

**BEGINNING OF BAROQUE TENDENCIES IN THE SERBIAN
ILLUSTRATED BOOKS
STEMMATOGRAPHIA: ANALYSIS PORTRAIT OF EMPEROR
DUSAN BETWEEN CHRONOS AND MINERVA**

**ÎNCEPUTUL TENDINȚELOR STILULUI BAROC ÎN CĂRȚILE
SÂRBEȘTI ILUSTRATE
STEMMATOGRAPHIA: ANALIZA PORTRETULUI
ÎMPĂRATULUI DUSAN ÎNTRE CHRONOS ȘI MINERVA**

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Abstract

Stemmatographia is one of the most valuable books that the Serbs issued in the 18th century. By its scope it is not so great, but this book marked the beginning of the Baroque tendency for the Serbs, and also expressed the contemporary cultural and national-political aspirations of the Serbian people in Austria. Socio-historical circumstances have played a major role in the issuing Stemmatographia. This manuscript was created shortly after the Belgrade peace treaty of 1739 when Serbia once again fell under the Turkish rule. The people, led by the patriarchs of Peć, but also called by Charles the VI, recrossed the Sava and Danube rivers. Actually, they wanted to consolidate the new territory, safeguard the rights, and above all to preserve the national and religious identity. Therefore Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta demanded that in this territory he should continue to be the confirmed patriarch and to extend his jurisdiction over Serbia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Macedonia and wherever there were South Slavonic people of the Orthodox religion. The confirmation of the Patriarch's title was the reason for issuing Stemmatographia. This is indicated by the fact that the book was published in Vienna on the same day (21 October 1741), when Maria Theresa, after a long delay, confirmed to Arsenije IV his position of the archbishop of Karlovci and the title of patriarch. Patriarch Arsenije IV was known in the book Stemmatographia of Paul Ritter Vitezovic-heraldic collection but also Vitezovic had the idea of unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which he often represented. The creators of Stemmatographia were Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta and Paul Nenadovic younger. Tom Mesmer and Christophor Zefarovic, one of the founders of modern Serbian art, cut it in the copper. The significance of Stemmatographia is great. First of all it is the first copper platebook of the Serbs, and also one of the first established in the baroque preliminary program, realized before similar ideas were implemented in painting. This means that Stemmatographia represents one of the first monuments of Serbian Baroque art.

Rezumat

Stemmatographia este una dintre cele mai valoroase cărți pe care sârbii au publicat-o în secolul al XVIII-lea. Prin scopul ei aceasta nu este prea grozavă, dar această carte a marcat începutul tendințelor barocului pentru sârbi, și de asemenea a exprimat aspirațiile culturale contemporane și

cele naționale politice ale populației sârbe din Austria. Circumstanțele socio-istorice au jucat un rol major în publicarea cărții *Stemmatalographia*. Acest manuscris a fost creat la scurt timp după tratatul de pace de la Belgrad din anul 1739 când Serbia a căzut din nou sub domnia turcă. Oamenii, conduși de către patriarhii din Peć, dar de asemenea, chemați de către Charles al VI-lea, au trecut încă o dată Sava și Dunărea. De fapt, aceștia au dorit să consolideze noul teritoriu, să protejeze drepturile, și mai presus de toate să păstreze identitatea națională și religioasă. Așadar Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta a cerut ca în acest teritoriu să continue să fie confirmat drept patriarh și să-ți întindă jurisdicția asupra Serbiei, Bosniei, Dalmației, Croației și Macedoniei și asupra oricăror popoare Sud Slave de religie ortodoxă. Confirmarea titlului de Patriarh a fost motivul publicării cărții *Stemmatalographia*. Acest lucru este indicat de către faptul că această carte a fost publicată în Viena în aceeași zi (21 octombrie 1741), când Maria Theresa, după o lungă întârziere, i-a confirmat lui Arsenije IV poziția sa ca și arhiepiscop al Karlovci și titlul de patriarh. Patriarhul Arsenije IV a fost cunoscut în cartea *Stemmatalographia* scrisă de Paul Ritter Vitezovic - colecția heraldică dar de asemenea Vitezovic a avut idea de unificare a sârbilor, croaților și slovenilor, pe care i-a reprezentat frecvent. Creatorii cărții *Stemmatalographia* au fost Patriarhul Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta și tânărul Paul Nenadovic. Tom Mesmer și Christophor Zefarovic, unul dintre fondatorii artei sârbești moderne, tăiată în cupru. Semnificația cărții *Stemmatalographia* este măreață. Înainte de toate, este prima carte din cupru a sârbilor, precum și una dintre primele stabilite în programul baroc preliminar, realizat înainte să fie implementate idei similare în pictură. Acesta înseamnă că *Stemmatalographia* reprezintă unul dintre primele monumente ale artei sârbești în stil baroc.

Keywords: art, baroque, cultural aspirations, Vienna, book

Cuvinte cheie: artă, baroc, aspirații culturale, Viena, carte

Socio-historical Conditions and Preconditions for the Creation of *Stemmatalographia* *

Stemmatalographia is one of the most valuable books that the Serbs issued in the 18th century. Even though by its scope it is not so great, this book marked the beginning of the Baroque tendency in the Serbian art, and also expressed the contemporary cultural and national-political aspirations of the Serbian people in Austria (DAVIDOV, 2011, 22).

Socio-historical circumstances have played a major role in the issuing *Stemmatalographia*. This manuscript was created shortly after the Belgrade peace treaty of 1739 when Serbia once again fell under the Turkish rule. The people, led by the patriarchs of Pec (Peć), but also called by Charles the VI, recrossed the Sava and Danube rivers. Actually, they wanted to consolidate the new territory, safeguard the rights, and above all to preserve the national and religious identity. Therefore Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta demanded that in this territory he should continue to be the confirmed patriarch and to extend his jurisdiction over Serbia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Macedonia and wherever there were South Slavonic people of the Orthodox religion (MARJAN, 2005, 5–150).

The confirmation of the Patriarch's title was the reason for issuing *Stemmatalographia*. This is indicated by the fact that the book was published in Vienna on the same day (21 October 1741), when Maria Theresa, after a long delay, confirmed to Arsenije IV his position of the archbishop of Karlovci and the title of patriarch.

Stemmatalographia is therefore considered to be one of the most important books of the eighteenth century, because it carries a clear message of the triumph and preservation of the Serbian beliefs i.e. the desire of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci to indicate their religious and national autonomy

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within the Habsburg monarchy. This can best be detected in the formation of the cult of national saints, which, presented by different symbols, had a function to defend the religious and political identity.

This phenomenon is necessary to consider in the context of reforms of the entire religious life that had been implemented in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci since the first decades of the eighteenth century, the time of Moses Petrovic (Mojsije Petrović) and his successor Vikentije Jovanovic (Vikentije Jovanović), whose written rules served as a starting point of the attempts for the legislative reforms of Arsenije IV Jovanovic (Arsenije IV Jovanović) and Paul Nenadovic (Pavle Nenadović). The important role in the reform of the spiritual life resulted from the reform of the liturgical practice. All the necessary liturgical books had been purchased from Russia. The use of editions approved by the Moscow Spiritual Synod was prescribed by the Metropolitan provisions. Already from the middle of the sixteenth century, in the editions Russian saintly pantheon was gradually introduced. When accepting these printed books and liturgical changes in liturgical practices that they carried with them, they encountered with the problem of referring to the Serbian saints worshiping. By respecting the original text, the Serbian saints were not mentioned. Therefore, the handwritten entries were the corrections of the names of the Russian saints replaced by the Serbian ones, and the names of the Russian rulers by the names of the Habsburg emperors.¹

The acceptance of the new liturgical books opened up the problem of lack of liturgical texts needed to celebrate national saint holidays, whose cults were getting more important due to proselyte policy of the Catholic Church. In 1714 a new liturgical book was already created including the services dedicated to the Serbian saints. This liturgical book was *Правила молебнаја свјатих сербских просветитељеј*, later called *Србљак*, compiled by the abbot of Rakovica, Theophanes, probably by the order of the Patriarch Arsenije III Carnojevic (Čarnojević). It contained six services to saints of the Nemanjić dynasty, service to Prince Lazar and four services to the saints of Brankovic and St. Stefan Stiljanovic (Štiljanović). The clarity of basic concepts was reduced due to the Service to Theodore Tyro, whose relics were kept in Hopovo and Transfer of the Relics of St. Stefan, the protector of Serbian medieval state.

At the time of compiling *Србљак*, the top of Karlovci Metropolitanate had been preparing the printing of books *Serbia illustrata* by Paul Ritter Vitezovic, where the national pantheon should have been given a historical framework, and to indicate the Serbian glorious past, from the earliest days to the last despot and to encourage the Serbs to struggle and to preserve their religion and territory. Also this book was to be added to the descriptions of lives of the Serbian saints and heraldic drawings. This had a function to show that the former Nemanjić's empire had its celestial equivalent in sacral pantheon, where the holy Serbian empire is protected by the national saintly choir. This represented a typical baroque understanding of the unity of heaven and earth (TIMOTIJEVIĆ, 1998, 387–431).

Although the publication of this book was not realised the ideas it expressed were spread in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. In 1734, for Karlovci school, *Traedokomedija* of Manu Kozacinski was performed, where allegorical personifications of the ancient pantheon expressed the glorification of the Serbian empire. In this typically baroque allegorical glorification, the central place of the pantheon went to Emperor Dusan, who symbolised the golden age of Serbian history, while the heads of the Serbian church from the Patriarch Arsenije III to the Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanovic, were celebrated as its renovators.

The first visualization of such ideas was achieved in the copperplate which shows the cityscape of Studenica, that was made by the order of the patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta, in 1733 which built the idea of heavenly and earthly Serbia. Within the presentation of the first Serbian Lavra monastery, which above all others expressed the idea of the Serbian statehood and its relationship with the Church, and contained the following images: The Nemanjićs (the base of

¹ The reference to Serbian saints in printed liturgical manuals is not resolved even in the time of Prince Miloš, where the problem is still resolved by handwritten corrections.

which is Simeon, the first emperor in Serbian monk's habit, at the top Christ the Almighty and the angels who bring the crown and loros to Emperor Dusan); canopy beneath which two angels hold baroque heraldic panel (with the inscription of Nemanja's reign), and in the Baroque cartouche at the bottom is the inscription, which interprets the coats of arms. They depict medieval Serbian empire and indicate the jurisdictional frameworks of the restored Pec's Patriarchate, and its connection with Nemanjic's empire. This is highly significant, because it is precisely this connection which reflects Patriarch's religious and political authority as the head of the nation. In addition, the cityscape also contains a rectangular field with figures of the Serbian saints, gathered in the liturgical act of thanksgiving, with St. Sava in the middle. It is one of the first art show which clearly expressed the idea of Serbian sacral pantheon.

Immediately after the second migration and moving to Karlovci, the patriarch presented these ideas in an even more representative form, in copperplate of Christophor Zefarovic (Hristofor Žefarović) *Св. Сава са светитељима дома Немањина*. The direct cause for the making of this copperplate was the coronation of Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary in 1741. The Patriarch sent a graphic sheet to Maria Theresa with clear religious political intentions, expecting its confirmation Patriarchal title, which followed a few months later. The composition mostly repeats the setting of the saints from the previous graphic sheet, with the exception of the saints from the house of Brankovic who have been omitted, because the patriarch clearly wanted to highlight his claim to the territory of the former Nemanjic's empire. In the figure of St. Sava we recognise the figure of Patriarch Arsenije IV, as a legitimate successor of the first Serbian archbishop. This national saintly choir can be interpreted as an allegorical presentation where Serbian Patriarch is preparing to empress Habsburg's wreath at historical Nemanjic's empire. This interpretation can be indicated by the crown of the holy table in front of St. Sava, which was not displayed in Studenica's sheet. With panegiric verses below the image, in the form of blessings to Maria Theresa, hopes for her patronizing attitude towards the Serbs and the Arsenije himself were expressed. More than a sign of resistance, it was a public commitment of fidelity which was the only guarantee for royal grace. In this way the Serbian art managed to adapt wisely to the courtly manner that diplomacy of the modern European absolutism demanded in the relation of a subordinate party to the empowered one. Below the composition with saints, in the central part, between verses, the dynasty coat is located, with the inscription *Дом Немањин* surrounded by crests of Serbia, Raska, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Albania and Herzegovina.



1. "St. Sava and saints od Nemanja's home", Ch. Zefarovic, T. Mesmer

Here the idea of heavenly and earthly Serbia is clearly expressed, where the heavenly Serbia is presented through the figures of saints and earthly heraldry. Heraldic presentation defended the idea of the holy Serbian empire from the territorial claims of the Hungarian nobility.

Stemmatographia

Patriarch Arsenije IV was familiar with *Stemmatographia* written by Paul Ritter Vitezovic -heraldic collection, but also Vitezovic's idea of unification of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which he often presented. But the Patriarch decided that this already mentioned book he should not only reprint, but to issue it in an amended and modified form called *Изображеније оружјиј иличерских* (MEDAKOVIĆ, 1968, 9–21). The creators of *Stemmatographia* were Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanovic Sakabenta and Paul Nenadovic younger. Thomas Mesmer and Christophor Zefarovic, one of the founders of modern Serbian art, cut it in copper.

It can be freely said that *Stemmatographia* is not only a heraldic collection (DAVIDOV, 2011, 54). The first part of the book, consists of processions of South Slavic saints and rulers. Twenty-four frontally placed saints are represented (the first eight were transferred from the nave of the monastery Bodjani (Bođani), the other eight with engravings " *Св. Сава са светитељима дома Немањина* ", and the other eight are representative baroque characters). In addition to Serbian saints, Bulgarian emperor David, Archbishop Theophylact Bulgarian, Archbishop of the Moravian method, Archbishop of Ohrid and St. Clement, Jovan Vladimir are presented. The reasons for their inclusion were justified by the official patriarch title, encompassing the territories not only inhabited by the Serbs but all the Orthodox southern Slavs. This territory was equated with the Serbian empire of Dusan's time. For the same reason, in two places was printed full title of the patriarch, *Архиепископ свих Срба, Бугара, западног Поморја, Далмације, Босне, обе половине Дунава и целог Илирика*. The emergence of Slovenian saints did not diminish the basic idea, because the selection of saints coincided with the ideal borders of the Serbian church, headed by Patriarch Arsenije IV.

The heraldic collection follows the presentation of the saint, usually taken from Riter-Vitezovic books, but also with texts and presentations, very significant in the formation of the entire political character of the altered books. At the beginning of this section, there is a rectangular vignette with Rashi (Raška) coat of arms with the inscribed dedications to Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanovic below it. On the following page there is his representative portrait, with the whole figure and with the interior front windows with drapery, the archpriest ceremonial vestments, with miter on his head, Bishops glass in a left and a cross in his right hand. Below the image there is an inscription record in two rows, in which he restated his full title. On the next few pages there is a printed long poem dedicated to the Patriarch, then the Patriarchate coat of arms, and a picture of Emperor Dusan riding a horse. The composition is surrounded by coats of arms, repeating the concept of the heraldic part of the book, with the four largest map placed in the corners: the coat of arms of Serbia, Bulgaria, Illyria and Nemanjić's empire. The meaning of this portrait once again confirms the patriarch's claims to prove his secular and spiritual authority over the Orthodox population in the territory of the famous medieval Serbian patriarchate and empire. Then, on each sheet separately there are crests with verses and inscriptions and emblems interpreted. On the final sheet there is a poem of Paul Nenadovic dedicated to Zefarovic, and on the opposite side, the portrait of Emperor Dusan in the medallion between Chronos and Minerva with an inscription on the edge of the medallion *Стефан Неманич, все славни и силни цар сербски* (DAVIDOV, 2011, 79–119).

Portrait of Emperor Dušan in the medallion between Chronos and Minerva

In the changed social and political circumstances, the Serbian ruler's portrait also enters a new phase, which differs greatly from displaying the Serbian rulers who in the Middle Ages acquired their attributes. First of all, they are no longer dressed in medieval Byzantine vestments, but in modern baroque costumes of the European monarchs with ermine robes. The gallery of saints and rulers in *Stemmatographia* is closer to West European iconography than Serbian medieval tradition. The origin of equestrian portraits of Emperor has already been indicated. He was dressed in full iron

armor of a Roman emperor. According to some art historians, it is the most profane image of the Serbian rulers made at that time.



2. "Emperor Dušan in the medallion between Chronos and Minerva", *Stemmatographia*, Ch. Zefarovic, T. Mesmer

The Western European concept is suggested by the portrait of Emperor Dusan in the medallion between Chronos and Minerva. It is believed that the basic iconographic scheme originates from the portrait of Louis XIV, painted by Francesco Solimena around 1700. Zefarovic could have been familiar with it through individual graphic templates, which he intensively used in his work.

This engraving of Emperor Dusan is present in all of three editions of Zefarovic *Stemmatographia*. The emperor is portrayed in baroque armor of an army leader from the XVII / XVIII century, with a crown on his head, and his figure is placed in an oval frame supported other two figures; on the right, in half kneeling position is Chronos, half-naked, a bald old man as actually always represented, with wings on his back and his sickle in his hand, while on the left side we can easily recognize the goddess Athena (Roman Minerva) with a spear in her hand, in an armor and with a helmet on her head. In front of the old man's knee is a sand clock and text. Below the oval with emperor's image can be seen military tents. All these figures are on the chess fields. Most likely, this engraving was cut by the Viennese engraver Thomas Mesmer. The figure of the emperor represents typical baroque secular apotheosis where the ruler is emphasised, with addition of allegorical personifications that glorify his virtues and exploits (MEDAKOVIĆ, 1971, 150).

The manner of displaying the royal character with allegorical personifications is known already from the Middle Ages, and was probably taken from Antics. Already in the sixteenth century ruler's image was followed by Chronos and Minerva, personifying the wisdom of the ruler who defeated time. For example, there is a significant presentation of Francesko Teraci by court painter of Archduke Ferdinand Tyrolean (1520-1600), Maximilian II, who was accompanied by Chronos and Minerva. In further development, in the Baroque period there are examples where the Chronos and Athens appear to highlight and glorify (not just rulers, but others), primarily the artists. Also these two mythological figures appear together in the allegorical paintings that were created in the period of establishment of state academies and their struggle against the old, medieval guilds. Thus, on the

painting of Joachim von Sandrart, Athens and Chronos protect small geniuses of art and science from forces that want to ruin them. What is significant for all these representations is that Chronos is being showed in the same unique way, just as it was painted in Zefarovic's book. He has to have the sickle in his hand, because it is believed that Chronos was its inventor. He is presented as an old man, bald and ragged. He also appears as an old man because time always existed or started with the world, i.e. as soon as the the differentiation from the four elements had began. Chronos is dressed in skimpy clothes to indicate that at the beginning of time, immediately after the creation, it was unimportant for people to dress up for the aesthetical purpose. And his torn and wrinkled clothes serve best to show his old age. His baldness refers to the time of his rule, which is said to be the golden age, because the truth was all incorrupt, not turned into a lie. The sickle in his hand suggests that time destroys and burns everything (MEDAKOVIĆ, 1971, 159).

In *Stemmatographia* there is one more of Chronos attributes, the sand clock. In the Baroque period he often occurs in images with moralizing purpose. His task is to highlight the transience, and this is his function in Mesmer's illustration too. Athens is featured in her common and widely recognizable way, standing with a spear in her hand and helmet on her head. She is the patroness of wisdom and the city-state, and protects all that is good about it, therefore there is no need to further explain why it is her that is present in this illustration. This composition of *Stemmatographia* represents the apotheosis of royal virtues of Emperor Dusan, and it is achieved through a typical baroque manner by adding two mythological characters who point out the emperor's part of the winning operated wisdom. The figure of the emperor is the most important and it takes the central place of the work followed by the mythological figures. This strikingly highlighted main motif, has been a well-known arrangement of the figures ever since Rubens. It is considered that this basic iconographic scheme originates from the portrait of Louis XIV, painted by Francesco Solimena around 1700. Mesmer was certainly familiar with similar graphic sheets that were at the time very popular in Vienna, so he transferred the whole composition in his illustration. Naturally, he added some things to show in the best way the emperor's glory. These are the military tents that indicate the great military feats of leader Dusan and chess fields function as a base, actually it is where the figures stand, and their symbolism is related to the heavenly Jerusalem. Here the idea of earthly and heavenly Serbia is clearly expressed, which was promoted by the Patriarch and Zefarovic even before *Stemmatographia* (TIMOTIJEVIĆ, 1998, 387–403).

It was completely natural that the Baroque Serbian royal galleries in a book with such a political character, like *Stemmatographia*, was completed with the portrait of Emperor Dusan, the most powerful ruler in the Serbian history. This was supposed to emphasise and make the Serbs aware of their glorious past, from the earliest days to the last despot and to encourage them to fight for the preservation of their religion and territory. In this typical baroque glorification the central place belongs to the Emperor Dusan, who epitomizes the golden age of the Serbian state, and to Arsenije IV who was celebrated as his reformer. This is of great importance because this relationship is the root of Patriarch's authority, both as the religious and political head of the nation.

Wide presence and spreading of Dusan's cult and cults of other saints and rulers of medieval Serbia, in Metropolis of Kralovci, is related to the general intellectual atmosphere of that era, which gave and saw so many apotheoses making this versatile praising and glorification a regular, ordinary expressive language of the epoch. Besides, by presenting the saints-rulers, who gained their greatest fame in the battle with the Turks, Metropolis of Karlovci wanted to spread the cult of the Serbs and to gain some political advantage, presenting the continual anti-Turkish attitude of the Serbian people to the state government while arguing with it about privilege confirmation.

Concluding remarks: Significance of *Stemmatographia*

All this shows that the *Stemmatographia* was a typical Baroque plated book, not only by formal characteristics, but also by the system of hiring qualified bidders and contractors, who were able to design and realize the complexity of the preliminary work program. This program was primarily represented by the visualization of concrete religious-political program of the Patriarchate of Pec and the Metropolis of Karlovci, because it was necessary for them to gain the imperial recognition

of their religious and political authority over the Serbs, as well as their religious autonomy in the territory of the Catholic Habsburg empire.

The significance is increased by the fact that it represents the first copperplate book of the Serbs, and also one of the first established program with baroque ideas, realized before similar ideas were implemented in painting. This program originated precisely from the highest Church authorities, to whom it served for the glorification and defense of orthodoxy. In this way, it was directed to the top of the Austrian state and the Serbian population, whose education stood in the center of religious and political reforms which started to be implemented at the beginning of the eighteenth century and developing the process later on

This means that *Stemmatoraphia* represents one of the first monuments of Serbian Baroque art.

At the same time, its complex conceptual unity represents the most advanced form of the repressing of the national saints, with heraldry added, which expresses the views of the saint Serbian empire protected by the national saint choir. It takes the central place in the religious-political agenda of Karlovci diocese and then still active Patriarchate of Pec.

Finally, the significance and presence of *Stemmatoraphia* will be dominant through almost the entire Baroque epoch of the Serbian art, because it will be the most important template for the representation of national saints and their heraldic counterpart in the painted church programmes of Karlovci Metropolis, as well as representations in copper engravings art. But its message does not lose meaning even in later times. Due to the emphasising of the idea of rebuilding the holy Serbian Empire, it was found on the list of banned books, more than half a century later, after the expiry of the Baroque period, at the time of the First Serbian Uprising.

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