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Images and Visions in
Christian and Buddhist Culture

“Death and Life” and Visual Culture III

Global COE Program DALs
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regulating the visual representation of the painting in its entirety.

Conclusion

Focusing on the visual representation found in devotional paintings of the Southern Song, this paper has identified characteristics that allows them to be classified into three separate categories: visualized images, apparition images, and summoned images. I also make brief mention of the fact that this style of representation changed significantly in paintings of the Yuan, due to what could be reasonably thought of as a new syncretism between Daoism and Buddhism.

Considering East Asian art as a whole, however, it is not the case that Buddhist painting of the Goryeo Dynasty and Kamakura period necessarily underwent the same changes and share the same characteristics as Song and Yuan painting. Further investigation of their similarities and differences will naturally lead to a deeper, mutual understanding. It would give me great pleasure if this paper served to make readers consider visual representation in devotional imagery in a wider, global art perspective.

Postscript

This paper is an annotated version of the talk presented at the International Symposium: Images and Visions in Christian and Buddhist Culture – “Death and Life” and Visual Culture III, held at the University of Tokyo on February 13, 2011.

Sacred Narratives, Holy Objects and the Visionary Experience in Late Medieval Italy

Michele BACCI

In 1987, the 23 years old Sister Anna Hadija Ali, a Kenyan nun of the Pious Union of the Daughters of Jesus founded by the Archbishop Manuel Milingo, started reporting that she was visited by Christ each Tuesday night in her room, located within Milingo's residence near Porta Angelica in Rome. According to her words, she had a feeling to see and hear a thoroughly human figure, of average height, and meek or even frightened attitude; given that she wanted to keep His memory alive and that she was not able to draw, she decided to follow her superiors' advice as to take pictures of Him during her visions. At least one of her shots proved to be successful and this aroused much sensation when it was published within a book collecting the final outcome of her visionary experience, which was presented to the mass media in 1994 (Fig. 1).¹ Immediately after, some people reacted by pointing out that the image was very closely connected to several other “holy” photographs, many of which happen now to be listed in a number of specific blogs (Fig. 2).² Most strikingly, most of them seem to just replicate the same model and share the same characteristics, as well as a certain taste for a black and white appearance, which may be considered as a visual stratagem to enhance the picture's aura of mystery and sacredness.

Most of them are said to have been taken on the event of visions and apparitions, whereas a number of them were specifically connected with special places and events: so, for example, a lady found Jesus' face imprinted on the photographic film, when back home from a pilgrimage to several Eu-

1. Sister Anna Ali, *On the Eucharist: A Divine Appeal*, London 1994.

2. See, for example, the website “Jesusphoto” [<http://jesusphotos.altervista.org/>], visited on 30 May 2011]. Some religious people objected that the same image had been already published some years before: cf. E. Spelta's article (“Il Gesù che è apparso in foto io lo conservo da oltre 30 anni”), in the magazine “Stop” of 26 February 1994.

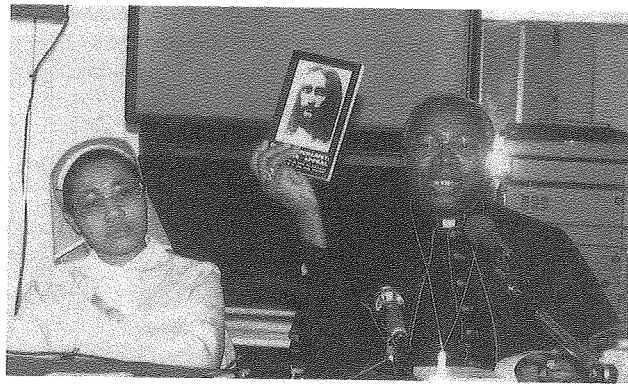


Fig. 1 Archbishop Manuel Milingo and Sister Anna Hadija Ali at the official presentation of a book including the photographic portrait of Jesus, 1994 (after "Stop," 26 February 1994)

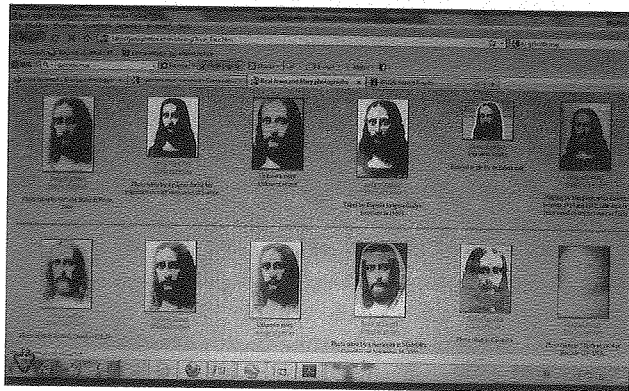


Fig. 2 Website devoted to photographic portraits of Jesus (<http://jesusphotos.altervista.org>)

ropean shrines; a man who wanted to document the restitution of a chalice to the altar whence it had been robbed during the Spanish civil war found the image of Christ in its place; in more recent times, another face was said to have been accidentally recorded by a weather satellite. In such cases, the camera itself played the role of the vision's addressee, so providing a kind of allegedly objective testimony to Jesus' constant presence in human life, which is called to play the role played in the times past by images "not made by human hands."³

Oddly enough, the occurrence of the same physiognomic characteris-

3. The best synthesis on "acheiropoietia" is provided by H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Bologna 1998.

tics or, to put it in traditional art-historical terms, the adoption of the same iconographic scheme, can be used as both an argument to claim the holy face's authenticity and a clue denouncing its falsity. Apparently, by the late 20th century the photographic portrait of Jesus had already become conventionalized enough to be replicated even in such unusual religious contexts as Sri Sathya Sai Baba's ashram in Puttaparthi, India. According to the latter's more or less official hagiographer S.D. Kulkarni:

An English couple went to Puttaparthi (Sai Baba's place of residence in India). The husband had faith in Baba but the wife believed in Jesus Christ. Baba called them in for an interview. The husband had an automatic camera which started clicking by itself during the interview. When the couple went back to England and had the film developed, they got this picture of the face of Jesus. On their next journey to Puttaparthi, Baba called them in for another interview and asked them whether they liked the picture. He then told them that this was a picture of Jesus Christ at the age of 28 or 29 when he left India to return to Jerusalem.⁴

Even in this case, the physiognomy corresponds to the usual features: long yet combed wavy hair with parting in the middle, short beard and moustaches, straight nose, gently curved eyebrows, and large, melancholic eyes. On the whole, it seems to be strongly respectful of the devotional iconography, rooted in 19th century practice, which was widespread almost everywhere through little holy pictures, such as those displaying Jesus' Sacred Heart, and was eventually appropriated also by the imagery of Sai Baba's worshippers. Such contemporary examples point out that there is indeed a very strict relation between figurative conventions and visions, yet it is not always easy, and perhaps not even legitimate, to ascertain whether, and to what extent, the latter rely on the former or vice versa.⁵

4. S. D. Kulkarni, *Sri Satya Sai, the Yugavatara. Scientific Analysis of Baba Phenomenon*, Mumbai 1990, p. 134. Cfr. also Sai Baba's official website [<http://www.saibaba.ws/miracles/photoofjesus.htm>, visited on 30 May 2011].

5. On such dynamics in late Medieval and Modern European culture, see M. Zehnpfennig, "Traum" und "Vision" in *Darstellungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover 1979; C. Frugoni, "Le mistiche, le visioni e l'iconografia, rapporti e influssi," in *Temi e problemi della mistica femminile trecentesca*, Todi 1983, pp. 137-179; C. Harbison, "Visions and Meditations in Early Flemish Painting," *Simiolus* 15 (1985), pp. 87-118; A. Paravicini Bagliani and G. Stabile (eds.), *Träume im Mittelalter. Ikonologische Studien*, Stuttgart 1989; J. Wirth, "L'apparition du surnaturel dans l'art du Moyen Âge," in F. Dunand, J.-M. Spieser and J. Wirth (eds.), *L'image et la production du sacré*, Paris 1991, pp. 139-161; V. I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art*, London 1995; J.-C. Schmitt, "Rituels de l'image et récits de vision," in *Testo e immagine nell'alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1994, pp. 419-459; idem, "La culture de l'immagine," *Annales HSS* 51 (1996), pp. 3-36; J. F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*,

Undoubtedly, substitutive images of a holy person could be generated, even in the times past, by visionary experience. One of the most striking examples is represented, to the best of my knowledge, by a very odd passage in the mid-13th century life of Saint Bona of Pisa, a lay mystic and tireless pilgrim born around 1155 and dead in 1207.⁶ Being accustomed to seeing and speaking in ecstasy to the Lord, she once dared ask Him to have a portrait of His face:

"I would like," said she, "to have an image or an icon displaying your appearance, so that I may be cheered by it." The Lord Jesus Christ immediately gave Saint Bona an image displaying His face.⁷

Because of its non-manufactured quality, this object must have been regarded as sharing many characteristics of the famous, semi-legendary *acheiropoieta* worshipped in Rome and Constantinople; yet, differently from the Mandylion or the Veronica, it was deprived of any connection with Christ's incarnated body and was consequently to be considered as a purely "hierophanic" image, allowing everybody's eye to contemplate the object of Bona's reiterated visions.

Interestingly enough, Bona did not keep the image in her room, but decided almost immediately to give it to her beloved church of San Iacopo de Podio, in the neighborhoods of Pisa. Even if the old furnishings of this place are now dispersed, the outer appearance of the holy icon has been transmitted to us by an engraving included in an appendix to the 1688 Bollandist edition of Bona's hagiographic narrative. Notwithstanding some iconographic oddities, which may have been due to the late copyist's personal interpretation, this testimony seems to indicate that the holy icon looked much like a Byzantine or a Byzantinizing panel displaying an austere and dignified bust-length figure of the Pantokrator (Fig. 3).⁸

In its new setting, the icon became the new focus of Bona's contempla-

New York 1998; K. Krüger and A. Nova (eds.), *Imagination und Wirklichkeit: Zum Verhältnis von mentalen und realen Bildern in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit*, Mainz 2000; P. Dinzelbacher, *Himmel, Hölle, Heilige. Visionen und Kunst im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2002; C. Hourihane (ed.), *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art & History*, University Park, Pa., 2010.

6. The basic study and philological edition of Bona's *Life* (whose essential narrative dates back to shortly after her death) is provided by G. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione agiografica medievale di santa Bona da Pisa*, Pisa 2004; cf. his introduction on pp. 9-109. The four versions of the saint's life are published on pp. 111-210.

7. *Life of Saint Bona*, version B2 [ca. 1250], chap. 26, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, p. 132; cf. version A, chap. 28, *ibidem*, pp. 176-177.

8. G. Henschenius, "Commentarius praeuius," in *Acta sanctorum Maii. Tomus VII*, Antwerp 1688, p. 859. Cf. M. Bacci, "Shaping the Sacred: Painted Crosses and Shrines in Thirteenth-Century Pisa," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheka Hertziana* 38 (2007-2008), pp. 113-129, esp. 117.

tive activity. Her devotional-affective exercise of gaze in front of the image gave birth to one of her most intensive visionary experiences, that resulted in the perception of the Holy Trinity. As the story put it:

A day at vespers, when Saint Bona was in the aforementioned church of San Iacopo with a very devote woman and stayed in front of the image, the icon started speaking to Saint Bona: that devote woman grew ash-pale and Bona grew even more pale. That devote woman called Father Paolo to give incense to the lady Bona... And Father Paolo asked Saint Bona: "Why have you grown pale? Are you pale because the image spoke to you?." But she did not want to answer. Later on she said to Father Paolo: "I actually saw, as an apparition, the form of the Trinity, being so brilliant and shining that I was unable to endure it."⁹

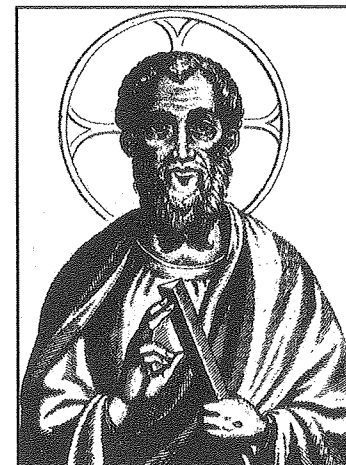


Fig. 3 Saint Bona's Holy Face, as reproduced in a 17th century engraving (from *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, Tomus VII)

The use of images as visual counterparts in devotional, meditational, and mystical practice was something already widespread by the late 12th century. In monastic hagiography it was commonplace to describe visionaries who made use of crucifixes and other images as foci for their prayers and had the sensation to have a direct relation with Christ through those same images, by means of such signs as animations, conversations, and physical contact.¹⁰ In Pisa, one of Bona's fellow citizens, a monk named Basilio who, because of his young age, felt strongly the temptation of lust, started mortifying his body with whips and cold water in front of the icon of the Virgin Mary located in the solitude of his cell, until the icon itself spoke to say that it was time to stop it.¹¹

9. *Life of Saint Bona*, version B2, chap. 26, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, pp. 132-133.

10. Cf. the huge amount of texts collected and commented by J.-M. Sansterre, "Attitudes occidentales à l'égard des miracles d'image dans le haut Moyen Âge," *Annales HSS* 53 (1998), pp. 1219-1241; *idem*, "Visions et miracles en relation avec le crucifix dans les récits des Xe-XIe siècles," in M. C. Ferrari and A. Meyer (eds.), *Il Volto Santo in Europa. Culto e immagini del Crocifisso nel Medioevo*, Lucca 2005, pp. 387-406.

11. *Life of Saint Bona*, version B2, chap. 33, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, pp. 137-138. For the connection of such practices with Byzantine or Byzantinizing icons cf. M. Bacci, "Pisa bizantina.

Not infrequently the locus of visionary experiences was associated more to some distinctive elements of the liturgical space, than to the domestic images employed in private devotion. Many texts point out that visions could preferably take place in connection with the emotionally charged and otherworldly dimension of the church. Bona had her first and more upsetting experience when she was only seven years old inside the Pisan church of San Sepolcro, which was not just a common religious building, but an ideal reproduction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.¹² She was praying in front of a painted cross that was located over the rood screen, i.e. on the barrier separating the part of the church reserved for the laity from that being accessible only to the clergy, when she suddenly saw Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, other two Marys, and the apostle James the Elder. At first, she was frightened and tried to rush to the door, but James was quick enough to reassure her; then the Lord asked her to open her mouth to fill it three times with the Holy Spirit.¹³ From then onwards, she became familiar to both Christ and Saint James, the latter appearing to her dressed as a pilgrim going to his own tomb in Santiago de Compostela, which was visited by Bona several times, both physically and spiritually (Fig. 4).¹⁴

Bona's visions frequently resulted in the physical experience not only of holy persons, but also of holy sites. Her religious narratives never fully explain if her frequent pilgrimages were undertaken in either a material or a purely spiritual way. Her meeting with the holy persons in the Pisan church of San Sepolcro had been just the first step of a spiritual path that culminated in the real Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where she had been brought by Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Saint James. On the rock of Golgotha she was asked to take off her chastity belt, which was inserted by the Lord himself in the hole where the Holy Cross had once been fixed (Fig. 5).¹⁵ She wore this girdle until two years before her death, when Jesus ordered her to make a cross out of it; this cross was created by a miracle, and blessed by a drop of Christ's blood falling from heaven. By such a sign the metal instrument was transformed into a relic-like object manifesting the conformity of Bona's

Alle origini del culto delle icone in Toscana," in A. R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Dufour Bozzo and G. Wolf (eds.), *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI-XIV)*, Venice 2007, pp. 63-78, esp. 68.

12. R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942), pp. 1-33, esp. 5; D. Neri, *Il Santo Sepolcro riprodotto in Occidente*, Jerusalem 1971, pp. 69-71; M. A. Di Paco Triglia, *La chiesa del Santo Sepolcro di Pisa*, Pisa 1986.

13. *Life of Saint Bona*, version B1, chap. 4, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, p. 113; version A, chap. 8, ibidem, pp. 161-162.

14. *Life of Saint Bona*, version B1, chap. 5, p. 114; version B2, chap. 5, p. 119; version A, chap. 10, p. 163.

15. *Life of Saint Bona*, version A, chap. 15, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, pp. 165-166.

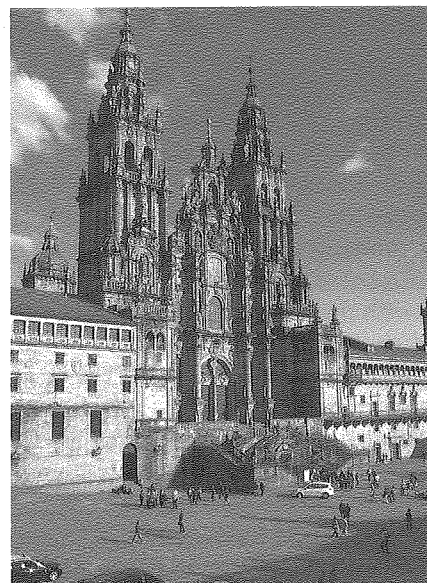


Fig. 4 Cathedral of Saint James, Santiago de Compostela



Fig. 5 The Hole of the Holy Cross on the Mount Golgotha, Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre, Calvary Chapel

flesh to the Lord's body: «The divine flesh», said her hagiographer, «was applied to it [the belt], so that, by means of the cross, her flesh appeared to be divinely united and associated to the holy flesh».¹⁶

Bona's connection with the apostle James was very close as well. She was convinced to have undertaken several pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela in the company of James himself and it is not by chance that a mid-13th century painted cross now in the Cleveland Museum of Art displays the apostle introducing her to the Crucified. Possibly this cross was originally meant for the small oratory that Bona founded in the outskirts of Pisa in honor of Saint James – the aforementioned San Iacopo de Podio – which was soon perceived as a substitutive pilgrimage site, where one could gain the same indulgences as in Galicia.¹⁷ The day before her death she departed from there "out of her body" and could mystically visit the tomb of the apostle in just half an hour; the souvenirs that she could show thereafter witnessed that her experience was by no means less real than a physical

16. Ibidem, chaps 48-49, pp. 191-193.

17. On this church, see F. Panarelli, "Culto dei santi e culto dei luoghi: il caso di S. Bona e il monastero di S. Jacopo de Podio," in G. Rossetti (ed.), *Pisa e la Toscana occidentale nel Medioevo. A Cinzio Violante nei suoi 70 anni*, Pisa 1992, pp. 151-180. On the connection between this holy site and the Cleveland cross cf. Bacci, "Shaping the Sacred," pp. 117-118.

trip.¹⁸ Because of such miraculous deeds she is presently considered to be the patron saint of hostesses.

Less wide-ranging was the perspective of yet another visionary, the Blessed Gherardesca, who also lived in Pisa as a Camaldolite lay-sister between ca. 1212 and 1269. Her hagiographic telling, written shortly after her death, records the innumerable visions that this lady received in both the solitude of her room and, more frequently, within the different town churches in conjunction with specific moments of the annual liturgical life. Strikingly enough, this aspect was almost absent in Bona's experience, whose vision could be site-bound, but with no specific connection to the Eucharistic rite: it was most notably already after the end of the service, when a group of clerics indulged in singing lauds to the Lord for their own pleasure and devotion, that she had the feeling to see Christ and the twelve apostles singing over the main altar, which was by then perceived as the standard location for religious images.¹⁹

Gherardesca shared her contemporaries' fascination for the rite of the Elevation of the Holy Host, which was developed as the liturgical outcome of the Transubstantiation dogma, established by the IV Lateran council in 1215. Once in the church of the Minor Friars, she was able to see the Host being fractured over the body of the Virgin Mary and three doves supporting the priest's arms.²⁰ Liturgical imagery strongly informed her experience even when she felt to participate in the magnificent rites performed by the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, and other apostles in the Heavenly Jerusalem, which she happened to visit spiritually several times. There she had the chance to see the holy persons wearing tunics, copes, and dalmatics which obviously resembled those employed in ritual practice.²¹ Rather frequently she also saw Christ and His angels descending from Heaven into the presbytery of a church to concelebrate the Holy Mass.²²

Some of Gherardesca's visions took place in specific town churches and were probably stimulated by her familiarity with images and iconographic schemes which were by then widespread in local pictorial tradition. At least

three times she saw the Virgin Mary sheltering her or another person's soul under Her mantle, according to a solution paralleling that encountered simultaneously in the arts of Tuscany and the Latin-ruled territories of the Levant in the late 13th century.²³ After being insulted by some Camaldolite monks who did not share her odd behavior, she viewed the Savior crucified with three nails, i.e. in keeping with the innovative formula that, in the locally well rooted *genre* of painted crosses, had been introduced by the famous painter Giunta Pisano.²⁴

A distinctive tract in Gherardesca's experience was her interest in feeling physically involved not only in the otherworldly dimension of the holy persons, but also in the historical perspective of the Gospel narratives, which was mediated not only by the texts themselves, but also by liturgical commemoration, iconographical interpretations, and topographical transcriptions. On the feast day of the Annunciation the lady was invited by John the Evangelist to visit the holy house of Nazareth, where she could feel to be present at the meeting of the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel. In her vision, she could distinctly realize that the Mother of God was praying and leaning on a column.²⁵

Emphasis on this latter element was probably stimulated by the actual setting of the holy site at Nazareth, which by the time of Gherardesca's life was ruined and no more officiated as a Christian church. The underground cave was ruled by the local Muslims and pilgrims to the site were mainly attracted by some extant substructures of the destroyed 12th century basilica which were identified as visual markers of the places occupied by Gabriel and Mary during the angelic salutation (Fig. 6).²⁶ This topographic peculiarity exerted a strong impact on the development of the Annunciation iconography in the late 13th and 14th century, where a prominent position was given to a column separating the image's two figures; the Virgin's physical proximity and contact to this column was especially emphasized, for example, in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's first drawing for the mural decoration of the Chapel of the Virgin at Montesiopi, where Mary was shown literally

18. *Life of Saint Bona*, version A, chap. 50, ed. Zaccagnini, *La tradizione*, pp. 193-194.

19. On Gherardesca and her visionary experience cf. C. Caby, "La sainteté féminine camaldole au Moyen Âge: autour de la b. Gherardesca de Pise," *Hagiographica* 1 (1994), pp. 235-269.

20. *Life of Blessed Gherardesca*, III, 27, ed. *Acta sanctorum Maii. Tomus VII*, Antwerp 1688, p. 170.

21. *Ibidem*, IV, 35, p. 172.

22. *Ibidem*, VII, 64, p. 178. On the connection between visions and the experience of the Holy Mass cf. C. Bynum, "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," *Women's Studies* 11 (1984), pp. 179-184 (republished in *idem*, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York 1991, pp. 119-150; E. Palazzo, "Visions and Liturgical Experience in the Early Middle Ages," in Hourihane, *Looking Beyond*, pp. 15-29.

23. On this peculiar aspect cf. M. Bacci, "La Madonna della Misericordia individuale," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 21 (2008), pp. 171-195, esp. 189-193.

24. *Life of Blessed Gherardesca*, VI, 56, ed. *Acta sanctorum Maii*, p. 176. On the motif in Giunta Pisano's work cf. A. Tartuferi, *Giunta Pisano*, Soncino 1991, p. 74. The three-nailed crucifix had first appeared in the art of Northern France and Germany by the mid-12th century and was strongly criticized as heretical by the bishop Luc of Tuy in ca. 1240: cf. J. Wirth, *L'image à l'époque gothique* (1140-1280), Paris 2010, pp. 234-240.

25. *Life of Blessed Gherardesca*, I, 11, ed. *Acta sanctorum Maii*, p. 167.

26. As first witnessed by an anonymous Catalan pilgrim writing in 1323 (J. Pijoan, "Un nou viatge a Terra Santa en català," *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans* 1 (1907), pp. 307-384, esp. 379) and by Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, chap. 127 [1346], ed. A. Lanza and M. Troncarelli, *Pellegrini scrittori. Viaggiatori toscani del Trecento in Terrasanta*, Florence 1990, p. 92.

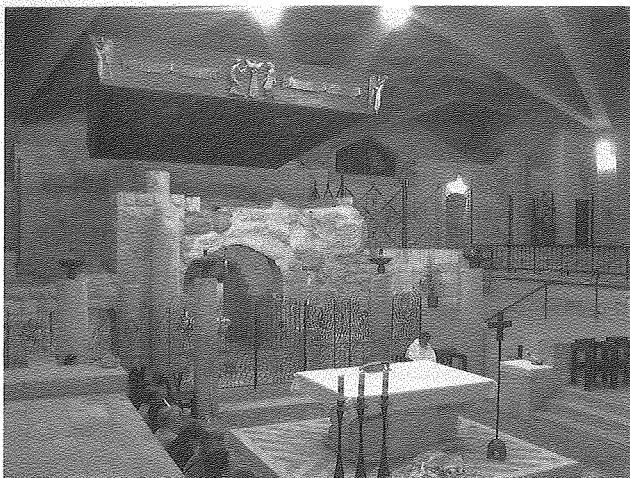


Fig. 6 Nazareth, the Holy House



Fig. 7 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, preliminary drawing (sinopia) of the Annunciation scene, after 1340. Montesiepi (Siena), Chapel of San Galgano

embracing it (Fig. 7).²⁷

Lorenzetti's solution, which was to be rejected in favor of a more traditional composition, was probably stimulated, as had been Gherardesca's vision, by the report of some pilgrim to Nazareth, who had paid his or her devotion to the Virgin's column. Neither feared to modify the Gospel narrative by adding such a prominent detail; just on the contrary, both shared a feeling being largely widespread in contemporary religious sensibility and encouraging believers to use imagination as a pious exercise: the most important goal of meditation consisted in figuring out the most important events of God's incarnation and public life in dynamic terms, by reintegrating them into their spatial and temporal dimen-

27. E. Borsook, *Gli affreschi di Montesiepi*, Florence 1969, pp. 29-30; R. Argenziano, *L'incarnazione, l'infanzia e la vita pubblica di Cristo*, in M. Bacci (ed.), *Iconografia evangelica a Siena dalle origini al Concilio di Trento*, Siena 2009, pp. 27-111, esp. 36-41.

sion. What the Scripture did not say should have been reconstituted by the devotee's mind, who could only feel involved in the dramatic reality of religious history if it was able to stage it in its proper environment. Such exercises were recommended, from the late 13th century onwards, by many representatives of the new Mendicant orders, who went on to speak, in this respect, of a specific technique named "locative memory" and consisting in imagining the holy events, especially those of Christ's Passion, as taking place in a familiar context.²⁸

The conceptual border between the practice of meditation and visionary experience became weaker and weaker during the 13th and 15th centuries. By the end of the 15th century visions could be self-induced by combining meditation with bodily suffering: in the very moment in which the Sicilian nun Eustochia Calafato whipped her body, she had the feeling to see Christ as he was usually represented in the scene of the Flagellation; moreover, she associated each part of her convent with the specific events of Jesus' life and started figuring out that they were taking place there and in that same moment.²⁹ This allowed her to shed abundant tears and feel that she was taking advantage of a very privileged act of vision, which was as intensive and emotionally charged as that of Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross, which was so frequently displayed in contemporary painting, and came probably also to become identical with it.

28. On such practices cf. N. Miedema, "Following in the Footsteps of Christ: Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion," in A. A. MacDonald, H. N. B. Ridderbos and R. M. Schlusemann (eds.), *The Broken Body. Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, Groningen 1998, pp. 73-92; P. Parshall, "The Art of Memory and the Passion," *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), pp. 456-472; F. Holly, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination. The Paris Meditationes vitae Christi and Female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento Italy*, Turnhout 2009; S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, Philadelphia, Pa. 2010.

29. On this visionary nun and her writings cf. M. Catalano, *La leggenda della beata Eustochia da Messina, testo volgare del XV secolo*, Messina-Florence 1950, and F. Terrizzi, *Il libro della Passione scritto dalla beata Eustochia Calafato clarissa messinese (1434-1485)*. Ferrara, Bibl. Civica Ariostea, ms. II 232 (Messina, Bibl. Universitaria, ms. FV 24), Messina 1988.