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THE HEADDRESSES ON THE KTETOR'S PORTRAITS OF NOBLEWOMEN IN THE 14TH CENTURY: SERBIA-BULGARIA

Abstract: The style analysis of the 14th-century women's headdresses is based on depictions of portraits of the Central Balkan region, more specifically within the medieval Serbian and Bulgarian states. Regarding the forms of the headdress that have been present in the previous period, we have to take into account the fact that these areas were within the Byzantine cultural sphere. All forms of women's headgear should be viewed through a projection of the influence of the Byzantine in ceremonial clothing. The subject of the research is fifteen ktetor's family compositions, which depict the noblewomen with her children and closest relatives as participants in the ktetor's act. The preserved examples show that the title of the landlord significantly influenced the form of the noblewoman's dress, including the headdress itself and the elements of jewelry decoration. All details indicate the importance of covering the women's head and the attention that was given to it by the noblewomen. The forms of the headdress that existed and their varieties according to their position in society and wealth. Portraits of noblewomen, not only are often proof of their existence and history but are also visual confirmation of some written and archaeological findings on the beautification of women. They are an essential source in the study of the cultural life of the medieval nobility of the Balkans.

Key words: ktetor, noblewomen, crown, earring, veil

The noblewomen's depictions of the donor's compositions are impressive by the way they dress and decorate. When portraying them, the norms related to the family's position and title to which they belonged did not have to be consistently respected.¹ That is why the presentation of social status and wealth came to the fore and the need for beautification according to the current fashion. The

¹ On the manner of dressing of the despot see: Б. Ферјанчић, *Деспоти у Византији и јужнословенским земљама*, Београд 1960, 11-23; about insignia as a symbol of power see: С. Марјановић-Душанић, *Владарске инсигније и државна симболика у Србији од XIII до XV века*, Београд 1994, 124-135.

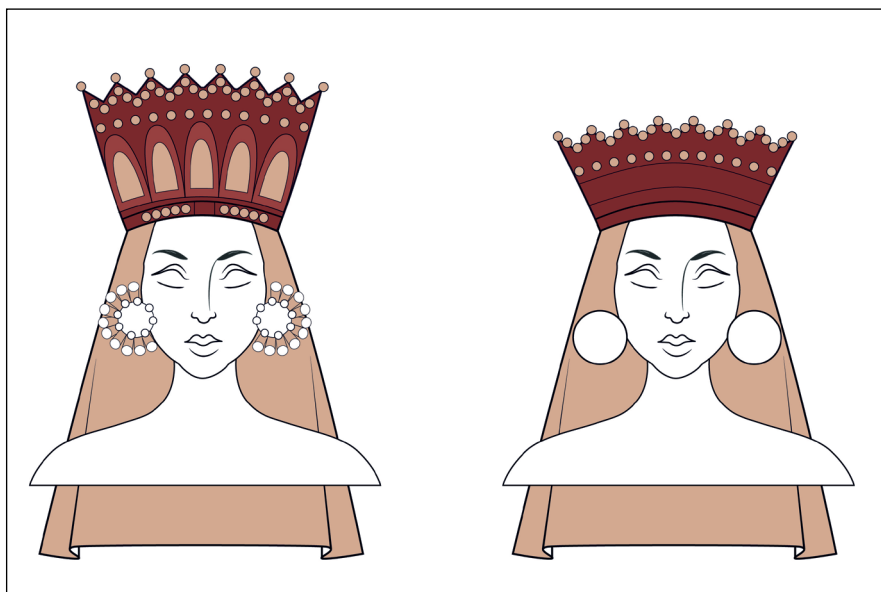


fig. 1 Illustration of headdress Despotissa, Ana Marija, narthex of church in Lesnovo (1349), scetch by M. Savić; fig. 2 Illustration of headdress of Despotissa, Ana Marija, Church St. Sofia in Ohrid (1347-1350), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 1 Цртеж оглавља деспотице Ане Марије, наос Леснова (1349), цртеж према М. Савић ; сл. 2 -цртеж оглавље деспотице Ане Марије, црква Свете Софије, Охрид, (1347-1350), цртеж према М. Савић

portraits of the noblewomen on the donor's compositions bring us information about the way of dressing through different types of dresses and decorating the fabrics from which the clothes are made.² A stunning part is a headdress, the way of embedding the head, which consisted of crowns, wreaths or caps, scarves, and jewelry in the form of earrings, beads, and other various fastened applications.

The analysis subjects are portraits of noblewomen from the area of medieval Serbia and Bulgaria, which were created during the 14th century. Representations of noblewomen of different titles are included, which is reflected in the variety of combinations of head elements. The goal would be to show the types of headdresses, make mutual comparisons with similar models, find confirmation in written sources and archeological findings, and engage in the analysis of lesser-known segments to get a better picture of women's clothing fashion of the 14th century.

As the main decoration for women, the crown should not be associated with a insignia,³ which has its symbolic meaning in the portraits of rulers

² J. Ковачевић, *Средњовековна ношња балканских Словена*, Београд 1953, 27-78.

³ С. Марјановић-Душанић, *Инсигније*, in: *Лексикон српког средњег века*, ed. С. Ћирковић, Р. Михалчић, Београд 1999, 259-260; eadem, *Круна*, 334-335; about crowns with Byzantine rulers see: eadem, *Владарске инсигније и државна симболика у Србији од XIII до XV века*, Београд 1994, 124-127.



fig. 3 Illustration of headdress of Struja, White Church of Karan (1340-134), scetch by M. Savić ; fig. 4 Illustration of headdress Struja's dother, White Church of Karan (1340-1342), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 3 цртеж оглавља ктиторке Струје, Бела црква Каранска (1340-1342), цртеж према М. Савић; сл. 4 цртеж оглавља Струјине кћерке, Бела црква Каранска (1340-1342), цртеж према М. Савић

and their subordinate nobles. However, as it is a portrait fresco painting of the nobles of the 14th century from Serbia and Bulgaria's territory, it is clear that Byzantine court culture and official fashion are dominant, so it is impossible to see these portraits as an independent product.

Despotess Ana Marija (fig.1) wears a high, serrated crown in the upper part of the portrait in Lesnovo.⁴ It is richly decorated in several belts with a series of pearls and jewels of blue and red.⁵ The despotic title that Ana Marija wore also indicates a high degree of material wealth, which would allude to the use of gold or at least the gilding of this jewelry on the head. In the second portrait (fig.2) in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid,⁶ the Despotess wears a different model of the crown. It is somewhat lower here, but also with jagged ends along the rim and rich decoration made of pearls and jewels.

⁴ С. Габелић, *Манастир Лесново. Историја и сликарство*, Београд, 1998, 169–172, Т. XLIII–XLIV, fig. 78–79; И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 106, 159–160, fig. 17.

⁵ Е. Dimitrova, О. Zorova, *Haute couture of Macedonia Byzantina: Fashion, Jewelry, Accessories*, Niš and Byzantium 16, ed. M. Rakocija, (Niš 2018), 261.

⁶ И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 158, fig.39, 53; Д. Војводић, *Слика световне и духовне власти у српској средњовековној уметности*, Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности 38, (Нови Сад 2010), fig.14.



fig. 5 Illustration of headdress of Vladislava, Church in Kučevište, nartex, (1332-1337), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 5 Цртеж оглавља ктиторке Владиславе, црква у Кучевишту (1332-1337), цртеж према М. Савић



fig. 6 Illustration of headdress of Vladislava, Church in Psača (1365-1371), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 6 Цртеж оглавља ктиторке Владиславе, црква у Псаћи (1365-1371), цртеж према М. Савић

The ktetor Struja (fig.3) is depicted in a portrait in the White Church of Karan with a high and richly decorated crown.⁷ This picture confirms that the crown in a woman's headdress should not be associated with the symbol of power because the noblewoman Struja is only a župan by title. Its crown is decorated with a combination of pearls and gems and applications of various shapes. It is slightly curved, with a serrated shape along the upper edge. It is difficult to determine the material from which it could have been made.⁸ The dilemma is further encouraged because the three daughters⁹ are also shown with crowns that do not lag in size and decoration from the mother (fig.4). Because

⁷ И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 140-141, fig. 5, 19; Д. Војводић, *О живопису Беле цркве каранске и савременом сликарству Рашке*, Зограф 31, (Београд 2006-2007), 146-147, fig. 8, 9; Т. Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктитора-Отисак света као симбол етноса*, part II, Патримониум 17, (2019), 153-155, fig. 1, 2.

⁸ During the crisis of the late Byzantine Empire, the crowns were also made of gilded leather, and the jewels were stained glass. see: E. Dimitrova, O. Zorova, *Haute couture of Macedonia Byzantina: Fashion, Jewelry, Accessories*, 253.

⁹ Д. Павловић, *Портрети деце у српском властеоском сликарству у доба Немањића*, Ниш и Византија 16, ур. М. Ракоција, (Ниш 2018), 90, fig. 3, 4; Т. Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктитора-Отисак света као симбол етноса*, fig. 1.

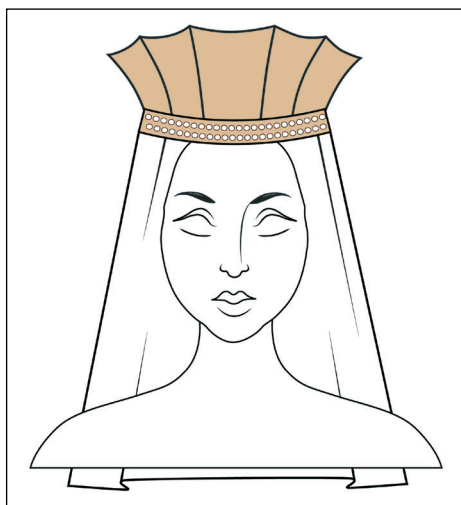


fig. 7 Illustration of headdress ktetor, Church in Treskavac (1350-1360), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 7 цртеж оглавља ктиторке, црква у Трескавцу (1350-1360), цртеж према М. Савић



fig. 8 Illustration of headdress of despottiss, Church in Pološko (1343-1345), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 8 цртеж оглавља деспотице, црква на Малом Граду на Преспи (1343-1345), цртеж према М. Савић

of these crowns' various decorations, different goldsmithing techniques such as filigree, chiselling, granulation, or inserting gems could be used in the decoration.¹⁰

The crown of Duchess Vladislava in the portrait in Kučevište (fig.5) is also high with jagged ends at the top, but the decoration details are less recognizable.¹¹ The crown of Sevastocrator Vladislava in the picture in Psača (fig.6) has an unusual shape.¹² It is tall, curved from the bottom to the top, with prominent crinoline shapes in the upper part and rich decoration on the crown's body. The form of lilies on the crown is rarely present in the performances of high dignitaries of the Balkans and alludes to influences from Western Europe.¹³ The crown of the ktetor from Treskavac (fig.7)¹⁴ is seemingly simple due to

¹⁰ On jewelry decoration see: V. Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji, modeli i nasleđe*, Beograd 2010, 115-123.

¹¹ З. Расолкоска-Николовска, *О ктиторским портретима у цркви Свете Богородице у Кучевишту*, Зограф 16, (1985), 45, fig. 6; И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, fig. 34-35.

¹² З. Расолкоска-Николовска, *О историјским портретима у Псаћи и времену њиховог настанка*, Зограф 24, (Београд 1995), 46, 47, fig. 5, 6, 11, 13; И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, 172-173, fig. 21; С. Коруновски, Е. Димитрова, *Византиска Македонија. Историја на уметноста на Македонија од IX до XV век*, Скопје 2006, 200, Т. 146.

¹³ Examples of wreaths with raised profiles above the hoop: J. Ковачевић, *Средњовековна ношња балканских Словена*, 79-80, fig. 47, 51.

¹⁴ И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, 167,



fig. 9 Illustration of headdress of Kali, Church in Mali Grad on Prespa (1368-1369), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 9 Цртеж оглавља Кали, црква на Малом Граду на Преспи (1368-1369), цртеж према М. Савић all illustrations are made by M. Savić



fig. 10 Illustration of headdress of Ozra, Church in Psača (1365-1371), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 10 Цртеж оглавља Озре, црква у Псачи (1365-1371), цртеж према М. Савић

the absence of decoration. Still, it also spreads a bell at the top and is lower concerning the previously mentioned. It is made up of arranged trapezoidal applications with the broader side up, and it is different in the way it is made. It would correspond to the descriptions from medieval records in which the crown from the parts is mentioned.¹⁵

From Byzantine written sources, we learn that Byzantine empresses' crowns differed in shape from the crowns worn by emperors. Also, art sources confirm that they were more decorated with jewels and intricately artistically processed and that they could have surpassed the value of the emperor's crown. In addition to empresses, noblewomen also wore crowns, and their portraits from the 14th century testify to that. We saw these crowns in the previous examples: high, open with a pointed shape at the upper end, and slightly curved to the top. The degree of decoration with valuables such as jewels and pearls was, as expected, higher among the rulers, and the difference was in the use of scarves. It is noted that noblewomen wore their crowns directly on their hair, unlike rulers who had hair nets or a veil under the crown.¹⁶ In medieval Serbia, there were goldsmith centers near the courts and mines, and jewelry making was raised to artistic creation. „Serbian crowns“ are known, crowns called „coje“, but it remains unknown what they were characterized by in appearance, except

fig. 33; М. Глигоријевић, *Сликаство тепчије Градислава у манастиру Трескавицу*, Зограф 5, (Београд 1974), 48.

¹⁵ Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, Београд 1969, 33.

¹⁶ М. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the reality of images, Byzantine material culture and religious iconography*, Leiden-Boston 2003, 79.



fig. 11 Illustration of headpiece of the youngest daughter of the White Church of Karan (1340-1342), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 11 цртеж оглавља најмлађе кћерке, Бела црква Каранска (1340-1342), цртеж према М. Савић



fig. 12 Illustration of headpiece of ktitor's daughter from Donja Kamenica (XIVth cen), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 12 цртеж оглавља ктиторове кћерке из цркве у Доњој Каменици (XIV), цртеж према М. Савић

that they were rich in artistry and concentrated in the material.¹⁷ It is reliable that, after the ruler, the rulers from the middle of the 13th century began to be its owners.¹⁸

Another form of head jewelry found in portraits of noblewomen is a wreath or tiara (diadem).¹⁹ The type of medieval jewelry that originated from stematogirion (byzantine crown wreath), that is, has its origin in Byzantine jewelry, and as such, spread in the Balkans. Written sources record precious wreaths owned by ladies of noble birth. Among the most famous is the description of the wreath stored in the Dubrovnik treasury by Mrs Jelena, the daughter of Prince Lazar.²⁰ A small number of archaeological finds partially complete the picture of the appearance and manner of wearing wreaths. It is assumed that the jewelry made of a large number of tiles could be sewn on a ribbon in a row as a base.²¹ It differs from the beginnings in the number of tiles from which it was made and in the decoration because it was decorated with pearls and jewels.²²

¹⁷ About the names of the crowns see: Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 30-32.

¹⁸ Г. Томић, *Накит средњовековних некропола друге половине XIII до XV века*, in: *Накит на тлу Србије из средњовековних некропола од IX-XV века*, ed. Ј. Јевтовић, (Београд 1982), 16-17.

¹⁹ The wreath changed from Byzantine court jewelry to lay jewelry. About the wreath see: Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 27, 142-143.

²⁰ Ibidem, 35-36, 143-144, 35-36, 143-144.

²¹ V. Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji, modeli i nasleđe*, 34, fig. 9/4.

²² Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 145.



fig. 13 Illustration of headdress of ktetor, Church in Donja Kamenica (XIVth cen.), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 13 цртеж оглавља ктиторке црква у Доњој Каменици (XIV век), цртеж према М. Савић



fig. 14 Illustration of headdress of Despotess, Church in Donja Kamenica (XIVth cen.), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 14 цртеж оглавља деспотице, црква у Доњој Каменици (XIV век), цртеж према М. Савић

A good illustration of the appearance and wearing of a wreath in the noblewomen's headdresses can be found in the portrait of Kesar Kali (fig.9) and her daughter Maria²³ at the ktetor's play in the Church of the Mother of God in Mali Grad on Prespa.²⁴ It is a wreath in the shape of a hoop made of a series of tiles decorated with pearls in vertical lines. Above the front part, three larger tiles with a semicircular finish stand out in the upper part with a stone in the middle and pearls on the edges.²⁵ The Despotess in the church's portrait in Donja Kamenica²⁶ wears a serrated wreath that has a raised plate in the middle, above the forehead (fig.14). Optionally, it could be a hoop that rests on the threads of the head and connects the wreath's front and back.²⁷ This crown is harmonious but prosperous, decorated with pearls and precious stones of blue and red. The

²³ Д. Павловић, *Портрети деце у српском властeosком сликарству у доба Немањића*, 90, fig.10. The wreath of daughter Maria is with a single row of pearls and lower semicircular plates, while the penduli are finished with a double row of pearls around the ears.

²⁴ S. Bogevska, *Notes on female piety in hermitages of the Ohrid and Prespa region: the case of Mali Grad*, in: *Female founders in Byzantium and beyond*, ed. L. Theis et al., (Wien, Köln et Weimar 2011–2012), fig. 2, 3, 6; Eadem, *Les églises rupestres de la région des lacs d'Ohrid et de Prespa milieu du XIIIe-milieu du XVIe siècle*, Turnhout 2015, 383–389, fig. 67.

²⁵ J. Ковачевић, *op.cit.*, 56, fig. 24.

²⁶ Б. Живковић, *Доња Каменица-цртежи фресака*, пред. М. Ђоровић-Љубинковић, Београд 1987. D. Panajotova, *Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica*, Зборник радова Византолошког института 12, (Београд 1970), 143-156; Д. Фрфулановић, *Чија је црква у Доњој Каменици?*, Зборник радова Филозофског факултета 28-29, (Блаце 2001), 299-343; Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите на средновековните български владетели, корони, скиптри, сфери, оръжия, костюми, накити*, Плевен 1999, 238, fig. 85, 86.

²⁷ Examples of similarities in the appearance of the crown on the representations of the Serbian and Bulgarian rulers. see: K. Atanasova, *The headdress of tree female ktetors' portraits from Donja Kamenica*, Ниш и Византија 14, ур. М. Ракоција, (Ниш 2016), 384-385, fig. 1, 2.

crown worn by the wife (fig.8) of the Despot Jovan Dragušin on the founder's composition in Pološko²⁸ is also a wreath with jagged ends on the upper side, with rich decoration in the form of pearls.²⁹ Fascinating is the specimen of the wreath worn by the youngest daughter (fig.11) of Struja and her husband Župan Brian in the White Church in Karan.³⁰ It is a thin wreath with a series of horizontally placed pearls along the lower edge, while the upper part is profiled with highly raised shapes in the shape of lilies.³¹ The wreath is unusual in form and, thus, in contrast to the applied style on other family members' headdresses. The listed examples of headdresses with a wreath are few, especially unusual because they do not have adequate similarity measures, especially when considering the combination with other headdress elements.

Počelica, as the leading jewelry in combination with a scarf, is a more straightforward type of women's headdress. It is considered characteristic jewelry of the 14th century in the area of countries that were under Byzantine cultural influence.³² According to archeological findings from the cemetery, it is often the main decoration of women on today's Serbia and Bulgaria territory. Počelica were made of a series of small and thin tiles that were sewn on a strip of textile or leather. According to the found specimens, it is known that they are made of different materials and not always expensive, which speaks of the prevalence of use among the wider social stratum, predominantly among women, but also children.³³ Archaeological finds for počelice are somewhat more numerous concerning wreaths, so a better picture of the material, making techniques, and applied motifs in decoration is obtained.³⁴ The tiles found so far on Serbia's territory are made of a more modest material by the method of

²⁸ И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањинића*, 148, fig. 11; Д. Павловић, *Питање ктиторства цркве Светог Ђорђа у Полошком*, Зограф 39, (Београд 2015), 109, fig. 2, 3. (with older literature); Ц. Грозданов, Д. Ђорнаков, *Историјски портрети у Полошком (III)*, Зограф 18, (Београд 1987), 39.

²⁹ Е. Dimitrova, О. Zorova, *Haute couture of Macedonia Byzantina: Fashion, Jewelry, Accessories*, 249–262. 255, 257, fig.7; They emphasize the founder's innovation in terms of a headscarf that does not contain a headscarf, which is expected for married women.

³⁰ Т. Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктитора-Отисак света као симбол етноса*, part II, fig. 12; Д. Војводић, *О живопису Беле цркве каранске и савременом сликарству Рашке*, 146–147, fig. 8, 9. - with older literature on the question of whether a portrait of the youngest child would represent a son or a daughter – n. 100,101,103.

³¹ Т. Вулета, *op. cit.*, 152–153, fig.12. - In this form of the wreath, he sees the crown, often mentioned in the records of the Dubrovnik archives, for which it has not been confirmed exactly what it looked like.

³² About various names for headdress see: Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 33–34.

³³ V. Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit u Srbiji, modeli i nasleđe*, 34–37. (with older literature)

³⁴ For finds in Serbia see: Г. Томић, *Накит средњовековних некропола друге половине XIII до XV века*, cat.n. 279, 303, 336, 469, 471; with literature for Bulgarian, Bosnian and Dalmatian see: V. Bikić, *op. cit.*, n. 50, 51; about some findings in Bulgaria see: В. Павлова, *Към въпроса за средновековните прочелници от XIII—XIV век*, *Античная древность и средние века*, (Екатеринбург 2009), 327–338.

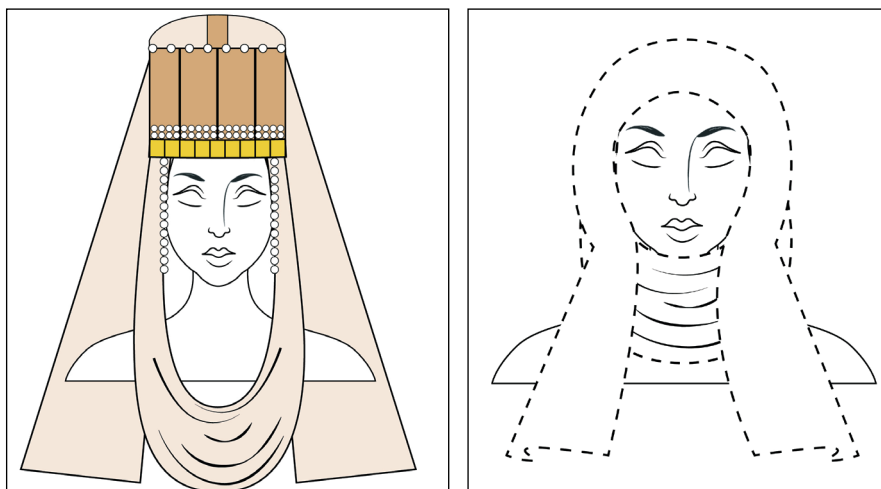


fig. 15 Illustration of headdress of Doja, Church in Zemen (c.1360), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 15 цртеж оглавља Доје, црква у Земену (око 1360), цртеж према М. Савић

imprinting with gilding on the surface. According to the technique and motives, the počelica is made of silver with gilding from Knjaževac, more precisely, the find from the grave near the Church of the Mother of God in Donja Kamenica.³⁵

When it comes to the aristocratic compositions of the 14th century, the portrait of Princess Ozra (fig.10) in Psača stands out as an impressive example of wearing a počelica.³⁶ Her počelica is made up of a series of blue and red jewels surrounded by pearls. It was assumed that a similar form could have been on the girl's portrait, the daughter of the ktetor from Donja Kamenica (fig.12). Her mother (fig.13) also wears a počelica, but as part of a more complex headdress. In the part of the lower cap and the middle of the forehead, it has a row of six alternately placed fields of jewels and tiles with pearls or processing in some goldsmith's technique. So far, the most common example of comparison was with the one from Markova Varoš, whose tiles with precious stones are inserted

³⁵ П. Петровић, С. Јовановић, *Културно благо књажевачког краја- Археологија*, Београд 1997, 127, cat.n. 18.

³⁶ З. Расолкоска-Николовска, *О историјским портретима у Псаћи и времену њиховог настанка*, 46, fig. 5, 11; И. М. Ђорђевић, op. cit., fig. 21; С. Коруневски, Е. Димитрова, *Византиска Македонија. Историја на уметноста на Македонија од IX до XV век*, Скопје 2006, 200, Т. 146.

into filigree flowers.³⁷ There is a greater degree of similarity with the Dobrič počelica due to the alternately arranged round and square tiles with a middle rock. These examples date back to the 14th century.³⁸

Like the previous one, Doja³⁹ from the Zemen church has a type of head-dress that cannot be broken down into elements (fig.15). On the lower part of her hat's hoop, there is a series of square applications that are identical in floral motif and dementia. According to the method of their processing, the technique used in the production of tiles is instructed.⁴⁰ However, it cannot be said with certainty whether this is a headdress, as it would be in the Donja Kamenica founder's case, or whether the cap is decorated in a circular shape with počelica tiles.⁴¹

The cap as a decoration is also known in the countries of Byzantine culture. The shape of a small round cap has been known since the 10th century, as it is often found in depictions of holy women in fresco painting.⁴² Of the historical portraits, we see her in the picture of Sevastocrator Desislava on the portrait at Bojana. Her hat rests directly on her head and is additionally fastened with a transparent veil tied under her chin.⁴³ Of course, different models appeared in the broader area, so it isn't easy to follow the caps' shapes applied in all segments. During the 11th and 12th centuries, trapezoidal hats also appeared, and their variants were observed during the following centuries.⁴⁴ It is known that since the Middle Byzantine period, large and high caps have not been preferred by women.⁴⁵ The ceremonial head ornament was increasingly replaced by hats in the late 14th and 15th centuries, and various influences aided in the creation

³⁷ Д. Фрфулановић, *Украси за главу на портрету ктиторке цркве у Доњој Каменици*, Зборник радова Филозофског факултета 32, (К. Митровица 2003), 486-487, fig. 1, 2, 29.

³⁸ Б. Радојковић, *Метал средњовековни* in: *Историја примењене уметности код Срб I, Средњовековна Србија*, ed. Б. Радојковић, (Београд 1977), 92; Ј. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, т. LXIV ; В. Павлова, *За една средновековна диадема от XIV век*, *Антична древност и средние века* 37, (Екатеринбург 2006), 342-354.

³⁹ И. М. Ђорђевић, *op. cit.*, 168, fig. 19.

⁴⁰ About making techniques see: V. Bikić, *op. cit.*, 34-36.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 36. – The author states that počelica tiles could also be used as applications for clothes or other types of jewelry.

⁴² Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 38-39; Ј. Ковачевић, *op.cit.*, 280-285, fig.

⁴³ Б. Поповић, *Costume and Insignia of Church Founders and Rulers Depicted in Boyana*, in: *Боянската црква между изтока и Запада в искуството на християнската Европа*, София 2011, 230; Е. Манова, *Видове средновековни облека според стенописите от XIII-XV в. в югозападна България*, *Известия на Етнографския институт и музей V*, (София 1962), 27-30, fig. 9, 10.

⁴⁴ М. Emmanuel, *Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, *DCAE* 17, (1994), 113-120, 117-119.

⁴⁵ М. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the reality of images, Byzantine material culture and religious iconography*, 78, fig. 86/e



fig. 17 Illustration of headaddress of ktetor, Church in Staničenje (1330-31), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 17 – цртеж оглавља кћиторке црква у Станичењу (1330-31), цртеж према М. Савић

fig. 18, 19 Illustrations of headaddresses of noblewomen, Church in Staničenje (1330-31), sketch by M. Savić

сл. 18, 19 цртеж оглавља властелинки црква у Станичењу (1330-31), цртеж према М. Савић

of new forms characteristic of one environment. However, it is a typical decoration with jewels and pearls, silver, and a combination of jewelry for most of them.⁴⁶

That is why, in our examples, there are more specifics on the headaddresses with caps. The ktetor Doja in Zemen church⁴⁷ wears a high hat,⁴⁸ which is made up of square, curved applications, presumably connected in a circular shape (fig. 15). On the upper side, it is closed with a scarf with a hoop on top, probably joining the front part of the hat with the back. This cap rests in the middle of the forehead, with a hoop made of tiles with floral elements, which would indicate the application of some of the goldsmith's techniques, such as embossing with the insertion of a stone in the middle. The dilemma arises when it comes to the material from which this hat could have been made. Of course, in this case, it is a unique specimen from our point of view, but the option of its popularity should not be ruled out, at least at the local level, at the time of the portrayal of the ktetor Doja.⁴⁹ The situation is similar concerning the hat of the Donja Kamenica ktetor (fig. 13). It is made up of two circular hoops that rest on top of

⁴⁶ Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од XII до краја XVIII века*, 39. – The author says that two types of hats stand out as dominant: bereta and skufija.

⁴⁷ Л. Мавродинова, *Земенската црква. Историја, архитектура, живопис*, София, 1980, 190, fig. 88, 192; И. М. Ђорђевић, *op. cit.*, 168; Е. Манова, *Видове средновековни облека според стенописите од XIII-XV в. в југозападна Бугарија*, 35, fig. 13

⁴⁸ К. Атанасова, *Женските забражданија през Второто бугарско царство-варијанти и визии*, in: *Великите Асеновци*, ed. Иван Тјотундџиев, (Велико Тјрново 2016), 449, T. I. – The author classified the hat of the founder Doja as a high type of hat.

⁴⁹ Е. Манова, *op. cit.*, 35. – The author says that there are examples of similarities with the hats of Hungarian noblewomen of the 14th and 15th centuries.

each other and form a pillow's shape. There are no examples of comparisons for this form of hat, so it may be possible to interpret it as a product of a local workshop or the founder's wishes following the influences of the environment and the region's cultural tradition.⁵⁰

Defined in terms of the material from which they were made are the hats worn by the founder and her two relatives (fig.17,18,19) in the Staničenje church.⁵¹ From the colour and shape, it can be concluded that they are textile hats in an inverted trapezoid shape. In the part that rests on the head, the textile hoop is decorated and reinforced with embroidery and strings of pearls, while the rest of the hat is decorated with embroidery and jewelry.⁵² These hats are neither high nor wide, unlike those worn by two noblewomen (fig.20) in Kalotino.⁵³ Despite the more significant damage to the frescoes,⁵⁴ it can be seen that the caps of the Kalotino nobles are broadly fan-shaped and that they are more specific in the cut shape. In the analysis made so far, it was assumed that the caps had reinforcement in the hoop area around the head and that the rest was of a more relaxed shape.⁵⁵

Earrings are a favourite type of jewelry and are equally present among the ordinary world and noblewomen and rulers. The confirmation is in the archives, archaeological findings, and art sources.⁵⁶ In our selected examples of a portrait of medieval Serbia and Bulgaria, dominate the type of large lunar earrings, also known as „oboci“.⁵⁷ Since the time of the Palaeologus to countries under its cultural influence, these earrings have spread from the Byzantine court.⁵⁸ As a type of rich jewelry, lunar earrings are first found in portraits of rulers⁵⁹ and

⁵⁰ Д. Фрфулановић, *Украси за главу на портрету ктиторке цркве у Доњој Каменици*, 479-481. fig. 19, 21, 22, 23. - The author makes examples of comparisons with the folk costumes of the Vidin and Timok regions.

⁵¹ Б. Цветковић, *Ктиторски портрети*, in: *Црква Светог Николе у Станичењу*, ed. М. Васић, (Београд 2005), 89-92, 95-98, fig. 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 92. - states that in terms of decoration with rich jewelry and the way of dressing, there are no real parallels, but examples can be made of comparisons with Churches in the Donja Kamenica, Kalotino, Zemen and Karalukovo. - n. 315-318. (with older literature)

⁵³ Е. Манова, *op. cit.*, 42-44, fig. 16, 17.

⁵⁴ К. Йовчев, *Свети Никола Калотина, Средновековните църкви в България*, on: https://medchurches.livejournal.com/8898.html?fclid=IwAR1gVBrvBz_voz76IT5HfofdI_l4tpGOQy2TYL0DI09otLM9CJ32jUnAGD8#cutid1

⁵⁵ К. Атаносова, *Българският средновековен костюм* on: <http://badamba.info/BySource/kalotina.html>

⁵⁶ Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 132-136. - Earrings are jewelry that was gladly worn in the Middle Ages, both in the case of rulers, noblewomen, and among the general population, especially from the middle of the XIV century. About oboci see: И. М. Ђорђевић, *op. cit.*, 143-146, 156-157, fig. 75.

⁵⁷ About name of the oboci see: V. Bikić, *op. cit.*, 11, 52; Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 41.

⁵⁸ М. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the reality of images, Byzantine material culture and religious iconography*, 29-30.

⁵⁹ Portraits of Queen Simonida in Gračanica, Stari Nagoričino, the King's Church, of Queen Jelena in the White Church of Karan, in Kučevište, in Ljuboten, in Pološko, in the



fig. 20 Illustration of headdress of ktetor, Church in Kalotino (1331-37), scetch by M. Savić

сл. 20 цртеж оглавља ктиторке, црква у Калотину (1331-37), цртеж према М. Савић

then noblewomen.⁶⁰ The most numerous are examples from the 14th century, which speaks of their popularity in that period, but they are still developing during the 15th century. Lunar earrings are known in two types that we find in portrait fresco paintings of the late Middle Ages of the Balkan countries.⁶¹ One is lunar-round, and they are made up of one or two rows of pearls along the edge of a round, central field. It is an older type, which belongs to the 20s to the 50s of the 14th century. They are gradually transformed into another kind - lunar-radial or fan-shaped earrings made of radially placed tubes around a round central field. It is a younger type in vogue from the 30s to the 80s of the 14th century.⁶² Confirmation of their appearance and manner of wearing is found in the portraits of Queen Simonida. She introduces them to the fashion of decorating the Serbian environment so that the application can be further traced through the portraits of Queen / Empress Jelena.⁶³

Church of St. Nicholas Bolnički in Ohrid, as Empress Jelena is shown in Decani, in Lepovo. - Б. М. Стевановић, *Српско средњовековно сликарство као извор за лунуласте наушнице*, Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности 47, (Нови Сад 2019), 16-22; the portrait of Theodora, the wife of the trapezoidal emperor Alexius III Comnenus, shows lunar tips earrings. see: M. G. Parani, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁶⁰ Д. С. Павловић, *Представе властелинки у српском зидном сликарству*, Зборник Народног музеја-Београд, Историја уметности XXXIII/2, (Београд, 2018), 18-19; eadem, *Акценти на портретима српске властеле у средњем веку*, Зборник Музеја примењене уметности 15, (Београд 2019), 12-13; E. Dimitrova, O. Zorova, *Haute couture of Macedonia Byzantina: Fashion, Jewelry, Accessories*, 250-262.

⁶¹ The first division was made by J. Ковачевић, see: J. Ковачевић, *op.cit.* 106-110, 143-146, fig. 75; from written sources they are also known as Serbian, but due to their distribution in Greece and Bulgaria, it can be freely said that earrings from other Balkan countries and Byzantium, see: Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 133-140.

⁶² Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 135-137.

⁶³ With the enumeration of all the portraits of Queen Simonida and Queen Jelena

In our examples of aristocratic heads, the arrangement of lunar earrings on the performances of the ktetor Struja and her daughters in the White Church of Karan is unusual. The ktetor (fig.3) and two daughters, the oldest and the youngest (fig.11),⁶⁴ wear a newer type of ray-fanned earrings, while the other two daughters (fig.4) have an older, round type of lunar earrings,⁶⁵ which correspond to those of Queen Jelena, also portrayed in the church. In Lesново, Ana Marija, wears a newer kind of ray earrings, while her ruler Empress Jelena wears an older round type of earrings. Lunar earrings of the radial type are more popular because we meet them in more significant numbers. They are worn by the wife of the Despot Jovan Dragušin in Pološko, the Duchess Vladislava in Kučevište, the Despotess in Donja Kamenica, but also the noblewomen of unknown titles such as the ktetor of the Donja Kamenica church, three noblewomen in Staničenje, the ktetor in Kalotino⁶⁶ and her cousin.

The ways of wearing the earrings were different - on the ear or through it, on a chain hanging at the ears' height, or on a scarf towards the temples.⁶⁷ In the portrait of the ktetor from Donja Kamenica, the earrings are hung on small straps-verižice attached to the upper end of the hat. In her daughter's portrait, earrings and a necklace coming down from a scarf frame her face. Also, with the despot, two necklaces with earrings hanging from them descend from the wreath.⁶⁸ The earrings of the three noblewomen from Staničenje are especially rich in the decoration's details, where it can be concluded from their position that they were hung on the earlobe. All the above examples of radiant earrings have confirmation in the archaeological finds, of which the earrings from Markova Varoš are most often mentioned.⁶⁹

Vladislava's earrings from Psača and the ktetor's of Vaganeš are attached to the ear with rings and decorated with coloured stones.⁷⁰ In the latter, there are two pink stones on the nook.⁷¹ Sevastocrator Vladislava's earrings are of an unusual model for which we cannot find an example of comparison.⁷² The central part is shaped like an elongated ellipse with a top at the bottom, attached three

and the sorting of lunar earrings by type in the performances of Queen / Empress Jelena and older literature. see: Б. М. Стевановић, *Српско средњовековно сликарство као извор за лунуласте наушнице*, 16-22, fig. 2.3.5.10

⁶⁴ Д. Војводић, *О живопису Беле цркве каранске и савременом сликарству Рашке*, 147, fig. 9.- due to the damage to the fresco in the area of the head, it was difficult to recognize the earring.

⁶⁵ Ј. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, 42, fig. 15, T. XX

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 63, fig. 30 – For the oboce he says they are rich, round, and large.

⁶⁷ Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 136.

⁶⁸ Ј. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, 65, T. XLIII

⁶⁹ Pantries in Dragiževo, Gorno Orizari, Vršac and Skopje. see: Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 137.

⁷⁰ Д. Павловић, *Акцелоар на портретима српске властеле у средњем веку*, 12-13.

⁷¹ Д. Војводић, *Српски властелски портрети и ктиторски натписи у Богородичиној цркви у Ваганешу*, Косовско-метохијски зборник 5 (2013), 5-6, fig. 4,10,11; Ђорђевић, *op. cit.*, 164.

⁷² Ј. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, 53, fig. 89.– the author described them as earrings of a special shape.

beads of pearls and one on each side. It is dark blue and difficult to distinguish from the background, but we could assume that it is from the group of precious or semi-precious stones. Unusual in the way of wearing are the earrings of the ktetor Doja. They are attached to the ear and have the shape of three circular strings of pearls. Kesar Kali has low pearls that hang from the wreath and frame the face, ending at the ear. However, earrings as jewelry could be missing, not so often, but there are also those examples - the founder of Treskavac and Princess Ozra in Psača.

An almost indispensable part of the woman's headdress was a cover in the form of a scarf, i.e., a fabric made for that purpose. The names of these textile forms in medieval written sources related to the central Balkans area are different. Some of them are known only by their description, material, or manner of wearing, but these are the determinants by which this headgear differed in women. The most famous is the headscarf, widespread not only in the Balkans but also in Western Europe. Numerous written and artistic sources confirm its application in the broader social circle, regardless of social status. They are quadrangular in shape, measuring one to two meters, mostly white, without large decorations, and were worn over the head, falling on the shoulders. The rectangular scarf was also known in medieval Serbia as a cover (*pokrivače*). A more expensive type of cover was a veil, worn by women of the ordinary world without ornaments, and on portraits of rulers and noblewomen of happiness from under a wreath or crown or hung on a crown, falling behind the back.⁷³

In that context, we should also observe the selected examples of analysis. However, it is impossible to recognize the type of fabric on the portraits of noblewomen, which would more closely determine the kind of headband. The most numerous examples are the use of one scarf. It could have been under the crown, the main decoration, as in the portraits of the Despotess Ana Marija in Lesnovo and Ohrid, the ktetor in Treskavac, the despotessa and the ktetor's daughter in Donja Kamenica. However, there are few examples of scarves with decoration in woven and embroidered techniques. On the scarf of the Despotess Ana Marija in Lesnovo, motifs in the form of horizontal lines are coloured, while on the portrait in Ohrid, this fabric is without decoration and falls on the shoulders. Their different way of wearing alludes to two different types of textile headgear. The girl in the ktetor's composition in Donja Kamenica also wears a white cloth that covers her head and falls on her shoulders, but in her case, the jewelry is in the form of a *počelica*.

There are more numerous examples where the scarf falls from the crown, i.e., the cap, to call this type of fabric a veil. The three ktetor's daughters from Karan, the Sevastokrator Vladislava from Psača, the Duchess Vladislava from Kučevište, the noblewomen from Kalotino, and the ktetor from Staničenje are examples of this wearing a headscarf. Still, different details can be noticed here as well. Veils worn by young noblewomen from Karan are precious fabrics with a decoration in the form of horizontal stripes on the textile, while the shape of

⁷³ Ђ. Петровић, *Оглавља* in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ed. С. Ђирковић, Р. Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 459–461.

the lace is indicated on the rim.⁷⁴ It is noticeable that the mother and daughters in these portraits were dedicated to every segment of the decoration on the headboard. The wife of the ktetor Constantine was in the same spirit in the Staničenje church. Her veil falling from the cap behind her back is given in folds and is interspersed with horizontal stripes, performed by the embroidery technique.⁷⁵ The veils of the two noblewomen in Kalotino are more straightforward, without decoration on the material and folds, but only widely allowed to fall from the cap back.

A more complex type of headdress is applying two fabrics, one of which is intended for the head part, while the other covers the neck.⁷⁶ We have such a case on the portraits of the ktetor in Donja Kamenica, in the White Church of Karan, and according to the fresco's preserved fragments, with the ktetor of Vaganeš (fig. 16).⁷⁷ The headdress of the ktetor from Donja Kamenica, as it has already been pointed out, is shaped by folding the scarves in combination with the template, that is, what we called a hat.⁷⁸ The lower scarf, which rests directly on the head, covers the neck's hair and part, and its ends intersect at the chest. The second, upper scarf, which could also be called a veil, is over the cap, and its ends fall on the shoulders.⁷⁹ At the ktetor Struja in White church of Karan, the lower scarf is visible as a densely folded fabric in the neck area. From the decorative lace on the more downside, it can be concluded that the ends of this fabric were fastened in the area of the top. A veil falls from the crown on the shoulders, decorated with horizontal stripes, and frames the face.⁸⁰

Indeed, a form with veils was applied here, which has no close parallels in medieval Balkan frescoes. A more relaxed state with two scarves, which does not entirely cover the neck, can be found in the portraits of mother and daughter in the Church of the Mother of God in Mali Grad on Prespa.⁸¹ The upper scarf, attached with a wreath, covers the hair and falls on the shoulders. The other, the lower one, broadly frames the face and neck with its middle part, while its ends are hung somewhere under the wreath. This is the same concept of wearing two scarves as with the ktetor Struja in White church of Karan. An even more straightforward form was applied to the headdress of Princess Ozra because the second, lower scarf was given in a horizontal belt over the up-

⁷⁴ J. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, fig. 15.

⁷⁵ It is described as a goldsmith see: Б. Цветковић, *Ктиторски портрети*, in: *Црква Светог Николе у Станичењу*, Београд 2005, 90

⁷⁶ J. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, 265. -Wrapping the head with two scarves and covering the neck is a fashion from the west.

⁷⁷ The portrait of the latter is damaged in the upper part, so it is difficult to assume the type of the head decoration, i.e. jewelry. - Ђорђевић, *op. cit.*, 164. - Describes a cap with a veil.

⁷⁸ Ђ. Петровић, *Оглавља* in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, 460.

⁷⁹ J. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, 64.

⁸⁰ Т. Вулета, *Страни елементи у одежди каранских ктитора-Отисак света као симбол етноса*, 154; Gives the name for the lower type of fabric- Џепас, the veil is Kruseler, which originates from the west and could have been used in the area of old Serbia because there is no example of application in Macedonia.

⁸¹ J. Ковачевић, *op. cit.*, fig. 24.

per part of the chest, and the neck was completely exposed. According to the jewelry used, Ozra's type of headdress is most similar to one of young lady in Donja Kamenica.

The headdress of the noblewoman Doja remains specific in the segment of scarf application. Her high cap is finished in a round shape with a crossed scarf in the upper part. A cloth is hung on the back of the hat, which falls on the end, but from there, a scarf is stretched in a wide semicircular arch over the chest. It is difficult to determine whether this would be a single long fabric that is skillfully crossed or a combination of several of them. A veil could indicate these textile forms since this fabric had to be of more good artistry as it is quite present. Besides, another material falls from the top of the hat, which is somewhat shorter but is decorated with embroidery in horizontal lines with fringes at the end. The headdress of this noblewoman is challenging to follow through with the details because there are no useful parallels for each of them. On the whole, this chapter is the only one complete with all its elements. The dilemma arises as to how much was represented. Is it a product of the local environment's culture, and can a model be found in written sources, as has already been suggested?⁸²

A particular type of head covering that was on edge between the textile form and the decoration in the form of jewelry was a net.⁸³ It is worn by the Despotiss Ana Marija in a portrait in Lesnovo, although it is visible in a thin belt behind the neck, and it is in the function of covering the hair. In the despotissa's portrait from Donja Kamenica, the hair is not shaped or collected with this net, but is protected since it also covers part of the shoulder.⁸⁴ The net is a fashion detail that was also noticed in medieval women's costumes in Western Europe, first with covering the head. During the 14th and 15th centuries, they became an independent main decoration for collecting hair. In the Dubrovnik archive writings, the net has been mentioned since the beginning of the 14th century, which testifies to its application among women in Serbia.⁸⁵ The Donja Kamenica net form is an expensive specimen because the use of gold and silver threads on the fabric's red background is visible.⁸⁶

From the previous examples, it can be seen that the fabric in the headdress did not always have the function of covering the hair. In the four noblewomen from the Karan church, it is not entirely clear whether the hair, which falls from

⁸² It connects the headdress of the founder Doja with records of certain types of headresses, offering identification through this presentation, starting from the youth head to the popular *coja*, which is also not known what it looked like.- Б. Радојковић, *Накит код Срба од краја XII до краја XVIII века*, 217.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 37.

⁸⁴ M. Emmanuel, *Hairstyles and Headdresses of Empresses, Princesses and Ladies of the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, DCAE 17, Dedicated to Doula Mouriki (1994), 113-120. Стр. 115-117 фиг.13/д. - The author she insists that the shape of the headdress is elaborately developed in the case of the despotissa in Donja Kamenica and that it was fashionable in the west for a married lady.

⁸⁵ Ђ. Петровић, *Оглавља* in: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, 462.

⁸⁶ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите на средновековните български владетели, корони, скиптри, сфери, оръжия, костюми, накити*, 238, fig. 86.

the crown, covered the hair or only the given position on the portrait made it invisible. And in the case of the two landladies from Kalotino, we can assume that the hair may have been tied. At Princess Ozra in Psača, although covered with scarves, her loose hair can be seen in a thin line behind her neck and a small curl under the head. In contrast, with her cousin, Sevastocrator Vladislava, the goal was to emphasize the hairstyle. Her hair is in circular shapes, which we could call curls, given in the area of the forehead and along the entire length that goes over the back. The three noblewomen from Staničenje have a shorter, shaped hairstyle, rich in volume, and decorated with applications in wreaths of pearls and flowers.

That in some cases, the main decoration in the form of a crown, wreath, or hat was a more critical part of the head than a scarf is confirmed by the examples of noblewomen who portrayed themselves without them. The two noblewomen from the church in Staničenje do not have the fabric next to their hats, but the segment of processing the hairstyle next to the necklaces is prominent, and a complete and luxurious look was obtained. Opposite them, the fourth, youngest daughter from the Karan church and the Despotiss in Pološko are shown with a head made of wreaths and earrings, but without scarves. Simultaneously, no attention was paid to beautifying their hair, so it was just glued to the head and possibly tied to the back of the head. This case's specificity is that it is about women of different ages, positions, and titles.

The presentation of the headdresses of the 14th-century noblewomen was made by analyzing 25 portraits from 14 churches from the central Balkans, i.e., the territory of the medieval Serbian and Bulgarian state. This last geographical-state determinant did not gain importance in the selection or the formation of subgroups during analyzes. The noblewomen have different titles and another financial status, but almost all of them are in the same family status. These are married women and mothers who were shown with their families. Precisely because of that, it was possible to see how dressing married women and their daughters.

The Balkan noblewomen of the 14th century were ladies who laid down their appearance and, following the wealth of their family and personal taste, decorated their headdresses in a complex form. As the most expensive head jewelry, the crown is present in the portraits of the Despotiss Anna Maria, which reflects the respect for official fashion in the circle of high nobles. But the ladies from the lower authorities also supported this type of head decoration. Such is the case with the Župan Struja, who, through portraits of herself and her daughters, presented her fashion taste, respect for official dress standards, and her young family's wealth. It should be noted that the crowns are mostly present in the portraits of noblewomen in situations of depiction near the ruler's images of Dušan and Jelena. The lower head jewelry in the shape of a wreath can be interpreted to be by the titles that the ladies wore, such as the wife of the Despot Jovan Dragusin in Pološko, the Kesar Kali in the Mali Grad on Prespa, or the unknown Despotiss in Donja Kamenica. In the first two cases, we know rulers who were shown respect through wearing a woman's headdress like this. In the Donja Kamenica case, the Despotiss depicted is the immediate master of the church's ktetors, and the supreme ruler, as expected, the emperor, is not

even shown here. Nevertheless, we conclude that there was a need to respect the symbols of power and official fashion even among the ruling founders who were not in close contact with their rulers.

That kind of consistency is not always present when portraying noblewomen, and thus showing their headdresses. It probably depended on many circumstances. We should not ignore that the ktetor's composition was a solemn act of permanent presentation of one family. It is certainly reasonable to expect a respectable lady of that family to present herself in her best clothing combination.

Expensive jewelry is something that was used on selected occasions and inherited through the family. Earrings are popular women's jewelry, and lunar earrings, round and fan-shaped, dominate these chosen examples. The latter, more popular during the middle of the 14th century, is in many cases. Models such as mother and daughter from Donja Kamenica and Karan, relatives from Staničenje and Kalotino indicate that they were loved and worn by women, girls and girls. So, obligatory in the family treasury. Besides, we see from these examples that there was a practice of decorating the headdress's daughter following the mother's example, i.e., cousin. Only in specific details, the importance of the „main“ woman is indicated, but the difference was smaller as the daughter was older. Thus, we will not notice a big difference in the headdress between the mother and her adult daughters in Karan, Kesar Kali, and daughter Marija in the Church of Mali Grad on Prespa, the principal ktetor, and her relatives in Staničenje or Kalotino. The daughters of the ktetors from Donja Kamenica and Karan are still girls and have not grown up to the headdress worn by their mothers, but certainly, attention has been paid to their headdress because it is meaningful. They wear decadent fan-shaped earrings combined with a veil or wreath, again in the style of the mother's type of headdress.

A good example of comparison in wearing the headdress is on the ktetor's composition in Psača. Considering that we are talking about two noblewomen of different titles and ages, we have two types of headdresses. Princess Ozra, as presumably older, is more modest with a scarf and a helmet and following the title. The Sevastokrator Vladislava feels a greater degree of freedom by bringing out the modern spirit and stepping out of the standard forms of editing the headboard. The crown is of a different shape, without a scarf with a decorated hairstyle and other earrings.

Many opinions about the specificity of individual headdresses were also presented. It is about the headdress of the ktetor in Donja Kamenica and the ktetor Doja in Zemen. Their headdresses are complicated, and the elements they are made cannot be entirely analyzed. With the absence of one of them, the meaning of wearing the other would be lost. The cap of the Donja Kamenica ktetor is without analogies in medieval portraits, and one should probably look for a connection with the folk tradition of that area. Her headdress and Doje's headdress are substantial, basically rich in elements such as earrings, headbands, scarves, and hats made of materials unknown to us. All of them are given in one specific set, elegant and expensive enough. However, it seems more accessible to the lower aristocratic class, which did not wholly give up the folk culture present.

Medieval ladies wore crowns on their heads, high and curved or low, decorated with jewels and pearls, enriched with intricate details or simple in shape and modest in the material. They also wore wreaths, in the form of hoops or serrated to allude to crowns, possibly made in one piece or assembled from tiles. Počelice beginnings were less frequent, perhaps due to the general applicability in everyday occasions, so they did not correspond to the ceremonial presentation model. In all these variants of head jewelry, the fabric was used to cover the head, hair, neck, under the crown and wreath, with a tiara, thrown behind the back or over the shoulders or falling from the crown. Expensive nets were also worn, decorated with gold and silver threads on a more delicate fabric with which the noblewomen covered or shaped their hair. The noblewomen also wore hats, low, high, fan-wide, decorated with diadems, appliqués, gold embroidery, pearls, combined with scarves falling from them or surrounding them. Earrings, again rich in material and shape, decorated with jewels, pearls, and filigree, went with this headband as a must. And when some of these elements were missing, the headdress's splendour was not diminished but compensated by emphasizing the other or opening a new segment. The absence of the scarf allowed shaping the hair into a hairstyle, decorate it with precious details, and the opportunity to emphasize the unique beauty of a woman.

Numerous written sources have indicated the existence of various elements of the headdress and the name, which shows the diversity of materials. Some of this has been confirmed by archaeological findings. The ktetor's portraits in aristocratic endowments are one of the art source segments, which demonstrates the previously known and reveals numerous details of the fashion of arranging women and their headdresses.

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ОГЛАВЉА ВЛАСТЕЛИНКИ НА КТИТОРСКИМ ПОРТРЕТИМА XIV ВЕКА:
СРБИЈА-БУГАРСКА

Стилска анализа женског оглавља 14. века заснована је на приказима властелинских портрета подручја централног Балкана, тачније у оквирима средњовековне српске и бугарске државе, са освртом на форме и облике оглавља који су били присутни у претходном периоду уз уважавање чињенице да су поменуте области биле у оквиру византијске културне сфере, те да све облике женског оглавља треба гледати кроз пројекцију утицаја византијског церемонијала у одевању.

Предмет истраживања су (је) петнаест властелинских ктиторских породичних композиција у оквиру којих су приказане властелинке са својом децом и најближим рођакама, као учесницама ктиторског чина. Сачувани примери показују да је титула властелина значајно утицала на форму ктиторкиног одевања, па и самог оглавља и елементе декорисања накитом. Властелинке виших титула имале су скупопцена оглавља која су била својеврсно опонашање инсигнија, уз коришћење богатог накита што је била илустрација моћи и богатства њихових породица. Насупрот њима, постојале су и скромније варијанте кроз материјал и декорацију са тенденцијом опонашања

скупоцених облика, али и форме оглавља која су се одликовала комбинацијом текстила и накита адекватна титули, односно скромнијем друштвеном статусу породице. Код овог последњег типа, неретко се проналази веза са свечаном народном ношњом жена поднебља из кога потичу.

Племкиње су носиле круне, венце, почелице и капе - високе или ниске, уз обавезну мараму испод или преко ових елемената, а неретко су се примењивале и две мараме за покривање врата. Коса је најчешће била покривена марамом, мада се у богатим примерима среће и употреба мрежице за косу. Минђуше, као готово обавезни накит на оглављу властелинке, по свом облику и скупоцености зависиле су од облика оглавља, али и самог богатства. Најраскошније су биле велике зракасте, богато украшене бисерима и драгим камењем са коришћењем технике гранулације и филигран, неретко, због своје тежине, причвршћене траком која је падала са круне или дијадеме. У другој, скромнијој варијанти то су биле алке са једном или више јагода, али ништа мање скромније у техници израде као што потврђују археолошки налази.

Сви ови елементи указују о значају покривања главе код жена и пажњи која јој је била посвећивана код властелинки, о облицима који су постојали и њиховим варијететима сходно положају у друштву и богатству. Портрети властелинки, осим што су неретко доказ о њиховом постојању и историји, представљају ликовну потврду појединих писаних и археолошких налаза о улепшавању жена. Они су важан извор у проучавању културног живота средњовековног племства Балкана.