

# THE PAST REVISITED: THE BAROQUE ALLEGORICAL THEATRE OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX ARCHBISHOPS OF SREMSKI KARLOVCI IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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**Abstract.** *The Archbishopric of Karlovci was created in the Habsburg Empire in 1690, when Patriarch Arsenije III and his Serbian subjects fled into Austrian lands ahead of the invading Ottomans. From then on, the struggle for the recognition of a minority religion in the Catholic Empire was a constant diplomatic battle, played out with spectacle and ceremony. Considering the difficult position of the Orthodox Archbishopric within the Catholic Empire, the use of different forms of ceremonial language was highly peculiar; triumphal entries, pastoral installations, and allegorical theatre had specific forms of their own. They always existed in that liminal space between political reality and a political fiction reflecting the position of the Archbishopric as a shadow state within the Empire. Like other forms of ephemeral spectacle, theatre was also used as a means to confirm the political status and preservation of the Archbishopric's relative independence in the Empire. In what follows I shall discuss theatrical practice in the Archbishopric that began in the 1730s in the form of school theatre, which was attached to the court in Karlovci, under the direction of Manuil Kozačinskij.*

**Keywords:** Serbian Orthodox Archbishops of Sremski Karlovci, school theatre, Patriarch Arsenije III, Manuil Kozačinskij

## THE ORIGINS OF SCHOOL THEATRE

The beginnings of school theatre in Europe can be linked to the humanist revival of education in the fifteenth century, but its full flowering occurred at the time of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>1</sup> As part of Jesuit educational practice, school theatre became an important tool for Catholic propaganda during the Reformation. In this Jesuit form it was commonly found in the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 For more information, see Pierre Behar and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, eds., *Spectaculum Europaeum: Theatre and Spectacle in Europe (1580–1750)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 100–116.
- 2 “The Habsburgs’ revival of the dream of universal sovereignty under the Roman Emperor’s rule was similar to the ancients both in conception and promise. Seen as a mission to which they had

The repertoire of the Jesuit theatre was broad but initially comprised various religious themes applicable to the rhetorical and artistic practice of their pupils; it was later enriched with a number of political, allegorical, and mythological elements.<sup>3</sup> These plays were also intended to persuade their audiences, and as a result of the considerable funds of the Order, they were endowed with pomp on a large scale, including fireworks and elaborate stage sets. One of the largest Jesuit strongholds was their college in Belgrade, established in the 1650s. As an important educational centre the college organized annual plays and processions, of which the most elaborate was performed in 1726: “That afternoon twenty-five pupils took part in a school play. The play was divided into three acts: the Allegory of Justice punishes Lucifer, the Allegory of Divine Grace redeems Adam, and lastly the Allegory of Goodness delegates her duties to the guardian angels”.<sup>4</sup>

The Jesuit presence in Belgrade and other major centres of the Empire could have exerted a direct influence on the school theatre of the Serbian populace in Austria. The relationship between the Archbishopric and the Jesuit theatre was, however, far more complex.<sup>5</sup>

As in Belgrade, Jesuit theatre in the Empire provided the initial contact with school theatre, but its example was not taken as a primary model for the creation of a similar institution in the Archbishopric.<sup>6</sup> In this case the high clergy searched in a different direction, in the tradition of the Kiev Spiritual Academy (*Duhovna akademija*), the main centre of Orthodoxy in Central Europe. However, what was not adopted directly into Serbian school theatre was implanted indirectly. Both the Habsburg Jesuit and Ukrainian school theatres were founded on the same principles, which Ukrainians received from the neighboring seminaries of the Society

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been elected by God, the claim to world domination was based not on a geopolitical strength, but on virtue and above all on piety”. Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New York, London: Yale University Press, 1993), 98–103.

3 For more information on Jesuit theatre in Central Europe, see Behar and Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Spectaculum Europeum*, 100–116.

4 Miroslav Vanino, “Isusovci u Beogradu”, *Vrela i prinosi* 4 (1934): 28–29; Josip Lešić, “Isusovačko kazalište u Beogradu i Petrovaradinu u prvoj polovini XVIII stoljeća”, *Zbornik Matice srpske za umetnost i muziku* 50 (1978): 61–110.

5 Eventually Austrian theatre did leave its mark on the further development of theatrical practice in the Archbishopric, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. This influence was most evident in cities with a large Austrian or German population, like Timișoara (where Austrian theatre had existed since 1753) and Bečkerek, where the cultural symbiosis was highly apparent. Although no visual evidence has been preserved, there are a number of documents recording the Austrian theatre groups performing Serbian plays and occasions when the Serbs wrote plays in German. It is important to note that these cross-influences were possible only in the theatre that was not an immediate expression of Archbishopal policy but closer to the popular theatre that proliferated in Europe at that time.

6 Miraš Kićović, *Školsko pozorište kod Srba u toku XVIII I na početku XIX veka* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1952).

of Jesus. As part of the same process of appropriation as that used by Ukrainian scholars for the reception of the Jesuit educational model, they accepted the most current form of school theatre founded on the aesthetics of Jesuit theoreticians like Julius Caesar Scaligeri and Jacob Pontius.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century the Spiritual Academy, particularly under the direction of the famous scholar and playwright Teofan Prokopovič, reworked the Jesuit theatrical template for its own educational and political purposes.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the basic model of school drama, the Ukrainians also borrowed from the Polish Jesuits a specific panegyric form that would have a large influence on Kozačinskij himself. Therefore, Kiev was the most suitable place from which, during the 1720s and 1730s, the Serbian Archbishops imported Ukrainian professors and their theatre.

With the arrival of Ukrainian professors, notably Manuil Kozačinskij – later the rector of the Latin academy (*Collegium slavono-latino carloviense*) in Karlovci – the Archbishopric was introduced through a “safe Orthodox source” to the most fashionable form of school theatre ready to be tailored to its political needs.

### TRAEDOKOMEDIJA (TRAGI-COMEDY) BY MANUIL KOZAČINSKIJ

The arrival of Manuil Kozačinskij in 1733 marked the foundations of Serbian school theatre and of ephemeral spectacles on a larger scale in Karlovci. Educated in the Spiritual Academy and a disciple of Prokopovič, Kozačinskij wrote such important works as a *Treatise on Philosophy* even before he came to Karlovci and took part in several theatre productions of the Academy.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, he had a very good background for the enlightening and scholarly task that lay ahead of him in Karlovci, where he would stay for six years until the death of his main patron, Archbishop Vikentije Jovanović.<sup>10</sup> Kozačinskij’s fate there was tied to the archiepiscopal succession. After the death of Jovanović in 1738, the Latin School (*Collegium slavono-latino carloviense*) was dissolved and Manuil Kozačinskij tried to sustain himself by working for the Serbian bishops, Visarion Pavlovič in Novi Sad and Simeon Filipovič in Pakrac. Disappointed with his assignments, the learned and enthusiastic scholar returned to Kiev, where he pursued a flourishing career as a professor of philosophy and later rector of the Academy, writing continuously, particularly in praise of the Russian Empress Elizaveta Petrovna.<sup>11</sup>

7 Mihovil Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, vols. 1–2 (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1932), 12.

8 Ibid., 101.

9 Vlastimir Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij i njegova “Traedokomedija”* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1980), 210–220.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 220.

An even more significant fact is that in its structure and realization the play possessed all the elements of the contemporary panegyric plays. As I shall demonstrate, *Tragi-comedy* resembles in its structure both the creations of the Jesuit school theatre and the productions of the Ukrainian Spiritual Academy (Киевска духовна академия). It is also the only Serbian play from this early period preserved in its entirety. Although visual records of its stage and costume designs have not been preserved – either due to lack of means or the later destruction of documents in the great fire that burnt down the court and the entire city of Karlovci in 1788 – a sufficient number of textual sources are available to help reconstruct the visual impact this play must have had on its audience.

*Tragi-comedy* was most probably commissioned as early as 1733 by the archbishop Vikentije Jovanović. It formed a part of his educational and even more his political goals. His entire political program was based on history because he was convinced that examples from the past were the best way to enlighten his people. This play and its subject matter – the glorious history of the fallen Serbian medieval state and its expected resurrection under the present archbishops – was as much the creation of Kozačinskij as of his erudite patron.<sup>12</sup>

This close collaboration also indicates the most plausible festive occasion for the play's first performance: to honor the favorable conclusion of the archbishop's diplomatic mission in Vienna in 1736.<sup>13</sup> The primary function of *Tragi-comedy* was to glorify both the medieval past and the present strivings of the Serbs in the Empire. Its other foci concern the introduction of a new educational system and the importance of the Latin school in Karlovci elaborated in the concluding part of the play. Implicitly, though, all those functions had one sole aim: the glorification of the archbishop himself. This panegyric aspect of Kozačinskij's play was particularly evident in the laudatory song that represents the end and the climax of the *Tragi-comedy*:

It is time to give thanks and to show gratitude,  
So let us sing praise to and gratify  
Vikentije Jovanović for all his magnificent efforts  
And wish him many years of prosperity.<sup>14</sup>

12 Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, 13; Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 221.

13 Erčić, *ibid.*

14 According to previous scholarship (Rajić/Grujić), *Tragi-comedy* was performed for the first time in 1736. Erčić proposes an earlier date of performance (1734), but Kozačinskij needed more time to research such a complex subject. He had to spend more time in the Archbishopric in order to become better acquainted with the history of the Serbs and their traditions, and to uncover all the religious-political relations that existed in Karlovci. Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 327.

## HISTORICISM

The dual structure of the play, connecting the remote past of the Serbian Middle Ages with its immediate present, was no novelty. First of all, it was done in the tradition of historicism that was a familiar form of historical thinking from Cesare Baronio and Matteus Flavius onwards.<sup>15</sup> Baronio explained this in the introduction to his *Annales Ecclesiastici*: “Just as successive links form a single chain, so years joined to years by many cycles of years compose one and the same work, and reveal to you that the Church has been always one and the same”.<sup>16</sup>

In much the same way, Kozačinskij wanted to present to his audience the uninterrupted glory and the historical continuum of the Serbian state. By the 1730s, the concept of defending one’s present with one’s own (constructed) past was not only part of the literary tradition used to glorify European courts (for example, the play *Habsburg Pietas* by Justus Lipsius, written for the coronation of Emperor Ferdinand III in 1627 and later reworked by Avancini), but also served as a basis for a large number of Jesuit plays that were usually based on the Baronian tradition.<sup>17</sup> One of the important authors for the Jesuit stage, Joseph Symons, regarded it as a crucial part of his plays that they were all re-enacted examples from history, ranging from the Byzantine past to Christian martyrology: *Leo Armenius* (1645), *Zeno* (1626), and *Marcella* (1648). Furthermore, the concept of defending one’s present with the past was also largely used in the Ukrainian Spiritual Academy in the works of Teophan Prokopovič. This principle was most apparent in his important play *Vladimir* (1705), in which he utilized the glorious times of the onset of Christianity in Russia to illuminate the current Petrine state.<sup>18</sup> He propagated this model of thought through his historical plays, and even more in his famous *Rhetoric* (1711). It is therefore understandable that Kozačinskij, coming from Kiev, would easily accept the commission to write a play with historical subject matter and based on tradition, and seek a festive occasion for its performance. Not only was his (Kievan) inclination towards history well matched with the wishes of his

15 Quotations from Kozačinskij’s *Tragi-comedy* are taken from Erčić’s transcription of Rajić’s edition of the play. During the work on this chapter Erčić’s transcription was compared to its original kept in the Archive of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad (BMS, RR 396). The last sentence is not clear:

“Время захвалити и возблагодарити.

Возблагодаримо, и вси воскликнемо: Викентий Иоаннович, за толики Твоя труди многа лѣта Ти буди!”

Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 563.

16 Pontien Polman, *L’Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVIIe siècle* (Gembloux: Paris, 1932), 465–472.

17 Cesare Baronio, *Annales ecclesiastici*, trans. Piotr Skarga (Moscow, 1719), 3.

18 For further information see Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 340.

patron, but the concept of historicism itself had already emerged in the political and historical works of local authors of the late seventeenth century. From works like Branković's *Chronicles* (*Hronike, nema tačna pisao ih do svoje smrti*, 1711) and Orbin's *The Kingdom of Slavs* (*Kraljevstvo Slovena*, 1601) it is evident how well aware his contemporaries were of the political applications of history and how highly history had been regarded in the Archbishopric.<sup>19</sup>

The enhancement of tradition and the insistence on lineage were the constitutive parts of state spectacles in early modern Europe. Like the triumphal arch erected for Leopold I by Fisher von Erlach, or Dürer's "paper triumphs" for Leopold's famous predecessor Maximilian I, a real or fabricated ancestry was proudly displayed to elevate the present sovereign.<sup>20</sup> While Dürer incorporated in his arch an entire family tree (highly enriched by illustrious Biblical and mythological *personae*), Fisher von Erlach used the figures of medieval Habsburg sovereigns as a real and metaphoric support for his triumphal portal devoted to the current Emperor. As a literary counterpart to the rows of crowned ancestors seen in these two triumphal arches, Kozačinskij opens his play by citing the long ancestry of Serbian medieval kings in order to give virtual lineage (and subsequently political esteem) to the current succession of clerical "heads of state".

In line with these two concepts, the one of historicism and the other of the glorification of princely lineage, the *Tragi-comedy* is divided into two clearly defined parts. The medieval part of the play reveals the times of the last Serbian Emperor Dušan (1321–55), the epitome of the ideal ruler in Serbian history; then follows the (more or less accurate) course of history, with the division of the Empire among the nobility, until the fall of Serbia under the Turkish rule (1459). To create a lawful and natural continuity, Kozačinskij commences the second part with the rise of Serbia under the patriarch Arsenije III and subsequent archbishops, and continues to contemporary events and the reign of the most eminent Vikentije Jovanović.<sup>21</sup> In his work Kozačinskij summarizes history in order to gloss over the unfortunate Ottoman occupation, and thus enables the spectator to make an easy transition between the past and the present. Constantly juxtaposing the past with the present, Kozačinskij constructs his panegyric play as a set of examples from history that should be or are already being followed by the ecclesiastical leaders of the Serbian people in the Empire. Apart from the modernity of the concept of

19 Teofan Prokopovič, *Sočinenia* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1961), 31.

20 All three quoted works represent the first attempts at the political use of history that was implicitly influenced by such works as Skarga's edition of Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*. For more information on these works, see Milorad Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti baroknog doba: XVII I XVIII vek* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1970), 81–93.

21 Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*, 185–99.

*historicism*, Kozačinskij uses the poetics of the Jesuit panegyric plays. Like other contemporary school plays, the *Tragi-comedy* is divided into a prologue, a narrative part, a chorus, and an epilogue.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the narration, which follows the tradition of the panegyric genre even more closely and will be discussed further, is enhanced by the presence of allegorical figures (e.g., Serbia, Anger, the Liberal Arts, and Vanity) and mythological figures (Mars, Bellona, and Pallas), Biblical characters (sibyls and angels) and historical ones (the Emperor Dušan and Uroš). Allegorical characters, especially that of Serbia, convey a high political content; they represent the main communicators of the intellectual content of the play. Through Serbia's monologues we can follow the political changes that occurred in the Serbian state. At the beginning of the play, the personification of Serbia describes the auspicious rule of the medieval Emperor Dušan and presents him as the ideal Christian prince – prudent, just and pious:

The Personification of Serbia:

I am telling the pure and simple truth,  
And praise God for giving me such an illustrious Emperor,

[...]

He praises and honors the worthy ones, (*prudence*)

Banishes the unworthy from his empire.

He brings regulations and law to his people, (*justice*)

Appoints bishops to the empty dioceses; (*piety*)

[...]

I do not lack anything, I thrive in plenty,

I am full of good will, powerful and strong!<sup>23</sup>

Through Serbia's subsequent recitations Kozačinskij gives a summary of the Serbian political scene: the decline of its glory, the fall under Ottoman occupation, and Serbia's miraculous rebirth under Arsenije III in Karlovci. The role of these mythological figures is similar to the allegories in their function, since they act as visualisations of abstract notions while alluding to the classical background of both the patron and the author of the *Tragi-comedy*. Kozačinskij gives particular importance to the figures of Mars and Pallas (Minerva). He uses them throughout the play as contrasting polarities of force and wisdom, ignorance and knowledge, war and peace, evil and good.

22 Borivoje Stojković, *Istorija srpskog pozorišta od srednjeg veka do modernog doba (drama i opera)* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1979), 28–30.

23 *Ibid.*, 29–30; Tomandl, *Srpsko pozorište u Vojvodini*, 13; Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 250–254.

Mars:

What good have we from learning?  
Do we get any peace and prosperity from it?  
We can achieve much more with the sword,  
We can use it to plead for the Emperor's mercy!  
Anyone who can go into fierce battle  
Needs neither school nor learning.

Pallas:

Has anyone ever won without wisdom?  
Or triumphed without knowledge?  
Was it just the force of Mars, and not the wisdom of learning  
Was anyone ever truly victorious who defeated the Turks in  
Montenegro, Timișoara; under Belgrade and Varadin  
And in Buda itself?<sup>24</sup>

### UKRAINIAN INFLUENCES

The majority of eighteenth-century Kievan plays, particularly those of Prokopovič, contained neither allegorical nor mythological personae, which were often considered an “unwelcome Catholic element”.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it is likely that Kozačinskij sought the inspiration for his allegorical personae only in models such as Guinigi-gi's, available through the contemporary Jesuit theatre in Austria. Nevertheless, we should look for dual influences, both Habsburg and Ukrainian ones, since the existence of the one did not preclude the other. In the Ukraine of that time there were works that could have provided Kozačinskij with the necessary allegorical background. One work in particular, although not itself a play, was well suited for this purpose: the panegyric known as *Eucharisterion or Gratitude* (*Eucharisterion*:

24 “Оглашенной истинь без всяка порока,/ слава Богу, в’же имам царя аз висока/ [...] Он достойних во чести потврждаєт,/ недостойних же паки тояжде лишаєт;/ правила и закони людем уставляєт,/ епископом пряма определит мьста,/ [...] Ничто мнѣ не достаєт; во всем изобилна/ есм, и благонадеждна, крѣпка же и силна”. Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 451–453. The names of the most significant virtues in italics are my addition, intended to clarify the verses.

25 “Что нам от учения? Полза? Или, кая proverbiti / проходят во мирь от его благая? Доста нам и саблю свобод защищати,/ доста можем у Царя милости снискати./ Учения бо тамо никто не требует/ идѣ же собственною кровию воует./ (...) Кто когда без мудрости побѣдител бѣше,/ или без учения кто торжествоваше?/ Е ли без учения Мар’сова сила/ под Черними Горами Турка побѣдила,/ Темишваром, Белиградом, и под Варадином?/ Не?! Без мудрости бѣше под самим Будимом!”. Kozačinskij (1734?) transcribed in Ерчих: *Мануил Козачинскиј*, Ерčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 529–31.

*Albo Vdjacnost*), composed in 1632 to honor the archimandrite and founder of the Kiev/Ukrainian Spiritual Academy, Peter Mohyla.<sup>26</sup> Considering the fact that the Kievan Spiritual Academy was Kozačinskij's *alma mater*, we can assume that he was familiar with the poem devoted to its founder.

*Eucharisterion* is a proper occasional work performed by pupils of the rhetoric class at the Easter celebrations in the Kievan Academy. Apart from its primary function to celebrate the occasion, the praise of Peter Mohyla is preserved in the form of an illustrated pamphlet that assured its prolonged existence in the memory of the students and the wider audience.<sup>27</sup> Through several poems it encompasses the themes of the Seven Liberal Arts (Helicon), theology, and personifications of the fine arts, the nine Muses, and Apollo (Parnassus). Although *Eucharisterion*, unlike *Tragi-comedy*, is very "classical" in both form and content, it possesses some important features that made it a good model for Kozačinskij. They relate particularly to the less discussed side of *Tragi-comedy*, to the "time present", the concluding panegyric devoted to Vikentije Jovanović. Both *Eucharisterion* and *Tragi-comedy* are created for a dual festive occasion, both religious and political. While Kozačinskij stages his work on the day of St. Illayas to honor his patron's successful diplomacy, the panegyric to Peter Mohyla not only celebrates this illustrious academic and his political triumphs but also glorifies the occasion of Christ's Resurrection. More significantly, both works are intellectually highly complex and intertwine history and politics with the rhetorical tradition. Kozačinskij devotes an entire half of his play to the glorification of the past, while *Eucharisterion* only refers to some historical data; yet despite their entirely different contexts, the aim of both panegyrics is similar: to immortalize the prince of the Church and the patron of the sciences. The deeds of both are also comparable: Vikentije Jovanović, like Mohyla, is depicted as a defender of the faith and a founder of schools. On the opening pages of his praise to Mohyla the author states:

Mohyla defended us against evil Turks, and saved Christianity  
 [...]
 with kindness, humanity and a good disposition towards humble people.  
 [...]
 the pious founder of the sacred sciences,  
 the most illustrious man, who brought us to the divine teachings.<sup>28</sup>

26 Paulina Lewin, "Drama and Theatre at the Ukrainian Academy in the 17th and 18th Centuries", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies: The Kiev Mohyla Academy*, ed. Omeljan Pritisak (Cambridge MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, 1984), 93–123.

27 Natalia Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric of the Kiev Mohyla School", in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, *ibid.*, 45–71.

28 At this point we will not investigate the illustrations printed in *Eucharisterion* since they have no direct relation to Kozačinskij's play. For further information on this matter see *ibid.*, 46.

Through the prophecy of the Astronomer, Kozačinskij depicts Vikentije Jovanović as a liberator of souls and a liberator of the mind:

But do not mourn, Serbia, for the loss of the last archbishop.  
His end was not the end of knowledge!  
God will send you Vikentije Jovanović who will gather all his strength  
To spread schools all over Serbia.

and in the words of Infima at the conclusion of the play: “Thus, I bow to the Metropolitan and (thank him) for teaching the pupils and spreading the glory of God!”<sup>29</sup>

In Ukrainian panegyric, and especially in the *Tragi-comedy*, the main protagonists are not only ordained by God, they are constantly guided by divine providence. Under this divine direction, Mohyla and Vikentije Jovanović perform the miraculous renewal of education and ensure the future flourishing of the sciences. The idea of educational rebirth represents the focal point of *Eucharisterion*. Although it is present in the entire work, it figures most prominently in the poems recited by the allegories of the Seven Liberal Arts. Each of them expresses gratitude to Mohyla and glorifies him as the Shepherd of Christ, the one to whom knowledge of God has been granted in order to spread divine knowledge. For the same purpose, Kozačinskij does not use personifications of the Liberal Arts but those that symbolize all the “sacred subjects taught in his academy”.

The first school – Analogy:

I am the first school in the academy of Karlovci,  
And my name is Analogy!  
At the very beginning one needs to learn to speak clearly,  
So without me one can never be comfortable.  
One who strives for deeper knowledge needs to  
Comprehend the foundations of my science.  
Many thanks to you, Archbishop and Metropolitan,  
Special honor should be given to you, a flower  
For making Serbian pupils learn from their alphabet books!

The fourth school – Syntax:

[...]  
I also express my gratitude to the Metropolitan  
For making a grand effort and spending large funds,  
In order to envelop Serbian youth in the fabric of knowledge!

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29 For *Eucharisterion* see *ibid.*, 50.

The fifth school – Poetry:

I am the one who has the knowledge of quick and skilful rhyming.

From ancient times I've composed panegyrics

And described the deeds of most illustrious men.

And I always perfectly form riddles and fables!

Moreover, I create verses more wisely and brilliantly

Than any reader or listener could ever imagine.

I give no small gratitude to the Metropolitan Jovanović

Who taught Serbian youth how to write poetry.

For these achievements I gratefully bow to him!<sup>30</sup>

In both laudatory poems the general concept of renewal is described by the same attributes: as the transformation of darkness into light and the change of seasons. I would not go so far as to claim that *Kozačinskij* directly follows the text of *Eucharestion*, only that he uses the same general comparisons that derive from the vast pool of the broader Baroque panegyric tradition. In Kiev, Mohyla is glorified by these verses:

After sadness, joy steps forth,

After darkness light appears,

After the dry summer there is autumn,<sup>31</sup>

while in the concluding hymn of the *Tragi-comedy* *Vikentije Jovanović* is reminded:

behold your precious time

During which you introduced knowledge into Serbia /the Archbishopric/.

You lead us all from darkness into light!

We, your pupils, are grateful to you

And all the young and old equally praise you!<sup>32</sup>

30 “Аналогия. В карловачких училищах proveriti первая ест школа/ Аналогия. Мнѣ имя!/ (...) В самом началѣ требѣ, ест трактировати!/ Без мене бо прочиих не удобно знати./ Аз ко вишим учениям имѣю начало,/ яко и показую сие писмя мало./ Архиепископу же, и Митрополиту,/ творю благодарение. В почест особиту,/ воздаю ему благодарни цвѣти,/ яко от букварцов повелѣл обучати дѣти – сербския./ Синтаксис: [...] благодарствую Митрополиту яко свой труд и, и иждивение, троши,/ и рек, сей да обручают ся добръ сербския юноши. Поезис: Поезис! Стихотворну хитрост заключаю/ аз. Панагири славним мужем изьявляю,/ древнаго вѣка храбрых описую дѣла,/ гаданием и баснам ревную до зѣла./ Обаче, тол премудро, и изрядно, тако/ всяку чтушу, слушашу, вѣроятю яко/ возмнит ся бити. За что Викентию хвалу/ Иоанновичу, митрополиту, воздаю немалу/ яко отроков сербских сего обучает,/ и за сие ему всяк главу приклоняет.” *Kozačinskij* (1734?) transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 555, 557, 559.

31 Taken from the translation of *Eucharestion* by Pylypiuk, “The First Panegyric”, 61.

32 “Се Твое, Архиепископ лѣто ест предраго./ Яко Ти учения в Сербии водиши,/ им же от тми ко свѣту всѣх нас приводиши,/ за что ми ученици, такожде со нами, –/ благодарствую Тебѣ старци с юнотами. ” *Kozačinskij* (1734?), transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 559.

Not unlike Mohyla's panegyric, the *Tragi-comedy* is created as *laus Regis* – praise of the ideal ruler, in both current examples a spiritual one. In the theory of the panegyric, praise of the ideal ruler represents the very core of every laudatory work.<sup>33</sup>

Founded on the tradition of demonstrative oratory, the utmost aim of the panegyric genre was to ascribe to its main protagonist all the virtues and most notable deeds regardless of their veracity. But its purpose was not mere flattery. In accordance with the theory of one of the main defenders of the genre, Desiderius Erasmus, every panegyric represented an *image of virtue and not a simple praise*.<sup>34</sup> Seen in that light, the concluding hymn to Vikentije Jovanović uses the pattern of contemporary panegyric poetry in order simultaneously to glorify the head of the Church and to propose him as the ideal model of virtue. Henceforth, the medieval Serbian kings from the first part of the *Tragi-comedy* are not the *only* rightful models of conduct for the high clergy. Being worthy enough, Vikentije Jovanović becomes the desired exemplar himself. Moreover, both in the *Eucharisterion* and in the *Tragi-comedy*, praise is directed not only at the illustrious cleric but also at his school and its well-chosen curriculum. In this case, we can apply to Kozačinskij's play what was correctly remarked in the case of *Eucharisterion*. The *Tragi-comedy* presents an ideal educational program through its dialogue and depicts the image of *optima academia*.<sup>35</sup> For both Mohyla and Vikentije, their schools are simultaneously a symbol of universal knowledge and a bastion of true faith in the battle with the "heretics".

*Eucharisterion*

The teaching of pious rhetoric reaps a rich harvest of virtues,  
Dialectics assist the faithful in their disputes with the Unitary Church  
And geometry helps to attain the true knowledge of God.

*Tragi-comedy:*

The sixth school – Rhetoric:  
And I always give kind and noble advice.  
I am teaching tropes and metaphors  
And in order to be able to give an oration  
I instruct them how to enlighten their mind to perfection.<sup>36</sup>

33 For the concept of panegyric and its relation to *Eucharisterion* see Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric", *ibid.*, 53–71; for panegyric in general see James Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Los Angeles, London: Berkley University Press, 1975), 14–57.

34 Garrison, *ibid.*, 40.

35 Pylypiuk, "The First Panegyric", 65–66.

36 "она всегда подает совѣти благия./ Метафорей и тропо сия научает,/ учащихся до зѣла разум просвѣщает,/ како би гдѣ прилично что изглаголати;/ учит же како требѣ слово составлять". Kozačinskij (1734?), transcribed in Erčić, *Manuil Kozačinskij*, 559.

Although it is difficult to establish any direct influence of *Eucharisterion* on Kozačinskij's play, we can still acknowledge their conceptual closeness. Whether desiring to make a "Serbian version" of this prominent Kievan poem, or simply looking up to the work of his predecessor, Kozačinskij used the same mechanisms to glorify Vikentije Jovanović and his patronage of education.

### THE AFTERMATH

Unlike other ephemeral works of art, this panegyric play had a much wider scope, far beyond the commemoration of Vikentije Jovanović's successful diplomacy. Long after its initial performance the *Tragi-comedy* had a profound influence on the political program of the subsequent Archbishop, Arsenije IV Jovanović, and even more importantly, on its visual embodiment.

In 1741, seven years after the first performance of Kozačinskij's play and the year of the coronation of a new Habsburg Empress Maria Theresia, Archbishop Arsenije IV Jovanović made an important commission. In order to present his political program to the new Empress and plead for the re-confirmation of Serbian privileges, Arsenije IV ordered a heraldic handbook, the *Stemmatographia*, from the painter Hristofor Žefarović and poet the Pavle Nandović the Younger. This album of coats-of-arms was modelled on an already successful work by the Croatian artist Pavle (Ritter) Vitezović – *Stemmatographia: sive armorum illycorum delineatio descripto e restituto* (1701) – but with a few important additions that were the legacy of Kozačinskij. The original album by Vitezović consisted of the coats-of-arms of all the territories that actually were or desired to be under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church.

The changed political scene in the Empire, however, set a different tone in the political message of Arsenije IV Jovanović. Since the book had to serve as a political statement, a series of portraits and two panegyric poems were added (one to the patron and the other to the engraver) in order to present the Serbian people as a significant element in the Holy Roman Empire. Through the mechanism of historicism, the book advanced the idea that the Archbishopric represented the legal and rightful continuation of the medieval Serbian Empire. Thus, the leitmotif of Kozačinskij's panegyric play emerged once again as a leading concept in contemporary politics. However, the parallels between Kozačinskij's play and Arsenije's heraldic album are not confined to the level of ideas; there is a clear connection between the author of the poems, Pavle Nenadović the Younger, and the *Tragi-comedy*.

On the frontispiece of his panegyric to Žefarović, Nenadović proudly points out that he was Kozačinskij's pupil: "To the righteous Hristofor Žefarović, the

painter of Serbia and Illyria, the descendent of Bulgaria and admirer of the Illyrian Empire, for his book of Heraldic bearings, Pavle Nenadović, a student at Kozačinskij's school in Karlovci, herewith writes a poem".<sup>37</sup> The need of Pavle Nenadović the Younger to emphasize the importance of his teacher is not simply a matter of etiquette. It indicates that the diligent pupil was influenced by his master's key concepts, took them over and incorporated them into his own work.

The legacy of Kozačinskij is not confined to the commemoration on the frontispiece and the words of the panegyric. It also found its visual embodiment in the structure of the pictorial program of *Stemmatographia* and more specifically in the gallery of portraits of Serbian rulers from the Middle Ages to the 1750s. I do not intend to suggest that *Stemmatographia* should be seen as a direct reworking of Kozačinskij's stage sets used for *Tragi-comedy*, although there have been attempts by certain scholars to make direct connections between the two works. The surviving evidence is not plausible enough for such conjecture.

On the other hand, considering the role of Pavle Nenadović the Younger in this project and his obvious knowledge of the play, Kozačinskij's *Tragi-comedy* could have engendered some pictorial patterns present in *Stemmatographia*. It begins with the portrait gallery of the Serbian medieval rulers from Stefan Nemanja (the founder of the state and the dynasty, 1113–99) to the last Serbian sovereign in the fourteenth century, Stefan Uroš V (1336–71), whom Kozačinskij takes as one of his main protagonists. The book displays the same concern with lineage that we encountered in the opening of the play, in Dušan Nemanjić's monologue. Moreover, this line of portraits represents the same retrospective concept. In the play royal ancestors are intentionally used to underpin contemporary politics in the Archbishopric, and the characters in *Stemmatographia* are "modernized" for the same purpose. Although these portraits depict medieval rulers, they are all in modern dress (as worn by European sovereigns) and placed against a typical background for contemporary portraiture – a combination of drapery and columns.<sup>38</sup>

The idea of "adopted lineage", already discussed in the *Tragi-comedy*, is also emphasised here. In his play Kozačinskij made a direct connection between the fallen Serbian kingdom and the one re-created in the guise of the Archbishopric of Karlovci.

37 "Благо-почтенному Господину Христофору Жефаровичу Иллирико руссианскому общему зографу ревнителю отчества болгарского, любителю царства Иллирическаго. За книгу ейже имя знамени или оружий Иллирически' изображение Павелъ Ненадовичъ школь иногда Карловачки' Козачински' ученикъ от усердия сие восписуеть". Žefarović-Messmer (1741), primary source.

38 Dinko Davidov, ed., *Izobraženij oružij iliričeskikh. Stematografija*, rezali u bakru Hristofor Žefarović i Toma Mesmer (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1961), 257–926.

In *Stemmatographia* this relationship is depicted through the position of the portrait of the current archbishop and patron of the book, Arsenije IV Jovanović, placed at the end of the gallery of medieval portraits. In setting and pose, the portrait of the archbishop relates to the images of former Serbian rulers, while also adhering to the template of the European state portrait. All these portraits have the same patterned floor in the foreground, with elaborate draperies hung around antique columns in the background. The positioning of the figures is also quite similar: both Arsenije IV Jovanović and the medieval kings are depicted in a formal rhetorical pose, a cliché in European state portraiture known to the Archbishops through the prints of Habsburg state portraits.

While the Serbian kings display either their scepters or the martyr's cross, Arsenije IV holds the staff of his holy office in the same way. By pictorially equating the portrait of Arsenije IV Jovanović with those of the medieval kings, Žefarović demonstrates on behalf of his patron the idea of indisputable succession from the past Empire to the present Archbishopric. As in the *Tragi-comedy*, the major aim of this portrait gallery is to bring the heroic past of the Middle Ages closer to the present, and to reflect its postulates in the church politics of the Archbishopric.



Linked in its form and content to the Kievan Academy and the Jesuit theatre, the first Serbian play was created within the framework of an ephemeral spectacle drawing upon the vast sources of the Habsburg imperial ephemera, but also surpassing these boundaries and influencing other important artistic works in the Archbishopric. Although Avancini, a Jesuit playwright at the Austrian court, said that “the written play is fleshless bones, which are just a pale shadow of delights compared to the witnessed play”,<sup>39</sup> the bones of Kozačinskij's play still evoke interest and delight, and therefore they need to be continuously re-examined.

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39 For more information on Avancini, see William S. J. McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis MO: Institute of Jesuit Studies, 1983), 32.