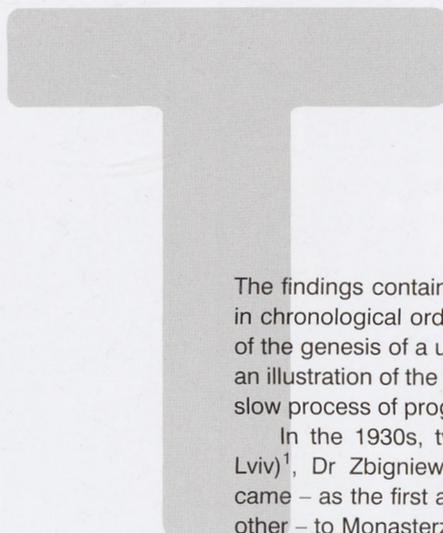# Jan K. Ostrowski

The Assumption of the Virgin Mary in a Triumphal Chariot: A Contribution to Marian Iconography and to the History of Art History

The findings contained in the present paper merit presentation in chronological order, which will not only allow an explanation of the genesis of a unique type of Marian iconography, but also an illustration of the intricate ways and peculiar, sometimes very slow process of progress in the domain of art history.

In the 1930s, two Polish scholars from Lwów (Lemberg; Lviv)[1], Dr Zbigniew Hornung[2] and Dr Tadeusz Mańkowski[3], came – as the first art historians, and independently of one another – to Monasterzyska (Monastyryska), a small town located in the true middle of nowhere (from the Western point of view). It is however worth noting that the town is situated among picturesque hills of western Podole (Podilia) region, on the river Koropiec, in the Tarnopol (Ternopil) province, 16 km west of Buczacz, on the road to Stanisławów (Ivanofrankivsk). Until 1939 it belonged to Poland, now it is a part of Ukraine.

These truly pioneering visits brought significant results as they led to a discovery of first-rate late-Baroque sculptures located in the Monasterzyska Roman Catholic parish church [Fig. 1]. Particularly striking was the high altar, with an unusual bas-relief of the *Assumption of the Virgin Mary* [Fig. 2] in its central portion, and the magnificent figures of *Archangel Michael* and *Guardian Angel* on either side of the altarpiece [Figs 6, 7]. Happily, both scholars oversaw the professional photographic documentation of these monuments. Hornung took high quality pictures himself, and Mańkowski was assisted by the architect Feliks

1. Monasterzyska, Roman Catholic parish church, interior with the high altar, before 1939. Photo: Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University

Haczewski. Only thanks to these photos are we able to discuss the sculptures from Monasterzyska today.

Hornung attributed the best of the sculptures from Monasterzyska, firstly the above mentioned figures of angels, to Antoni Osiński, whom he stubbornly promoted as the most outstanding artist of the Lwów school of Baroque sculpture.[4] Mańkowski, in turn, happened upon documents dating from 1761, at that time preserved in the Monasterzyska parish archives, allowing him to attribute four of the six sculptures to 'master' Pinsel (the artist's Christian names – Johann Georg – were not known at that time), and the other two (Saint Anne and one of the prophets) to Pinsel's collaborator Antoni Sztyl.[5] Hornung, despite his temporary hesitation on account of Mańkowski's discovery[6], ultimately did not change his views on the attributions, and repeated them many times in his post-war publications.[7]

None of the aforementioned scholars analyzed in a detailed way the bas-relief of the Assumption from the high altar in Monasterzyska [Fig. 2]. Zbigniew Hornung mentioned it only in passing, assessing its artistic quality as low and quite rightly attributing it to Antoni Sztyl.[8] And yet we are confronted here with an unusual work of art, if not from the standpoint of purely artistic value, but at least from its presentation of an original composition and iconography. The scene is comprised of several figures. The Holy Virgin is accompanied by as many as nine angels (an allusion to Angelology of the Pseudo-Dionysius' Areopagite?), diverse in size and age (if we consider them from an 'earthly' perspective). According to the rules of Baroque composition, the main line runs diagonally from the lower right corner to the upper left. This direction is enriched, also in accordance with eighteenth-century rules in play at the time, by additional elements that form a zigzag structure. It is an original solution derived from some of Rubens's compositions, breaking with a traditional axial disposition so well known from the works of Titian and Annibale Carracci. At the bottom we can see a sarcophagus, whose lid has just been rejected by one of the 'adult' angels. Other angels lift Mary up; the largest of them, athletically built but still youthful, invites her in an eloquent gesture to take a seat on a richly decorated throne. The contradiction between the originality and richness of the composition and the low quality of the sculptural execution suggests the use of a graphic pattern. In Mańkowski's and Hornung's time however, this conclusion was not as obvious as it is today, and neither of the scholars continued to investigate the problem.

After 1945, the church in Monasterzyska shared the tragic fate of most of the religious monuments situated on the eastern territories of Poland annexed by the Soviet Union. Polish inhabitants of Monasterzyska forced to leave their hometown managed to remove only three altar paintings, which then went to the church in their new settlement – Bogdanowice in Silesia.[9] The remaining church decorations were destroyed during the Soviet era, with the exception of the damaged statue of Saint Anne, found at the local cemetery by Boris Voznytsky and included in the collections of the Lviv Picture Gallery (currently the B. Voznytsky Lviv National Art Gallery).[10]

New facts emerged only in the 1990s. The discovery of previously unknown documents concerning Johann Georg Pinsel established his Christian names and approximate date of his death in 1761 or 1762.[11] Thus the final phase of Pinsel's activity in Monasterzyska (the 1761 accounts certainly do not encompass all of his works in the church) turned out to be the last work of this great artist. It was also possible to justify more broadly the attribution of the altarpiece from Monasterzyska to Antoni Sztyl, as suggested by Hornung. The first argument is negative: the Assumption scene has nothing to do with Pinsel's art, and Sztyl, listed in the accounts from 1761, must have realised some portion of the work in the church independently. On the other hand, in the Assumption from Monasterzyska we find a series of very characteristic formal features: the stiffness of the figures, the superficiality, not to say primitivism of their anatomical structure, a repetitive type of flat face with straight 'Grecian', pointed noses, and finally a simplified stylization of drapery, the folds of which seem to be formed from sections of a thick rope placed under the fabric. Identical forms appear in the partially preserved sculptural furnishings of the altars in the chapels of Merciful Christ and Saint Jude Thaddeus at the Carmelite church in Lwów. It is known that Sztyl made an altar for this church; Hornung identified this as the altar of Saint Jude Thaddeus, while rejecting his authorship of the analogous altar of Merciful Christ.[12] Mańkowski was of a similar opinion: among the Carmelite church sculptures he attributed the figure of Saint Veronica ('and others' – unspecified) as well as the antependium of the Saint Jude Thaddeus altar to Sztyl – interestingly, featuring the scene of the Assumption, but of a completely different composition from the one known from Monasterzyska.[13] And yet a comparison of the Assumption from Monasterzyska with the bas-relief antependium from the altar of Merciful Christ, depicting Dead Christ Mourned by Saint Mary Magdalene, leaves no doubt that we are dealing here with works of a single hand. Similar forms characterise the three extant figures from the destroyed canopy of the same altar.[14] As for the state of research on the Lwów sculpture, we are in possession of exceptionally strong arguments allowing a reconstruction of a significant part of the artist's oeuvre.

Furthermore, in the early 1990s, I came across the indisputable pattern of the Monasterzyska altarpiece bas-relief [Fig. 3] in a printed composition by Gottfried Bernhard Göz (1708–1774).[15] It belongs to a series of ten full-page illustrations of the Roman Missal, published by the Benedictine Abbey in Kempten, and by the Veith family publishing house in Augsburg, which went through several printings from 1734 to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The series was engraved – as far as I could establish – four times. The closest of these to the original are etchings made by Johann David Curiger, in col-

2. Antoni Sztyl, «Assumption of the Virgin Mary» bas-relief in the high altarpiece of the Roman Catholic parish church in Monasterzyska. Photo: F. Haczewski, after T. Mańkowski, *Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa*, Lwów, 1937

3. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», etching, G. B. Göz inv. et sculpsit Cum J. D. Curiger A.V. After *Missale Novum Romanum…*, Ex Campidonensi Ducali Typographeo, 1734

laboration with Göz himself, signed *G.B. Göz inv. et sculpsit Cum J.D. Curiger A.V.* They were included in the missal published in Kempten in 1734.[16]

In 1745 Martin Veith published a new edition of the missal in Augsburg with copperplate engravings made by Joseph Anton Zimmermann (1705–1797). They are mostly mirror images of Göz's compositions, but Zimmermann composed some of them differently (*All Saints*), or otherwise altered them

slightly. The scene of the *Assumption* contains two apostles, instead of three angels. As a consequence the artist probably felt entitled to sign the work, *I: A: | Zimerman | del: te sc: [sic]* [Fig. 4].[17] From the mid-1750s, subsequent editions appeared in Kempten[18] and Augsburg by the Veith family.[19] In both cases, the author of the engravings was Rudolph Störcklin, who copied Göz's compositions maintaining the original orientation and signing his work, *Rudolph Störcklin cath. sc. A.V.* He executed

4. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», etching, I: A: Zimerman del: te sc: [sic]. After *Novum Missale Romanum….*, Augustae Vindelicorum, Sumptibus Martini Veith, 1745

5. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», etching, Rudolph Störcklin cath. sc. A.V. (version used by the publishing house of the Kempten monastery)

two separate series of copper plates for the Augsburg and Kempten publishing houses. The prints differ in small details, which can be noticed only through a meticulous comparison of the originals [Fig. 5].[20]

The Augsburg and Kempten Missals were widely distributed in the Central European Catholic countries, including Poland.[21] Separate pages with their illustrations are still fairly frequently available on the antiquarian market. Engraved reproductions of Göz's compositions were undoubtedly known to Pinsel and Sztyl. Apart from the case of the *Assumption* analysed here,

the figure of the archangel Gabriel from the scene of the *Annunciation* [Fig. 8] was used as a model for the statues of the *Archangel Michael* and the *Guardian Angel* in the same high altar in the Monasterzyska church [Figs 6–7].

The identification of the graphic pattern of the Monasterzyska *Assumption* revealed a very important iconographic detail present in the composition of Gottfried Bernhard Göz and absent in the bas-relief by Sztyl. It turned out that the angels invite Mary to take a place not on the throne, but in a decorative chariot that is to lift her to heaven. The chariot wheel, omitted

6. Johann Georg Pinsel, «Archangel Michael», high altar
of the Roman Catholic parish church in Monasterzyska.
Photo: Z. Hornung, c. 1935, The National Ossoliński Institution,
Wrocław

7. Johann Georg Pinsel, «Guardian Angel», high altar of the Roman
Catholic parish church in Monasterzyska. Photo: Z. Hornung,
c. 1935, The National Ossoliński Institution, Wrocław

in Monasterzyska, greatly enhances the originality of Göz's composition. While the presence of the throne in the scene of the *Assumption* although unusual, could be explained by an allusion to the *Coronation* as the next episode of the Marian cycle, the chariot motif is not mentioned in this context in the available iconographic compendia. Therefore, the necessity to search for the text on which this unusual solution was based became obvious, and the possible success of this search could have much broader implications than the mere issue of the sculpture by Antoni Sztyl.

The discovery of the originality of Göz's *Assumption* composition brought about some interesting side effects. It turned out that, in this sense, the aforementioned bas-relief from Mo-

nasterzyska was no exception. At present, three similar cases can be cited in Polish provincial painting: in the Uniate church in Ryboły in the Podlasie region [Fig. 9][22], and in the Roman Catholic churches in Zajączki in Silesia [Fig. 10][23] and in Krasne near Rzeszów [Fig. 11]. We may assume that further, heretofore unknown repetitions appear in churches across southern Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic.[24]

It is not surprising that Göz's compositions, full of late Baroque dynamics and decorativeness, achieved broad success.[25] The *Assumption* should be considered the most felicitous among them (next to the *Annunciation*). The graceful figure of the kneeling Mary turned three-quarters to the left and surrounded by angels was probably adapted from Lucas Vor-

8. «Annunciation», etching, I: A: Zimerman Sculp. A. V.
After *Novum Missale Romanum….,* Augustae Vindelicorum,
Sumptibus Martini Veith, 1745

sterman's etching after a painting by Anton van Dyck [Fig. 12]. The available material proves that Göz's *Assumption* was an attractive but difficult model for provincial artists to adapt, probably owing to its unusual iconography. None of the followers has repeated the scene in its entirety. In the painting in Ryboły there is no sarcophagus in the lower part of the composition (but there is a chariot wheel); in Monasterzyska, the wheel was omitted, thus turning the chariot into a throne; and in Zajączki and Krasne this apparently unusual motif was simply skipped (in the painting from Krasne we observe a mirror reversal). We may conclude, therefore, that the composition of the *Assumption* was

perceived as attractive but not fully comprehensible, probably owing to the presence of the triumphal chariot motif.

The search for the text that might have inspired Göz lasted almost exactly twenty-five years, and the consecutive, seemingly promising paths that appeared, turned out to be dead ends. Around 1995 I came across an intriguing passage in the homiletical textbook by Rev. Franciszek Ziebura:

A certain author saw in his imagination a four-wheeled carriage: the first wheel is love, the second is purity, the third is humility, the fourth is suffering. These were the wheels of the carriage, which took Mary to heaven with all God's guarantees.[26]

Clearly, it was a trace of the theological and rhetorical concept that could have inspired Göz's composition. Unfortunately, strenuous efforts to contact Rev. Ziebura failed, as he had died a few years earlier.

Shortly afterwards, having lost the hope for a prompt solution to the dilemma, I proposed the *Assumption* of Göz as the subject of Ms Agnieszka Krasuska's seminar paper at the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University. This talented and diligent student achieved some success: she came across a reference to a triumphal chariot in Polish Baroque homiletics.[27]

The Internet and rapidly growing digital resources opened a new direction for research, but repetitive efforts to search the web using a specially prepared set of keywords in different languages brought no results. Even a comprehensive search, undertaken at my request, by the employees of the Scientific Information Department of the Jagiellonian Library was unsuccessful.

The breakthrough came only in 2019, thanks to the help of Professor Roman Mazurkiewicz, an excellent specialist in the history of early religious literature. Professor Mazurkiewicz pointed not only to the citation, which seems to be the source of the iconographic detail in question, but also to a few of its precedents, thereby enabling further enrichment of the material. This fact strengthens my conviction about the benefits of interdisciplinary cooperation – and in this particular case, the inclusion of art historians on the Faculty of Philology of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences.[28]

The crucial passage is contained in the commentary on the Psalms of David by the French Jesuit, Thomas Le Blanc (1599–1669), a professor of Holy Scripture at the universities of Reims and Pont-à-Mousson and at the college of Dijon. The book went through several printings in Cologne. The third volume of this monumental treatise, in the chapter entitled *Maria est sponsa Totius Trinitatis*, contains a commentary on verse Ps 44.11 in which we find the following sentence:

Currum quo ad sponsum vehatur quattuor rotis constantem illi Propheta noster exornat. […] Primae duae rotae obedientia et prudentia, duae posteriores humilitas et mortificatio.[29]

9. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», end of the 18th c., Ryboły, Greek Catholic church. Photo: P. Jamski

A margin gloss clearly indicates that the concept refers to the Assumption: 'Maria ad Deum ducta est quattuor virtutibus'. It should be emphasized however that Thomas Le Blanc clearly broke away from the commented text in favour of literary creation, as the 'Propheta noster', or David, only marginally mentions God's chariots[30], and nowhere does he associate their wheels with virtues.

May we consider the citation above to be the right source for specific iconography of the Assumption by Gottfried Bernhard Göz? It seems that Le Blanc's concept is fully sufficient as a premise for the introduction of the triumphal chariot motif into the composition under discussion. The book, published in Cologne in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, was widely known[31] and still up to date in the second quarter of the next century, as evidenced by its re-editions of 1726 and 1744.[32] It was certainly easily accessible to theologians from the Kempten Abbey and the Augsburg bishopric curia, who supervised successive editions of the missal. It is also very probable that it was someone from those circles who suggested a specific composition of the Assumption scene to Göz. After all, it is hard to fathom that the artist would indulge himself in the detailed reading of extensive Latin texts. It is even possible to attempt the identification of the person or persons who suggested the introduction of the chariot motif into the composition of Göz's Assumption. Each edition of the missal contains the document Licentia et approbatio Ordinarii, issued by a local bishop (in Kempten this right belonged to the abbot) and countersigned by the censors of the edition or containing their names in the text. Their duty was to ensure the theological correctness of the texts contained in the missal (the Roman edition of 1635 was usually adopted as the canonical model), but undoubtedly also of the book's illustrations. In the case of the Kempten missal edition of 1734, in which the etchings after Göz's composition were published for the first time, we find the names of two theologians and members of the monastery chapter: Father Bernhard Ungelter von Deissenhausen and Father Johann Baptist Hundbiss auf Waltrambs[33], both coming from well-known noble families. The identification of their names does not contribute much at the current stage of research, but may be useful for the future.

Thomas Le Blanc's formulation quoted above is the most adequate for our purposes, but is a late element in the chain of concepts that connects the elevation to the sky with the image of a chariot, and sometimes even associates the chariot's wheels with virtues. Full genealogical reconstruction of similar ideas in the vast theological and homiletic literature of the Middle Ages and early modern times on the one hand exceeds the competence of the present author, and on the other hand, does not seem necessary for the purposes of this paper. It is nevertheless worth presenting a few interesting examples. The image of the heavenly chariot has Old Testament sources: it appears in a description of Elijah ascending into heaven[34] and in Ezekiel's amazing vision.[35] The first of these texts was illustrated relatively often (especially in the art of Eastern Churches), and the second, because of its abstract nature, only sporadically. In Christian texts, the oldest and most widely known reference to the motif of the carriage as an instrument of salvation is in the sermon of Saint Gregory of Nyssa for the day of the Ascen-

10. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», mid-18th c., Zajączki Pierwsze, Roman Catholic parish church. Photo: T. Kazimierski, Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

11. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», 2nd half of the 18th c., Krasne, Roman Catholic parish church

sion of Christ ('Quam autem ob causam [Christus] advenit, nisi ut te ex peccati voragine liberatum et regni currum, id est virtutis institutum ipso ascensu adhibentem, in monte adduceret?').[36]

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in letter No. 163 associates the divine chariot wheels with virtues:

> Felix haec quadriga, et auriga eius beatus, qui in humilitatis temone praesidens, virtutum rotas ad dictum et conductum ipsius inclinat.[37]

Saint Albert the Great developed a similar thought in more detail, combining the chariot with the Virgin Mary and its wheels with her virtues:

Primo itaque quia languindi et infirmi sumus, currum nobis exhibet B. Maria, in quo deporteremur. De quatuor autem rotis huius currus ipsa: *Ego mater pulchrae dilectionis et timoris et agnitionis et sanctae spei.* Igitur pulchra dilectio et timor Domini, et agnitio id est fides, et sancta id est firma spes, sint quatuor rotae in curru sive quadriga B. Mariae. Qui in hoc curru deportatus non fuerit, nunquam laete faciem Dei videbit.

Saint Albert also predicted the negative version of the image:

Nota, quod diabolus habet currum, in quo ad aeternam damnationem ducit peccatores. Currus autem iste habet quatour rotas

12. «Assumption of the Virgin Mary», etching, Lucas Vorsterman iunior, after Anton van Dyck, Kraków, Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences

dominam Superbiam in curru superbie hodie?'. After the affirmative response the Saint states, however:

Gaude, filia, quia a talibus erepta es. Propterea et describere tibi currum quendam volo, in quo te secure poteris reclinare. Currus itaque in quo sedere debes est fortitudo et paciencia in tribulacionibus […]. Prima vero rota currus istius est voluntas perfecta omnia relinquendi propter Deum nilque desiderare nisi Deum […], Secunda rota est humilitas […], Tercia rota est diligere Deum sapienter […], Quarta rota est refrenacio discreta carnis.[39]

The chariot was therefore intended for the Bride (its coachman was supposed to be an angel), and its wheels were given symbolic meanings relating to faith and virtues.

Joannes Kleklar, Thomas Le Blanc's contemporary and member of the same Jesuit Order, combined virtues (Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudo, Tempertantia) with the wheels of the fiery chariot of Saint Francis.[40]

The possibility that Thomas Le Blanc did not know the above texts, in particular the works of Albert the Great and Saint Bridget, should be excluded. He evidently referred to their works in his commentary on Psalm 44, and linked the heavenly chariot to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Three further interesting cases can be pointed out in Polish homiletic literature. At the beginning of the 1620s Rev. Fabian Birkowski wrote as follows:

[the Virgin Mary] had angels with her, soldiers sent from the Commander supreme, as long as she fought on the earth; she also had them when she came out of this world in triumph; they carried palms and her crown and walked around the triumphal chariot when the great Queen of Heaven and earth ascended to heaven.[41]

The connection between the triumphal chariot and the Assumption is particularly striking in this passage. Less adequate is a citation from the slightly later sermon by Rev. Kazimierz Jan Woysznarowicz:

If the Son of God is called a triumphal wagon of his Church, equally the Virgin Mary may be called the triumphal wagon of

praedictis contrarias. Prima rota est foeda dilectio. Secunda est vana dissolutio. Tertia est mentis obtenebratio. Quarta est stulta spes aut desperatio.[38]

Similar formulations appear in the *Revelations* of Saint Bridget of Sweden. In the dialogue on 'the Bride of Christ' (i.e. Bridget herself) with Saint Agnes, the latter asks: 'Vidisti […]

the Son of God. That car is pulled by a man, pulled by a lion, pulled by an ox, pulled by an eagle. And this car is pulled by unicorns, pulled by eagles, pulled by sea dolphins, pulled by tigers.[42]

A similar concept returned in a sermon delivered on Easter Sunday, 8 April 1708, by Rev. Stefan (Karol Samuel?) Poniński, in the presence of King Stanislaus Leszczyński. The main subject was Christ, who 'after a sanguinary battle of his Passion triumphantly ascends to the Capitolium of Heaven on a triumphal chariot'. After that, the preacher 'harnessed to this chariot four animals like the Ezekiel's: the Polish Eagle, the Lithuanian Rider, the Confederate Lion and the Serene Bison, to bring it to the heavenly Capitolium'.[43] Despite the reference to Ezekiel, Rev. Poniński's idea was based here rather on Woysznarowicz's formulation; in addition he unceremoniously transformed the vision of the prophet into a current political propaganda statement, highly questionable from the point of view of theology, or even Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Ezekiel's animals were replaced with the heraldic devices of Poland, Lithuania and King Stanislaus Leszczyński. The 'confederate' lion is an obvious reference to Charles XII of Sweden, who may hardly be considered as a defender of Catholicism.

Thus, we may find a concept of a triumphal chariot in Polish homiletics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sometimes associated with the Virgin Mary (also with her *Assumption*), undoubtedly having its sources in older religious literature. Texts published in Polish, however, could not have inspired either Thomas Le Blanc or Gottfried Bernhard Göz, or theologians supervising the editions of the missal, for that matter. They are also not the sources for Rev. Ziebura's much richer citation.

As already mentioned, Thomas Le Blanc probably adopted and transformed the formulations of his holy predecessors. The citation from his monumental commentary on the Psalms is the most likely but perhaps not the only possible source for Göz's inspiration. It is not obvious however that Le Blanc is the author to whom Rev. Franciszek Ziebura referred, because the sets of the Virgin Mary's virtues associated in both cases with the

13. «The City of Lyon Welcomes the Queen Marie de Medici», Rubens pinxit, I. B. Nattier delineavit, G. Duchange sculpsit. After *La gallerie du palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens...*, Paris, 1710

wheels of the chariot are partly different. What is more, the author of the popular preacher handbook would not refer directly to the sources, but rather relied on more popular homiletic literature. His text, therefore, is separated by at least one or perhaps more intermediary texts from Le Blanc's original or hypothetical second citation, mentioning the triumphal chariot, wheels and virtues of the Virgin Mary in the context of the Assumption.

14. Antoni Sztyl, «Dead Christ Mourned by Saint Mary Magdalene», bas-relief in the antependium from the altar of the Merciful Christ, Lwów, Carmelite church, currently in the B. Voznytsky Lviv National Art Gallery. Photo: J. K. Ostrowski

15. «Dead Christ Mourned by Saint Mary Magdalene», bas-relief in the antependium of a side altar, Przemyśl, Carmelite church. Photo: J. K. Ostrowski

16. Arnold Böcklin, «Dead Christ Mourned by Saint Mary Magdalene», 1867, Basle, Kunstmuseum

Independently of the suggestion coming from the text, Gottfried Bernhard Göz had to elaborate on the artistic form of the Virgin Mary's triumphal chariot. He basically had three three different models at his disposal. The first is a four- or sometimes even six-wheeled car. Widely known examples of this kind are found on the reverse of the portraits of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza (Piero della Francesca, 1465), in the frescoes in Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara (mainly Francesco Cossa, 1469–1470) or in the woodcuts of the *Triumph of Emperor Maximilian* (Hans Burgkmair, *c*. 1516–1518). The heavy form of such a vehicle, however, would not be adequate in the context of the *Assumption* scene (even though Thomas Le Blanc mentions four wheels). The second solution was a two-wheeled combat chariot, known from classical mythological (Apollo, Helios) and Christian iconography (the prophet Elijah, Saint Francis). In our case, however, military associations would be inappropriate, either. Finally, the third option, which Göz aptly chose (although in this case he departed from texts attributing symbolic value to all four wheels of the chariot) was a richly decorated chariot, similar in shape to the two-wheeled throne appearing in mythological and allegorical scenes (*Bacchus and Ariadne* by Titian, 1520–1523, and Annibale Carracci, 1597; *The City of Lyon Welcomes the Queen Maria de Medici* by Peter Paul Rubens, 1623–1625; Fig. 13). In the last of these paintings, as many as two chariots were shown; one of them depicted in the upper left corner of the composition, and hence very much as in Göz's *Assumption*.[44] It can also be added that a great number of forms of chariots can be found in the representations of the planets and their mythological personifications, executed mainly in miniatures and prints. Göz developed the details of the Virgin Mary's chariot on his own, endowing it with features of an eighteenth-century piece of furniture consisting of soft, curved forms.

It is difficult to analyse further the possible deeper meaning of Göz's solution to the *Assumption* scene. The passage on the triumphal chariot and the virtues of the Virgin Mary associated with its wheels occupies a marginal place in Thomas Le Blanc's huge commentary on the Psalms, and it is probably simply a Baroque rhetorical ornament based, however, on great erudition. This applies even more to its artistic representation, most probably born not from the artist's individual idea, but rather from the suggestion of a Benedictine theologian.

The explanation – after a twenty-five-year effort – for the genesis of the *Assumption* with a triumphal chariot does not end the research on the visual and literary sources of the unusual iconographic solutions found among sculptural works of the Lwów circle. We find a case very similar to the one discussed above in a carved antependium depicting *The Dead Christ Mourned by Saint Mary Magdalene* from the altar of the Merciful Christ in the Carmelite church in Lwów – a work, as already mentioned, of Antoni Sztyl [Fig. 14]. It seems as though the scene were captured from inside the Grotto of the Holy Sepulchre; through its jagged rock arch we may see Golgotha with three crosses and a fragment of Jerusalem. The foreground is occupied by the dead body of Christ, covered from the waist down with the stone slab of the sarcophagus. Next to it, a desperate Mary Magdalene is kneeling and wiping her tears with a scarf held eloquently in her left hand. Her attribute is an ointment jar depicted to the left, next to Adam's skull and the crown of thorns. In the upper corners of the composition are figures of two guards in armour and an angel, captured almost as a mirror image of the upper part of the figure of Mary Magdalene.

Needless to say, the scene has no earlier or contemporary analogies, and the painting by Arnold Böcklin one hundred years later (1867; Kunstmuseum Basel; Fig. 16), although much more true to the evangelical text, offers nothing here. Attempts at grasping the genesis of the composition should follow the same direction as in the case of the *Assumption*, i.e. searching for visual and literary clues. The existence of an unidentified graphic prototype seems to be suggested by the antependium in a side altar in the Carmelite church in Przemyśl, with its identical composition but completely different stylistic features [Fig. 15].[45] On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that Antoni Sztyl composed the bas-relief for the Carmelite church in Lwów independently, and that the bas-relief in turn was then copied for the church of the same order in nearby Przemyśl.

As for the hypothetical literary source for the Carmelite antependium's composition, the generally known texts not only do not contain any indication, but even seem to exclude the possibility of such a scene.[46] The funeral of Christ took place in a hurry, in the last hours before Passover. Several people took part in the event, and there is no indication that Mary Magdalene could have mourned the Master's death alone[47]. In addition, there was no separate sarcophagus in the Grotto of the Lord, and the situation with the stone covering the lower part of the body of Christ is completely unimaginable (if it were to be the anointing stone, still venerated in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, Christ should lie on it, not under it nor next to it; this is the situation illustrated by Böcklin). Therefore, if the source text explaining the iconography of the scene in question exists, it probably has a mystical and contemplative character, and its identification will be as difficult as it was in the case of the *Assumption* by Gottfried Bernhard Göz. Maybe sometime in the next twenty-five years...

1   I use traditional Polish geographical names; their Ukrainian versions (if they are different) are given in brackets.

2   Zbigniew Hornung (1903–1981), prior to 1939, a superintendent of historical monuments for the districts of Lwów, Stanisławów and Tarnopol, and after 1945 professor of the University in Wrocław (Breslau), was author of numerous publications on art of the 16th–18th centuries.

3   Tadeusz Mańkowski (1878–1956), prior to 1939 active as an independent scholar in Lwów, in 1945–1951 was director of the Wawel Royal Castle in Cracow; member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and author of fundamental works on history of art and culture in Poland.

4   Z. Hornung, *Antoni Osiński, najwybitniejszy rzeźbiarz lwowski XVIII stulecia*, Lwów, 1937, pp. 24–26.

5   T. Mańkowski, *Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa*, Lwów, 1937, pp. 39, 85–87, 95–98. Mańkowski's observations on the possible contribution of Sztyl to executing the sculptures of Monasterzyska were rather superficial, as shown by the incorrect iconographic identification of both figures (which he described as *Our Lady of Sorrows* and *Saint Michael*). However, the scholar was right in saying that those sculptures are slightly inferior to other works ascribed to Pinsel. The destruction of the church furnish-

ings, with the exception of the severely damaged statue of *Saint Anne*, makes it almost impossible to conduct a more detailed analysis.

6 Z. Hornung, 'Na marginesie ostatnich badań nad rzeźbą lwowską XVIII wieku', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 7, 1939, pp. 137–144. The author was then ready to recognise Pinsel's authorship of the figures in side altars.

7 Z. Hornung, *Majster Pinsel snycerz. Karta z dziejów polskiej rzeźby rokokowej*, Wrocław, 1976, pp. 85–90. Regrettably, the erroneous views on the authorship of the Monasterzyska sculptures were presented in Hornung's entries on Osiński and Pinsel written for the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*.

8 Hornung, *Majster Pinsel*, p. 91.

9 J. K. Ostrowski, 'Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Panny Marii w Monasterzyskach', in *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, part I, vol. 4, Cracow, 1996, pp. 86, 89–90.

10 For a detailed account of the event see 'Le sauvetage des oeuvres Pinsel. Entretien de Boris Voznitsky (1916–2012), directeur de la Gallerie Nationale des Beaux-Arts de Lviv avec Jan K. Ostrowski', in *Pinsel, un sculpteur baroque en Ukraine au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski and G. Scherf, exh. cat. (musée du Louvre, Paris, 22 Nov. 2012 –25 Feb. 2013), Paris, 2012, pp. 91–92.

11 P. Krasny, J. K. Ostrowski, 'Wiadomości biograficzne na temat Jana Jerzego Pinsla', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 57, 1995, pp. 339–342.

12 Hornung, *Majster Pinsel*, pp. 85–92, 147.

13 Mańkowski, *Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa*, pp. 98–99.

14 J. K. Ostrowski, 'Z problematyki warsztatowej i atrybucyjnej rzeźby lwowskiej w. XVIII', in *Sztuka kresów wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej* [vol. 1], ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, Kraków, 1994, pp. 86–87; A. Betlej, 'Kościół p.w. Św. Michała Archaniola (Nawiedzenia Najśw. Panny Marii) i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewiczkowych (pierwotnie OO. Karmelitów Bosych)', in *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej*, pt I, vol. 20, Kraków, 2012, pp. 144–145, 161–162. Hornung rejected these similarities, and Mańkowski was very vague on the matter.

15 Ostrowski, 'Kościół parafialny', p. 94; Ostrowski, 'Z problematyki warsztatowej', p. 86. On Göz's art see E. Isphording, *Gottfried Bernhard Göz (1708–1774). Ölgemälde und Zeichnungen*, Weißenhorn, 1984; R. Wildmoser, 'Gottfried Bernhard Göz als ausführender Kupferstecher: Untersuchung und Katalog der Werke', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Augsburger Bistumsgeschichte e. V.*, vol. 18, 1984, pp. 257–340, vol. 19, 1985, pp. 140–296. It is worth noting that none of the publications cited mention the series of illustrations in the missals discussed here.

16 *Missale Novum Romanum…*, Ex Campidonensi Ducali Typographeo 1734 (printed by Joann Mayr).

17 *Novum Missale Romanum…*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1745.

18 I was able to consult following editions: *Misale Romanum…*, Ex Campidonensi Ducali Typographeo 1755, 1762, 1774, 1784, 1793, 1805 (the names of the typographers, Andreas Stadler and Alois Galler, appear in some of them).

19 I was able to consult following editions: *Misale Romanum…*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1759, 1762, 1767.

20 I had such an opportunity in the archive of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter.

21 A partial survey allowed the identification of more than a dozen copies of various editions of the Missal in Polish public and church libraries.

22 Z. Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu. Grafika europejska a malarstwo w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem późnego baroku*, Warsaw, 2016, p. 286, Fig. 300a.

23 *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. VI, pt 7, ed. by I. Rejduch-Samkowa and J. Samek, Warszawa, 1963, p. 42, Fig. 49; Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu*, loc. cit.

24 Traces of the influence of Göz's compositions from the missals in question can be found in Bavaria. An oil copy of the *Annunciation* appeared on the art market in Munich in 2008 with an unconvincing attribution to Joseph August Zimmermann; see: *Herbst-Auktion, 19. September 2008*, Hampel Kunst Auktionen München, p. 204, no. 286. Ignaz Günther most likely used the figure of the Archangel Gabriel from the same composition as a model in one of his most beautiful works, the *Annunciation* in the church of Sts Peter and Paul at Weyarn.

25 Göz's other engravings also served as models for painters, mainly in fresco decorations, see J. Dzik, 'Recepcja grafik z cyklu maryjnego Gottfrieda Bernharda Göza w malarstwie monumentalnym kręgu lwowskiego w XVIII wieku', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, vol. 63, no. 4, 2015, pp. 85–110.

26 F. Ziebura, *Homilie. Rozważania liturgiczne na niedziele i święta*, [n.p.] 1987, p. 350.

27 A. Krasuska, *Wniebowzięcie Matki Boskiej – przedstawienia z motywem rydwanu*, Kraków, 1997, computer printout of the seminar paper in the present author's archive.

28 Within the structure of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, basically defined in 1872, art historians belong to the Faculty of Philology.

29 T. Le Blanc, *Psalmorum Davidicorum analysis…*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1679, vol. 3, col. 823; for a broader presentation of Virgin Mary's virtues, *ibidem*, cols 823–825, and Coloniae Agrippinae, 1682, vol. 3, cols 823–825.

30 Ps 68 (67):18.

31 The 1679, 1682 and 1726 editions are in the library of the Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

32 T. Le Blanc, *Psalmorum Davidicorum analysis…*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1726; for the citation under discussion see: vol. 3, cols 569–570; and Coloniae Agrippinae, 1744.

33 *Misale Romanum…*, Ex Campidonensi Ducali Typographeo 1734, fol. b3.

34 2 Kings 2:11.

35 Ezekiel 1.

36 *Sancti Patris nostri Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni opera…*, vol. 3, Parisiis, 1638, p. 442.

37 *Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clarae-Valensis opera omnia…*, vol. I, pt 1, Parisiis, 1839, col. 773.

38 *Beati Alberti Magni […] Operum tomus duodecimus*, Lugduni, 1651, p. 216. The italicised quote is found in Eccl. 24:24.

39 *Revelationes Sanctae Brigittae*, Romae, 1606, p. 257 (for digital version see: <http://www.umilta.net/bk4.html> [accessed on 30 August 2019]).

40 J. Kleklar, *Gloria Sanctorum seu discursuum in festa…*, Pragae, 1689, pp. 292–298.

41 F. Birkowski, *Kazania na niedziele i święta doroczne*, Kraków, 1623, p. 384; Krasuska, *Wniebowzięcie Matki Boskiej*.

42 J. T. Maciuszko, *Symbole w religijności polskiej doby baroku i kontrreformacji*, Warszawa, 1986, p. 152; Krasuska, *Wniebowzięcie Matki Boskiej*.

43 Letter of Jozafat Michał Karp to Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, 13 April 1708; see *Przy boku króla Stanisława Leszczyńskiego*, vol. I: *Wyprawy do Saksonii i Litwy w latach 1706–1708. Listy królewskich sekretarzy Samuela Kazimierza Szwykowskiego i Jozafata Michała Karpia oraz fragmenty z gazet pisanych i diariuszy*, ed. by J. Dygdała, Warszawa 2018, p. 226.

44 Göz would have known the composition thanks to an etching by Gaspar Duchange after the drawing by Jean Baptiste Nattier (*La gallerie du palais du Luxembourg peinte par Rubens...*, Paris, 1710), where, however, the composition had been reversed. Therefore the chariot is seen in the upper right-hand corner [Fig. 13].

45 Zbigniew Hornung was the first to notice the compositional similarity of the antependia from the Carmelite churches in Lwów and Przemyśl, and to attribute both bas-reliefs to the same workshop, fully ignoring the obvious stylistic differences; see: Hornung, *Majster Pinsel*, p. 147, Figs 167, 168.

46 Hornung, *Majster Pinsel*, p. 91, claims that the scene illustrates the initial phase of the Resurrection – the moment when the boulder closing the sepulchre is moved away, and the expression of the Mary Magdalene figure is described as showing 'fear and joyful excitement' [*sic*]. However, the Gospel text says with no doubt that Mary Magdalene did not come to the sepulchre until the Sunday morning, and that she found it empty.

47 Matthew 27:61 (New International Version) reads: 'Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were sitting there opposite the tomb', but the preceding verse contains a univocal statement that the entrance to Joseph's of Arimathea tomb had been closed with a big stone. A direct contemplation of the dead body of Christ was therefore not possible.