

The Migrating Legend of Saint Emperor Henry II: Representations of the Soul-Weighing and the Chalice-Miracle in Medieval Frescoes on Gotland

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The German Emperor Henry II (988-1024), last ruler of the Ottonian dynasty, remained in the memory of his contemporaries and the following generations not only as a mundane king: not long after his death in 1024, an aura of sanctity spread around his personality.¹ Already eleventh-century chroniclers report on his exceptional chastity and extreme devotion to the Church, along with several miraculous stories. More than a century and a half later, in 1146, ideas that Henry II was a saint found their institutional manifestation: Pope Eugene III issued a canonization bull, proving the sanctity of Henry

¹ Major studies on Emperor Henry II and his rule: Manfred Höfer, *Heinrich II.: das Leben und Wirken eines Kaisers* (Esslingen: Bechtle, 2002); 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?* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1997); Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II., 1002-1024: Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 2000). Studies on Henry II as a saintly figure: Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du Moyen Age en Occident, VIe-XIIIe siècles* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984); Klaus Guth, *Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kaiserin Kunigunde: das heilige Herrscherpaar: Leben, Legende, Kult und Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002); Norbert Jung and Holger Kempkens (eds), *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel: Das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich II. und Kunigunde* (Bamberg: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 2014); Renate Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg* (Bamberg: Selbstverlag des historischen Vereins, 1957); Heinrich Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie des Hl. Kaiserpaares Heinrich und Kunigunde: anlässlich des 1000-jährigen Bestehens für das Erzbistum Bamberg zusammengestellt* (Bamberg, 2007); Bernd Schneidmüller, *Gründung und Wirkung: das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich und Kunigunde in seinen Bistümern Bamberg und Merseburg* (Halle an der Saale: Universitätsverlag Halle-Wittenberg, 2015); 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), 29-46.

II and establishing a liturgy for him.² Thus, Henry II became the first German emperor to be officially canonized by the Church. This was a remarkable success for the bishopric of Bamberg, a diocese which owed its existence, wealth and prominence to the activities of Henry II, who willed to be buried in the Bamberg Cathedral.³

The cult of the saintly ruler spread to other towns and communities, often historically connected to the figure of Henry II, among which were Merseburg, Basel, Regensburg, and Salzburg.⁴ These places were involved in the maintenance of the imperial cult through ongoing religious services, commissioning of cult-related objects as well as the production and utilization of hagiographic texts. The continuation or adoption of the cult of St Henry II usually signified the connection of these places to the imperial history and the sphere of royal protection. Communities and individuals of Bavaria, Franconia, Styria, Carinthia and Bohemia preserved the memory of Henry II (often jointly with his

² On the canonization procedure for Henry II see: Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg*, 22-68; Otfried Krafft, *Papsttutkunde und Heiligsprechung: die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation: ein Handbuch* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2005), 90-97; Jürgen Petersohn, "Die päpstliche Kanonisationsdelegation des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts und die Heiligsprechung Karls des Grossen," in *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), 163-206.

³ About the foundation of Bamberg and Henry's activities for the bishoprics see: Klaus van Eickels, "Kunigunde als Gemahlin Heinrichs II. und die Gründung des Bistums Bamberg," 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), 37-44; Bernd Schneidmüller, *Die Gründung des Bistums Bamberg 1007* (Braunschweig: Archiv-Verlag, 2001); 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; Josef Urban, *Das Bistum Bamberg um 1007: Festgabe zum Millennium* (Bamberg: Archiv des Erzbistums, Abt. Buchverlag, 2006); Stefan Weinfurter, "Authority and Legitimation of Royal Policy and Action: The Case of Henry II," in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 19-37.

⁴ The Cult of Henry II spread throughout the south-east territories of the Empire, as can be seen from the analysis by Linke, *Beitrag zur Kulttopographie des Hl. Kaiserpaares Heinrich und Kunigunde*. Apart from the Bamberg diocese, the development of the cult of Henry and Cunigunde was quite heavily studied in Basel: Stefan Hess, "Zwischen Verehrung und Versenkung: zum Nachleben Kaiser Heinrichs II. in Basel," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 102 (2002): 83-143; Carl Pfaff, *Kaiser Heinrich II: sein Nachleben und sein Kult im mittelalterlichen Basel* (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1963). There are no comprehensive studies devoted to the presence of the cult in other regions, such as Bohemia or Carinthia.

wife Empress Cunigunde (c.980-1033),⁵ while also shaping the image of the saintly ruler, and utilized his cult in accordance with their own needs.

One would expect an artistic impulse to depict a legend of a saint to originate from a center of the cult – in the case of Henry II the region of the Bamberg diocese, Basel or other centers that maintained *memoria* for Emperor Henry. However, the earliest depiction of a legend from Henry's hagiography, the scene of the weighing of Henry's soul, dated around 1260, is found on the Swedish island Gotland in the Baltic sea.⁶ Throughout the next century this scene spread around the island: in total, nine Gotland churches bear depictions of the same legend of St Henry II; most of them predate the first surviving evidence of such iconography in medieval Germany (table 1).⁷

⁵ The popular devotion to Cunigunde strengthened after the canonization of Henry II; after pre-canonization investigation, the bull was issued by Pope Innocent III in 1200, proclaiming Cunigunde a saint. More on her canonization and cult see: Klaus Guth, "Kaiserin Kunigunde: Kanonisation und hochmittelalterlicher Kult," *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 62/63 (2001): 409-22; 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; 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; Jürgen Petersohn, "Die Litterae Papst Innozenz III. zur Heiligsprechung der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1200)," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 37 (1977): 1-25; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Kaiserin Kunigunde: Bamberger Wege zu Heiligkeit, Weiblichkeit und Vergangenheit," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 137 (2001): 13-34.

⁶ The only contemporary continental depiction of the weighing of Henry's soul can be found on the portico frescoes in San Lorenzo fuori le Mura from the late thirteenth century, and on the altar in Sancta Maria Novella, Florence, in the Strozzi Chapel, painted by Andrea Orcagna in 1354-1357. However, these images follow a completely different style and interpretation of the narrative, connecting the legend to posthumous miracles of St Lawrence, to whom this church and the altarpiece are devoted. This Italian iconographic type was developed, most probably, from the Golden Legend, where the chalice-miracle and the weighing of Henry's soul was a composite of St Lawrence's life and miracles. There are also several miniatures from the Saxon World Chronicle and Breviaries that depict the discussed legend, though they do not predate the frescoes in Gotland churches. For more details see: Robert W. Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1997), 23-27.

⁷ Johnny Roosval, "Die Seelenwägung Kaiser Heinrichs II. in der gotländischen Malerei," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 4 (1950): 125-130; Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*

Church	Approximate dating of frescoes	Position
Vamlingbo	1260	Southern nave wall
Sanda	1270-1280	Nave wall
Hall	1300	N/A
Buttle	After 1300	N/A
Anga	After 1400	Southern wall of the nave
Dalhem	1350	Southern wall of the nave
Ganthem	Late 14 th century	Northern wall of the nave and Triumphal arch
Stenkyrka	Late 14 th century	Northern wall of the nave
Mästerby	1430-1450	Triumphal arch
Floda in Södermanland (not on the island)	After 1420	Vault

Table 1: Churches on Gotland containing depictions of the weighing of Henry's soul and the chalice-miracle⁸

Why, then, can we find representations of miracle-stories attributed to St Henry in Gotland, which never knew of any veneration for his figure, distant from Bamberg and other centers of the cult? I will assume that the spreading of these pictorial narratives in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries across the island implied completely different patterns, not connected to the imperial status of the saint or his political activities, as was usually the case in the German lands. This paper will suggest three possible reasons for the popularity of this legend on the island, namely its conformity with popular perceptions of the Last Judgement, its didactic capacity and the connection of the legend with the cult of St Lawrence, who was the patron saint of the archbishopric of Sweden.

⁸ Based on: Johnny Roosval and Efraim Lundmark, (eds), *Kyrkor i Lummelunda ting: utom Tingstäde kyrka: konsthistoriskt inventarium*, Sveriges kyrkor 3 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1914); Efraim Lundmark (ed.), *Gotland: Kyrkor i Bro ting: konsthistoriskt inventarium*, Sveriges kyrkor 31 (Stockholm: Svenska bokhandelscentralen, 1929); Johnny Roosval, ed., *Gotland: Hejde setting*, Sveriges kyrkor 54 (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, 1942); Johnny Roosval (ed.), *Gotland: Kyrkor i Halla ting: södra delen: konsthistoriskt inventarium*, Sveriges kyrkor 66 (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, 1952); Johnny Roosval and Erland Lagerlöf (eds), *Gotland: Kyrkor i Kräklinge ting: nordvästra delen*, Sveriges kyrkor 84 (Stockholm: Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, 1959); Robert Bennett, *Floda kyrka*, Sveriges kyrkor 205 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988); Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.* – If dating or position of the fresco in the church are not mentioned in the available literature, I mark it with n/a.

In this short overview of the Gotland frescoes depicting St Henry, I will analyze these images in terms of artistic migration and imitation, paying attention to the iconographic features of these murals, their role in the sacral space, origins and transformations of the pictorial narrative, and the ways they were transmitted. These frescoes, together with other medieval murals still present in Gotland, were quite thoroughly discussed among Swedish art historians in the first half of the twentieth century, though exclusively in the context of development of Swedish medieval art and architecture.⁹ I hold that these depictions of St Henry II should also be discussed in their relation to the iconography of the Last Judgement and the soul-weighing.¹⁰ Henry's "migration" to Gotland, by contrast, has rarely been studied in connection with the transmission of hagiographic and historiographic texts, containing his saintly image, which I will also discuss in the present essay.¹¹

The legend of the soul-weighing and its representations in the German lands

Before narrowing my scope down to one island in the Baltic Sea, I will briefly recount the narrative of the legend of Henry II and its most common representations in the Late Middle Ages. Even though there are some discrepancies in the details of the legend narrated in different texts, the story in its simplified form is as follows. The last hours of Emperor Henry are envisioned by an anchorite: While sitting in his cell, he heard devils passing by, who were hurrying to the dying Emperor Henry to take his soul. The hermit asked one of the devils to stop by when a decision had been made upon Henry. Returning, the devil told the anchorite that the good and bad deeds of the emperor were weighed on scales, and that the bad deeds had initially been heavier than the good ones. However, St Lawrence appeared and put a golden chalice in the pan with the good deeds, so that these outweighed the bad acts and Henry's soul could enter the heavenly residence. The next narrative unit of the legend describes the story of the mentioned chalice, which Henry donated to the church

⁹ Johnny Roosval, *Die Kirchen Gotlands: ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Kunstgeschichte Schwedens* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1912); Roosval, "Die Seelenwägung Kaiser Heinrichs II. in der gotländischen Malerei." See also the corresponding volumes of the *Sveriges kyrkor* series (see n. 8).

¹⁰ For example, Kretzenbacher in his study on the development of ideas of the soul-weighing and its representation in images and texts did not mention the case of Gotland at all: Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage: zur religiösen Idee vom Jenseitsgericht auf der Schicksalswaage in Hochreligion, Bildkunst und Volksglaube* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Landesmuseums für Kärnten, 1958).

¹¹ The only contribution that extensively analyses the above mentioned issues is the one by Robert W. Scheller, to which I owe a phenomenal fundament for the current essay: Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*

of St Lawrence.¹² It is often mentioned that the chalice had two handles, but that one of them broke as St Lawrence put the chalice on the scales. After Henry died, it was discovered that the chalice, held in the church of St Lawrence, had only one handle left.¹³

The legend of the soul-weighing is among the most popular in the Henry-cycle and was quite often represented on different cult-related objects, miniatures and altars. However, the visual representation of this legend, as most of the others in the Henry and Cunigunde cycles, developed quite late, in the fourteenth century; the exception is the ordeal of Cunigunde, which was already depicted on a miniature around 1220.¹⁴

The first representation of the soul-weighing legend in the German lands can be found on a Basel monstrance from c. 1347-1356 (fig. 1), containing relics of St Henry and his spouse St Cunigunde. The foot of the monstrance is enchased with several round enamels depicting legends from the *vitae* of Henry and Cunigunde. One of the enamels contains an image of St Lawrence putting a chalice to a pan also holding the soul of St Henry, while the other pan is being dragged by devils (fig. 1). A similar iconographic type proliferated in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries: it is present on various woodcuts and altarpieces (fig. 2), often in an extended version, representing Henry II lying in bed or standing next to the devils weighing his soul (fig. 3). The weights, according to the Christian tradition, are held by Archangel Michael (even though he is never mentioned in the legend), while St Lawrence places the chalice on the pan.¹⁵

¹² Following the most widespread version of the legend, the church of St Lawrence refers to the cathedral in Merseburg. The diocese of Merseburg, founded in 968 by Otto I as a part of the Magdeburg archbishopric, was dissolved in 983. In 1004, Henry II managed to re-establish the bishopric. St Lawrence was the patron-saint of the main cathedral of Merseburg to which, according to the legend, Henry II donated the chalice. For more about the history of Merseburg and its connection to the ruling family see: Gerd Althoff, "Magdeburg - Halberstadt - Merseburg: Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung im ottonischen Sachsen," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen* (Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke, 1998), 267-293; Markus Cottin, Claudia Kunde, and Holger Kunde, *1000 Jahre Kaiserdom Merseburg* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015).

¹³ Robert Scheller in the last part of his article tracked all the objects that could fall under the description of the chalice from the legend: Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelch-wunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 30-39.

¹⁴ *Vita Sancti Heinrichi II et Cunigundis*, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, RB. Mcs. 120, fol. 32v. More on the ploughshare miracle see: Vickie L. Ziegler, *Trial by Fire and Battle in Medieval German Literature* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), 146-167.

¹⁵ Even though Archangel Michael is not present in any version of Henry's legend, the idea of him holding the scales during the Last Judgement was extremely prominent and came to Latin Europe from Byzantium. The motive of a holy helper who intercedes for a soul during the judgement was also widespread, and includes Virgin Mary, St James, St Lawrence, St Martin and others: Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage: zur religiösen Idee vom Jenseitsgericht auf der Schicksalswaage in Hochreligion, Bildkunst und Volksglaube*, 67, 118. About the role of Archangel Michael during the Final Judgement see: Robert Bartlett,

This scene is also carved on the tombstone of St Henry and St Cunigunde in Bamberg by Tilman Riemenschneider at the beginning of the sixteenth century (fig. 4).¹⁶



Fig. 1: Enamel from the Basel Monstrance. Historisches Museum Basel, Switzerland, Inv. Nr. 1933.158. Image from Norbert Jung and Holger Kempkens (eds), *Gekrönt auf Erden und im Himmel: Das heilige Kaiserpaar Heinrich II. und Kunigunde* (Bamberg: Vier-Türme-Verlag, 2014), 10

Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 165-167.

¹⁶ For more about the images on the imperial tombstone, their prototypes and style see: 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).



Fig. 2: Hertnid-altar, church of St Lawrence, Hof, Germany, 1480-1486. Available from: Kirchengemeinde St. Lorenz, <http://www.lorenzkirche-hof.de/kirche/hertnid-altar/> (accessed July 3, 2017)

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Sanct Margareth Amē.

Von Keyser Heinrich



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Keyser erwelt. Da besan er sich wol das der
trawen erzieht als er aefehen het. vñ dancket

Fig. 3: *Leben der Heiligen*. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1488. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. typ. IV.20.



Fig. 4: Fragment from the tombstone of Henry and Cunigunde by Tilman Riemenschneider, Cathedral, Bamberg, Germany, 1499-1513. Available from: Historisches Lexikon Bayerns, https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Datei:Artikel_45769_bilder_value_7_kaisergrab7.jpg (accessed July 2, 2017).

The representations of Henry's soul-weighing in Gotland frescoes

The oldest depiction of Henry II on the southern nave wall of the Vamlingbo church, situated on the southern end of the island, is attributed to the workshop of the *Michaelsmeister*, whose artists, most probably, originated from the German region of Westphalia or Lower Saxony and were active in Gotland

around 1260 (fig.5).¹⁷ The huge fresco, which covers the full height of the wall from the vault between the two windows to the floor, consists of two narrative parts: Henry on his deathbed and the soul-weighing itself. The first scene represents Emperor Henry, identified by a crown, lying on his bed surrounded by his court circle, handing them a golden chalice. This scene functions only as a small explanatory part of the much larger depiction of Henry's Final Judgement. Archangel Michael is holding the scales with the good and bad deeds of Henry II; a cohort of ugly devils is trying to add weight to the pan with bad deeds by throwing various objects into it, while Henry is sitting in the other pan. The archangel passes a golden chalice (the same as in the previous scene) to a monk in a habit with a tonsure, who, in his turn, puts the chalice on the scales with Henry's soul. The monk, according to the text of the legend, is identified with St Lawrence, the advocate for Henry's soul.



Fig. 5: Fresco of weighing of Emperor Henry's soul. Vamlingbo Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1260. Available from: Wikimedia commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vamlingbo_Seelenwiegung.JPG (accessed July 2, 2017)

¹⁷ Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II*, 21. For more concerning the workshops working on Gotland see: Ernst Rieber, *Gotland in Geschichte und Kunst* (Ludwigsburg: Karawane, 1984), 54-87.

Other frescoes from Gotland-churches in Anga, Sanda, Hall, Buttle, Mästerby, Ganthem, Stenkyrka and Dahlem, painted between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, most probably by local artists, also depict the scene of the soul-weighing. This iconographic type spread not only across the island, but even further, to the south-eastern coast of Sweden: the depiction of Henry's soul-weighing can be found on the vault of the Floda church in Södermanland (fig.6).



Fig. 6: Fresco with the soul-weighing. Floda Church, Södermanland, Sweden, after 1420. Bennett, *Floda kyrka*, 76

However, during the transmission period, the scene of the soul-weighing was much reduced compared to the earliest depiction in Vamlingbo: from the dynamic visual narrative about Emperor Henry, only the soul-weighing part was depicted. Scholars have assumed that local masters were copying the iconography of the Vamlingbo church, not knowing the actual legend behind the depiction of the soul-weighing.¹⁸ Consequently, later depictions preserved only those parts of the legend which were considered most relevant. In this paper I will attempt to detect several transmission-patterns of the pictorial narrative, which help us understand how local parishioners perceived the depicted subject and why it became widespread.

The most striking difference between the depictions of the legend at Vamlingbo and the later ones from Gotland is the disappearance of the bed-scene, which was meant to clarify the provenance of the chalice. The fresco from Sanda church, which is the earliest copy of the Vamlingbo soul-weighing scene, created only a few decades after its prototype (c. 1270-1280), does not depict Henry lying in his bed (fig. 7).¹⁹ Even though the mural is quite badly preserved, some elements are quite recognisable: the crowned Henry in one pan, a multitude of devils gathering around the other, and Archangel Michael with the scales giving the chalice to a saint – possibly St Lawrence – who, in his turn, puts it in the pan where Emperor Henry is sitting. The scene of Henry dying was apparently considered superfluous and disappeared from the Gotland murals. The episode of the chalice can only be understood in concert with the text of the legend, which local artisans presumably did not know. In Germany, where the image circulated together with the text of Henry's legend, known either from the *vitae*, legends or liturgy, the death-bed scene was depicted quite often (as in fig. 3). However, the fresco from Sanda church featured a new element, which would later be adopted in other murals, namely the ascension of the soul to Christ. The narrative became even more simplified in frescoes in Hall church, from around 1300. Here, the crowned Henry is still sitting on the scales held by the archangel, while St Lawrence disappeared from the image (fig. 8). His advocacy for Henry's soul was not significant for the Hall master (unlike in the churches of Buttle and Anga, which will be discussed later). It is only an incorporeal hand that puts a chalice in the pan featuring Emperor Henry.

¹⁸ Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 21-23.

¹⁹ Roosval, *Hejde setting*, 146.



Fig. 7: Fresco with the weighing of Henry's soul. Sanda Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1270-1280. Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 44.

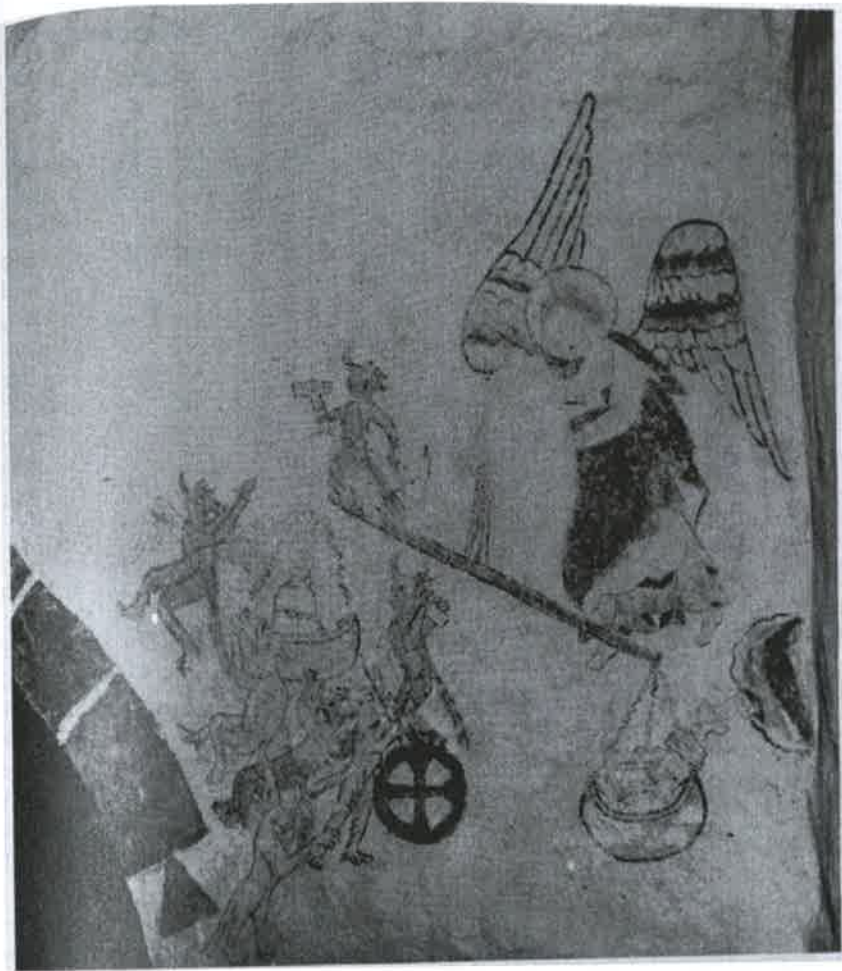


Fig. 8: Fresco with the weighing of Henry's soul. Hall Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1300. Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 45.

Another depiction, which still adheres quite closely to the initial legend, is on the southern wall of the nave in the Dalhem church, created around 1350 by a workshop of Master Egypticus (fig. 9).²⁰ This fresco pictures a reduced story of St Henry, representing only the scene of the soul-weighing. In Dalhem, the scales are not held by Archangel Michael, but they are depicted as if hanging from the vault. One pan of the scales is dragged down by devils, while

²⁰ Rieber, *Gotland in Geschichte und Kunst*, 54-87; Roosval, *Die Kirchen Gotlands*.

the crown-wearing Henry sits in the other pan next to a golden chalice. Henry's pan is supported by St Lawrence. Scheller assumed that the Deposition from the Cross scene, depicted next to the soul-weighing on the triumphal arch, should be considered together with the soul-weighing, as part of a bigger iconographic scene (fig. 10).²¹ Above the crucifix, a small naked figure without any signs of distinctions (which Scheller attributed to St Henry) is elevated by Archangel Michael; this fragment resembles the scene in the Sanda Church. However, Scheller did not mention that the crucifix mural continues on the nave wall with a depiction of another soul, though this soul is taken by a devil. This didactic addition centered on the fate of one's soul, more familiar to us in the Last Judgement iconography, conducted through a symbiosis of the crucifix-scene with the soul-weighing of Emperor Henry, is an improvisation of the Dalhem-master. In the late fourteenth century, this pictorial type was copied in the Ganthem church, situated less than ten kilometers away from Dalhem.²² However, this mural, positioned on the northern nave wall and the triumphal arch, is not preserved: it was chalked over in the first decades of the twentieth century, and we know the iconographical program of the church only from earlier descriptions.

The murals in the churches of Buttle (after 1300) and Anga (after 1400), situated 15 kilometres from each other in the central part of Gotland, represent a specific adaptation of Henry's soul-weighing scene (figs. 11 and 12). The main distinction from the Vamlingbo- and Dalhem-pattern frescoes is the loss of social status of the narrative's main actor, Emperor Henry II, in Buttle and Anga. He is represented as an abstract naked soul, without any signs of distinction, sitting on the scales held by Archangel Michael. The role of St Lawrence, however, is more pronounced: the masters were undoubtedly acquainted with the legend of the saint, which is reflected in the fresco. St Lawrence, early Roman martyr, who suffered under Valerian persecutions, is believed to have been burnt alive by the Prefect of Rome; from this legend St Lawrence acquired his main attribute – a gridiron, a tool of his martyrdom (e.g., figs. 2 and 3). In the frescoes from Buttle and Anga, Lawrence's body is covered with red burns, and in the Anga fresco, instead of the chalice, he puts a gridiron on the scales (it is hard to distinguish the object in the Buttle mural). This group of soul-weighing frescoes signifies that the advocacy of St Lawrence during the Final Judgement was of highest importance and that his figure was more appealing to local inhabitants than St Henry's. In contrast to St Lawrence, known as Lars, who was highly venerated in Gotland and one of the patron saints of the archbishopric of Sweden, St. Henry was a foreign saint in Gotland.²³

²¹ Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 22.

²² Johnny Roosval, *Kyrkor i Halla ting: södra delen*, 229.

²³ Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 23.

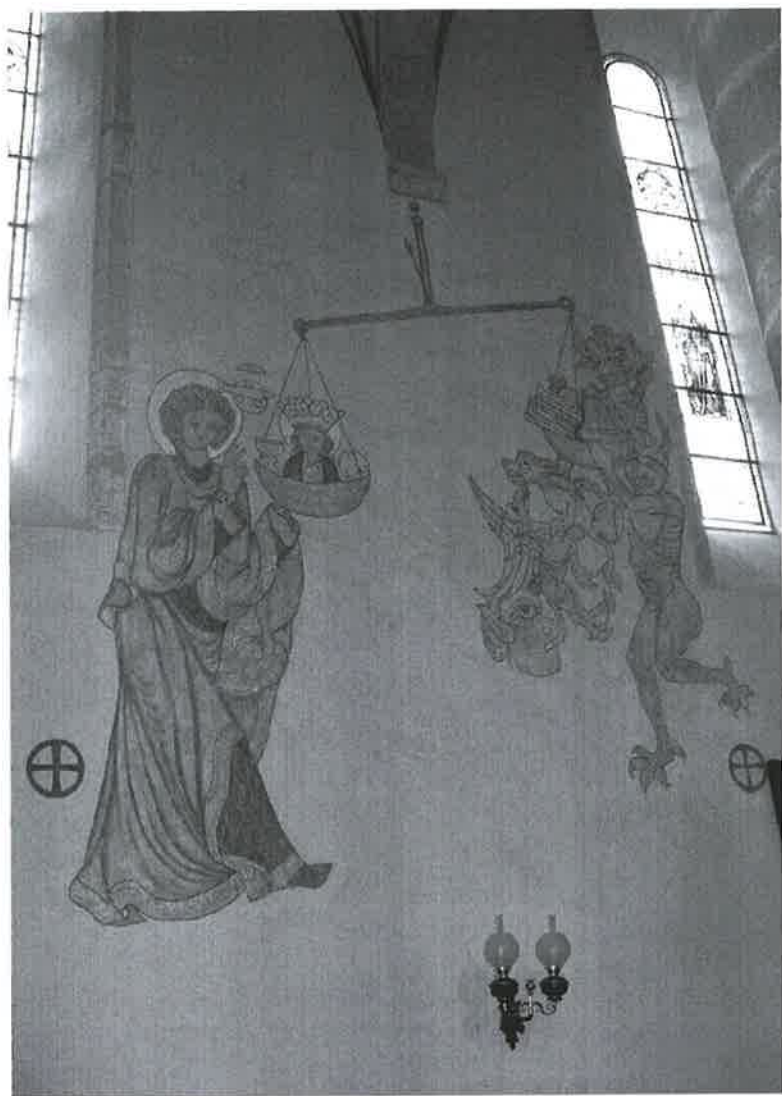


Fig. 9: Fresco of weighing Emperor Henry's soul. Dalhem Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1350. Available from: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Interior_of_Dalhems_kyrka#/media/File:Gotland-Dalhems-kyrka_12.jpg (accessed July 2, 2017)



Fig. 10: Fresco depicting the Deposition from the Cross. Dalhem Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1350. Available from: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Interior_of_Dalhems_kyrka#/media/File:Gotland-Dalhem_Kyrka_Kreuzabnahmei_01.jpg (accessed July 2, 2017)



Fig. 11: Fresco with the soul-weighing scene and St Lawrence. Buttle Church, Gotland, Sweden, c. 1350. Available from: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.m.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Interior_of_Buttle_kyrka#/media/File%3AButtle_kyrka_Wall_painting2.jpg (accessed July 2, 2017).



Fig. 12: Fresco with the soul-weighing scene and St Lawrence. Anga church, Gotland, Sweden, after 1400. Roosval and Lagerlöf, *Kyrkor i Kräklinge ting*, 567

The murals in Stenkyrka and Mästerby lost their connection to Henry II too: the iconography was clearly derived from those scenes in Vamlingbo, Sanda or Dahlem, but this iconographic type acquired a new meaning as it was infused with other elements. The fresco from Stenkyrka (fig. 13) preserved major elements of the legend: the archangel is holding the scales, one pan of which represents bad deeds and is dragged down by devils, while a naked figure sits in the other pan. As in the previous examples from Anga and Buttle, this figure does not feature any markers of social status, hence the audience could not necessarily attribute it to the emperor. The chalice is still present: an angel (instead of St Lawrence) brings a golden vessel to the pan holding the soul; the holy helper, however, stays next to the soul with an open book. It would, however, be an overreach to associate this figure with St Lawrence; the figure can represent a female saint as well. The soul-weighing is incorporated into a larger scene with trumpets above it and other creatures beneath. Some parts of the fresco are badly preserved. Due to this fact and due to a general lack of literature on this fresco, I will make no definite conclusions concerning the overall iconography of the mural.²⁴ However, the mural does fall into a general trend of substituting Henry for an abstract soul and highlighting the role of the holy helper (only in the fresco from Hall is no saint advocating for a soul depicted at all).

A fresco in the Mästerby church from the first half of the fifteenth century is a clear example of a fusion between two iconographic scenes: The Last Judgement and Henry's soul-weighing (fig. 14). The Last Judgement is represented in its quite conventional form: Christ in Judgement, sitting on a throne surrounded by angels with trumpets; on Christ's right-hand side, the righteous are accepted to Heaven, while sinners descend to hell on his left. The soul-weighing, a part of the Final Judgement procedure known to Gotland artisans from the frescoes of Henry's legend, is incorporated into the traditional scheme: before sinners appear in the jaws of the infernal creature, a soul-weighing is conducted (fig. 15). Neither the emperor nor the chalice remained in the fresco; only the process of weighing orchestrated by Archangel Michael is depicted, along with a holy helper appearing by his side. A similar convergence of Henry's soul-weighing and the Last Judgement iconography is present in the fresco from Floda, a church on the continental part of Sweden (fig. 6). There, depicted in the vault, the weighing of the soul is part of a larger iconographic program attributed to the Final Judgement.²⁵ Only the chalice, placed on the scales next to the soul, signifies the origins of this depiction – the legend of Henry's soul-weighing.

²⁴ Roosval and Lundmark, *Kyrkor i Lummelunda ting*, esp. 25.

²⁵ Bennett, *Floda kyrka*, 60-78.



Fig. 13: Fresco depicting the weighing of the soul (the Final Judgement). Stenkyrka Church, Gotland, Sweden, late fourteenth century. Available from: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Interior_of_Stenkyrka_kyrka,_Gotland#/media/File:Stenkyrka_kyrka_wall_painting01.jpg (accessed July 2, 2017)



Fig. 14: Fresco depicting the Final Judgement with the weighing of the soul scene. Mästerby Church, Gotland, Sweden, 1430-1450. Available from: Guteinfo, <http://www.guteinfo.com/?id=219> (accessed July 2, 2017)



Fig. 15: Fragment of the soul-weighing scene. Mästerby Church, Gotland, Sweden, 1430-1450. RoosvalGotland: *Hejde setting*, 191

It is hard to tell why exactly this subject of the soul-weighing became so widespread among local craftsmen in Gotland, who decided to imitate the frescoes from the Vamlingbo church and to transform the iconography according to their perception and understanding of the subject. The main obstacle is an

absolute lack of information concerning the consecration of these churches, dedication of the altars or what the whole iconographic cycle looked like.²⁶

On the other hand, the connections through which the first German workshop of the *Michaelsmeister* came to Gotland and introduced the narrative are easier explained. Already from the eleventh century, Gotland was a destination for missionary activities from the German kingdom, which took a keen interest in the Baltic region; later, Gotland became an important part of the Hanseatic union's trade network. Some of the 92 churches that were built on Gotland in the twelfth-fourteenth centuries were used by German traders, who called themselves *universitas mercatorum terram Gotlandie gracia mercandi applicancium*. For example, the population of the biggest town on Gotland, Visby, was predominantly German.²⁷ These mercantile and cultural connections, which reached even till the Byzantine Empire and Novgorod, influenced the architecture of Gotland churches;²⁸ also frescoes and carvings bear much continental influence from the German lands, even when not made by German artisans.²⁹ The inclusion of Gotland in the Hanseatic union raised the importance of the Visby diocese and brought the island to great prosperity, which gave Gotland's inhabitants the financial means to actively construct and decorate churches.³⁰

Henry's soul-weighing in the texts and the possible prototypes for the Gotland frescoes

The soul-weighing, also referred to as *psychostasia*, is a popular subject in Christian art, often being part of the Last Judgement scene, when sinners and righteous men are awaiting their fate.³¹ The belief in the soul being weighed originates from the Old Testament, and as an iconographic type it first appeared

²⁶ The Gotland-volumes of the *Sveriges Kyrkor* series do not give precise information on these questions, neither on general iconographical programs of the churches: the lack of any supportive written or material sources is the main reason for our insufficiency of information. On this, see also: Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 22-23.

²⁷ Klaus Friedland, "Gotland: Handelszentrum-Hanseursprung," in *Gotland: Tausend Jahre Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Ostseeraum*, ed. Robert Bohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1988), 57-64.

²⁸ Rieber, *Gotland in Geschichte und Kunst*, 38-40.

²⁹ Heidrun Ost, "Mittelalterliches Kunstschaffen auf Gotland", in *Gotland: Tausend Jahre Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Ostseeraum*, ed. Robert Bohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1988), 65-84.

³⁰ Sven-Olof Lindquist, "Die ökonomischen Grundlagen des gotländischen Landkirchenbaus im Mittelalter," in *Gotland: Tausend Jahre Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Ostseeraum*, ed. Robert Bohn (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1988), 41-55.

³¹ Kretzenbacher, *Die Seelenwaage*; Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Pesée des âmes: à propos de la mort de l'empereur Saint Henri II," in *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 43 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1967), 247-253.

in Byzantine tradition, although it was quickly adopted in the Latin West. Already by the thirteenth century, this idea of soul-weighing became quite widespread, both as an image (especially on tympani of cathedrals, with Christ or Archangel Michael holding the scales) and as a narrative.³²

Thus, Henry II was not the only emperor who was attributed a legend about the weighing of the soul, with powerful saints interceding for him. Charlemagne, who was canonized by Antipope Paschal III in 1165, was believed to be saved by St John the Apostle, who in a similar way overweighed the good deeds of the emperor.³³ This legend is recounted in *Historia Caroli Magni*, written by Pseudo-Turpin in the twelfth century, who might have used *The Chronicle of Montecassino* as a prototype of the soul-weighing miracle (similarities in the choice of words were underlined by Baudouin de Gaiffier).³⁴ A similar legend is attributed to King Dagobert I, for whom St Denis, St Maurice and St Martin intervened during the soul-weighing.³⁵ However, the chalice-miracle, which is at least partially present in Gotland depictions, is attributed exclusively to Henry in connection with the cult of St Lawrence. Evidently, it was the legend of St Henry that was known in Gotland, and this acquaintance originated from the German lands, where these narratives were first produced and actively popularized by communities venerating Henry and Cunigunde. Since there is no depiction of German origin dated earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century, it can be argued that a literary source instigated the commissioners or masters to choose this legend as the motif for the southern nave wall of the Vamlingbo church.

The legend of Henry's judgement is present in several traditions and is narrated in multiple texts, originating from different periods and written for various purposes and audiences (table 2). This legend is a concluding narrative in the first Latin hagiography of Henry, though the author of *The Life of St Henry* appropriated the legend from an earlier source, namely from Leo of Ostia's *The Chronicle of Montecassino*, written at the beginning of the twelfth century.³⁶ *The Chronicle* of Cosmas of Prague, written between 1119 and 1125,

³² For example, a similar story of an individual soul-weighing, where saints are present as advocates for the deceased, is used by Caesarius of Heisterbach in his *Dialogues*: Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, vol. 2 (Cologne: H. Lempertz & Comp., 1851), 145-146 (b. VIII, c.LXXVII).

³³ This story is narrated in the Pseudo-Turpin *Chronicle* from the twelfth century: Baudouin de Gaiffier, "La légende de Charlemagne, le péché de l'empereur et son pardon," in *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 43 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1967); William J Purkis and Matthew Gabriele, *The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts* (Melton: Boydell & Brewer, 2016).

³⁴ Gaiffier, "Pesée des âmes: à propos de la mort de l'empereur Saint Henri II," 252.

³⁵ *Gesta Dagoberti I. Regis Francorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, in *MGH SS rer. Merov.* 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), 421-422.

³⁶ Leo of Ostia (Marsicanus), *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *MGH SS* 34 (Hannover: Hahn, 1953), 255-256. For the formation of hagiographic tradition of

also recounts the story of the weighing of Henry's soul and the chalice, though the narration differs considerably from the one found in Leo of Ostia's chronicle.³⁷ Henry II gives a chalice to a pilgrim so that the pilgrim can dip it in the waters of the Jordan River; in the vision of the anchorite, Virgin Mary and St George – patrons of the Bamberg Cathedral – act as advocates for the emperor's soul. Unlike the version from *The Chronicle of Montecassino*, this second redaction of the legend is not found in visual representations, neither was it adopted in later texts.

Title	Dating
Leo of Ostia, The Chronicle of Montecassino	by 1075
Cosmas of Prague, The Chronicle of the Czechs	1119-1125
The Life of Emperor Henry	c. 1146
The Pöhlde Annals	1182-1197
The Saxon World Chronicle	1229-1277
Eberhard of Erfurt, Henry and Cunigunde	1200-1240
Legenda Aurea	c. 1260
Old Swedish Legendary	1276-1312
Copenhagen Passional, "Miraculum de thuribulo quodam quod imperator Alemanniae in honore eiusdem gloriosi martyris fecit"	Thirteenth-fourteenth centuries
Der Heiligen Leben	c. 1400
Nonnosus Stettfelder, The Legend of Henry and Cunigunde	1511

Table 2: Texts containing narratives of the weighing of Henry's soul and the chalice-miracle

From Leo of Ostia the legend was adopted in two redactions of *The Life of St Henry* and, furthermore, from there to vernacular hagiographies and the

Henry II see the introduction to the critical edition of the *Vita Heinrichi*: Marcus Stumpf, ed., *Die Vita sancti Heinrichi regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adalbert*, MGH SSrG 69 (Hannover: Hahn, 1999). See also: Klauser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg*, 71-91.

³⁷ Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 92-95.

German legendary *Der Heiligen Leben*.³⁸ The soul-weighing legend also appears in the *Legenda Aurea* (*The Golden Legend*) as part of the St Lawrence cycle and, consequently, in local legendaries built upon it, such as *The Old Swedish Legendary* (*Ett Forn-svenskt Legendarium*).³⁹ In addition to this, some historiographic works, namely *The Pöhlde Chronicle* or *The Saxon World Chronicle* also contained the soul-weighing story when narrating the deeds of Emperor Henry II.⁴⁰ Even though all these texts recount the story in a quite similar way, the authors interpreted or adjusted the narrative in different ways. For example, in the version recounted in *The Golden Legend*, Henry's soul is put on a trial because he falsely accuses his wife Cunigunde of being unfaithful to him, as is known from the famous ordeal by fire that Cunigunde is believed to have gone through.

The fact that the legend of Henry's soul-weighing is quite widespread and is preserved in more than ten different narratives, some of them overwhelmingly popular, raises the problem of identifying the exact literary source for the first depiction of the legend on Gotland. As there are no traces of the veneration of Henry on Gotland or in the Swedish cultural area, I find *The Life of Emperor Henry* a highly improbable source for the Gotland frescoes. The *Legenda Aurea* could have been the hagiographic collection inspiring the German workshop to depict the scene. In this case, the appearance of St Henry's soul-weighing could have been triggered by the figure of St Lawrence, to whom this miracle story was accredited by Jacobus de Voragine. Later, artists and parishioners could access the legend in the Old Swedish version of this late thirteenth-century legendary, which also included the soul-weighing in Lawrence's hagiographic cycle.⁴¹ The great martyr St Lawrence was highly venerated both in German and Swedish lands; as discussed above, the role of St Lawrence and his martyrdom was highlighted in the frescoes of Buttle and Anga. However, we do not have any knowledge concerning the sanctification of altars or the overall iconographical program of these frescoes, which could give us further clues on the connections between the Gotland murals and a specific text.

It can also be asserted that the first depiction of St Henry on Gotland originated from *The Saxon World Chronicle*, a quite popular prose text, describing the history from the beginning of the world, built around deeds and legends

³⁸ Margit Brand (ed.), *Der Heiligen Leben: der Sommerteil* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1996).

³⁹ 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; George Stephens (ed.), *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt och söner, 1847), 419-420.

⁴⁰ *Annales Palidenses*, ed. Georg Pertz, in MGH SS 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), 48-96, here 67-68; *Sächsische Weltchronik*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, in MGH Dt. Chron. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 2001), 1-384, here 168-169. See also: Julius Voigt, "Die Pöhlde Chronik und die in ihr enthaltenen Kaisersagen" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Halle-Wittenberg, 1879).

⁴¹ Stephens, *Ett forn-svenskt legendarium*, 419-420.

of German rulers until Fredrick II.⁴² Some of the illuminated manuscripts of this chronicle from the late thirteenth-fourteenth centuries contain miniatures with the soul-weighing legend.⁴³ This literary work could have been known to the masters of German origin, who picked the story as a subject for the frescoes. Even though it is tempting to reduce the source of the visual representation of the legend to one specific narrative, it is indeed still possible that the legend, popular in the German cultural area, was orally transmitted.

The legend of the soul-weighing: between The Last Judgement and an edifying story

I argue that the soul-weighing narrative was represented in frescoes on Gotland not only due to a specific devotion to St Lawrence, but as an *exemplum*, reminder and instruction to the faithful. As exemplified by the transformation of the first fresco from Vamlingbo in the hands of the local masters of Gotland, the pictorial narrative became much simpler compared to any of the texts of the legends: Emperor Henry became an abstract naked body, without any markers signifying his social status. A golden chalice, without any pictorial explanation concerning Henry's donation, which is present only in Vamlingbo, could have become a symbol of good deeds and devotion to the Church, not connected to the emperor's commitment to a specific saint or institution.

This employment of the legend on Gotland and its gradual transformation to an abstract edifying story can be compared to a version of the same legend from the Copenhagen Passional.⁴⁴ This collection of saints' lives, most probably of French origin and from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, contains a very simplified version of the legend of Henry's soul-weighing as one of St Lawrence's miracles, entitled *Miraculum de thuribulo quodam quod imperator Alemanniae in honore eiusdem gloriosi martyris fecit*. In this miracle, as in later Gotland frescoes, Henry II also lost his personal identity, there are no mentions of Merseburg or any other localities, the chalice is substituted by another liturgical vessel – a censer. However, the edifying and instructive character of the story remains: for his donations to the Church, at the Last Judgement the emperor is advocated for by St Lawrence and his soul is saved from hell.

Behind the frescoes, where the soul on the weights is not attributed to the emperor, we can detect a desire to popularize the legend: any parishioner can associate himself with the soul on the weights. This way, the narrative underlying the image might appear more appealing and understandable for the rural

⁴² *Sächsische Weltchronik*, ed. Ludwig Weiland, in MGH Dt. Chron. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 2001), 1-384, here 169.

⁴³ Scheller, *Die Seelenwägung und das Kelchwunder Kaiser Heinrichs II.*, 23-26.

⁴⁴ Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS. Thott 133, fols. 523-524; for more details see: Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Le passionnaire du collège de Clermont conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague," *Scriptorium* 5, no. 1 (1951): 20-25.

inhabitants of Gotland. The edifying meaning of the story, in this case, also becomes quite clear: the story represents the fate of every soul on the Final Judgement and it depicts the path to salvation as going through sincere devotion and, in more material terms, through donations to the Church.

At the same time, the weighing of Henry's soul, which is an apocalyptic prophecy, is tightly connected to the general idea of the Last Judgment and the expectations of its unfolding. In some traditions, the imperial status of St Henry and his spouse St Cunigunde played a significant role: for example, in the apocalyptic treaty *De Semine Scripturarum* or in some interpretations of Joachim of Fiore.⁴⁵ However, for the adoption of the legend on Gotland the procedure of the soul-weighing mattered. Most probably, in the Gotland area the soul-weighing of Henry II became the most wide-spread interpretation and envisioning of the Last Judgement, clearly exemplified by the murals from Mästerby church (fig. 14). To a certain extent, two traditions of representation merged: the depicting of Archangel Michael, holding the scales and leading the weighing procedure on the one hand, and the weighing of Henry's soul on the other. Imagining and depicting this symbiosis demanded decent creative abilities of the artistic workshops active on Gotland.

* * *

I have distinguished nine churches on Gotland, all of which preserve the depictions of Henry's soul-weighing. From a thorough study of those depictions, I propose several patterns of adaptation and transformation of the pictorial narrative: the Vamlingbo-group, which preserves major features of the earliest and most developed fresco (Vamlingbo, Sanda, Hall); depictions, which highlight the presence of St Lawrence on the soul-weighing (Buttle, Anga); frescoes, whose main function is to edify and instruct the audience, usually understood within bigger iconographical scenes (Dahlem, Ganthem, Stenkyrka); and, finally, the depictions of soul-weighing that are merged with the Final Judgement (Mästerby, Floda in Södermanland). Main literary works, containing the narrative of Henry's soul-weighing, are also outlined in this paper. Although it is impossible to distinguish one or several texts as the impulse for Gotland artisans depicting the legend, I have suggested that *The Saxon World Chronicle*

⁴⁵ Johannes Fried, "Die Bamberger Domschule und die Rezeption von Frühscholastik und Rechtswissenschaft in ihrem Umkreis bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit," in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1986), 163-201; 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; Franz Pelster, "Ein Elogium Joachims von Fiore auf Kaiser Heinrich II. und seine Gemahlin, die heilige Kunigunde," in *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien*, ed. Paul Lehmann and Bernhard Bischoff (St. Ottilien: Eos, 1950), 329-354.

and *The Golden Legend* (also in its vernacular Swedish translation) could have transmitted the legend from the continent to Gotland.

The case of the Gotland frescoes depicting the legend of St Henry represents an intriguing example of narrative migration, both in texts and images, in which it is hardly possible to establish the origin of the migrating iconography or the reasons why this exact import came out successfully. However, the channels by which the diffusion and adoption of St Henry's legends became possible are quite easily distinguishable: mercantile and missionary activities are the most obvious types of temporal migration. In the new cultural and religious landscape of Gotland, the narrative of Henry's soul-weighing acquired additional functions and was adopted according to the demands of its new audience. The frescoes depicting the last minutes of Emperor Henry might have been used to instruct the parishioners on the Final Judgment, edify them to live righteously or promote the veneration for their patron, St Lawrence. Unfortunately, as it is evident from the presented overview, the lack of data concerning both the religious landscape of Gotland and the iconographic program of its churches, prevent scholars from more straight-forward conclusions concerning the adoption and utilization of the legend of St Henry's soul-weighing.

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Vorwort

Der vorliegende Band von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* widmet sich Themenbereichen, die im weiteren Sinne für die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters von wichtiger Bedeutung sind. Matthias **Johannes** Bauer setzt sich in seiner Studie mit der Frage des Inhaltes, der Entstehung und des Kontextes einer Rechts handschrift auseinander. Zwei weitere Beiträge beschäftigen sich mit Problemen mittelalterlicher Migration, zum Einen in Bezug auf den Zeitraum der Pestepidemien, zum Anderen hinsichtlich der unerwarteten Übernahme eines Bildmotives aus der Legende des **Heiligen** Kaisers **Heinrich** II. in Gotland. Josip Banić untersucht schließlich die Entwicklung der Rolle des rechtlichen Raumes in der Markgrafschaft Istrien nach der Übernahme des aquilejensischen Territoriums durch Venedig. Die drei letztgenannten Beiträge wurden verfasst von PhD-Studenten am Department of Medieval Studies der Central European University (Budapest) und zeigen die bedeutende Forschungstätigkeit, welche an der im Moment in ihrer Existenz bedrohten Universität geleistet wird.

Mit diesem Band und einem im Herbst erscheinenden Sonderband beende ich meine Tätigkeit als Herausgeber von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*. Ich bedanke mich sehr herzlich für Ihr Interesse an der alltagsgeschichtlichen Forschung zum Mittelalter und für Ihre Treue zu unserer Gesellschaft.

Gerhard Jaritz