

THE HEADDRESS OF THREE FEMALE KTETORS' PORTRAITS FROM DONJA KAMENICA

The church *Holy Mother of God* in Donja Kamenica was painted in the 14th century when the village was part of the Vidin region of Bulgarian state. The inscription dates it back to the reign of Tsar Michael Shishman (1323-1330) and “Michael despot, in Christ [our] God faithful, son of Tsar Michael...” is indicated as ruler of the region.

The murals contain four donor scenes and eleven portraits in total. Female portraits are three in total. Some researchers believe that Despot Michael's companion is his wife while others think that this is his mother, Anna-Neda Milutina.¹ No matter which statement is true, it's about a married woman belonging to the high aristocracy. The second lady is donor's wife. His position in the government hierarchy is not known but the rich clothing leaves no doubt in his nobility status. The third portrait is of his daughter. The girl barely reached to the waist of her mother but her body proportions are rather of an adult. We have to assume that it's about a girl on the verge of her maiden age. The depiction of these three women in the same historical monument allows comparisons to be made between the way of dressing of noblewomen of different rank and marital status.

I dedicate this article specifically to their headdress – this so significant element of women's dress in the Middle Ages. I am interested in them as a fashion accessory and a means of beautification rather than their function of insignia (to which lots of scientific works are dedicated). A detailed analysis will be made of their constituents as well as an attempt for reconstruction and comparison to the other Bulgarian, Serbian and Byzantine portraits for the period. For the study, I also used murals from Western Europe, in some cases, from Asia Minor and paper miniatures.

I start with the most significant portrait – that of the Despotissa. (*Model 1*)

¹ T. Bernard Църквата «Св. Богородица» в с. Долна Каменица (XIV в.) [*The Church of the Holy Mother of God in the village of Donja Kamenica* (14th c.)] (in Bulgarian). Synodal Publishing House. C., 2008, 13) identifies her as despot's wife; D. Panayotova (*Ктиторските портрети в църквата в с. Долна Каменица*, сп. БАН, IV, 1970, 5 – 6) considers her as Despotissa Anna Neda Milutina, his mother.



Fig. 1 The Donja Kamernica despotissa - photo by Angel Yordanov

Сл. 1 Деспотица из Доње Каменице – фото: Ангел Јорданов

Her head is covered with a red veil. The veil pattern resembles a net decorated with stars. For this reason, some researchers define it as the hairnet typical of Western Europe Middle Ages.² In the western countries, however, these hairnets served for lifting and tightening the hair. In the portrait of Donja Kamernica the netlike fabric drops smoothly behind the large earrings and covers the shoulders. Despotissa's hair is probably braided around her head but the veil is not used as a supporting element. Instead of a Western-style hairnet we should rather talk about a gold-embroidered non-transparent veil.

The second hairdress-shaping element is the crown. The crown is rather a coronet, with a consistent row of pearls on the base and crowned with teeth. The row of teeth is discontinued at the forehead. Either a second semi-ring perpendicular to the base-crown rises to the pate or a large forehead plate, in which a gem is incorporated. In examining the portrait closely, both assumptions seem equally probable.³ (*Model 2*)

Sumptuous ear cuffs hang on both sides of the face. They are made of small cones arranged around a common center. Such type of jewelry seems

² Панайотова, *Ктиторските портрети (Church-donors' Portraits (In Bulgarian)*), 10; Бърнард, *Църквата „Св. Богородица“ (The Holy Mother of God Church (In Bulgarian)*), 39

³ Analogues of both of them may be found, although in male crowns - a one-chamber crown is worn by Sebastocrator Kaloyan from Boyana Church (13th century) and perpendicular rings are found in the Hungarian royal crown of 12th century.

G. Atanasov (*Инсигниите на средновековните български владетели. Корони, скиптри, сфери, оръжия, костюми, накити*. Pleven, 1999, 238) (*Insignia of Medieval Bulgarian Rulers. Crowns, Sceptres, Spheres, Weapons, Costumes, Ornaments (in Bulgarian)*) this was identified as a semi-ring and analogy was made with the early crowns of Byzantine empresses.



Fig. 2 Drawing of the despotissa's crown and two versions of graphic reconstruction (by the author)

Сл. 2 Цргеж деспотицине круне и две верзије графичке реконструкције (фото: аутор)

to have been popular among Balkan female aristocrats in the 14th century as the ear cuffs of the ladies from the churches in the village of Staničenje and Kalotina are designed in a very similar way.

How does this head covering look like compared to the other portraits from that period and that region?

It is necessary to identify which of the Balkan images preserved are of women equal in rank with this despotissa. Very few analogues may be identified amongst Bulgarian portraits:

- sebastocratorissa Dessislava from the Boyana Church. Although sebastocrator and despot are different titles, there are references that in Bulgaria, the latter replaced the first one in the 14th century.⁴

- The ktetorissa of the Holy Archangels Church in Kastoria. Most researchers agree that she was mother or wife of Bulgarian Tsar Michael I Asen.⁵

⁴ Г. Атанасов, *Севастократори и деспоти в Средновековна България – личности, инсигнии и костюми*, ВТУ „Св.св. Кирил и Методий“, БАН, Търновска книжовна школа т.7, 1999, 469 (*Sebastocrators and Despots in Medieval Bulgaria - Persons, Insignia and Costumes* (in Bulgarian).

⁵ А. Василиев (*Ктеторски портрети (Ktetors' Portraits)*, БАН, 1960, 13 – 15), В. Наследникова (*История на българския костюм. (History of Bulgarian Costume)* С., 1974, 24) и В. Нешева (*Приноси към проучването на облеклото през Втората българска държава. (Contributions to the Study of Clothing in the Second Bulgarian State)* – Археология, 1976, No. 2, 33) identify the ktetor as Tsar Michael I Asen, son of Tsar Ivan Asen II (1246 - 1256), and the ktetorissa – as his mother Irina Komnene. G. Subotich (Г. Суботич (*Портрет непознате бугарске царице. – Зограф* 27 (1998/1999), 93–102)) also considers that the man is the son of Ivan Asen II but on the basis of a new reading of the second part of the inscription and of ktetorissa's youth identifies her as his wife, named Anna. There are however alternative views. I. Mladjov (*The Children of Ivan Asen II and Eirēnē Komnēnē: Contribution to the Prosopography of Mediaeval Bulgaria. – Bulgaria Mediaevalis*, 3/2012, 490 – 500) makes the assumption that the ktetor was not the reigning son of Ivan Asen II but his namesake, the son of Ivan Asen III (1279 – 1280) who lived in Byzantium and Serbia without having a palatial title. In this case, it is no longer sure that his companion belonged to the high aristocracy.

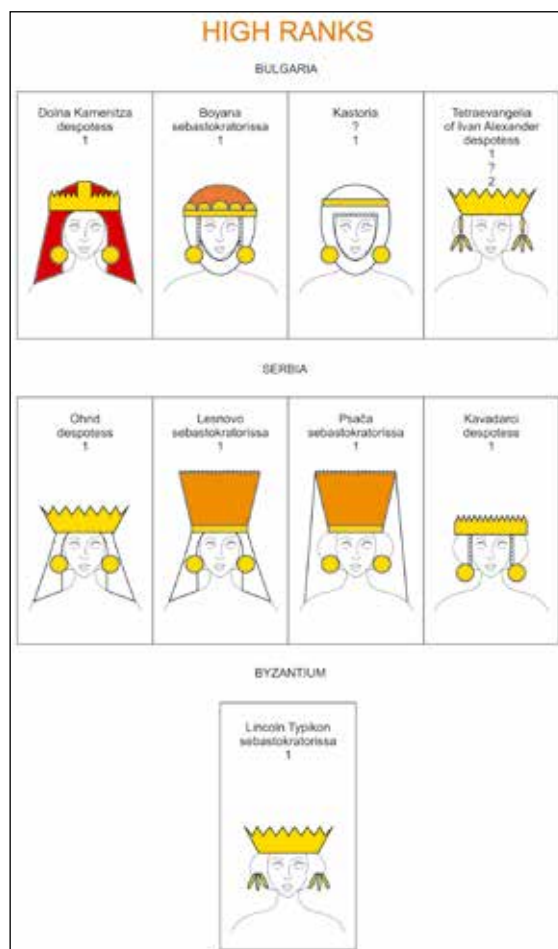


Fig. 3 Drawings of the headcovering of despottissas and sebastocratorissas in Bulgaria, Serbia and Byzantium. (author's drawings)

Сл. 3 Цртежи покривала за главу деспотице и севастократоритиса у Бугарској, Србији и Византији (цртежи аутора)

- Kera Tamara, wife of despot Constantine and her sisters displayed on a miniature in the Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander (1355-1356)

- The wife of the ktetor Constantine in the St. Nicholas Church in Staničenje. Her green robes decorated with gold eagles are an indication of a sebastocrator, despot or caesar rank. However, I examine this portrait alongside those of ordinary noblewomen. The reason is that Constantine is not painted with his full insignias and there is no title next to his name.⁶

Fortunately, the portraits listed are well preserved. (*Model 3*)

Desislava headdress quite resembles that of the female ruler from Donja Kamenica. It also includes the elements of veil, crown and ear cuffs. Moreover, the crown is ornamented with gems and groups of pearls at regular intervals and there is a chamber at the forehead with a gemstone larger than the other ones. There are however multiple differences. Desislava's veil is a chinstrap but not a cover, the crown is decorated with small arc-like chambers instead of teeth and there is a gold-woven low hat.⁷

The Kastoria noblewoman also wears a crown (tiara or diadem), ear adornment and a veil. The veil is white as Desislava's and passing in the same

⁶ According to M. Popovich, S. Gabelich, B. Tsvetkovich, B. Popovich, (M. Поповић, С. Габелић, Б. Цветковић, Б. Поповић, *Црква Светог Николе у Станичењу*. Београд, 2005., 67-68 (*The St. Nicholas Church in Staničenje* (in Serbian)) the green color and the golden eagles are an indication that the ktetor Constantine was caesar, sebastocrator or a son of either of them. For the reasons described above, I think that the second hypothesis is more likely. The lack of part of the insignias was noted by V. Popović (*Costume and Insignia and Rulers Depicted in Boyana Church*. – In: Б. Пенкова (ред.). *Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа*. С., 2011, 226 (*The Boyana Church between the East and the West in the Art of Christian Europe* (in Bulgarian)), although there Constantine was included in the group of sebastocrators and caesars.

⁷ Атанасов, *Инсигниите* (*The Insignias*), 237

way below the chin but wrapped rather tightly around her neck and face. On her forehead, there are pearl strings just like the despotissa from Donja Kamenica but the crown is quite simple.⁸ Her overall vision is more modest than that of Desislava. On the background of these two, the fresco from Donja Kamenitsa stands out with its splendor.

The portraits of the princesses from the Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander should be examined with some caution, due to the specific features of miniature images.⁹ However, it is obvious that the outline of their crowns is quite different from that in Donja Kamenica – high, trapezoidal and with large teeth. It is very similar to the crown of Irina, wife of sebastocrator Constantine Palaiologos displayed in *Lincoln Typicon* (around 1350). Veils are either missing or not displayed.

Some more portraits of high gentlewomen may be found among Serbian medieval murals. These are Ana-Maria Liverina who is depicted once as sebastocratorissa in Lesnovo monastery and then as despotissa¹⁰ in the St. Sofia Church in Ohrid; sebastocratissa Vladislava from the church in Psača and the wife of Ivan Dragusin who is depicted in symbols of despot power on his posthumous portrait.¹¹

Ana-Maria despotissa's portrait has some similarities with that of Donja Kamenica. There, she wears a low crown and a veil that tightly wraps the face and falls on the shoulders. The veil is however white instead of gold-embroidered and the crown does not have a central chamber. The crown resembles the already mentioned crowns of the princesses from The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander from Lincoln College Typikon¹². As sebastocratorissa, she wears a royal-like high crown¹³, the veil falls backwards leaving her ears and the neck un-

⁸ Ibid, 236, the author describes the head covering as “a forehead diadem made of a thick ring of golden plates framed with pearls”. Actually, the diadem and the pearl string are very clearly distinguished by the artist - the diadem is above the veil and slightly curved up to the neck and the pearl strings are rather below and going down to the ears. It is quite possible that the pearls were sewn to a textile tape but I find that attachment to the diadem at the same time is excluded.

⁹ Ibid, 238 - “The crown is, however, preciously stylized and does not give a true picture of despotissa's diadem.”

¹⁰ C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Beograd 1980, 62-65

¹¹ Атанасов, *Инсигниите (The Insignias)*, 215-216. Ibid, 237, the ktetorissa from Treskavec is also identified as sebastocratorissa. However, in the opinion of B. Babich (Б. Бабић (*Материјалната култура на македонските словени во светлината на археоложките истражувања в Прилеп*, Прилеп, 1986, 16) and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gradislav_Borilovi%C4%87 [access 18.11.2015] she was wife of the educator Gradislav. On the photos available, the plaster at the female figure head and shoulders is damaged and I don't address this fresco in this article.

¹² C. Hennessy, *The Lincoln College Typikon: The Influences of Church and Family, Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, eds J. Lowden and A. Bovey, Brepols, 2007, 97-109

¹³ I mean the Serbian royal crowns. An interesting fact is that not only Bulgarian female aristocrats wear lower hats compared to Serbian ones but also Bulgarian Tsarina Irina Lasscaris in the Boyana Church is displayed with a low crown. Accordingly, it may be assumed that the headdress height follows different fashion trends in Bulgaria and Serbia.



Fig. 4 The boyar's wife from Donja Kamenica
- photo by Krasimir Yovchev.

Сл. 4 Бољарева жена из Доње Каменице
(фото: Красимир Јовчев)

covered. Apparently in the same style is dressed sebastocratisa Vladislava but her veil is on but not below the crown, displaying her curly hair. As I will mention further, this high crown cannot be considered as privilege of the high Serbian aristocracy because it is widespread among noblewoman of a lower rank. The last highest noblewoman - Ivan Dragusin's wife does not wear a veil at all. Her hair is tightly fastened at the nape and her crown is similar to that of Ana-Maria of Ohrid but is lower.¹⁴

Among Byzantine portraits, the already mentioned, although not mural, image of sebastocratorissa Irina Palaioloina from *Lincoln Typicon* may be noted. It is important to note that the image was accompanied by five more portraits of ladies with identical crowns but who are wives of dignitaries of various, lower titles. By adding thereto the similar way of depicting of the three princesses of the

Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander (only one of which is despotissa) and of the ktetorissas from Staničenje (dressed visibly quite different and having different marital status), the conclusion is imposed that the requirements to the clothing for noblewomen in Byzantium, Bulgaria and Serbia were not so strictly differentiated as for their fathers and husbands.¹⁵

Although they contain repetitive elements (tiara/crown, veil, pearl strings and ear cuffs), the listed ways of covering the heads of despotissas and sebastocratorissas display a huge variety of models and random combinations of accessories. On their background, the Donja Kamenica despotissa shows something that is fundamentally different by its veil only – the veil is the only one in a color other than white but also with such a rich decoration. Analogs may be found in the portraits of some Serbian queens.¹⁶

The next subject of study from Donja Kamenica is the portrait of the mother. (*Model 4*) Her headdress displays a sophisticated workmanship. The main supporting part is a low cylindrical element wrapped in a striped fabric and protruded at some distance away from the skull. It is covered by a large veil

¹⁴ According to Atanasov, *Инцигуиите (Insignias)*, 238, there is a veil that tightly fastens the hair. The photos available clearly show the uncovered black hair of Dragusin and his wife. I however specify that I have not seen the real mural.

¹⁵ A similar opinion was expressed by Atanasov, *Инцигуиите (Insignias)*, 237-238.

¹⁶ Such as Katerina in Arilje and Elena in Decani.

and there are another one below, the ends of which pass under the chin and wrap the neck. The veil somewhat resembles the Western European wimple, known in the Balkans too¹⁷. But unlike the wimple, this veil leaves the neck uncovered to display owner's necklace. There is a precious diadem on the base of the cylinder to which large sophisticatedly designed ear cuffs are attached. Vanya Pavlova compares the vision of this diadem to several finds from Bulgaria and neighboring countries. They are all composed of articulated cartridges and are so short that only cover the forehead of an adult.¹⁸ A short diadem is also logical in the case of the Donja Kamenica lady because the entire backside of her head is covered by the upper kerchief and the effect of a longer ornament would be lost.

The experimental archaeology implemented demonstrated that this headcovering look may be achieved in two equally good ways. (*Model 5*) In the first case, the cylinder is actually a round hat with a hard base, to which both veils are sewn and the diadem is fixed. The whole structure is easy to put on and wear but impractical to maintain. In the second case, the head is wrapped with the first veil and tightened with the diadem. A hard textile ring is placed above, to which the second veil is attached with pins. The practice showed that this option requires more time and also an assistant and a mirror. However, the storage and the maintenance of the individual element are significantly easier.

Again, the question arise how this headcovering looks in the historical context? The preserved Balkan medieval portrait of ordinary noblewomen are significantly more than those of higher female aristocrats. To make an attempt



Fig. 5 Two graphic and two real attempts for reconstruction of mother's headcovering (by the author)

Сл. 5 Два цртежа и два покушаја реконструкције мајчиног покривала за главу (аутор)

¹⁷ A classical wimple is worn by the wife of Župan Brajan from Karan (the White Church). More details on the Western European wimple and barbette may be found in K. Фрэнсис, Ш. Рэндолф, *История костюма и доспехов. От крестоносцев до придворных щеголей* / Пер. с англ. Т.Е. Любовской. — М.: ЗАО Центрполиграф, 2007, 32-34

¹⁸ В. Павлова, *За една средновековна диадема от XIV век. (On a Medieval Diadem of the 14th Century)* – АДСВ, 37, Екатеринбург, 2006, 342 – 354. As total lengths of diadems, 40,5 cm, 34 cm, 21 cm and 16 cm are referred to (the latter is, however, from a not fully preserved decoration). In one of the finds mentioned – that of Prilep, Macedonia, the diadem is part of a treasure, along with a pair of ear cuffs that are very similar to those painted in Donja Kamenica, Staničene and Kalotina. They are called “Dragijevo Type”.

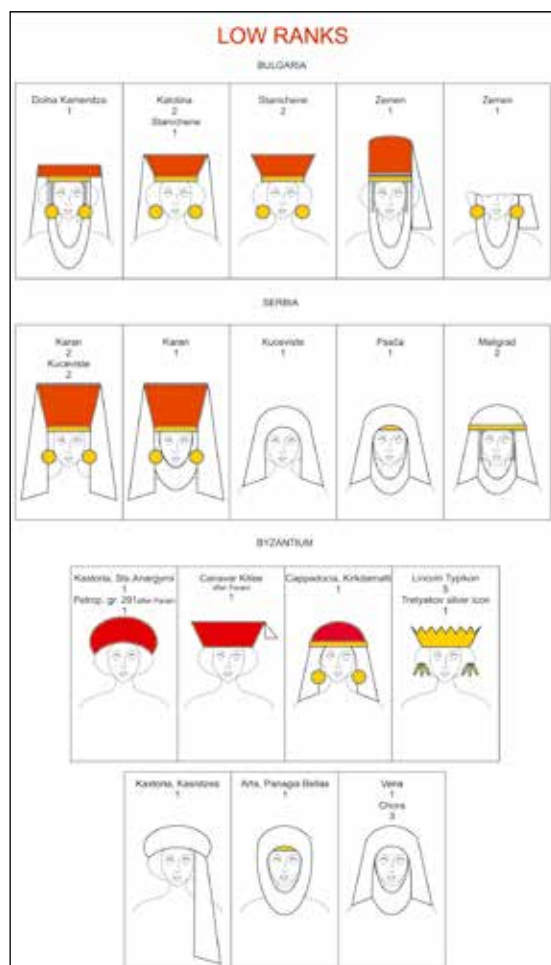


Fig. 6 Types of headcovering of noblewomen from Bulgaria, Serbia and Byzantium (author's drawings)

Сл. 6 Типови покривала племиња из Бугарске, Србије и Византије (цртежи аутора)

for classification, I made a full list of Bulgarian, Byzantine and Serbian mural ktetors' portraits in the 13th-14th centuries that may be found on my website.¹⁹ (*Model 6*)

Bulgarian portraits of women that are not tsarinas, sebastocratisas, despotissas or nuns are nine in total. Two of them are too damaged in the area of head and their headcoverings cannot be analyzed.²⁰ The remaining ones show the same type of headdress – a hat with trapezium-shaped outline, from which a white veil possibly hangs and large ear cuffs.²¹ There are only two exceptions – that from Zemen and the here examined portrait of Donja Kamenica – that present two completely different types.

Serbian portraits are eleven in total. Two of them cannot be subjected to any analysis, either, but the other can be divided into two clearly distinct types. The first one, represented on five portraits in total,²² is in practice identi-

¹⁹ http://badamba.info/english/en_index.html [access on 23.11.2015]

²⁰ One of the two portraits that are completely damaged in the area of the head is that of the wife of the boyar Rutesh from Karlukovo. (In B. Popović, *Costume and Insignia*, 226, even an assumption is made that she was sebastocratorissa). In several studies, she is referred to as wearing a high hat – such as Atanasov (Атанасов, *Инсигниите*, 239); N. Ovcharov (Н. Овчаров, *Две изображения на византийски светски дами от края на XII век (Two Pictures of Byzantine High Society Ladies)*, Годишник на НАМ IX, 1993, София, 136. However, the reproductions in L. Mavrodinova (Л. Мавродинова, *Скалните скитове при Карлуково (The Rock Sketes near Karlukovo)*, С., 1985), the plaster in the area of ktetor's head is completely missing – only her neck and part of her chin are visible. In A. Vasilev (А. Василиев, *Ктиторски портрети (Ktetor Portraits)*, БАН, 1960, 40), there is a link to a description by Krastyu Miyatev of 1932 - 34, that contained a description of the faces (and maybe, of the headdresses?). I don't comment on this ktetor because I have never seen the portraits.

²¹ Located in the churches of Kalotina and Staničene.

²² Two ones in Kučeviste of the vevoda Vladislava and three in Karan (the White Church), of Župan Brajan's wife and daughters.

cal with the headcovering of the sebastocratorissas. It is not found in Bulgaria or in Byzantium and I therefore think that it is a regional feature. The second one seems considerably simpler at first glance – a white towel attached with a diadem or a gold-woven ribbon.²³ Its simplicity, however, is not due to a low social status or poverty – such headcovering may be found on the portraits of caesar's wife Kalya from Mali Grad, princess Ozra from Psaca and even Queen Anne Dandolo from the composition of her death in Sopocani.²⁴ In many more various options, this headcovering is found in Byzantium (see below) and also in Western Europe. In Bulgaria, although not documented in murals, this type was obviously popular – gold-woven ribbons and diadems were found in several necropolises. At that, the impression is that some funerals are rich and other ones are ordinary, rural and the diadems show the features of mass production.²⁵ This leads to the conclusion that as to their appearance, poor people tried to imitate rich ones, as far as they could.

In Mali Grad this type is presented in a more complex form. A second veil falls down on both sides of the faces of depicted Kalya and Maria, wrapping their necks, just like the lower veil of the noblewoman from Donja Kamenica. The cylindrical element is however missing and the large ear cuffs are replaced by pearl strings.

Based on miniatures and frescoes, Maria Parani summarizes three types of headdress of Byzantine noble ladies²⁶ – textile veils, hats and crowns. As most popular, she identifies the “textile” type that she describes as a scarf wrapped in various way around the head, the neck and the shoulders, in some cases fixed by a diadem or a ribbon, sometimes combined with a second scarf so to cover everything but the face. Obviously, it is about the same we see on Serbian pictures but there are more variations in Byzantium. As to the hats, she notes a trapezoidal and a fan-like shape with a rounded top and varied decoration, specifying that these are found in the 11th-12th centuries. In view of the already described Bulgarian trapezoidal hats, we can accept that variants of the same were also worn later outside Byzantium. The third type - the crowns - are

²³ The depictions are in Kučevište, Mali Grad and Psaca, respectively.

²⁴ Atanasov (Атанасов, *Инцигнуме (Insignias)*, 239) identifies the low headcoverings as specific to higher Byzantine and Balkan female aristocrats – sebastocratorissas and despotissas and the high cylindrical hats – as provincial fashion specific to the low status noblewomen. “However, if we take into consideration the portraits of despotissa Kera Maria and her sisters from the Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander, of sebastocratissa Vladislava from Psaca and of despotissa Maria from Lesново who wear high cylindrical hats, it is not impossible for the profane taste of provincial Balkan noblewomen of the mid-14th century to have infected any representatives of Bulgarian and Serbian elite.” Such summary is however disputable. The crowns of the princesses from the Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander are difficult to get associated to the category of cylindrical hats and the high headcoverings from Serbia are too similar to Serbian and Byzantine female ruler crowns from the same period. It can be assumed that the trends towards “dominating” actually comes from the Byzantine empresses.

²⁵ See, accordingly <http://www.museum-preslav.com/publication.html> [access 19.11.2015] and И. Бъчваров, *Географска и типологична характеристика на разпространението на средновековния накит прочелник*. – ИИМВТ, X, 1995, 101 – 108

²⁶ M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images - Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2003, 77 and fol.



Fig. 7 The Donja Kamenica boyar's daughter - photo by Angel Yordanov

Сл. 7 Перка бољара из Доље Каменице – фото: Ангел Јорданов

described as low, crowned with teeth and worn directly on the hair, i.e., the despot model already discussed for Bulgaria and Serbia.²⁷ There are no parallel with the headdress from Donja Kamenica in this typology.

To conclude, the headcovering of Donja Kamenica noble lady is quite unusual for her environment although individual items thereof are found elsewhere. Moreover, such headcovering does not have any analogs in Western Europe where, save for the apparent similarities in the “textile” headcovering, the women’s headdress fashion follows quite different trends.²⁸

The last portrait, which I will discuss, is that of the little girl. (*Model 7*) We should note the simpler headdress of the child compared to her mother’s one. The headcovering is of the “textile” type the kerchief seems to be quite ordinary, with no decorations. There is no diadem or any other way to fix the kerchief to the head but only the ear cuffs²⁹. The lack of forehead decorations brings the portrait closer to that of the noblewoman Marena from Kučevište.

May the dramatic difference in the headcovering of the mother and the daughter be explained by their different status in the tribal hierarchy or the difference in their marital status? No, according to all observations made so far.

²⁷ The observation is based on the six portraits in Lincoln Typikon and on a portrait of Maria Tornikina on a votive silver icon.

²⁸ Э. Б. Плаксина-Флеринская, Л. А. Михайловская, В. П. Попов. *История костюма. Стили и направления. (Costume History. Styles and Directions - in Russian)* Академия, Москва, 2013, 53–60; electronic version on <http://bookre.org/reader?file=769247&pg=7> [access 23.11.2015]

²⁹ They are almost indistinguishable on the 2009 photo but are clearly visible on a reproduction of 1995 in L. Mavrodinova (Л. Мавродинова, *Стенната живопис в България до края на XIV век (Wall Painting in Bulgaria until the End of the 14th Century)*, Академично издателство „Проф. Марин Дринов“, София, 1995, illustration 72.

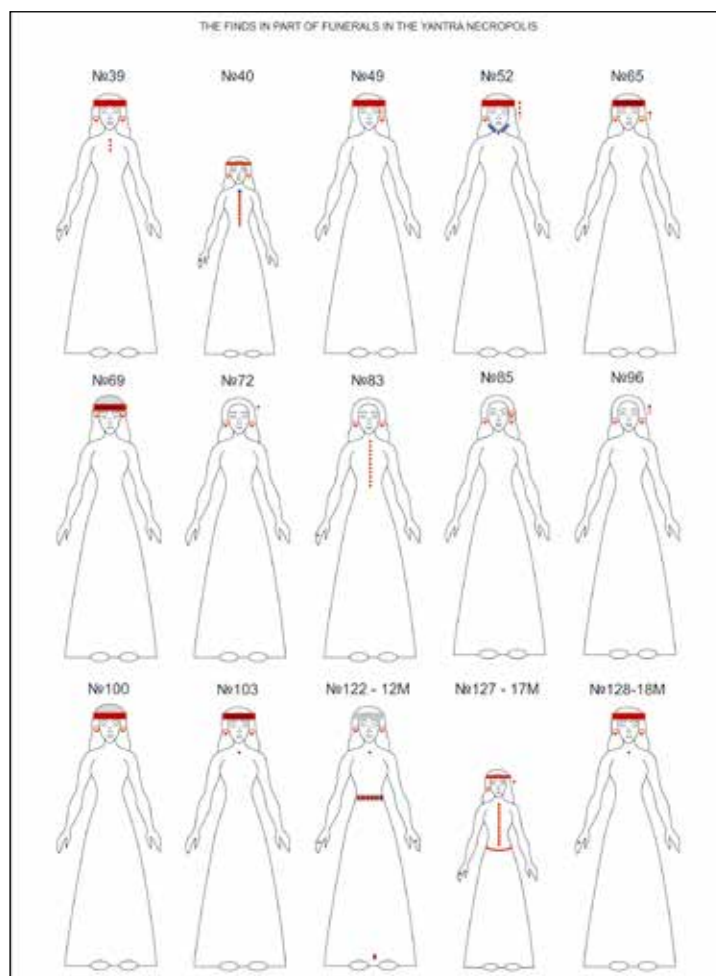


Fig. 8 The finds in part of funerals in the Yantra Necropolis (author's drawings)
 Сл. 8 Налази у деловима из гробница у Јантра некрополи (цртежи аутора)

We have already noted that the textile headcovering is specific to the women of all social classes. Moreover, as the portraits show, it is a privilege of both married and unmarried women. The only difference that may matter and is worth to be analyzed is the age.

There are not many preserved medieval mural portraits of children on our lands and among them, the portraits of girls are very few. Actually, there are only three portraits in Bulgaria – the girl discussed here and two more from a rock church near Karlukovo. The little Byzantine girl Maria, daughter of Irina, depicted posthumously in Gülşehir, Cappadocia. The material is obviously insufficient for an objective analysis. However, it should be noted that the hair of all these girls are tidied up and covered. This is completely consistent with the

images of older unmarried women in the Balkans and in contrast with Roman Western European fashion for young women to leave their hair uncovered³⁰. Additional data may be found in the grave goods discovered - numerous children's graves from Bulgarian medieval necropolises have been studied. The quantity and the quality of those grave goods does not differ from that in the other ones.³¹ (*Model 8*) The necessary conclusion is that young girls' headdress cannot be discussed in a separate category from those of adult women.

The data on Bulgarian medieval costume of the 13th-14th centuries is extremely few and fragmentary. There is not always consistency between the visual and written sources and the archaeological material and any chronological development and specific regional features are hard to discuss. On this background, the murals of Donja Kamenica are a valuable source for the study of this matter. The number of the portraits in the church, the presentation of three different social classes, the difference in gender and age of depicted persons are a very rare combination. The high quality of workmanship and the fine details as well as their good preservation in time should be added to this. The three female portraits that I analyze might not seem so interesting if there was a more extensive database to be compared to. In the present state of things, however, they are unique.

Their study was both a challenge and a pleasure to me.

Калина Атанасова
УКРАС НА ГЛАВИ НА ТРИ ЖЕНСКА КТИТОРСКА ПОРТРЕТА
ИЗ ДОЊЕ КАМЕНИЦЕ

Три ктиторска портрета из Доње Каменице добро су позната. Аутор детаљно анализира наведене портрете, затим их упоређује са другим споменицима на Балкану као и у другим деловима Европе. Уочене су разлике између обавезног начина показивања обликовања косе међу женама високог сталежа, без обзира на старост. Док су деспотица као и мала девојчица приказане на уобичајен начин за своје године, начин приказивања мајке-ктиторке је сасвим необичан. Аутор даје реконструкцију овог портрета и како су могли изгледати првобитно украси на њеној глави. На послетку аутор је класификовала женске портрете и њихове украсе који се проналазе у зидном сликарству Бугарске, Србије и Византије у периоду од тринаестог до краја четрнаестог века. Резултати истраживања су у приложеном схемама.

³⁰ Пласина-Флеринская, *История костюма (History of Costume)*, 53

³¹ Л. Бобчева, *Некропол от XIII – XIV век в Калиакра (Necropolis from the 13th-14th Century in Kaliakra)* – Известия на народния музей Варна, XIV, 1978, 168 – 175, И. Бъчваров, *Янтрени некрополи (Два средновековни некропола от XIV век при село Янтра, Горнооряховско) (Yantra Necropolises (Two Medieval Necropolises of the 14th Century near the Village of Yantra (Gorna Oryachovitsa))*). В.Търново, 1993, 21, 104, 116, 153; И. Чокоев, *Текстил от средновековни археологически обекти в България. Постижения и проблеми на проучванията (Textile from Medieval Archeological Sites in Bulgaria. Achievements and Issues of Studies)*, Фабер, 2006, 82, illustrations on page 134