

The Embroidered Diplomacy: The Symbolism of Banners used in the Inauguration Ceremony of the Illirian-Rascian Regiment in 1735

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Ever since classical antiquity the visual arts have been used as a key media for the propagation of the state and legitimating its existence. Apart from more common forms of state aggrandisement, such as official portraiture, grand allegorical compositions and public monuments, ephemeral spectacles have played an important role in the formation of the state's public image. This article will examine the political imagery created for an unusual patron, and used for an equally seldom discussed function. The objects of this discussion will be the emblematic decoration of banners, created as the main artefacts in a political spectacle devised by Vikentije Jovanovic (1731-1734), the Orthodox archbishop of Karlovci. The spectacle in question was the inauguration ceremony of the Illirian-Rascian regiment he founded in 1735.

The Orthodox archbishopric was created rather late in early-modern European history. Officially it appeared on the European map only in 1690 with the Great Exodus of Serbs into the Habsburg Empire. Under the leadership of their patriarch Arsenije III and upon the generous invitation of Leopold I of Austria the Serbs emigrated from areas of Ottoman occupation to a safer existence in the Empire of His Catholic Majesty. In their new position under the Habsburg protectorate, the Orthodox Serbs saw the possibility of a dual salvation, escape from the Ottoman terror and the preservation of their faith and national integrity. For the Emperor though, the reason for such hospitality was well grounded in contemporary political needs. The weakened military powers of the Habsburg Austrian Empire needed immediate reinforcement. In Arsenije's congregation Leopold I found the perfect allies who could provide military support and had personal interests in the war against the Turks. It was under these circumstances that the Emperor issued his invitation, hoping that the anti-Turkish zeal of the conquered Slavs would prove to be a powerful force in his own Christian conquest. In his charter the Emperor famously guaranteed the free exercise of religion, semi-autonomous status and considerable legal liberties to the Orthodox populace. Encouraged by Imperial promises, the Orthodox Serbs came to the Empire and founded a semi-autonomous domain ruled in spiritual and temporal matters by the Orthodox Archbishop of Karlovci.

Upon their arrival into the Catholic monarchy the Serbs inhabited the low and fertile lands of southern Hungary. This particular part of Panonic plane was already populated by Serbian families, who had emigrated there after the defeat of the Serbian nobility by the Turks at the end of the fourteenth century, and after the fall of Smederevo in 1495. During their stay in this new land, Serbian aristocrats had erected a considerable number of monasteries as their spiritual *ex voto*, and concentrated them in the area of Fruska Gora, which would become known as the 'Serbian Zion.' Despite their settlement on this hospitable

land, and the protection of Imperial decrees, their safety and prosperity were not guaranteed. On the contrary, this period marked the beginning of more than a century of diplomatic struggle for the preservation of the Serbian faith, their rights and their national integrity. During these diplomatic battles, the leaders of the Orthodox archbishopric appropriated many forms of political propaganda, including the universal language of emblems and the multi-medial vocabulary of ephemeral spectacles, both of which are going to be examined in this article. In order to prevent assimilation into Catholic faith and the abolition of their privileges, the Orthodox clergy had to undertake different strategies and play a precarious diplomatic game between the alliance to their Imperial benefactor and the reinforcement of their own autonomy. One of most illustrious exponents of this political art was the main protagonist of our discussion, the archbishop Vikentije Jovanovic (1731-1737).

In 1734, during a diplomatic mission in Vienna, Vikentije Jovanovic, was allowed to establish a hussar regiment that was to be constituted solely of soldiers of Serbian and Croatian nationality.¹ The practice of possessing a military regiment was almost unknown among the Greek Orthodox clergy. Although, the connection of ascetic and humble prelates with military affairs was paradoxical in the eyes of the Orthodox Church, this change in perception was a part of the new, self-promotional image of the archbishops. Together with different forms of ceremonial presentation, the regiment had to serve as yet another signifier of the political/ecclesiastical power the archbishops possessed in the Empire. The constitution of a Slav regiment was not an expression of the imperial magnanimity of Charles VI, but of his immediate political needs. The fifteen-year period of peace, brought about by the treaty of Pozarevac (July 21st 1718), was severely interrupted with the commencement of the War for Polish Succession. It was a time when new military powers were greatly demanded and consequently Charles VI announced the creation of four new hussar regiments, among which was the one belonging to Vikentije Jovanovic. Thus, the officially named Illirian – Rascian regiment was expected to fortify the enfeebled forces of the Austrian army and to spread the military glory of Slavs in the Empire, enhancing the status of its ecclesiastical leaders. The major of the Illirian regiment, Janoc Mosko, explains this situation in detail:

With this letter I inform you of the outstanding grace that His Majesty bestowed upon us by allowing us to form a Serbian regiment that would undoubtedly spread the eternal glory of the Austrian Empire, but also bring great honour to our people.

But if we do not put all our powers into its constitution, then we would be lost forever! Thus when Austrian and Hungarian counts and barons asked for the commandship of our regiment, I had told them that the Emperor promised us an entirely Slav regiment. ... Moreover when the Emperor suggested that, in case we cannot provide enough people, he can supply us with his own. I replied that we want all of the officers to be our own people, to serve as its pride and that we have enough honourable and valiant man to fill ten such regiments!²

After the initial negotiations, the imperial permission was confirmed and a contract was drawn and signed in January 1735.³ According to this charter,

referred to in the original documentation as a 'capitulatia', Vikentije Jovanovic was the owner of the regiment, while the position of the chief commander was entrusted to the only Austrian in the regiment, Lieutenant Magnus von Heldorf. As its owner, Vikentije Jovanovic used all his efforts to gather and constitute the Illirian-Rascian regiment in the shortest possible time. As early as September 16th 1734 Vikentije gave the acridities to his representative at the Viennese court, in order to gather officers and soldiers for the new regiment. Due to financial difficulties and the inefficiency of Magnus von Heldorf, this process did not go as smoothly as expected. The hussar regiment was finally ready to be officially inaugurated in Buda in summer of 1735.⁴

The regiment was officially inaugurated in a grand ceremony presided by Vikentije Jovanovic himself and for it a special set of emblematic banners was ordered.⁵ Both inauguration ceremonies and the commissioning of special banners were standard practice in the Austrian army, to which this new regiment inevitably had to conform.⁶ However, the ceremony and the decoration of the banners carried a symbolism particular to the politico-religious programme of the Archbishopric.

About the detailed course of the ceremony, we know fairly little. On the one hand, it was more a political than public event, involving only soldiers and church and government dignitaries but no wider audience. It is also possible that documents describing it may have vanished in the Turkish looting of the Belgrade residence in 1739. This lack of descriptions, though, should not detract from the importance of the event. From the records of Vikentije Jovanovic we know that it was performed with great pomp, which required substantial financial means:

... Could you help me now with your kindness as you used to do in the former times, to prepare my trip to Buda and relieve me of the large expenses for this important occasion? I need to go to Buda in order to bless the banners and inaugurate our regiment. For that purpose I also need liturgical books, so if you have them, inform me quickly in order not to carry my own.⁷

According to this letter, the ceremony took place in a field outside Buda where the banners were blessed and each soldier took a vow of obedience to his ecclesiastical and military leaders. The presence of liturgical books, mentioned in a letter, indicate that the ceremony included an entire rite of consecration of the banners, giving to this event a significant amalgamation of the sacred and the temporal that marked the majority of political actions in the Archbishopric. The fusion of sacred and temporal imbued all the actions of Archbishop Jovanovic. While giving the pastoral blessing to the banners, and the soldiers themselves, he acted as the head of the Orthodox Church.⁸ But, he simultaneously assumed the role of Chief Commander, using this opportunity to appoint several new officers and replace, the inefficient, Magnus von Heldorf with the new Serbian commander, Vuk Isakovich. This exercise of temporal power, on a presumably pro forma occasion, was so extraordinary that even some of the scholars who later researched this event commented upon it.

However, the proclamation of the new officers was confirmed in Vikentije's letter following the ceremony.⁹

The fusion of sacred and temporal, which characterised ephemeral spectacle in the Archbishopric, and the ceremonial presentation of the Archbishops at large, finds visual translation in the decorated banners of the Illirian regiment. The banners were commissioned in Vienna. Their provenance is recorded in the War Archive in Vienna and their exquisite manufacture in top quality water-silk and the sophistication of their embroidery, confirm these origins. Although, we do not possess any document stating the identity of the commissioner, it is probable that they were directly ordered by Vikentije Jovanovic, like uniforms and arms before them.¹⁰ Presumed lost in warfare, the four banners were re-discovered in the War Archive in Vienna by scholars in the early twentieth century. However, some of their emblems and inscriptions were unfortunately misinterpreted resulting in some inaccurate conclusions, which will be corrected here.¹¹

All four banners are small in size, mounted on large poles thus resembling the type of standard current in European armies at that time. They are made of pale blue silk, embroidered with gold thread and decorated with gold fringes. On the top of each pole is a spear bearing the coat of arms of the two dignitaries involved, the interlocked "C"s denoting Charles VI and the coat-of-arms of the Archbishopric, representing Vikentije Jovanovic. On their verso side all the banners display the two-headed eagle of the Austrian Empire signifying the country whose interests they defend. The recto side is devoted to elaborate symbolic representations of the Archbishop's political views that require detailed explanation.

The principal sides of the banners are conceived as two pairs, which are going to be discussed separately. While one pair is devoted to the depiction of St John the Baptist and St Nicholas of Myra, the other one displays emblematic images. The inscriptions they bear also pair them: those with the saints depicted have inscriptions in Church Slavonic, and the emblematic ones carry an inscription in Latin. Both are appropriate to their form of imagery. Some scholars presume that the first pair was used for the taking of the oath by Catholic soldiers while the Church Slavonic banners served the same function for the Orthodox.¹² Although that might be the case, there are no records of a Catholic priest being present at the consecration in Buda in 1735.¹³

The two banners, depicting St Nicholas of Myra and St John the Baptist, use the iconographic models common in the Orthodox Church in the mid 18th century. The banner with the image of St John depicts the full-length figure of the winged saint, dressed in elaborate drapery with his severed, haloed head by his feet and the priest's omophor in his right hand. Such depiction of St John does not differ much from representations found on contemporary icons. The inscription on the scroll above it is in the form of an invocation, which continues the piece's resemblance to an icon: 'St John the Baptist please pray to God for us (our souls)!' Bearing in mind the function of the banner, the inscription and image represent a saint who will act as a sacred intercessor for the soldiers on

the battlefield. Both in the Eastern and Western traditions, St John was the saint protector of confraternities, military orders, like the Maltese Knights and knights of Rhodes (knights of St John) and of loyalty in general.¹⁴ Moreover, in the Eastern Church he is a protector of the sacred oath, so it is quite appropriate for a military regiment to choose St John as its divine protector.¹⁵

Correspondingly to the depiction of St John the Baptist, the representation of St Nicolas of Myra also has its sources in the Orthodox pictorial tradition. However, it is more elaborate than the St John, and illustrates an entire scene from the saint's life. St Nicolas is depicted appearing among the clouds holding a gospel in one hand and grasping the sword of the executioner in the other.¹⁶ Beside a man kneeling in front of the executioner there are two others also condemned to death. The scene takes place in the open with the outline of the fictional city visible in the background. Above the image, as with the banner of St John, stands the inscribed scroll with a plea to St Nicholas to pray for the soldiers' souls. This scene corresponds to the celebrated passage in St Nicholas's vita, known both in Eastern and Western Churches as The Rescue of Three Falsely Condemned Generals. According to his hagiography, St Nicholas appeared in dream to the Emperor Constantine in order to prevent the unjust execution of three generals who prayed for saint's intervention.¹⁷ It is presumed that this particular story represents the oldest text on St Nicholas that exists in Greek tradition, and that it probably originated in the city of Myra. The scene in question achieved a high popularity over following centuries and was always used to symbolise the protection of innocents and propagation of just war.¹⁸ Considering the martial context in which this scene is placed, it is, at first, quite surprising that a message of 'just war' is the one promoted. However, as the regiment served the Empire, but belonged to the Orthodox Archbishop, it is the Christian message that is put forward, not so much a 'just war' but 'justice in war'. Secondly, by tradition this scene also evokes the separation of the Church and state,¹⁹ which in this case could be interpreted as the independence of the Orthodox Church from the Habsburg Empire, a belief that the Archbishops fervently upheld. The fact that St Nicholas was a bishop, as was emphasised by a prominent bishop's staff behind him, also carries important symbolism. St Nicholas was an exemplary bishop and a shepherd of his flock, it is likely that Archbishop Jovanovic, the owner of the regiment, hoped to be seen in a similar way. Lastly, in the Orthodox Church, St Nicholas is the divine captain, the one who, like the antique Heron, transports the souls to the after-world.²⁰ His capacity as the carrier of the souls would also have played an important role for the soldiers of the regiment. Regarded as a pictorial pair, these two banners represent the dual divine protection of the regiment. They combine, through the figures of St John the Baptist and St Nicholas of Myra, the sanctity of the oath and the sanctity of 'just war' with obedience to an exemplary bishop. It is probable therefore, that these were the two banners that played the key role in ceremonial vows of the soldiers.

The embroiderer of these banners followed the iconography of the Eastern Church very closely in the images of St John and St Nicholas, and correctly

inscribed the Church Slavonic text, not an easy task. This fact indicates that the commissioner who supplied him with this information was a high Orthodox dignitary, most likely it was Vikentije Jovanovic himself. While the embroiderer, probably had the necessary knowledge of pictorial patterns for the depiction of the emblems, the representation of the Orthodox saints and the knowledge of Church Slavonic, hardly formed the part of his usual repertoire.

The other pair of banners, the emblematic ones, carry an even more complex message. While the first set communicated the message of divine protection, the second pair focused on the symbolic and political role the Archbishopric played within the Empire. The depiction of emblems on military banners is recorded in the Austrian army records, and in this way the Illirian regiment conformed to general Imperial military custom. Moreover, the use of universal emblematic imagery and Latin inscriptions indicates that more political ideas were being transmitted, which were meant to be more widely understood, outside the boundaries of their immediate Orthodox audience. This appropriation of emblematic imagery by the Orthodox Church is one more example of iconographic and intellectual integration of the Archbishopric into the cultural map of 18th century Europe. Vikentije Jovanovic, through his erudition and excellent diplomatic skills, was well aware of the significance of this, and in the records of his library we find emblematic handbooks like Alciatis *Emblemata*, Suabert's *Emblemata sacra* and its Russian reworking as *Emblemat duhovnij*.²¹

The first of the emblematic banners displays quite an ambiguous image: the scene of an enraged lion roaring at a lion cub. The image is accompanied with a Latin inscription *Excitat Rugitus* (Roar brings back to life). This depiction is commonly misinterpreted in earlier accounts.²² Due to the imprecise depiction, the lion cub was thought to be a bear thus forming a nonexistent emblem, glossed as a local deviation of an existing template. Seen in the correct way, this emblem reveals its message. According to the medieval bestiaries the lion gives birth to dead cubs and only brings them to life by roaring or exhaling the life into them.²³ Being a highly instructive fable, this attribute of a lion finds its first visual expression in Italian emblematic imagery. The actual emblem originates from Scipione Bargagli's emblem book published in Padua in 1591 where its description closely follows our banner.²⁴ The fact that the emblem is still present in the Austrian Empire at the first part of the 18th century lies in the popularity of Bargagli's eighteenth book. Although quite small, and originally published for an elite audience, the book exists in few editions and most importantly it is an important source for the lionine symbolism in Picinelli's *Mundo simbolico*. It is in Picinelli that we need to look for a further explanation of the scene:

Scipione Bargaglio in this emblem reflects the image of Christ who resurrected Lazarus and brought him back to life. According to legend the lion gives birth to dead cubs and roars/breaths onto them in order to bring them back to life. Metaphorically it signifies a correction that gives the exercise of virtue to lazy ones.²⁵

In Picinelli's lexicon, the medieval morality fable is placed in its Christian context, an interpretation that proved highly appealing to the Orthodox Archbishop. Due

to the lack of a surviving contract we do not know exactly who made the initial decision for this particular emblem. However, it is likely that, even if unfamiliar with the work of Bargagli, Vikentije Jovanovic gave very precise directions and the Viennese embroiderer transferred them into images. It is not only the exercise of virtuous life and deeds that Vikentije wanted to indicate as a primary aim of his regiment. There is also an element of personal glorification, clothed carefully in the vestments of faith. Following Picinelli's text we find a direct reference to the role of prelate: '... also according to St. Anthony of Padua - as the lion roars and brings to life his young; a prelate brings to life those who are dead of ignorance through his exhortation and his sermons.'²⁶ Therefore, it is not only the exemplary conduct of Illirian-Rascian regiment that Vikentije wanted to propagate; he also elevated his own role as its ecclesiastical patron. The Archbishop wanted to be regarded as the ideal prelate who, through the power of his exhortation, inhales the faith into the ignorant. While this concept of the perfect cleric fits well into political framework of the Karlovci Archbishopric, it also belonged to the current reformist image of the Orthodox Church that the Archbishopric imported through the Spiritual Regulations from Petrine Russia.²⁷

The second emblematic banner, conveys a complex political concept. The banner takes the form of a conceptual composite in order to transmit the desired message. In order to understand it we need to look at both Alciati's renowned emblem book and at the heritage of classical literature. The banner depicts an eagle, flying over a river, carrying a small eaglet on its back. Above them is the inscription: 'Non usitata nec tenui ferar' (With strong, unwanted, wing I rise). Although, usually represented with storks, this image resembles Alciati's emblem no. 30 that is present in the Latin edition and in subsequent translations in German (Augsburg 1531) and French (Lion 1549).²⁸ In all editions of Alciati this emblem signifies loyalty and devotion to the benefactors and uses a much more straightforward inscription of gratitude, 'Gratiam refrendam' (Gratitude to the benefactors) and is accompanied with an appropriate description: 'Renowned for devotion, it nourishes its young, expecting a well deserved reward from that grateful and pious brood. And it is not mistaken, since there never was a forgetfulness of gratitude ...'²⁹ The deliberate change of the inscription gives a subtle, but highly significant nuance to the message of the banner. The text is borrowed from Horace's *Carmina XX, Liber II*. devoted to 'The Patrons', which also talks about the benefactors but in a slightly altered fashion.³⁰ Unlike Alciati's clear subscriptio under the emblem no.30, Horace's quote contains the pinch of irony needed for an accurate representation of the Archbishop's position in the Empire. Although the supportive wing of the Emperor might not be wanted, it is still the instrument of the archiepiscopal existence on the European political scene.

Unlike the previous emblem, this one does not relate to the image of the Archbishop and his sacred duty, but rather indicates the internal political relationship between the Empire and the semi-autonomous Orthodox domain. On the one hand, there is no more appropriate image to encapsulate the message of the gratitude to benefactors that Empire wanted to receive from the

Archbishopric. On the other hand though, the application of Horace's quote to Alciati's image serves a dual purpose: it tells us about the classical erudition of the Orthodox prelate and shows the real nature of the relationship of power.

The same idea of the obligations of the Serbs towards the Imperial benefactor figured importantly in Diploma Leopoldianum of 1690, the set of documents that explained the rights and obligations of the Orthodox in the months following the arrival of Serbs in the Empire.³¹ In addition to liberties and benefices given to Patriarch Arsenije III and his people, it clearly explains what the Empire expected in return:

The Emperor announces that he considered and accepted all the Serbian pleas and he declares that Serbs have every right to practice their faith and laws and that no member of the Hungarian or Austrian aristocracy has the power over them; that they can appoint their own prelates ... Also they need to stay lawful and obedient and must serve the Empire to the last drop of their blood...³²

In this unsubtle quotation one learns what the real boundaries of the Archbishopric's autonomy were. For the freedom of their "flight", their confession and their political autonomy, they needed to prove loyal, especially, when serving in the imperial army. Therefore, although belonging to the Orthodox Archbishop, the Illirian-Rascian regiment had symbolically, as well as in practice, to emphasise its obedience and gratitude to the magnanimous imperial patron.

Regarding the four banners as a pictorial entity, the entire map of the power-relations present in the military spectacle of 1735 can be observed. All of them exemplify the presence of two powers. Catholic and Orthodox, the Empire and the Archbishopric are represented through dual coats of arms on their spears, two languages in their inscriptions, and the use of Eastern iconography and Western emblematic imagery. Although in this juxtaposition they might seem equal, the emblems, as well as documents, tell the viewer quite the opposite. While through the fable of the lion Vikentije Jovanovic asserted his spiritual powers over the Orthodox in the Empire, in the other he needed to evoke the idea of, albeit unwanted, obedience to the imperial benefactor. As the emblem instructs, 'Although undesired, only a strong wing can carry me aloft.'

¹ In the letter of October 5th 1734 Janoc Mosko, major of the Rascian - Illyric regiment, writes that by the great grace of the Austrian Emperor, the regiment was acknowledged. All its officers are going to be Serbs except 'Obersefer' and 'Obersejtinant.'

² Letter from Janoc Mosko to Vikentije Jovanovic, October 5th 1734; kept in the archive in Budapest and transcribed in Gavriilo Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva (1728 1748)*, Beograd, 1873, document no. LXXVI.

³ The contract between Magnus von Heldorf and Vikentije Jovanovic published in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva*. Document no. LXXX.

⁴ In the letter from Vikentije Jovanovic to bishop of Buda Vasilije on January 25th 1735. Vikentije said that if the regiment fails to be constituted (due to Heldorf's financial situation) it would not be so much a shame for Heldorf (since he deserved it) but even bigger shame for the poor people of the archbishopric. He also ordered the supply of uniforms and emphasised again that Magnus von Heldorf was not just useless but also a nuisance in this business. All this was a proof of how many hardships the Archbishop had to overcome in order to found and fund this regiment. Transcribed letter in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva* Document no. LXXIX.

⁵ See the letter from Vikentije Jovanovic to bishop of Buda Vasilije written in Vienna on May 25th 1753. Transcribed in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva*, Document no. XCVI.

⁶ For more information see Jovan Caplovic (ed.), *Slavonien und zum Theil Croatien*, vol. II, Pesta 1819, 67-99.

⁷ Extract from the letter from Vikentije Jovanovic to bishop of Buda Vasilije written in Vienna on May 25th 1753. This letter is kept in the archive of Buda and transcribed in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva* Document no. XCVI.

⁸ See the letter that Vikentije Jovanovic sent to the high priest of Buda kir Nestor on the 7th of June 1735 published in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva*, Document no. XCV.

⁹ On this point Vilovski refers to the document in the War Archive of the Viennese Court, Vienna, in the folder for 1735.

¹⁰ In his letter of September 16th 1734, Vikentije Jovanovic advised Josif Jembrekovic to start gathering officers and soldiers for the new regiment and also order all necessary items (uniforms, arms, banners...) Transcribed in Vitkovic, *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva*, Document no. LXXXI.

¹¹ Teodor Stefanovic Vilovski, "Zastave c.kr. husarske regimente" in *Brankovo kolo*, IX 1902, 272-278

¹² Vilovski, "Zastave c.kr. husarske regimente", 272-278.

¹³ Refer to the letter of Vikentije Jovanovic to bishop of Buda, Vasilije, written in Vienna on May 25th 1735. Transcribed in Vitkovic, (1873) *Arhivski spomenici Budimskog I Pestanskog arhiva*, Document no. XCVI.

¹⁴ *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike I simbolike zapadnog krscanstva* (Lexicon of the iconography, liturgy and symbols in Western Christianity), Beograd 1977, 282.

¹⁵ *Srpski mitoloski recnik* (Dictionary of Serbian mythology), Beograd 1970, 67.

¹⁶ Contrary to the reading of Vilovski who presumed that St Nicholas is actually handing the sword to the soldier in order to help him to defeat the infidel. For the interpretation of Vilovski consult Vilovski, "Zastave c.kr. husarske regimente", 272-278.

¹⁷ For the complete text of this story see either Jacobus De Voreagina (trans. William Garanger Ryan), *Legenda Aurea or Lives of the Saints*, Princeton 1993, 70 or Martin Ebon, *St. Nicholas - Life and Legend*, New York 1975, 20-27.

¹⁸ See Charles Johnes, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan*, Chicago and London 1978, 7-44.

¹⁹ In Greco- Roman culture, the head of state in addition to other duties was also a head priest but in any case his will was the ultimate expression of religion. The emperor was *divus* and *invictus*. The story of St Nicholas favours the opposite division of sacred and temporal power. See Johnes, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan*, 7-44.

²⁰ *Srpski mitoloski recnik* (Dictionary of Serbian mythology), Beograd 1970, 262.

²¹ For the records of the library of Vikentije Jovanovic consult Mihailo Petrov, *Prilog istoriji srpskih biblioteka*, Beograd 1961, pp.20-27.

²² For the previous interpretations consult Vilovski, "Zastave c.kr. husarske regimente", 272-278.

²³ Filipo Picinelli, *Mundo Symbolico (...), I & II*, 1653, Quadrupeda, lib.V, Leo, caput XXVI.

²⁴ Scipione Bargagli, *Overo Cento Impresse De Gl'illustri Sigri, Huomini D'Arme(...)*, Padua 1591.

²⁵ Picinelli, *Mundo Symbolico (...), I & II*, 1653.

²⁶ Picinelli, *Mundo Symbolico (...), I & II*, 1653.

²⁷ Peter the Great (English translation), *Spiritual Regulations*, London 1972, paragraph 14.

²⁸ Peter M. Daly and Simon Cutler (eds.), *Andreas Alciatus Emblems in Translation*, Univ. of Toronto Press 1989, emblem 30.

²⁹ Daly, *Andreas Alciatus Emblems in Translation*.

³⁰ Horace, P. Flavius Carmine in Philip Frances, *Poetical translation of the Works of Horace*, vol. I-IV, London 1753, 283.

³¹ For *Diploma Leopoldianum* see three Charters of Leopold I 1690-1691 (P-21-1690/P-18-1691/P-19-1691) in Archbishopric Library, Sremski Karlovci. Published in translation in Dinko Davidov, *Srpske Privilegije*, Novi Sad 1994.

³² From the first Charter of Leopold (1690). Published in translation in Davidov, *Srpske Privilegije*, 93-94.