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The Borrowed spaces:

Transgression, Possession and Utopia in the Political Spaces of the Archbishopric of Karlovci

The issue of space, both in its real and its imaginary sense, was even more vivid in those areas where the real space was a borrowed one: in the borderlands, the states in the shadow of great powers, all those domains whose legitimacy was under a constant threat. Therefore, I would focus my paper on the specific sense of space that existed in the political and religious realm of the Archbishopric of Karlovci.

It was founded as a semi-autonomous domain within the Austrian Habsburg Empire and populated by the Orthodox Serbs who, after their exodus from Ottoman oppression, fled under Habsburg protection. After protracted negotiations between 1670s and 1690, the ecclesiastical leader of the Serbs under Ottoman rule, Patriarch Arsenije III, commenced the greatest exodus in the early modern European history. With around 40.000 of his compatriots he crossed the Danube and settled in the new land under Catholic rule.[1] This newly founded ethnic entity was ruled by an archbishop, the political and religious head of the Orthodox population who depended greatly upon the good diplomatic skills of its leaders amidst changing imperial politics. In the one hundred and fifty year old history of the Archbishopric, its existence was defined by the diplomatic struggle to defend the small amount of autonomy it had originally been granted and, more importantly, to preserve its national integrity, its faith and sense of belonging to the Orthodox community.[2]

In such a situation the leaders of the Orthodox Serbs had to construct their own form of body politic and their own ideology of sovereignty. The form of their political identity, and subsequently their political behaviour, was partially inherited from the position that they held in Serbia under Ottoman rule, where the leaders of the Orthodox Church had developed their initial form of body politic. Although nominally only sacred leaders of their

1 For the subject of the Great Exodus see Jovan Tomić: Srbi u velikoj seobi, Beograd 1902, pp. 180–190; Dinko Davidov: Srpske privilegije, Beograd 1994, pp. 15 f.

2 On the subject of ethnia see Anthony D. Smith: The Ethnic Revival, London 1981; Anthony D. Smith: The Ethnic Origins of Nations, London 1986.

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flock, the Orthodox high clergy had far greater jurisdiction in practice; they were unofficial temporal lords to whose care and protection their congregation gladly subjected themselves.

This specific position was at least what the Orthodox high clergy demanded from the Habsburg Emperor. Formally, they had been granted not just this virtual duality of power but, more than that, a true sacred and temporal autonomy for their ethnic group and its faith on the territories of the Most Catholic Sovereign. Their political rights were founded on the document known as "The First Privilege", issued immediately before the exodus in the form of an imperial guarantee. In the opening clauses of this charter, Leopold I finally confirmed all Serbian demands and legitimised the newly granted status of the Serbs in the Empire.

In this Charter Emperor Leopold I announced that he accepted all Serbian requests and decided that the Patriarch thus elected was entirely free to manage the churches under his jurisdiction, had the right to build churches and appoint priests to Serbian parishes; thus he would stay leader of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its congregation:

> "[the Serbian Orthodox Church] has the jurisdiction, according to these privileges and the former ones […] over the entirety of Greece, Raška, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Jenopolj and Herzegovina, as well as Hungary and Croatia. And everywhere where the Orthodox Serbs exist, and as long as they are humble and loyal […]."[3]

This document formed the primary foundation upon which Arsenije III and his high clergy would establish their new spiritual dominion in the Habsburg lands. Soon after their arrival the Orthodox archbishops became aware that their protection was partially based on a false promise.[4] They were confronted with fierce attempts of religious conversion and an increasing diminution of their legal liberties. Since then, the struggle for recognition of a minority religion in the Catholic Empire was a constant diplomatic battle.

In the Habsburg monarchy the Orthodox Serbs found full recognition of their religion (which did not mean that attempts at conversion were not constantly made), but not of their identity and even less of their hope of any future political and religious aggrandisement. Thus, the two latter issues were embodied in the visual arts and literature, and most conspicuously through the spectacle of state ceremony. Even the earliest Archbishops of Karlovci began an extensive reform of the church, their language and the

3 Taken from the First Privilege of Leopold I. The original is kept in the Archiepiscopal Archive of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Scencies, Sremski Karlovci 1690/91 (B-21-1690).

4 Davidov: Privilegije (see fn. 1), pp. 18 f.

visual arts. From their very settlement in the Habsburg lands the Orthodox leadership realised that it had to conform to the new political situation, appropriate the language of power and political representation, and embrace universalist Baroque culture.

The Privileges regulated the usage of Imperial space, which was given to the new populace to enjoy and inhabit, and a set of legislations moulded both the possession and the perception of space in the Archbishopric. According to the Privileges there were only three spaces that the Orthodox Serbs could claim as undoubtedly theirs – the palaces of the archbishop and the bishops, the space of the church and the land that was given to the prelates by Imperial decree. The remaining territories were under the shadow of the double-headed eagle of the Habsburgs.

On the one hand, such an ambiguous political situation engendered an ambivalent sense of space, its possession and its visualisation. On the other hand, it also opened a wide platform for transgression and symbolic manipulation of space, as well as for the creation of meta-spaces, invisibly inscribed into the Imperial domain.

The spaces of possession – The Palace

Among those rare spaces that the Orthodox in the Empire could name as rightfully theirs, the archiepiscopal and episcopal palaces were the most elaborate.

The palaces in Karlovci, Novi Sad, Vršac, or Belgrade, were all built on borrowed land but decorated and used as the rightful ground of the Orthodox. Built for public and individual display, the palaces of the Orthodox prelates in the Empire in every aspect (architecture, decoration and concerning the rules of the court life) strove to adorn their inhabitants with the signs of undoubted legitimacy. These edifices combined the outlay and decoration – even on a far lesser budget – of the princely palaces of the Empire and had the same functions as their Imperial counterparts thus underlining a claim to equal recognition of their power structures. They were not just residences – they contained all the governing prerequisites of see's of authority. This was particularly emphasised in the capital of the Archbishopric. The desire to possess a space that could not be possessed, on Imperial land into which the Orthodox were admitted only under strict conditions, was one of their prevailing political ambitions.

The archiepiscopal palace in Belgrade, unfortunately destroyed in the Ottoman siege of the city in 1739, was a prime example of such politics. Erected during a brief period of Austrian occupation of Belgrade (1726–1739), it combined the functions of the official see of power, the

court of law and the general assembly.[5] As any space occupied by the bearers of political power, the archiepiscopal court in Belgrade existed on the blurred borderline between the private and the public spheres. Although it may seem absurd at first, the fact that, in creating their sees of power, the Orthodox archbishops followed the Imperial matrix, exemplified their desire to be seen as rightful possessors of power and land on a standing equal to their Catholic and Imperial peers.

The Belgrade residence was built during the reigns of two archbishops, Mojsej Petrović and Vikentije Jovanovic (**Fig. 1**) in the modern late Baroque style. The one-story edifice contained all the elements that designated it as the official place of power. The first floor, the veritable piano nobile was dominated with a large ballroom-cum-meeting room, the archiepiscopal library and the residential quarters of the archbishop. The legal function of the building was evident in the courtrooms that were located on the ground floor of the building. The special place in the palace, as it was customary in the grand palaces at the time, was given to the court chapel devoted to St. Nicholas; the chapel occupied the entire height of the building and contained the most precious sacred image of the Orthodox – the miraculous icon of Bezdin. All those rooms were decorated in the Baroque style with silk wallpaper, stucco and frescoed ceilings. The furniture was also chosen deliberately to reflect the position of power desired by its owners. The portraits of the previous and current archbishops adorned the room and stood side by side with the portraits of the current emperors thus creating the illusion of equality between their sitters. All those luxury objects that denoted the ruler's palace were present there – musical clocks, silk draperies, silver and gold cutlery and fine porcelain crockery, meticulously designed candlesticks and intarsia parquet floors.

If the decoration and outlay gave to this palace the image of the see of power, so did the court life that evolved in it. Banquets and balls were frequently organised events.[6] Two cooks were permanently employed, one from Buda one from Vienna, and both had handsome salaries. Fine dining was obligatory whenever the imperial representatives were invited for dinner, and the dancing of minuet was organised as in the great Imperial and aristocratic courts around the Empire. At the time of Arsenije IV Jovanović the balls performed in his Karlovci residence represented already an established tradition, as we can see in the *Memoires* of his contemporary Simeon Piščević:

5 For the more detailed description of the palace in Belgrade see Jelena Todorović: Koncept privatnog na pozornici javnog – život na mitropolijskom dvoru u Karlovcima u XVIII veku. Istorija privatnog života u srpskim zemljama u osvit novog doba, Beograd 2005.

6 Simeon Piščević: Memoari 1785, Beograd 1979.

Fig. 1: Anon.: Portrait of the Archbishop Vikentije Jovanović, 18th c. Gallery of Matica Srpska Novi Sad

> "Although suffering from the infirmities of his age, the Archbishop [Arsenije IV] lived luxuriously. Everything was well organised at his court [in Karlovci]. He had many servants, but the majordomo and others [of higher rank] were mainly Austrians. Since it was the day of his birthday, there was a concert during lunch. After lunch we moved to another room where we were served dessert and coffee […] The Archbishop wanted us to dance and ordered the ball to begin […] Although he was old, the Archbishop was in good mood and loved company so we danced and danced […] [in the year 1747]."[7]

7 Piščević: Memoari (see fn. 6), p. 73.

By its decoration, function, court life and political display the archiepiscopal residence in Belgrade was represented as a rightful place of power legitimately owned by its Orthodox leaders.

The only space over which the archbishops had undeniable power, even greater than in their residences, was reserved for the estate of Dalj accorded to them by the decree of Leopold I.[8] Dalj was the property that encompassed the small town of Dalj, in present day Slavonia, together with vast pastures, vineyards and several villages. By a magnanimous but well calculated Imperial bequest this piece of land was offered as a gift to Arsenije III and all subsequent church leaders, as a source of private income. This land was exploited regularly, and all the profit gathered from it went into private funds of the reigning archbishops, who built their summer residence in Dalj and often spent the summer months governing their dioceses from there. In the account books of the keepers of the estate between 1717–1730, the entire profit from the estate was noted, and it is possible to recreate a complete picture of the life these ecclesiastical rulers enjoyed on their own private estate in the Empire. Judging by the quantities of wine, honey, grain, wax and game, the property was established on rich and fertile land and produced a handsome income for its owners, in the same way the Esterhàzys's properties or any other noble family estate in the Empire provided for its owners. Apart from the landed revenue, the villagers paid obligatory taxes which contributed to the enlargement of the archbishop's funds. Similarly to the town palaces, the Archbishop's residence in Dalj was the site of elaborate banquets and balls, befitting the life of men of power.

But even the space this estate occupied, however legitimate, was only a fraction of the possession the Orthodox archbishops desired to have. Their realm was only a shadow state. Therefore they had to create different meta-spaces, not easily visible to the Habsburg authorities, into which their message of omnipresent and exclusive authority could be inscribed.

The spaces of possession – The Church

As the church and archiepiscopal residence were guaranteed by the Privileges granted to the Serbs in the Empire, they were treated as spaces of possession within a rightful political arena. This attitude is most visible in those very ceremonies that created power structures, like episcopal and archiepiscopal installations and investitures.

8 For more information on the estate and residence in Dalj see the archival documents in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Karlovci: ASANUK 91/1717-1 up to ASANUK 91/1730-4.

Zaharija Orfelin's illuminated festival book, *Festive Greeting to Mojsej Putnik* of 1757, preserves one of the rare detailed accounts of the ceremonies of episcopal installation in the Archbishopric.[9] It was dedicated to, and described as the Investiture of Mojsej Putnik to the office of bishop. Created as a panegyric (in Church Slavonic) and a complete synopsis of the ceremony of investiture, this book aimed to be a presentation piece from the young artist to his prospective patron. Thus, the book was far more than an illustration of a festival narrative and became a highly complex intertwining of painting, music and poetry and produced one of the most comprehensive accounts of the festival life of the Orthodox in the Habsburg lands.

In the narrative part of this festival manuscript the most commonly represented ceremonial space is that of the church interior with the enthroned bishop as the focus of each illustration. Since the Orthodox episcopal installation is primarily an ecclesiastical rite, this was an expected setting. The use of this venue (the cathedral for the archbishops and the diocese for the bishops) assured the necessary seal of legitimacy. Like the royal coronations in Saint Denis, Westminster Abbey and papal investitures in St. Peter in Rome, the perpetual use of one and the same church in the Archbishopric assured the continuity of power so much desired by the Orthodox Serbs in the Empire. Moreover, since the church was the see of the archiepiscopal temporal power in the Empire, it could not be devoid of political content. Therefore, the four illustrations (**Figs. 2, 3 and 4**) depicting the narrative in Orfelin's *Festive Greeting* represent an actual, official verification of ecclesiastical power that takes place during the rite of ordination. Both in its form and contents the rite of Orthodox episcopal investiture resembles other acts of verification and bestowal of power performed by different forms of government. Similar to royal and imperial coronations, or the papal election, it revolves around the symbols of authority embodied in various ecclesiastical insignia (the liturgical vestments, mitre and crosier).[10] By accepting the insignia, the bishop elect is gradually elevated and introduced to the power of ecclesiastical ruler. Viewed not just in a religious but also in a political context, each of the phases represents one step forward in the process of power legitimation. It is intended to be seen in a much broader Imperial context as the confirmation and final recognition of Orthodox authority. In the space legally guaranteed to the Orthodox Serbs in the Empire, an act of power is performed: a power that could not be disputed or diminished by Imperial authority. In theory, this act supposedly cemented the recognition of

9 For more information on this festival book see Jelena Todorović: An Orthodox Festival Book in the Habsburg Empire – Zaharija Orfelin's Festive Greeting to Mojsej Putnik in 1757, Aldershot 2006.

10 Arhijerejski činovnik, Moskva 1840.

Fig. 2: Zaharija Orfelin: The Festive Greeting to Mojsej Putnik, 1757, n.p., image 23. Wroclaw University Library, MS 88 f. (http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=37492&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=1&QI= [last access 27.7.2013])

Fig. 3: Zaharija Orfelin (as Fig. 2): n.p., image 28

Fig. 4: Zaharija Orfelin (as Fig. 2): n.p., image 32

the Orthodox ecclesiastical authority in the Empire, but accounts of endless diplomatic negotiations between the Imperial court and the archiepiscopal chancellery that took place before each installation, clearly show another of the story.[11]

A representation of space which firmly establishes an image of power as a rightful ecclesiastical space is visible in this manuscript. The setting in each of the four illustrations is identical, while the act of the installation ceremony constantly changes. This should not be understood as the artist's lack of imagination, but as a way to underline the importance of the represented space. Through this visual repetition, the author represents the immutability of Orthodox power and firmly positions the newly appointed bishop at the centre of the church and the diocese. The space of the church is treated as the stage in a theatre – framed by draperies and flanked by marble columns that further accentuate the figure of the enthroned bishop. Although the interior of the church is meant to reflect the realistic setting where this rite is performed, it is also to be read as a stage of power upon which the new bishop ascends.

It is interesting to discuss the relationship between the figures and the space of their setting. In each of the illustrations the image of the bishop is considerably bigger than any other figure depicted. It is highly unlikely that this can be ascribed to Orfelin's ignorance of the rules of perspective, especially in the light of his other work (**Fig. 5**). It is much more probable that Orfelin used the time-honoured tradition of Byzantine treatment of space which depicts figures and objects not in their actual relation to space, but in relation to their spiritual importance. Read in that way, this depiction of Mojsej Putnik establishes the bishop in his own spiritual space and grandeur as a true shepherd of his flock.

While inauguration ceremonies, such as Mojsej Putnik's investiture, took place in the church, another "space of possession" such as the residences of Belgrade and Karlovci framed the banquets that represented the event's unofficial conclusion. Banquets in particular were costly occasions that would often empty the celebrants' pockets and sometimes even the archiepiscopal treasury.[12] For the celebration of Mojsije Petrović's investiture in the office of the archbishop of all Serbs (1726), an impressive sum of 20.000 forintes was spent (a small church could be renovated for that money).[13] On this occasion several eminent figures from the Empire, including the imperial

11 Dimitrije Ruvarac: Prilozi za istoriju arhiepiskopa i episkopa u mitropoliji karlovačkoj. Letopis Matice Srpske, 204, Novi Sad 1900, pp. 240–309.

12 See for example the records of the installation of Mojsej Putnik and its cost in Ruvarac: Prilozi za istoriju arhipeiskopa I episkopa (see fn. 11), pp. 264 f.

13 Dušan Popović: Srbija i Beograd, Beograd 1952, pp. 311 f.

Fig. 5: Zaharija Orfelin (as Fig. 2): n.p., image 25.

representatives Count von Oduer and the imperial treasurer, Baron von Kelenik, gathered to greet the newly appointed archbishop. Similar to the already described church rite of installation which openly celebrated both the secular and sacred aspects of Orthodox rule, the court banquet continued in the same fashion, only the emphasis rested more on joyous celebration than on the solemnity of the church event. Although the imperial representatives attended both the ceremony and the installation banquet – one revolving in the church, the other at court – the "autonomy" of these two Orthodox "spaces of possession" guaranteed a more liberal display of power than it could have been the case in any other space in the Empire.

Spaces of transgression

While the church and the palace functioned as stages on which bolder political claims could be made, the streets and squares of the Empire had to be used with great caution. Even when the ceremonial space of the city was that of the archiepiscopal capital, it was still under the dominion of the Habsburg monarchs. Therefore there are few occasions when the leaders of the Orthodox church dared to use the Empire's cities as their ceremonial spaces for funeral processions and triumphal entries. However, the spectacles that took place in the streets of the Archbishopric could not be considered acts of "re-conquest" or "re-foundation" of the city. Also, for the reasons explained, they could not lay claim to the symbolic reshaping of the city through a public manifestation of the archbishop's political ambitions. The cities still belonged to the Emperor.

Consequently, the triumphal entry was never visually recorded, but was only included in court chronicles or contemporary memoirs.[14] Its visualisation would imply an intrusion in those spaces of power that were not guaranteed to the Orthodox archbishop. Thus the lack of visual records worked as a form of understatement. Also, the political and ceremonial language used on this occasion was considerably more subdued compared to the one analysed in the court and church events. As we shall see further on, the display of political power was reserved for the panegyrics and read in the "safe" setting of the church or the residence.[15]

14 For funerals see Slobodan Kostić: Grobovi episkopa I građana temišvarskih u pravoslavnom srpskom hramu temišvarskom 1757–1838, Temišvar 1938, pp. 34–37.

15 On the occasion of the triumphal entry of Vikentije Jovanović into Karlovci in 1738 Manuil Kozachinskii read his panegyric to the archbishop in the cathedral in Karlovci. For further information, see its transcription in Radoslav Grujić: Priložci za istoriju srpskih štamparija u Ugarskoj, Beograd 1942, pp. 132–134. See also the original in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Sremski Karlovci (No. 290 ex 1735).

In the triumphal entry, the language of power spoke only of the sacred authority of the celebrant and not of his temporal power, and even less made any political claims that could endanger his already feeble position in the Empire. Only panegyrical texts confined to the "spaces of possession", dared to reveal the true intentions of the Orthodox clergy. This dichotomy in the political language is very visible in the triumphal entry given to the archbishop Vikentije Jovanović, devised by Manuil Kozachinskii, in Karlovci in 1735.[16]

While there are no visual records of this event, Kozachinskii's detailed account can help us re-create this celebration in its full splendour.[17] In the course of the entry bells rang, psalms were sung, and pupils from the Latin school stood in line, holding bunches of flowers. The processional retinue was lead by the archbishop's carriage with six horses. Robed in their liturgical vestments, the clergy followed the coach carrying church banners and liturgical objects used during the mass. When the procession reached the Cathedral, the archbishop descended from his carriage and passed through the line of spectators, blessing them on his way to the church. The entire event was conceived and performed in a highly splendid manner that gave it the character of a proper Baroque spectacle. The final act of this entry took place in the church where the archbishop said mass followed by a sermon, in the same space where Kozachinskii read his panegyric.

From this description it is possible to deduce one vital fact: the high clergy was precariously playing between the purely sacred and faintly temporal nature of the performed ceremony. If one observes it only on one level the city is not used as a space for display of political claims. There are no direct references to the temporal power, and all elements of glorification could be easily applied to that given to the bishop by the rejoicing congregation. The streets were not transformed through insignia of the celebrant, nor any attempt of re-fashioning of the city into an ideal capital of the Archbishopric was ever made. The streets and a square were lined with Orthodox congregation and Serbian pupils that covered the archiepiscopal carriage with flowers as in any festive greeting to a high church official. In return he blessed them, as was traditional in ecclesiastical ceremonies. In the triumphal retinue that would define the covered route through symbolic objects, only the liturgical artefacts were carried and the psalms sung to accompany it. There were no stations for "re-foundation" ceremonies to be performed, panegyrics read, triumphal arches constructed, or tableaux vi-

16 Ibid., pp. 132–134; the original is in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Sremski Karlovci (No. 290 ex 1735).

17 See the reference in Vlastimir Erčić: Manuil Kozačinski i njegova Tragikomedija, Novi Sad 1980, p. 224.

vants displayed. The passage of the archiepiscopal procession could be seen as one uninterrupted trajectory leading, through the city, to two seats of power – the church and the court, the very "spaces of possession" that had been granted to the Orthodox archbishops in the Empire.

But that was only a superficial reading of the event. Although the trajectory that defined the ceremonial space seemed focused on the loci of the archiepiscopal sacred power, by its very nature it resembled the "via imperiale": the term denotes the route between the residence and the church that each monarch covers during the triumphal entry when several ceremonial spaces of the street are joined into viae.[18] Therefore, by the very covering of the ceremonial ground, the Orthodox archbishops asserted their knowledge of the ceremonial language and, implicitly, aspired to a virtual equality with the Habsburg rulers. The same aspiration was evident in the "concealed" part of each triumphal entry – in the panegyric recited to the archbishop in the church. Since only a selected audience could participate in this part of the triumphal entry, more direct political statements appear in the panegyric:

> "In honour of your blessed return
> This poem is written.
> You returned from a long and victorious journey,
> From the famous city of Vienna […]."[19]

The liminal spaces of landscapes and gardens

The third type of the ceremonial space in the Archbishopric is the virtual space or the space of "vision and longing". In both examples of "spaces of possession" and " spaces of transgression" one could perceive two subtly different uses of the political language. It was used either liberally in places "belonging" to the Orthodox clergy, or quite carefully in the setting that was under the jurisdiction of the Empire. There was yet another use of this language by which quite bold, Orthodox messages, were expressed in the cere-

18 For more information see Juliusz Chrościcki: Rituals and Ceremonies – Ceremonial Space. Iconography, Propaganda and Legitimation. Ed. by Allan Ellenius, Oxford 1998, p. 194; Marcello Fagiolo: L'Effimero di Stato – Strutture e Archetipi di una città di illusion. La Città Effimera e l'universo artificiale del Giardino. Ed. by Marcello Fagiolo, Rome 1980, pp. 9–22.

19 The translation of this panegyric was done according to its transcription in Grujić: Priložci za (see fn. 14), pp. 132–134. Grujić's transcription was compared to the original kept in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Sremski Karlovci (No. 290 ex 1735): "Привътствие благополучнаго возвращения того, / егоже началная писмена гласять. / Возвратившуся нынъ от далека пути / усердие подвиже, да се напишу ти / з' Выены пришедшо, пресловута града.", see Kozachinskii (1735), reprinted in: Ibid., p. 132.

monial space. This specific usage had enabled the message to be transmitted, while at the same time it avoided any political incidents that could have arisen from such statements. In that case it was not a type of message that we had encountered in the previous discussion of the ceremonial space, nor a message that was supposed to be understood by all and from the very first reading. This message was hidden in the meaning ascribed to some already existing, perfectly legitimate iconographical or emblematic subject. If the message was specifically formed, the space in which it was inscribed was even more so. This ceremonial space was not based on the depiction of a physical realm, but of a metaphorical one. Thus, it is possible to talk about the meta-space hidden behind an acceptable image of power or a proclamation of confessional uniqueness. Also, meta-spaces sometimes reveal to the beholder far more than just a condensed message of power, but, as we shall see in the second example, a complex meta-narrative.

There were two categories of meta-spaces that were used as platforms for Orthodox political display – the meta-spaces of nature and those of symbolic imagery. Both were liminal areas which could be easily invested with new and ambitious visions of the archiepiscopal authority in the Empire as they had one element in common: they shared a perfect sacro-political domain. Whether it was the garden of the archiepiscopal palace, the devotional print of one of the Orthodox monasteries in the Empire, or the decoration of a festival book: they all presented the image of a perfected and ideal state to the beholder.

The different meta-spaces created in the Archbishopric were used to map out a desired but forbidden territory, the ideal state of the Orthodox Serbs that existed beyond the boundaries of the Empire. This imagined land had all the prerequisites of Utopia, a perfect model of political existence which all early modern states strove to achieve.[20] It was eternal, immutable and without a flaw. The utopian language of the Orthodox meta-spaces was seriously dependent upon the concepts of Utopia present in the propaganda of absolutist states. The tropes of the Golden Age, Eternal Spring, and Perpetual Glory were combined with the Christian concepts of the same nature: the existence in Paradise, the land of the new Moses, the arrival of the Good Shepherd, the New Jerusalem. Thus, the primordial ideal lands of the classics and of Christianity seamlessly merged as the landscapes of Arcadia and gardens Eden became one and the same vision, while the streets of Terentius's Golden Age were superimposed with those of the New Jerusalem.

20 For the concept of Utopia see Mircea Eliade: Paradise and Utopia – Mythical Geography and Eschatology, in: Frank E. Manuel (ed.): Utopias and Utopian Thought, Boston 1967, pp. 260–281; Eugene N. Genovese: Paradise and the Golden Age Ancient Origins of the Heavenly Utopia, in: E. D. S. Sullivan (ed.): The Utopian Vision: Seven Essays on the Quincentennial of Sir Thomas Moore, San Diego 1983, pp. 9–29.

But this vision of the ideal space in the Archbishopric had one additional quality, no less fictional than that of the Utopia – this was the image of an idealised and mainly fabricated Serbian history. The desire to revive and enliven the heroic national past was one of the characteristics common to the early modern concept of national identity, especially to those that existed within the territories of greater powers. Glorification of the common religious and political past, of the mythical heroes and founding fathers, gave the necessary aura of credibility to the sacro-political entity. It offered the mythical and symbolic historical space that gave to ethnic groups, in this case to the Orthodox Serbs, a sense of unity and belongings. The need for the embellishment of the past was inseparable from another characteristic of the early modern world: the mechanism of historicism.[21] From Baronio and Mateus Flavius to the Karlovci Archbishops, the use and re-invention of the past became one of the governing principles for the creation of the present. The history could be, and should be, re-written to suit the needs of contemporary leaders. This mechanism also created a new and almost limitless historical space that could be shifted, expanded and fashioned according to the political situation.

This vision of the past revisited was woven into a series of devotional prints that were distributed in the Archbishopric during the eighteenth century. All of them followed the same matrix – they represented the Orthodox monasteries in the Empire with their patron saints and scenes from their vitae. But, they were not just the usual devotional prints of the time, they also functioned as pieces of political propaganda.

The rendering of nature in these visitation prints constitutes the specific form of the meta-space. In each of these prints from the Archbishopric the monasteries and the scenes revolving around them are placed in an elaborate landscape. In all of them, the lower part of the print was dedicated to an areal view of the monastery and its lands, with the archbishop triumphantly arriving at the monastic gates followed by an official visitation commission.

The representation of land in these prints was utopian and topographical at the same time. The image of the monastery occupied the elevated and imposing position on the print; it spoke of a legitimate place of power crucial for the creation of the sense of national belonging in the Archbishopric. This image was meticulously rendered, often giving the minutest details of the sacred edifice. But this was only the first layer of reading, the other was reserved for the meta-space in the print. The form of the depicted monastery and the space it occupied followed not only its true image, but the outlines of far more illustrious sacred grounds: those of the Heavenly Jerusa-

21 For more information on Cesare Baronio see Cyriac Pullapilly: Cesare Baronio: A Counter-Reformation Historian, Boston 1975.

lem[22] (**Figs. 6** and **7**). The same overlapping of the real and liminal spaces was applied to the landscapes of these "devotional visitation prints". On the first level of understanding, the space given in these landscapes was the reflection of the existing monastic lands with their forests and their gardens, their paths and hunting grounds. But, above all, these landscapes were Arcadian visions. As one of the favourite visualisations of Utopia, Arcadian landscapes were a particularly popular form of depiction of a desired political space in the Baroque Age. The monastery gardens in these prints presented to the beholder the image of nature as a "hortus conclusus", the model of the Arcadian land. Like a garden, the land of the ideal existence, longed for by the Orthodox archbishops, was lush, fertile and evergreen. Bursting with rich plant and animal life, these monastic landscapes were images of Eden, of nature from the first age of Man. However, they also functioned on the level of meta-spaces as depictions of the glorious, but now lost, national past.

They were simultaneously landscapes of memory, used to evoke the visions of a homeland, of the Serbia the Orthodox had left under Ottoman occupation. From the first days of their settlement on the borrowed lands of the Habsburg monarchy, the leaders of the Orthodox Serbs longed to return to their abandoned fatherland. This eternal longing for return was one of the driving forces of archiepiscopal politics until the mid-eighteenth century. Even when the last hope of reclaiming their historical grounds was undeniably lost, the dream of their homeland prevailed in the meta-spaces of Serbian Baroque art.

On rare occasions, this Arcadian vision was transferred from the meta-space of devotional prints into the reality of episcopal and archiepiscopal gardens. These gardens, unfortunately, have been lost or completely neglected and overgrown, but records remain. The first court garden in Karlovci was designed and commissioned by the same archbishop who modernised the courts in Belgrade and Karlovci – Vikentije Jovanovic. And like his residence, the garden also reflected the lifestyle of the early modern prelate. Despite the fact that these monuments were completely destroyed in the great fire of 1788 in Karlovci, we are still able to reconstruct the basic outline of his creation. The map of Karlovci from 1747 shows the outlines of the court and the clearly mapped nine geometrical partitions that spoke of a formal garden. Almost the exact nine-partite shape is visible in the outlay of the garden of his Catholic peer who ruled at the same time in Belgrade – Eugene of Savoy. Both gardens have similar outlines and their ideological closeness is understandable in the political context of the Archbishopric. This garden, considering the prominence it possessed, functioned on

22 See Miroslav Timotijević: Vizitacije manastira Šišatovca. Manastir Šišatovac. Ed. by Dinko Davidov, Beograd 1989, pp. 341–361.

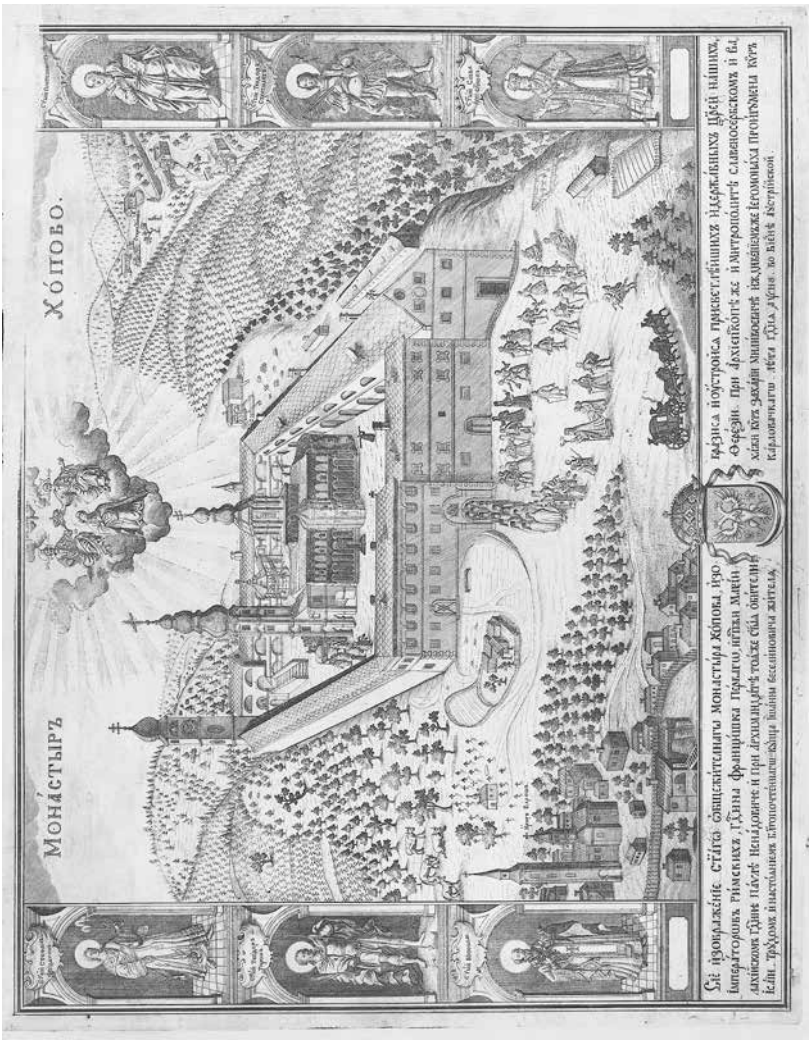

Fig. 6: Anon.: Pastoral visitation to Monastery Hopovo, 18th c. Gallery of Matica Srpska Novi Sad

Fig. 7: Anon.: Pastoral visitation to Monastery Hopovo (detail of Fig. 6), 18th c. Gallery of Matica Srpska Novi Sad

two spatial levels: a real and a symbolic one. As a space following Baroque fashion it was meant to be seen as a way of competing with similar spaces in the Empire. On the other hand, it also constituted a formal garden. The garden as a space of possession and an ordered microcosm of the world was a highly desired message also evident in other meta-spaces employed in the Archbishopric. As we have seen in other spheres of public life, the archbishops strove to emulate and appropriate presentational pictorial and iconographical models that were part of the universal Baroque world.

The Karlovci court gardens achieved a revival during the reigns of Pavle Nenadović and Mojsej Putnik in the second half of the eighteenth century. Archbishop Nenadović enlarged and embellished these gardens with different varieties of ornamental and fruit trees and placed his villa in their midst. The true golden age of these gardens came under the auspices of the Archbishop Rajačić at the very end of the eighteenth century, when the decorative and utilitarian character was transformed into a botanical garden with species of plants brought from different parts of the world. Nenadović took great care himself to ensure the acqusition and transport of more exotic species that adorned the now enlarged hortus. In the mid-nineteenth century it was turned into a large botanical park with a winter garden at its centre. At the zenith of its glory the archiepiscopal gardens housed botanical species from Asia and the Americas, a large ornamental fountain and rare and delicate plants in the hothouse. In reflection of the best early modern tra-

ditions – from princely to Jesuit botanical gardens – this was meant to produce an image of Arcadian space and Paradise recreated. The collection of arboreal and floral wonders of the world in a limited space worked as a kind of natural Wunderkammer, a microcosm of the ideal (Serbian Orthodox) world. This piece of land is still called "Court Garden" in present day Karlovci, but there are no traces of its former splendour.

The Meta-Spaces of Symbolic Imagery

Another category of meta-spaces was the one contained within the pages of the books of symbolic imagery created for propaganda purposes of the Karlovci Archbishopric.

While we have previously analysed a straightforward depiction of the ceremonial space represented in the manuscript devoted to Mojsej Putnik, this festival book also offers other renderings of ceremonial spaces, of which many fall into the category of meta-space. At the bottom of one of the first pages in the manuscript the author depicts the image of a word-labyrinth with the castle-city in its centre (**Fig. 8**). The words of the labyrinth do not conceal any unexpected messages, they are an ordinary dedication of the work to its patron and a modest praise of the author's calligraphic and poetic skills.

By choosing the labyrinth for his ceremonial meta-space, Zaharija Orfelin, the author, deliberately operates with one of the symbolically most potent images in the history of art and culture. From the times of the Cretan myth to the age of Christianity the space that a labyrinth creates or encloses is one of peril and one of power. Apart from being an image and a metaphor, the labyrinth, even if it is represented verbally or only in two dimensions, has all the prerequisites of physical space: it has a volume, width and depth. It is not just an ordinary symbol or an abstract entity. It can be entered, and if one is fortunate, exited. Above all, it is a path with many branches leading to salvation, a ground plan of Heavenly Jerusalem, the streets of the Heavenly city, and a location in the centre of the world. Thus, the metaphorical and metaphysical realms of the labyrinth can be qualified and used as a ceremonial space by the high clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Among a number of works which would give a good illustration of such spaces, there is one print that represents them in a particularly elaborate manner. It belongs to the engraved heraldic handbook *Stemmatographia* (designed by Hristofor Žefarović), commissioned by the Archbishop Arsenije IV Jovanović in 1741, to be a visual manifesto of both his internal and external politics. Moreover, it was created as a gift to the newly enthroned Habsburg Empress Maria Theresia and therefore concealed any meta-spaces where sensitive political concepts could be hidden. It was based upon the same agenda

Fig. 8: Zaharija Orfelin (as Fig. 2): image 5, n.p.

recreating and revisiting the heroic Serbian past which was represented in the landscapes of the devotional prints of the visitations. Only here, the same set of ideas was given more developed meta-spaces for personalities from Serbian medieval history, a period heralded as the rightful Golden Age to which present politics should look upon. Hence it is not by accident that these figures displayed great likeness with the Orthodox archbishops.

This vision of the lost but glorious past is best represented in the print of the Serbian Emperor Dušan (1321–1355) (**Fig. 9**). The very centre of the page is dedicated to the triumphant image of the Emperor on horseback with the figures of Fame and Victory flying above him. Below the horses' hoofs are the spoils of war, including a terrified figure of an Ottoman soldier crushed by the heroic Christian Emperor. This section represents to the beholder the great Serbian Mediaeval Emperor, conqueror and vanquisher of the Infidel. The image swiftly shifts with the representation of his classical Roman armour and the wreath of the coat of arms that surrounds him. The first denotes him as the "rightful heir" to the classical Roman emperors and identifies him as a true soldier of Christ in the best tradition of Saint Michael and Saint George. The wreath, on the other hand, signifies one to the most audacious meta-spaces of political utopia. The coats of arms depicted in this wreath merge the heraldic bearings of the lands under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Karlovci Archbishops with those of the medieval Serbian Empire. Indeed, the concept of historicism is here brought to perfection: the past is no longer the glorifying, heroic foundation upon which the present is constructed; it is alive and forms a palpable spatial reality for the Orthodox archbishops. It is the materialisation of utopia in its finest form.

Since its creation in 1690, the Archbishopric of Karlovci was itself a liminal space, a shadow state. Its existence was a perpetual struggle for autonomy and its borders shifted and expanded depending on the point of view of the observer. It occupied what we could call an amorphous space, a borrowed one, and its boundaries were more the boundaries of faith and less the geographical borders of a territory. The spiritual jurisdiction of the Karlovci Archbishops was the entire territory of the Austrian Habsburg Empire. The true demarcation, if not always possession, of space was far less expansive and visible in the cities which were archiepiscopal or episcopal sees, and in those towns and villages with predominantly Serbian population.

In this paper I have tried to present the diverse understanding and perception of space in the liminal realm of the Archbishopric of Karlovci. Even this limited number of examples indicates the significant misbalance that existed in this Orthodox realm, as in any other shadow state of the Baroque world: the spaces of possession in the Archbishopric were far outnumbered, both in their expanse and their depth of meaning, by the liminal spaces that existed only in political imagination and utopian fantasy.

Fig. 9: Hristofor Zefarović: Emperor Dušan, from Stemmatographia, 1741. Private collection