One of the more intriguing problems associated with the pictorial dimension of textiles is their status as objects that can be moulded and hence as durable carriers of visual resemblance to the covered body. This issue does not concern the transparency of textiles, so willingly analysed in recent years, but its opposite: durability, constant flexibility and a certain volume potential that the textiles covering the body have. In this way, in their pictorial status, the cast-off garments are to a certain degree similar to imprints, although in an inverted way: they preserve not the negative marking of the body, but rather duplicate its form and dimensions when unfolded and exposed. These features of the fabric make it possible for the garment to acquire retrospective qualities within the visual memory and to remind us about either the absent or the still present but invisible. Moreover, evoking the image of past and departed bodies in terms of provoking a mental reconstruction continues to be valid even if the represented textile is already deprived of the body's original shape and remains folded. Such a retrospective feature of a cloth or a robe – readiness to replace the body visually – is especially evident as well as extraordinarily relevant in the Christological context. However, it is here that the beholder of an image is always confronted with two types of human corporeality presented in terms of transience and resurrection, as well as a promised and theologically proven return. In the case of Christ, who overcame death also in the physical-corporeal way, we therefore often deal simultaneously with an unequivocally prospective function of the image created by his garments, which evoke a mental image of his absent body. Such an image provided by the the garment as the body's ‹imprint› is no longer the one that primarily denotes death and absence, as Georges Didi-Huberman generally defines the existential dimensions of the imprint.[1] Thereupon, it would also be interesting to question the case of the pictorial representation of martyrs as followers of the historical figure of Christ trying to continue his mission in terms of repetition and imitation of his earthly activity. Does such a positive ‹textile replacement› also take place in their context? This question – distanced from the ‹Schleierforschung›[2] and secondary also to the sociologically defined history of clothing culture as a phenomenon of a visual kind[3] – concerns, first of all, the investigation of the status of the image as a means of representation using its own strictly visually defined textile metaphors. The following study, which will raise this issue, is meant as a preliminary sketch aiming to initiate a discussion on the historical relevance of the autonomous cast-off garment in its pictorial dimension.[4]

The archeological body and its pictorial veiling Let us examine the role of the image of the martyr's garment at a time when martyrdom itself was put to work for the propaganda system of the Church's representation of history. In the post-Tridentine era, the martyr's body, revealed by means of verifiable methods of the early Christian archaeology, became a visual tool in itself for the verification of the history formally presented in images. One of the best examples of this change is Tintoretto's well-known cycle of four images, devoted to St. Mark, from 1562–1566, painted in the hall of Scuola di San Marco in Venice. It is a cycle depicting not only scenes from the Apostle's wonders, but also the *post mortem* adventures of his body. The focus in this case is set on its discovery and removal as an object on which identity claims were concentrated.[5] As early as the 16th–17th century, the martyr's body already has its own history; it uses its own visual models of representation and frequently only structurally refers *ex post* to the hagiographic formula of the *vita*, using, in a way, a retrospective projection. It was in this sphere of tension between different advanced media of memory that the martyr's robe was included as a retrospective pictorial motif. Undoubtedly, it remains in the shadow of the tormented body itself, a body that aroused huge interest among early modern researchers investigating early Christian catacombs. It was, however, the new attitude to the body in the post-Tridentine archaeology that modified the understanding of the visual potential of the garment and in this roundabout way – to some extent – also the understanding of the very image of martyrdom.

Let us note, however, from the beginning, that the present analysis of the role of the martyr's garments in images will not be concerned with any strict rule of representation authorized by references from the writings of Gabriele Paleotti, Johannes Molanus, Cesare Baronio or other post-Tridentine theoreticians of images. Such quotations are too often treated in the history of art as an allegedly reliable interpretation tool. It is certainly worth going beyond the rather linear construction of correspondence – *proporzione* and *correspondenza* – of the robe to the body and status, a construction proposed and unvaryingly advocated by Paleotti in his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* (in fact, this recommendation is almost the only conclusion from the cardinal's reflections on garments in religious images). The present study is rather an initial suggestion of an interpretation of the autonomous garment as a unique visual phenomenon within the representations of martyrs in the early modern era, a suggestion based only on a few selected examples.

The martyr's garments assume the role of an element that is an intrinsic part of pictorial rhetoric. It would be difficult, therefore, to find in these or similar representations any direct links to the Church's practices of the period: liturgy, organised devotion, or literal illustrations of the actual findings from the early Christian archaeology[6]. Rather, it was the very introduction of the martyr's robe into images that made it a unique means of evidence, argumentation and ostentation. It was the domain of images where liturgical procedures and the idea of ecclesiastical testimony optionally reappear reflected in textile metaphors. In the full-figure representation of St. Cecilia by Giulio Cesare Procaccini in the Milanese Pinacoteca di Brera from about 1620 (fig. 1)[7], this rhetorical shift in the perception of the martyr's body and garments becomes evident. With her hands tied, the saint, presented in an almost portrait-like manner, is not so much a focus of any action depicted in the painting, but is in her inertia turned directly to the beholder, demonstrating in ecstasy *ex post* the corporeal dimension of her torment. The delicate gesture of the angel holding and unveiling the upper hem of Cecilia's dress to reveal the nature of her sacrifice is

Fig. 1 Giulio Cesare Procaccini, St. Cecilia, ca. 1620. Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera

in this case motivated by an individual body and not by history evolving according to the laws of hagiography. Moreover, the object of visualisation here is really the specific ‹archaeological body›, analogous to Cecilia's *corpus intactum* presented between 1599 and 1600 by Stefano Maderno in his famous and controversial sculpture in Rome's Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.[8] The detailed account of the re-discovery of Cecilia's grave by cardinals Paolo Sfondrato and Cesare Baronio in 1599 was included by Antonio Bosio in his *Historia passionis S. Caeciliae*.[9] The brief modern description of this act can be found in Giovanni Battista de Rossi's *La Roma sotterranea Cristiana* and reads as follows: «First the precious lining and silk gauze with which Paschal had covered the body nearly eight centuries before. Its colour had faded, but the fabric was still entire, and through its transparent folds the shining gold of the robes in which the martyr herself was clothed. After pausing a few moments, the cardinal gently removed this silken covering, and the virgin form of St Cecilia appeared in the very same

attitude in which she had breathed her last [...]. She lay clothed in her robes of golden tissue, on which were still visible the glorious stains of her blood, and at her feet were the linen cloths mentioned by Pope Paschal and his biographer.»[10] The extremely suggestive gesture of the angel in Procaccini's painting, delicately uncovering Cecilia's body from the blood-stained robe thus becomes a repetition of the historical event – the cardinal's *inventio* of the martyr's intact body through the ceremonial uncovering of her garments. Yet this time it happens within the pictorial demonstration before the beholder's eyes. The same angel holds a wreath of flowers in the other hand, as if glorifying the female martyr for the second time after the discovery and official presentation of her body. In such a representation we immediately move from *historia* to *ostensio*. We could say that the image itself, as a medium of historical evidence, plays a role analogous to the *translatio* of relics at this moment. It also allows the body to be transferred to a strictly visual dimension. Citing the decisions of Lateranum IV, Giovanni Battista Segni wrote, in his treatise on relics in 1600, that relics were held up and immediately exposed at the very moment they were found. During the *translatio*, after the *sigillum* was checked, they were usually wrapped in *palijs praeciosis* and then displayed – almost never without a cover (*nudae*) – in an act of *ostensio*.[11] In the visual medium of the image, a similar procedure takes place: the archaeologically ascertained body – «fresh and perfect as when it was first laid in the tomb»[12] – is ‹revealed› again (*inventio*) with help of the virtual gesture of uncovering the robe and at the same time ‹translated› (*translatio*) into the language of lasting visual presentation, to the new perpetual location of an image.

The aim of such a painting – which definitely makes the participation of the beholder a decisively individual experience in this intimate discovery – is to stimulate affect by the subject of the painting revealed directly before his eyes and simultaneously to provoke him to give a judgement regarding the image's authenticity. In Francesco Guarino's painting from ca. 1640 (fig. 2)[13], St. Agatha is shown in an almost self-portrait pose (before a small framed mirror?), gazing at the beholder, and at the same time ostentatiously covering her body with a white cloth that gradually soaks up the blood from her cut off breasts. However, we see neither this painful deficiency nor the clear bloody signs of cruel violence on the martyr's incomplete body – and this is the source of the extraordinary visual rhetoric of this representation. Agatha is revealed to us almost as if she were an artist within an intricate self-presentation, forcing us to carry out an aesthetic reconstruction of the corporeal martyrdom through the blood-stained cloth, treated as a tool of her ‹art›, intended as an attribute of the painter instead of the brush. On the one hand, the fabric incorporates blood, and in this way becomes the body's physical representative[14], but on the other – it demurely covers the corporeal evidence of the sacrifice. Thus, this cloth can be perceived as an expression of the basic metaphor of the early modern image forced to oscillate between the truth of representation and the visualisation of the properties of the medium itself. We could further say that it is the inner reality of the image itself that becomes a ‹relic› here covered by the medium of the painting, which could perhaps be called ‹the garment of images› (if we would like to decipher the title of our volume).

The autonomous garment as carrier of dignity Having pointed to the highly metaphorical role of garments in the early modern iconography of portraits of the saints, we believe it is now worth raising the issue of the martyr's garment motif in narratively structured historical representations. In Medieval narrative images the martyrs' Christian sacrifice culminates in the very act of the saints' deaths. The visualisation of brutal violence inflicted on the saint, his or her extreme physical torment, usually ending with a dismembering scene in the

Fig. 2 Francesco Guarino, St. Agatha, ca. 1640. Napoli, Museo di Capodimonte

form of beheading can be interpreted in some cases as a pictorial procedure of the ‹manufacturing of relics›, as Silke Tammen has recently put it in an interesting manner in her reflections on the martyrological images of violence in the Middle Ages.[15] We can further add that a similar ‹manufacturing› role within a visual medium was already played by martyrs' garments which, as carriers incorporating blood and sweat from the holy body, replaced the corporeal presence.[16] However, in the early modern times we can observe a certain shift in the martyr's depicted corporeality. The confessional history of the Catholic Church by the middle of the 16th century, already based on the paradigm of glorious sacrifice, was itself raised by the theology of the post-Tridentine period to the rank of a canonical ‹image›. Its credibility was to stem from archaeological reconstruction. One of the tools in this transformation was the visual model of *veritas historica*, *verisimilitudo* – an Aristotelian law of aesthetic probability programmatically redefined for the purpose of historical reconstruction.[17] Paradoxically, however, with the emergence of this new ‹true image›, the transient body of the martyr lost its significance when, following its inclusion in the schematic action of a pre-determined *storia* of the image, it became fully narrativised. Consequently, the function of the material evidence of sacrifice in the image was in some cases taken over by the

martyr's garment as a clear relic which was shown as not subjected to torture and which created in this way a separate object of perception for the beholders. As a result, in some paintings from the post-Tridentine era the garment presents itself *explicite* as an object, a material constant that differs from the historical narrative and from the body subordinated to it. Let us, therefore, focus now on the following topic: the martyrs' clothes as objects definitely separate from the tormented bodies, folded and independent in their shapeless form. Are they carriers of any meaning? In images of martyrs, if the garments, flexible in their structure, are taken off the body, they almost always function autonomously as folded or carelessly thrown objects. Behind this formal device, which could hardly be defined in terms of chance, there is usually an intention, aim, cause and hence a specific rhetoric of the image. The formlessness of the represented textile becomes an intended form within the image's structure. It is exactly this discrepancy that transforms the pictured garments into objects of direct expression and create a specific meaningful tension beyond attributive symbolism. Therefore, we should pay particular attention here to the phenomenological aspect of representations. The folds or spatial texture of the fabric, determine within the visual medium, the here-and-now and one-off nature of the visual ‹identity› of the textile, thus requiring the beholder to look at the image, in some cases, in a manner that goes far beyond reflection, evoking primary emotions. Such a spontaneous comprehension of textile motifs seems to have been the intention of some early modern Italian images of martyrdom, the interpretation of which will be the subject matter here.

When Agostino Ciampelli, Andrea Commodi and Tarquinio Ligustri were painting their martyr-depicting frescoes in the Jesuit church of San Vitale in Rome for the occasion of the Anno Santo of 1600[18], the image had been commonly regarded as a scientific tool for the verification of the anatomical knowledge of the body and all its physical afflictions for over half a century. If we look at Ciampelli's monumental representation of the brutal martyrdom of St. Vitalis stretched over a rack from 1598 (fig. 3, pl. XIV), we cannot help but get the impression that we are witnessing a kind of borrowing of a staging model from the iconosphere of scientific images from the time of the first university experiments in the form of open performances, such as Andrea Vesalius' *De corpori humanis fabrica* of 1543[19]. Projected into the archaeological past, the scene of St. Vitalis' torment within the Roman fresco functions almost as an amphitheatrical presentation of an experiment on a body. Its aim is to give credibility before a large crowd of spectators and to provide concrete arguments based on specific scientific – i.e. verifiable – assumptions.[20] It was exactly to this end that evidence material as well as relevant instruments were needed. A similar role to that of illustrated surgical instruments in Vesalius' book – instruments accompanied by an appropriate legend revealing their connection with the meticulous actions of the anatomist performing the dissection – was played in the St. Vitalis fresco by the martyr's garments together with the instruments of torture, which were placed separately in the very foreground of this monumental image. They referred the viewer retrospectively to the stripping of the martyr's clothes and

to the successive stages of torture. At the same time however, analogous to the scientific instruments depicted in Vesalius' treatise, the garments are visually isolated from the main action and are held up optically in the foreground between the tormented and the beholder. The saint's folded garments thus become material objects that guarantee historical evidence; they are attributes that recall various stages of the torture, deformation and fragmentation of the holy *corpus*. The artificially arranged garments as carriers of visual memory serve , as both a constant identitification and sign of permanent dignity, associated with the historical martyr's tormented body gradually losing its form before the beholder's eyes.

The martyr's garment is not only a descriptively placed attribute as an object optically preceding the action that defines and externally proves the essence of the historical narrative describing the torment, presented in the main field of the painting. Such a garment may also constitute a structurally integrated significant point of tension within

Fig. 3 Agostino Ciampelli, Martyrdom of St. Vitus, fresco, 1598. Rome, San Vitale

the picture at the same time. In 1599–1600 in the same church, San Vitale in Rome, Andrea Commodi covered the apse with frescoes depicting the martyrdom of Gervasius and Protasius. These frescoes were considered *pendants* to the scene of Christ carrying the Cross in the conch above (fig. 4). A remarkable feature of such scenes of martyrdom is the moment of precedence – a martyrological formula completely different from the one that was used e.g. by Niccolò Circignani (Pomarancio) several years earlier (1582–1583) in his famous Jesuit cycle in Santo Stefano Rotondo.[21] While in that case we witness a brutal destruction of the body according to the law of linear narrative of the image assuming the form of a detailed report from the scene of torture, the San Vitale frescoes by Commodi represent a model showing a moment immediately before the execution – a motif that already in the Middle Ages determined one of the main paths of development for the early modern imagery of Christian martyrdom. The tension created by this timeless ‹shortly before›-moment automatically forces us to interpret the martyr's robe folded at his feet as a material counterpoint to the gradually receding subject of the protagonist immersed

in his last humble prayer before his death. The clothing, stripped off the martyr, thus becomes a guarantee of his personal presence that can be discerned even under the tormenter's sword. It therefore acts retrospectively not only to provide evidence, but also prospectively, to

Fig. 4 Andrea Commodi, Martyrdom of Gervasius and Protasius, frescoes, 1599 –1600. San Vitale, Rome

strengthen the identity. If we look at the painting of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian by Jacopo da Empoli, painted in 1616–1618 (fig. 5)[22] and commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini for his family chapel in San Lorenzo in Florence we will be able to expand this interpretation. The structural tension placed on the axis between the martyr's body and his cast-off garments is further emphasized here by the gesture of the executioner stretching the rope that ties Sebastian to the pole. It is almost as if he were an active narrator of the whole story turned three-quarters towards the centre of events, pointing his questioning face directly to the viewer. Sebastian's cast-off garments, as textile relics placed directly before our eyes as we observe the torture, increase here their materialness, forming an almost accentuated still life within the image. They are also a physical anchor, a compensating support of the visual potential expressed in the foreground gesture of the executioner-narrator; a gesture aimed at the viewer, culminating the violence of the whole scene and, as a result, constituting the inner dynamics of the action of the image.

If we tried to define this highly subtle moment in the image, a moment that emphasises a continuation between the receding body and the remaining garments, we could possibly raise the issue of the postulate of *permovere* as the targeted impact of religious images in the post-Tridentine era. The image showing *gesta martyrum* found itself hovering between the rules of historical representation and the new requirements of its archaeological evidence, preserving its fundamental objective of affective impression (*permovere*) and at the same time creating a specific visual language in order to effectively evoke these

emotions. As Pietro Moretti, canon at Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, stated in his *De ritu ostensionis sacrarum reliquiarum* from 1721, the ritual display of relics had its roots in the exposition of parts of the body and relevant garments precisely in order to stir radical emotions

Fig. 5 Jacopo da Empoli, Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, 1616–1618. Florence, San Lorenzo

at a time of conflict and confrontation. According to Moretti, the first such exposition, the first *ostensio reliquiarum*, was the display on the Rostra in the Forum Romanum of Cicero's head and hands by Mark Anthony, or Caesar's blood-stained robe shown to the public after his assassination by the same Mark Anthony as well as by the dictator's *interfectores*, who wanted thus to arouse emotions and prove the success of their murderous act.[23] For Moretti these examples of the historical manipulation of spectators' emotions provided the necessary precedents of the very rudimentarily affective way of perceiving images. In images of martyrdom, the garments moved forward before the beholders' eyes as explained in the analysis above allowed them to perceive the depicted torment on a slightly different level of emotionality. This referred instead to the image itself as an interactive medium provoking spontaneous reactions.

The loose garments stop the historical action for a moment, or rather, make it relative for a short while, differentiating between the corporeal presence of the tortured martyr and the formless textile matter ostentatiously put before the beholder and presented as a material object that escapes the law of the gradual passing of events. This may be a short, though significant, moment when the image does not speak and remains ‹silent›, a moment in which once again – similar to Guarino's Agatha, discussed earlier, its power of representation is revealed and its distance as a medium is also emphasised. We could perhaps call this a ‹pathos formula› (*Pathosformel*), to use a borrowed term. This

time, however, it is a visual formula to regulate the affect of the image by means of folded or even scattered garments, a kind of antithesis to Aby Warburg's canonical Renaissance *Pathosformel* defined by blowing garments (*bewegtes Beiwerk*) that signal an ethereal movement and in this way the virtues and inner emotions of the figure.[24] It is in this act of ‹stopping› the image by the martyr's formless garments, folded and offered directly to the beholder, in the image's momentary ‹silence› in favour of the material object, that we can see a post-Renaissance alternative to the devalued hypertrophic rhetoric and trivialised language of the affective gestures of the Baroque era, as defined by Warburg.[25] The very formula of silence as a direct theme of the image was described by Claudia Benthien in the following manner: «… Schweigen ist eine Pathosformel der Verhüllung, die sich im ‹Entzug der Darstellung› offenbart. Sie ist im Wortsinn ‹erlittene Form›: Der Nicht-Ausdruck, das Erstarren im Schweigen und die Verweigerung oder Unfähigkeit einer expressiven Manifestation des Affekts selbst ist das, was an ihr pathisch ist.»[26] This interpretation seems to be valid in our context too. What is worth stressing is that this negative moment of pathos (negative in the sense of reversing) created by the garments stripped off the martyrs and put forward for the beholder is not the theme of the image, but rather an inherent part of the reception of the image as a dynamic field of tension. Although the constancy of the formless cast-off garments in the foreground could perhaps, in terms of a literal symbolism, match the idea of the tormented saints' heavenly calmness while facing extreme torture, we are dealing here with a phenomenology-dictated distance of the represented folded textile from the visual norm determined by the monumental course of the martyrs' *storia*. Simultaneously, such contrast draws the image medium into the discourse about its own authenticity and plausibility. Interestingly, it is a very specific and rather paradoxical ‹stopping›, because the element that puts the ongoing history of the body in the image into different perspective is the garment, i.e. something that is by nature flexible, pliable, volatile.

The mantle and the succession of authority Martyrdom is a very special moment of *transitus*, a passage, a state in-between. The flexibility and transparency of the garments, behind which the martyr's body is evoked, emphasize this extraordinary moment of ambivalence. The images discussed here are, therefore, about a continuation of presence, dignity and identity expressed by the martyrs' robes. One of the most interesting variants of the visual structure analysed here can be found in the somewhat forgotten, though excellent, nearly 7-meter high fresco depicting the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. It was painted between 1585 and 1589 in the San Lorenzo in Panisperna church in Rome by Pasquale Cati, one of the most talented followers of Michelangelo in the late Mannerism (fig. 6).[27] The body of the tortured deacon, hovering lightly above the hot grate, sets here a diagonal, slightly ellipsoidal line of balance of the entire monumental composition of bodies, gestures and architecture. As in da Empoli's painting, the martyr's folded garments are a foundation for this strength. The garments seem to again be controlled by one of the tormenters who keeps Lawrence's body over the hearth by means of a hook (fig. 7). But this time

the martyr's deacon garments literally go beyond the picture as they are superimposed over the illusionistically painted wooden base of the whole fresco structured as a painted altarpiece. It would be difficult to treat this only as an illusionist's trick; the sole purpose of which is to increase the verisimilitude of the presented scene. For an inter

Fig. 6 Pasquale Cati, Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, fresco, 1585–1589, Rome, San Lorenzo in Panisperna

pretation of Pasquale Cati's fresco – painted in a church that is traditionally believed to be standing on the actual place where Lawrence was martyred – the crucial fact is that here we are indeed dealing with an altarpiece. Due to its liturgical conditioning, this example shows

Fig. 7 Pasquale Cati, Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, fresco (detail), 1585–1589. Rome, San Lorenzo in Panisperna

the clearest and most evident manner of conveying the Christian idea of ritual continuation of identity directly by leaving and transferring the garments. It seems that here we can return, in a very roundabout way, to the normative aspect of the garment in its ecclesiological

meaning that was rediscovered in the course of the modern archaeological research and substantiated by appropriate reading of patristic writings. One of the most interesting historical issues raised again by means of reedited and newly commented works of the Church Fathers at this time (such as Tertullian's *De Pallio*) is the transfer of the garment as a guarantee of the continuity of the Church's apostolic mission since the lifetime of St. Peter. One of the first modern historical inquiries devoted to the symbolical power of the Christian vestment was conducted by Monsignore Vespasiani, a professor of ecclesiastical history in the college of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Vespasiani delivers useful indications to us of the competence procedures associated with the Christian garment within his study on the early history of the *pallium* of 1856: «… it is well known to every student of antiquity that the scholars of the most famous heathen philosophers used to adopt the dress, as well as the principles, of their masters, and that the handing on of the mantle, or upper garment of the master served to designate his legitimate successor. It may easily be shown that among the early Christians also, a certain religious meaning and value was attached to the wearing the mantle of any great saint or doctor, as though a more intimate and immediate communion were thereby established with the original owner of the mantle. […] But other examples are still more important as involving the principle of succession to office by him to whom the mantle was transferred. Thus, we read that Metrophanes, who occupied the see of Byzantium in the time of Constantine, took off his pallium, and laid it on the altar, charging that it should be preserved and delivered to his successor. Thus, the pallium […] was religiously handed on from one of his successors to another […], and its possession was accounted an important token of the legitimate possession of that dignity and office.»[28]

Therefore, we can assume that the visual passage of the garment into the altar ritual, beyond the boundaries of media, was to permanently evoke the dimension of the initiatory church custom of inheritance.[29] The handing over of the garments, which goes in front of the internal narrative of the image, directly signals the ecclesiological meaning of apostolic succession based on indisputable material grounds. The martyr's simple garment implicates the first moment of a transfer of competence. This is nearly the very same moment which, in the writings of the first Catholic defenders of images immediately before Tridentinum, was meant to be guaranteed generally by relics and images. These constituted the basic ‹corporeal› argument of historical continuation of *apostolitas* in order to prove the papal supremacy in the era of radical religious conflict resulting from the secession of the Reformation.[30] The cast off robes of the first martyrs – presented by means of visual evidence and providing a counterbalance to the ancient toga, which personified pagan philosophy and Roman law – became strictly visual, extra-textual and hence intentionally authentic traces of the continuous communion between the Church as a contemporary institution, and the oppressed *communitas apostolorum,* as well as the initiatory *ecclesia primitiva*. A valid quote for these garments, as carriers of this legacy and as guarantee of identity and rank, is the last line from Tertullian's rhetorical writing *De Pallio,* a treatise on the pallium as a garment for Christians. This is a historical source of the transitional relevance of one of the most noble liturgical vestments, with which we could also end our study. Tertullian, who was himself a Roman convertite, used the authoritative form of an apostrophe directed at the personified pallium, apologically understood as a rhetorical sign of Christian triumph over the pagan philosophical reason. His words also underline here the role of the garment in this process of transition: «Rejoice, pallium, and exult! A better philosophy has deigned you worthy, from the moment that it is the Christian whom you started to dress.»[31]

1 Cf. Georges Didi-Huberman, *La ressemblance par contact. Archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l'empreinte*, Paris 2008. **2** Cf. Klaus Krüger, *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren. Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien*, München 2001; Johannes Endres/Barbara Wittmann/Gerhard Wolf (eds.), *Ikonologie des Zwischenraums. Der Schleier als Medium und Metapher*, München 2005. **3** Cf. i.a. the latest concept of ‹vestimentary history of art› in: Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Dürers Pelz und das Recht im Bild. Kleiderkunde als Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 2008, as well as selected papers in: Philipp Zitzlsperger (ed.), *Kleidung im Bild – Zur Ikonologie dargestellter Gewandung*, Berlin 2009 (Textile Studies 1). **4** Cf. the different approach to loose textile pieces as theme of an image, drawn from Aby Warburg's iconology of the Renaissance nymph: Georges Didi-Huberman, *Ninfa moderna. Essai sur le drapé tombé*, Paris 2002. **5** Cf. Elaine Banks, *Tintoretto's religious imagery of the 1560's*, Princeton 1978, 7–43, esp. 25–38; Giuseppe Maria Pilo, Il trafugamento del corpo di san Marco. Le interpretazioni del Tintoretto e le loro possibili fonti iconografiche, in: Antonio Niero (ed.), *San Marco. Aspetti storici e agiografici*, Venezia 1996, 398–410; Sergio Marinelli, *Il ritrovamento del corpo di San marco di Jacopo Tintoretto*, Milano 1996; Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto. Tradition and Identity*, London 1999, 142s.; Erasmus Weddigen, *Jacomo Tentor F. Myzelien zur Tintoretto-Forschung. Peripherie, Interpretation und Rekonstruktion*, München 2000, 122–154, esp. 135–143. **6** To the latter cf. *Roma Svbterranea Novissima In Qva Post Antonivm Bosivm Antesignanvm, Io. Severanvm Congreg. Oratorii Presbytervm, Et celebres alios Scriptores Antiqua Christianorvm Et præcipue Martyrum Cæmeteria, Titvli, Monimenta, Epitaphia, Inscriptiones, Ac Nobiliora Sanctorvm Sepvlchra Sex Libris Distincta Illvstrantvr (…) Opera Et Studio Pauli Aringhi*, vol. I, cap. XXIV: *Linteis, institisque defunctorum Corpora inuoluuntur* and cap. XXV: *Vestes, indumenta, aliaque id genus in sepeliendis defunctorum corporibus adhibentur*, 119–131. **7** Attributed to Procaccini by Pevsner: Nikolaus Pevsner, Giulio Cesare Procaccini, in: *Rivista d'Arte* 11 (1929), 321–354, esp. 347s.; Hugh Brigstocke, Giulio Cesare Procaccini Reconsidered, in: *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 18 (1976), 84–133, esp. 93; Simonetta Coppa, *La pittura lombarda del seicento e del settecento nella Pinacoteca di Brera*, Firenze 1989, 54s.; *Pinacoteca di Brera. Scuole lombarda, ligure e piemontese 1535–1796*, Milano 1989, 385–387; Marco Rosci, *Giulio Cesare Procaccini*, Soncino 1993, 130s. **8** Cf. Tobias Kämpf, Die Betrachter der Cäcilie. Kultbild und Rezeptionsvorgabe im nachtridentinischen Rom, in: David Ganz/Georg Henkel (eds.), *Rahmen-Diskurse. Kultbilder im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, Berlin 2004 (KultBild 2), 98–141 (here the bibliography). **9** Antonio Bosio, *Historia passionis Beatae Caeciliae Virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi Martyrum Necnon Urbani, et Lucii Pontificum, et Martyrum Vitae*, Roma 1600, 153–184. **10** For English readers' convenience we quote here from the English summarized edition of Rossi's work by J. Spencer Northcote/W. R. Brownlow, *Roma sotterranea or an account of the Roman catacombs especially of the cemetery of St. Callixtus, compiled from the works of commendatore de Rossi with the consent of the author*, London 1879, 156. **11** Giovanni Battista Segni, *Reliquiarium, sive de reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum, in quo multa de necessitate, praestantia, usu ac fructibus reliquiarum pertractantur*, Bononiae 1600, 174. Cf. Pietro Moretti, *De ritu ostensionis sacrarum reliquiarum a nemine hactenus illustrato: dissertatio historico-ritualis*, Romae 1721, 74–78, 80. **12** Northcote/Brownlow, *Roma sotterranea* (note 10), 153. **13** Cf. Riccardo Lattuada, *Francesco Guarino da Solofra. Nella pittura napoletana del Seicento (1611–1651)*, Napoli 2000, 179–181. **14** Cf. Bosio's elaborations on the status of the martyrs' garments soaked up with their blood – *vestes carnificum*: *Roma Svbterranea* (note 6), vol. I, lib. I, cap. XXVI: *Fideles martyrum sanguinem coligunt, & quouis pretio eorundem reliquias redimunt*, 78. **15** Silke Tammen, Gewalt in der Kunst des Mittelalters. Ikonographien, Wahrnehmungen, Ästhetisierungen, in: Cornelia Herberichs/Manuel Braun (eds.), *Gewalt im Mittelalter*, München 2005, 307–339. **16** An interesting case of this

type of construction is the scene from the life of St. Cecilia in Lippo di Andrea's fresco in the sacristy of Florence's Santa Maria del Carmine painted shortly after 1394. It depicts the saint appearing to the faithful for the last time and transmitting her power to them by exposing her bloodstained robe to their touch, at the same time evoking the association of this garment as a narratively placed textile relic in the eye of the beholder, see Angelo Tartuferi, Le testimonianze superstiti (e le perdite) della decorazione primitiva (secoli XIII–XV), in: Luciano Berti (ed.), *La chiesa di Santa Maria del Carmine a Firenze*, Firenze 1992, 146. **17** On the post-Tridentine regulations of the historical values of art cf. e.g. Christian Hecht, *Katholische Bildertheologie im Zeitalter von Gegenreformation und Barock. Studien zu den Traktaten von Johannes Molanus, Gabriele Paleotti und anderen Autoren*, Berlin 1997, esp. 248–266, and from the latest studies: Holger Steinemann, *Eine Bildtheorie zwischen Repräsentation und Wirkung. Kardinal Gabriele Paleottis «Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane» (1582)*, Hildesheim 2006, esp. 104–111 and 132–193; Ilaria Bianchi, *La politica delle immagini nell'età della Controriforma. Gabriele Paleotti teorico e committente*, Bologna 2008, 55–79. **18** Cf. Gianni Papi, Per Andrea Commodi, in: *Paragone – Arte* 40 (1989), 469= n.s. 14, 30–67, esp. 38–45. **19** Andrea Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Bononiae 1543. **20** Cf. Mateusz Kapustka, *Martyrs and Scientists, Or, How to Prove the Torment with Images*, the paper delivered at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Section: Eyewitnessing the Extreme: Early-Modern Martyrdom and the Status of the Image, Venice, 8–10 March 2010 (conference volume to be published). **21** From the rich literature see e.g.: Leif Holm Monssen, Rex Gloriose Martyrum. A Contribution to Jesuit Iconography, in: *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 130–137; Kirstin Noreen, Ecclesiae militantis triumphi. Jesuit Iconography and the Counter-Reformation, in: *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 29 (1998), 689–715; Peter Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit. Zur Kultur des Martyriums in der Frühen Neuzeit*, München 2004 (Ancien Régime, Aufklärung und Revolution 35), 197–262. **22** Cf. Simonetta de Vries, *Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli*, Firenze 1933, 14; Gretchen A. Hirschauer, *Jacopo da Empoli (1551–1640)*, Firenze 1977, vol. I, 81s.; Alessandro Marabottini, *Jacopo di Chimenti da Empoli*, Roma 1988, 242, cat. no. 83 a–f and 84 on 112s. **23** Moretti, *De ritu* (note 11), 3s. **24** Cf. e.g. Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image in Motion*, New York 2004; Georges Didi-Huberman, Bewegende Bewegungen. Die Schleier der Ninfa nach Aby Warburg, in: Endres/Wittmann/Wolf (eds.), *Ikonologie* (note 2), 331–360. **25** Cf. Andreas Haus, Leidenschaft und Pathosformel. Auf der Suche nach Bezügen Aby Warburgs zur Barocken Affektenlehre, in: Klaus Garber (ed.), *Europäische Barock-Rezeption*, Wiesbaden 1991, 1319–1339. **26** Claudia Benthien, *Barockes Schweigen. Rhetorik und Performativität des Sprachlosen im 17. Jahrhundert*, München 2006, 294. **27** Cf. Sabina Maniello, Pasquale Cati. Un documento relativo al Martirio di San Lorenzo in San Lorenzo in Panisperna e notizie sulla vita artistica del pittore, in: *Alma Roma* 39 (1998), 2, 93–108; Maria Luisa Madonna (ed.), *Roma di Sisto V. Le arti e la cultura*, Roma 1993, 215s. **28** *De sacri Pallii Origine. Philippi Vespasiani Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Collegio Urbano Profesoris Disquisitio*, Romae 1856, here quoted from the English summary in: *The Rambler. Catholic Journal and Review*, new series, vol. VI (1856), part XXXI, 61–70, esp. 63–65. Cf. about *pallium* in its present form as a circular band e.g. Joseph Braun, *Handbuch der Paramentik*, Freiburg i.B. 1912, 164–172. **29** The placing of the graphic showing Carlo Borromeo as a ‹model› wearing the modern pallium at the beginning of Nicolas de Bralion's *Pallium Archiepiscopale*, Parisiis 1648, can also be perceived as a demonstration of this rhetorical role of the sacred vestment within ecclesiastical claims for identity. **30** Cf. Mateusz Kapustka, Bilder als bezeugende Körper. Zur scholastischen Bilderverteidigung *ex authoritate* im frühen 16. Jahrhundert, in: Andreas Tacke (ed.), *Kunst und Konfession. Katholische Auftragswerke im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung 1517–1563*, Regensburg 2008, 97–115, esp. 105–110. **31** *Gaude pallium et exsulta! Melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum uestire coepisti*, Tertullian, *De Pallio*, a commentary by Vincent Hunink, Amsterdam 2005, 292 (cap. 6.2.5).

Jasmin Mersmann

Kleiderwechsel *Rites de Passage bei Ludovico Cigoli*

Kleiderwechsel markieren Übergänge – zwischen Tag und Nacht, Alltag und Fest, zwischen Lebensabschnitten und verschiedenen Rollen. Arnold van Gennep hat 1902 für Zeremonien, die dazu dienen, «das Individuum aus einer genau definierten Situation in eine andere, ebenso genau definierte hinüberzuführen» den Begriff der *rites de passage* geprägt.[1] Übergänge wie Taufe, Initiation, Heirat oder Bestattung vollziehen sich nach seinem Modell in drei Phasen, die eigene Riten der Trennung (*rites de séparation*), der Umwandlung (*rites de marge*) und der Angliederung (*rites d'agrégation*) ausbilden.[2] Die Trennung kann durch das Ablegen eines alten Gewandes markiert werden, die eigentliche Wandlung durch Nacktheit oder eine besondere Rituralkleidung, die Integration in eine neue Gemeinschaft durch ein neues Gewand. Die Darstellung von Kleiderwechseln kann folglich ein konkretes historisches Ereignis erinnern, darüber hinaus aber auch zum Sinnbild von Wandel und Erneuerung werden.

Im Folgenden werden drei paradigmatische Fälle der Aus- und Einkleidung im Werk des Florentiner Künstlers Ludovico Cigoli (1559–1613) untersucht, die Veränderungsprozesse anzeigen. Im ersten Fall wird die alte Identität via Konversion oder Taufe abgelegt, im zweiten eine neue Identität durch Investitur angenommen, im dritten durch das Ablegen des Prunkgewandes eine *Imitatio Christi* vollzogen. Gerade das halb aus- oder angezogene Hemd kennzeichnet den Schwellenzustand zwischen alt und neu und macht – in einem Medium, das strenggenommen auf den singulären Augenblick und die Darstellung von Oberflächen beschränkt ist – einen spirituellen oder sozialen Wandel sichtbar. Cigoli führt mittelalterliche Ikonographien fort, deutet sie aber im Sinne der Gegenreformation, die programmatisch Bilder als Mittel zur Umkehr einsetzte. Gleichzeitig jedoch nutzt der Maler die Gewänder zur Vorführung seiner Kunstfertigkeit: Während die Gemälde den Betrachter aufrufen, die prachtvollen Gewänder abzulegen, feiern sie die Oberflächen.

Ausziehen: Konversion und Taufe Ausgangspunkt der folgenden Überlegungen ist eine Randfigur in Cigolis Gemälde der *Steinigung des Stephanus* aus dem Jahr 1597, die gerade dabei ist, ihr Gewand über den Kopf zu ziehen (Abb. 1, Taf. XV).[3] Assistiert wird sie von dem Christenverfolger Saulus, der laut Apg 7, 58 die Kleider der Pharisäer bewachte. Die Steinigung ist bereits in vollem Gange, ein großer Stein zum letzten Schlag erhoben, doch der Hemdauszieher scheint es nicht eilig zu haben, sich an der Steinigung zu beteiligen – im Gegenteil: Isoliert von dem dramatischen Geschehen im Vordergrund bildet die Figur mit Saulus und dem dahinter stehenden Stifter eine formal abgeschlos-

11 Otto III.,
Liuthar-Evangeliar,
um 996. Aachen,
Domschatzkammer, fol. 16r

12 Europa prima pars terrae in forma virginis. Holzschnitt. Zuerst in der 1587 in Wittenberg erschienenen Ausgabe von Heinrich Büntings Itinerarium Sacrae Scripturae

13 Meister von Soriguerola, Eugenientafel, Ende 13. Jahrhundert. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs

14 Kapustka: Agostino Ciampelli, Martyrdom of St. Vitus, fresco, 1598. Rome, San Vitale