

The Violence of Caritas

Acting Personifications as Figures of Aesthetic Reflection

Abstract

This chapter explores the aesthetic dynamics unfolding from acting personifications in medieval literature and visual art. It aims to contribute to a better understanding of the artistic concepts of personification in the Middle Ages. Focusing on Caritas's acts of violence against Christ, the authors trace aesthetic reflection by asking how these uncommon representations are related to practical functions such as religious didactics and practice. The discussion encompasses two case studies of personified charity harming Christ's body, the literary Daughter Zion theme and the Wienhausen stained glass window of the crucifixion with virtues. Together, both show that medieval artists and writers reflected on the potential of personification and purposefully employed it in works of art and literature.

Keywords

Personification, Crucifixion with Virtues, Daughter Zion, Allegory, Caritas, Personification of Charity, Piety, Religious Practice

1. Prolegomena

Every day the nuns in the convent of Wienhausen, southeast of Celle, encounter an iconographically unconventional image of the Crucifixion (Fig. 1). In a stained-glass window from c. 1330, the traditional depiction of the Crucifixion, in which the cross is flanked by Mary and John, is expanded to include personified virtues. Justitia (Justice) and Pax (Peace) appear above the crossbeam while Misericordia (Mercy) and Veritas (Truth) are positioned to the left and right of the foot of the cross. Caritas (Christian

* Translated by David B. Dollenmayer. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Dollenmayer. For their support in acquiring research literature, illustrations, and reproduction rights, the authors are grateful to Sina Bahlke and Lisa Eberhardt. The work on this chapter was carried out as part of projects B4 "Acting Personifications as Figures of Aesthetic Reflection in Medieval Literature and Art" (first funding phase) and B4 "The Aesthetics of Combinatorics: Personifications and Allegories in Medieval Art and Literature" (second funding phase) of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 Different Aesthetics, project no. 405662736, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG).



Fig. 1. Crucifixion with Virtues, c. 1330, stained glass, 67.5 × 71 cm. Wienhausen, Monastery, upper cloister.

love) is somewhat larger than her companions and, unlike them, is presented in full figure. She is at the same level as Mary and John, in Christ's immediate vicinity, and is certainly the most interesting figure of all. For while *Misericordia* and *Veritas* raise their hands in lament and *Justitia* and *Pax* gently touch the crown of thorns, *Caritas* holds Christ in an intimate embrace, looks straight into his face, and plunges a dagger into his chest. She performs an action at odds with the concept she embodies. On the meta-level, this action culminates in the very concrete wounding of Christ's body by an abstract idea. Her action turns love into suffering.

The personified virtue also acts violently in the tradition of bridal mysticism, in which *Caritas* helps the Daughter Zion reach her heavenly bridegroom. In this textual

tradition, the highest Christian virtue is often armed and – as in Lamprecht of Regensburg's *Tochter Sion* – uses a bow and arrow to inflict Christ with *zwei[] verwunden* (two flesh wounds).¹ The logical consequence of the wound inflicted by Caritas in this literary depiction is that emotional proximity becomes for Christ physical suffering, the real pain of a wound: *des enmohte er den smerzen / von den schuzzen in dem herzen / niht vertragen mêre* (so he could no longer bear the pain from the shot in his heart).²

In both representations, visual art and literature, personified charity acts contrary to what is expected, breaching conventional iconography and literary topoi. A further similarity lies in the fact that Caritas's act is linked to a functional context. It is not the result of an arbitrary artistic choice but instead is intended to communicate difficult figures of theological thought to a concrete audience in a specific religious community.

Personifications occur with remarkable frequency in medieval literature and visual arts, and their ability to act – which goes hand-in-hand with the anthropomorphic embodiment of an abstract idea – is repeatedly pushed to the limit. Personifications inflict physical wounds and are themselves wounded, as mothers they offer their children for sale, and in dialogue they seek entry into the hearts of narrators and kings. In all cases, these active figures are connected to a wide variety of sociocultural and religious contexts. In texts and images, richly associative moments of poetic and visual creation arise which, beyond the actions of the personification, draw attention to an involvement with aesthetic questions. With the violent Caritas as an example, we shall show how active personifications are configured against a background of autological knowledge and praxeological requirements and thus emerge as figures of aesthetic reflection.³ Our examples are a promising starting point for the following investigation since both display a high degree of theological and artistic reflection. Already in their elements, both the Crucifixion with Virtues and the Daughter Zion texts exhibit evidence of thought about questions of design and the creation of meaning; both the Wienhausen window and Lamprecht's text prove to be regions of aesthetic concentration. Thus it makes sense to trace in these works the evidence of visual and literary deliberation on the means and possibilities of personification and thus on aesthetic reflection.

1 Lamprecht: *Tochter Syon*, verse 3736.

2 Lamprecht: *Tochter Syon*, verses 3737–3739.

3 On the concepts of the praxeological model of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, see the contribution of Annette Gerok-Reiter and Jörg Robert in this volume, pp. 3–48.

2. Personifications and their Actions: Approaches and Fundamentals

If the present interdisciplinary investigation approaches personification from the perspective of art history and literary studies, it follows an example inherent in personification itself. Since antiquity, personification has been understood as a phenomenon of both language and visual imagination.⁴ In his characterization of the rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia*, Quintilian already points to this connection. He argues that fictive speech can only be imagined if the speaking person is also imagined.⁵ Along with Cicero and others, he used *prosopopoeia* to give a voice to inanimate things and distant persons to make them vivid in his speech. Isidore of Seville also explains in his *Etymologiae*: *Prosopoeia* [sic!] est, cum inanimalium et persona et sermo fingitur.⁶ Quintilian says that *prosopopoeia*'s ability to bring the gods down from heaven and give cities a voice is intrinsic to personification.⁷ Thus for the early theoreticians, it is already a question of more than just a vivid figure in human form. Most important is the ability to speak, for it enables the personification to interact with other figures and perform other activities. The most impressive and perhaps best-known example is the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius (c. 348–405 CE). The personified virtues and vices make self-explanatory speeches and battle one another to the death, which – predictably in a work of moral instruction – befalls the vices, not the virtues. Like no one before him, Prudentius demonstrates the potential inherent in giving an abstract idea human form, so that what is essentially disembodied becomes capable of action. Against this background of ancient rhetoric and its reception in late antiquity, personification can be defined as an anthropomorphic figuration in a text or picture that is capable of, but not confined to, human activity. With this limitation, we distinguish anthropomorphic personifications from non-human figurations of objects (e.g., wisdom as a book) or of inanimate objects brought to life (e.g., the complaining pen in the *Welscher Gast* of Thomasin von Zerclære), since these always act under the constraints of their nature as things.⁸

4 Especially Kiening 1994, p. 354, emphasizes this point; but it was also already indicated by Gombrich 1971.

5 Quintilian: *Institutio oratoria*, IX.2.29–32.

6 Isidore of Seville: *Etym.* II, 13. Translation Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, trans. Barney et al.: “Prosopopoeia occurs when personality and speech are invented for inanimate things.” Isidore goes on to refer to a passage from Cicero’s *Catalinarian Orations* (1,27): “Etenim si mecum patria mea, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, loqueretur, dicens”, et cetera. 2 Sic et montes et flumina vel arbores loquentes inducimus, personam inponentes rei quae non habet naturam loquendi; quod et tragoedis usitatum et in orationibus frequentissime invenitur. (“If, in truth, my fatherland, which is far dearer to me than my life, were to speak with me, saying,” etc. 2. Thus we bring in speaking mountains and rivers or trees, imposing personhood on a thing that does not have the captivity for speech. This is common in tragedies and very frequently in orations.)

7 Quintilian: *Institutio oratoria*, IX.2.29–32.

8 Cf. Linden 2007, pp. 83–86.

Personification is per se an artistic figure; as soon as it appears, it draws attention to the madeness of the text or picture and thus to its own status. If in what follows we speak of personification in literature as a rhetorical figure and in the visual arts as a figure of pictorial rhetoric, this is on the one hand owing to its roots. On the other hand, we want to make clear that personification must be acknowledged as an independent device useful for allegorical representations but should not be assumed to be synonymous with allegory or even simply one of its variations or instruments.

In fact, in literary studies and art history up to now, personification has been usually considered in the context of allegory, and its independent potential for both literary and pictorial rhetoric was hardly acknowledged.⁹ Within allegorical works, personification was mostly understood as a simpler building block for more complex structures. It was (and frequently still is) thought of as the means to an allegorical end. However, the fundamental classification of personification as allegorical marginalizes its inherent possibilities for design and expression and assigns it from the beginning to a different level of meaning that aims at an allegorical significance which the personification, initially, does not possess. Unlike allegory, personification corresponds to the abstract idea it embodies; the variety and variance of meanings result from its subsequent configuration, for instance in attributes, gestures, and actions.

In what follows, our goal is to contribute to a new conceptual evaluation of active personifications and their significance for the literature and visual arts of the Middle Ages. Our methodological starting point is the praxeological model of a *Different Aesthetics* that takes into account the importance of both an artifact's artistry and its functional context. In view of the close interconnection between the rhetorical, poetical,

9 Similarly, analysis of personification in literary studies and art history is usually anchored in research on allegory, cf., e.g., Meier 1976; Tambling 2009; Heck 2011; Smout 2017; more thought out in Melion/Ramakers 2016. In art history, subsuming personification under allegory has two tendencies: one is to deny a conceptual or functional difference between the two (e.g., Heck 2011; more recently Winkler 2018, p. 5, who sees in personification "always a form of allegory") or to overlook the fundamental question of representability and pictorial-rhetorical function (e.g., Wartenberg 2015). Another tendency is that, in the context of its marginalization, above all iconographic questions have been applied to personification and relations between text and image explained (e.g., Katzenellenbogen 1969 [1939]; Logemann 2014). Only peripherally was the visual-rhetorical or poetological functionality of medieval personifications noted by scholars (e.g., Bogen 2001; Tammen 2004); we still lack a study of personification that goes beyond the analysis of selected figures. Fruitful theoretical reflections on personification in the visual arts are offered by Gombrich 1972, who argues for the proximity of personification and antique mythography and derives from it a common poetological potential. Although Logemann (2011, 2014, and 2017) is also interested in iconographies and their contribution to allegorical interpretation, she emphasizes in her search for the "pictorial means" that constitute the "principle of personification" the understanding of the personification as a "thought form" (Logemann 2017, p. 7) already suggested in Gombrich 1972 and Kiening 1994, and thus attributes autonomy to personification.

and graphic practices from which a professional mastery of personification develops and the embeddedness of art and literature in concrete, real-world practice and social performance, the praxeological model offers a promising approach to analyzing personification. It allows a focus on the question of whether the reflective potential of personification results more from its inherent technical-artistic logic or from its functional versatility, and how both dimensions can cooperate in many senses. For even though a work's functional connection always plays a role in medieval art and literature, the relationship between autology and heterology in medieval personifications has not yet been adequately examined and differentiated. With the help of the praxeological approach, an applicable, theoretical understanding of medieval personification can be derived from analysis of the works in which it occurs.¹⁰ The importance of artifacts for investigating the aesthetic potential of personifications is also based on the fact that medieval artists were not yet able to refer to a generally accepted set of rules since vernacular literature – unlike Latin – as well as the visual arts did not yet possess fixed theories of aesthetics.

Furthermore, the interdisciplinary approach presented here is meant as a contribution to better understanding the nature and function of personification within each discipline. The body-centered art historical observations should not be understood in opposition to the iconographic and iconological methods with which the discipline has so often approached personification. Rather, in supplementing the praxeological model with an anthropological approach, which considers the body both as an image and as a vehicle and generator of meaning, we draw attention to an approach to personification that as yet has been hardly ever used. It enables us to focus on the pictorial functionality and mediality inherent in these figures.¹¹

The point of departure for our literary analysis is the observation, borrowed from the concept theory of metaphor,¹² that among the possibilities for metaphor, personification is an especially efficient and obvious figure of thought, since by anthropomorphizing an abstract idea, it builds on a familiarity with human nature and usual patterns of human action. Literary representations of personifications allow one to depict characteristics or circumstances as action. For the personification, this implies that its personality is not simply emphasized but that only its specific actions form a personal character, which the audience then projects onto the abstract idea, thus setting in motion a semantic dynamic.

10 For a work-based reflection on another figure of visual rhetoric, the list, that displays theoretical reflection on the composition and functionality of the *enumeratio*, see Wagner 2022.

11 The body of the personification has usually been viewed in relation to questions of gender. On the body of the personification, see Assmann 1994; Tammen 2000; Karkov 2001; Lipton 2002; Tammen 2004.

12 Cf., e.g., Lakoff/Johnson 1980 or Lakoff/Turner 1989.

It is precisely the personification's ability to act that opens up special possibilities of displaying the immaterial. Previous research has at most only implicitly addressed action as an initiator for the formation of a personification but not analyzed it systematically. Not even Katzenellenbogen's distinction of 1939 between *dynamic* (i.e., involved in action) and *static* (i.e., inactive) personifications, which the author drew in his widely noticed study of the motivic history of vices and virtues, inspired any further scholarship in this direction.¹³ As the following study of Caritas will show, however, the purposeful (inter-)action of personifications is a category that opens up new dimensions of composition and meaning in which heterological and autological aspects merge.

More through actions than design, the personification can advance to a figure of artistic exploration whose composition, although determined by rhetorical, poetical, and iconographic traditions, norms, and practices, also enables great freedom of functionalization. Besides its clothing and attributes, the personification's disposition – i.e., the place where it is deployed – and its ability to act make it highly flexible in terms of the sociocultural spheres in which it can be used, the various aims it serves, and the differentiated meanings it can be given. This catalogue of possibilities pertains not just to different personifications; even one and the same personification can be specified according to its aspects and thus concretized in its purpose and meaning.¹⁴

3. Caritas

Caritas, too, is a personification that has had very different manifestations in literature and visual art. If one starts by defining the term, Caritas is on the one hand the love of God (*amor dei*) that binds humans and God to each other, but also charity, the love

13 Katzenellenbogen 1969 [1939].

14 One of the best-known examples of such a diversification of aspects and attributes is Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, in which Justitia appears in five variations. As one of the qualities of good government, Justitia appears along with five other personifications on a bench-like throne beside the personified Sienese *comune*. She holds a sword, and on her lap lie a man's head and a crown, and she is accompanied by soldiers. A second Justitia stands on the left, next to the throne; as the basis for a well-ordered urban community, she is subordinated to Sapientia and turns to face her. Wisdom holds an oversized scale on the head of the second Justitia, on whose balance pans a third and a fourth Justitia figure are kneeling. The one on the left reaches down as distributive justice (*iustitia distributiva*) to human figures, punishing with a sword or rewarding with a crown. The one on the right, as equalizing justice (*iustitia commutativa*), directs the just exchange of goods and services. In the fresco depicting a bad government, a fifth Justitia, now in fetters, leans against the pedestal of the throne of tyranny personified.

of one's neighbor (*amor proximi*), and loving care (*amicitia*).¹⁵ In Latin, the concept of *caritas*, unlike *amor*, is always used in a positive sense.¹⁶ Unlike *diligere*, the verb *amare* can also denote spontaneous, passionate love, while *caritas* is the highest Christian love but also designates natural familial love. In addition, both *caritas* and *dilectio* are more often used in philosophical contexts than *amor*. Since Middle High German has only two equivalents for *amor*, *caritas*, and *dilectio*, namely *liebe* and *minne*, vernacular texts that originate from a background of works in Latin contain inherent conceptual uncertainties and ambiguities.

Even though its original definition did not comprise it, within philosophical and theological discourse the idea of a dynamic *caritas* of violent action developed. In Richard of Saint Victor's treatise *De quattuor gradibus violentae caritatis*,¹⁷ the power of love is increased four times. The four steps in a loving ascent toward God are *caritas vulnerans* (wounding love), *caritas ligans* (captivating love), *caritas languens* (exhausting love), which refers to the breakdown of the loving soul's intellectual activity, and finally *caritas deficiens* (fading love),¹⁸ which continues beyond the negation of all being and cannot be clearly expressed in language. The logic of this mystical Christian step-by-step ascension of spiritual love is that concretion is steadily reduced.¹⁹ With its theme of wounding, the first step is clearly most open to depiction through dynamic action, yet Richard does not make use of personification. In *De laude caritatis*, Hugh of Saint Victor addresses the personified Caritas and, besides her power, emphasizes the enforcement of her position by the pattern of violence and wounding. However, this violent aspect is not concretized but is immediately made positive via the process of salvation's pattern

15 St. Augustine repeatedly refers to Caritas as *amor* or *dilectio dei* and *amor* or *dilectio proximi*. Isidore of Seville talks of *amicitia*. Althoff 2015 gives an overview with references to literature. See also Lentes 2015 for an overview of how Caritas is integrated into medieval theology of piety.

16 On the terminology, cf. Seppänen 1967, pp. 14f., who also points to Jerome's synonymous use of *caritas* and *dilectio* while avoiding the concept of *amor* for Christian love, which provided an important linguistic impulse through his Bible translation. However, it also represents a powerful confounding of the semantics originally adopted from classical Latin, cf. Seppänen 1967, p. 21.

17 Cf. Richard of Saint Victor: *De quattuor gradibus violentae caritatis*. On the Power of Love. On the model of stairs leading to a loving convergence with God, cf. Ruh 1989. On the systematics of love in Richard of Saint Victor, cf. Huber 2003 and Keller, H.E. 1998, p. 29, who also finds that love is explained but not personified. Richard's treatise is in this case an important piece of evidence because one can see clear lines of reception to vernacular mysticism, cf. Suerbaum 2012, p. 115.

18 The four kinds of love are named in Section 4, and a stepwise explication follows, which emphasizes a violent moment for each step – corresponding to the title of the work – and only in Section 24 specifies the positive results in the elucidations of the loving convergence with God.

19 In Sections 18 and 20, Richard reflects on the fact that secular and spiritual longing for love lead in diametrically opposed directions.

of redemption: *O caritas, quanta est victoria tua! Vnum prius uulnerasti, et per illum omnes postmodum superasti.*²⁰

The notion that a person can be wounded by love is ubiquitous in literature and the visual arts, and not just in their depiction of human interactions but also explicitly with respect to love for God. Thus, in reference to its biblical source, the *St. Trudperter Hohelied* calls love the *siechtuom* [...] *der gezarteten sêle*²¹ and the *Flowing Light of the Godhead* uses, as a matter of course, the descriptive pattern of love sickness to describe the soul's longing for nearness to God.²² That even God himself – based on the *Song of Songs* 4:9²³ – is seized by love is an idea that occurs sporadically in mystical texts²⁴ but in its presentation is usually confined to an internal love sickness. The combination of a personified Caritas and the wounding nature of love opens the possibility of creating a violent Caritas who inflicts a concrete, corporeal wound on God with a lance, a dagger, or an arrow, as one can see in the Crucifixion with Virtues and the Daughter Zion narratives.

4. Violent Caritas in Literature and Art

4.1. The Wienhausen Crucifixion with Virtues

For a long time, Caritas figures in the visual arts²⁵ without any individual attributes. She is often crowned as the highest virtue and named or specified in inscriptions – for instance, in the Floreffe Bible in the British Library (vol. 2, c. 1170), in which she holds a scroll with the words *diligens diligitur* (the lover will be loved) and is flanked on the left by Fides and on the right by Spes.²⁶ Later, love for God is also symbolized by flames or a heart being held or handed to someone else. In Giotto's *Mystical Marriage of St. Francis*

20 Hugh of Saint Victor: *De laude caritatis*, p. 196, 12 (208–210; Oh Caritas, how great is thy victory! First thou hast wounded a man, and through him thou hast soon overcome all.)

21 *St. Trudperter Hohelied*, 74,16 (Sickness of the beloved soul.). Cf. also Ohly 1993 and Keller, J. 2015.

22 Cf. Mechthild of Magdeburg: *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit*, Book VII,31, p. 588,6–10: *Minnen siech und libes krank, / pinen not und harten twang, / das machet mir den weg ze lang / zû minem lieben herren. / Wie sol ich dich, lieb, alsus lange enberen?* (Lovesickness and the body's frailty, excruciating distress, and hard duress make the path very long to my beloved Lord! How can I do without you, Beloved, for so long?)

23 See below, p. 240.

24 Cf., e.g., Mechthild of Magdeburg: *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, Book I,4; I,16; I,22; II,2 f.; II,24 or III,9.

25 On medieval Caritas iconography in general, see Freyhan 1948; Thadden 1951; Wellershoff-von Thadden 1952.

26 London, British Library, Add MS 17738, fol. 3^v. *diligens diligitur* in reference to John 14:21. On the virtues in the Floreffe Bible, see Bouché 2000, who also discusses its naming of Caritas as *Unctio*, and Kuder 1997.

to *Poverty* (c. 1320), Caritas offers a heart to the couple as her wedding gift.²⁷ As personification of charity, Caritas carries bread and a bowl on the St. Valentine's Reliquary of the Servatius Shrine from the late 12th century.²⁸ 14th-century sculptures show her with a cornucopia, accompanied by children, or nursing an infant – the latter a motif that often recurs in the following centuries.²⁹ With respect to the inseparability of *amor dei* and *amor proximi*, the attributes are also combined, for instance, when Nicola Pisano's Caritas on the pulpit of the Siena cathedral (1266–1268) has flames spouting from her cornucopia.

In the cases where Caritas presents (or offers) a heart or nurses an infant, she is provided with attributes whose specific, symbolic significance lies not just in their denotation but to an important extent in what she does with them. In these cases, the action of the personification takes place in small, self-contained units and must be understood as attributive. This means that it is not intended as a narrative – i.e., as advancing a complex sequence of events or actions, but as the immediate and concrete production of symbolic meaning within the frame of the action. Nevertheless, even these small units of action anticipate a broader dynamic that goes beyond rhetoric, figuration, and animation. The connection between embodiment and unit of action is consciously deployed to configure the personification.

In the Crucifixion with Virtues in Wienhausen, the figure named *karitas* in its inscription cannot be immediately identified as personified love since a dagger stab and an embrace are not her characteristic behaviors. Only knowledge of the iconographic, literary, and especially allegorical traditions united here can reveal the identity of Caritas and explain her actions.³⁰

In an Easter sermon, Bernard of Clairvaux provided a decisive impulse for the emergence of the motif of the Crucifixion with virtues when he spoke of the virtues as jewels adorning the cross:

With these four pearls of virtues namely, the ends of the Cross are adorned: Love surmounts everything, on the right shines Obedience, on the left Patience, but the root of the virtues is at the foot: Humility. As the suffering of the Lord reached its consummation, it enriched the victorious sign of the Cross with these pearls; as the Lord was internally pierced by tongues, externally by nails,

27 On the heart and flames as attributes of Caritas, see Freyhan 1948.

28 St. Valentine's Reliquary, c. 1180–1200, Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Inv. No. 1038.

29 On 14th-century sculptures, see Freyhan 1948; Weissert 2016 discusses 16th-century representations of Caritas as a (nurturing) mother.

30 The various strands summarized in the following pages are brought together by Kraft 1976 and Barth 1983; more on the motif of the Crucifixion with Virtues in Schiller 1968, pp. 149–152; Hamburger 1989; Franzen-Blumer 2000; Stork 2010. Extensive analysis of the Wienhausen window in Kraft 1976, pp. 65–77; Koch 1986; Becksmann/Korn 1992, pp. 214–222 and 224–226; Siart 2008, pp. 60–70; Siart 2010; Schleif 2014.

he was humble at the invective of the Jews and patient at his wounds. Love too was consummated therein, that he gave up his life for his friends, and obedience as “bowing down his head, he surrendered his spirit” (John 19:30), “becoming obedient even unto death” (Philippians 2:8).³¹

Another central source is Caesarius of Heisterbach’s description of the monks’ Crucifixion, in which the monks were supposed to imagine themselves, like Christ, crucified by the virtues that are synonymous with the nails.³² Oboedientia nails Christ’s right hand to the cross, Patientia his left, while Humilitas drives the nail through his feet.³³

With these writings as background, the visual arts in the 13th century developed their own basic iconographical composition for the Crucifixion with Virtues that differs slightly from the written sources. Its point of departure is the iconography of the Crucifixion. The visual representations of the Crucifixion with Virtues dispense with the characterizing attributes and attributive units of action discussed above, and as a rule, the personifications are only identifiable by their inscriptions. Caritas, whom Bernard positioned at the top of the Cross, is usually found on the left, next to it. In these allegorical images of the Crucifixion, her special task as the supreme virtue is to inflict the wound in Christ’s side. Usually this is done with the lance familiar from the Passion,

31 *His nempe virtutum gemmis quattuor cornua crucis ornantur, et est supereminetior caritas, a dextris oboedientia, patientia a sinistris, radix virtutum humilitas in profundo. His ditavit trophaeum crucis consummatio Dominicae passionis, cum ad Iudaeorum blasphemias humilis, ad vulnera patiens, intus linguis, clavis exterius pungeretur. Nam et caritas in eo perfecta est, quod pro amicis animam posuit, et oboedientia consummata, cum, INCLINATO CAPITE, TRADIDIT SPIRITUM, FACTUS OBOEDIENS USQUE AD MORTEM.* Bernard of Clairvaux: In Resurrectione Sermo 1.3. Kraft 1976, pp. 12–20, sees in this passage a further explication of Ephesians 3:18. Here and throughout, the English translation of quotations from the Vulgate is taken from the Catholic Public Domain Version: <http://www.sacredbible.org/studybible/index.htm> (last accessed: October 19, 2024).

32 On this motif, see Seebohm 1996 and Smith 2012. The oldest known visual representations of the monk’s Crucifixion are in a manuscript from c. 1420, but earlier depictions may exist.

33 There are three nails with which the body of a monk must be fastened to the Cross: They are the three virtues, through which according to Jerome one becomes a martyr, namely, obedience, patience, and humility. Obedience pierces the right hand of the monk without complaint; unfeigned patience pierces the left hand. Yearning for the higher freedom drives the nail of obedience (into the flesh), and fear of the punishment of hell drives the nail of patience. True humility pierces the feet of the monk, so that for the sake of Christ he subordinates himself not only to his superiors, but also to his fellow brothers and can say with the psalmist, “I have been deeply humiliated, O Lord.” – *Tres clavi quibus corpus monachi cruci debet esse affixum, tres sunt virtutes, per quas teste Hieronimo martyres efficiuntur, scilicet obedientia [sic!], patientia, humilitas. Manum monachi dexteram configat obedientia [sic!] sine murmuratione; sinistram patientia sine simulatione. Clavum obedientiae [sic!] impellat amor supernae libertatis, clavum patientiae timor poenae gehennalis. Pedes illius vera humilitas configat, ut non solum praelatis, sed et fratribus se propter Christum subiiciat, ut dicere possit cum Psalmista: ‘Humiliatus sum usquequaque Domine’.* Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Dialogus Miraculorum* 8,19: De crucifixione religiosum.

not as in the window in Wienhausen with a short dagger.³⁴ In addition, the number of figures has been expanded. Mary and John are often present, as well as Ecclesia and Synagoga, who are positioned to the right and left of the Cross. The other personified virtues vary; some depictions follow Bernard of Clairvaux and Caesarius of Heisterbach, but Sapientia – Wisdom – can also appear in a Crucifixion with Virtues as well as the figures present in Wienhausen: Justitia, Pax, Veritas, and Misericordia. The latter four have been borrowed for this scene from Psalm 84:11.³⁵

The possibilities for individual variation on the motif while retaining the basic iconographic model are well illustrated in the Bonmont Psalter (Fig. 2).³⁶ Mary and John are not present in the Crucifixion with Virtues on fol. 15^v, and Misericordia – a figure not in the group described by Bernard and Caesarius – is introduced while Patientia is eliminated. As in most depictions, Caritas wields the lance and inflicts the wound in Christ's side. The iconographic traditions of the Crucifixion with Virtues are easy to identify: by driving the nails into Christ's body, the virtues assume the role of the henchmen who do the handiwork in scenes of Christ being nailed to the cross,³⁷ independently occurring in narrative cycles of the Passion. Caritas is merged with Longinus, who drives the lance into Christ's side in representations of the Crucifixion.³⁸ While in the narrative, Christ's blood falls into Longinus's eyes, making him see again and thereby enabling him to perceive Christian truth, in the depiction in the Bonmont Psalter, it is Ecclesia who catches the blood spurting from Christ's wound in a chalice, thus constituting a reference to the Eucharist. By contrast, Synagoga turns away from the scene, her eyes covered with a blindfold, so she does not recognize the meaning of salvation.

Regardless of the shifting combinations of biblical figures and personifications, the Crucifixion with Virtues makes visible by way of the violent action that Christ died because of his virtues. They determined his actions, and he evinced them on the Cross. Thus, they wounded him as surely as the nails that pierced his body. As personifications outside his body, Christ's inner qualities become visible for the faithful, as does the consequence that ensues for Christ from actions motivated by the love of God and of his neighbor.

In this allegory, Caritas adopts a role, the deeper understanding of which is, once again, available only to viewers with previous knowledge. After all, this allegorical

34 However, Caritas also wields a close-quarters weapon in the Warendorp retablo, whose composition shows a clear similarity to the Wienhausen window and is dated from about 1340.

35 "Mercy and truth have met each other. Justice and peace have kissed." – *misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi iustitia et pax osculatae sunt*. This and subsequent quotations from the Bible are from the Biblia Sacra Vulgata. On the depiction of the virtues in Psalm 84:11, see Savage 2017.

36 Circa 1260, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 54, fol. 15^v. On the motifs of the Bonmont Psalter, see Franzen-Blumer 2000.

37 Kraft 1976, p. 9.

38 Kraft 1976, p. 10, already finds that Caritas "formally [...] has taken the place of Longinus."

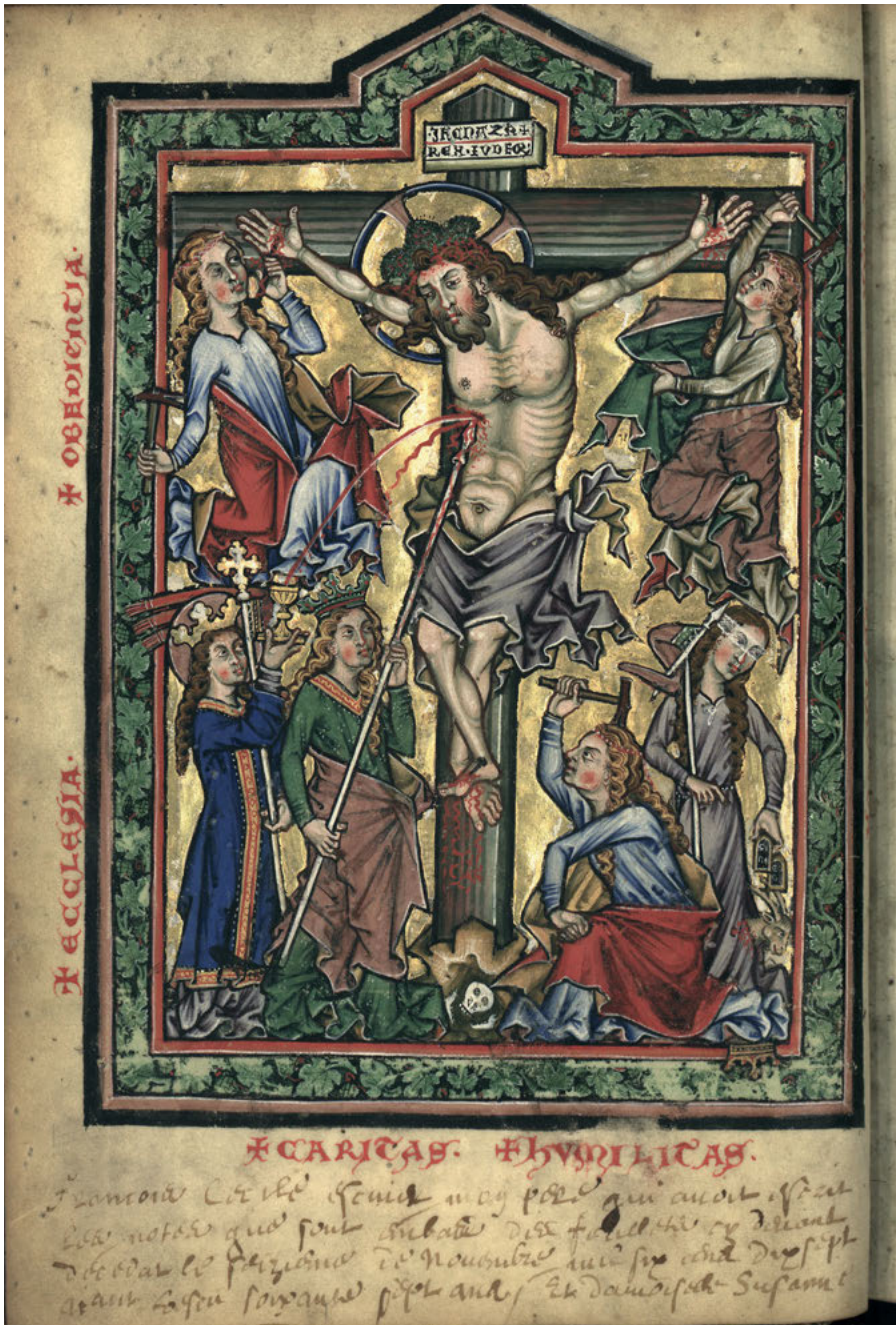


Fig. 2. Crucifixion with Virtues, in: Bonmont Psalter, c. 1260, 24 × 17 cm.
 Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 54, fol. 15^v.



Fig. 3. *Sponsa and Sponsus*, in: Rothschild Canticles, around 1300, 11,8 × 8,4 cm. New Haven, Yale University, Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 404, fol. 18^v–19^r.

reconfiguration of the Crucifixion motif is addressed above all to an audience familiar with Christian mysticism. Through her adoption of the lance of Longinus, *Caritas* becomes not just a witness to the truth of salvation and the one virtue that bears most responsibility for the death of Christ, but also to the *sponsa*, the bride of Christ.³⁹ By way of the lance, a reference is made to the aforementioned biblical *Song of Songs*, which speaks of the wounding love that invades the body via the glance. The *Song of Songs* 4:9 brings this thought into focus: “You have wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse. You have wounded my heart with one look of your eyes [...]” – *vulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum* [...].

One of the best examples of the visualization of this nexus of lance and wounding, glance and love, can be found in the Rothschild Canticles, a manuscript from about 1300 that collects Latin texts with a connection to mysticism and is furnished with numerous paintings.⁴⁰ On the two-page spread fol. 18^v–19^r (Fig. 3) the bride aims Longinus’s lance at her bridegroom Christ, who already bears the wound in his side.⁴¹ The lance thereby also exemplifies the violent power of the glance and becomes a metaphor for seeing.

39 Hamburger 1989, p. 171.

40 New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 404. A thorough analysis of this manuscript in Hamburger 1990, pp. 72–77 on fol. 18^v–19^r.

41 On the superimposition of *sponsa* and Longinus, Hamburger 1990, p. 75.

Silke Tammen described this invasion of Christ's body, initiated by the superimposition of lance and glance, which is as if completed by the eyes of those beholding the picture, as violent introspection.⁴² In the Crucifixion with Virtues of the Bonmont Psalter as well, the lance in Caritas's hands becomes a symbol of the injuring glance of wounding love that penetrates the heart of the beloved and thereby refers to the double meaning of *passio* as the suffering and passion of love.⁴³

The Crucifixion with Virtues in the Regensburg Lectionary⁴⁴ (Fig. 4) even identifies the figure with the lance as *sponsa* in an inscription within her halo. Here the characters conflated in the figure with the lance are varied with an awareness of artistic possibilities. Action and inscription allow us to see that here Longinus and the Bride of Christ were brought together. But since the *sponsa* stands for the love for Christ and her clothing resembles that of the other personifications who are present – Misericordia, Sapientia, and Oboedientia, as well as Ecclesia and Synagoga – the idea of Caritas as *amor dei* also suggests itself.⁴⁵

The conflation of love and the bride is already a clear indication that the Crucifixion with Virtues was especially attractive for a female audience. The evocation of the *sponsus-sponsa* relationship between Christ and the loving female Christian makes Caritas an appealing figure of approach to the body of Christ. Consequently, again and again one encounters the Crucifixion with Virtues in the context of female mysticism. The Bonmont Psalter was probably written by a nun for other nuns, the Regensburg Lectionary was prepared for the Dominican nuns of the Holy Cross Convent in Regensburg, and the Wienhausen stained-glass window is in what was a Cistercian convent.⁴⁶

The amalgamation of Longinus, Caritas, and the *sponsa* shows that in the conception and production of images, personifications were understood as a means to the greatest possible creative openness. This goes both for the figures and their actions. The body of a personification can absorb other figures and their characteristic actions and thereby generate new possibilities of identification for the viewers. The conflation of figures took place with an eye to conveying complex theological connections between the mortal wounding of Christ by love, the simultaneous overcoming of death and redemption

42 Tammen 2006, p. 104

43 Auerbach 1965, pp. 67–81, to which Hamburger 1990, p. 75, already refers.

44 Circa 1267–1276, Oxford, Keble College, MS 49, fol. 7r.

45 Ecclesia can also appear as the *sponsa* of Christ, but in the depiction of the Regensburg Lectionary, she is already present: With her chalice she collects the blood from Christ's wound. Franzen-Blumer 2000, p. 24, points out the equation of Ecclesia and Caritas in the context of the *sponsa* idea in the Bonmont Psalter.

46 Franzen-Blumer 2000, pp. 21–24, on the Bonmont Psalter. There is evidence that the Rothschild Canticles were addressed to a female audience as well, Hamburger 1990, p. 3 and passim. Apparently Wienhausen was never admitted into the Cistercian order, although its wish to be so had been granted. Nevertheless, the nuns lived by Cistercian rules. See Siart 2008, p. 21.

through love, and the necessity to see and acknowledge the truth of salvation inherent in the figure of Longinus. Caritas proves to be a figure of aesthetic reflection, for in her is manifest an artistic consideration of the potential of a personification and the possibilities for deploying this figure of visual rhetoric in devotional practice. Reflections on the artificiality, functionality, and ability to convey information of the personification's body as well as the utilization of these aspects emerge, especially in the Wienhausen Crucifixion with Virtues with its dagger thrust that combines violence and visual attention.

The Wienhausen depiction is different from other Crucifixions with Virtues in various details. Ecclesia and Synagoga are not present, the blood from the wound is not collected in a chalice but runs down Christ's body, and the four virtues that surround the Cross are not nailing Christ to it. By placing the crown of thorns on his head, however, Justitia and Pax again do take over something usually assigned to the henchmen, but this time another independent motif from the Passion serves as the model: the crowning with thorns, also known as the second mocking of Christ. Misericordia and Veritas, on the other hand, are reminiscent of the mourning Marys who are often to be found in late medieval depictions of the Crucifixion. Compared to other Crucifixions with Virtues, here the relation of the four virtues to Christ is less concentrated on his body since they do not injure it – and let us again remember how gently Justitia and Pax rest their hands on the crown of thorns. This lack of violence is a peculiarity among the other Crucifixions with Virtues, but corresponds to the character of the virtues in Psalm 84:11, as mentioned above. There, the kiss of Justitia and Pax bespeaks mutual affection. With regard to this kiss of peace, Schreiner remarked that in this Bible verse, the linguistic metaphor and the bodily gesture refer to each other; the physical gesture honors what the metaphor expresses as an image.⁴⁷ With reference to the role of a personification – its actions as well as its physicality – Cassiodorus's commentary on the Psalms is enlightening, as Schreiner also points out:

In the image of a “corporeal embrace” (*amplexus corporeus*), writes Cassiodorus [...], the psalmist wanted to give a visual impression of something “incorporeal” (*incorporea*). The loving embrace (*amplexus dilectiones*) between Justice and Peace makes their “mutual concord” (*mutua concordia*) visible. That usually happens when people embrace after a longer period of separation to show their joy at the reunion. The *nexus brachiorum* is a sign for the *studium charitatis*.⁴⁸

The fact that in the Wienhausen Crucifixion with Virtues it is precisely the personifications Justitia and Pax – who in Psalm 84:11 kiss each other and according to Cassiodorus embrace – who place the crown of thorns on Christ's head, corresponds to the equally gentle embracing yet violently acting Caritas. Thereby, however, a shift becomes

47 Schreiner 1996, p. 43.

48 Translated from Schreiner 1996, pp. 43f. in a paraphrase of Cassiodorus: *Expositio psalmorum*, ps. 84.



Fig. 4. Crucifixion with Virtues,
in: Regensburg Lectionary,
c. 1267–1276, 44,2 × 30,5 cm.
Oxford, Keble College,
MS 49, fol. 7r.

all the more obvious: While the four virtues of the psalm are not crucifying Christ in Wienhausen, but encountering him with gentle affection, they draw back closer to the abstract, bodiless ideas they represent. But with Caritas, the opposite occurs: She draws even further away from the abstract notion of love, and her physicality becomes more intense. The cause is the change of weapon. While in other Crucifixions with Virtues the lance has maintained a spatial distance between the wounding figure and the crucified Christ, a physical closeness is introduced in the stained-glass window by replacing the lance with a dagger. The proximity of the bodies is even heightened by the mutual, tender embrace of Caritas and Christ: Caritas's left arm encircles the stigmatized body,⁴⁹ her hand rests on Christ's shoulder, and her gaze meets his face. In response, Christ

49 The *amplexus* motif appears in the embrace and was also prominently represented in Cistercian visual art as the *amplexus Bernardi*. Here, Christ drops down from the Cross into the arms of Bernard of Clairvaux. On this motif, see Posset 2003, according to whom the oldest known depiction of the *amplexus Bernardi* dates from c. 1340, so that it is uncertain whether the *amplexus Bernardi* is a possible model for the *amplexus* depictions in Wienhausen.



Fig. 5. Crucifixion, Deposition, and Entombment, c. 1335. Wienhausen, Monastery, nuns' choir.

embraces Caritas with his right arm as though he wants to pull her toward him and hold her fast. Thus she supports him, whose body – because of his freed right arm – is in danger of sinking from the cross and more deeply into her thrust. This unusual proximity can also be read as a symbol of spiritual affinity, for Caritas, as the highest virtue, is also the closest to Christ. The exchange of the lance for the dagger makes the Longinus reference fade, but it is precisely this stabbing weapon, surprising in the context of the Crucifixion, that directs viewers' attention to the center of the picture in which a new iconographic twist can be discovered.

In this embrace, Caritas absorbs another figure of the Passion story: Joseph of Arimathea, who, in scenes of the Deposition, takes the body of Christ down from the Cross. It is unlikely that the superimposition of Longinus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Caritas escaped the notice of the nuns of Wienhausen, for in the richly painted choir of the convent, situated like the window on the second floor and directly next to the cloister wing where the Crucifixion with Virtues is located, they could find depictions of the Crucifixion and the Deposition (Fig. 5).⁵⁰ The former shows Christ wearing the Crown

50 Both are located next to each other in the eastern severy of the second bay. The third scene in the same location is of the Entombment. The painting of the nuns' choir dates to c. 1335. On the convent and its cloister, see Siart 2008, pp. 21–90; on the paintings in the nuns' choir, Wittekind 2010.

of Thorns and nailed to the Cross, surrounded by Mary, Longinus, the centurion who recognizes the Son of God, and John. The tip of the lance held by Longinus touches the wound, already open and bleeding. Here blood also runs from the wounds to his hands and feet. In the painting of the Deposition, there are the three Marys, a bearded and simply dressed figure whose position suggests an identification as Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, John, and two assistants with a ladder and a pair of tongs, freeing the body from the Cross. Here too, traditional iconography is modified. Joseph of Arimathea is only assisting at the Deposition. He stands on a ladder behind the Cross and reaches down to Christ from the upper left. Here it is Mary who receives the body of Christ, holding him by the torso and touching her forehead to her son's. As in the Christ and Caritas grouping, Christ's right arm lies across Mary's shoulder, but instead of embracing his mother, it dangles lifelessly. The middle of the three Marys gently takes his hand, its wound clearly visible.

If the lance-bearing Caritas expresses the wish to see the corporeal Christ, the dagger-bearing Caritas who embraces Christ makes visual the need for physical contact – a direct approach not just mediated by the gaze that is already articulated in the painting on the vault. But this is only possible for the body of the personification who becomes the mediator between the viewers and Christ. The personified Caritas, a non-human abstraction, becomes a figure of identification in which the nuns' wish for contact and physical proximity is fulfilled. But the unusual iconography must have had its own allure and inspired a longer, contemplative engagement with the depiction, for the Cistercian nuns of Wienhausen were well trained visually by the stained-glass windows of the cloisters, the rich visual program of the nuns' choir, and the allegories of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁵¹ They will not have been unaware of the picture's inherent dualism of imparting highly abstract and spiritualized content through drastically direct physicality. Moreover, the window was originally placed in the context of narrative depictions of the Passion, but of the surviving scenes, the Crucifixion with Virtues is the only one that iconographically merges history and allegory. The window with the violent Caritas was one of a trio of two lancet windows and a rhomb that showed the flagellation, crowning with thorns, and the Crucifixion – those episodes of the Passion in which Christ's body is wounded.⁵² Only the nailing to the cross is again omitted. This combination of images also directs the viewers' attention to the aspect of physicality and the wounded body.⁵³

In the Wienhausen Crucifixion with Virtues, it is precisely the iconographic deviations that direct the viewers' attention to the body and promote Caritas to a figure of

51 Wittekind 2010, p. 157, also sees in the visual program of the nuns' choir the nuns' theological knowledge.

52 Today there are two saints in the lancet windows. On the other scenes in the series, see Becksmann/Korn 1992, pp. 223–231, as well as Siart 2008 and Siart 2010.

53 The devotional significance of the opening of the body has been discussed, i.a., by Lentes 1995 and Bynum 2007.

aesthetic reflection. The dagger is essential to this process. As an unexpected element, it is involved in an action unexpected in the context of the Crucifixion. The unsettling dagger thrust focuses the viewers' gaze and thus, via the aesthetic surface, initiates an intellectual engagement with the depicted content. As a provocative impetus, as Peter von Moos has described it, the dagger thrust fulfills a clear purpose with regard to devotional practice:

Through this impetus to independent thought and independent interpretation of the image, attention is attracted; as Quintilian says, the good orator presents something to the listener in such a way that he "hides something else and leaves him to discover it for himself." Not explicitness, but a darkness, an empty space or a hint creates genuine interest in the image signal. The opposite is mere spectacle or discursive boredom. In this communicative-strategic context, involuntary attention serves as a sort of bait for curiosity and thus promotes precisely deliberate attention.⁵⁴

4.2. Mediations between the Loving Soul and her Heavenly Bridegroom: Daughter Zion Narratives

The allegorical texts about Daughter Zion, which survive in both Latin and several vernacular languages, tell of the search for a worthy spouse. When all earthly suitors prove inadequate, Christ is chosen as the ideal bridegroom, and so begins Daughter Zion's journey to heaven – "a pious antithesis to the 'Anticlaudianus'"⁵⁵ – with the support of allegorical companions. The most important help is given by the virtue Caritas who ascends to heaven with the Daughter and shoots an arrow into Christ's heart so that he falls passionately in love with the Daughter.⁵⁶ In the Old Testament tradition, Zion is the personified Jerusalem, but in this group of texts she is also combined with the bride in the *Song of Songs*.⁵⁷ Via the mystical motif of the bride's path, the human bride's ascent to her heavenly bridegroom models the approach of the soul to Christ. It is a depiction shaped by the easily perceived principle of personification, whose transparency is well suited to the didactic intention of a guide to a virtuous life and religious performance. The capabilities and virtues of Daughter Zion are personified as helpers on her path to God; the interior is transformed into an exterior.

The *Tochter Sion* by the Franciscan Lamprecht of Regensburg (circa 1250) is close to the Latin W-redaction in the broad tradition of Daughter Zion texts and begins with the Daughter's self-reflection on the Latin translation of the name Zion as *speculum*. Thus, the theme of aesthetic reflection is already introduced in the *speculum* metaphor of the

54 Moos 2001, p. 95.

55 Schmidtke 1995, col. 953: "eine fromme Gegenbildung zum 'Anticlaudianus'".

56 Authoritative on the textual history, Volting 2017, pp. 22–34. A concise overview of the German-language texts is also offered by Schmidtke 1995. Cf. also the older study by Wichgraf 1921.

57 On the connection of the text to Origen's interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, cf. Volting 2017, pp. 3–5.

prologue.⁵⁸ Man is a mirror in which God can mirror himself, i.e., the *speculum* metaphor produces proximity to God. At the same time, one should regard the story as a mirror in which one can find a higher truth. The moderator of these processes of comprehension is the narrator who casts himself as an authority who wants to reveal the *bezeichnenunge* (meaning, verse 140) to his audience. Sometimes one has the impression that the narrator, in a *mise en abyme*, is directly supporting the Daughter by giving advice.⁵⁹ This conspicuous narrator who draws attention to his role as a mediator opens a discourse on the aesthetic nature of the narrative.

For her journey to Christ, Daughter Zion obtains help from Fides and Spes, who help her out of the world. Sapientia, Caritas, Oratio, and Miseratio join in as further companions. Unlike these personifications, the Soul herself is surprisingly passive on her path to Christ, and even faints several times – the inner events are completely externalized as actions of the personifications, and the protagonist is immobilized. Caritas performs the decisive approach to Christ by wounding him with an arrow, which clearly draws on the topos of Venus or Amor. She inflicts two wounds on Christ that for a human would be fatal:

Alsô hete Karitas,
diu der frowen bote was,
ir bogen gespannen rehte.
dâvon traf sie alsô slehte
den künic zuo zwein stunden
mit zwein verhwunden.
des enmohte er den smerzen
von den schuzzen in dem herzen
niht vertragen mêre.⁶⁰

Thus Caritas, who was the lady's messenger, bent her bow. Thus she wounded the king twice with two flesh wounds so that he could no longer bear the pain of the wounds to his heart.

It is not the Soul herself (who waits on the sidelines) but the personified Caritas who carries out the approach to the beloved bridegroom. The loving encounter is not de-

58 The significance of the mirror symbol and the integration of the object in the epistemic concept of the *speculatio* is considered by Volting 2017, pp. 7–13. The mirror motif also occurs in the further course of the text, as in verses 898–901, with the idea common in spiritual exegesis and usually founded on First Corinthians 13:12, that one can see God on earth only as in a mirror. This is formulated by the personified Fides in the form of a prophecy: *daz man hie, swenne ez geschiht, / als in einem spiegel siht / und in einer glîchnisse, / das siht du dort gewisse* (What one, if it happens, sees here as in a mirror and in the form of a simile, you will see it there in truth).

59 Thus, for example, he advises Zion to always take care to keep the personifications nearby, so that she suffers no injury on the journey, cf. verses 1527–1531.

60 Lamprecht: Tochter Syon, verses 3731–3739.

picted directly but by means of the personification within a pattern of violent behavior. The secular topos of the arrow of Amor is taken up, while at the same time in Christ's suffering, mystical *unio* and Passion are suggestively combined. Caritas shoots Christ, and he literally but also symbolically bleeds again. The bleeding Christ of the mystical encounter with his bride is connected to the Christ of the Passion; the *tertium comparationis* is Caritas. Just as Christ died on the Cross out of love for humankind, he allows Caritas to wound him anew out of love for Daughter Zion.⁶¹ Thus Caritas's attack is a retelling of the sacrifice Christ made on the Cross for mankind; narrating the *unio* involves reflection on the Passion and also on the possibilities for depicting it. Caritas's act, which contradicts usual norms, opens a space for contemplating the divine act of redemption.

Immediately after being shot with the arrow, Christ says to a female figure he addresses as *swester unde gemahel* (sister and bride, verse 3742) that she has wounded him with love. In the setting as described, he can only mean Caritas, who stands before him, while Daughter Zion waits apart, yet the Daughter is the actual recipient of his address. Caritas is an entity within Daughter Zion, and the logic of the personification makes possible such superimpositions, but in the concrete narrative there are still points of friction when Christ confesses his love to a different female figure than Daughter Zion.⁶²

Caritas catches four drops of blood from Christ's heart⁶³ and pours them into the Daughter's heart (verses 4004–4019), which enables her to embrace and kiss Christ. Since the drops of blood become relevant for the *unio* with the bride, the bloody act of violence of the shot is integrated via a second action into the pattern of an act of love in which both hearts are united in a concrete, material sense.

Lamprecht's story is strongly informed by an interpretive gesture: the explanation is designed primarily as spiritual communication, but at the same time a line of aesthetic reflection is established that thematizes how this information is imparted. In the doubling of explanatory function by the narrator and the personifications, the work draws attention to its allegorical structure.

Our second example, the *Alemannische Tochter Sion* from the late 13th century, narrates the events in a brief five hundred verses and is based on the Latin Z-redac-

61 Already earlier in his description of the journey, the narrator designates the Passion as an act of Christ's love toward Zion, with which he chooses her as his bride. Cf. Lamprecht: *Tochter Sion*, verses 1519–1522: *und alrêst, dô er erstarp, zuo einer brût er sie erwarp. von Syon tohter nû sich, wie tiure er hât gemahelt dich!* (And when he died, he won her as his bride. Daughter Zion now see, how preciously [i.e., with what great equivalent value] he has wed himself to you.)

62 Cf. Volfing 2017, p. 34, who points out that although a fundamental unity exists between Caritas and the Daughter, the recognition of their identity is made difficult by the way they act as opponents.

63 Cf. Lamprecht: *Tochter Sion*, verses 3769–3787. The four drops receive a spiritual interpretation as *gratie infusio* (infusion of mercy), *cognitio dei* (knowledge of God), *celestes desiderium* (heavenly longing) und *spirituale gaudium* (spiritual joy).

tion.⁶⁴ Here, the final approach to Christ comprises a more concentrated series of events. Unlike in the W-redaction, where only Caritas and Oratio approach Christ and leave the Daughter waiting at a safe distance, here Caritas and the Daughter go to the bridegroom together.⁶⁵ It is also noteworthy that Caritas is here the only one of the companions who does not bear her Latin name, but instead is always called *minne* (love), thus entering more clearly into a discourse that is also influenced by courtly literature.⁶⁶ Full of confidence, Frau Minne appears as holder of the highest court office:

Ich pin sein oberigste chelnerein.
 Ich mag die hohsten gâbe geben,
 Ich nim den tot und gib daz leben,
 Swer mich niht hât, der ist ein niht [...].⁶⁷

I am his chief cellarer. I can bestow the highest gift, I take away death and give life, whoever has not me is a nothing [...].

With her claim to overcome death, the personification already in her self-introduction draws a clear connection to Christian redemption, which is summoned via the shot at Christ. Although the Daughter and Caritas approach the bridegroom together, shortly before they reach him, the Daughter loses consciousness and is thus incapable of action while Frau Minne shoots the arrow:

Di minne vergaz ir selber nit;
 Sie tet nach irem alten sit,
 Si nam iren minnen pogen
 Piz an di oren eingezogen,
 Si schoz den chunik auf seine trôn,
 Daz er der tohter von Syon
 viel minneleich an den arm.⁶⁸

64 In what follows, the *Alemannische Tochter Sion* is quoted from the edition of Merzdorf, which follows the Heidelberg manuscript. In the central passages about the *unio*, the lost Klosterneuburg manuscript contains no significant discrepancies. Cf. the edition of Graff: [*Alemannische Tochter Sion*].

65 Cf. *Alemannische Tochter Sion*, verses 516–518.

66 As evidence that an aggressive Frau Minne was quasi basic knowledge, see Thomasin von Zerclære's pedagogical text *Der welsche Gast*, verses 1181–1200, which contains the motif of the fire of love while the marginal illustrations show Frau Minne with a bow and arrow (cf., e.g., Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cpg 389, fol. 19^v). Reflections on an aggressive Minne, acting as an unpredictable force of fate with her arrows, figure prominently in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, 532,1–534,9, cf. Linden 2017, pp. 337–344. On the characteristic violence of personified Minne, cf. also Keller, H.E. 1998, pp. 26–29.

67 *Alemannische Tochter Sion*, verses 458–461.

68 *Alemannische Tochter Sion*, verses 523–529.

Minne was quick-witted; She acted according to her old habit, took her bow of love, drew the string to her ear, and shot at the king on his throne, so that he fell lovingly into the arms of Daughter Zion.

The *alten sit* (old habit) alludes to the archery of the ancient gods of love, Amor and Venus, while also ascribing to Minne a consistent pattern of action that transcends all eras and which one can access without having to justify it, even when, as here, the aggression is not directed as usual toward a human target but to God incarnate. Frau Minne is a concrete person and a superordinate principle at the same time, i. e., she acts in an actual setting and with real consequences, but her action is repeated identically since the beginning of mankind and thereby possesses a timeless character.

The bodies are precisely synchronized in their movements. Through the dynamic of the arrow, movement enters the previously ideally static body of Christ, and, wounded by Minne, he falls into the arms of the unconscious Daughter. The weight of his body pushes the arrow – and thus also the love that it symbolizes – into the Daughter's body. The wounded Christ thus actively and passively produces a loving union with her:

Durch peide chom der viel gevarn,
Er twanck sie in ein alsô
Daz furpaz chainer sweren drô,
Mangel, durst, noch hungers nôt
Daz swert, noch der bitter tôt
Si schaiden moht in chain wîs.⁶⁹

The arrow pierced them both and pinned them together so that ever since, no looming threat, neither want, thirst, hunger, sword, or bitter death could divide them in any way.

Two bodies impaled together by an arrow constitute an arrangement dominated by violence, but at the same time a connection that nothing can separate.⁷⁰ Although the bodies pierced by an arrow are an image of death, the depiction also emphasizes the paradox of the violent Minne and the wound from which one does not die. In its assurance that the violently accomplished unity cannot be broken by any misfortune, the wound functions positively as absolute loyalty compared to the list of dangerous threats. In the violent but longed-for unity, the two wounded bodies paradoxically achieve invulnerability to threats from without; sword, famine, and death have no hold on them. The figures are dominated by love, not pain. Immediately after the shot, the

69 Alemannische Tochter Sion, verses 530–535.

70 In this arrangement of the two loving bodies, Ovid's story of Pyramus and Thisbe – which was widely familiar in medieval vernacular literature in the context of the *Liebestod* motif – probably also contributed to the tradition. Pyramus und Thisbe die by the same sword.

Daughter regains consciousness and copiously speaks about the joys of love. Her faint has taken her very briefly from the stage during the critical act of violence of the personification and so distances her from the violence toward Christ that she does not experience consciously. For the Soul, conceived as a figure with whom the audience can identify, this brief period of inability to act is an important circumstance, for it makes her not the aggressor but like Christ, a victim of Minne, for which the arrow piercing both bodies provides a striking image. In this construction of a passion through the violence of the personified Minne, the Soul suffers just like Christ. Compared to Lamprecht's version, the Daughter in the *Alemannische Tochter Sion* is brought closer to the actions of the personification of Caritas and forms a clearer consubstantiality with it, so that the love event makes a more direct impression. In her aggression against the Soul, the personified Minne is transformed from an objectification of the interior life of the Daughter to a goddess of fate who rules over all mankind. Thus the love of the Daughter strikes Christ in the heart, but his fall into her arms that pierces her with the same arrow must also be read as a sign of reciprocal love. Now the personified Minne applies to both figures equally.

For the Soul, the arrow is not death but the path to new life, as she expresses it in conscious contradiction of regular ways of understanding: *Ich lebe dir und stirbe mir. / Wir sein vereinet nach beider gir.*⁷¹ In the words of both partners, the union of suffering imposed by the arrow is legitimized in retrospect as their own volition, and the violent act of Minne is redefined as a willed surrender of self. This detail of the *Alemannische Tochter* can also be read as a commentary on Christ's act of redemption, since although Christ was crucified by an external power, he accepts his suffering voluntarily, motivated by love. It is interesting that because the personification acts independently, the question of whose interior life she actually represents becomes perilously ambiguous. As a superordinate principle – which she always is in addition to being assigned to a concrete person – the personified Minne can be the emotion of the Soul and of Christ simultaneously, while at the same time, her loving devotion to Christ offers the possibility of identification to the audience. This offer of mediation to the audience is made explicit when the narrator expresses the hope that he and the audience can reenact the loving convergence. The narrator grounds the call to active emulation in the experience of a linguistic and also a literary deficiency in description. Precisely because what the Daughter experiences with Christ cannot be adequately conveyed by words, the audience should complete the ascent itself in the meditative perfection of their own virtues:

71 *Alemannische Tochter Sion*, verses 561 f. (I live for you and die for me [i.e., in reference to my previous earthly existence – S.L./D.W.] We are united according to the wish of us both.).

Wer chonde nu ze grunde
 Gesagen wie der lieben waz?
 Ach Jhesu Crist, du minnen vaz!
 Laz uns auch werden inne
 Der weishait und der minne,
 Die si auz deinem munde tranck;
 enpfahē uns in den umbevanck
 Do di tochter inne waz:
 So ward uns nie auf erden paz.⁷²

Who could now say completely how it was for the beloved? Ah, Jesus Christ, thou vessel of love!
 Let us also experience the wisdom and love that she drank from your mouth. Receive us with the
 embrace in which the Daughter was. Then it would never be better for us on earth.

By resorting to metaphor, the narrator once again makes it unmistakably clear that the loving experience with Christ cannot be captured in words: He calls Christ a vessel of love, and via the act of drinking illustrates the loving savoring of the bridegroom with an image of nourishing. In general, the narrator of the *Alemannische Tochter Sion* is clearly more reticent than Lamprecht, but in the end emerges to emphasize his struggle for an adequate representation of the *unio*. The text clearly encourages⁷³ the turn to praxeology, to the religious practice of a meditative approach to God, implemented by each individual in the audience, which is particularly based on the gap between the possibilities of literary reenactment and personal, genuine experience. Literature prepares the way for meditative contemplation and, with the personifications, offers visualizations of methods of approach, but at the same time points to extraliterary practice. By the offers it outlines, literature influences actual religious practice; at the same time, the literary project reacts to existing meditative forms. The Daughter Zion texts are clearly intended to sound out the distance or proximity of the Soul to its personified inner life and to account for Caritas's outrageously violent deed as an action of the Soul, but to separate it from the Soul at the same time. In so doing, the personification opens up a space for reflection on how Christ's Passion and the reenactment of the loving Soul can be brought together in literature and art. The aesthetic design of a precisely composed ensemble of personifications, figures, and Christ reflects upon and demonstrates at the same time how the Passion is violently reactivated by Caritas, by way of the Minne-wound opening up for the Soul not only a conceptual reenactment of the event of redemption, but also direct participation in it.

72 *Alemannische Tochter Sion*, verses 578–586.

73 Informative on practices of monastic meditation and visualization of texts is the chapter on the nuns' private readings and devotions in Ehrenscheidtner 2004, pp. 211–237.

Although it is difficult to determine the social context in which the Alemannic version was written, in the later history of Daughter Zion texts there are clear indications of meditation practices in convents – for instance, in the prose version written after 1419 in the Dominican convent Unterlinden. It was combined with an allegory about the human heart as a monastery in a little book intended for the spiritual improvement of the nuns. The *juncfrowen zu Underlinden* (virgins of Unterlinden)⁷⁴ are addressed directly in a postscript, with suggestions for readers and explanations of religious implementation. The author speaks to the individual believer with an exhortation to contemplation:

Nu nim war min kint, was ich dir sage in dieser nachgescriben lere und habe zu got dinem herren einen ganzen inkere. Merke ewen, was gutes er dir teglichen geben wil umb dein andechtiges singen und darzu nach diser zit gebent ist im ewigen leben.⁷⁵

Now listen closely, my child, to what I tell you in this instruction and turn to God in complete devotion. Always keep in mind what good he gives you every day in return for your devotional singing and will give you afterward in eternal life.

The Unterlinden version reaches the goal of the journey quite quickly and then, just when Caritas shoots the arrow, it provides a lengthy description of Christ's reaction and has him quote the appropriate passage from the *Song of Songs*:

Und zehant snelle was sie spannen iren bögen und iren scharphen pfeil darüf legen unerschrockenlich, und nam war des kuniges begirlicheit, als sie mit kreften gesponnet het; und zu dem höhen trön sy iren pfeil schoß und traff das aller gewinte herze sin alzo, daß das ineriste in ime in rechter minne verbundet wart. Do das des obersten keisers sun sach und desselben pfeils enpfande in sinem herzen, mit susser stimme er sine diener frögte: hat ymant angerüt das herze min? Über das het caritas kein benügen und darumb gar behende sy den andern stral üflegt und zilt dem ersten schüße nach und meisterlich sy den ersten pfeil traff und verbundet noch tiffer das herze sin. Aber dise tiffe schüsse der minnestrele mocht der minsame nicht lenger erliden; darumb rufft er us über laut: "wer ist hie mich alzo berüren?" Alzo wart die jungfröwe caritas sichtige und offenbar. Minsamlichen er zu ir do sprach: "Vulnerasti me soror mea, sponsa vulnerasti cor meum", 'min allerliebste swester, du hast gar sere verbundet mich, verbundet hast du das herze min.'⁷⁶

And immediately she was quick to bend her bow and notch her sharp arrow without fear and perceived the king's desire, as she had bent it with all her strength; and she fired her arrow at the high throne and hit his all-beloved heart in such a way that his innermost self was wounded with real love. When the almighty Kaiser's son saw and felt the same arrow in his heart, he asked his servants with a sweet voice: has someone touched my heart? Caritas was dissatisfied with that, and so she quickly notched the second arrow and aimed it after the first shot, and masterfully she hit

74 Unterlindener Tochter Sion, p. 89.

75 Unterlindener Tochter Sion, p. 89.

76 Unterlindener Tochter Sion, p. 84.

the first arrow and wounded his heart even deeper, but the lover could no longer bear these deep shots of the arrows of love; so he cried out over loudly, “Who is here who has touched me so?” And so the virgin Caritas became visible and revealed. Lovingly he spoke to her then: “Vulnerasti me soror mea, sponsa vulnerasti cor meum,” ‘my sister, you have wounded me badly, Bride you have wounded my heart.’

It is remarkable how thoroughly the personified Caritas has adopted the role of loving partner, so that the verse from the *Song of Songs* that is meant for the Bride is clearly spoken to her instead. Meanwhile, the Soul waits at a distance and – as usual in the W-redaction – enters into loving union with Christ via the four drops of blood. While the *Alemannische Tochter Sion* experiments with a greater physical proximity of personification and figure at the moment of the loving union, the Unterlinden version favors a consistent intermediary role for Caritas.

The prose version connects directly to the religious practice of the Unterlinden convent by having the Daughter enter the convent at Christ’s urging, while also establishing a connection to the following treatise about the heart as an allegorical monastery of virtues. Daughter Zion thus becomes a fellow sister of the recipients:

[...] so ist er mit juncfrowen fides, spes, caritas und prudencia ze rat worden, das er sy in ein closter tun welle, welches closter in sinem zirlichen garten liget und ist och gar vaste grunenden und blüenden, genant Unterlinden, darinne vil heide und velde stet und öch schoner linden, die ubertreffenlich gar vast fruchtber sint.⁷⁷

[...] and so he was advised by the virgins Fides, Spes, Caritas, and Prudencia, that he would send them to a convent, which lies in a lovely garden and is also full of greenery and blossoms, and called Unterlinden, in which there is much heathland and fields and also beautiful linden trees full of unsurpassed fruit.

The author is adept at deploying figurative language, and this allegorical density suggests that the Unterlinden nuns understood Daughter Zion’s entry into their convent figuratively and not literally.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the idea of Daughter Zion as an imitation fellow nun whom one can emulate in one’s own spiritual meditations lends the practice of reenactment an additional, local motivation.

All three examples – Lamprecht’s version, the Alemannic version, and the prose version from Unterlinden – have demonstrated how personification becomes a means of reflecting on the *unio* between Daughter Zion and Christ, in other words, between the human soul and God, and to depict it at different points on a scale between proximity

⁷⁷ Unterlindener Tochter Sion, p. 85.

⁷⁸ Even if, as a rule, they are translated into German, the numerous Latin quotations from the Bible also suggest an audience accustomed to working with texts.

and distance. Caritas's act of violence against Christ is the starting point for aesthetic reflection on how the participation of the human soul in the *unio* can be depicted and how it can become an aggressor against Christ without actually wounding him. The three versions show the range of possibilities of aesthetic mediation between transcendence and immanence and open up for contemporary reception attractive perspectives on how to superimpose the suffering of the Passion and salvation in love in a single image. Comparison of the three versions shows that the agency assigned to the figure of the Soul and the personification varies greatly. In their depictions of Caritas's violent act, the three versions clearly experiment with how much distance to put between the personification of Caritas and the loving Soul in order not to project the aggression of the arrow too much onto the Soul, but leave it the responsibility of Caritas. Using the personification, all three versions are working on the theologically and aesthetically appealing question of the possibilities for positivizing negativity and mediating immanence and transcendence.

The potential for aesthetic reflection inherent in the personification of Caritas in the Daughter Zion texts is highlighted when one compares it to an almost identical arrangement which, however, lacks the allegorical accompaniment of the personified virtues. In the illustrated text *Christus und die minnende Seele* (Christ and the Loving Soul), which survives in several versions beginning in the 14th century, the aggression against Christ is committed not by the personified Caritas but by the Bride herself. Probably written by a woman in the second half of the 15th century for Beguine communities on Lake Constance, *Die minnende Seele* (The Loving Soul)⁷⁹ comprises a series of pictures and over 2,000 verses of dialogic instruction and edification with which – likely in meditative practice⁸⁰ – one could by steps reenact the convergence of the soul and Christ. Since the Bride herself shoots the arrow of love at Christ, the corresponding image depicts not a loving approach of the two figures to each other. Instead, the Bride stands at a distance, as is logical for an archer.⁸¹ The picture's caption – “She shoots the arrow of love at him, she wants this as her prize” (*Mit der minne stral schússet sy in / Das wil sy han für*

79 The title *Die minnende Seele* follows the edition of Banz and the article by Rosenfeld 1978 in the *Verfasserlexikon*. This text is not identical to the text with the same title from the Zurich manuscript Cod. Rh. 119, fol. 166^r–169^r, which also is in the mystical tradition of the Bride, but dates from the 14th century.

80 This item of textual and visual evidence is also from a context of meditating visualization in the religious practice of pious women, as testified by an inscription in the Donaueschingen manuscript (fol. 76^v), dated February 2, 1497: Anna Muntprat of Constance donates the book to the Augustinian chapter of canonesses in Inzigkofen bei Sigmaringen, where her sister Veronika lives.

81 Cf. the illustration in the manuscript Karlsruhe, Landesbibl. Cod. Donaueschingen 106 (Fragment in Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 46), fol. 26^v, cf. also the manuscript Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 710, fol. 13^v.

ainen gwin)⁸² – focuses on the Soul’s intentional act and leaves little room for aesthetic reflection since here, in contrast to the Caritas personification of the Daughter Zion texts, there is no clear contradiction to the nature of the acting figure.⁸³ In the accompanying text as well, the action is narrated exclusively via the pattern of the wounding arrow of love:

Sy spricht: ich wil in schießen,
 Ob ich sin iena mug genießen.
 Cristus sprach: Verwundet ist das hertze min,
 Da hastu, lieb, geschossen in,
 Daz ich muß tun den willen din.
 Daz mag wol werden din gewin⁸⁴

She says: I will shoot him, if I can now enjoy him. Christ said: My heart is wounded. You, Beloved, have shot into it so that I must do your will. You will probably win.

The aggression clearly comes from the Soul, and when she hits Christ with the arrow of love, she wounds him in precise correspondence to the wounds of love she herself suffered in approaching him. This action is logically less unsettling than with the violent Caritas, whose depiction always leaves it uncomfortably vague as to whether the personification’s act of violence does or does not comport with her name.⁸⁵

82 Christus und die minnende Seele, text according to Cod. Donaueschingen 106, fol. 26^v.

83 One could argue that in a purely formal sense, the Soul is also a personification. But it is noteworthy that in the spiritual texts under discussion, the Soul is addressed as the actual person. As the illustrations of the Einsiedler manuscript with the Soul dressed in a habit make clear, she seamlessly represents an unproblematic figure of identification for the audience. Cf. in addition Kohlmeier 2019, especially pp. 221–239, on the presentation of the Soul in the *Flowing Light of the Godhead*.

84 Christus und die minnende Seele, text according to the Einsiedler Hs. 710, fol. 13^v; for clarity, modern punctuation has been added. The text of the Donaueschingen manuscript is quite similar; only the inquit-formulas are missing.

85 The broadside III,52 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), a series of pictures, each with four verses and dating from between 1459 and 1468 in Augsburg, also makes the Soul into the aggressor, but nevertheless, with reflection on the pain of love, brings a personification into play that assumes the function of asking forgiveness for the Soul’s behavior toward Christ. Cf. Christus und die minnende Seele, p. 325: *Ich will mein lieb durch schiessen, / Ob ich sein mag geniessen. / Mich hat der meine schmerz / geschossen durch mein hertz* (I intend to shoot my beloved so that I can enjoy him. The pain of love has shot me in the heart).

5. The Active Personification as a Figure of Aesthetic Reflection

The present interdisciplinary study shows that the reflective potential of personification is a phenomenon in more than one medium. The potential of the active personification of Caritas as a figure of aesthetic reflection can be unlocked by the praxeological model of a *Different Aesthetic*, which makes comprehensible the dynamic between artistry and social practice found in our examples. It is not the personification itself, but its unconventional actions that prompt reflection. And in this free space of reflection, aesthetic questions arise, namely: How can one represent salvation and mystical *unio*? And are they even amenable to adequate depiction? What is at stake is to configure in text and image something that surpasses human imagination, and at the same time to keep it in its opaque transcendence through the contradictory action of the personification. Caritas acts as a mediator between Christ and the audience.⁸⁶ At the same time, the interposition of the personification denies them an unmediated approach. It also becomes clear that autological questions of how to depict salvation and the heterological perspective of contemporary devotional practice in religious communities are not opposites but open up a field of artistic experimentation in close interdependence.

We were able to show that the action of the personification initiates a dynamic process that gives rise to complexity as well as a specific aesthetic surplus that prompts a transfer onto the level of reflection. In the case of Caritas, it is the violent act between the personification and the human figure that leads to the recognition of body- and action-oriented reflection on the personification as a figure of visual rhetoric and its inherent possibilities. In both examples, it emerged that it is not the personification per se – an established figure in literature and visual arts since antiquity – that unsettles the audience and leads to a heightened attention. Only through an emphatic contrast to anthropological norms of the human body and social behavior does the personification develop its potential as a meaningful peculiarity and attracter of unsettled attention.

86 Depending on the location of the presentation or the place where a manuscript was used, one can narrow down the audience for many of the examples cited here to a circle of women. However, there were also opportunities for male readers or viewers to identify with the narratives. For example, the narrator in Lamprecht's *Tochter Sion* offers easier access to men by often projecting himself into Zion's position and formulates her experience as a wish for himself. Cf. Lamprecht: *Tochter Syon*, verses 393–399 or 450–452 with reference to the Soul's love madness: *ine ruochte waz man von mir seite, / kund ich in der selben wise toben; / mir wær ir schelten sam ir loben*. (It would not matter to me what people would say if I could in the same way [i.e., as Daughter Zion – S.L./D.W.] rave without sanity. Their censure would mean the same as their praise.) In any case, the usually feminine personification of *anima* separates from her gendered earthly body for her ascent to God, and can thus be a figure of identification for masculine as well as feminine believers.

From the examples analyzed above, three lines of observation arise that are relevant for a personification's formation of actions and contribute to formulating approaches to premodern aesthetics.

(1) *Reification and Metaphor*: Personifications can act in either a symbolic-attributive way or interactively, or both. They can enter into relations with other entities, artificial or human figures, on either the concrete or the metaphorical level, and both levels often overlap in meaningful ways. In our examples, the figures are physically wounded in their loving attachment by the arrows or the dagger of Caritas, but at the same time, love enters the bodies of the wounded. Out of a concrete physical action, metaphoric levels emerge that refer back to the figures' interior lives. The weapons of the Caritas personification open the other figures and make them receptive or vulnerable to the abstract idea embodied by the personification. When the arrow is spatially separated from the personification, as in the Daughter Zion texts, the symbolic reference is ambiguous, especially when, by piercing the Soul, its effect is continued.

(2) *The Turn to the Audience*: Frequently, the actions of personifications are significantly directed toward the audience and initiate further processes. In the representations of the violent Caritas we have analyzed, one can clearly recognize intentions related to real-world practice. They offer possibilities of identification and fulfill wishes, act as guides to spiritual meditation, and give guidelines for examining one's own inner state. This examination aims to answer the questions – central to a religious life – of which virtues are helpful and useful on the path to God and which possibilities of personal reenactment are inherent in the miracle of Passion and Salvation. The dynamics of the personification, displayed in images or described in texts, have a counterpart among the audience, who should cultivate an inner wealth in the apparent outward stillness of meditation and put in motion an animated activity in their own inner life.⁸⁷

(3) *Reference to Anthropological Constants and Their Violation*: In its ability to act, the personification realizes basic anthropological patterns through which autological and heterological overlaps become evident. From those overlaps, figures of aesthetic reflection can emerge. A change in the accepted parameters of human behavior often opens up a reflective space that intentionally violates or ostensibly negates the identity of concept and personification. The personifications are thus not simply mechanical transfers into a random personality but the product of intensive reflection on the semantics of personifications and the conditions that emerge in their representation in interactions with other figures or entities.

In many cases, the actions of a personification and the discursive development of the theme are combined in a way that stimulates further thought. In the visual arts,

87 Cf. on this aspect also the contribution of Annette Gerok-Reiter and Volker Leppin in this volume, pp. 177–226, section 3.

reflection on questions of aesthetic presentation is evident primarily in the personification's corporeality that is exposed to the actions of others. The personification's independent action is always also interaction with other figures, subject to other 'human' constraints. This combination prompts reflection on behavioral norms and their depiction in literature and the visual arts. The fact that the Crucifixion with Virtues and the journey of Daughter Zion to her heavenly bridegroom were continually varied over a long period testifies to the literary and visual productivity unleashed by the violent Caritas in her violation of established semantics. The result is a variety of aesthetic reflection that begins with the action of the personification and repeatedly allows new constellations to emerge.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Alemannische Tochter Sion = Die alemannische Tochter Sion, in: J.F.L. Theodor Merzdorf: *Der Mönch von Heilsbronn*, Berlin 1870, pp. 127–144 (Text after the Heidelberg manuscript).
- [Alemannische Tochter Sion] = E.G. Graff: *Die Tochter Syon oder die minnende Seele*, in: *Diutiska* 3 (1829), pp. 3–21 (Text after the lost Klosterneuburg manuscript).
- Bernard of Clairvaux: In Resurrectione Sermo 1 = Bernard of Clairvaux: In Resurrectione Sermo 1, in: *Bernard of Clairvaux: Sämtliche Werke. Lateinisch / deutsch*, 10 vols., ed. by Gerhard B. Winkler, Innsbruck 1990–1999, vol. 8, Innsbruck 1997, pp. 222–225.
- Biblia Sacra Vulgata = *Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Lateinisch / deutsch*, 5 vols., ed. by Andreas Beriger, Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers and Michael Figer, Berlin / Boston 2018 (Sammlung Tusculum).
- Caesarius of Heisterbach: *Dialogus Miraculorum* = *Cesarius von Heisterbach: Dialogus miraculorum / Dialog über die Wunder*, vol. 4, introduction by Horst Schneider, trans. and comm. by Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider, Turnhout 2009.
- Cassiodorus: *Expositio psalmorum* = [Cassiodor] *Magni AvrelII Cassiodori: Expositio psalmorum*, LXXI–CL, ed. by M. Adriaen, Turnhout 1958 (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 98).
- Christus und die minnende Seele = *Christus und die Minnende Seele. Untersuchungen und Texte*, ed. by P. Romuald Banz, Breslau 1908 (*Germanistische Abhandlungen* 29).
- Cicero: *De oratore* = *Cicero, Marcus Tullius: De oratore. Über den Redner. Lateinisch / Deutsch*, trans. and ed. by Harald Merklin, 3rd, bibliographically supplemented ed., Stuttgart 1997 (*Reclams Universal-Bibliothek* 6884).
- Hugh of Saint Victor: *De laude caritatis* = *Hugh of Saint Victor: De laude caritatis*, in: *L'œuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor, texte latin par H.B. Feiss et P. Sicard, traduction française par D. Poirel, H. Rochais et P. Sicard*, introduction, notes et appendices par D. Poiret, vol. 1: *De institutione novitiorum, De virtute orandi, De laude caritatis, De arrha animae*, Brepols 1997 (*Sous la règle de Saint Augustin* 3), pp. 175–207.
- Isidore of Seville: *Etym.* = *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. by Wallace Martin Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford 1911.

- Isidore of Seville: *The Etymologies* = *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and trans. by Stephan A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof, Cambridge, UK 2006.
- Lamprecht: *Tochter Syon* = *Lamprecht von Regensburg: Sanct Franciscan Leben und Tochter Syon*, ed. by Karl Weinhold, Paderborn 1880.
- Mechthild of Magdeburg: *The Flowing Light of the Godhead* = *Mechthild of Magdeburg: The Flowing Light of Godhead*, trans. by Frank Tobin, preface by Margot Schmidt, New York 1998.
- Quintilian: *Institutio oratoria* = *Quintilian, Marcus Fabius: Ausbildung des Redners*, 12 Bücher, ed. and trans. by Helmut Rahn, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Darmstadt 1988 (*Texte zur Forschung* 3).
- Richard of Saint Victor: *De quattuor gradibus violentae caritatis* = *Richard of Saint Viktor: Über die Gewalt der Liebe. Ihre vier Stufen. Lateinisch / Deutsch*, ed. by Margot Schmidt, Munich 1969 (*Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Instituts* 8).
- St. Trudperter Hohelied = *Das St. Trudperter Hohelied. Eine Lehre der liebenden Gotteserkenntnis*, ed. by Friedrich Ohly, Frankfurt a.M. 1998 (*Bibliothek des Mittelalters* 2).
- Thomasin von Zerclære: *Der welsche Gast* = *Der Wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria*, ed. by Heinrich Rückert, with an introduction and an index by Friedrich Neumann, Berlin 1965 (*Deutsche Neudrucke. Texte des Mittelalters*).
- Unterlindener Tochter Sion = *Rieder, Karl: Mystischer Traktat aus dem Kloster Unterlinden zu Colmar i.E.*, in: *Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten* 1 (1900), pp. 80–90.
- Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Parzival* = *The Parzival of Wolfram von Eschenbach*, trans. into English verse with Introduction, Notes, Connecting Summaries by Edwin H. Zeydel and Bayard Quincy Morgan, Chapel Hill 1951 (*UNC Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures* 5).

Secondary Literature

- Althoff 2015 = Althoff, Gerd: *Caritas und ihre symbolisch-rituellen Ausdrucksformen im Mittelalter*, in: Christoph Stiegemann (ed.): *Caritas. Nächstenliebe von den frühen Christen bis zur Gegenwart* (*Ausstellungskatalog Paderborn*), Petersberg 2015, pp. 130–137.
- Assmann 1994 = Assmann, Aleida: *Der Wissende und die Weisheit. Gedanken zu einem ungleichen Paar*, in: Sigrid Schade/Monika Wagner/Sigrid Weigel (eds.): *Allegorien und Geschlechterdifferenz*, Cologne/Weimar/Wien 1994, pp. 11–25.
- Auerbach 1965 = Auerbach, Erich: *Literary Language & Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Ralph Manheim, New York 1965.
- Barth 1983 = Barth, Hilarius M.: *Liebe – verwundet durch Liebe. Das Kreuzigungsbild des Regensburger Lektionars als Zeugnis dominikanischer Passionsfrömmigkeit*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 17 (1983), pp. 229–268.
- Becksmann/Korn 1992 = Becksmann, Rüdiger/Korn, Ulf-Dietrich: *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Lüneburg und den Heideklöstern*, Berlin 1992 (*Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland* 7, *Niedersachsen* 2).
- Bogen 2001 = Bogen, Steffen: *Träumen und Erzählen. Selbstreflexion in der Bildkunst vor 1300*, Munich 2001.
- Bouché 2000 = Bouché, Anne-Marie: *The Spirit in the World. The Virtues of the Floreffe Bible Frontispiece*. *British Library, Add. Ms. 17738, ff. 3v–4r*, in: Colum Hourihane (ed.): *Virtue & Vice. The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, Princeton 2000, pp. 42–65.
- Bynum 2007 = Bynum, Caroline Walker: *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia 2007.
- Ehrendwendtner 2004 = Ehrendwendtner, Marie-Luise: *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2004.

- Franzen-Blumer 2000 = Franzen-Blumer, Ann Barbara: Zisterziensermystik im *Bonmont-Psalter*. Ms. 54 der Bibliothèque Municipale von Besançon, in: *Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz* 51.3 (2000), pp. 21–28.
- Freyhan 1948 = Freyhan, Robert: The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948), pp. 68–86.
- Gombrich 1971 = Gombrich, Ernst H.: Personification, in: Robert R. Bolgar (ed.): *Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 500–1500*. Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King's College, Cambridge April 1969, Cambridge 1971, pp. 247–257.
- Gombrich 1972 = Gombrich, Ernst H.: *On the Renaissance*. Vol. 2: *Symbolic Images*, London 1972.
- Hamburger 1989 = Hamburger, Jeffrey: The Visual and the Visionary. The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions, in: *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 161–182.
- Hamburger 1990 = Hamburger, Jeffrey: *The Rothschild Canticles*. Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300, New Haven 1990.
- Heck 2011 = Heck, Christian: L'allégorie dans l'art médiéval. Entre l'exégèse visuelle et la rhétorique de l'image, in: Christian Heck (ed.): *L'allégorie dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, Turnhout 2011, pp. 7–24.
- Huber 2003 = Huber, Christoph: Geistliche Psychagogie. Zur Theorie der Affekte im *Benjamin Minor* des Richard von St. Victor, in: C. Stephen Jaeger / Ingrid Kasten (eds.): *Codierungen von Emotionen im Mittelalter*. Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages, Berlin 2003 (*Trends in Medieval Philology* 1), pp. 16–30.
- Karkov 2001 = Karkov, Catherine E.: Broken Bodies and Singing Tongues. Gender and Voice in the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23 *Psychomachia*, in: *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), pp. 115–136.
- Katzenellenbogen 1969 [1939] = Katzenellenbogen, Adolf: *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art* [1939], New York 1969.
- Keller, H.E. 1998 = Keller, Hildegard Elisabeth: *Diu gewaltaerinne minne*. Von einer weiblichen Großmacht und der Semantik von Gewalt, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 117 (1998), pp. 17–37.
- Keller, J. 2015 = Keller, Johannes: Verborgene Küsse – gefesselte Füße. Das *St. Trudperter Hohelied* am Scheideweg, in: Matthias Meyer / Alexander Sager (eds.): *Verstellung und Betrug im Mittelalter und in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Göttingen 2015 (*Aventiuren* 7), pp. 75–87.
- Kiening 1994 = Kiening, Christian: Personifikation. Begegnungen mit dem Fremd-Vertrauten in der mittelalterlichen Literatur, in: Helmut Brall / Barbara Haupt / Urban Küsters (eds.): *Personenbeziehungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Düsseldorf 1994, pp. 347–387.
- Koch 1986 = Koch, Eva Maria: Eine Kreuzigung mit Tugenden. Ein Glasgemälde des 14. Jahrhunderts im Kloster Wienhausen, in: *Die Diözese Hildesheim in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 54 (1986), pp. 9–21.
- Kohlmeyer 2019 = Kohlmeyer, Lea: Eine "husvrowe inwendig des lichamen." Zur Konzeption und Darstellung der menschlichen Seele im *Fließenden Licht der Gottheit* Mechthilds von Magdeburg, Münster 2019 (*Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster* 12.23).
- Kraft 1976 = Kraft, Heike: *Die Bildallegorie der Kreuzigung Christi durch die Tugenden*, Frankfurt 1976.
- Kuder 1997 = Kuder, Ulrich: Die dem Hiobbuch vorangestellten Bildseiten zu Beginn des zweiten Bandes der Bibel von Floreffe, in: Annelies Amberger (ed.): *Per assiduum studium scientiae adipisci margaritam*. Festgabe für Ursula Nilgen zum 65. Geburtstag, St. Ottilien 1997, pp. 109–136.
- Lakoff / Johnson 1980 = Lakoff, George / Johnson, Mark: *Metaphors we Live by*, Chicago 1980.
- Lakoff / Turner 1989 = Lakoff, George / Turner, Mark: *More than Cool Reason. A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, Chicago / London 1989.
- Lentes 1995 = Lentes, Thomas: Nur der geöffnete Körper schafft Heil. Das Bild als Verdoppelung des Körpers, in: Christoph Geissmar-Brandt / Eleonora Louis (eds.): *Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung, Tod* (*Ausstellungskatalog Wien*), Wien 1995, pp. 152–155.

- Lentes 2015 = Lentes, Thomas: *Deus caritas est. Figuration der Liebe in der mittelalterlichen Frömmigkeit*, in: Christoph Stiegemann (ed.): *Caritas. Nächstenliebe von den frühen Christen bis zur Gegenwart* (Ausst.-Kat. Paderborn), Petersberg 2015, pp. 146–159.
- Linden 2007 = Linden, Sandra: *Das sprechende Buch. Fingierte Mündlichkeit in der Schrift*, in: Andres Laubinger/Brunhilde Gedderth/Claudia Dobrinski (eds.): *Text – Bild – Schrift. Vermittlung von Information im Mittelalter*, Munich 2007 (MittelalterStudien 14), pp. 83–100.
- Linden 2017 = Linden, Sandra: *Exkurse im höfischen Roman*, Wiesbaden 2017 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 147).
- Lipton 2002 = Lipton, Sara: *The Temple is My Body. Gender, Carnality, and Synagoga in the Bible Moralisée*, in: Eva Frojmovic (ed.): *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other. Visual Representation and Jewish-Christian Dynamics in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2002 (Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 15), pp. 129–163.
- Logemann 2011 = Logemann, Cornelia: *Herrschaft als Rollenspiel. Zur Genese allegorischer Darstellungsverfahren im Spätmittelalter*, in: Anja Rathmann-Lutz (ed.): *Visibilität des Unsichtbaren. Sehen und Verstehen in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Zurich 2011, pp. 103–136.
- Logemann 2014 = Logemann, Cornelia: *Personifikation und die Stufen des Erkennens. Das Beispiel spätmittelalterlicher Tugenddarstellungen*, in: Ulrike Tarnow (ed.): *Die Oberfläche der Zeichen. Zur Hermeneutik visueller Strukturen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Paderborn 2014, pp. 15–33.
- Logemann 2017 = Logemann, Cornelia: *Prinzip Personifikation. Frankreichs Bilderwelten im europäischen Kontext von 1300 bis 1600*, Habilitation thesis, Heidelberg 2017.
- Meier 1976 = Meier, Christel: *Überlegungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Allegorie-Forschung. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mischformen*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), pp. 1–69.
- Melion/Ramakers 2016 = Melion, Walter S./Ramakers, Bartholomeus A.M.: *Personification. An Introduction*, in: Walter S. Melion/Bartholomeus A.M. Ramakers (eds.): *Personification. Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, Leiden/Boston 2016, pp. 1–40.
- Moos 2001 = Moos, Peter von: *Attentio est quaedam sollicitudo. Die religiöse, ethische und politische Dimension der Aufmerksamkeit im Mittelalter*, in: Aleida Assmann/Jean Assmann (eds.): *Aufmerksamkeiten. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation* 7, Munich 2001, pp. 91–127.
- Ohly 1993 = Ohly, Friedrich: *Gebärden der Liebe zwischen Gott und Mensch im St. Trudperter Hohenlied*, in: *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 34 (1993), pp. 9–31.
- Posset 2003 = Posset, Franz: *Amplexus Bernardi. The Dissemination of a Cistercian Motif in the Later Middle Ages*, in: *Cîteaux* 54 (2003), pp. 251–399.
- Rosenfeld 1978 = Rosenfeld, Hellmut: *Christus und die minnende Seele*, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, founded by Wolfgang Stammeler, continued by Karl Langosch, 2nd, completely rev. ed., ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. (from vol. 9 by Burghart Wachinger), 14 vols., Berlin/New York 1978–2008, vol. 1 (1978), cols. 1235–1237.
- Ruh 1989 = Ruh, Kurt: *Geistliche Liebeslehren des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 111 (1989), pp. 157–178.
- Savage 2017 = Savage, Jessica: *Before the Parliament of Heaven. Visualizing the Reconciled Virtues of Psalm 84.11*, in: Pamela A. Patton/Judith K. Golden (eds.): *Tributes to Adelaide Bennett Hagens. Manuscripts Iconography, and the Late Medieval Viewer*, London 2017, pp. 213–225.
- Schiller 1968 = Schiller, Gertrud: *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols., Gütersloh 1966–1990, vol. 2: *Die Passion Christi*, Gütersloh 1968.
- Schleif 2014 = Schleif, Corine: *The Crucifixion with Virtues in Stained Glass. Wounds, Violent Sexualities, an Aesthetics of Engagement in the Wienhausen Cloister*, in: *Journal of Glass Studies* 56 (2014), pp. 317–343.

- Schmidtke 1995 = Schmidtke, Dietrich: Tochter-Sion-Traktat, in: Kurt Ruh/Burghart Wachinger (eds.): Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon, founded by Wolfgang Stammler, continued by Karl Langosch, 2nd, completely rev. ed., ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. (from vol. 9 by Burghart Wachinger), 14 vols., Berlin/New York 1978–2008, vol. 9 (1995), cols. 950–960.
- Schreiner 1996 = Schreiner, Klaus: "Gerechtigkeit und Frieden haben sich geküßt" (Ps. 84,11). Friedensstiftung durch symbolisches Handeln, in: Johannes Fried (ed.): Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter, Ostfildern 1996 (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen 43), pp. 38–86.
- Seebohm 1996 = Seebohm, Almuth: The Crucified Monk, in: The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 59 (1996), pp. 61–102.
- Seppänen 1967 = Seppänen, Lauri: Zur Liebesterminologie in mittelhochdeutschen geistlichen Texten, Tampere 1967 (Acta Universitatis Tamperensis A 11).
- Siart 2008 = Siart, Olaf: Kreuzgänge mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster. Bildprogramme und Funktionen, Petersberg 2008.
- Siart 2010 = Siart, Olaf: Darstellungen der Passion im Kreuzgang des Zisterzienserinnenklosters Wienhausen, in: Linda Maria Koldau (ed.): Passion und Ostern in den Lüneburger Klöstern, Ebstorf 2010, pp. 187–204.
- Smith 2012 = Smith, Kathryn A.: The Monk Who Crucified Himself, in: Elina Gertsman/Jill Stevenson (eds.): Thresholds of Medieval Visual Culture. Liminal Spaces, Woodbridge 2012, pp. 44–72.
- Smout 2017 = Smout, Caroline: Sprechen in Bildern, Sprechen über Bilder. Die allegorischen Ikonotexte in den Regia Carmina des Convevole da Prato, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2017 (Pictura et poesis 33).
- Stork 2010 = Stork, Hans-Walter: Die Kreuzigung Christi durch die Tugenden. Ein zisterziensisches Bildthema, in: Linda Maria Koldau (ed.): Passion und Ostern in den Lüneburger Klöstern, Ebstorf 2010, pp. 205–222.
- Suerbaum 2012 = Suerbaum, Almut: *Es kommt ein Schiff, geladen*. Mouvance in mystischen Liedern aus Straßburg, in: Stephen Mossman/Nigel F. Palmer/Felix Heinzer (eds.): Schreiben und Lesen in der Stadt. Literaturbetrieb im spätmittelalterlichen Straßburg, Berlin/Boston 2012 (Kulturtopographie des alemannischen Raums 4), pp. 99–116.
- Tambling 2009 = Tambling, Jeremy: Allegory, London 2009.
- Tammen 2000 = Tammen, Silke: Verkörperungen. Ecclesia und Philosophia in der Bible Moralisee (Codex 2554 der Österr. Nationalbibliothek, Wien), in: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien 52 (2000), pp. 6–9.
- Tammen 2004 = Tammen, Silke: Begehrten Körper und Schriften. Gibt es eine geschlechtliche Codierung des Buches in der mittelalterlichen Kunst?, in: Susanne von Falkenhausen/Silke Förschler/Ingeborg Reichle/Bettina Uppenkamp (eds.): Medien der Kunst. Geschlecht, Metapher, Code. Beiträge der 7. Kunsthistorikerinnen-Tagung in Berlin 2002, Marburg 2004, pp. 257–272.
- Tammen 2006 = Tammen, Silke: Blick und Wunde – Blick und Form. Zur Deutungsproblematik der Seitenwunde Christi in der spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei, in: Kristin Marek (ed.): Bild und Körper im Mittelalter, Munich 2006, pp. 85–114.
- Thadden 1951 = Thadden, Maria von: Die Ikonographie der Caritas in der Kunst des Mittelalters. Diss. Bonn 1951.
- Volfing 2017 = Volfing, Annette: The Daughter Zion Allegory in Medieval German Religious Writing, London/New York 2017.
- Wagner 2022 = Wagner, Daniela: Aesthetics of Enumeration. The Arma Christi in Medieval Visual Art, in: Roman A. Barton/Julia Böckling/Sarah Link/Anne Rügemeier (eds.): Forms of List-Making. Epistemic, Literary, and Visual Enumeration, Cham 2022, pp. 249–274.

- Wartenberg 2015 = Wartenberg, Imke: *Bilder der Rechtsprechung. Spätmittelalterliche Wandmalereien in Regierungsräumen italienischer Kommunen*, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Ars et scientia 11).
- Weissert 2016 = Weissert, Caecilie: *Personifications of Caritas as Reflexive Figures*, in: Walter S. Melion/Bart Ramakers (eds.): *Personification. Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, Leiden/Boston 2016 (Intersections 41), pp. 491–517.
- Wellershoff-von Thadden 1952 = Wellershoff-von Thadden, Maria: *Caritas* [1952], in: *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* – RDK Labor, URL: <https://www.rdklabor.de/w/?oldid=92583> (last accessed: October 19, 2024).
- Wichgraf 1921 = Wichgraf, Wiltrud: *Der Tractat von der Tochter von Syon und seine Bearbeitungen*, Greifswald 1921.
- Winkler 2018 = Winkler, Elisa: *Die Personifikationen der drei bildenden Künste. Funktionalisierungen eines frühneuzeitlichen Bildpersonals*, Berlin/Boston 2018 (Ars et Scientia 20).
- Wittekind 2010 = Wittekind, Susanne: *Passion und Ostern im Bildprogramm des Wienhäuser Nonnenchores*, in: Linda Maria Koldau (ed.): *Passion und Ostern in den Lüneburger Klöstern*, Ebstedt 2010, pp. 157–186.