The Concept of Fluidity in the Baroque Age

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Liquid Mirrors

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

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This book first published 2023

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-5275-1011-5
ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-1011-1

To my Mother

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CHAPTER I

FLUID GEOGRAPHIES

The world of the Baroque was fluid on several levels. In the spheres of politics and demography, it has become emblematic of rapid change. From the great schism between Catholics and Protestants, there ensued a profoundly troubled time of political and religious upheavals, of wars and insurrections, of exoduses and passages. The borders of European domains were drawn and redrawn from the late sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth, reflecting a continuously shifting balance of power. With its major political shifts and changeable frontiers, the Baroque can be seen as an epoch very much like our own, in which diverse peoples are continuously displaced and cross and re-cross the space of Europe in exoduses great and small.

The world of the Baroque was fluid on many levels, several of which will be covered in this book. Arguably, however, the most fundamental one was that of geography, with dramatic shifts both within Europe and in the newly created colonies in the New World. The Baroque world itself was primarily politically and demographically an emblem of everlasting change. The great schism between the Catholics and Protestants commenced a profoundly troubled time of political and religious upheavals, of wars and insurrections, of exoduses and passages. Borders of European domains were perpetually drawn and redrawn in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, thus reflecting the continuously shifting balance of power.[1] On the other hand, the

[1] For shifting borders in the Baroque world see especially Antonio Jose Maravall, *Baroque Culture* (City: Publisher, year), 225-251, and Jelena Todorović, *Spaces that Never Were in Early Modern Art: An Exploration*

creation of colonies in the New World, in the second half of the sixteenth century, conditioned the grandest mass migration in the early modern age. The fluid geographies of the period encompassed a number of liminal phenomena: from the great political shifts that redrew the map of the contemporary world, to the ever-changing outlines of cities that bore the same degree of liminality, to the movements of people that were more intense than ever before. It comprised lands that were either claimed from or defined by water, creating the realms and cities that had fluidity in their very essence.

'To unpathed waters, undreamt shores'[2]

With significant political shifts and changeable confines, Baroque became an epoch very close to our own - an age also notably marked by migrations as ours is. In this period, diverse peoples were constantly displaced - they were crossing and re-crossing the Baroque world in the exoduses grand and small. This age was one of constant voyages, in which entire nations and *ethniae* sought their fortunes in worlds old and new: an epoch of perpetual movement, fittingly captured in the figure of *homo viator*. Alongside political and religious upheavals, the migrations of the time were conditioned by novel understandings of space and man's place within it; for the sense of space, and of the world at large, had fundamentally changed. In Chapter IV, we will undertake a detailed consideration of physical space versus the space of illusion; but at this point, to understand the fluidity of Baroque geography of this era, it is the perception of physical and geographical space that is key.

For one thing, the Baroque world was a much larger one than its late-Mediaeval predecessor, and became the stage for the first universal phenomenon in the history of culture. In the Baroque period, taken in its broadest sense – from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century – some of the protagonists of this book travelled to lands and continents which had previously seemed out of reach or had simply been unknown. During her time in Surinam,

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of Edges and Frontiers (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 41-73.

[2] William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Scene 4, ll. 554-555.

Aphra Behn, one of the most notable writers of the Restoration, would collect and send 'some exotic feathers to be used at the London stage'.[3] Equally resplendent feathers were used nearer the beginning of this epoch to decorate the liturgical attire of the first Catholic prelates of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. It was also an age in which a young Jesuit from Macerata, Matteo Ricci, introduced Christianity to China, and left a lasting legacy in Chinese culture under the name Li Ma Dou.[4] Such access to China was rare, and Ricci appears to have been the first European not only to master Classical Chinese, but also to write several important works in that language. In the same period, automata by the notable inventor and watchmaker James Cox were among the most prized possessions of the Chinese Qianlong Emperor.[5] And the Gonzales family in Mexico produced, in their traditional technique of painting with mother-of-pearl inlay, a lavish screen depicting the 1688 Siege of Belgrade for the Habsburg Viceroy of New Spain.[6] Interests, powers, and the arts became truly global.

The so-called age of discoveries that began in the late fifteenth century laid the foundations for the new Baroque worldview, and shaped the experience of what would become the first globalised world. After Christopher Columbus, Vasco de Gama and Ferdinand Magellan reached islands and continents previously unknown to Europeans, all the great European powers commenced conquests and

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[3] Janet Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (Rutgers: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 1-10.

[4] For Matteo Ricci, see R. Po-chia Hsia, 'The Catholic Mission and Translations in China, 1583-1700', in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); R. Po-chia Hsia, A *Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci: A Jesuit in the Ming Court* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011).

[5] For James Cox, see Roger Smith, 'James Cox (c. 1723-1800): A Revised Biography', *Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000), 353-361.

[6] For the most extensive research on this Habsburg screen, see Meredith Hale, 'Amsterdam Broadsheets as Sources for a Painted Screen in Mexico City, c.1700', *Burlington Magazine* 156 (2014), 356-364.

subsequent colonisation of these 'new' worlds.[7] This period of initial conquests was intense and involved not only battles against existing powers, notably the Aztecs and Incas, but also against other European forces. Some of the pivotal events of the time included the defeat of Aztec Empire in 1521 by Spanish general Hernan Cortez, the conquest of the Incas in 1533 by Francisco Pizzaro, and the establishment of the Newfoundland colony in 1534 by Jacques Cartier, in the name of the French king. Equally important were the creation of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru in 1542, and the Portuguese establishment of their authority in Brazil in 1549. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, seized Roanoke Island, which would form the nucleus of the First English colony, Virginia, named in honour of Elizabeth I, 'the Virgin Queen'. By the 1600s, most of the territories in the New World had been claimed by one or another European state, and one of the most defining migrations of the age – the mass colonisation of the Americas – commenced on a grand scale. This process went hand in hand with the foundation of trading companies that would define a new, global, system of trade: perhaps most notably, the English East India Company in 1600 and the Dutch East India Company in 1602.

Over the remainder of the century, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, Swedish, Danish and Dutch subjects crossed the seas in order to begin their life anew.[8] They came from all classes and professions, rich and poor, from villages and from cities, each of them seeking their fortunes across the seas, or escaping some threat or perceived threat at home; or in many cases, both. Two great groups of willing migrants could be distinguished during this period: those

[7] Nicholas Canny ed., *Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford.: Clarendon, 1994); D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[8] For more on the migrations into the New World, see especially Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move*; Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986); and James Horn, 'British Diaspora: Emigration from Britain, 1680-1815' in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

who were free and those who came under some obligation of labour. They ranged from servants, convicts and prisoners, to simply poor people who had lost their jobs or servants whose masters had died. Many of them worked between four and seven years to pay off the costs of their passage, unlike free migrants who could pay for their journeys upfront. Free migrants came from many walks of life: lesser gentry, artisans, merchants, priests, teachers, and so on. A great number of them worked not only in the silver and gold mines in Peru and Mexico, but also in the production of goods highly sought after in Europe: e.g., sugar (notably in Portuguese Brazil's Pernambuco and Bahia regions, as well as in Spanish Sao Tome) and tobacco.[9] As had happened during many migrations in history, life for most was far more difficult than they had expected, but this did not stem the tide of new immigrants. And by 1734, a Scot who had emigrated to Virginia was able to write: 'pity it is that thousands of my country people should stay starving at home when they may live here in peace and plenty, as a great many who have been transported for a punishment have found pleasure, profit and ease and would rather undergo any hardship than be forced back to their own country'.[10] From only around 2,000 per year during the sixteenth century, the number of European emigrants to the New World rose to 8,000 per year during seventeenth, and 12,000 to 14,000 in the eighteenth.[11]

This great influx of people also created new poles in the flow of information, especially about previously unfamiliar societies, languages, flora and fauna, which would leave a profound mark on the development of the European culture. From potatoes and chocolate to animals and rare minerals, Europe was introduced to all the diverse aspects of the New World, albeit at a great cost to the local civilisations. This was particularly evident in the collections of European princes who wanted their *Wunderkammern* to reflect scope of the newly discovered lands and encompass all their marvels. And it was nowhere more evident than in the collections of the Habsburgs, who undertook the first conquests in the New World. One of the best preserved still-integral collections, in Schloss Ambras in

[9] Horn, 'British Diaspora'.
[10] Horn, 'British Diaspora', 51.
[11] Horn, 'British Diaspora', 51.

Innsbruck,[12] was assembled by Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-1595), the second and favourite son of Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor (1503-1565), who was himself a great patron and collector. Archduke Ferdinand II's incredible wealth of objects within his collection reflected the scope and richness of the global Baroque world.[13] From *naturalia* to *artificielia*, his microcosm encompassed the Old and New Worlds, the wonders of nature, and the marvels of skill that were the sculptures and automata created especially for him. In his cabinet of curiosities, Turkish carpets and turbans were displayed together with a mesmerising automaton in the form of a Turkish boat, produced in Augsburg in the 1580s. Intricate objects made of corals and gold, dazzling porcelain and crystal centrepieces were displayed together with imposing Habsburg portraiture; wonders of nature stood next to the marvels of goldsmith's craft; and samurai armour was kept alongside a portrait of Pedro Gonzales, the hairy man. Seen and experienced together, these objects demonstrated the fluid geographies of the age, but equally, fluid epochs condensed into the collection's present time.

Among Ferdinand II's most prized possessions was a *penacho* (now in the Museum of the World in Vienna[14]): an Aztec feather headdress that entered the archduke's collection in 1595 under the name of 'Moorish hat with long, beautiful, gleaming, green glowing and golden feathers'.[15] This resplendent object epitomised the novel and exotic treasures brought to the emperor from the Viceroyalty of New Spain; and as soon as it arrived in Austria, it became an artefact of great fascination, and was linked to Montezuma as his crown.

[12] For the collection of Schloss Ambras, see https://www.schlossambras-innsbruck.at/.

[13] For the history of cabinets of curiosities, see especially Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[14] For more information, see Gerard van Bussel, *Quetzal Feather Headdress* (Vienna, 2017): Christian Feest, `Der altexikanische Federkopfschmuck in Europa`, in Sabine Haag et al. (eds.), *Der altmexikanische Federkopfschmuck* (Vienna: Altenstadt, 2012), 5-28.

[15] The Museum of the World, Vienna, https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/the-feather-headdress/.

Although the original function that this feather headdress held for the Aztecs was not known, its importance to its collector and the contemporary visitor to the *Wunderkammer* was undisputable, for it stood both for the global power of the Habsburgs and for the fluidity of the new worldview. Certainly, it had an outsized influence on European culture. Three works for the stage are known to exist on this subject: one written by Joseph Simons SJ for the Jesuit College in St Omer c.1626, a second by Antonio Vivaldi in 1733, and a third by Frederick the Great in 1755. Although deemed lost for centuries, it was rediscovered in 2002 in the archives of the Music Library in Berlin.[16] Even though several Aztec feather crowns were brought to Europe, the one displayed in Vienna is the only one that still survives.

The cultural fluidity so important to our understanding of the *Wunderkammern* of the age was one of the dominant distinguishing characteristics of Baroque culture at large. This particular cultural hybridity, as explained by Peter Davidson in his pioneering book *The Universal Baroque*,[17] was at its strongest in areas that were meeting points between cultures, confessions or civilisations. Baroque culture was a highly adaptable one, able to embrace and transform in its own way any other visual idiom and code. The Baroque arts formed a universal system, easily embracing all the known world, adept at comprehending (in every sense) the peoples, customs, plants, animals and other things of any newly discovered place, as will be made evident throughout the present book. The Baroque age was also, proverbially, the age of great voyages, and of many first European contacts with lands of the Americas and Asia. But pivotal for the development of Baroque was that traffic in energies, ideas and cultures that did not just flow in one direction. Rather, Baroque culture was a complex fluid dialogue among various cultures, visual idioms, and heritages.

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[16] On the first performance of Vivaldi's presumed-lost Montezuma see David Ng, 'Vivaldi's Lost Work Is Our Gain', *Los Angeles Times* (22 March 2009), accessed 4 March 2023.

[17] Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

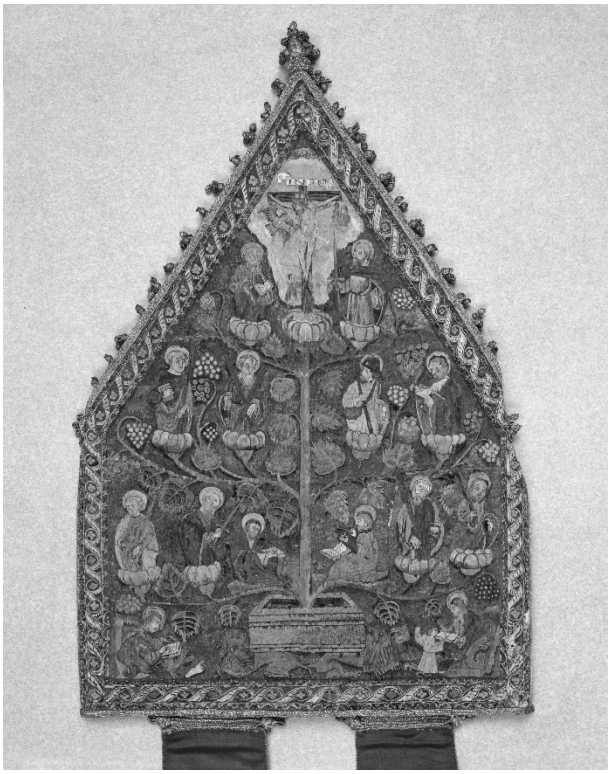

Fig. 1-1

An intriguing example of Baroque visual and cultural fluidity and syncretism is a rather unusual bishop's mitre made in Mexico between 1530 and 1550 **(fig. 1-1)**. Originally a part of the previously discussed Ambras *Wunderkammer* in Innsbruck,[18] it was inspired by the same feather-weaving technique that was so splendidly used in the Aztec feather crown previously discussed. Created by skilled Aztec artisans, it featured an elaborately designed Tree of Jesse with the Virgin and Child at its apex. It is a splendidly iridescent object

[18] This bishop's mitre is kept nowadays in the Museum of the World in Vienna, inv. no. 125210 https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/object/?detailID=601470&offset=0&lv=.

that was meant to gleam in the sunlight as if lit from within. It could easily be part of one of seven dazzling sets of liturgical attire that were produced in collaboration between the Catholic Church in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and local Aztec artisans as gifts for the Habsburg Emperor Charles V and his successor, Philip II. One of these, depicting the Crucifixion, is kept in the Museo degli Argenti in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Recently the subject of thorough research,[19] it can be presumed to be the one that Charles V gifted to Pope Clement VII in the 1550s. Then, at the end of that century, it became a part of the *Wunderkammer* of Grand Duke Ferdinand de Medici. Another such famous set is known to have been given to the Habsburg Emperor Philip II in 1576 and brought to El Escorial to be used in church services; and it has been kept there ever since.

Just as important for the great flow of people and cultures between the Old and the New Worlds, as well as between Europe and the Far East, was the network of Jesuit missions. Although Jesuits had attempted to found centres in the Americas as early as the final decades of the sixteenth century, they did not initially have much success;[20] and the first such mission was effectively established only in 1609 at Port Royal in French Acadia. It was followed by others along the Saint Laurence River in 1625 and in Quebec in 1629. A large network of missions was subsequently established in the Viceroyalty of New Spain in the relatively brief period between 1687 and 1704. These Jesuit centres not only disseminated the principles of the Catholic faith, but were instrumental in the introduction of Baroque culture into the New World, and gave further impetus to the cultural hybridity so well embodied in the dazzling bishop's mitre now in Vienna.

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[19] Ellen Pearlstein, *Latin American Visual Culture*, 1(2) (2019), 99-106.

[20] The mission in Virginia was closed when all its missionaries were killed by the Indians.

[21] See also Davidson, *Universal Baroque*, 92-93. For the hybrid art of the New Spain, see also T. B. F. Cummins, 'The Indulgent Image: Prints in the New World', in I. Katzew (ed.), *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World* (Los Angeles: County Museum of Art, 2011), 203-225.

[22] Davidson, *Universal Baroque*, 92-93.

The remarkable fusion of two cultures can also be seen in a religious festival held at Querétaro and described by Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora in his *Glorias de Querétaro en la Nueva Congregación Eclesiástica de María Santissima de Guadelupe* (Mexico City, 1680). Border cultures yield the most prominent examples of hybridity phenomena, and the festivals created in such cultures are their most vivid illustration. The festival culture of the Baroque was already one of its most malleable arts, which combined all known visual media in the creation of one 'total work of art'. Given this multimedia quality, and its openness to different voices and influences, it is perhaps only to be expected that the cultural multilingualism of the Baroque age would leave a prominent mark in this area of cultural output.

Fig. 1-2

In Querétaro, the triumphal car of the Virgin was preceded – as was often the case in the festivals of the Habsburg Americas – by figures representing indigenous royalty. In this case, there were representations of the Aztec rulers of Querétaro, the Kings of Texcoco, all crowned with turquoise with the plumes of the quetzal bird and draped in featherwork cloaks. After them came a figure representing Charles V as the successor to the American kings and emperors.

Unlike their American counterparts, Jesuit missions in China and Portuguese Macao had have not been fully established until the end of the sixteenth century. Although the order's founder, St Francis Xavier, established missions in Goa and Borneo, he never succeeded in reaching Mainland China and died on the island of Shangchuan. The second, far more successful attempt to introduce Christianity there was by Matteo Ricci SJ (1552-1610) **(fig. 1-2)**. When he arrived in Macau in 1582, then the only centre of Christianity in the region, he hardly expected that he would spend the next three decades in China, let alone that he would become a towering figure not only of Baroque but also of Chinese culture. His approach to missionary work was different from the onset: he immediately started learning Chinese, becoming in his lifetime the first European to fully master Chinese script and the Classical Chinese language.[21] On the advice of Confucian scholar Qu Taisu, Ricci also adopted a form of dress worn by Chinese scholars. Ricci's work in China was marked by the absolute fluidity of knowledge and culture between two civilisations. Shortly after his arrival, with the help of the Portuguese scholar Francesco Ruggieri, Ricci compiled the first Chinese-Portuguese dictionary and created the first comprehensive map of China, *The Great Map of a Thousand Countries*,[22] which presented the real position of China in relation to the rest of the world to Chinese scholars. Ricci offered such scholars the opportunity to gain Western knowledge of mathematics, geography, and astronomy, and in return, he studied Chinese customs and religion deeply and integrated the

[21] Hsia, 'The Catholic Mission and Translations in China'; Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*; Fontana, *Matteo Ricci*.

[22] For Ricci's mapmaking see F. Braddeley, 'Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Maps, 1584-1608', *The Geographical Journal*, 50 (1917), 254-270.

knowledge he gained into his missionary endeavours. Unlike his predecessors, Ricci reached not only Nanjing, the southern capital of the Chinese Empire, but also was the first Westerner to be invited by the emperor Wanli (1572-1620) to become an imperial advisor in the Forbidden City. Though he would never meet the emperor in person, Ricci would spend several years there, and in 1605 establish the first Catholic church in Beijing: the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception.[23] He was accorded the privilege of meeting three great Chinese scholars of his age – Li Zhizao, Xu Guangqi and Yang Tingyun – who became supporters of the Jesuit missions and, indeed, his close collaborators. With Xu's help, Ricci also translated important Confucian texts into Latin, enabling the Western world to become properly acquainted with Chinese culture for the first time. During his time in China, Ricci tried to use Chinese concepts, particularly the cult of ancestors, to explain fundamental concepts of Christianity.

The same fluidity of culture is embedded in the only known reliable portrait of Ricci, created by You Wenhui (also known as Manuel Pereira) in 1610, and now in Il Gesu in Rome. It was painted posthumously from memory, as per Chinese custom. While it was, for a long time, known as the only reliable portrait of Ricci, only in the last decade has it received art-historical attention.[24] The artist depicted Ricci at half-length, with a distinguished bearing and clad in the garb of a Confucian scholar. These long, flowing robes and imposing black headgear endow Ricci with a feeling of venerability befitting his life and position. In the background, the artist depicted the blazing emblem of the Jesuits, thus further asserting the identity of the distinguished sitter. Apart from Ricci's dress, the most distinctively Asian element in the painting is the delicate seemingly misty landscape of the background. Depicted in hues of blue and grey, it is reduced almost to pure abstraction, much as in Ming

[23] Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 202-224; Nicholas Standaert, 'The Transmission of Renaissance Culture in Seventeenth-century China', *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003), 367-391.

[24] For the most thorough account of this portrait, see César Guillen-Nuñez, 'The Portrait of Matteo Ricci: A Mirror of Western Religious and Chinese Literati Portrait Painting', *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1(3) (2014), 443-464.

portraiture of individuals of high standing.[25] Combined with the elements of Western Baroque portraiture, composition, and frontality, it renders this image a suitable monument to the cross-cultural Baroque fluidity that Ricci stood for.

Comparable cultural hybridity, to one exemplified by Ricci`s portrait, could be found in the artifacts that Chinese craftsmen produced, from the mid-seventeenth century, for the European market. Since the establishment of VOC in 1602 (Dutch East India Company), Dutch merchants often commissioned porcelain specifically for the audience in the Netherlands, that combined Chinese craft and Western subject matter. One such object is a rather amusing porcelain 'Bacchus' dish that is currently being offered at this year's TEFAF Maastricht old masters fair by the Jorge Welsh gallery (fig. 1-3).[26] This large dish (37.5cm in diameter), despite some minor touch-ups is in a remarkably good condition with its vivid colours and glaze well preserved.[27] Although executed in the blue and white fashion of Chinese ceramics of the Kangxi style, its decorative pattern of wine leaves, as well as the scene in its centre, are undoubtedly inspired by Western art. The figure of Bacchus clad in and crowned with vine branches, with a goblet of wine triumphantly raised in his right hand, and the bunch of grapes in his left, takes the central position on the dish. He is placed in a room decorated in the recognisable Dutch Baroque style, with black and white chequered tile flooring and a table with elegant dolphin shaped legs denoting that the artist must have worked after a Western Baroque visual source, most probably a print. Only, the Bacchus is undoubtedly Chinese! His clearly recognisable Asian features, and the rather incongruous Chinese-like landscape on the wall behind

[25] Previous studies of the portrait are few and far between, but see John E. McCall, 'Early Jesuit Art in the Far East IV: In China and Macao before 1635', *Artibus Asiae* 11(1-2) (1948), 50–51; and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 72.

[26] See https://www.jorgewelsh.com/news/story/tefaf_maastricht_2023.

[27] Another Chinese dish with the same subject matter and after the same visual model is kept in the V&A ceramics collection inv. no. C.66-1963 http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O76821/plate-unknown/

him make this image a precious artifact of intercultural hybridity that this fluid age so prolifically produced.

Fig. 1-3

While the great flow of people, cultures and knowledge among Europe, the Americas and the Far East profoundly defined the Baroque age, migrations within Europe itself were no less important. They were conditioned by wars and even more so by confessional conflict: between Protestant and Catholic states, and between the Ottoman Empire and Christian realms. One rarely discusses the migration that took place in Central Europe and brought, over a fifty-year period that began in 1690, a large number of Orthodox Serbs from the Ottoman Empire into the Austrian Habsburg lands. Although this entire period was interspersed with sporadic migrations between the two empires, 1740 witnessed a Second Exodus, led by the Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, when

the Habsburgs lost all their territories south of the River Danube to Ottomans. These lost lands included Belgrade, which they had made outstanding efforts to reacquire as recently as 1717-18.

Although in its scale and impact on contemporary society it was not comparable to the transoceanic migrations to the New World, that of the Orthodox Serbs was profoundly important to the creation of Serbia's national myth, and even more importantly – from the point of view of the present discussion – to the opening of the Baroque chapter in the history of Serbian culture.[28] The Great Exodus took place in the midst of the Austro-Turkish wars, but after the Ottoman defeat under the walls of Vienna when, for a brief interlude, the Habsburgs held territories south of the Danube. It was in this seven-year period that the spiritual leader of Serbs under Ottoman rule, Patriarch Arsenije III Čarnojević, undertook lengthy negotiations with forces of the Republic of Venice, Russia and the Habsburg Empire to secure safe passage for his flock. But when the Austrians started to liberate large territories in Slavonia and Hungary in 1686, the Patriarch focused all his hopes on negotiations with the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I.[29] The Habsburgs, for their part, welcomed the possibility of the arrival of a large number of new subjects, whose role was seen mainly as a barrier to further incursions into Christendom, as guards for the Imperial military frontier against the Ottomans. It is rather difficult to ascertain the exact number of Serbs who left the Ottoman Empire in the First Exodus, which was led by Serbian Patriarch Arsenije III. According to primary sources, it consisted of up to 60,000 individuals or 37,000 families.[30] Regardless of the exact number, it was considerable for this period, and certainly

[28] On the subject of the *Great Exodus*, see especially Radovan Samardzic, 'Migrations in Serbian History (The Era of Foreign Rule)', in N. Tasic et al. (eds.), *Migrations in Balkan History* (Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1989), 83-89; Jovan Tomić, *Srbi u velikoj seobi* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1990), 180-190; and Dinko Davidov, *Srpske Privilegija doma Habzburskog* (Novi Sad: Galerija Matice Srpske, 1994), 15-16.

[29] Davidov, *Srpske Privilegija doma Habzburskog*, 15-16.

[30] Maroš Melichárek, 'Great Migration of the Serbs (1690) and its Reflections in Modern Historiography', *Serbian Studies Research* 8 (2017), 87-102.

one of the most organised migrations up to that point. The migrating Serbs were mainly soldiers, merchants, Orthodox monks from the Serbian monasteries under Ottoman occupation, and other Orthodox clergy; and they carried with them holy relics and important manuscripts from their treasuries. The territory of the Serbs comprised southern Bačka, the territories along the Danube frontier, and the regions of Csonad, Arad, Zarnad and Csanad; while after the Peace of Karlovci in 1699, they also inhabited regions of Banat. The choice of this particular space was not accidental; these territories were historically populated by a Serbian minority that had begun arriving after the fall of the last Serbian state in 1495, and where – in the area known as Fruška Gora – aristocratic Serbian emigres had founded the first Orthodox monasteries. But most importantly, from the Habsburgs' perspective, these were frontier territories.[31]

Almost two years preceding the actual migration in 1690 were dedicated to meticulous diplomatic negotiations between the two sides, and this resulted in the production of documents vital to the future existence of the Serbs in the Empire. The Invitation Letter and the First and Second Privileges created the legal foundation of what would become the Archbishopric of Karlovci: a politico-religious entity that would have a spiritual and, to a lesser extent, temporal jurisdiction over all the Orthodox in the Empire. Though this *ethnia*[32] led by the Orthodox high clergy would receive a capital city, Sremski Karlovci, in 1718, in the wake of the Peace of Passarowitz, it had a deeply liminal nature and engendered a peculiar form of the Baroque culture that was particularly fluid.

While in the Baroque art of South America we can see the creation of a hybrid cultural idiom, in the territories of the Archbishopric of Karlovci, there was arguably a far more complex situation. After the arrival of the Serbian Orthodox populace in the Great Exodus from

[31] See also Radoslav Grujić, *Problemi istorije Karlovačke mitropolije* (Novi Sad: Istorijsko Društvo, 1929), 2-14; Davidov, *Srpske privilegije*, 18-20; and Radoslav Grujić, 'Pećki patrijarsi i karlovački mitropoliti u XVIII veku', *Glasnik istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu* (GIDNS), 4 (1931), 13-34.

[32] On the subject of ethnia, see Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and *idem*, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (London: Blackwell, 1987).

the Ottoman Empire to Austria in 1690, the already multicultural and multi-confessional politics of the Habsburg Empire became even more complicated. The creation of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Karlovci lead in the spiritual and temporal matters by the Orthodox head of the Church placed the Orthodox religious minority in a very delicate political relationship with the dominant Catholic culture and state. This in itself was not totally exceptional in the European power politics of the day, but it further intensified the archbishops' need to integrate their *ethnia* into the world and language of diplomacy. Because festival culture was the main form of political propaganda in the Baroque age, it is unsurprising to find fully developed examples of it in the Archbishopric quite early in its existence. However, these festivals were only a point of departure. This mode of cultural transformation would slowly encompass the visual arts, both religious and secular, as well as the sphere of education; and in the end, it would become an integral part of the private lives of Serbs in the Empire. But what lines of cultural hybridity would mark this inter-cultural dialogue between the Orthodox and Catholic communities and worldviews?

The answer is not as simple as it might seem. In creating this bilingual form of Baroque culture, the Orthodox Serbs did not have one point of reference, but two. Instead of just immersing themselves in the prevailing forms of Catholic Baroque, which were ever-present and widely available in their new homeland, they also looked to a place that was geographically remote but confessionally closer to their hearts: Kievan Russia, and in particular, the Spiritual Academy of Kiev, a notable institution established on the model of the Jesuit Colleges that were spread throughout the Catholic world. In this complex manner, the Orthodox archbishopric derived its own Baroque visual idiom, not just in the domain of the festivals but also in the entire area of the visual arts. What makes Orthodox Baroque so interesting as an example of cultural hybridity is its noticeable mixture of Serbian Orthodox, Kievan Orthodox and Catholic Baroques. Moreover, Ukrainian and Serbian ideologies of sovereignty both appropriated festival culture only in the mid seventeenth century. If we are to choose which element of festival

culture – which symbolic form – could best encapsulate this, it would almost certainly be the Sacred Heart.[33]

The image of the Sacred Heart in Baroque culture is connected to the emergence and proliferation of emblem books, particularly those published by Jesuits, in which the specific form of devotion to Christ's heart was elaborated. Among the large numbers of emblem books that came to Kiev and Karlovci through the channels of Jesuit education, I would single out two as having made the greatest impact on subsequent festival production: Benedict van Haeften's *Schola Cordis sive aversi a Deo cordis as eundem reductio et instruction* (Antwerp, 1635)[34], and Francesco Pona's *Cardiomorphoses* (Verona, 1645)[35]. These works had considerable influence on the emblems of spiritual power created for the festivals in Kiev and Karlovci respectively – in the latter case, imported directly from Ukraine. These books were regular items of episcopal libraries, in Kiev, translated into Russian, and in Karlovci where they were imported from Ukraine.

The fact that Sacred Heart devotion was so deeply implanted in post-Tridentine Catholic spirituality does not imply that it was contrary to the Orthodox faith. As in similar inter-confessional appropriations, crucial for the multilingual quality of the Baroque age, an acceptable Orthodox variant replaced the Catholic one, in part because this devotional image itself was so easily translatable and adaptable to different cultures in the early modern world. In Kiev, an image of the Sacred (Flaming) Heart stands over the ceremonial gate marking the entrance into the archiepiscopal palace. It served as a spiritual guardian of the sacred power residing within the walls of the palace, and implied the pastoral virtues of a Good Shepherd in the

[33] For the cultural hybridity in the festivals of state of the Archbishopric of Karlovci, see Jelena Todorović, *Entitet u senci: mapiranje moci i drzavni spekatkl u Karlovackoj mitropoliji (1690-1790)* (Novi Sad: Platoneum, 2010).

[34] Benedict van Haeften, *Schola Cordis sive aversi a Deo cordis as eundem reductio et instruction* (Antwerp: Apud Ioannem Meursium et Hieronimium Verdussium, 1635).

[35] Francesco Pona, *Cardiomorphoses sive ex corde desumpta emblemata sacra* (Verona: Meruli, 1645).

same way that the Sacred Heart reflected pastoral virtues in the handbooks of Catholic reform. For the same educational and instructional reasons, theologians and scholars in Kiev translated the language of Jesuit emblems into their own emblem handbook, *Itika Jeropolitika* (1675). In it, the Sacred Heart once again has a prominent place, and is followed by the inscription 'Divine Deeds'.

In the Orthodox archbishopric, however, it became the key emblem in the spectacles of installation and archiepiscopal state funerals. It served as the crucial symbol in a rare surviving festival book from the Serbian Orthodox world, Zaharija Orfelin's *Festive Greeting*.[36] Produced in 1757 to mark the installation of the Orthodox prelate into his episcopal mantle, it contained a detailed synopsis of the ceremony, followed by an elaborate panegyric. In the images that accompany the narrative of the installation, the Heart appears several times: as decoration of the bishop's throne and as a symbolic conclusion to the entire book. Used in this context, the Sacred Heart is referring to the protagonist's fervent piety **(fig. 1-4)**, to his communication of the Divine Love to his congregation, and to his desire to follow the path of the Redeemer. All three of these qualities are heralded in the text of the panegyric as the most important elements of the 'sacred love' that the new bishop has to bestow upon his congregation. This object eloquently bespeaks the remarkable fluidity of Baroque geographies, but also of its culture and arts, highlighting their permeability; their ability to engage in dialogue, particularly along the cultural frontiers; and their readiness to incorporate all manner of new elements into an international symbolic and imaginative world.

For Orthodox Serbs, the Great Exodus from the Ottoman to the Habsburg Empire was seen as a defining episode in their history, but in the macrocosm of the Baroque epoch, their migration was just one of many. Equally pivotal for its protagonists was the exodus of Jews

[36] For further reading on the Festive Greeting, see Jelena Todorović, *An Orthodox Festival Book in the Habsburg Empire – Zaharija Orfelin's Festive Greeting to Mojsej Putnik in 1757* (Harmondsworth: Ashgate, 2006), and the facsimile edition within Jelena Todorović, *Svečani pozdrav Mojseju Putniku Zaharija Orfelina*, *fototipsko izdanje sa studijom* (Novi Sad: Platoneum, 2014).

from Poland, Ukraine, and Russia in the 1640s following the terrors that were inflicted upon them by Bohdan Khmelnitsky and his Cossacks.[37] But this passage, alas, was also just one of the countless voyages exiled Jews undertook in those times.

On the opposite side of Europe, yet another realm was partially defined by the migrants and migrations that swept over its territories. The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century became, for its particularly tolerant politics, a unique harbour for all kinds of religious and political migrants. This process left a lasting mark on Dutch culture and, as recent scholarship proposes, it was even responsible for the construction of the Dutch national identity – one that would develop both in opposition to and acceptance of this refugee status.[38] It was indeed a key phenomenon in the Baroque age, a time when 'national identity' had only started to be born. In the Baroque age, these movements, grand and small, forever reshaped the established sense of space making it so easily transformable, and ultimately more liquid than ever before.

[37] See Shaul Stampfer, 'What Actually Happened to the Jews of Ukraine in 1648?', *Jewish History* 17 (2003), 207-227.

[38] On the structure of Dutch Society, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (London: Fontana Press, 1991), 51-93.