlemagne are accompanied by Frederick III’s personal anagram AEIOV that points at him as the commissioner of the cycle.¹⁰⁴¹ Frederick’s agenda in these murals is also conveyed through other visual elements: for example, Archbishop Heribert is depicted together with Frederick’s coat of arms. Furthermore, Frederick III is himself represented in the cycle: in the fresco with the Coronation of Mary on the southern wall of the choir, the emperor is depicted as a donor kneeling in front of the Virgin.¹⁰⁴²

Therefore, Frederick III’s personal attachment and overall imperial agenda are presented through various elements in this visual cycle. When the multidimensional composition of these murals is treated as an ensemble, Frederick III appears as a supplicant not only in front of the Virgin but in front of all saints represented in the murals and those saints whose relics were safeguarded in the glass choir. Subsequently, this visual composition would be echoed in the coronation ceremony, when the newly crowned king Maximilian I knelt in front of the main altar devoted to the Virgin Mary.

Although there is no documentation concerning the execution of the murals, there is a plausible date when the commission order might have been issued: in December 1485. Maximilian I and Frederick III met in Aachen, seeing each other for the first time since 1477; Frederick, most probably, celebrated Christmas there.¹⁰⁴³ Their meeting was clearly timed to be in conjunction with the forthcoming election of Maximilian in Frankfurt as a co-ruler (February 16, 1486) and his subsequent coronation in Aachen (April 9, 1486). Frederick III carefully arranged both of these events; though speculative, it is possible that the emperor made orders concerning the refurbishment of the ceremonial space and chose the iconography himself while residing there.

Because of the problems related to the preservation of the murals, nothing can be suggested about a workshop or specific artists commissioned for their painting. However, the inscriptions and further details of the survived images provide a clear link to Frederick III and the coronation ceremony

2008), 153–67; Matthew Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 41–72.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Scales, “The Illuminated ‘Reich,’” 8.

¹⁰⁴¹ The mural of Charlemagne and Helen has also the completion date (1486) with a later note of renovations held in 1622.

¹⁰⁴² Mario Kramp, ed., *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, vol. 2 (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000), 626–7.

¹⁰⁴³ Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1:187.

of 1486, which allows us to locate the primary performative function of this visual cycle within its ceremonial context.¹⁰⁴⁴ This iconography of an imperial pantheon of two holy rulers paired with holy queens placed between the Cologne archbishop and the Marian scenes can be considered a consciously devised visual program and not a mere reflection of SS. Charlemagne and Henry's liturgical veneration and commemoration in Aachen. One of the ideas conveyed through these depictions is that of a divine continuity between the current anointed ruler and the commemorated imperial past, presented to multiple secular and ecclesiastical representatives of the Empire gathered for the ceremony. The idea of a continuity between the office-holders and a semi-divinization of an anointed king was present in the coronation ritual, which actively evoked the image of Charlemagne through the insignia, his head-reliquary, the throne, and space itself. With these depictions, another dimension of *translatio imperii* was added, namely that the imperial sanctity resided not only in the patron of Aachen but also in other rulers of the Holy Roman Empire—SS. Henry and his spouse, who stood in line with antique Roman emperors that were in turn evoked through the image of St. Helen in the mural. It is impossible to know with any certainty whether this idea was intended and then successfully understood by the onlookers. However, there is a reason to believe that it served as an additional divine legitimation at the ceremony of 1486. Maximilian's election and coronation as a king of the Romans happened while the existing king, his father Frederick III, remained an active ruler; this practice gave rise to a certain amount of suspicion among the electors and nobility.¹⁰⁴⁵ Altogether, this unique iconographic cycle, developed for the coronation of Frederick's successor, draws a continuity between the holy kings of the past and the newly ordained king—a continuity depicted in the images of canonized imperial saints and reproduced in the coronation ritual.

Decorations of the Upper Imperial Chapel in Nuremberg Palace

A similar iconographic type depicting two pairs of imperial saints appeared at the same time in another part of the Empire, namely in Nuremberg. This city became an important space in the imperial topography of the Luxemburg and Habsburg dynasties, hosting Imperial Diets and safeguarding the imperial insignia from 1424.¹⁰⁴⁶ The royal palace in Nuremberg can be traced back to the eleventh century when a fortified residence was built at the northern end of the city.¹⁰⁴⁷ A number of living quarters and a double-chapel, capable of offering a dwelling place and liturgical services for a ruler, his family, and retinue, were constructed at the beginning of the thirteenth century; the latter consisted

¹⁰⁴⁴ On the coronation: Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1:194–9; Kramp, ed., *Krönungen*, 2:564–6.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Susanne Wolf, *Die Doppelregierung Kaiser Friedrichs III. und König Maximilians (1486–1493)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 25–127.

¹⁰⁴⁶ A recent study by Kah discusses the way the imperial “presence” (even when a ruler was not physically there) was visually and symbolically communicated in the imperial cities, also on the example of Nuremberg: Kah, *Die wahrhaft königliche Stadt*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Katharina Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt: die Kaiserburg Nürnberg* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), 72–73.

of two interconnected levels, the Lower Chapel and the Upper Imperial Chapel. This architectural construction, typical for royal and ducal residences of that period, allowed the separation of spaces during the service: the Upper Chapel was reserved exclusively for nobility and for the king, who actually stood in the gallery that was connected directly to the royal rooms.¹⁰⁴⁸ Therefore, the architecture of the chapel and its inner decorations were meant to construct a power hierarchy while accommodating the exclusive use of the chapel for imperial services: indeed, the space was active liturgically only when the ruler resided in Nuremberg.

Nuremberg palace was used as Frederick III's residential space during his travels through the *Binnenreich*. He resided in the palace at least five times (in 1442, 1471, 1474, 1485, and 1487, when the emperor stayed in Nuremberg for nine months).¹⁰⁴⁹ Moreover, when the emperor fled from the Austrian lands, his personal treasury was also moved to Nuremberg and kept in the Lower Chapel of the palace—a fact that emphasizes the personal and familial importance of this space for Frederick III after 1485.¹⁰⁵⁰ At that point, the palace went through multiple reconstructions just as additional decorations were commissioned in order to accommodate the emperor and his retinue. A winged altarpiece consisting of four wooden figures, tempera paintings, illustrated predella, and a carved ornamental spandrel was consecrated in the Upper Chapel in 1487, coinciding with Frederick III's stay in the city. The four inner side panels represent Christological and Mariological scenes, while the four carved figures are SS. Henry with Cunigunde flanked by Charlemagne and St. Helen (fig. 7.5). After being damaged during the Second World War, the altarpiece could not be reassembled (only the carved figures remained that are still to be seen in the Upper Chapel). However, late-nineteenth-century photographs—possibly not reflecting the altarpiece's original state—reveal some details of its appearance and iconographic program (the program of the outer wings and the predella are not known).¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁴⁸ Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt*, 75.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Based on the chronological table of Frederick III's itinerary from Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440-1493)*, 1347–89.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt*, 76.

¹⁰⁵¹ The recent study of Nuremberg Palace edited by Katharina Heinemann brings this evidence together: Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt*.



Fig. 7.5. Statues of SS. Charlemagne, Henry, Cunigunde, and Helen from Frederick III's altarpiece, 1487, the Upper Chapel of the Nuremberg Palace. Photo by the author.

As seen on the old photographs, SS. Henry and Cunigunde are depicted as donors holding a church model, which is easily identifiable as Bamberg Cathedral. This iconographic type of SS. Henry and Cunigunde was common in the area of Nuremberg, especially in the later medieval period when several similar representations of the holy couple commissioned by the local nobility, clerics, and bishops were on display in the churches of St. Lawrence and of St. Sebald as well as on the façade of the Frauenkirche.¹⁰⁵² Hence, the imperial couple would be immediately recognizable for contemporary onlookers, probably in their capacity as patrons of the diocese. The figure of Charlemagne should also be a familiar sight in the cityscape of Nuremberg: not only his mythologized persona was well-known throughout the Empire, but from 1424 the imperial jewels, recognized at that time as Charlemagne's relics, were kept in Nuremberg.¹⁰⁵³ St. Helen with a cross in her hand would also have been easily identified as she was a widely venerated saint (additionally, she and Charlemagne featured on the *Kaiserfenster* in St. Lawrence's Church); her image could therefore bring forth a connection to Emperor Constantine, the relationship between the Church and the Empire, and devotion to the Holy Cross.

The figures of the altarpiece were only revealed to the onlooker when the painted wings were open, mostly during services and for private prayers. In the latter case, when a supplicant was kneeling in front of the shrine, his or her devotional thoughts would be guided by the altarpiece's iconography. The images of the holy rulers, then, could mediate a specific individual devotional practice, mirroring the devotion to holy rulers evidenced in Frederick III's prayer books that also featured St. Helen. When compared to the murals in Aachen, the composition and the iconography are quite similar,

¹⁰⁵² According to the study by Heinrich Linke, there were six medieval dedications and more than twenty visual representations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Nuremberg: Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie*; some of the representations are mentioned in Chapter 3 and 5.

¹⁰⁵³ On the imperial insignia being associated with Charlemagne see Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne*, 452–62.

although the use of a different medium presupposed different circumstances of display and contact with the saints. The compositional similarity between the Aachen murals and the side-altarpiece from the Upper Chapel in Nuremberg is not coincidental—both visual programs reveal Frederick III's agency to promote these imperial saints in relation to his reign.

It might have also been due to a political disaster that Frederick III urgently sought out the divine assistance of the holy rulers: these were the times when most of the Austrian territories were captured by Matthias Corvinus and when Frederick had to reside in the inner Empire with his court.¹⁰⁵⁴ Frederick's agenda for the Imperial Diet of 1487 was to find allies for fighting the war against Matthias Corvinus; while this was a dynastic rather than imperial problem, Frederick III had to rely on his authority and promote his imperial charisma in order to achieve his goal. In this, he could also draw on the examples of his holy royal predecessors.

The iconographic and spatial contexts of the altarpiece's display, as well as the information on its commissioning, suggest that this object was used not only as a devotional tool but also as a tool for imperial self-representation aimed at the emperor's closer circle allowed to enter the chapel. The top of the altarpiece is decorated with ornamental carvings, between which Frederick III's imperial coat of arms—a two-headed eagle with the Austrian shield—is placed, hinting at the emperor as the commissioner. There are also indirect sources disclosing the circumstances of the consecration of the Nuremberg altarpiece: in 1878, August Ottmar Essenwein, the director of the German National Museum in Nuremberg, found in the sepulcher of the left altarpiece, along with a sachet with relics, a piece of parchment that appeared to be a consecration note in Latin from 1487. Unfortunately, the note itself cannot be located in any of the Nuremberg archives, and the information about this finding is related only by Ernst Mummenhoff in his book on the Nuremberg palace, first published in 1895.¹⁰⁵⁵ According to Mummenhoff, the content of the note was as follows: "In the year 1487, on Laetare Sunday (March 27) the altar was consecrated by the Bishop of Seckau at the request of Frederick III for the following saints: Charlemagne, Helen, King Henry, and Cunigunde and Christopher."¹⁰⁵⁶ From 1481 onwards, the episcopal see of Seckau, part of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, was held by Matthias Scheid (d. 1512); even before getting this office, Matthias was one of Frederick's chaplains in Wiener Neustadt and his councilor. The imperial charters issued for Matthias Scheid in the 1480s account for him being present at Maximilian's coronation and then

¹⁰⁵⁴ Katalin G. Szende, "'Proud Vienna Suffered Sore...' Matthias Corvinus and Vienna, 1457–1490," in *Matthias Corvinus the King: Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court*, ed. Péter Farbaky (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008), 381–91.

¹⁰⁵⁵ I am thankful to Katharina Heinemann who pointed me at this publication.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ernst Mummenhoff, *Die Burg zu Nürnberg: geschichtlicher Führer für Einheimische und Fremde*, 4th ed. (Nürnberg: Schrag, 1926), 56–7.

accompanying Frederick III during the latter's residence in Nuremberg as his councilor.¹⁰⁵⁷ In 1487, Frederick III, together with his confidant and protégé Matthias Scheid, spent a considerable amount of time in Nuremberg, which coincided with the Imperial Diet running there from March till July, which altogether could prove the authenticity of the consecration note.¹⁰⁵⁸

Therefore, the altarpiece had probably been commissioned before the emperor's arrival in Nuremberg on March 13 since already two weeks later, the altarpiece was consecrated. The given consecration date also suggests an affinity to Frederick III's rule: twenty-five years earlier, on the same day of Laetare Sunday, he was crowned emperor in Rome (March 19, 1452)—this altarpiece might as well have been commissioned to commemorate the coronation anniversary.

Frederick III's altarpiece was probably situated on the left from the Upper Chapel's main altar. Another side-altarpiece from the same chapel also contained the figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, this time surrounding the Virgin Mary. These three carved figures have different dating (the end of the fifteenth and the mid-fourteenth century, respectively) and were assembled along with side panels representing St. Martin and probably St. Wenceslas at the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵⁹ Not much is known about its commission, but the assembling of this altarpiece also coincides with Frederick III's reign. Therefore, the presence of the imperial saints became well-established in the Upper Chapel at the time of Frederick's reign, confirmed not only through visual representations on the two altarpieces but also through the yearly services made in honor of the altars' patron saints and private devotional acts of the emperor. Traditionally, the day of an altar's consecration was celebrated; hence Frederick's impetus for the consecration of the altarpiece might have been present in the local liturgical memory at least for some time.

These representations and commemorations of imperial saints might also have served to confirm the power hierarchy of the chapel's architecture, where the upper level was reserved for the royal services. The entrance portal to the chapel from the ceremonial hall (*Rittersaal*) is embellished with the depictions of Frederick III and Maximilian I kneeling in front the Christ in Majesty, Mary, and John the Baptist (fig. 7.6).¹⁰⁶⁰ The composition, designed around the same time as the imperial altarpiece, highlights the new constellation of the imperial power with two ordained rulers of the same dynasty, sanctioned by the hierarchically represented divine order. Simultaneously, the two rulers perform their devotion to the saints of the chapel, situated behind the entrance, also highlighting the privileged function of this sacred space and its connectedness with the imperial house.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Peter Franz Kramml, "Bischof Matthias von Seckau (1481–1512), ein streitbarer Salzburger Suffragan am Ausgang des Mittelalters," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 125 (1985): 345–94; for Matthias's presence in Nuremberg see esp. 384–5.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See Reinhard Seyboth, ed., *Reichstag zu Nürnberg 1487*, 2 vols., Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Maximilian I. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001).

¹⁰⁵⁹ Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt*, 82–3.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Heinemann, ed., *Kaiser—Reich—Stadt*, 75.



Fig. 7.6. Frederick III (on the left) and Maximilian I (on the right) in the mural over the portal towards the Upper Chapel, after 1485, Nuremberg. Photo by Müller und Sohn (1943/1945), available at SLUB/ Deutsche Fotothek, <http://www.deutschefotothek.de/documents/obj/70701264>. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE.

This multidimensional composition of the Nuremberg Upper Chapel, involving the rulers kneeling in front of the titular saints surrounded by their royal patrons, is reminiscent of many other examples of devotional and representational art (the Votive Panel of Jan Očko of Vlašim with Charles IV and Wenceslas IV represented together with SS. Sigismund and Wenceslas and the Wilton diptych are just two examples). The promotion of imperial, royal, and dynastic saints was among the common tools used for political communication and representation, often through visual depictions of the ruler performing veneration of the chosen saints. Frederick's devotional acts towards the imperial saints fall into the same category.

Frederick III and the Imperial Saints

It was indeed the imperial nature of SS. Henry and Cunigunde that made them the objects of Frederick's piety, which was transmitted and visualized in the artworks, liturgical practices, and pilgrimages. These performances constituted a part of Frederick III's general sensibility towards imperial and royal sanctity, also personified in Charlemagne, Helen, and the Hungarian holy rulers, and the emperor's appeal towards these saints changed over his half a decade long rule.

Already from the first regnal decade, Frederick III's veneration of St. Henry was strongly transmitted in devotional literature, which appeared in many codices produced for his and courtly use throughout his reign.¹⁰⁶¹ In these Latin and German offices and invocations, St. Henry II was

¹⁰⁶¹ ÖNB, Cod. 1766 was made in 1482 and is the latest dated codex from Frederick's collection.

presented the saint as an idealized, even depersonalized holy ruler. St. Cunigunde, however, is absent from Frederician prayer books, which might indicate his pursuit for predominantly male regnal prototypes; Frederick III knew the saint since his daughter was named after St. Cunigunde in 1465. Since the 1470s, a pilgrimage to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics in Bamberg was included in the imperial itinerary, which testifies to Frederick III seeking new forms of representation and grounding his authority upon his "return to the *Binnenreich* under new circumstances" in the 1470s that this region's two-decade-long absence from the royal itinerary.¹⁰⁶² The events following 1485, namely the coronation of Maximilian I as a co-ruler and Vienna's seizure by Matthias Corvinus, might also have prompted Frederick to seek public legitimation and consolation from his holy predecessors. Frederick III achieves this partially through performing veneration of the imperial saints, seeking to establish continuity with the imperial past. Finally, the same political need stands behind two visual representations from Aachen and Nuremberg, in which both SS. Henry and Cunigunde are presented in an "imperial pantheon" together with Charlemagne and St. Helen—a novel iconographic type developed for the imperial needs. If at first, Frederick's fondness for royal saints was connected with his private acts of devotion and a search for regnal prototypes, crystallized in his prayer books, from the 1470s, the veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde evolved into a more public and performative character, with repeated pilgrimages and commissioned visual cycles. All in all, this active use of symbolic means, spatial memories, and cultural associations—for which Frederick III has rarely been given credit—included SS. Henry and his spouse in contemporary political representations and ensured their relative prominence in the imperial court at the end of the century.

Notably, the imagery used for the tomb of Frederick III, which he started planning early in his days, represents a symbolic ideology of the Empire, personified through multiple Roman allusions, familial and local saints, and holy rulers. Thus, St. Henry is also present among the many saints engraved on the pillars of the baldachin. As Hertlein noticed, the study of the tomb's representations can only succeed when conducted together with thorough research of Frederick's private and state piety, a study that is still called for.¹⁰⁶³ This chapter aimed at contributing to this field of research devoted to Frederick III's piety and symbolic representations of his rule and the Empire. In what follows in the next chapter, several implications of Frederician devotion to the imperial holy couple are discussed, namely the familial devotion inherited by Kunigunde of Austria, the rooting of the cult in Flanders, the use of the cults by the imperial nobility, and the genealogical urge of Maximilian I that connected him to these holy predecessors on the throne.

¹⁰⁶² Moraw, "Die deutschen Könige des späten Mittelalters," cit. 9. About this change in the politics see also, among other studies: Paul-Joachim Heinig, "Der Hof Kaiser Friedrichs III.: Außenwirkung und nach außen Wirkende," in *Deutscher Königshof, Hoftag und Reichstag im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Moraw (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), 137–61.

¹⁰⁶³ Edgar Hertlein, "In Friderici imperatoris incolumitate salus imperii consistit: antike und mittelalterliche Herrscher-Auffassungen am Grabmal Friedrichs III. in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 81 (1985): 33–102.

Chapter 8. Henry and Cunigunde in Habsburg Piety and Visual Ideology

The previous chapter has explored how Emperor Frederick III utilized the images of imperial sainthood, foremost of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, in his political communication and self-representation. Was this devotional and representational practice adopted by Frederick's immediate successors, family members, and the court—and adapted to their needs? Certain repercussions of Frederician devotion to saints are mostly tangible through grandiose representational projects of his son Maximilian I. In these multidimensional projects, the holy couple figured among other saints whose genealogical affinity to the Habsburgs was claimed. In another image connected with the imperial representation, St. Henry mainly appeared as an ideal militant ruler—a function actualized amidst Maximilian I's crusading agenda. Furthermore, the chapter discusses adoptions and adaptations of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults by Frederick's daughter Kunigunde of Austria, who became a sponsor of several artworks devoted to her saintly namesake, as well as in representational and devotional practices of imperial nobility. Taken together, these cases allow us to suggest that the figures of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, tangible primarily through art commissioning and other aspects of cultural production, retained their symbolic capital and importance on the dynastic and imperial levels.

The Militant and Holy Emperor of the *Heinrichstafel*

Apart from the representations in Aachen and Nuremberg that emphasized St. Henry's imperial significance, another artwork contained a similar message within the Habsburg imperial visual communication.¹⁰⁶⁴ The panel painting in question, known now as the *Heinrichstafel*, narrates several episodes from St. Henry's hagiography and represents him, foremost, as a rightful and militant ruler (fig. 8.1). However, the depiction is inherently ambiguous—the emperor-protagonist in these panels can be identified with Frederick III and Maximilian I reigns, which points at these rulers as possible commissioners of this painting devoted to St. Henry.

¹⁰⁶⁴ A modified part of this subchapter was published as an article in Kandzha, "Images of St Henry II, St Cunigunde, and Imperial Holiness."



Fig. 8.1. Master of the Barbara-Legend, the *Heinrichstafel*, c. 1494, 73.2x184 cm, Brussels; Münster, LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur, <https://www.lwl.org/AIS5/Details/collect/47021> (accessed April 20, 2020).

Judging solely by its artistic qualities, this artwork was made in the last decades of the fifteenth century in Brussels and is often accredited to the hand of an anonymous Master of the Barbara-Legend, with whose other works (such as *Abner's Messenger before David*) the *Heinrichstafel* shares multiple stylistic and compositional similarities.¹⁰⁶⁵ This artist, whose style is indebted to Dirk Bouts and Rogier van der Weyden, was active in Brussels between 1480–1500 and worked on several other altarpieces, probably relying on the help of his assistants. The Master is sometimes identified with Aert van der Bossche, though this attribution is highly disputable.¹⁰⁶⁶ Although no precise judgment on the authorship and exact dating of the *Heinrichstafel* is possible, it is evident that this artwork is tightly related to the Brabantine and Flemish art of the last decades of the fifteenth century.

The attribution of the artwork's subject has also been problematic, hindered by the fact that its three parts were preserved separately until 1977—in Münster and Nuremberg. After the panels had been assembled together in Münster, it became indisputable that they depict several legends from St. Henry's hagiography and not the scenes from the coronation of Frederick III, Maximilian's receipt of a sword from Pope Alexander VI, and St. Louis's crusade, as had been argued before.¹⁰⁶⁷ However, the first panel depicting St. Henry's coronation and his receiving of the sword does not entirely match the second panel with the Crucifix. A part of St. Henry's leg is as if chopped off, and the transitions

¹⁰⁶⁵ First attributed by Max J. Friedländer, "Der Meister der Barbara-Legende," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1925 1924, 20–25. On this artwork see Schreiner, "Sakrale Herrschaft" und "Heiliger Krieg;" Petra Marx, "Heinrichstafel," in *Einblicke - Ausblicke: Spitzenwerke im neuen LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur in Münster*, ed. Arnold Hermann, Jürgen Krause, and Volker Staab (Cologne: Wienand, 2014), 88–89. For the discussion of Master of the Barbara-Legend's *Abner's Messenger before David*, its attribution, and the complete bibliography see the catalogue entry by Linda Müller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437028> (accessed January 15, 2020).

¹⁰⁶⁶ See the catalogue entry by Linda Müller at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437028> (accessed January 15, 2020) and by V. Hoogland in J.P. Filedt Kok, ed., *Early Netherlandish Paintings*, online catalogue (Amsterdam, 2010): <hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.7602> (accessed February 1, 2020).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Schreiner, "Sakrale Herrschaft" und "Heiliger Krieg," 11–2.

of the vaults and walls of the chapel from the first to the second panel are not as smooth as between the second and the third panels (that is, the scenes with the Crucifix and the battle). It might as well be that some panels are still missing.

The first panel portrays the imperial coronation of Henry II by Pope Benedict VIII that happened in 1014: the emperor—dressed in armor with an embroidered mantel over his shoulders—kneels in front of the pope.¹⁰⁶⁸ The latter, seated on the throne, places with one hand the crown on Henry's head and with the other gives him a blessing. The pope and the emperor are surrounded by two cardinals to the left of the pope and Henry's retinue to the right, with one courtier holding an imperial banner.

The second panel provides the viewer with a glimpse into a chapel where St. Henry receives St. Adrian's sword from the monks of Walbeck Abbey—also a narrative from the *vita Heinrici*.¹⁰⁶⁹ The third scene depicts the Crucifix that could appear on the panel for devotional reasons or for compliance with an intended sacral space of its display (there is also a part of a panel missing beyond the cross, which could have contained a dedicatory inscription). The last panel portrays soldiers' confession before the fight and St. Henry's victorious battle against the Poles.¹⁰⁷⁰ Although chronologically, St. Henry's imperial coronation should be placed after the battle, it is mentioned already at the beginning of the *vita*—when St. Wolfgang prophesied that St. Henry's imperial coronation had to happen six years.¹⁰⁷¹ Therefore, the depicted scenes (except the panel representing the Crucifix) are based on three consecutive legends from St. Henry's hagiography, which was first argumentatively demonstrated by Klaus Schreiner in the publication from 1985.¹⁰⁷²

The smaller details of these panels betray the master's and/or the commissioner's close familiarity with the hagiography of St. Henry, possibly in the form that circulated in Brabant and was printed in 1484 in Brussels.¹⁰⁷³ For example, in the depiction, St. Henry receives the sword of St. Adrian in a chapel, where a golden statue of St. Lawrence is placed on the altar—the saint is the patron of Merseburg where the battle would take place. The chapel's side pillars are crowned with the figures of SS. Adrian and George, who, together with St. Lawrence, appear as intercessors in the battle. In the *vita*, as the battle had commenced, St. Lawrence himself, with SS. George, Adrian, and

¹⁰⁶⁸ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 228: "Cumque sex annorum numerus integer pertransisset et septimi anni dies revolutus venisset, ipso die cesaris dignitatem per apostolicam suscepit consecrationem."

¹⁰⁶⁹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 235: "Congregato itaque exercitu contra predictas nationes aciem direxit et faciens transitum per locum, qui Vualbech dicitur, gladium sancti Adriani martyris, qui pro reliquiis multo tempore ibi servabatur, accepit."

¹⁰⁷⁰ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 235–40.

¹⁰⁷¹ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 227–8: "Cumque sex annorum numerus integer pertransisset et septimi anni dies revolutus venisset, ipso die cesaris dignitatem per apostolicam suscepit consecrationem."

¹⁰⁷² Schreiner, "Sakrale Herrschaft" und "Heiliger Krieg."

¹⁰⁷³ The circulation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's hagiographies in Brabant is discussed in Chapter 4.

Archangel Michael, joined the battle and made the heathens turn away—precisely this moment is portrayed on the panel.¹⁰⁷⁴

At the same time, the *Heinrichstafel* testifies to the artist's ingenuity in transforming the legends into visual narratives. Until the end of the fifteenth century, there were not that many narrative cycles depicting St. Henry's legends—St. Henry's soul-weighing and St. Cunigunde's ordeal were the most popular ones, while St. Henry's battle appeared only in the thirteenth-century frescoes of San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome.¹⁰⁷⁵ It was also not common to depict St. Henry as a knight wearing armor—even in the locally produced miniature and woodcut from Brabant, he is represented wearing luxurious attire. However, such knightly representations of St. Henry were not unprecedented, though it was a more conventional portrayal for popular militant saints such as SS. George and Quirinus.¹⁰⁷⁶ The painting and the chosen episodes clearly promulgate the idea of St. Henry being a rightful emperor, carrying out a military mission under the protection of other saints. For this reason, St. Wolfgang's prophecy is left behind the scenes, and only its repercussion—the imperial coronation received by the apostolic benediction—is depicted.¹⁰⁷⁷ The master or a workshop did not have any visual prototypes of St. Henry's legends and relied on their own interpretation of the subject, which might have been guided by a commissioner.

Although the attribution of the first two scenes of this artwork to the events of Frederick III and Maximilian I's reigns proved erroneous, it is not entirely unreasonable. The panels could have indeed been intentionally executed to portray St. Henry's legends and to imitate the two Habsburg rulers at the same time. The first scene can be interpreted as the imperial coronation of Friedrich III in 1452. There is even some representational similitude between the portrait of St. Henry and Frederick III (for this reason, this depiction of St. Henry's coronation made a considerable success as an illustration of Frederick's imperial coronation in contemporary historiography).¹⁰⁷⁸ The receipt of the sword could correspond to the episode from 1494 when Pope Alexander VI sent a sword to Maximilian I (this date could then be a *terminus post quem* for the production of the panel). Moreover,

¹⁰⁷⁴ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 238: "Hec dicens aperti sunt oculi eius, et vidit gloriosos martyres, Georgium videlicet, Laurentium, Adrianum, cum angelo percutiente exercitum suum precedentes et hostium cuneos ad fugam propellentes." It is noteworthy that the depictions of these auxiliary saints are similar to those from the *Prayer Book of Mary of Burgundy* from c. 1477 (ÖNB, Cod. 1857); for the facsimile edition see Franz Unterkircher, *Das Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund: Codex Vindobonensis 1857 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). The stylistic similarity might signify the both artistic workshop's affinity to the court and knowledge of prevalent artistic trends.

¹⁰⁷⁵ On these frescoes see Chapter 4. The imperial coronation and the battlefield were later portrayed in two woodcuts, following a different compositional structure, in Nonnossus Stettfelder's vernacular legend of the holy couple, see Stettfelder, *Dye legend und leben*, 6, 9. Famous engravings on SS. Henry and Cunigunde's tomb appeared in the first decade of the sixteenth century and do not feature legends depicted in the *Heinrichstafel*.

¹⁰⁷⁶ An altarpiece from the church of St. Dorothea in Freising, 1465; a statue in the church of St. Cunigunde from Rochlitz, 1513.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 228: "cumque sex annorum numeros integer pertransisset et septimi anni dies revolutus venisset, ipso die cesaris dignitatem per apostolicam suscepit consecrationem." The *Heinrichstafel* clearly follows the *vita*'s text, unlike the adapted reading for Frederick III's office from c. 1445–48 discussed in Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁷⁸ For example, in Kramp, ed., *Krönungen*, 556.

the sanctity of Henry is not communicated in these panels—foremost, there is no halo over his head while there are present for other saints. Although it was not by no means a requirement to portray a saint with a halo, in this context, this omission would make both a secular and a sacred interpretation legitimate. The battle scene could also be connected with the Habsburg agenda of the 1480s and the 1490s, namely the *Kreuzzugspropaganda*, as argued by Schreiner.¹⁰⁷⁹ The scene can be interpreted as the envisaged Turkish crusade of Maximilian I, as if led by St. George, one of Maximilian I's and Frederick III's favorite saints.¹⁰⁸⁰ Therefore, this painting could be an early representation of Maximilian's crusading ideology—an idea that remained futile but always present on his later tremendous representational projects like the *Arch of Honor*.

There are other examples of Frederick III and Maximilian I being potentially portrayed in similitude to saints—SS. Oswald, Christopher, and Sebastian for Frederick III and St. George for Maximilian—in order to increase their charisma and to link “an individual with an ideal type.”¹⁰⁸¹ Schreiner argued that this altarpiece had a similar function, especially taking the political context of the Turkish crusade into account, an event that was extremely relevant for Maximilian I in the 1490s.¹⁰⁸² This image of the fight against the heathens led by the crowned Roman emperor (and not by any other secular or ecclesiastical authority) together with the saints would correspond to Maximilian's ambitions.

While the medieval and early modern provenance of these panels is unknown, it is hardly possible to claim with absolute certainty that this piece was an imperial commission and whether it depicts not only St. Henry but also Frederick III or Maximilian I, or both. Nevertheless, the subject and the execution of the panels betray that it was probably commissioned for a person or an institution closely related to the Habsburg court, if not by Maximilian I himself. The proposed dating—around 1490—corresponds with the period of intensified connections between the Habsburg court and the Burgundian Low Countries due to the marriage alliance of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. In this period, Maximilian spent a considerable amount of time in Flanders and Brabant, where several

¹⁰⁷⁹ Schreiner, “*Sakrale Herrschaft*” und “*Heiliger Krieg*,” 13; Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1: 341–51.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Frederick III founded the Order of St. George in 1469; Maximilian I founded the Brotherhood of St. George in 1493 as a part of his anti-Turkish campaign.

¹⁰⁸¹ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 23. For Frederick III see Hanna Dornik-Eger, “Kaiser Friedrich III. in Bildern seiner Zeit,” in *Friedrich III. Kaiserresidenz Wiener Neustadt: Ausstellungskatalog* (Vienna: Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 1966), 67–9; Zisler, “Die geistlichen Stiftungen Kaiser Friedrichs III,” 83. For Maximilian I, these are the equestrian portraits of Maximilian I and St. George by Hans Burgkmair, as well as two posthumous portraits of Maximilian I, in which the emperor acquired the attributes of his patron saint, Hans Burgkmair, *Der hl. Georg zu Pferd*, 1508 and *Kaiser Maximilian zu Pferd*, 1508. Also see Daniel Hopfer, *Maximilian as St. George* (1519) and Hans Daucher, *Maximilian as St. George*, c. 1522. For the discussion see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 109–20. However, not all representations were commissioned by the rulers themselves but were often local initiatives. Similar crypto-portraits are also known for Charles IV.

¹⁰⁸² Schreiner, “*Sakrale Herrschaft*” und “*Heiliger Krieg*,” 62–4. On Maximilian's crusading ideas see: Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1: 345–9.

manuscripts are linked to his patronage.¹⁰⁸³ As has been argued previously, the presence of the Habsburg court (of Maximilian as a duke, then as a king) in Brabant and Flanders stimulated the circulation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends, and the appearance of this painting could have been a part of the same context of the Habsburg presence in Brabant.¹⁰⁸⁴

As the *Heinrichstafel* is executed in line with the Habsburg political agenda of the 1490s and their common representational strategy of crypto-portraits, it is plausible that the intended audience would recognize the double-reading of the visual cycle, in which the deeds and ambitions of Maximilian I and his father are praised in disguise of St. Henry. This inherited ambiguity of the *Heinrichstafel* actualizes the image of a Christian militant leader—an image favorable to Maximilian I for his own crusading aspirations as well as for legitimizing his status. Maximilian did not have an imperial coronation in Rome (Frederick III's ceremony in 1452 was the last one), but through appealing to the coronation image of his predecessors, a symbolic continuity was created. In this way, the choice of St. Henry for this visual cycle could be inherited by Maximilian from the devotional and representational practices of Frederick III.

The *Heinrichstafel* is a vivid example of how a saint, when appealed to in a new geographical and political milieu, was recomposed and adapted to promote specific ideals and carry out new functions. In this portrayal, nothing reminds of the virgin ruler from the *additamentum* or a generous patron of Merseburg. This painting portrays St. Henry not as an object of exalted veneration and emulation, but, foremost, as an emperor and an agent of imperial history from whom the Habsburg rulers were drawing their legitimacy.

Kunigunde of Austria and the Image of St. Cunigunde

The vernacular breviary of Frederick III is opened with an illumination cycle epitomizing Habsburg familial piety: the imperial couple surrounded by their five children (three of whom died as infants) kneeling before Christ, the Virgin Mary, SS. Christopher and Augustin (fig. 7.1–2).¹⁰⁸⁵ This shiny golden illumination hints at a tight connection between the imperial family members, dead or alive, their dynastic pedigree (represented by the shields), and their saintly patrons—this connection is further facilitated by the devotional practices discovered in the breviary itself, discussed above.¹⁰⁸⁶ Since this breviary in two volumes belonged to the Bavarian Library already in the early seventeenth

¹⁰⁸³ Thomas Kren, "Consolidation and Renewal: Manuscript Painting under the Hapsburgs, circa 1485-1510," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 313–15; Just, "Burgund und das Haus Österreich im 15. Jahrhundert;" Saliger, "Zur kulturellen Bedeutung Burgunds."

¹⁰⁸⁴ See Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁸⁵ BSB, Cgm. 68, f. 1v–2r.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See Chapter 7.

century, one may suggest that Kunigunde of Austria (1465–1520)—the daughter of Frederick III and Eleanor—inherited the codices.¹⁰⁸⁷ Due to her subsequent marriage to Albert IV of Bavaria (1447–1508, duke from 1465), the two-volume breviary could have appeared in possession of the Bavarian dukes. This pathway might describe not only the provenance of this specific object, but also the transition of Frederician piety—at least some of its aspects—with Kunigunde into her new environments, where she functioned as a Habsburg princess, as a Bavarian duchess, and then as a widow at Pütrich convent. This subchapter further analyzes the Habsburg piety, exploring Kunigunde of Austria’s devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde, whose cults she was familiar with through her father and her visit to Bamberg in February 1488.¹⁰⁸⁸ The cult of St. Cunigunde appears especially prominent since the saintly empress was Kunigunde’s name patroness and, to a certain extent, a role model of her courtly and monastic lifestyles.

Kunigunde’s walks of life were many, as Karin Graf has revealed in her dissertation: first, she was a Habsburg princess and an object of her father and brother’s nuptial projects; from 1487—a consort of mighty Albert IV the Wise;¹⁰⁸⁹ and finally, a widow who willfully withdrew to a Franciscan convent in Munich, despite courtly advice and subsequent detachment from her children.¹⁰⁹⁰ Although living modestly, she still took part in the Bavarian politics by settling the debts of her deceased husband, participating in the political discord between her two sons over the Bavarian duchy that broke out in 1514, and by sponsoring monastic endowments. Although through her marriage she became a part of the Wittelsbach house, Kunigunde never ceased identifying herself with the imperial Habsburg dynasty, which was also favorable for Albert IV’s political ambitions. Kunigunde’s dynastic pedigree was highlighted by the use of the Austrian coat of arms and maintained through personal attachment to Maximilian I.¹⁰⁹¹

Neither Albert IV nor Kunigunde is remembered as outstanding religious or artistic patrons. However, the ducal couple supported several religious foundations and were rather interested in the contemporary literary scene. Their alliance coat of arms—of Bavarian-Wittelsbach and the Austrian Habsburg coats of arms—can be found in several devotional and secular codices, on stained glass

¹⁰⁸⁷ On the provenance of the breviary see Karina Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich und Herzogin von Bayern-München (1465-1520) — Eine Biographie” (Doctoral dissertation, Mannheim, University of Mannheim, 2000), 184–85. On other books in Kunigunde’s collection, some of which are discussed below, see Ferdinand Geldner, “Vom Bücherbesitz der Herzogin Kunigunde von Bayern († 6.8.1520),” in *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 3 (1975): 117–25.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The duchess spent four days in Bamberg together with her husband Albert IV, although the circumstances of this visit are not known; see Haeutle, “Vornehme Besuche in Bamberg von 1464–1500,” 22.

¹⁰⁸⁹ On Albert IV’s politics and especially the benefits of the marriage alliance with Kunigunde (and scholarly discussions about Frederick III’s consent to this marriage see Christof Paulus, *Machtfelder: die Politik Herzog Albrechts IV. von Bayern (1447/1465–1508) zwischen Territorium, Dynastie und Reich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), esp. 439–48; Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich,” 59–95.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich,” 166–82.

¹⁰⁹¹ On relations between Maximilian and Kunigunde see Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich,” 115–28. On the political importance of siblings’ connections (though for an earlier period) see Jonathan R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters, The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100–1250* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

windows of churches across Bavaria, on numerous altarpieces commissioned to the best local artists, such as the workshops of Hans Holbein and Jan Pollack.¹⁰⁹² There are two known cases of the use of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's imagery in artistic production sponsored, most probably, by Kunigunde herself, namely eight panels with scenes of the saints' lives and stained glass windows from Prüll Charterhouse discussed below.

Eight panels with legends of the Holy Couple

This visual cycle, consisting of eight panels depicting the legends of SS. Cunigunde and Henry, is one of the most elaborated representations of these two saints ever produced, second only to their tombstone carved by Tilman Riemenschneider. The artwork, now exhibited in Staatsgalerie Füssen on loan from the Bavarian National Museum, consists of eight panels painted on one side. These panels are usually attributed to the first decades of the sixteenth century (c.1506–1512) to the workshop of Hans Holbein the Elder (1460/65–1524) or the artist himself, solely based on stylistic and compositional features (table 8.1; fig. 8.2–3).¹⁰⁹³ Hans Holbein the Elder was active in Augsburg from 1494 to c. 1515 and moved to Isenheim and Lucerne afterward.¹⁰⁹⁴ This artwork does not have any Holbein's inscriptions (which often appeared in this master's works), and one of the panels only features a monogram "W.A." on the footing of St. Henry's throne on panel L2115. This might be the artist's signature, which is attributed to a "German engraver c. 1500" in Joseph Heller's catalog from 1831, but it is not mentioned anywhere else.¹⁰⁹⁵

Table 8.1. Eight panels depicting SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends in order of their current position in Staatsgalerie Füssen.¹⁰⁹⁶

L2113 (MA3310): Devil in disguise leaves Cunigunde's chamber	L2114 (MA3311): Cunigunde is accused of adultery		L2117 (MA3309): Henry asks Cunigunde for forgiveness	L2119 (MA3312): Miracle of the just wages (Schüsselwunder)
L2115 (MA3305): Henry judges Cunigunde	L2116 (MA3306): Cunigunde goes over glowing ploughshares		L2118 (MA3307): Death of Henry	L2120 (MA3308): Devils meet the anchorite on their way from (to) Henry's soul-weighing

¹⁰⁹² For example, BSB, Cgm. 1 and Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 33. Graf also states that Kunigunde of Austria was apparently fascinated by some contemporary novels to the extent that two of her daughters got the heroines' names (Sidonie and Sybille), see Graf, "Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich," 18.

¹⁰⁹³ I am grateful to Dr. Martin Schawe and Dr. Anton Englert for the color reproductions, which have been extremely helpful for the analysis.

¹⁰⁹⁴ On Hans Holbein's style and works see Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien (Munich, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002). However, the panels with legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde are not mentioned in this study.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Joseph Heller, *Monogrammen-lexikon* (Bamberg: J. G. Sickmüller, 1831), 354.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Catalog numbers based on www.sammlung.pinakothek.de (accessed February 20, 2020).



Fig. 8.2–3. Hans Holbein the Elder's workshop (?), eight panels depicting the legends of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, c. 1510, each panel c. 93x70 cm, South Germany; Staatsgalerie Füssen on loan from the Bavarian National Museum. Photos by Dr. Martin Schawe, reproduced with the permission of the owner.

Despite its high artistic quality and the inventive depiction of the legends, this artwork is non-present in scholarly discussions and is rarely mentioned with regard to the cults of SS. Henry and Cunigunde.¹⁰⁹⁷ Although the provenance and precise dating of these panels are unknown, there are grounds to assume the connection between the artwork and the ducal pair of Albert IV and Kunigunde of Austria. The shield of Albert IV—that combines white and blue lozenges of the Wittelsbach family with the lions of the Palatinate—is repetitively used in the panels as a decorative element on SS. Cunigunde and Henry’s beds and on St. Henry’s imperial throne. Possibly, this coat of arms might be an attempt to retrospectively assign one to St. Henry (since he was Duke of Bavaria before he was crowned), though it would be more likely for this purpose to use not the Palatinate lions but the imperial eagle, as was done for SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s tombstone in Bamberg. There is also a portrait similarity between Albert IV and one of the men represented kneeling in front of the dying emperor (L2118). This figure is also depicted with Albert IV’s “attributes” known from his contemporary portraits: a red hat and a rosary. Therefore, judging by the geographical and temporal attribution of these panels as well as its subject and the use of the coat of arms, these panels were commissioned or intended to be used by Albert IV or his family.

The panels portray four legends: St. Cunigunde’s ordeal, the miracle of the just wages, and the death and the soul-weighing of St. Henry. St. Cunigunde’s ordeal is regarded as one of the most widespread legends related to the imperial couple: starting from its earliest thirteenth-century depiction in the Bamberg codex, many other portrayals of this dramatic episode were designed. Among these representations, the iconographic type developed in Bamberg by Wolfgang Katzheimer was the most popular in Southern Germany—it was used for woodcuts and paintings as well as for the imperial tombstone in Bamberg Cathedral. In a certain way, one of the panels (L2116) resembles this widespread iconographic type that depicts the climax of the story—the queen stands over burning ploughshares right after being hit by her husband.

However, the discussed painting cycle depicts the ordeal legend in much more detail if compared to any other known artwork—the total of five panels are devoted to St. Cunigunde’s trial, describing all narrative points preceding and following the story’s culmination. First, the devil in disguise of a young courtier, though still recognized by his reptiloid legs, leaves the chamber of St. Cunigunde, who is portrayed asleep in her bed. To the right, a number of noblemen point at the sleeping empress, accusing her of infidelity (L2113). On the next panel, these noblemen tell St. Henry about his wife’s adultery, who timidly sits next to him (L2114). Then, St. Henry and his retinue put St. Cunigunde on trial (L2115). The fourth panel visualizes the ordeal itself—St. Cunigunde stands barefoot on the glowing ploughshares while the emperor’s entourage is observing the ordeal. St.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Meyer mentions the panels only in brief, see Meyer, “Die konstruierte Heilige,” 207–8.

Henry is portrayed with his fist clenched because a moment ago, he had slapped St. Cunigunde for revealing their clandestine chaste marriage (L2116). On the fifth panel, St. Henry throws his scepter at St. Cunigunde's feet and kneels in front of her asking for forgiveness (L2117). The sixth panel shows the miracle of the just wages that happened during the construction of the church of St. Stephen in Bamberg, patronized by St. Cunigunde (L2119). Next, St. Henry is depicted on his deathbed, surrounded by courtiers and monks, while in the background, Archangel Michael weighs St. Henry's soul and fights with the devils as St. Lawrence puts a golden chalice on a pan (L2118). The last panel shows an anchorite, who dwells in a wilderness among various animals, whilst talking to a group of devils returning from (or going to) St. Henry's soul-weighing (L2120).

Since we do not know the circumstances of the artwork's intended use and display, one cannot be sure if these panels were used as decorations or functioned as parts of an altarpiece. Henry and Cunigunde are depicted foremost as an imperial couple and are hardly recognizable as saints—an observer would learn about their holiness only by reading several inscriptions provided on their garments and the baldachin, namely “S KUNGUNDIS,” “S KAISER HEMRICKUS,” and “S HENRICKUS.”

The panels depict the legends with great precision and reproduce several details that are found in the legends' texts—apparently, the commissioner and/or the artist worked closely with one of the versions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's *vitae*. For example, according to the *vitae Heinrici additamentum*, two bishops assist during the ordeal—and these two bishops appear on the panel (L2116).¹⁰⁹⁸ St. Cunigunde, while standing on the ploughshares, holds a veil with which she wipes drops of blood running down her cheek, and this detail was also described for the first time in the *additamentum*, while the mid-twelfth century version of the *vita Heinrici* depicts the ordeal only briefly.¹⁰⁹⁹ The source-text might not have been the Latin *vitae* and its *additamentum* but a more popular vernacular version from *Der Heiligen Leben* that was based on these texts, produced in fifteenth-century Nuremberg and circulated in print.

However, one would look in vain for the miracle of the just wages in various Latin and vernacular versions of St. Cunigunde's hagiography predating the sixteenth century: it was only written down in full for the first time by Nonnosus Stettfelder in 1511.¹¹⁰⁰ Finding a possible visual or textual prototype for this depiction might shed light on the dating of the whole cycle. It might be that this vernacular print from 1511 could have been a prototype for the cycle, also providing a *terminus post quem* for the production of these panels.¹¹⁰¹ But there are a number of visual depictions

¹⁰⁹⁸ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 820.

¹⁰⁹⁹ “Vitae Sancti Heinrici Additamentum,” 820: “ex quo linea copiosi sanguinis effluxit;” the ordeal is mentioned in chapter 8 of the *vita*, see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrici*, 274–7.

¹¹⁰⁰ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 88–9. A woodcut with this miracle is used on pages 30 and 88. This legend is also discussed in Chapter 2 together with other legends of St. Cunigunde.

¹¹⁰¹ Stettfelder, *Dye legend*, 88–9. A woodcut with this miracle is used on pages 30 and 88.

of the just wages legend from Southern Germany predating its textual rendering by Nonnosus Stettfelder that bear evident compositional similarities with the discussed painting. First, this miracle was depicted in a woodcut already in 1488, in a printed edition of the vernacular legendary *Der Heiligen Leben* (fig. 8.4).¹¹⁰² Although its *Life of St Cunigunde* starts with the image of the just wages, neither this nor other editions of the same legendary narrate this miracle in the text. A few decades later, Wolf Traut produced a similar depiction for a broadsheet with St. Cunigunde's legends from 1509 (fig. 8.5), which with only slight alterations was used for the printed edition of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legends in 1511 (fig. 8.6). This iconographic type in the woodcuts from 1509 and 1511 was then modified for a marble slab of the imperial tombstone in Bamberg (fig. 8.7).



Fig. 8.4. A woodcut with the miracle of the just wages, from *Der Heiligen Leben, Sommer- und Winterteil* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488), f. 64v, from BSB, Ink H-20. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.



Fig. 8.5. A fragment with the legend of the just wages on the broadsheet *Oratio ad gloriosam imperatricem sanctam Kunegundim divi Henrici Secundi uxorem* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Hölzel, 1509), from BSB, Einbl. VII, 19. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

¹¹⁰² *Der Heiligen Leben, Sommer- und Winterteil* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488), f. 64v (BSB, Ink H-20). Roth discovered a nineteenth-century drawing of the same miracle that, plausibly, reproduces an early-fifteenth century image from Bamberg; if this attribution is correct, although highly speculative, this would be the earliest visual representation of the just wages miracle, see Roth, "Sankt Kunigunde: Legende und Bildausage," 51–3.



Fig. 8.6. A woodcut with the miracle of the just loan, from Nonnosus Stettfelder, *Dye legend und leben des Heyligen sandt Keyser Heinrichs* (Bamberg: Pfeyll, 1511), 16; from BSB, Rar. 1706. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.



Fig. 8.7. Tilman Riemenschneider, the miracle of the just wages on a side panel from the imperial tombstone, 1499–1513, the Bamberg Cathedral. Photo by the author.



Fig. 8.8. Hans Holbein the Elder's workshop (?), Panel with the miracle of the just wages from the legends of St Henry and Cunigunde (L2119), c. 1510, South Germany; Staatsgalerie Füssen on loan from the Bavarian National Museum, <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/de/artwork/o5xr01AG7X/hans-holbein-d-ae/wohltaten-der-kaiserin-kunigunde>. Reproduced according to CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

Although differing in method and quality of the execution, all mentioned depictions of the miracle—including the panel in question (fig. 8.8)—follow the same compositional outline, where St. Cunigunde sits on a throne with a bowl on her knees, workers queue next to her, and the construction site is active in the background. This compositional similarity can be explained by the fact that these images replicate the unpreserved depiction of the miracle from St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg. At the same time, the similarity reflects upon the cooperation and reuse of models among engravers from Nuremberg. Nevertheless, the images from 1509 and 1511, attributed to Wolf Traut, are the closest in their iconography to the panel in question as all three images, for example, contain the same detail of a worker lifting a brick in the background. Although it was more common for cheap, portable, and multipliable woodcuts to set up and spread an iconographic pattern, one can suggest that this painting by Hans Holbein the Elder's workshop set up the iconographic type subsequently used by Wolf Traut for his woodcuts.

Considering all these elements, the most plausible dating the panel is after 1509, although it might be possible that the eight-panel cycle was commissioned after 1511, having the printed legend as one of its written and visual sources. In either case, the artwork was made after the death of Albert

IV in 1508. Therefore, it appears that Kunigunde of Austria, already living in the Franciscan convent, or one of their sons should have commissioned the panels to commemorate the deceased Duke Albert as well as praise Kunigunde's saintly namesake. The pictorial cycle includes the visualization of St. Henry's soul-weighing, which could have reflected Albert IV's death, and the image of St. Cunigunde's patronage activities, in which Kunigunde of Austria was engaged both as a wife and a widow. However, the biggest part of the cycle is devoted to St. Cunigunde's ordeal that epitomizes the ideas of marital faithfulness and virginity, thus hinting to Kunigunde as a possible commissioner.

Furthermore, the depictions clearly emphasize the imperial status of the couple—the protagonists are always pictured wearing their crowns and imperial insignia. This understanding of SS. Henry and Cunigunde would reflect the imperial status of Kunigunde of Austria. In this way, the commissioning of this altarpiece reflects not only Kunigunde's own fondness for her patron saint but also St. Cunigunde's status as a facilitator of the connection between the duchy of Bavaria and the imperial heritage.

St. Cunigunde and her widowed patroness

As a widow, Kunigunde also partook in the conception and sponsorship of a stained glass made for a church of the Carthusian male monastery of Prüll (fig. 8.9). This glasswork was completed by 1513 as a part of a decorative program for the apse windows of the newly renovated church, featuring the portraits of the ducal pair and their son Duke William IV among several saints.¹¹⁰³ Only two apse windows from the church of St. Veit in Prüll have survived: the one representing Kunigunde of Austria and the other one with William IV and a posthumous depiction of Albert IV.¹¹⁰⁴ Other parts of the cycle, if there were any, according to some speculations, might have represented other family members of the ducal house.¹¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁰³ On this stained glass see Daniel Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg und der Oberpfalz (ohne Regensburger Dom)*, vol. 2, *Corpus vitrearum medii aevi. Deutschland 13* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2015), 209–21. Also mentioned in Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich,” 281–2.

¹¹⁰⁴ Munich, Bavarian National Museum, Inv.Nr. G 1020.

¹¹⁰⁵ Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 209.



Fig. 8.9. Hans Winhart's workshop (?), stained glass windows depicting Albert IV, Kunigunde of Austria, and their son William IV with saints, c. 1513, Prüll Charterhouse in Regensburg; now in Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Photo by author.

Several decades of patronage activities bound Duke Albert and this endowment: it was Albert IV's initiative to bring Carthusians to the decaying Benedictine monastery of Prüll. The first monks came from the neighboring Nuremberg, where the charterhouse Marienzelle was functioning since 1380. In 1487, Albert IV confirmed multiple privileges and tax exemptions for the Carthusians in Prüll and, probably, financially supported the adaptation of the Benedictine architecture to the needs of the Carthusian lifestyle. Carthusians traditionally enjoyed the patronage of princes, burgers, and bishops since by investing in this strictly devoted order, they hoped to "raise the spiritual level of the church in general."¹¹⁰⁶ This pious patronage, however, is often interpreted as Albert IV's attempt to integrate Regensburg into his political networks, while at that point, the city was placed under imperial immediacy. Albert IV succeeded: in 1486, Regensburg lost its imperial rights and became a part of the Duchy of Bavaria; this is exactly the time when the Carthusian Prüll was founded. However, Emperor Frederick III disapproved of this move of his son-in-law. In 1492, the city went back under the Imperial crown, while Prüll remained the outpost of Duke Albert's influence in the area.¹¹⁰⁷ In the following two decades, the housing quarters for monks were remade, as well as the new choir for St. Vitus's Church was built. It was consecrated in 1513, already after Duke Albert's

¹¹⁰⁶ Dennis D Martin, *Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf* (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1992), 4.

¹¹⁰⁷ On Regensburg and Albert IV's politics see Paulus, *Machtfelder*, 229–34; Tobias Beck, "Das Schloss Herzog Albrechts IV. in Regensburg," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 149 (2009): 25–35.

death, and the choir was embellished with the mentioned stained glass windows.¹¹⁰⁸ The stained glass was probably commissioned by his son William IV together with his widowed mother Kunigunde—judged by the exceptional role given to them within the cycle’s iconography—to a Munich workshop (probably of Hans Winhart) around 1513 to honor the deceased family member and to keep Albert IV’s memory active in the religious endowment that had much benefited from his patronage.¹¹⁰⁹

The stained glass depicting Albert IV and his son William IV was probably meant as the central apse window because of its more elaborated decorative program.¹¹¹⁰ Its central part represents the Crucifixion, below which stand Mary and John the Apostle. Duke William IV dressed in armor and his deceased father Albert IV, each placed in the side panels, are kneeling in front of the Crucifix with demonstrative devotional gestures, and behind them are their saintly patrons. St. John the Apostle stands behind Albert IV, while William is supported by St. Bartholomew, who holds the flag of the Bavarian duchy. On the upper register, above the Crucifixion, is a figure of St. Vitus; among other decorative elements are two lions lying at the foot of the ducal patron saints. This representation of two Bavarian dukes was used once more in a stained glass window from the church of the Assumption of Mary in Bad Tölz from c. 1520. In this stained glass, Albert and Wilhelm are also depicted kneeling with SS. John and Bartholomew behind them—an iconography faithful to the composition of the Prüll stained glass with only a few changes.¹¹¹¹

This depiction at Prüll is aimed primarily at preserving the memory of Duke Albert as a pious donor and founder of the charterhouse. At the same time, this composition reveals William’s desire to ensure a dynastic continuity; although Albert IV secured the united Bavarian Duchy for the firstborn William, his other son Louis X contested the rule.¹¹¹² Moreover, the devotional iconography of this window was synchronized with the sacral space of the church: both SS. Vitus and Bartholomew were the patron saints of the church at Prüll, while the Crucifixion becomes the key meditative point of the cycle and of the choir decoration in general.

The next window, most probably designed for the southern apse window, depicts Kunigunde of Austria together with her saintly patron. In its right section, Kunigunde, dressed in dark widow’s garments and covered with a veil, kneels at the church stalls with a prayer book in her hand. While the male part of the family is depicted in their position of secular power, Kunigunde abandoned all signs of distinction. She let herself be represented as a widow—a clear reflection of her social status and obligation—to take care of her deceased husband’s commemoration.

¹¹⁰⁸ Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 200–3. On the history of Prüll see Diethard Schmid, “1000 Jahre Kloster Prüll: ein Kloster im Spannungsfeld des Raumes Regensburg,” *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 137 (1997): 7–33.

¹¹⁰⁹ On the dating and attribution see Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 211–5.

¹¹¹⁰ Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 206.

¹¹¹¹ Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 216–7.

¹¹¹² On Albert’s piety see Paulus, *Machtfelder*, 4–5.

In the central part stands St. Cunigunde: with an imperial crown on her head, she holds a church model in her left hand.¹¹¹³ Under her right arm, one can recognize a ploughshare, hidden in a fold of her mantel, as a sign of the saint's ordeal and chastity. There is a clear resemblance between the two women's statures, and, although one cannot see Kunigunde's face hidden in the folds of her veil, St. Cunigunde bears some of the portrait features of her namesake duchess if compared to Kunigunde of Austria's other portraits (for example, in her anonymous bridal portrait). These similarities highlight the similitude not only of their names but also of their life paths: two powerful women of imperial status, devoted to religious patronage, turned to a monastic lifestyle when widowed. There is no direct evidence of the Carthusians in Prüll venerating St. Cunigunde. However, this holy empress was a familiar local saint to Nuremberg and Regensburg, who would possibly be recognized by the monks as an example of female patronage and piety, highlighted by her holding a church model in her hands.

To the left of the saint, mirroring the position of Kunigunde, there is a large Austrian coat of arms, by which the donor of the stained glass is unmistakably identified. St. Cunigunde is also represented with her anachronistic shields of smaller size: at her feet to the right, one can see an imperial eagle with a Bavarian shield in the middle, reflecting the status of Henry II as a Bavarian Duke before his coronation.¹¹¹⁴ To the left, there is a combined shield of the Palatinate lions and French Fleurs-de-lis that reflects upon the popular perception of St. Cunigunde's dynastic pedigree: as a Count Palatine of the Rhine's daughter and a distant descendant of Charlemagne.¹¹¹⁵

In this armorial composition in Prüll, several dynastic lines come together: of the Austrian house of Habsburg, the Carolingian heritage, the Empire, and the Bavarian duchy, all promoted through the spiritual alliance of Kunigunde of Austria and her saintly patroness. In this way, St. Cunigunde stands not only for Kunigunde's own imperial pedigree but also represents the interdependence of imperial and Bavarian histories, visually communicated in this artwork, quite similar to the agency of the paintings now in Füssen.¹¹¹⁶ This interlacement of dynastic symbols could also embody the regional identity of the Charterhouse Prüll itself: between the ducal power, to which it territorially belonged, and the imperial city of Regensburg—across the road from Prüll—the religious and intellectual center of the region.

¹¹¹³ The model cannot be identified with a specific building (might remind of the Prüll's church); most probably, it stands as a sign of St. Cunigunde's own patronage activities.

¹¹¹⁴ The same shield figures in the *Nuremberg chronicle*: Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 186v; see Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 220.

¹¹¹⁵ Cunigunde's connection with the Carolingian house was already "advertised" in her own times, see *Bamberger Tafel*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 29093, fol. 1v. Three fleurs-de-lis on azure figured later as Charlemagne's coat of arms, for example, in famous Dürer's portrait or in the *Nuremberg chronicle*: Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*, f. 187r. Cunigunde was a daughter of Count Sigfried, "founder" of Luxemburg, though already in the *additamentum* Siegfried was said to be a Count Palatine of the Rhine, see MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, 180.

¹¹¹⁶ Also noticed by Parello, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Regensburg*, 209.

The two discussed artworks—the eight-panel cycle and the stained glass from Prüll—evoke St. Cunigunde as a holy patroness of Duchess Kunigunde, while the interplay of the coat of arms presents the saint as a symbol of imperial heritage and its connection with the Bavarian duchy. However, these artworks illuminated St. Cunigunde in different capacities, reflecting upon the life circumstances of Duchess Kunigunde as well as the devotional spaces of the artworks' display. While in the painting, the saint's status is that of an active empress and wife, the glasswork dwells particularly on St. Cunigunde's life as a modestly-dressed religious patroness.

A glimpse in Kunigunde's reading horizon also provides certain evidence of her engagement with St. Cunigunde. Kunigunde of Austria withdrew to a tertiary Franciscan convent of St. Christopher in Munich after the death of her husband in 1508, where she spent the rest of her life until 1520. This convent is known as Pütrich-Regelhaus due to the patronage of the influential Pütrich family in Munich; Albert IV was also connected to the convent as he attempted to reform it in 1484. Kunigunde's choice for the Pütrich convent as a place of her widowhood is not accidental, though her enclosure was supported neither by the ducal court nor her children.¹¹¹⁷ As Graf has noticed, Kunigunde of Austria was often portrayed with a prayer book, which stood not only for a fashionable female depiction highlighting her piety but also reflected a certain level of Kunigunde's literacy.¹¹¹⁸ Indeed, the ducal pair had a certain collection of manuscripts and incunabula, some of which followed Kunigunde into the convent, while other manuscripts and prints were presented to Kunigunde already during her life in the convent.¹¹¹⁹

One can only wonder if the veneration of St. Cunigunde was ever established at the Pütrich convent during Kunigunde's life there.¹¹²⁰ There are no liturgical materials left from the early sixteenth century except for a printed Missal of Augsburg from 1489 (whose calendar mentions neither St. Henry nor St. Cunigunde) from a private collection of Albrecht IV and Kunigunde.¹¹²¹ Among other books that appeared in the Franciscan convent during Kunigunde's presence, there is a vernacular version of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's legend printed in 1511.¹¹²² The woodcuts in this version are neatly colored, pointing to a well-off owner who could afford the coloring, while, at the same time, testifying to the user's intimate relationship with the print as "the color is often integral to enhancing the viewer's compositional, iconographic, and symbolic understanding."¹¹²³ On one of the

¹¹¹⁷ Graf, "Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich," 166–76.

¹¹¹⁸ Graf, "Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich," 182–3.

¹¹¹⁹ Thanks to the project on literacy in Southern German female convents, it is possible to partially reconstruct the library of the Pütrich convent and Kunigunde's own collection, see "Pütrich-Regelhaus der Franziskanertertiarinnen in München," <https://www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/en/forschung/schriftlichkeit-in-sueddeutschen-frauenkloestern/muenchen-franziskanertertiarinnen-puetrich-regelhaus/> (accessed February 10, 2020).

¹¹²⁰ To my knowledge, neither St. Henry nor St. Cunigunde were included in Franciscan calendars.

¹¹²¹ BSB, Rar. 201.

¹¹²² BSB, Rar. 1706; Graf, "Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich," 188.

¹¹²³ Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, 37.

first pages, there is a note telling that the book belonged to a sister in the Pütrich convent.¹¹²⁴ It is plausible to make a connection between this print belonging to the convent and Kunigunde's interest in acquiring a legend of her patron saint for her own or communal reading. If this volume was not acquired directly for or by Kunigunde of Austria, it is still probable that the widow meditated upon these vernacular legends available in the convent's library, and the hagiographies resonated with her own devotion to St. Cunigunde.

One of Duchess Kunigunde's contemporaries—a historian Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534) compared her lifepath with that of St. Elisabeth, who chose to change the life of children and the court for a life in a Franciscan convent.¹¹²⁵ Similar associations might have appeared between Kunigunde and St. Cunigunde, who also devoted her widowed years to religious service in the Kaufungen nunnery. In this way, the copy of the vernacular legend available at the Pütrich convent was an edifying reading but also a certain source of consolation and encouragement for Kunigunde of Austria.

These few artworks reveal devotional, emotional, and political functions that St. Cunigunde maintained for Kunigunde of Austria. Firstly, Kunigunde owed her devotedness for her imperial patroness to her name, the choice of which originated from Frederick III's own veneration of St. Henry and his spouse. This semantic connection and her father's devotedness inspired Kunigunde's own interest in the legends of her namesake, who clearly was her patron as showed in the Prüll's glasswork, to whose commissioning her son Duke William IV also contributed. In this visual program, St. Cunigunde became an object of the performative devotion of the ducal family together with other patron saints of Albert IV and William IV—SS. John and Bartholomew. The cycle of eight panels, if the suggested dating is correct, was commissioned by Kunigunde after Albert IV's death, also in the act of commemoration of their marital fidelity.

Therefore, St. Cunigunde's multiple identities of an empress, a wife, a widow, and a nun allowed Kunigunde of Austria to adapt the saint for her representational needs, especially after the death of her husband. The reinvented image of St. Cunigunde resonated with Kunigunde's own life in the convent, ecclesiastical patronage, and her care for the *memoria* of her husband. Kunigunde of Austria might have had an emotional connection and empathy for St. Cunigunde as she provided the duchess with a model and a sainted precedent for her own life choices. Secondly, St. Cunigunde's image was used as a representation of Albert IV and William IV's political claims within the Bavarian duchy and the Empire. St. Cunigunde became a convenient emblem standing for Duchess

¹¹²⁴ BSB, Rar. 1706, f. 2r: “das puechlein gehort den swester in die gemaing in der pudrich regel hauß.”

¹¹²⁵ Johannes Aventinus, *Johannes Turmair's genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Georg Leidinger, vol. 6: *Kleinere Schriften* (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1908), 13. Aventinus was also the educator of her sons, see Graf, “Kunigunde, Erzherzogin von Österreich,” 171.

Kunigunde's imperial heritage as well as the duchy's relevance for imperial history. These political ambitions were intricately conveyed through the visual politics of heraldry and imperial symbolism.

Henry and Cunigunde among Maximilian I's Habsburg Saints

From an early age, Frederick III's son and heir Maximilian I (1459–1519) was involved in imperial politics, and later, he was crowned German king in 1486, becoming Frederick's co-ruler. This period of double-rule was followed by twenty six years of Maximilian I's independent reign—all against the backdrop of reforms and conflicts within the Empire, expansive dynastic politics, the legitimacy of his imperial status (as he was not crowned in Rome but in Trent in 1508), continuous military actions, and the Turkish threat. Maximilian's functions as a ruler as well as his views on the nature of the imperial dignity changed over time: his reign is often described as situated “between the innovation and tradition” or on “the turn of the era,” while in contemporary historiography, he is known by nicknames “the last knight” or “the dreamer.”¹¹²⁶ Maximilian most probably shared Frederick III's propagation of the imperial holy rulers: he partook in Frederick's pilgrimage to Bamberg in 1474, and it was his coronation in Aachen that was decorated with the images of SS. Henry, Cunigunde, Charlemagne, and Helen. Maximilian I's desire for establishing imperial legitimacy and propagating his crusading ambitions were possibly channeled through the legend of St. Henry in the discussed *Heinrichstafel*. This subchapter explores whether the images of holy rulers—especially of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as they were the only sainted imperial couple—kept their strategic place in new contexts of Maximilian's reign, courtly culture, and ideologies.

Maximilian is well-known for his grandiose projects, commissioned to the best intellectuals and artists of the age, aimed at “marketing” the emperor, his dynasty, and his predecessors. The multimedia and interdisciplinary projects, embracing graphic illustrations, historical and genealogical studies, and sculpture, are also exceptional for the high level of the ruler's involvement in their creation (especially in the autobiographical *Teuerdank* and *Weisskunig*).¹¹²⁷ Most of these textual and visual compositions, due to their good preservation, accessibility, and high artistic qualities, have cultivated a good amount of scholarship around them, already from the end of the nineteenth

¹¹²⁶ The study by Wiesflecker remains the most comprehensive on Maximilian I: Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.*, 5 vols. See also, among other works, Christopher Hare, *Maximilian, the Dreamer, Holy Roman Emperor, 1459–1519* (London, Paul, 1913); Matthias Pfaffenbichler and Hans-Jürgen Buderer, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag and Alfried Wiczorek (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014); Johannes Helmrath, Ursula Kocher, and Andrea Sieber, eds., *Maximilians Welt: Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Tradition* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2018). The recent anniversary of Maximilian I's death triggered a plethora of novel studies and exhibitions devoted to the emperor, though the overview of these contributions is beyond the scope of this chapter.

¹¹²⁷ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 2–6. For the modern editions of those see Melchior Pfinzing, Marx Treitz-Saurwein and Stephan Füssel, eds., *Maximilian: Die Abenteuer des Ritters Theuerdank: Kolorierter Nachdruck der Gesamtausgabe von 1517* (Cologne; Los Angeles: Taschen, 2003); Heinrich T. Musper, ed., *Kaiser Maximilians I. Weisskunig* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956).

century.¹¹²⁸ A recent publication by Larry Silver is a key reference for the current analysis as it not only efficiently summarizes the scholarship on each project but also reexamines Maximilian I's endeavors as a tool of "visual ideology" and self-promotion.¹¹²⁹ Simon Laschitzer's investigations into the execution of Maximilian's genealogical and saintly projects are also incredibly valuable, especially if aided by the studies of Alphons Lhotsky and Anna Coreth, among others, on the dynastic origins claimed by the Habsburgs.¹¹³⁰ However, from a dozen complex and energy-consuming projects—commissioned directly by Maximilian I—only a couple were actually finished and publicized, as was the case for the *Arch of Honor* in 1518. Some projects remained in their prototype form lying on the desks of intellectuals, authors, and artists who were commissioned to establish Maximilian's genealogy, prepare a list of Habsburg's blessed predecessors, set up a prayer book, or praise his imperial dignity in an enormous graphic work—the *Triumphal Procession*.

A series of interconnected projects devoted to Maximilian I's genealogies and the so-called "Habsburg saints"—those saints and blessed who were presumed to be relatives of the Habsburgs—is the most relevant for the present study. These projects, on the one hand, reflect upon the contemporary knowledge of SS. Henry and Cunigunde as saints and historical figures and, on the other, reveal Maximilian's own desires for establishing kinship with specific saints and bygone dynasties or, in other words, for creating his customized "royal myth of genealogical continuity."¹¹³¹ The genealogical projects of Maximilian I, which started to take shape already in the 1490s, fluctuated considerably "as the emperor vacillated between situating his forefathers among the ancient Romans, or alternatively, among a decidedly non-Italian lineage of ancient Trojans and Franks."¹¹³² These fluctuations also caused scholarly debates between the intellectuals executing these projects.¹¹³³

¹¹²⁸ Major studies are by Simon Laschitzer (see below), Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus* (Munich: Fink, 1982); Jan-Dirk Müller and Hans-Joachim Ziegeler, eds., *Maximilians Ruhmeswerk: Künste Und Wissenschaften Im Umkreis Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).

¹¹²⁹ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*.

¹¹³⁰ Simon Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der 'Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft' des Kaisers Maximilian I.," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 4 (1887): 70–262; Simon Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der 'Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft' des Kaisers Maximilian I.," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 5 (1887): 117–262; Simon Laschitzer, "Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I.," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888): 1–46; Alphons Lhotsky, *Apis Colonna: Fabeln und Theorien über die Abkunft der Habsburger; ein Exkurs zur Cronica Austrie des Thomas Ebendorfer* (Graz: Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung, 1944); Anna Coreth, "Dynastisch-politische Ideen Kaiser Maximilians I.," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 1950, 81–105.

¹¹³¹ Spiegel, "Genealogy," 50. On genealogy as a "way of thinking" see Kilian Heck and Bernhard Jahn, eds., *Genealogie als Denkform in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000).

¹¹³² Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 42.

¹¹³³ Marianne Pollheimer, "'Wie der jung weiß kunig die alten gedachtnus insonders lieb het'. Maximilian I., Jakob Mennel und die frühmittelalterliche Geschichte der Habsburger in der 'Fürstlichen Chronik,'" in *Texts and Identities in the early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), esp. 167–9. Maximilian's imagined genealogy echoes that of Charles IV, see Karl-Heinz Spieß, "Dynastische Identitäten durch Genealogie," in *Geschichtsentwürfe und Identitätsbildung am Übergang zur Neuzeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann, Udo Friedrich, and Frank Rexroth, vol. 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), esp. 10–11; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 56. Maximilian I was by no means innovative in these ideas (cf. to Frederick III's wall of coats of arms in Wiener Neustadt, see Jörg Schwarz, "Die Wiener Neustädter Wappenwand," in *Neue alte Sachlichkeit: Studienbuch Materialität des*

The quintessence of Maximilian's genealogical endeavors, prepared by his court historiographer Jakob Mennel (c. 1460–1525) and in part aided by the previous research of Johannes Stabius (1450–1522) and Ladislaus Sunthaym (1440–1513), is the six-volume *Fürstliche Chronik* (or the *Geburtsspiegel*).¹¹³⁴ The *Geburtsspiegel* was allegedly Maximilian's dearest project: according to a one-page print devoted to the emperor's death in 1519, Maximilian had the *Geburtsspiegel* read to him on his deathbed by Jacob Mennel.¹¹³⁵ The work on this project began c. 1510, and later this enterprise was complemented by an idea of establishing affinity between the house of Habsburg and multiple saints. As Gabriele Spiegel stated, the “genealogically-determined historiography” secularized historical time;¹¹³⁶ by including saints in his genealogy, Maximilian inhabited this secularized time with sacred legitimacy that extended as far as his own rule.

Jacob Mennel was assigned for finding out and preparing a dossier on each of these “Habsburg saints,” among whom were many claimed-to-be-ancestors that were never officially canonized but described as blessed. This project appeared in the last book of Maximilian's *Geburtsspiegel* (in two parts) and a one-volume excerpt of the whole project known as the *Zaiger* from 1518.¹¹³⁷ These investigations of saints and ancestors influenced famous visual compositions such as the *Triumphal Procession* and Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck—each of these projects establishes a continuity between Maximilian I and his claimed-to-be ancestors from various European dynasties, holy rulers, and antique heroes.¹¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the *Fürstliche Chronik* was never completed or publicized and therefore remained a mere intellectual phantom. Jacob Mennel published only its abridged version already after Maximilian's death, in 1522 in his hometown Freiburg im Breisgau—this print contained a list of Maximilian's relatives, from Clovis until Frederick III, followed by the notes on Austrian and Habsburg saints, including the sainted imperial couple.¹¹³⁹

There are several texts and woodcuts related to this “Habsburg saints”-project that were later merged with the *Geburtsspiegel*. These drafts illuminate a lengthy process of gathering and arranging

Mittelalters, ed. Jan Ulrich Keupp and Romedio Schmitz-Esser (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), 141–62), but distinct in the scope and the high level of artistic execution.

¹¹³⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 3072–3077; ÖNB, Cod. 8018 and 8048 are with colored woodcut proofs. Several existing prototypes are discussed later in the text. On Mennel see Alphons Lhotsky, “Dr. Jacob Mennel: Ein Vorarlberger im Kreise Kaiser Maximilians I,” in *Aufsätze und Vorträge*, vol. 2: Das Haus Habsburg (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1976), 289–311. On the “division of labor” in these projects see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 44–45.

¹¹³⁵ Hans Weiditz, *Holzschnitt aus dem Gedenkblatt auf den Tod Kaiser Maximilians I*, (1519), https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/15508/DG1949_368.html (accessed February 12, 2020).

¹¹³⁶ Spiegel, “Genealogy,” 50–52.

¹¹³⁷ ÖNB, Cod. 3076, Cod. 3077, and Cod. 7892.

¹¹³⁸ Judith Popovich Aikin, “Pseudo-Ancestors in the Genealogical Projects of the Emperor Maximilian I,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 1 (1977): 8–15. On the visuality as an important part of Maximilian's projects see: Elke Anna Werner, “Des Kaisers neue Bilder: Strategien der Vergegenwärtigung in Maximilians Gedenktus-Werken,” in *Maximilians Welt: Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innovation und Tradition*, ed. Johannes Helmrath, Ursula Kocher, and Andrea Sieber (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2018), 119–37.

¹¹³⁹ Jakob Mennel, *Seel vnnd heiligen buch, Keiser Maximilians altfordern, als weyt ich vff Irer Keiserlichen Maiestat gnedig befelh, allenthalbe[n] hab möge[n] erfare[n] Maximiliani II. obitum D. (Iacobi Menlii Libellvs, Freyburg im Breyßgaw, 1522), f. 43r.*

the material in line with Maximilian's oscillating aspirations as well as the changing roles of holy rulers, and therefore are briefly reviewed here.¹¹⁴⁰ Most of these prototypes covered almost a thousand-year-long history of Christian saints of royal pedigree, starting invariably from Clovis I—the first Christian king of France. By claiming blood connection to Clovis, Maximilian confirmed his Frankish origins and, at the same time, aspired for the inseparability of rulership and sanctity. SS. Henry and Cunigunde appeared already in the first draft connected to the project, namely in Jacob Mennel's "Habsburg calendar," now in Stuttgart.¹¹⁴¹ Its first part lists feasts for almost every day of a month; these entries are followed by a list of burial places of the Habsburg family members, including Maximilian's contemporaries such as Frederick III's children and Albert IV. The feasts of SS. Cunigunde and Henry are mentioned under March 3 and July 13. Short notes accompanying these two calendar entries describe the saints' dynastic origins: St. Cunigunde is linked to the Counts Palatine, while St. Henry, who is also described as a confessor and a virgin (*junkfraw*), originates from the Dukes of Bavaria.¹¹⁴² With this short note, SS. Henry and Cunigunde entered Mennel's research on saints and ancestors of the house of Habsburg.

As Jacob Mennel proceeded with the project, he expanded these short notes in the mentioned calendar into bigger entries featuring hagiographic legends, genealogical trees, and miniatures.¹¹⁴³ In all subsequent codices devoted to the Habsburg saint and ancestors, a genealogical tree became Mennel's essential visual tool for showcasing connections between the ruling houses, saints, and the Habsburgs. A prototype codex from 1514 thus starts with 21 genealogical trees arranged in chronological order: some trees have as little as three saintly personae (depicted in circles "hanging" on the trunk and branches), while other trees feature more than ten saints and rulers.¹¹⁴⁴ These genealogies are accompanied by the year and the ruler at that time in order to facilitate the attribution. SS. Henry and Cunigunde appear on one of the trunks as Maximilian's direct relatives, among other Bavarian rulers, French kings, Babenberg family with St. Leopold, and others.¹¹⁴⁵ Although SS.

¹¹⁴⁰ For a general overview see Tanja Reinhardt, "Die habsburgischen Heiligen des Jakob Mennel" (Dissertation, Freiburg im Breisgau, Universität Freiburg, 2002). On the illumination of these manuscripts and the relation of prototypes to each other see Maria Thesien, "Genealogie und Heiligenverehrung," in *Goldene Zeiten: Meisterwerke der Buchkunst von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance*, ed. Andreas Fingernagel and Ute Schmidthaler (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2015), 119–23.

¹¹⁴¹ Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. HB V 43; published in Wolfgang Irtenkauf, ed., *Der "Habsburger Kalender" des Jakob Mennel: (Urfassung); in Abbildung aus dem Autograph (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart HB V 43)*, Litterae: Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte 66 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1979).

¹¹⁴² Stuttgart, The State Library of Württemberg, HB V 43, f. 3r: "Kinigundis s kaiser hainrichs egemahel geboren phaltzgravin bei rhein;" 7r: "Heinrich hertzog Heinrichs sun von beyren romischer kaiser junkfraw und bichtiger." As noted above, St. Cunigunde was perceived to be a daughter of a Count Palatine of the Rhein since the thirteenth century.

¹¹⁴³ ÖNB, Cod. 3077*, f. 1r: "die ausztrugs darin die legennden und annales der ausserwelten(?) hayligen so dem ... kayser Maximilian mit naturlicher frountschafft verwandt sind." A prototype for this codex and ÖNB, Cod. 3077** codices is ÖNB, Cod. 8994 dated 1511. The analyzed codices are presenting a more advanced stage of research and project completion.

¹¹⁴⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 3077*, f. 2r–12r.

¹¹⁴⁵ ÖNB, Cod. 3077*, f. 6v.

Henry and Cunigunde are well-known for their virginity and hence the lack of successors (as mentioned above, Jacob Mennel from the very beginning described St. Henry as a virgin), the flexibility of these genealogical constructions allowed to “overcome” this problem of childlessness and nevertheless establish distant blood connections with this virgin couple.

These genealogical trees are followed by legends of 123 saints arranged not according to a liturgical calendar but based on the level of the saints’ affinity to the house of Habsburg.¹¹⁴⁶ While the first volume describes their holy blood relatives (*Blutsverwandte*), the second part talks about merely blessed “friends” (*Freunde*) of Habsburgs, and the legends of the imperial couple are provided in the first volume.¹¹⁴⁷ Jacob Mennel copied the saints’ legends from the vernacular legendary *Der Heiligen Leben*, which circulated widely in several printed editions across the German-speaking regions. Werner William-Krapps has identified that Mennel used the Strasburg print from 1510 as his source for at least twenty legends (including that of SS. Henry and Cunigunde). Mennel slightly shortened the texts and added small changes in content and style in order to “add a tinge of humanism” to the text.¹¹⁴⁸ St. Henry’s hagiography is also supplied with a brief introduction concerning his origins, while St. Cunigunde’s postmortem miracles are left out—this treatment of the texts betrays a more “historicized” approach towards a hagiography.¹¹⁴⁹ These legends are illustrated with small miniatures as was usual for this collection: one depicts SS. Henry with Cunigunde, the other—St. Cunigunde walking on burning ploughshares.¹¹⁵⁰ These illustrations are schematic and unattractive, especially when compared to the miniatures in *Skizzenbücher* and Leonard Beck’s woodcuts, which clearly reflects that the codex was a prototype and not yet a representational object aimed for imperial use.

These saints’ legends were later copied in the six-volume *Fürstliche Chronik* from 1518 (or the *Geburtsspiegel*) that was presented to Maximilian I, although this work was still far from being a finished oeuvre. The first books of the *Fürstliche Chronik* present three continuous genealogies of Latin, Hebrew, and Greek lines,¹¹⁵¹ while the last book (in two volumes) is devoted to the Habsburg saints. While the texts were copied from the prototype discussed above, the visual program changed so that the genealogical trees and the saints’ portraits were merged together, followed by the legends: the saints’ portraits were put in medallions on tree trunks, while tree crowns were topped with a mythical coat of arms. The first part is devoted to the blessed (*seligen*) Habsburg ancestors who did

¹¹⁴⁶ This order was much criticized by Johannes Stabius, and in the subsequent version the saints’ legends are arranged liturgically: Pollheimer, “Wie der jung weiß kunig die alten gedachtnus insonders lieb het,” 173.

¹¹⁴⁷ ÖNB, Cod. 3077*, f. 122r–130v (St. Henry); f. 131r–133v (St. Cunigunde).

¹¹⁴⁸ Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare*, 338–40.

¹¹⁴⁹ ÖNB, Cod. 3077*, f. 122r–130v (Henry) and f. 131r–133v (Cunigunde); cf. to *Der Heiligen Leben*, 233–50.

¹¹⁵⁰ The master of these and other illuminations in Mennel’s codices is unknown.

¹¹⁵¹ For details, see Laschitzer, “Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I.”; Coreth, “Dynastisch-politische Ideen Kaiser Maximilians I.”; Dieter Mertens, “Geschichte und Dynastie—zu Methode und Ziel der Fürstlichen Chronik Jakob Mennels,” in *Historiographie am Oberrhein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Kurt Andermann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1988), 121–53.

not have a recognized cult.¹¹⁵² The second part continues with the officially recognized saints, arranged in liturgical order, and here SS. Henry and Cunigunde do not appear together as a group but within the entries for March and July.¹¹⁵³

The shortened version of this oeuvre—the *Zaiger*—was prepared by Mennel in the same year. Among other elements (such as visual and textual depictions of key historical myths for Maximilian's new genealogy, like the Fall of Troy), it contains multiple genealogical trees marking relatives and saints of Habsburgs, with SS. Henry and Cunigunde among others.¹¹⁵⁴ The volume is concluded with the saints' portfolios, summarized just in a few lines, including the holy couple: "Saint Emperor Henry, the son of Duke Henry of Bavaria, Roman emperor, virgin and confessor, was buried with great solemnity in Bamberg and his feast day is on July 13. St Cunigunde, Roman empress, born in the Palatinate of the Rhine, is buried next to her spouse Emperor Henry and her feast day in the calendar is on the second day of March."¹¹⁵⁵

Every figure used in this project on "Habsburg saints" represented a specific political claim, extending Maximilian's cultural, political, or dynastical influence. Obviously, some of the popular figures, such as Clovis I, Caesar, and even Hector, became charismatic personifications of these aspirations, as discussed by Judith Aikin.¹¹⁵⁶ However, figures like SS. Henry and Cunigunde, probably not storing much of a dramatic historical or liturgical value for Maximilian or his scholars, were auxiliary personae used to support the desired dynastic connections and solidify the saintly aura of the Habsburg dynasty and of the imperial throne.¹¹⁵⁷

In all stages of this project on the "Habsburg saints," SS. Henry and Cunigunde were useful in these compositions as they added to the cohort of saints in Habsburg's family tree. Their cults were treated not exclusively as objects of veneration possessing a divine power but as historicized sanctities plunged into genealogical relations and political circumstances. Primarily, they solidified Maximilian's claim for the Frankish, Hungarian, and imperial heritage. For the needs of Maximilian I's ancestry, St. Henry is not connected directly to his Ottonian ruling house but to a branch of the Bavarian dukes of Frankish descent, who, in their turn, are to be connected with Hector, establishing

¹¹⁵² ÖNB, Cod. 3076.

¹¹⁵³ ÖNB, Cod. 3077, f. 50r–54r (St Cunigunde) and f. 239r–251v (St. Henry). A list of saints included in these volumes are published in Reinhardt, "Die habsburgischen Heiligen des Jakob Mennel," 227–32.

¹¹⁵⁴ ÖNB, Cod. 7892, f. 40r: "Der xiii bom iiii heiligen rickart humperg kayser hainrich und kunigundis sein huffrow."

¹¹⁵⁵ ÖNB, Cod. 7892, f. 101v: "kayser heinrich. s kayser heinrich herzog heinrichs son von bayer romischer kayser jungckfrow und beichtiger ist mit grosser solemmiter begraben zu Babenberg und weret sein hailger tag gegabten uff den xiii tag des monats Julii. kunigundis. s kunigundis romische kayserin geboren pfalzgramn bey rhein ist bey yrem gemahelt kayser heinrich begraben und wirt yre hailgen tag gehalten im kalender am annderen tag marcii." The feast of St Cunigunde should fall on the third of March.

¹¹⁵⁶ Aikin, "Pseudo-ancestors in the Genealogical Projects of the Emperor Maximilian I."

¹¹⁵⁷ The National Library in Vienna holds a codex (ÖNB, Cod. 3504) from the early sixteenth century written in a humanist cursive hand that contains only the unabridged second edition of the *vita Heinrichi*, a version that circulated in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*, probably copied from Heiligenkreuz, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 13; see Stumpf, *Vita Heinrichi*, 107–8. This codex can also testify to a certain scholarly interest in the holy emperor that could be maintained without necessarily a religious devotion involved.

the Trojan lineage of Habsburgs.¹¹⁵⁸ The royal Ottonian house, to which Henry II was usually attributed and himself strived to belong as a close relative of Otto I, is eliminated from St. Henry's descent constructed by Jacob Mennel.

However, the Ottonian heritage was not entirely forgotten in Maximilian's project—it appeared on the *Arch of Honor* that was finished and appeared in print in 1517.¹¹⁵⁹ In this massive graphic enterprise that consisted of 195 blocks, St. Henry is present among other Ottonian rulers. All of them appear here in their roles of secular figures, placed on the side pillars of the left arch that is devoted exclusively to Roman emperors starting from Caesar (fig. 8.10); however, Henry II is still recognized as a saint by his halo, a prefix *Sand* and a descriptive note *der heilig*. Maximilian I's Frankish predecessors, on the other hand, appear in the most prestigious central frame. Silver has noted that the emperor was generally reluctant to establish his kinship with any German ruling dynasties and, at the same time, was keen on claiming Roman imperial heritage through Charlemagne and Constantine. The affinity to the Ottonian, Salian, or Staufen rulers was diligently evaded in order to “preserve the basic integrity and separation of the House of Habsburg.”¹¹⁶⁰ Therefore, for the “Habsburg saints”-project, Jacob Mennel consciously chose to highlight St. Henry's “Bavarian” heritage to establish the desired Frankish affinity instead of promoting his relation to the Ottonian family.

¹¹⁵⁸ On how the origins to Merovingians was claimed see Pollheimer, ““Wie der jung weiß kunig die alten gedachtnus insonders lieb het.””

¹¹⁵⁹ On the *Arch of Honor* see Thomas Ulrich Schauerte, *Die Ehrenpforte für Kaiser Maximilian I: Dürer und Altdorfer im Dienst des Herrschers* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001). On the genealogical and political ambitions realized through this project see Beate Kellner, “Formen des Kulturtransfers am Hof Kaiser Maximilians I.: Muster genealogischer Herrschaftslegitimation,” in *Kulturtransfer am Fürstenhof: Höfische Austauschprozesse und ihre Medien im Zeitalter Kaiser Maximilians I.*, ed. Matthias Müller, Karl-Heinz Spieß, and Udo Friedrich (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2013), 52–103, esp. 78–90. The illustrations available at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/388475> (accessed February 12, 2020).

¹¹⁶⁰ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 57. However, this strategy was not all-absorbing: Maximilian I commissioned a sculpture for Speyer Cathedral, in part devoted to the twelve rulers buried there, among whom was not only Rudolf I of Habsburg but also Staufen rulers, as the space of Speyer Cathedral was intrinsically connected with the dynasty (the sculpture is now in Salzburg), see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 105.



Fig. 8.10. A fragment from the Arch of Honor showing the Ottonian rulers, 1515 (printed 1517/18); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Clearly, these genealogical constructions emphasized the centrality of male rules as their succession marked dynastic and imperial history. Nevertheless, female saints and ancestors were equally sought after by Jacob Mennel, useful for creating a network of saintly and prestigious kinship around the house of Habsburg. One of the codices with Maximilian's genealogical projects dated 1518—a supplement to the *Gebrutsspiegel*—is solely devoted to female saints and ancestors, entitled *Book of the Noteworthy and Famous Women of the Praiseworthy House Habsburg*.¹¹⁶¹ The first of the book's three parts is devoted to women of Frankish origins, the second—of Carolingian, and the final—to the ladies directly related to the house of Habsburg. This final section also includes an entry about St. Cunigunde,¹¹⁶² who is accompanied by other holy women such as SS. Helen, Elisabeth of Hungary, and Hedwig, as well as Maximilian's contemporaries—his mother Eleanora and spouse Mary of Burgundy. At least for the descriptions of Queen Gisela of Hungary and St. Cunigunde, Jacob Mennel used Giacomo Filippo Foresti's *De plurimis claris selectisque mulieribus*, published

¹¹⁶¹ *Buch von den erlauchten und claren weybern des loblichen husz Habsburg*, ÖNB, Cod. 3077***. The codex is partially edited by Bettina Schimak, "Jakob Mennel und die 'erleuchten und verrümbten Weyber' des Hauses Habsburg: Edition des dritten Tractats der Handschrift 3077*** der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek" (Vienna, Universität Wien, 1995). See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 46–7.

¹¹⁶² ÖNB, Cod. 3077***, f. 129r–131v.

in 1497 and dedicated to Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508), a widow of Matthias Corvinus.¹¹⁶³ This famous Augustinian monk and chronicler was the first to include many lives of holy women in a such a collection of famous women, thus modifying the model of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*.¹¹⁶⁴ In this entry, Mennel freely translated Foresti's text into German, not turning to *Der Heiligen Leben* as he did for other collections. Therefore, here only a short synopsis of the empress's life was presented, as well as her genealogy (traced back to Charlemagne) and her multiple virtues. The use of this volume within the *Geburtsspiegel* is not entirely clear, and Mennel's dedication is not detailed in this respect. It might have been used as a collection of exempla for female members of the Habsburg house and, most importantly, as a prestigious imitation of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* recrafted for the house of Habsburg.

Mennel's research on "Habsburg saints" that started as a mere calendar and subsequently constituted a part of the *Geburtsspiegel*—"developed into a project with its own life."¹¹⁶⁵ This project became a prototype for a series of sketches, present in the so-called *Skizzenbücher A, B, and C* and the *Miniaturcodex D*.¹¹⁶⁶ While an initially envisioned form and use of much of Mennel's work on the Habsburg saints and genealogies are not known beyond its inclusion in the *Geburtsspiegel* for Maximilian's own pleasure, the illustrations depicting the "Habsburg saints" were undoubtedly meant to be published. From these sketches, an artist Leonard Beck (d. 1542)—who was also employed for other Maximilian's projects—designed 123 woodcuts that propagate the emperor's connection to many renowned European saints.¹¹⁶⁷ The holy imperial couple is also present in this visual assemblage of saints. As in the prototypes from the *Skizzenbücher*, St. Cunigunde holds a ploughshare in her hand and her coat of arms—of the Empire and of Bavaria with a lion (apparently, of the Habsburg house) in the middle—is placed on the chamber's wall.¹¹⁶⁸ St. Henry is depicted in his imperial attire and with the same shield as St. Cunigunde's.¹¹⁶⁹ These woodcuts effectively perform

¹¹⁶³ Jacopo Filippo Foresti, *De plurimis claris sele[c]tis mulieribus, opus prope divinum novissime congestum*, Ed. Albertus de Placentia et Augustinus de Casali Maiori (Ferrara: Lorenzo de' Rossi, 1497), f. 166r–167r (In Foresti's work, St. Cunigunde is called "Semigunda"); Gisela of Hungary in Mennel's collection: ÖNB, Cod. 3077***, f. 106v–108v. Neither Schimak nor Silver discussed Mennel's sources for this collection.

¹¹⁶⁴ Susan Gaylard, "De mulieribus claris and the Disappearance of Women from Illustrated Print Biographies," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 18 (2015).

¹¹⁶⁵ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 48.

¹¹⁶⁶ The calendar is in ÖNB, Cod. 3305; the illustrations for the calendar are in ÖNB, Cod. 2857 (*Skizzenbuch A*), ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2627 (*Skizzenbuch B*), and ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 1598 (*Skizzenbuch C*); only in an illuminated prototype ÖNB, Cod. ser. n. 4711 (known as *Miniaturcodex D*), SS. Henry and Cunigunde are missing from the selection of saints. The layout differs only in *Miniaturcodex D*, where the saints, cut in number, are arranged in pairs (*Miniaturcodex D* is often connected to the execution of Maximilian I's tomb in Innsbruck).

¹¹⁶⁷ Most probably, only the *Skizzenbuch A* (possibly made in Augsburg) was used as prototypes for Leonard Beck's series of woodcuts, while *Skizzenbücher B* and *C* developed separately in Freiburg (Mennel's hometown).

¹¹⁶⁸ This series of woodcuts is published in Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der 'Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft' des Kaisers Maximilian I.," 1887 (here no. 59). The woodcuts are preserved in Vienna, Albertina, HO2006/565 and HO2006/595.

¹¹⁶⁹ Laschitzer, "Die Heiligen aus der 'Sipp-, Mag- und Schwägerschaft' des Kaisers Maximilian I.," 1887 (no. 47).

the project's fundamental idea—to present saints in their most glorious moments and to tight them to the Habsburg dynasty by using heraldry as a tool.

On various stages of these projects, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were included among the saints with whom Maximilian I—and the whole house of Habsburg—claimed prestigious kinship. The overarching ambition was to claim the Habsburgs' affinity to almost every holy ruler, including Hungarian, British, and Scottish saints. For this purpose, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were especially valuable as they linked the Habsburgs with the imperial sanctity, also embodied in these hagio-genealogical constructions by Charlemagne and St. Helen. St. Henry's descent was framed through Bavarian dukes of Frankish origins, and St. Cunigunde's was linked directly to Charlemagne in order to eliminate the Habsburg's blood affinity with other ruling houses (in this case—the Ottonian dynasty). Moreover, through St. Henry's sister Gisela, Maximilian's affinity with the Hungarian holy kings—and with this, to the Hungarian crown—was to be justified. This genealogical twist would prove the Habsburg's unprecedentedly holy ancestry and thus solidify their dynastic claim for the imperial throne.

However, the imperial couple is missing from the crucial projects such as the prayer book made for the knights of St. George's Order and *Triumphal Procession* that was aimed at transmitting an idea of the Habsburg's glory and their belonging to the European ancient, contemporary, and fictional ruling houses; most probably, the imperial couple was also not meant to be represented on the unfinished tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck.¹¹⁷⁰ This oblivion might have been a strategic decision about the imperial self-representation, in which affinity to other German ruling houses was to be eliminated. SS. Henry and Cunigunde's omission from other Maximilian I's representational projects—together with many holy men and women featuring among the “Habsburg saints” and not remembered elsewhere—is a reminder that, in this context, neither St. Henry nor St. Cunigunde were valuable on their own or perceived as effective intercessors. These saints were not used exclusively for their primary purpose as models for emulation and edification, although “having a personalized stable of family saints offered special spiritual gifts” for Maximilian I.¹¹⁷¹ SS. Henry and Cunigunde were, along with many other saints and blessed, saintly commodities of genealogical value used for constructing Maximilian I's visual ideology.

¹¹⁷⁰ Some of the sketches for the bronze figures are in ÖNB, Cod. 7867; 8329 (for example, Henry II's sister and Stephen of Hungary's souse Queen Gisela should have appeared among Maximilian I's relatives surrounding his tomb: ÖNB, Cod. 8329, f. 31r). The available evidence on other parts of Maximilian's funerary edifice (there were 100 smaller statues of some of the Habsburg saints planned) do not have any trace of SS. Henry and Cunigunde either. For more about the project see David Ritter von Schönherr, “Geschichte des Grabmals Kaisers Maximilian I und der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 1890, 140–268; Lukas Madersbacher, “Das Maximiliansgrabmal,” in *Ruhm und Sinnlichkeit: Innsbrucker Bronzeguss 1500–1650*, ed. Manfred Leithe-Jasper (Innsbruck: Medieninhaber, 1996), 124–39; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 68–76.

¹¹⁷¹ Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 59.

While Frederick III struggled for rooting his prestige within the Empire, for which he turned to the imagery of German and Austrian noble and imperial sainthood, Maximilian I, in his European-wide aspirations, desired to accumulate in his persona a plethora of saints and prestigious houses, irrespectively of the historicity of these connections and contemporary settings of the cults. Although the goals of the two rulers were rather different and defined by their contemporary politics and ambitions, the idea to establish a “visual ideology” through the employment of saints’ imagery persisted. SS. Henry and Cunigunde, due to their indissociable imperial charisma, were utilized in the visual ideology of both emperors. For Maximilian I, the imperial couple was among many other noble saints who paved his way back to the mythical Trojan, or at least Frankish, origins and supported his legitimacy for the imperial title.

The Imperial Couple in Princely Relic Collections

The idea of accumulating multiple representations of sanctity in a single space—be it in an individual’s ancestry, in a church treasury, in a hagiographic collection—was not a prerogative used by Maximilian I only. The already mentioned relic collection of Charles IV pursued similar ambitions of show-casing imperial prestige, and this strategy was closely connected to representational piety. Similar practices of representational veneration and collection of saints were also common among imperial nobility of the early sixteenth century, and these projects could be no less grandiose than those exercised by ruling emperors.

Such was a famous relic collection that Frederick III the Wise, Electoral Prince of Saxony from the House of Wettin (1463–1525)—a well-known patron of arts and collector—assembled in the All Saints’ Church in Wittenberg, starting from 1506.¹¹⁷² By 1509, this collection amounted to around 5000 particles, while in the 1520s, it grew up to 19013 relics of holy men and women—the spectacle attracted multiple pilgrims and augmented the prestige of its founder and sponsor since relics became “powerful tools of political and spiritual import.”¹¹⁷³ The relics were yearly put on display, and every visitor would have achieved generous indulgences (according to some calculations, a visitor could have gained almost two million years remitted of their time in purgatory).¹¹⁷⁴ Moreover, a catalog of these relics (*Heiltumsbuch*) was printed in 1509 with drawings by Lucas

¹¹⁷² On Frederick the Wise’s devotion to and patronage of saints’ cults see: Stanley E. Weed, “Frederick the Wise Venerating the Virgin and Saints: A Newly Reconstructed Triptych by Lucas Cranach the Elder,” *KONSTHISTORISK TIDSKRIFT* 74, no. 4 (2005): 209–23; Paul M. Bacon, “Art Patronage and Piety in Electoral Saxony: Frederick the Wise Promotes the Veneration of His Patron, St. Bartholomew,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2008), 973–1001.

¹¹⁷³ Hahn, *The Reliquary Effect*, 88.

¹¹⁷⁴ Livia Cárdenas, *Friedrich der Weise und das Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch. Mediale Repräsentation zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2002), 111.

Cranach, who was Frederick the Wise's court painter.¹¹⁷⁵ Such prints could have been bought by devotees visiting the chapel as guides and memorabilia as well as tools for expanding their devotion beyond the specific time and place.¹¹⁷⁶ Heike Schlie has also highlighted that this relic collection should be understood neither as a project exclusively "indebted to Frederick's piety nor as a prestigious courtly project but also as an encyclopaedic project in light of establishing collecting practices."¹¹⁷⁷

Relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde featured in several similar collections, assembled by lay individuals, clerics, or ecclesiastical units, for example, in the Viennese collection or in a collection from Halle, accomplished by Cardinal Albert von Brandenburg (1490–1545).¹¹⁷⁸ An appearance of certain relics within any of these collections is not necessary testimony of individual devotion to specific saints: relics were highly mobile commodities and were sought to be acquired en masse. However, the treatment of certain relics and saints within the collection and the encasement in reliquaries often reveal their status.

In the collection of Frederick the Wise, the relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde were also included, enshrined in several reliquaries alongside more than forty individual saints, based on the print from 1509. Most of the reliquaries contained multiple particles of various saints, often assembled together by their rank—virgins, martyrs, apostles, confessors. Thus, a piece of St. Cunigunde's glove, two pieces of her hair, and ten particles of her remains were kept in a reliquary together with other virgins and widows: SS. Barbara, Pipigaria, and Helen.¹¹⁷⁹ One could find several pieces of St. Henry's relics in a company of other confessors of noble descent, such as SS. Leopold (who was represented on the reliquary), Egidius, and Charlemagne.¹¹⁸⁰ In these collections, the sanctities of SS. Henry and Cunigunde add up to the holy type embodied by a particular assemblage of relics.

However, two reliquaries were dedicated exclusively to the imperial couple, betraying their high status within the collection. These are two gilded silver arm-reliquaries: one arm-reliquary with

¹¹⁷⁵ *Dye Zaigung des hochlobwirdigen Hailigthumbs der Stifft-Kirchen aller Hailigen zu Wittenburg* (Wittenberg: Reinhart, 1509); on this print see Cárdenas, *Friedrich der Weise und das Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch*.

¹¹⁷⁶ On *Heiltumsbücher* see Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum*; Cárdenas, *Die Textur des Bildes*; Diana Feßl, "Das spätmittelalterliche Heiltumsbuch als autonomer Publikationstypus: der erste Ausstellungskatalog neuzeitlicher Prägung mit Erinnerungswert" (Doctoral dissertation, Munich, Ludwig-Maximilian University, 2013).

¹¹⁷⁷ Heike Schlie, "'Überzeugen' im Kontext religiösen Wissens: testimoniale Vernetzungen im Wittenberger Heiltumsbuch von Lucas Cranach und in Dürers Marter der Zehntausend," in *Über Zeugen: Szenarien von Zeugenschaft und ihre Akteure*, ed. Matthias Däumer, Aurélia Kalisky, and Heike Schlie (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2017), 271.

¹¹⁷⁸ Matthäus Heuperger, *In Disem Puechlein ist Verzaichent das Hochwirdig Heyligtu[m]b so man in der Loblichen stat Wienn in Osterreich alle iar an sonntag nach dem Ostertag zezaigen pfligt* (Wien: Johann Winterburger, 1502); the collection from Halle is published in Philipp Maria Halm and Rudolf Berliner, eds., *Das Hallesche Heiltum* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1931).

¹¹⁷⁹ *Dye Zaigung des hochlobwirdigen Hailigthumbs der Stifft-Kirchen*, f. 8v.

¹¹⁸⁰ *Dye Zaigung des hochlobwirdigen Hailigthumbs der Stifft-Kirchen*, f. 12v.

an orb contains a piece of St. Henry's arm, the other—St. Cunigunde's.¹¹⁸¹ Although placed in different stages of display (*Gang*) in the *Heiltumsbuch*, where relics were arranged according to the saints' types, these two arm-shaped reliquaries could have been a part of the same commission, given the similarities in shape and material they were made from. Most probably, these SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics (or at least some of them) were acquired from Bamberg—only there one could find a glove of St. Cunigunde and a particle of St. Henry's skull as well as an abundance of other body particles. By giving the relics of its primary saints, Bamberg used them as a means of promulgation and extending its authority. Upon acquisition, some were not added to the existing compound reliquaries, but new were made to host only SS. Henry and Cunigunde's relics. These reliquaries represented not only the body-part of the saint (as was customary) but also reflected upon the status, at least in the case of St. Henry's arm-reliquary that also represents an orb. A similar arm reliquary was also made for “a whole arm” of St. Wenceslas—another holy ruler in Frederick the Wise's collection. On the one hand, the appearance of SS. Henry and Cunigunde in Frederick the Wise's collection reflects his general pious desire to assemble relics of each and every saint that would enhance the symbolic prestige of his rule and recraft Wittenberg as the holiest place of the Empire. On the other, their encasement in individual reliquaries reflects the saints' high ranking within the collection that would draw exceptional devotion, also due to their imperial status.

Despite Frederick III's veneration of multiple saints and Maximilian I's agitation for finding saintly ancestors, neither of the emperors were involved in collecting relics, unlike Frederick the Wise. Maximilian I, as revealed by Christopher Wood, was interested in assembling “antiquities,” though he was not known for systematic acquisition of relics comparable to that of imperial nobility and several episcopal sees and cities.¹¹⁸² However, one such relic collection was assembled by Florian Waldauf (d. 1510)—Maximilian's close courtier and councilor, ennobled in 1488—in a chapel at St. Nicolas's Church in Hall in Tirol, sponsored by Maximilian I as well. Florian Waldauf not only acquired a laudable amount of relics (to which Maximilian I also contributed) but also commissioned an illustrated catalog (*Heiltumbuch*) with woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair around 1508, imitating a common practice of publicizing such manifestations of accumulated piety as well as Maximilian I's projects.¹¹⁸³ However, this catalog was never published as Waldauf died shortly before its completion, although the scope of his relic collection can be estimated based on descriptions (written by Waldauf

¹¹⁸¹ *Dye Zaigung des hochlobwirdigen Hailigthumbs der Stifft-Kirchen*, f. 8v: “ein Silberern arm mit einer über gelten Handt von dem Arm sant Kunegundis i. Partikel. summa i Partikel;” f. 12v: “ein silberne Arm mit einer ubergulden Handt unnd Apfel ein gross Pein vom Arm sant Keyser Heinrichs summa i Partikel.” On body-part reliquaries, especially on arm-reliquaries and their representational and liturgical functions see Cynthia J. Hahn, “The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries,” *Gesta*, vol. 36, No. 1 (1997), 20–31.

¹¹⁸² Christopher S. Wood, “Maximilian I as Archeologist,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, 2005, 1128–74.

¹¹⁸³ Silver argues that Florian Waldauf's collection might have been inspired by Maximilian I's projects as he was the emperor's close councilor, see Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 60, 133.

himself) and extant woodcuts.¹¹⁸⁴ According to these notes, Waldauf acquired several sachets with the relics of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, and he knew about their imperial status as well as virginity.¹¹⁸⁵

Overall, the imperial couple was recognized as prestigious commodities also among the imperial nobility—similarly to their role in the projects of Maximilian I, who, instead of collecting saints' bodily remains, acquired their spiritual and ancestral affinity. The imperial couple was sought after and probably were expected to appear in such grandiose projects that combine performative piety with an encyclopedic idea of collecting and organizing the knowledge about saints. They clearly added to the prestige of a person acquiring the imperial saint (either as physical objects or as kindred), although they were effective only within a larger assemblage of saints.

The Saints in Imperial History and Piety

The knowledge of and devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde were cultivated in the imperial courtly intellectual and artistic spheres since the middle of the fifteenth century throughout the reigns of Frederick III and Maximilian I. While several European dynasties employed sainted rulers in their political cultures, within the Empire, such a representational system was foremost used by Charles IV. His architectural and devotional projects employed, among other saints, the sanctities of Henry and Cunigunde, mainly for their symbolic connection with the idea of the Empire. Frederick III, as has been extensively discussed in the previous chapter, throughout his half-a-century long reign, consistently turned to the imperial couple, recognizing them as powerful intercessors as well as tools for symbolic self-representation within the Empire. Frederick III's veneration of the imperial couple was continued in part by his daughter Kunigunde of Austria. St. Cunigunde was not only her private saintly patroness and a role model; St. Cunigunde's imagery was used as a sign aligning the imperial pedigree of Kunigunde with the Bavarian duchy of her husband Albert IV.

Moreover, new literary and artistic traditions devoted to SS. Henry and Cunigunde evolved in Brabant—in a new sphere of Habsburg cultural and political influence. A series of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's handwritten and printed hagiographies as well as the *Heinrichstafel* are testimonies to these exchanges between the imperial court and the Burgundian territories inherited by Habsburgs. The *Heinrichstafel* is a vivid visualization of St. Henry's legends, depicting him as an emperor and a confessor. This artwork was tightly connected with Habsburg representational traditions and well-aligned with imperial political goals of the beginning of the sixteenth century. Since this painting was most probably created after Frederick III's death, it testifies to the ongoing interest in the sacred

¹¹⁸⁴ Josef Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch mit den Unika-Holzschnitten Hans Burgkmairs des Älteren," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, no. 32 (1915): 1–177.

¹¹⁸⁵ Garber, "Das Haller Heiltumbuch," 138: "In disem pild ist heilthumb: ain rippen von sand Kunigunden, der junkfraun und kaiserin, die sand kaiser Hainrichs gemahel gewesen und biss an ir eend junkfrau beliben ist;" also 146, 152.

rule and the employment of the saint as a source of legitimation in the imperial representational strategies.

Maximilian I repeatedly resorted to utilizing saints' cults for his self-fashioning and for establishing his position among historical and legendary rulers, though much more consistently and with more grandeur than his predecessor Frederick III. The strategy and political aims of Maximilian I were different from those of his father: he aimed at constructing connectedness with a greater historical heritage of European ruling dynasties, conducted through his marriage policies and through multiple representational projects and genealogical studies. Frederick III, on the other hand, utilized the images of saints in his political communication for establishing his authority within the Empire, consciously choosing a different language for the hereditary lands and the *Binnenreich*; for the latter, the imperial sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde was especially useful for settling and performing his image. For Maximilian I, the holy imperial couple was important firstly, in their plurality, adding to a cohort of holy rulers that were kindred to the house of Habsburg and, secondly, due to St. Henry's image articulating a specific capacity of a militant holy ruler. Within the visual ideology of Maximilian I, these imperial saints were not cherished for their capacities of healing, intercession, and solace but for their participation in imperial history, thus allowing for the creation of hagiographic and hagiogenealogical projects. Similar ideas of accumulating sanctities for matters of prestige and devotion could also be found in relic collections of imperial nobility. The current analysis on the use of imperial saints in political representations of the Habsburg rulers and family members would add to research on these individuals as well as on practices of symbolic communication in the late medieval Empire.

On a broader scale, SS. Henry and Cunigunde retained their liturgical and devotional importance for various individuals and communities during the late medieval period, as discussed in the second part of the dissertation. At the same time, the holy couple became more polemical and widely used as a sign of the imperial power—not bound to any specific location or devotional center—and as pawns in genealogical constructions of ruling families, facilitated by the use of heraldry, by printing, and by humanistic research.

CONCLUSION

In the late medieval Holy Roman Empire, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were appreciated by their devotees as powerful intercessors, founders, virgins, and imperial saints. On an everyday basis and solemn occasions, through lavish artworks and printed images, during communal liturgical services and in private prayer, when narrating the history of a tiny monastery and of the Empire, multiple individuals and groups chose to turn to SS. Henry and Cunigunde. While the saints' key commemorative center remained in Bamberg, they were known and engaged with in other parts of the Empire, where contested and novel interpretations of their sanctity were offered.

The employment of the *Landesgeschichte* methods with the approaches of memory and communication studies allowed the present study to tackle patronage systems in accord with textual, visual, and material manifestations of sanctity. The analysis evolved to a lesser extent around normative aspects of saints' veneration that could be gained, for example, from scrutinizing liturgical calendars, but centered around various aspects of practiced devotion to SS. Henry and Cunigunde. This study has pursued to bring together the research on the cults' employment in individual locations in order to review underlying social, cultural, and political trends in imperial symbolism, local veneration practices, regional politics, and private devotion that allowed devotees to communicate with (or with the help of) these saints.

The eight chapters investigated why SS. Henry and Cunigunde—as a holy couple and as individual saints—were venerated as holy personae, and how they were conceptualized and employed in different communicative contexts. Altogether, the research offers a new perspective on the history of the cults in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that has not been comprehensively explored before. The cults were of use as means of symbolic communication on the imperial level and among the secular and ecclesiastical nobility, in private devotion, and in monastic spaces, while the saints were appealed to and known about not only in Upper Franconia with its heart in Bamberg but also in other parts of the Empire—in Saxony, in the Austrian lands, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, as well as in Brabant. Moreover, the thesis brings to scholarly attention several unknown or under-researched texts and images produced in the late medieval Holy Roman Empire, paying attention to their content, mediality, and circumstances of production and use.

Perceived on a bigger scale, the analyzed functions of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's cults correspond to the capacities of many other European saints. The saints were needed to exercise their intercessory powers and healing abilities as well as to help establish political legitimation, edify and

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promote certain ideas, and define the identity and belonging of an individual or a group. Therefore, the holy imperial couple, by answering to manifold needs, contributed to the devotional landscape of several regions and practiced hagiographic knowledge surrounding a medieval devotee. However, a closer investigation of these functions defines the exact communicative contexts of remembering and performing veneration of SS. Henry and Cunigunde. Each of these situations reveals not only the pragmatic application of sanctity but also gives us a glimpse at the individuals, groups, and society who share, reshape, and employ for their means a conviction in SS. Henry and Cunigunde's saintly status. In other words, when facing a textual or visual representation of SS. Henry and Cunigunde, whose saints are we looking at?

In Bamberg, SS. Henry and Cunigunde held an immense prestige for local religious institutions within the city and in the prince-bishopric overall. The saints encapsulated the political and religious importance of Bamberg due to their entanglement with the memory of Bamberg's foundation. The centrality of these saints for diocesan history and the devotional landscape was orchestrated not only by hagiographies, liturgies, and *patrocinia* but also through the availability of their relics, visual media, historiography, topography, naming patterns, and solemn processions. By the late medieval period, SS. Henry and Cunigunde's signature image—the couple holding a cathedral model—was systematically employed by successive bishops as a sign of their episcopal authority in printed materials, in urban architecture, and in the interior of many churches.

However, neither hagiographic and liturgical production nor the visual representations of these saints were entirely controlled by the bishops, canons of the cathedral chapter, or monks at Michelsberg Monastery. Other clerics, monastic houses, and lay individuals from Upper Franconia and Carinthia, who sought to confirm their affiliation with Bamberg, accepted and used this representational code featuring SS. Henry and Cunigunde for their self-representations. While in these cases SS. Henry and Cunigunde were utilized as primarily Bambergian saints, due to the commissioner's wishes and the circumstances of display, the saints were entangled with other holy personae and devotional practices that added new layers of interpretation and signification, as evidenced by several epitaphs and altarpieces analyzed in this study.

In their capacities as patrons of the city and the bishopric, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were not exclusively a formal attribute of episcopal power. On the contrary, local devotees regularly sought intercession from these saints when embarking on a pilgrimage to their shrine, pronouncing invocations, making donations, seeking access to relics, and acquiring their relics or prints with their images and relics—all of which resulted in a considerable source of income, especially for the cathedral. Ordinary devotees could view the saints' relics also during regular relic demonstrations (*Heiltumsweisung*), while local nobility (such as the Brandenburg dynasty) and individual rulers (Frederick III and Maximilian I) were granted on-demand individual access to SS. Henry and

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Cunigunde's relics. These acts of ostensible piety on behalf of local and imperial rulers towards the saints, although intrinsically motivated, were a part of symbolical communication and a matter of prestige—*politique des reliques*, as defined by Edina Bozóky.¹¹⁸⁶

In Franconia, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were clearly tangible in the hagiographic and devotional landscape, shaped in part by the bishopric of Bamberg, complimenting other powerful devotional stations (for example, the church of the Holy Fourteen Helpers) and cults of other universal and local saints (St. Sebald and St. Lawrence in Nuremberg, St. Otto in Bamberg, and others). While often being advertised and approached as Bambergian saints, they were used in other communicative contexts, when, for example, the saints' identification with a virginal or imperial lifestyle became more prominent for individual donors.

SS. Henry and Cunigunde did not belong exclusively to Bamberg, its clerical elite, nobility, and parishioners. As the couple was often perceived and remembered as founders and Church benefactors in several other places, this historical or reimagined connection ensured a swift adoption of their cults, as was also highlighted by the previous scholarship on the cults' presence in Basel. In Merseburg, for example, the cult of St. Henry became relevant for the local milieu exactly due to the historical connection and the interrelations with the cult of the local patron St. Lawrence, while the urban community of Rochlitz probably created an imaginary past in which St. Cunigunde was the town's primary founder. In other cases, while either St. Henry or St. Cunigunde was often present in sacred spaces or calendars of episcopal or regional centers, this veneration was of a normative character that did not trigger any response from local devotees or nobility. This could have been a result of SS. Henry and Cunigunde lacking connection to the local history and not being entangled with local commemorative practices and saints.

Moreover, these dynamics were present not only in bigger communities central to SS. Henry and Cunigunde's devotional network but also in smaller ones. The case studies of sacral, artistic, and textual spaces in Benedictine nunneries revealed similar foundational functions of the cults, foremost of St. Henry. The memory of the emperor's earthly patronage was enhanced by his and his spouse's liturgical commemoration and specific spatial arrangements of altars and cult-related objects, as well as by reimagining connections between the imperial couple and local, native to the monastic foundation, saints. The role of a male holy founder was especially sought after as it established a favorable social hierarchy, especially when a community was entangled in local power struggles over its immunity. Nevertheless, St. Cunigunde could have also been perceived as a founder—for example, of St. Stephen's Church in Bamberg, where, by the end of the fifteenth century, a new legend was developed encapsulating the empress's patronage.

¹¹⁸⁶ Bozóky, *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis*, 10.

Communication with these saints was not always a matter of politics and affiliation since the saints oozed into individual's daily lives as a part of religious experiences and sacral spaces. Thus, in late medieval Bamberg, parturient women turned to St. Cunigunde to ensure safe delivery, and a set of rituals involving several of St. Cunigunde's contact relics evolved around this practice. Several other communicative contexts were revealed in which individuals employed SS. Henry and Cunigunde, especially when the saints functioned as name-patrons. Kunigunde of Austria is a profound example since she inherited her father's affection for St. Cunigunde already with her name, and later the saintly empress became her role model and a tool for self-representation in two lavish artistic projects. Hartmann Schedel's systematic interest in the holy couple, although partially indebted to the Nuremberg devotional landscape, was intertwined with his academic interests in the history of Bamberg and the Empire.

However, the analyzed cases of an individual's devotion to either of the saints, when a devotee invested their own resources and meanings into the saints, were built upon existing knowledge and practices of veneration and recognition, often established through diocesan and monastic networks. Moreover, SS. Henry and Cunigunde were plunged into existing devotional contexts inhabited by other saints. Thus, the saints often appeared as auxiliary patrons in saintly "assemblages"—in codices, in narratives and liturgies, on altarpieces, on architectural decorations—that communicated the unique religious, cultural, and political preferences of a group or an individual associated with these saints.

The present study has also brought up an overlooked context in which this saintly imperial couple was systematically employed in the late medieval period—that of saintly politics and rulers' symbolic communication that occurred beyond the initial political circumstances of SS. Henry and Cunigunde's canonizations. The sanctity of Henry and Cunigunde was often embraced in the historicized past not only of local communities but of the *Reich*. In late medieval historiographic writings, St. Henry's figure was entangled with the memory and constitutional forms (that is, the college of electors) of the Empire. Especially the *Nuremberg Chronicle* brings forward the concept of saintly imperial heritage, built upon SS. Henry and Cunigunde's genealogies that included multiple holy figures. The saints were also present in the symbolic communication of several late medieval emperors, and in these contexts, the saints' imperial essence was emphasized.

For Charles IV and Maximilian I, SS. Henry and Cunigunde stood out as elements in their genealogical projects and the broader system of imperial piety that employed multiple cults of regional as well as imperial rulers. This accumulative piety was mirrored in several relic collections of the imperial nobility in the times of Maximilian I that also featured relics of the emperors. On the other hand, Frederick III from early on revealed an inextinguishable interest in the idea of saintly kingship, primarily through the example of St. Henry, promulgated in his private prayer books. In the

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second half of his lasting reign, Frederick III utilized the images of saints in his political communication as a vehicle for establishing his authority within the Empire, consciously choosing different visual “languages” for the hereditary lands and the inner realm. While the Habsburg patron saints (St. Morandus), local patrons (St. Coloman), and local rulers (SS. Leopold and Hemma) were promoted within the Austrian lands, the imperial sanctity of SS. Henry, Cunigunde, Charlemagne, and Helen was especially useful for establishing and grounding Frederick’s authority in the German principalities.

Overall, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, SS. Henry and Cunigunde became recognized in their imperial, supra-regional status, devoid of unambiguous affiliation with a region or a community. Nevertheless, the cults, in their imperial signification, relied on a regional supply of relics as well as existing iconographic, hagiographic, and liturgical forms that were adapted and recrafted to suit new communicational and representational purposes.

Apart from analyzing the social and political impact of the cults, the study has also uncovered other aspects pertaining to the saints’ functions in the late medieval Empire that were not accentuated by the chapter division. One is that of gender dynamics that highlighted the increasing role of female devotees—well-off noblewomen, nuns, and female town dwellers—in upholding, using, and reframing the cults for their needs. St. Cunigunde’s cult provided a resource of religious healing in specifically female experiences, while the saint’s figure was used to signify both marital experiences for laywomen and total sexual abstinence for nuns.

The couple’s virginity became one of the interpretative frameworks used for comprehending these saints. The study has emphasized that the idea of their sexual abstinence was gradually formed and communicated through several narratives, informed not only by common hagiographic *topoi* but by contemporary theology of marriage and conjugal debt. While lay male virginity was ambiguously understood, St. Henry could receive drastically different connotations not encoded in his primary hagiographies: from a female-like virgin in feminine devotional culture to an unsuccessful ruler failing to procreate, presented as such on the fringes of the courtly historiography.

Another theme is that of the adoption and oblivion of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s cults. Even in locations with seemingly perdurable veneration of these saints throughout the medieval period, their veneration did not develop progressively: the tangible outburst of the veneration of the saints and their proliferation in imagery was a consequence of political needs, accumulated wealth, and availability of new representational means. The cults’ adoption was often facilitated by cultural transfers between neighboring regions as well as entanglements facilitated by dynastic alliances, as was revealed in the cases of the Přemyslid and Staufien dynasties as well as the Habsburgs in Brabant.

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Finally, the study strives to highlight, in the words of Cecilia Gaposchkin, the “multifaceted identity” of saints.¹¹⁸⁷ A combination of saintly facets—and functions—used in specific communicative contexts was defined by the actors involved, the media chosen, and the literary and devotional traditions of a given location.

With the unfolding of the Reformation, the cultural and political milieu of the Empire changed drastically—and so did the regions, communities, and individuals that used to engage with the saints. For example, in Nuremberg, which became Protestant in 1525, urban-wide veneration of saints—as well as of SS. Henry and Cunigunde—came to a logical end, although some of their representations in the local churches remained visible. Similarly, in Basel, where the cult of St. Henry was one of the foundational myths of the cityscape, the Reformation terminated many vibrant liturgical activities.¹¹⁸⁸ Were then the images and memories of these imperial saints perceived in a new way? Did their representations retain any of the existing significations? Apparently, in the parts of the Empire that remained or returned to Catholicism, the cults not only continued to attract devotees but also thrived in the apt hands of Jesuits.

For example, SS. Henry and Cunigunde became the protagonists of Jesuit school dramas written in Southern Germany. Starting with the *Comoedi. Von dem Leben dess H. Heinrichen. Auch der H. Kunegunda* from 1613,¹¹⁸⁹ these saints appeared as protagonists of similar seventeenth-century plays six more times.¹¹⁹⁰ These plays clearly promoted Post-Tridentine ideals of sanctity, while an image of a holy Christian emperor and confessor could have been attractive for confessional propaganda.¹¹⁹¹ The holy couple also appears in a hagiographic visual project sponsored by Maximilian I (1573–1651) from the house of Wittelsbach —*Bavaria Sancta* by Matthäus Rader—that aimed at reviving a Bavarian pantheon of saints.¹¹⁹² An edition of SS. Henry, Cunigunde, and Otto’s hagiographies from 1611—*Divi Bambergensis*—is yet another example of a Catholic revival of local Bambergian cults taken up by Jesuit theologian Jakob Gretser equipped with critical methods available at that time.¹¹⁹³

Simultaneously, SS. Henry and Cunigunde did not lose their places in the early modern Habsburgian pantheon of saints. Similar to Maximilian’s hagio-genealogical connections, the saintly couple was included in the Habsburgian dynastic devotion labeled *Pietas Austriaca*, in which the leading—and often competing, as Marie Ducreux has argued—roles were given to the Virgin Mary,

¹¹⁸⁷ Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*, 243.

¹¹⁸⁸ Hess, “Zwischen Verehrung und Versenkung.”

¹¹⁸⁹ *Comoedi. Von dem Leben dess H. Heinrichen. Auch der H. Kunegunda* (Ingolstadt: Andreas Angermayr, 1613).

¹¹⁹⁰ Bittner, “Kaiser Heinrich II. im Jesuitentheater des Süddeutschen Raumes.”

¹¹⁹¹ Elida Maria Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: eine Periochen-Edition*, 4 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1979), esp. 1:35–7, 102–21.

¹¹⁹² Matthäus Rader, *Bavaria sancta* (Munich: Sadeler, 1615), 1: 101–9.

¹¹⁹³ Gretser, *Divi Bambergenses*.

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SS. Leopold, Wenceslas, Stephen, and Ladislas.¹¹⁹⁴ Hans-Jürgen Becker relates an interesting episode that illuminates the formation and use of Habsburgian dynastic piety and prestige—Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637), through Nuncio Ciriaco Rocci, asked Pope Urban VIII to include St. Stephen of Hungary in the *Breviarum Romanorum* since Ferdinand II’s petition for including St. Henry had already been successful.¹¹⁹⁵ Such a designation did not promulgate the actual veneration of the cult but highlighted the lasting political relevance of imperial sanctity for subsequent rulers, also in the modern period. In the nineteenth century, St. Cunigunde appeared in the spotlight of the newly formed state of Luxemburg. The saintly empress became a patron saint of the country since her father Sigfried was a founder of Luxemburg, and therefore this saintly heritage became relevant for the state-building process.

This brief collage of SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s careers in the wake of the Catholic Reformation and modern state-building is not exhaustive by any means. The functions of these saints in early modern and modern Europe are yet to be discovered, and the current study would be a useful foundation for further research. A revival of interest in Henry II and Cunigunde—and their saintly afterlives—might develop with the upcoming millennium anniversaries of their deaths—2024 and 2033, respectively. With the recent advancement of interdisciplinary studies of sanctity, the medieval and post-medieval devotion to this holy couple should not be disregarded as a superfluous or exclusively religious practice that dilutes our knowledge about the “historical” Henry and Cunigunde but studied as a functional element in society.

Although this study is devoted exclusively to investigating the two saints, it has brought up broader considerations regarding saints’ cults in the late medieval period that can be of use for further research of the social and political impact of saints’ cults. The study has contributed to our understanding of how rulers of the past centuries were apprehended in the late medieval period, with sanctity being only one of the possible commemorative scenarios. Moreover, this research has pointed out the efficiency of studying saints’ functions beyond explicitly liturgical circumstances and researching the interweaving of “hagiographic” and “historiographic” knowledge about saints. Essentially, the study has revealed how SS. Henry and Cunigunde’s figures contributed to the interlacements of the memories of the imperial past and sanctity across local, regional, and imperial dimensions, though being just two threads in the socially diverse web of symbolic communication of the late medieval Empire.

¹¹⁹⁴ Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*; Ducreux, “Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories.”

¹¹⁹⁵ Hans-Jürgen Becker, “Heilige Landespatrone. Entstehung Und Funktion Einer Kirchenrechtlichen Institution in Der Neuzeit,” in *Die Renaissance Der Nationalpatrone: Erinnerungskulturen in Ostmitteleuropa Im 20./21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Stefan Samerski and Krista Zach (Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), 33–5.

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