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THE INSIGNIA OF THE BULGARIAN TSAR KONSTANTIN TIKH (1257-1277). ANALYSIS AND TYPOLOGY

The insignia of Bulgarian rulers during the Second Bulgarian Empire are analyzed and described in details by Georgi Atanasov¹. In general, they are replicas of the insignia of Byzantine emperors which are usually related to a specific chronology and represent a specific type of official costume and regalia. The same paper of G. Atanasov also describes the regalia of Konstantin Tikh (1257 – 1277). According to the researcher, this tsar uses at least two ceremonial garments with identical regalia: *kamelaukion/stemma* – *staff/labarum* – *akakia/orb* – *maniakion/ encolpion* – *lôros/chlamys*². The existence of more than one costume is not surprising – the clothing for different ceremonies includes several crowns and costumes and all of them are inherited and not personally owned³.

Our paper aims to create, as far as possible, a more detailed and exact typology of these garments accompanied by additional Bulgarian and other historical sources as well as by this author's original drawings. A lot of depictions of Konstantin Tikh have been preserved and therefore they are a valuable source of information on the appearance of Bulgarian tsars at official occasions. What is more, he ruled at a time when the contemporary Byzantine court was not the trend-setting institution it used to be. The reason for this change may be found in the historical circumstances: after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, a lot of the insignia and the workrooms which used to produce them and the people who knew the ceremonies were destroyed. Even though the court in exile in Nicaea still followed some of the traditions of the old capital, they were much simpler and poorer as compared to the period immediately prior to 1204. Some archaic elements of the ceremonial came back in fashion, not as remembered, but rather as seen in surviving art forms⁴. The emperors of Nicaea and the rulers who were

¹ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите на средновековните български владетели. Корони, скиптри, сфери, оръжия, костюми, накити*, Плевен 1999

² *Ibid*, 157-158

³ *Ibid*, 128

⁴ T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand: Military Dress and Court Regalia in the Later Romano-Byzantine Empire*, S. Yorkshire 2016. Kindle Edition, 282-285. I would like to thank Todor Dragiev for the opportunity to read this book.

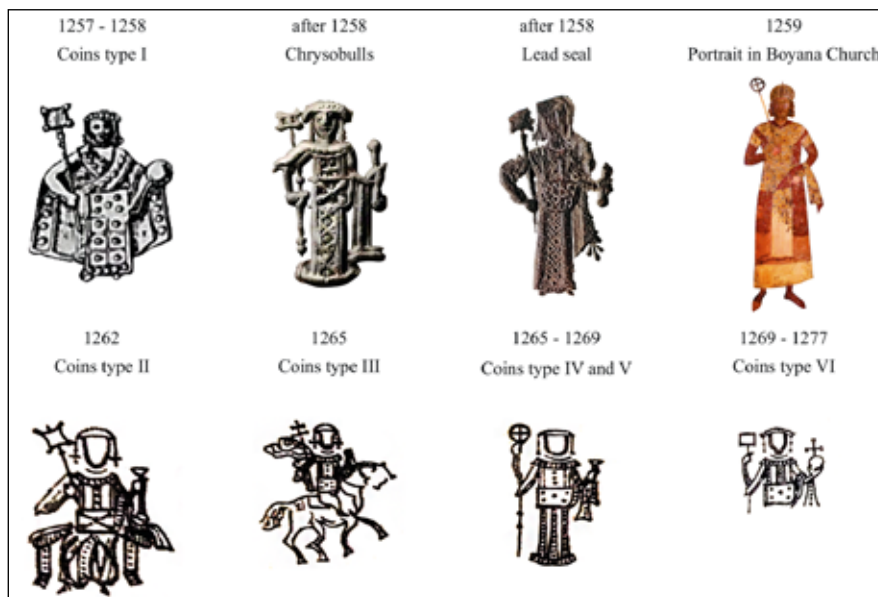


Fig. 1 Depictions of Konstantin Tikh (Sources: Н. А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*; Й. Юрукова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни...*; И. Йорданов, *Корпус...*; К. Дочев, *Хронология...*)

Сл. 1 Портрет Константина Тиха (Извор: Н. А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*; Й. Юрукова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни...*; И. Йорданов, *Корпус...*; К. Дочев, *Хронология...*)

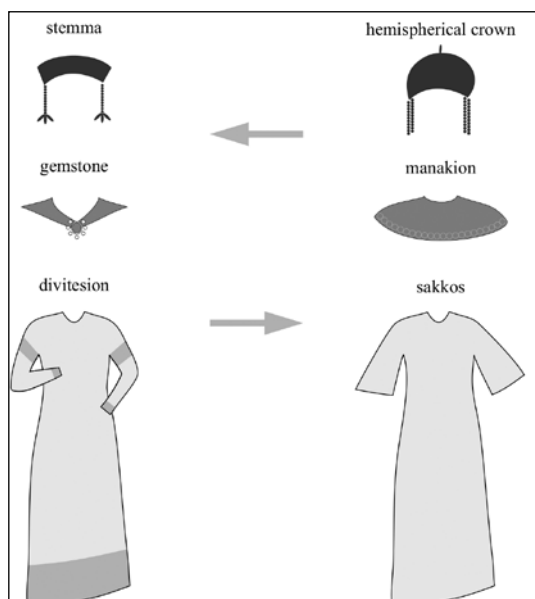
their contemporaries turned back to the past. Beside these facts, it should be noticed that, even before Konstantin, not only western goods but also western, mainly gothic forms of art, were well-received in the Bulgarian court⁵.

Konstantin's depictions are in several formats dated with varying degrees of accuracy: the fresco in the church of Boyana (1259); seals – *chrysobulls* and lead seals (after 1258) and six types of coins⁶ (type I – 1257-1258; type II – 1262; type III – 1265; type IV and V – 1265-1269; type VI – 1269-1277) (fig. 1). The clarity of the details of the depictions varies and their reliability as sources of information varies as well. This should be definitely taken into consideration. The factualness of the fresco in the church of Boyana has been commented on

⁵ И. Сотиров, *Проблемът за Калояновия пръстен и неговия притежател*, Годишник на Народния археологически музей VIII (София 1992), 344-349

⁶ At Konstantin Dochev (К. Дочев, *Хронология на монетосеченето на цар Константин Асен*, Нумизматика 2 (София 1982), 3-17; К. Дочев, *Каталог на българските средновековни монети XIII – XIV в. Типове, варианти, цени*, Велико Търново 2009, 59 - 84) there are six types and the first one has two subtypes. At Vladimir Penchev (Й. Юрукова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни печати и монети*, София 1990, 85 - 92) type I A and B is split in I and II, respectively it is numbered from I to VII instead of from I to VI. As I am interested in the tsar's depiction, and it has been unilaterally said to be identical, I use Dochev's numbering and dating.

Fig. 2 Authors drawings of the types of crowns, neck decorations and clothing
Сл. 2 Ауторски цртежи типова круна и типова одеће



multiple times⁷. Konstantin Tikh's seals and coins show a great improvement in the quality of coin production and sphragistics and this means that there was a court workshop in the palace at Tsarevets where heraldic norms and trends were well-known⁸. However, their diminutive size suggests a higher degree of generalization and especially the coins should be viewed with circumspection.

Having in mind the above facts, the images of Konstantin's regalia are nevertheless unusually high in number and most of them have at least two versions. Therefore, before grouping them into types, they should be separately listed and examined (fig. 2).

- **Crown.** A low *stemma* and a high *kamelaukion* can be clearly seen. According to Atanasov, at the time of Ivan Asen II (1218 - 1241) the half-spherical crown *kamelaukion* replaces the diadem (low *stemma*) as insignia⁹. He uses different images to support this theory and his most reliable evidence is a wall painting in the Buried Church¹⁰. The low *stemma* itself which, incidentally, is the insignia with the highest frequency of depictions on coins and seals, was traditionally used for crowning Byzantine emperors¹¹. In this case, the *stemma*

⁷ А. Василиев, *Ктиторски портрети*, София 1960, 20 – the portrait was created by the court artist; В. Поповиќ, *Costume and Insignia of Church Founders and Rulers Depicted in Boyana*, Боянската црква между Истока и Запада в изкуството на христијанска Европа, съст. Бисерка Пенкова (София 2011), 232 – probably from a live model. There is a theory (И. Сотиров, *Проблемът за ...*, 341-367) that sevastokrator Kaloyan who commissioned the portrait died before the church was finished. But even if the painting was financed by his successor, this does not affect the authenticity of the portraits and insignia.

⁸ И. Сотиров, *Проблемът за...* 347-348; К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 40, 60-61

⁹ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 149-150

¹⁰ However, only a crown and a line “to all Bulgarians” can be seen in it.

¹¹ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 126

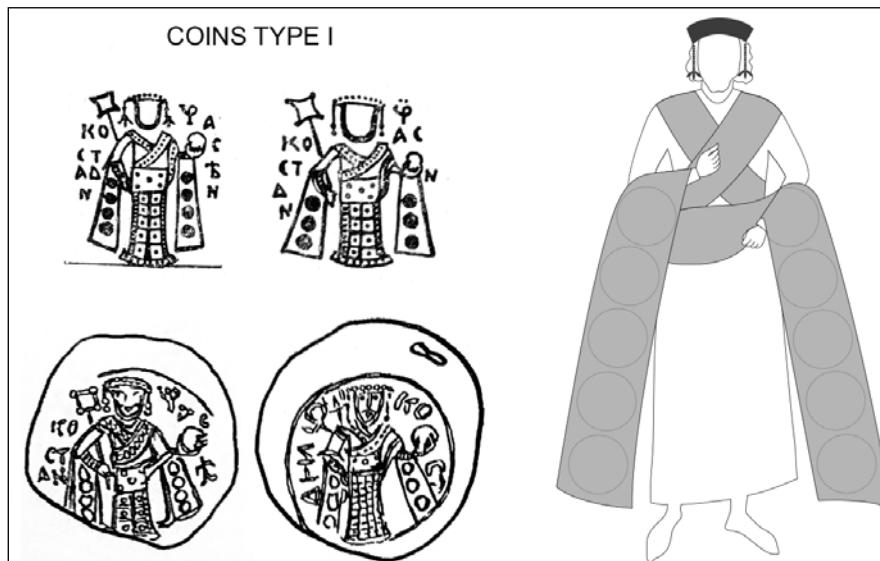


Fig. 3 Coins type I (according to К. Дочев, *Хронология...*; К. Дочев, *Каталог...*) and author's drawing of the lôros in accordance with researchers' descriptions.

Сл. 3 Новац, тип 1 (према К. Дочев, *Хронология...*; К. Дочев, *Каталог...*) и ауторски цртежи лорос према истраживачким описима

was also depicted on coins and seals. It is possible that it was copied from Byzantine prototypes¹², but it is also possible that two crowns were used at the same time¹³.

- **Garment.** It is depicted both with short and with long sleeves which again suggests two separate pieces of clothing. A *divitèsion* is a tunic with loose sleeves ending in long richly decorated cuffs with fastenings¹⁴. In Byzantium, at the time of the Palaiologos, it was replaced by *sakkos*. A lot of descriptions of insignia, especially those on seals and coins, do not clearly differentiate between *divitèsion* and *sakkos*. Here, I follow Timothy Dawson's definition according to which the *sakkos* is black and has long sleeves¹⁵. Due to the nature of the sources, the color may be commented on only when speaking about the wall painting, but the seals and part of the coins of Konstantin show loose sleeves reaching the elbow and narrow sleeves of an undergarment underneath. A logical conclusion is that the loose sleeves mean a *sakkos* and a *divitèsion* is depicted in the other images. However, it is not always possible to determine the type of sleeve.

- **Gemstone at the neck.** This insignia, as commented by Atanasov, is the first such stone to be drawn as worn by a Bulgarian ruler in Boyana Church; it is

¹² *Ibid*, 157

¹³ *Ibid*, 128

¹⁴ T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand ...*, 114

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 307

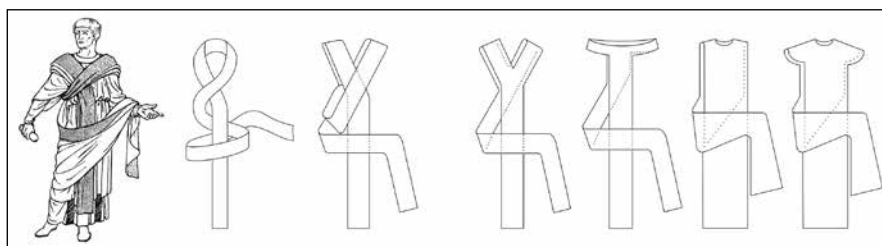


Fig. 4 Manners of wrapping a lóros (according to M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality ...*; B. Наследникова, *История на българския костюм, София 1974*; T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's...*) and evolution of the lóros (according to T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's...*)

Сл. 4 Начини постављања лороса (према: М. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality ...*; B. Наследникова, *История на българския костюм, София 1974*; T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's...*) и еволуција лороса (према T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's...*)

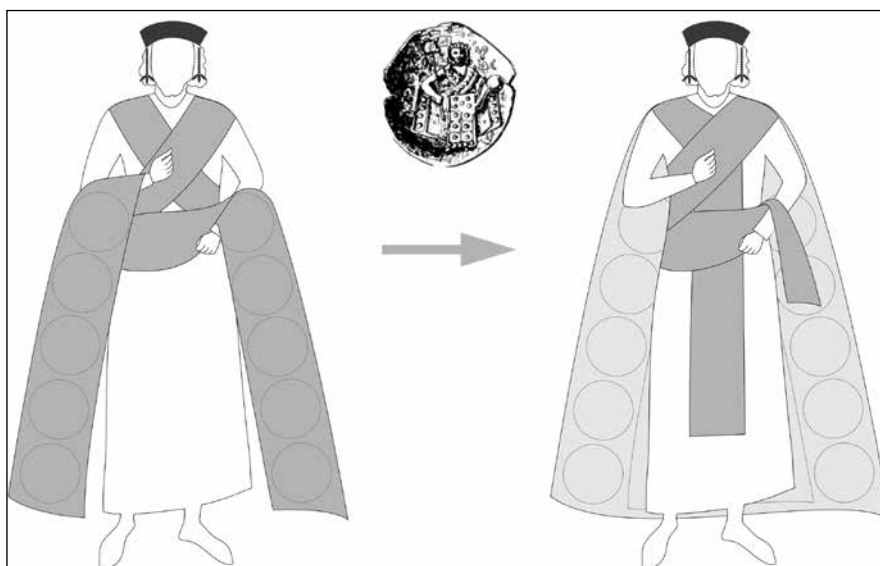


Fig. 5 Coins type I (according to H. A. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*) and the author's drawing of the real appearance of the images on them

Сл. 5 Новац, тип 1 (према: H. A. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*) и ауторски цртежи реалног изгледа инсигнија

not clear whether this custom has Byzantine or western origins¹⁶. According to Boyan Popovich, such a decoration at the neck is a rare insignia and Konstantin Tikh is the last ruler in the Byzantine cultural circle to be depicted wearing it¹⁷. The presence of a medallion with a gemstone can be recognized with certainty only on the fresco where it is attached to a textile collar slightly overlapping the

¹⁶ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 156

¹⁷ B. Popović, *Costume and Insignia ...*, 220, 232

Tsar Boril (1207 - 1218)
Lead seal



Tsar Theodore Svetoslav (1300-1322)
Coins



Fig. 6 Seal of Tsar Boril (1207 - 1218) (according to И. Йорданов, Корпус...) and coins of Theodore Svetoslav (1300 – 1322) (according to Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, Български средновековни...)

Сл. 6 Печат цара Борила (1207 - 1218) (према И. Йорданов, Корпус...) и новац Теодора Светослава (1300 – 1322) (према Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, Български средновековни...)

*lôros*¹⁸. It is not clear whether this collar belongs to the *divitêsion* or whether it is a separate element of the costume. Atanasov's assumption that in the second royal official costume the *encolpion* is replaced by a decorated collar, *manacion*, which is itself part of a *lôros* seems probable.

- **Lôros**. The *lôros* is a panel of cloth woven with gold thread decorated with precious stones. It is thought that it comes after the Roman *trabea triumphalis*, a purple toga with golden embroidery, worn by Roman consuls when opening games or at triumphal processions¹⁹. In the 10th century Byzantium, a 5-meter-long *lôros*, wrapped around the body like a toga, had its simplified version which was shorter and was not crossed at the armpit. During the next several centuries its shape continued to change – more versions appeared and the last one was the *lôros* with a collar²⁰ (I will provisionally call it “simplified *lôros*” in this paper).

In the oldest depictions of Konstantin Tikh (type I coins) most researchers see a *lôros* with two hanging ends²¹. In part of Konstantin's coins it can really be seen how symmetrical triangular pieces, decorated with dots, fall below the tsar's elbows (fig. 3). The same definition is repeated by different authors when describing some other Bulgarian rulers' seals and coins²². If,

¹⁸ G. Atanasov (Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 156) describes a golden chain, but I do not see one. The pendant is placed in the hollow between the collarbones and it would have been very uncomfortable to wear it on a chain.

¹⁹ M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)*, Leiden-Boston 2003, 18-20

²⁰ T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand ...*, 101, 264, chart 6. For the development of the *loros* appearance I quote Dawson as he gives the most details. The evolution of this insignia is described in a similar manner by Parani and Atanasov.

²¹ К. Дочев, *Хронология ...*, 7; repeated in Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 85; К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 61)

²² К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 48 – about Mitso's coins; Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев,

however, we assume that this is so, it is a very unusual manner of wearing this cloth. In all variants of wrapping the *lôros* around the body, one of its ends is shorter and falls in front of the body²³ (fig. 4). Therefore, I am of the same opinion as Nikola Mushmov, namely that the ends on Konstantin's coins belong to a cloak²⁴ and that in the cases where there are "two hanging ends", they are the ends of cloaks. Mushmov's drawings, especially the one of the coin described under number 26, as well as some of the photos published by Vladimir Penchev, clearly show the lower edge of this cloak behind the tsar's back (fig. 5). Enough Bulgarian examples of a *lôros* and cloak worn one on top of the other may be found and the cloaks are decorated with dots²⁵ (fig. 6).

Furthermore, there is the fact that in the coins themselves the triangles with the dots are clearly engraved below the elbows and not below the shoulders. Konstantin's coins, however, were minted in big quantities and each series was minted several times²⁶, therefore it is very possible that some issues contained copying mistakes.

So, the coins depict an early-type *lôros* crossed at the chest. The same type of *lôros* was depicted much more clearly in the portrait at Boyana Church and Konstantin's lead seal, wrapped in a manner similar to the one used by Roman consuls in the 5th and 6th centuries (fig. 4-1). According to Popovich, Konstantin Tikh is one of the last emperors in the Byzantine world depicted in this manner²⁷. (Actually, the last one is Stefan Dušan but there it is crossed in

Български средновековни ..., 75; И. Йорданов, *Корпус на средновековните български печати*. София, 2003. Ново и преработено издание, Плиска-Преслав 13, (София 2016) (I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zhenya Zhekova for the opportunity to read the book), 193-194 – about Theodore's/Petar's coins. Generally, however, researchers often describe the same coins and seals in different ways and recognize different insignia in them.

²³ Experimental archeology proves that it is possible for a 5-meters-long piece of textile to be wrapped around the chest and crossed in front in such a manner that both ends lie on the arms and fall symmetrically on both sides of the body. However, there is no certain evidence that the *loros* was actually worn in that manner.

²⁴ Н. А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати на българските царе*, София 1925, 80-82. The description of the coin under number 25: "Tsar Konstantin in a royal cloak".

²⁵ Йорданов, *Корпус ...*, 303, № 349 – Boril's lead seal. (In the respective description Ivan Yordanov does not mention a cloak (Ibid, 216), but Н.А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*, 158 says „in a rich royal cloak“ and Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 146 - „*divitêsion, lôros, tapacion* and *chlatys* „); Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 83, Н. А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*, 69-70, Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите ...*, 147, Дочев 2009, 42 – copper coins of Tsar Ivan Asel II; Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 101, Н.А. Мушмов, *Монети и печати...*, 89, К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 101 – silver coins of Theodore Svetoslav.

²⁶ К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 60 – the coins minted at the time of Konstantin are "several millions".

²⁷ In the 13th century, the crossed *lôros* was also used in Georgia and Serbia (Д. Војводић, *Укрштена дијадима и „торакион“*. Две древне и неуобичајене инсигније српских владара у XIV и XV веку, Трећа југословенска конференција византолога (Крушевац 10-13 мај 2000), (Београд - Крушевац 2002), 257, 259 – 262. I would like to thank Militsa Kovachevich for the opportunity to read the article). However, it is a matter of dispute when and whether the crossed *lôros* stopped being used in Byzantium. According to Dawson (T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand ...*, chart 6) this does not happen completely.



Fig. 7 Stefan Dušan, image in Kuchevishhte (according to Д. Војводић, *Укрштена дијадима...*)

Сл. 7 Стефан Душан, слика из Кучевишта (према: Д. Војводић, *Укрштена дијадима...*)

with a *maniakion*. The *maniakion* is a Byzantine emperor's regalia dated to

another manner²⁸) (fig. 7). This seems unusual, as Bulgarian rulers did not fall behind Byzantine fashion trends – as far as it can be seen, the coins and seals of all tsars from the Second Bulgarian Empire before and after Konstantin Tikh show an up-to-date simplified *lōros*.

The probable reason for Konstantin Tikh to use such archaic symbols of power is probably his wish to compensate for the shortcomings of his pedigree. When he was crowned, he not only had no relationship to the Asen dynasty but he was forced to compete with one of its relatives. It is logical that he should flaunt insignia that is easily recognized and that was inherited by the progenitors of the Asen dynasty, or an exact copy of such insignia. In this light, a reference should be made to the writings of Theodore Skoutariotes according to which, when George Akropolites was a guest in Tarnovo, Tsar Konstantin wore Byzantine imperial signs which had been triumphantly captured by Asen and Peter²⁹. The veracity of this testimony is controversial³⁰, but the reason behind it may be precisely the antiquated appearance of Konstantin's clothing noticed by Akropolites. More attention will be paid to this matter below.

In his chrysobulls and in type II – IV coins, the tsar is wearing the simplified *lōros* typical for the 13th and 14th centuries (which sources call “*diadēma*”) combined

According to Maria Parani, the crossed *lōros* stopped being used in the 12th century (M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing...*, 20-22, n. 40). However, the author cites several depictions which are exceptions that she thinks are conventional in their character. According to Dragan Voyvodich, the crossed *lōros* as an old symbol of Roman power is revived for a short period of time during the 13th century, including in Bulgaria (Д. Војводић, *Укрштена дијадима...*, 257 – 258).

²⁸ В. Поповић, *Costume and Insignia ...*, 220. According to Dragan Voyvodich, at the time of Dushan the old type of *lōros* was used in the Serbian court as an ancient symbol of power, but it was seen in works of Byzantine art and not in real life which is the reason for the wrong way of wrapping it (Д. Војводић, *Укрштена дијадима...*, 267 – 268).

²⁹ *Гръцки извори за българската история*, т. VIII, съст. Михаил Войнов (София 1972), 302-303

³⁰ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 126-127, 152

the 10th – 15th centuries which is a round golden collar with inlaid pearls and diamonds³¹. The merging of *lōros* and *maniakion* is the final stage in the *lōros* development and it is the most often depicted one in the late Byzantine period. In this specific case the decoration is depicted in an interesting manner – it is different over and below the waist.

- **Cloak** – depicted in type I coins (as described above) and type III coins (the tsar riding a horse). It cannot be categorically determined whether it is one and the same. In the middle Byzantine period the semi-circle *chlamys* cloak, together with the crown, comprised the insignia that the emperor put on for his coronation³². It is arguable whether this use continued in the Byzantine court and in the late Byzantine period (The golden emperor's cloak worn at religious ceremonies as described at the time of the Palaiologos is actually a short circle cloak different from the *chlamys*³³. According to Parani depictions of *chlamys* on seals and coins are conventional in their character and according to Dawson it comes back in fashion after 1204. The *chlamys* as a separate insignia was worn by Serbian rulers and it was depicted on the above-mentioned lead seal of Boril, copper coins of Ivan Asen II and silver coins of Theodore Svetoslav³⁴.

- **Double (patriarchal) cross**. The possibility that the double cross on coins of type III is a depiction of the Byzantine cross captured by Asen and Peter in the battle at Trevnya pass has been discussed. Georgius Pachymeres writes that the treasures of emperor Isaac are kept in the Bulgarian treasury to be boasted about rather than to be used³⁵. Akropolites describes the capture of the emperor's insignia and specifically mentions the pyramidal crowns and the emperor's cross³⁶. Theodore Skoutariotes writes that Bulgarian rulers celebrated Christ's Birth and Baptism by triumphally wearing the signs looted from emperor Isaac³⁷. On these grounds K. Dochev and some later authors³⁸ believe that the double cross of Konstantin Tikh is the same one depicted on the early coins of Isaac Angelos and that this is the real appearance of the captured Byzantine insignia. Atanasov thinks that Skoutariotes' statement is not authentic³⁹ and generally completely disagrees with the idea that a Bulgarian

³¹ *Ibid*, 262

³² M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing...*, 13

³³ M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing...*, 15; T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand...*, 320-321

³⁴ Cloak (under various names) is mentioned in the descriptions of coins and seals of other rulers but, as I already mentioned, the descriptions of researchers are inconsistent and the findings and their reproductions – not always clear enough.

³⁵ *Гръцки извори за българската история*, т. X, съст. Михаил Войнов (София 1980), 180

³⁶ *Гръцки извори за българската история*, т. VIII, съст. Михаил Войнов (София 1972), 153-154

³⁷ *Ibid*, 302-303

³⁸ К. Дочев, *Хронология...*, 9-10; И. Йорданов, *Още веднъж за монетите на Теодор-Петър*, *Нумизматика* 4, (София 1982), 22; Й. Юркова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни...*, 76, 88.

³⁹ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 152. One of the reasons given is that George Akropolites himself who visited Konstantin Tikh on a diplomatic mission in 1260 and supposedly saw the triumphal procession does not mention anything. As Ivan Lazarov posits,

ruler may have worn the imperial regalia looted from Isaac II Angelos as in the Middle Ages a ruler's legitimacy was never proved by plundered regalia⁴⁰. The implied contradiction can be probably explained with the generality of the depictions on the coins. The insignia which Konstantin Asen wore for his coronation and at ceremonies may not have included the cross of Isaac Angelos, but this does not mean that the famous trophy was not depicted on coins for the purposes of propaganda. This is especially true for coins that were supposedly minted for the coming war⁴¹ and on which a type of iconography that was very new to Bulgaria and Byzantium was used⁴².

- **A cross in a circle** – Such a circle is missing in the regalia of other Bulgarian rulers⁴³

- **Labarum** – a flag on a stick laid crosswise under the tip of a golden spear⁴⁴. Adopted at the time of Ivan Asen II

- **Orb** / globe / a planet – ball symbolizing the Earth. Konstantin's coins depict it once with a cross and once without a cross so it is possible that there are two such objects.

- **Akakia** – a cylindrical little bag containing soil⁴⁵

- **Red shoes** traditionally associated with rulers. In the fresco, these are boots with a level sole embroidered with pearls. On part of type I and II coins the boots (or shoes) have heels⁴⁶.

In chronological order, the sources and regalia depicted are as follows⁴⁷:

Source / Dating	Head	Body	Hands
Coins I 1257 - 1258	Stemma	Divitêsion / sakkos lôros Cloak	Crossed Labarum Orb
Lead bulla after 1258	Kamelaukion ¹	Divitêsion Crossed lôros	Labarum Akakia
Chrysobull after 1258	Stemma	Sakkos ² Simplified lôros with manacion	Labarum Akakia
Boyana Church 1259	Kamelaukion	Divitêsion Crossed lôros Encolpion	Staff with cross in circle Akakia
Coins II (the tsar on a throne) 1262	Stemma	Divitêsion / sakkos Simplified lôros with manacion	Labarum Akakia

however (И. Лазаров, *Политическа идеология на Второто българско царство XII-XIII в. (генезис)*, Велико Търново 2003, 22-27), that was hardly a pleasant sight for a Byzantine ambassador.

⁴⁰ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 126-127

⁴¹ К. Дочев, *Хронология ...*, 7-11

⁴² Й. Юркуова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 63-64

⁴³ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 157

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 257;156

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 258-259

⁴⁶ К. Дочев, *Каталог ...*, 66

⁴⁷ К. Dochev's dating of the coins is used

Coins III (the tsar on a horse) 1265	Stemma	Divitèsion / sakkos Simplified lôros with manacion Cloak	Staff with double cross
Coins IV 1265 - 1269	Stemma	Sakkos Simplified lôros with manacion	Staff with cross in circle Akakia
Coins V 1265 - 1269	Stemma	Sakkos Simplified lôros with manacion	Staff with cross in circle Akakia
Coins VI (the tsar from the waist up) 1269 - 1277	Stemma	Sakkos Simplified lôros with manacion	Labarum Orb with cross

There is no clear method as to how the objects that the tsar holds in his hands (the cross, staff, labarum, orb and akakia) are combined with each other and with the elements of his clothing. The kamelaukion is combined with a crossed *lôros* while the stemma is depicted both with a crossed *lôros* and with a simplified *lôros*. There may be a gradation in the depiction of the *lôros* – from crossed to simplified. In the first case it is combined with a divitèsion and in the second case – with a sakkos. However, this cannot be clearly proved because of the uncertain dating of the seals and uncertain identification of the clothing. Therefore, I suggest a typology based mostly on the combinations of the crown, the two types of *lôros* and the *chlamys*.

Combination A (coins type I) (*fig. 8*)

Stemma + Chlamys + Crossed *lôros*

This combination is not typical – the combination of a cloak and *lôros* is rarely observed in Byzantine depictions from this period⁴⁸. Maria Parani pays attention to this strange combination between elements with different symbolism and comes to the conclusion that it was not a real mode of dressing of Byzantine emperors, but rather two iconography types were inadvertently mixed up (in the case of the coins – probably by the engraver). She also pays attention to the coronation of the Latin emperor Baldwin I, as described by Robert de Clari, where both the cloak and the *lôros* were present, but, taking into consideration the circumstances, she assumes that it is a matter of mixing a western ritual with the crusaders' idea of a Byzantine coronation and not an authentic imitation of a real one⁴⁹. However, the Bulgarian depictions do not necessarily need to be viewed as resulting from mistakes and misunderstandings. Having in mind the downfall of the Byzantine ceremonial after 1204, as described above and the new Western influence, it is entirely possible that the coronation of Balduin gave rise to a new fashion trend in rulers' presentations in the Balkans.

⁴⁸ It is interesting that this may be also seen in Serbian depictions dating to this period but only in those of queens – Elena from Sopoćani, 1263 – 1268 and Katherine from Arilje, 1296 (С. Радојчић, *Портрети српских владара у средњем веку (фототуреско издање оригинала из 1934 године са допунама)*, Београд 1996, 170, 176)

⁴⁹ M. G. Parani, *Reconstructing...*, 14, n. 10

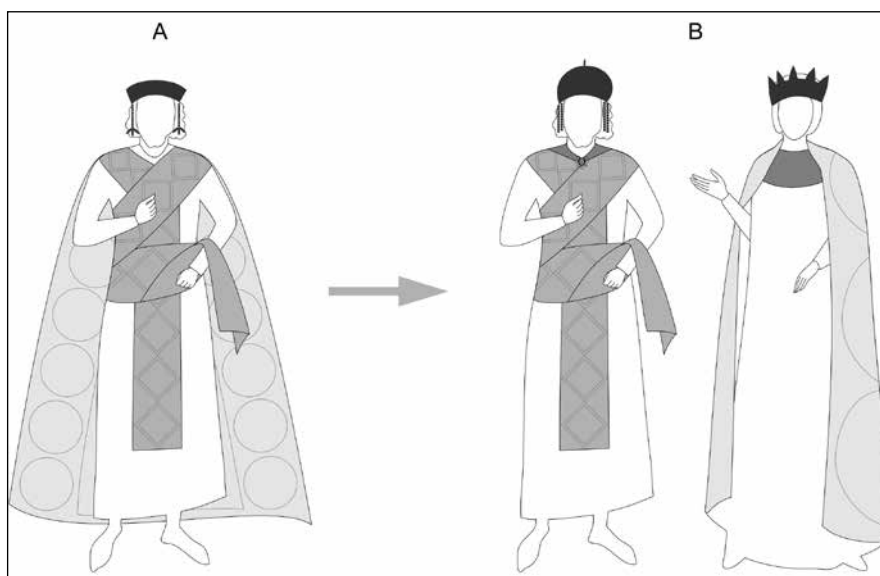


Fig. 8 Development in the costume of Konstantin Tikh – from combination A to combination B

Сл. 8 Развој одеће Константина Тиха – од комбинације А до комбинације Б

Combination B (fresco, lead seal)

Kamelaukion + Divitêsion + Crossed lôros + Gemstone

The similarity between the insignia in the portrait in Boyana Church and the one on the lead seal has been commented on before⁵⁰. It may be a point of discussion whether a kamelaukion is depicted in both cases and whether an encolpion may be seen on the seal but the exact depiction of the same lôros decoration in both cases is a serious argument that the authors saw the same insignias and that they were truly worn by the tsar at certain events (fig. 9).

What is typical for this combination is the modern crown matched with an archaic lôros. *Kamelaukion* used to be worn even at the time of Tsar Simeon⁵¹, but this one follows the newest trends in its shaping⁵².

Both the portrait in Boyana Church and the lead bulla are dated to the time after the divorce of Konstantin Tikh and after his second marriage with Irene Laskarina which gives him a connection to both the Asen dynasty and the Laskarid dynasty and proves his legitimacy as a ruler once and for all. In this context, it is interesting to note that in the Boyana portrait not the Tsar, but the new Tsaritsa is the one who wears a *chlamys*. Furthermore, the *chlamys* is symmetrically fastened at both shoulders and decorated with big circles exactly like the *chlamys* depicted in the coins of type I. As it was mentioned above, the big

⁵⁰ Й. Юркува, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 54; Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 156

⁵¹ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 79-83;

⁵² В. Поповић, *Costume and Insignia...*, 230-231



Fig. 9 Crossed lôros of Konstantin Tikh: in Boyana Church (photo N. Lazarov), on lead bulla (according to И. Ђорданов, Корпус...)

Сл. 9 Укрштени лорос Константина Тиха: у цркви Бојана (фото Н. Лазаров), са булом (према И. Ђорданов, Корпус...) и цртежи аутора

dots on type I coins, whose number varies, may come from different ateliers⁵³ and they may possibly depict a decoration with circles. The *chlamys* falls symmetrically on both sides of the body in the fresco and the coins. It is possible that this is the same cloak passing from Konstantin to Irene (fig. 8). It is not that strange for a male and a female ruler to use the same type of insignia – in the 11th century Byzantine empresses used a *lôros* which is the same as the one worn by emperors to clearly show their great power at court⁵⁴. There are also signs that they wore two separate costumes – with a cloak and with a *lôros*⁵⁵. This is evidently true for Bulgarian women as well – for example on the seal of a Bulgarian queen called Irene, where one of the possibilities for her identity is that she is the Irene Laskarina discussed here, the ruler was depicted wearing a *lôros*⁵⁶. On the copper coins of Ivan Alexander, his wife Sarah-Theodora was depicted once wearing a cloak and once wearing a *lôros*⁵⁷; in her well-known portrait in the Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander she is wearing a cloak. In the coins of Ivan Sratsimir⁵⁸ his wife Ana is also wearing a *lôros*. The costume of Bulgarian queens should be a topic of a separate research but it is worth men-

⁵³ К. Дочев, *Хронология ...*, 7

⁵⁴ T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand ...*, 280-281

⁵⁵ Г. Атанасов, *Инсигниите...*, 192-193

⁵⁶ И. Ђорданов, *Корпус...*, 223-228

⁵⁷ Ђ. Юркова, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 140; 146

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 161

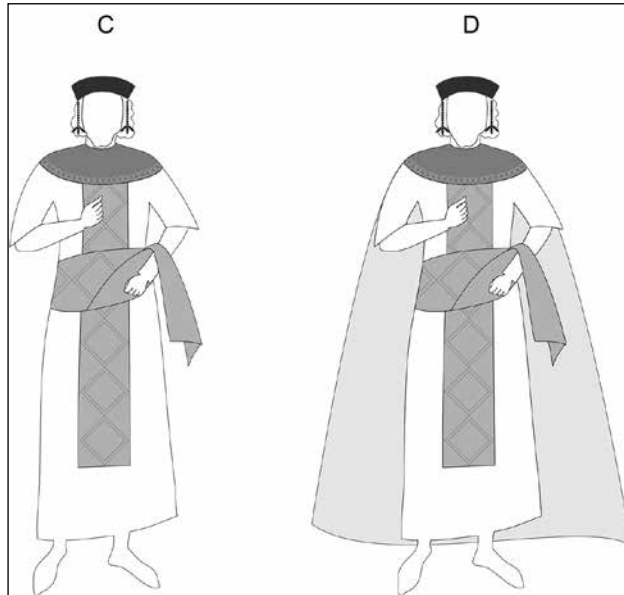


Fig. 10 Combinations C and D

Сл. 10 Комбинације Ц и Д

tioning that not only the cloak of Irene Laskarina has an archaic type of decoration⁵⁹ – her *divitèsion* is also archaic. After the 11th century the empresses of Byzantium replaced the *divitèsion* with wide-sleeved dalmatic.⁶⁰

Combination C (chrysobull, Coins type II, IV, V, VI) (*fig. 10*)
stemma + sakkos + simplified lôros

This combination is a contemporary to Byzantine trends in the same period and is generally standard for coins and seals of Bulgarian rulers before and after Konstantin. It is possible that Konstantin Tikh really used two types of *lôros* – „traditional“ and „fashionable“. (Due to the lack of sufficient quantity of portraits of the rulers preceding him, it cannot be said whether this is a precedent). The first depictions of the simplified lôros also started appearing after the tsar became part of the Asen dynasty, but it cannot be said with any amount of certainty that it was a new product made especially for him.

Combination D (Coins type III)
stemma + cloak + simplified lôros

It has already been mentioned that a *chalmys* and a simplified *lôros* were worn by Boril on his lead seal and by Teodor Svetoslav on his silver coins⁶¹. In both types of sources the ruler was depicted in a standard manner – full face, standing up. The iconography type of the ruler on a horse is new to Bulgaria and

⁵⁹ B. Popović, *Costume and Insignia...*, 231

⁶⁰ T. Dawson, *By the Emperor's Hand...*, 280-281. According to Dawson, the empress' clothing gradually fell into conformity with the paradigms of ordinary women which reflects her lowered influence at court but this process happened more slowly with nations which used Constantinople as a model (also there).

⁶¹ Ђ. Юркува, В. Пенчев, *Български средновековни ...*, 99-106

is a product of western influence. Despite this, the presence of a cloak worn with a *lôros* completely discards the possibility of it being an exact copy of a misrepresented Byzantine iconographic type. Therefore, it should be agreed that such a practice really existed.

Later examples from Serbia may be mentioned in confirmation of this. After the end of the 14th century, there were some changes in Serbian rulers' insignia, including a reference to archaic forms such as the *chlamys*⁶². There are several depictions of Serbian rulers wearing a *chlamys* on a simplified *lôros* dating back to this period although they wore a different type of crown: knyaz Lazar and knyaginya Militsa from Lyubostinya, 1402 – 1405, despot Stefan Lazarević from Kalenich, 1413, despot Stefan Lazarević from Manasia Monastery, 1415 – 1418⁶³.

These combinations and their sources may be summarized as follows:

Group	Source / Dating	Head	Body	Body
A	Coins I 1257 - 1258	Stemma	?	Crossed <i>lôros</i> Cloak
B	Lead bulla after 1258	Kamelaukion	Divitèsion	Crossed <i>lôros</i> ?
B	Boyana Church 1259	Kamelaukion	Divitèsion	Crossed <i>lôros</i> Encolpion
C	Chrysobull after 1258	Stemma	Sakkos	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion
C	Coins II (the tsar on a throne) 1262	Stemma	?	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion
C	Coins IV 1265 - 1259	Stemma	Sakkos	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion
C	Coins V 1265 - 1259	Stemma	Sakkos	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion
C	Coins VI (the tsar from the waist up) 1269 - 1277	Stemma	Sakkos	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion
D	Coins III (the tsar riding a horse) 1265	Stemma	?	Simplified <i>lôros</i> with manacion Cloak

It is the general opinion that part of the specified insignia were real and seen in real life. I think that the same may be said about the combinations described above despite the high degree of stylization of most depictions. They really existed and were worn. The outfits presented are not completely new against the background of both Bulgarian and Byzantine portraits and it cannot be determined whether one of them was made specifically for Konstantin.

⁶² С. Радојчић, *Портрети српских владара ...*, 85

⁶³ Ibid, 158; 208; 210

Similarly, it cannot be determined on what occasions and how often he wore them. However, the variety of iconographic types and ceremonial clothing somewhat reflects the vicissitudes of his rule.

At the beginning of his reign, Konstantin Tikh deliberately used archaisation at his public presentations but such a tendency was typical for many other rulers from the Eastern cultural circle. After the external threats to his throne were removed, he turned to contemporary models and his depictions follow the trends of his time. What is typical, however, is his great ability to combine these models and the free use of western trends. On the one hand, this shows his new confidence as a ruler while on the other hand it reflects the weaker position of Byzantine courts in exile as the pillars of ceremony and models to follow. However, in their base, the costume and regalia of Konstantin as well as of the rulers after him remain Byzantine in style. On the grounds of available evidence, it cannot be said that the regalia used during the Palaiologos period in Bulgaria were typically Bulgarian in their essence.

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ИНСИГНИЈЕ БУГАРСКОГ ЦАРА КОНСТАНТИНА ТИХА (1257-1277).
АНАЛИЗА И ТИПОЛОГИЈА

У раду се разматрају инсигније бугарског цара Константина Тиха (Константин Тих Асен II или Константин I). Анализира се новац, рукописи и портрети сачувани у монументалном сликарству. Постоји неколико варијанти регалија који се лако могу упоредити са онима који су приказани у византијским и српским споменицима средњег века. Налазимо четири врсте комбинација инсигнија: А (стема, хламис и укрштени лорос), Б (камелаукион, дивитисион, укрштени лорос, енколпион), Ц (стема, сакос и касније лорос), Д (стема, хламис и касније лорос).

Као резултат анализе и типологије, очигледно је да се може усвојити комбинација тј. схема по којој се комбинују инсигније. Теодор Скутариот каже за бугарске инсигније царева после битке код Триавне да су вероватно по узору на инсигније Исака II Анђела. Но, то је дискутабилно: можда је Константин Тихи користио оригиналне инсигније првих представника династије Асена. Такође питање је и да ли је његова друга супруга Ирина Ласкарина користила идентичне регалије.